Zimbabwe Urban Grooves Music and the Interconnections between Youth Identities and Celebrity Culture

By

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Declaration

I, Doreen Rumbidzai Tivenga declare that this thesis hereby submitted for the qualification of Doctor of Philosophy (English) at the University of the Free State is my own work and that I have not previously submitted the same work at another university.

Signature:

Date: 22 August 2018

Acknowledgements

Dedication

For my parents for their love and support

Abstract

Zimbabwe urban grooves music is an urban contemporary hybrid genre of music that fuses local music, beats and cultural practices with global popular youth music and cultural practices, is sung predominantly in vernacular languages, and is popular with the urban youth. This thesis examines the interconnections between youth identities and celebrity culture through the lenses of urban grooves music. The study focuses on how Zimbabwean youth react to fundamental societal shifts and the convergence between their everyday local experiences and global cultural experiences through music. I show how these local and global changes have led to a significant rise in popularity and influence of urban grooves music as youth seek to express their identities and cultures in light of these changes and intercultural experiences. My study addresses these significant youth experiences by engaging in a textual analysis of urban grooves music and video texts. Textual analysis is complemented by interviews with urban youth, urban grooves musicians, music promoters and producers, while some of the research findings are based on observations I made during some musical shows I attended as part of the audience or consumers of urban grooves. Field work for the research was delimited to Harare and Chitungwiza where the genre has its roots and has developed rapidly to influence the youth. In addition, the study is mainly informed by theories of globalisation, popular culture and celebrity culture, which are complemented by other relevant concepts such as the concept of the everyday, power, recognition and feminist theories. These theories are key in comprehending the significance of the urban grooves genre and its linkages with trajectories of youth identities that are mapped in ambivalent and intricate ways involving complex gender dynamics, spatial attachments, group affiliations, celebrity culture and the quest for visibility and power. I argue that interactions between complex everyday local and global cultural and societal changes have contributed to Zimbabwean youth's everyday experiences, intercultural encounters and identities that resonate and are influenced by celebrity culture and constituted in urban grooves.

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Chapter 1: Contextual Introduction

1.1 The Urban Grooves Complex

> *We are trying to articulate our voice in the context of our value systems…. Life has become faster and we cannot get stuck in the past, we cannot implement strategies that Mukanya probably implemented say twenty years ago, it won't work for us just as much we cannot be expected to sing chimurenga music because our target audiences do not understand it…. The speed at which the world is changing requires pragmatism….* (Winky D as quoted in an article on *Nehanda Radio* by Pfunde 2011).

The above statement that Winky D, (Wallace Chirumiko) offered in response to the criticism of his music by the Zimbabwean musician Thomas Mapfumo touches on a critical issue that is central to this study of Zimbabwe urban grooves music and the interconnections between youth identities and celebrity culture. The potency of the statement lies in its realistic depiction of the way the Zimbabwean musical scene has become complex and subjected to various debates regarding the direction that urban grooves music is taking. The genre has been received with a lot of criticism especially from the older generation who dub the music unoriginal, inauthentic and foreign. Moreover, the musical lyrics have been condemned as foul and envenoming and allegedly leading the state-owned Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) to ban the playing of some of the songs on various national radio stations, (Nyamhangambiri 2007). Nonetheless, the reality on the ground is that urban grooves is well appreciated and popular amongst the Zimbabwean youth. Maskiri (Alishias Musimbe), dubbed "the bad boy of urban grooves" as revealed in an article in *The Herald* (2014) had his music censored by ZBC, and yet most urban grooves fans proffer him legendary status in as far as urban grooves music is concerned. This veneration of Maskiri is pronounced on various online comments made by music fans in response to newspaper articles, for example, the article in the *Newsday* by Dube (2015) titled *"Stunner, Maskiri Rivalry Revived."* Ndlela (2006: 12) argues that the popularity of urban grooves among the youth clearly indicates the type of music they identify with, in spite of the criticism labelling this kind of music as a cheap imitation of western cultural productions. As Winky D notes in his statement in the epigraph above that, "we cannot get stuck in the past," the Zimbabwean musical scene has indeed experienced new turns as manifested in the rise of the youthful Zimbabwe urban grooves movement, which draws on the urban grooves musical genre. Therefore, this study is

based on the assumption that urban grooves music significantly constitutes and influences patterns of various Zimbabwean youth entertainment practices, identities and culture, and is an important source of identification between the youth and the musicians.

There are three pertinent points that Winky D raises in the above-cited statement. First, he declares that "we" are trying to articulate "our" voice in the context of "our" value systems. Second, he argues that they sing music that their audiences understand and third, he claims that their music is pragmatic and dynamic as it corresponds with rapid changes that are taking place globally. These are powerful claims that should be considered critically. This research which is centred on the study of Zimbabwe urban grooves music, seeks to find out whether there is a significant paradigm shift in Zimbabwean music since the official introduction and promotion of urban grooves on the nation's music scene in 2002. The study thus examines the musical genre and youth identities in the context of everyday Zimbabwean experiences and global cultural changes. Subsequently, the study seeks to establish how these cultural experiences and changes impact on the constitution of urban grooves music and how youth construct and express their identities and cultures.

Changes that have taken place in the Zimbabwean music scene with the popularity of urban grooves are often associated with a series of delinquent behaviours such as alcohol and drug abuse and risky sexual behaviours amongst the youth. A number of media narratives link the ongoing delinquencies with some youth musical experiences or musical cultures, where for instance, school holidays for high school youth have become notorious for bashes, reggae cup clashes, MC contests and house parties where alcohol flows freely.[1] Such parties, which have been famous in Bulawayo, the second largest Zimbabwean city are fascinatingly dubbed '*vuzu*' parties.[2] In Bulawayo, there has been a plethora of house parties hosted by youth as young as thirteen years old that are famous for teenage binge drinking and sexual indulgence. There have been reports of '*vuzu*' raids, where for instance, two hundred and twenty four pupils, some as young as thirteen years of age, were arrested by the police for conducting a '*vuzu*' party at Umguza rest camp on the outskirts of Bulawayo.[3] Although Bulawayo youth consume less of urban grooves music and more of South African popular and youthful music, their experience still matters to this study in relationship to music and how it impacts youth identities and culture. The study enquires into whether the 'delinquencies' that have been associated with the youth can be solely blamed on the

influence of the current music culture as the media narratives portray, or whether there are other factors that influence the supposed Zimbabwean youth delinquencies.

Furthermore, media narratives on lived or personal experiences of some popular urban grooves musicians describe different forms of social 'deviance' demonstrated by these musicians. An example of musician 'deviance' are the famous stories about Roki (Rockford Josphat) a "well-known super-dad who fathered six children with five different women…."[4] Although media narratives sometime rely on gossip, especially when it comes to lifestyles of popular figures, they nevertheless provide a cross section of biographical information and lived experiences of popular urban groovers to the public. Moreover, celebrity gossip is an aspect of celebrity culture, as noted by Milner Jnr (2005), and an aspect important in this study as the research draws on celebrity culture theories to analyse the interconnection between celebrity culture, youth identities and culture. Cashmore (2006: 6) argues that celebrity culture shapes our thoughts and conduct, style and manner. Hence, the study examines celebrity culture in the context of urban grooves music and how youth interact and identify with urban grooves musicians. The study explores the 'deviance' that is associated with urban grooves musicians and youth 'delinquencies' as well as examine the linkages between these supposed deviances and delinquencies and the extent to which popular musicians have influenced youth behaviours, identities and cultures. The identification of the Bulawayo youth parties as 'vuzu' parties as well as MC contests, reggae cup clashes and bashes mentioned earlier on can be linked to the influence of global culture as all these are concepts akin with the western music and MTV culture. According to Ndlela (2006), Bere (2008), Chari (2009b) and Manase (2009), global popular culture has an influence on urban grooves music. This study therefore seeks to unpack the synergy between youth everyday experiences, global cultures, celebrity culture and Zimbabwe urban grooves music and how these impact on Zimbabwean youth's daily intercultural encounters and identities. I argue that global popular culture influences Zimbabwe urban grooves music and musicians. These phenomena in turn influence Zimbabwean youth identities and cultures through their consumption of urban grooves music and other global music and youth cultures.

1.2 Zimbabwean Music before the Era of Urban Grooves and Manifestations of Syncretic Fusions in the Music

Zimbabwe like other African and world societies has a long-standing musical tradition. As observed by Zindi (2017), it is difficult to trace the exact origins of Zimbabwean music. Jive Zimbabwe (2012) links the origins of the music to the traditional society of the fourteenth century and to the spiritual world and traditional beliefs or rituals of Zimbabweans. As observed by Turino (2000: 174), it is music as much as language that serves as a link with the dead. Thus, traditional instruments like the *ngoma* (drum) and *mbira* (lamellophone) are played at traditional ceremonies such as "*kurova guva*" to invoke ancestors so that a verbal communication can take place.[5] Traditional Zimbabwean music is also linked with the daily life experiences of the people that it represents. It is a vehicle of communication, a medium of instruction and acts as a critique on various social injustices; hence, there is actually a tradition of Shona protest songs.[6] In addition, traditional music is also used to praise, urge, ridicule and reprimand (Kwaramba 1997: 2).

However, Zimbabwean music, just as music of other world societies, has evolved through the years and has not been "stuck in the past" to use Winky D's words cited in this chapter's epigraph. Indeed, all music has a history, and changes at different rates and in multiple ways (Nettle 2012: 13). Zimbabwean music has adapted to the changes that have been taking place in the Zimbabwean society and in the world at large. The failure to consider this reality especially by the older generation has led to various debates on the direction that the urban grooves genre is taking as noted earlier. In spite of the evolution of music, some traditional music forms and instruments have however continued to influence the Zimbabwean society. The *mbira* (lamellaphone) in particular, has survived the test of time. The instrument, which is still linked with traditional Shona ceremonies, has become as contemporary as any other musical instrument. It seems that the survival of the mbira is due to the fact that it can be played in all kinds of musical genres.[7] Legendary Zimbabwean musicians, typified by Thomas Mapfumo, fuse the *mbira* with western instruments. In addition, young musicians such as Alexio Kawara play this musical instrument in different contemporary musical fusions. In fact, Mapfumo, an acclaimed Zimbabwean musician both at home and internationally, attributed his success at home to his fusion of traditional instruments with western ones. He noted that young people who like "modern" music are attracted by the electric instruments and that old people in the rural areas were attracted by

his use of "traditional" music, thus building a wider audience comprising different social and generational groups (Mapfumo interview in Turino 2000: 276). Turino (2000: 261) attributes Mapfumo's international success to the mbira's close relationship with world beat aesthetics,[8] as the instrument and its repertory were locally distinctive and yet musically attractive and accessible to cosmopolitan sensibilities.[9]

It is important to note Mapfumo's contradictory position here. He has been the lead critic of urban grooves music labelling it as unoriginal because of the fusions in the music, yet he admits that his own music fuses the traditional and the western. One wonders what Mapfumo and others like him mean when they say urban grooves music is unoriginal given that there is no Zimbabwean music that can be claimed to be original except for *mbira*, the drum and other traditional instruments music (Bere 2008: 119). Turino (2000: 259) however attempts to describe what original Zimbabwean music is and surprisingly ascribes originality to the music of Mapfumo himself. Turino points out that, in the 1970s there was a balance of transnational and indigenous style in Mapfumo's repertory to the point where Zimbabweans began to identify him as a champion of traditional music within the popular music field. He goes on to argue that Mapfumo and other electric band musicians of the 1970s did not create a music or text style that was fundamentally new. This is rather an ambiguous description that still fails to demystify the differences between the musical creations of Mapfumo's era and those of the urban grooves era. Paradoxically, the description goes back to show the hybrid nature of Mapfumo's music. This thesis does not propose that urban grooves music is original, neither does it seek to unpack the originality of the genre. However, close to the aspects of originality, I borrow Robertson's (1995) concept of glocalisation and focus on the 'local in the global' music cultures that influence urban grooves, and examine the relationship between urban grooves music and the daily life experiences of Zimbabwean people, in particular, the urban youth. This is done with a particular focus on the intersections between urban grooves music, youth identities and cultural experiences, as well as how Zimbabwean youth interconnect with other cultures (specifically youth cultures) through the consumption of urban grooves music and the impact this has on their identities and cultures.

The colonial period influenced significant changes in the Zimbabwean music of the time. Western traditions and colonial institutions, especially the church and the school, had the most influence on the nation's music. Both the church and the state shaped Zimbabwean music from the onset of colonialism by banning the application of traditional music

convention in the church, labelling it heathen and replacing it with the music conventions of the west (Chikowero 2008: 90). Turino (2000: 123-126) notes that the Zimbabwean music of the 1930s to the early 1960s grew directly out of the school choir tradition, translated to "*makwaya*" in Shona. This gave rise to the "concert" tradition, which alongside jazz and dance bands, became the most popular musical genre amongst the colonial middle class Zimbabweans staying in Harare's townships. These "concert" groups were mainly entertainment groups and not professional musicians, and although they eventually adopted western musical instruments, their music was mainly characterised by the principles of the school choir tradition.

The worsening colonial conditions and experiences in Zimbabwe eventually gave rise to another genre of music called *chimurenga* music, in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The music was originally associated with Zimbabwe's war of independence. The term *chimurenga* means war of liberation, hence, the music got its name from its influence during the war of liberation and was used to refer to 'songs of the liberation struggle' (Turino 2000; Bere 2008: 42). *Chimurenga* music offered a link between the freedom fighters at the battlefield and the public off the battlefield. It helped in the establishment of a collective identity and a sense of common purpose (Bere 2008: 46). Nettle (2012: 12) concurs with Bere's perception on the collective identity in music as he affirms that music integrates society and acts as an emblem of identity. This study, therefore, intends to explore and evaluate the extent to which Zimbabwean urban grooves music has been a vehicle for the effectuation of a collective identity and culture amongst the Zimbabwean youth. This also includes an analysis of ways in which urban grooves musicians identify with the youth consumers of their music and how the genre acts as a medium through which Zimbabwean youth identify with other young people across the globe.

Although *chimurenga* music denotes war of liberation as explained above, the term continued to be used and the music continued to influence the Zimbabwean society even after national independence. When the country gained its independence from colonial rule, *chimurenga* music evolved to reflect the euphoria of the time. It was also used for sharing social memory (Bere 2008: 53). Turino (2000: 206) adds that after the mid-1980s, *chimurenga* music became a commercial genre designating indigenous based electric music with or without political lyrics, a usage that was largely coined by Thomas Mapfumo and those who were influenced by him who also called their music *chimurenga* music. Although

chimurenga music ceased to be strictly a political genre after independence, it was largely political and originated to serve a political cause, it is 'the music that won the liberation war' (Pongweni 1982).

Chimurenga* music has been at work even in contemporary Zimbabwe to voice the social injustices perpetrated by the Zimbabwean government against its own people. Thomas Mapfumo epitomises the *chimurenga* musicians of this era and has continued to be the voice of the marginalised as demonstrated through his album *Chimurenga Explosion* (2000 Anonymous Web Productions) that carries songs such as *"Disaster," "Musanyepera"* (*"Don't lie")* and *"Mamvemve"* (*"The country in tatters")*. Some of the music was banned on national radio stations because of the anti-government stance it carries. The former President Robert Mugabe led government, however, revisited its wartime publicity strategy during the early 2000s and turned to music to raise morale in the impoverished country, publicise government programs and remind Zimbabweans of the fight against colonialism. The war-time publicity stunt was also utilised to emphasise the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front's (ZANU- PF) key role in the anti-colonial war and to influence people to rally behind the party especially in the face of the popularity of the opposition party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). The project dubbed the 'third *chimurenga'* denoted the continuation of the fight for land, independence and sovereignty after the second *chimurenga* of the 1960s and 1970s (Bere 2008; Chikowero 2008; Willems 2015). Urban grooves music itself was the brainchild of the government and intended to serve the government's political exploits as is explained in detail later in this chapter. Thus, music is in this instance used for a political cause but in the propaganda mode. This shows that music is a double-edged sword that can be used to conscientise the ordinary people as well as to lull them into submission and preserve the status quo, a characteristic feature of popular culture that will be explored later in the chapter.

Zimbabwean music has indeed been influenced by the western musical tradition over the years. Turino (2000) attributes the emergence of Zimbabwean popular music to the adoption of European instruments, leading to the development of guitar bands. He notes that this development began with the adoption of non-electrical acoustic guitars termed '*dzemagitare*' in Shona and '*omasiganda*' in Ndebele with the musicians following the American model more closely.[10] In this instance, there was also the fusion of indigenous Shona genres and cosmopolitan musical elements. These guitarists sang about morality issues

and societal experiences such as poverty and on certain occasions, their messages involved political matters such as unequal colonial race relations but offered no solution. However, '*dzemagitare*' continued to be played even during the post-independence period and some of the musicians who became popular in this genre post-indendence are Steve Makoni and Kireni Zulu.

The acoustic guitar was later replaced by the electric guitar and this saw the rise of musicians like Thomas Mapfumo and Oliver Mtukudzi. Makwenda (as cited in an interview with Turino 2000: 249) asserts that this period saw the emergence of professional music in Zimbabwe as she claims that professionalism in Zimbabwean popular music really began with the "Mapfumo-Mtukudzi generation." In addition, Turino (2000: 249) points out that the musicians of this generation were influenced by the cosmopolitan youth culture phenomenon of the 1960s and the spread of rock and roll. This is an interesting observation for this analysis of urban grooves music and how it is influenced by global genres as it reveals a continuum of global youth music cultural influences on Zimbabwean music. In addition, this continuum implicates Mapfumo and Mtukudzi themselves who have criticised the 'inauthenticity' in urban grooves. Zimbabwean guitarists also borrowed from African popular genres. For example, acoustic guitarists adopted South African genres like *tsaba-tsaba* and *marabi*, Congolese *rhumba* and even Tanzanian guitar styles which they fused with Zimbabwean indigenous styles and sensibilities to come up with a genre which came to be known as *jit/jiti* (Turino 2000: 227-228, Masau 2014). Furthermore, groups based in Bulawayo fused South African *mbaqanga* with the local beat (Jive Zimbabwe 2012).

Another genre, which rose to fame beginning in the 1980s, is *sungura* music. In 1948, one Zimbabwean musician, Mura Nyakura travelled to the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), then Zaire, and was influenced by the *kanindo rhumba* beat and then introduced it into Zimbabwe (Jive Zimbabwe 2012). This developed into *sungura* music which was then popularised by the late Ephraim Joe and his band, Sungura Boys. The genre mixes bass guitar, rhythm guitar and lead guitar sound with *rhumba* and East African and Central African *kanindo* beat. It is usually an expression of social life and hardships experienced by the people of Zimbabwe, and at times focuses on love (Jive Zimbabwe 2012; Masau 2014). The origin of *sungura* music is also linked to the liberation struggle, and according to Vambe (2004: 182), the music moved to Mozambique from Tanzania by means of the black freedom fighters trained in the Morogoro and Mgagao Military Camps. The *sungura* beat finally made

its way to Zimbabwe through Mozambique with the freedom fighters fighting for Zimbabwean independence. Ketai Muchawaya was one of such freedom fighters and his band was named Kasongo Band (Guchu 2013).

Zimbabwean music has evolved over the years to match up with societal changes and to cater for the needs and sensibilities of various groups at various stages of this development. Music played and continues to play an important role in the establishment of collective identities among different sections of the Zimbabwean society. In addition, there is a long-standing tradition of syncretism in Zimbabwean music, which existed, as early as the dawn of colonialism, and saw the fusion of indigenous musical instruments and styles with western instruments and styles, as well as with other African genres. However, the syncretism occurred in a way that would suit the needs and sensibilities of the people of Zimbabwe. Chikowero (2008: 90) therefore expostulates that "… [Zimbabweans] appropriated western cultural capital, especially music to refashion alternative identities for themselves and claim their own space in colonial Zimbabwe".

It must be acknowledged, having looked at how urban grooves has been castigated as inauthentic and the syncretic musical forms that existed in Zimbabwe long before the era of urban grooves that, syncretism in music is an old phenomenon that has a long history. American slave societies and the cultural contacts and exchanges that characterised these societies significantly exemplify such old forms of syncretism. This context of American slavery gave rise to creolisation in both language and music; new musics that were hybrid in form emerged and a greater number of musics widely listened to today are a product of such blending (White 2012: 18). Shohat and Stam (2014: 314) give typical examples of such syncretic musical forms as 'samba reggae,' 'samba rap,' 'jazz tango' and 'rap reggae.' The hybridity or 'two-ness' of these musical forms is even conspicuously expressed through the naming of the genres. In the Americas, musicians such as Stevie Wonder, Taj Mahal, Reuben Blades, Gilberto Gil and Caetano Valeso sing syncretic musical forms and thematisise syncretism in their music (Shohat and Stam 2014: 314). In the Hispanic Caribbean, the *bolero,* for example, is a syncretic hybrid creole and transcultural heterogeneous genre that is constantly in a state of flux and adapting to the needs of a variety of communities (Knights 2004: 395). In contemporary Africa, South African *kwaito*, Ghanaian *hip life* and Tanzanian *bongo flava* are all hybrid genres influenced by Euro-American genres. Thus, syncretism in music is an old and universal phenomenon, which confirms that 'inauthenticity' did not begin

with urban grooves. Furthermore, whenever two or more groups from different social, cultural and linguistic backgrounds come into contact, they are bound to influence each other in various ways that impact on their daily life practices and experiences (an in-depth analysis of syncretism will follow in Chapter 2).

Due to the fusions in Zimbabwean music, it is difficult in some cases to identify particular genres of music. Scholars, such as Zindi (see Jive Zimbabwe 2012) suggest that the best method of identifying each form of music is through the artist. Though Zindi's argument makes some sense, I view the identification of music through individual artists as a limited analytical tool of categorisation of Zimbabwean music that is individualistic and defeats the whole sense of collective identity that can be built through shared styles, sentiments and sensibilities. This is unlike the example of hip-hop music that is recognised as a 'universal' genre that shapes collective identities between the African youth and the youth of the 'diaspora' who have African origins. The idea of shared music is affirmed by Nettle (2012: 15) in the observation that "the musics of the world are becoming more alike" and that society should consider the idea of global popular music.

Nonetheless, the late popular musician Oliver Mtukudzi self-identified his music, which he called 'Tuku Music.' Mtukudzi (as cited in an interview with Turino 2000: 295) explains that this self-identification emanated from the idiosyncratic fusions of different local types of genres within his music leading to people failing to characterise it. Another interesting case is that of an identity dilemma that is demonstrated by Alexio Kawara, a musician included in this study of urban grooves music. Alexio rose to fame under the urban grooves label but he is at times identified as an afro jazz musician and has rejected the label urban grooves for his music claiming, "I have lots of urban grooves friends but the truth is I am not an urban groover. My music is Afro-fusion."[11] In line with this dilemma, Mtukudzi (as cited in an interview with Turino 2000: 308) argues that what is paramount in music is the song text or message and not the style. However, Bere (2008: 192) argues that the song text may at times fail to expose the emotions in the music. Bere, who advances his argument basing on the birth of urban grooves in the midst of a political crisis, posits that in some songs that embody this political crisis, there is a contradiction between the heard lyrics and the experienced sound. He argues further that, while the lyrics suppress the pain and collude with the state, the sound resists the singer and rapper's control and brings out the deep wound that finds its place in the musical break. Thus, style plays a significant role in such instances.

In this study, I consider both the song text and the style as well as the sonic qualities of the texts as important, and I look into how complementary they are in spelling out meaning.

1.3 The Urban Grooves Genre

1.3.1 Defining Urban Grooves

Delani Makhalima, a Zimbabwean music writer, singer and producer, has been credited as the one who coined the term urban grooves with his release of the compilation album, *"urban grooves volume 1"* in 2002. This marked the official birth of urban grooves. It is also claimed that Innocent Tshuma a Radio 3 (now Power FM) DJ popularised the term by introducing the songs from the compilation album, each time he played them, as urban grooves music. The press then picked up the term and started using it in official circles (Bere 2008: 117-118).

Zimbabwe urban grooves music is a hybrid genre that blends the global and the local and is popular among the youth, especially those residing in urban settings. Urban grooves music is a digital fusion of local and global rhythms and beats. Predominantly Afro diasporic genres such as Jamaican dancehall and the Euro-American soul, rhythm and blues (R&B) and rap are appropriated by the young artists who add a local flavour by singing in Shona and Ndebele (Kellerer 2013: 44). Bere (2008: 93) adds that in some cases jazz, rock and roll and South African *kwaito* influences are manifest. I can confirm that the urban groovers interviewed in this research affirmed that urban grooves is a fusion of different genres. An interesting definition of urban grooves by musician M1 (personal communication, 4 July 2016) clearly depicts these fusions. The musician defined the genre as "a culture of music where young people are singing whatever genre." This significantly shows that there are various fusions that are involved in urban grooves.

However, Kellerer (2013) in her definition above seems to claim that the locality of urban grooves rests on the local Shona and Ndebele languages used in expressing the lyrics. As observed by Bere (2008), Chari (2009a), Manase (2011) and Mate (2012), the locality of the music is in more than just the language but in the issues that the musicians sing about, which are drawn from the real life experiences of the Zimbabwean people. To put this in Chari's (2009a: 185) words, urban grooves negotiates with global cultural texts to suit the Zimbabwean context and reflect on the contemporary Zimbabwean reality. Similarly, Bere (2008: 93) defines urban grooves music as Zimbabwean hip-hop music that localises the

global. The localisation of this hip-hop music is what Robertson (1995) calls 'glocalisation.' Unlike Bere, Kellerer (2013: 45) distinguishes urban grooves music from hip-hop and argues that hip-hop music serves as the voice of the oppressed - what she terms 'conscious hip-hop' - while urban grooves music was sponsored by the Zimbabwean government to repress musicians and advance its propaganda. Kellerer's argument ignores the fact that, although urban grooves music was entrenched as a mainstream genre in Zimbabwe to facilitate state propaganda and state socio-political and cultural domination, the music would sometimes resist the state in a hidden and symbolic way. This is clarified by Bere (2008) and Manase (2009) who borrow Fiske's (1989) popular culture theory to argue that, although urban grooves was sponsored by the state, it is an ambivalent genre. Some songs indeed subvert the same state that sponsored the genre by focusing on love, poverty, corruption, migration, social insecurity and violence in ways that satirise the state's socio-political and economic failures. In Chapter 5 of this thesis, I discuss urban grooves in relation to resistance and the various ways in which the musicians and their fans resist government propaganda, repressions and restrictions. I attempt to shed new light on the issue of resistance by going beyond Bere (2008) and Manase's (2009) analysis of musicians' 'subversive performances' and consider the music consumers' resistant practices, which I propose, should be read as 'acts of resistance.' The discussion in Chapter 5 explores how youth resist societal policing of their identity construction and cultural practices and in the process even expose some of the socio-economic and political failures of the state. This refutes Kellerer's argument above and shows that urban grooves' locality is in more than just the use of local languages but resonates with the cultural practices of youth that are shaped by their local experiences.

Urban grooves music is also defined as youthful music by and for the youth. Viriri, Viriri and Chapwanya (2011: 84) argue that like popular culture in the Global North, urban grooves in Zimbabwe appeals predominantly to the youth. Taurai (in an interview in Bere 2008: 94) defines the music as any type of music as long as it is done by the youth, whether reggae, afro-jazz, hip-hop, jit funk and all sorts. Thus, for Taurai as for musician M1 referenced above, there are so many 'things' that go into the music but that does not matter much, what is paramount for Taurai is that the music is performed by the youth. Chigutiro music label producer, TBA, (as cited by Bere 2008: 94) also defines urban grooves music as youthful music and perceives it as a community of musicians who are below thirty. As observed by Bere (2008), urban grooves music indeed caters for the youth and is produced predominantly by the youthful singers, though not necessarily singers below the age of thirty.

Later in this chapter, I explain why it is not commendable to define youth through age; nonetheless, the association of the music with the youth is of value to this research, hence the focus on the youth.

Another definition of urban grooves music is based on the centrality of the term 'urban' in the name of the genre. The genre is defined as urban popular music (Kellerer 2013: 43) that is made up of various urban genres (Muzari 2015) and is popular predominantly among the urban youth. Viriri, Viriri and Chapwanya (2011: 84) contend that urban grooves has infiltrated both the urban and the rural areas and is appreciated in both communities. Although urban grooves has infiltrated the Zimbabwean rural communities, this research gives precedence to the fact that, urban grooves music emerged in an urban setting just as other African popular youth and Afro-Diasporic popular youth music genres. It was birthed in Harare (Siziba 2009: 15), grew and developed in urban settings of Harare and Chitungwiza,[12] where most of the artists have roots and reside. I appropriate Rapoo's (2013: 369) observation in my description of Harare as both Zimbabwe's administrative capital city and the city that engenders Zimbabwe's creative capital, in the same manner that he (Rapoo) defines Gaborone's significance to Botswana. African popular music plays a significant role in mapping the settings of African cities. Most African cities are redolent with post-colonial legacies and racial and/ or ethnic tensions, economic challenges, underdevelopment, unemployment, the loss of cultural memory, experiences of displacement and migration, and the global characteristics of transnational flows of capital and labour. As a result, the city figures as the site of access for the youth to make their commentary, in most cases through music and other cultural productions, focusing on issues that affect their society (Rapoo 2013: 370). Thus, this research centres on urban grooves music and its impact on the urban youth whom I regard as the main consumers of the music. Furthermore, the interviews for this research were held in the urban settings, in particular, Harare and Chitungwiza. The Bulawayo experience is considered mainly for the youth culture experience of '*vuzu*' parties that are noted in the beginning of this chapter.

Some of the musicians, music producers and promoters who participated in interviews for this research (P1, PR1 and M5) defined urban grooves as a cultural movement embracing Zimbabwean music, fashion and art. For the purposes of this study, I focus on the hybrid nature of the music and its appeal to the urban youth as part of the major characteristics that define this genre. The music is a hybridisation of youth popular music and culture that

synthesises the local and the global genres and experiences, while focusing on the urban youth and urban experiences. I therefore, argue that it is in urban grooves music that the youth's daily intercultural encounters have transformed in accordance to the experienced societal shifts and with varied implications on the youth.

1.3.2 The Birth and Development of Urban Grooves

The birth of Zimbabwe urban grooves music corresponds with the institution of new media laws by the government of Zimbabwe through the then Minister of Information and Publicity, Jonathan Moyo. Moyo instituted the Broadcasting Services Act (BSA) in 2001 which legislated a 75% local content on Zimbabwean radio and TV. (Ndlela 2006; Bere 2008; Chikowero 2008; Chari 2009a; Manase 2009; Viriri, Viriri and Chapwanya 2011; Mate 2012; Willems 2015). Bere (2008: 116) notes that, Radio 3, now Power FM, further implemented a 100% local content policy that resulted in the development and maturing of urban grooves. In addition, there was, on top of this local content quota, the formation and institution of regulatory bodies such as the Broadcasting Authority of Zimbabwe (BAZ) and the Media and Information Commission (MIC), which sought to enforce the new media laws (Ndlela 2006: 5). It was this imposition of the local content quota that gave birth to the urban grooves genre as broadcasters scrambled for local content and talent (Mate 2012: 111). The BSA facilitated the recognition of urban grooves as a mainstream genre as it institutionalised the music as Zimbabwean. The urban grooves also developed further through state funding which was offered to some artists. The youth, therefore, found an opportunity to replace the music, especially international (mainly American) music, which was censored from the radio and television (Bere 2008: 116), by localising American hip-hop into an emergent and local genre called urban grooves (Chikowero 2008: 276).

Before the BSA, the national radio and television mostly broadcasted western music and films. Various cultural critics consider radio and television as constant conduits for 'cultural imperialism' as noted in the neo-commercial interests that were evident in the broadcasting of the Coca-Cola and Lever Brothers sponsored programs such as Hitsville on Radio 3 and Coca-Cola on the Beat on TV (Chikowero 2008: 258). Thus, the 75% local content allegedly sought to curb 'cultural imperialism' and foster a united and so-called authentic Zimbabwean identity. Chari (2009a: 173) hails the local content quota for being able to "severely hurt the business interests of America and British companies who used to

dump their media products in the country." To claim that the local content quota severely hurt the business interests of the West as Chari does here is indeed an overstatement considering as revealed in this research, the level of influence of the western media on a 'global' scale. Furthermore, most critics, amongst them Ndlela (2006), Thram (2006), Chikowero (2008), Manase (2009) and Willems (2015), argue that the 75% local content was a ploy by the government to manipulate broadcasting laws and entrench the government political control. In fact, as postulated by Chikowero (2008: 273), the local content quota arose from the government's unease with the rejection of the 2000 draft constitution and the rise of the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) and other human rights activism. Therefore, the strategy was to purge critical songs from the media and promote songs that were apolitical and blatantly supportive of the ruling party and its monologic discourse that praised land repossession as well as urged the populace to remain resilient in the face of "externally induced economic challenges" (Chikowero 2008: 74). On the one hand, some urban groovers who were sponsored by the state, such as The Born Free Crew situated themselves squarely within the ruling ZANU-PF narrative (see Kellerer 2013: 55). On the other, urban grooves, as argued by Chikowero (2008: 276), did not fit squarely into the government's agenda to "patriotise" musical voices but instead worked more as an attempt by the government to appease multitudes of unemployed Zimbabwean youth. In light of this, Muzari (2015) describes this period of the birth of urban grooves as an era of serious employment creation in the music sector. This is however an exaggerated rosy picture of the period because this era was associated with many economic challenges for the young musicians as sales were severely affected by the economic meltdown, piracy, and poor distribution and marketing that resulted in Zimbabwe, unlike other Sub-Saharan Africa countries, failing to produce many affluent young musicians (Bere 2008, Mate 2012). In Chapter 6, I examine how youth have continued to flood the musical scene for economic reasons and how this has led to varieties of power struggles and pursuits for recognition within the urban grooves genre as musicians fight for limited available economic capital.

Although Bere (2008) attributes the birth of urban grooves music to the 2002 Delani Makhalima release of the compilation album called *"Urban Grooves Volume 1,"* he also acknowledges that urban grooves music existed in Zimbabwe even before the era of the BSA. He recognises a musical genre that was similar to contemporary urban grooves that existed before the genre was identified as urban grooves. Bere (2008: 109) calls artists who produced this type of music in the early 1990s, who include the late Edwin Hama, the late Prince

Tendai and the late Fortune Muparutsa, the "Pre-Urban Grooves Movement." Furthermore, Bere (2008: 110) points out that Fortune Muparutsa groomed a lot of urban grooves artists of the BSA era such as Alexio Kawara, Portia Njazi (Tia) and Maskiri.

The recent growth of Zimdancehall has added a new dimension to the urban grooves movement. Muzari (2015) reports, in an article titled *"From Urban Grooves to Zimdancehall,"* published in *The Herald* that, the urban grooves genre has taken a slump, although many urban grooves musicians are still making an impact. The reporter reaches this conclusion in light of the popularity of Zimdancehall music. The emergence and growth of Zimdancehall can be understood better by considering explanations made by musician (M1) and producer (P1) interviewees who have been involved in the urban grooves genre since its inception as a mainstream genre in the Zimbabwean musical scene. The two first defined the term urban grooves as an umbrella term and then added the following:

> What then happened to urban grooves of late is, because there has been more participants in the industry, people are beginning to lobby to specify the genres. […] Urban grooves has been split into proper genres, specific genres because people feel that they need to define themselves, as well as the fact that the 100% local content era brought in a lot of players into the market, so there is now need to really specify what a person is (M1, personal communication, 4 July 2016).

> [F]rom that community [of urban grooves artists] people grow and some grew and found their identity, some found their identity as R&B artists, for example, Trevor Dongo; Sniper Storm, Winky D and Soul Jah Love are now dancehall artists and the likes of Stunner and Tehn Diamond are now hip-hop artists (P1, personal communication, 28 July 2016).

Therefore, I consider Zimdancehall music, in this thesis, as a variant of urban grooves music and a genre that falls under the urban grooves umbrella. What is particular about this genre is its anchoring on the Jamaican reggae or dancehall music tradition that it fuses with the local Zimbabwean experiences and the local language. In addition, some Zimdancehall musicians have been pursuing this genre under the urban grooves tag *(*Muzari 2015). For instance, Winky D, who is celebrated as one of the pioneers of the genre, began singing this kind of music well before it was named as Zimdancehall and was thus identified under the urban grooves tag. In addition, his music has been analysed in scholarly articles on urban grooves

such as an article by Musanga (2016). Thus, where Zimdancehall music is mentioned in this study, it is recognised as a variant of urban grooves and not essentially a separate genre.

1.3.3 Critiquing Issues on the Urban Grooves Debate

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the popularity of urban grooves music brought with it varied debates and criticism of the genre. The music was accused of being inauthentic and a mere imitation of western music. It was also labelled as lacking in creativity, frowned upon for carrying obscenities, frivolity, misogyny and for aiding the ZANU-PF Black Nationalist and exclusionary narrative (Chikowero 2008). To capture the accusations on lack of authenticity, Bere (2008: 119) quotes the Zimbabwean legendary musician, Thomas Mapfumo, castigating the urban grooves music in the statement that: "I don't want to hear Zimbabweans doing hip-hop. That is not their culture [….] Rap is not Zimbabwean." Another famous musician, the late Oliver Mtukudzi, and a former Radio Zimbabwe presenter Musavengana Nyasha were quoted making the same claims (Thram 2006: 83; Willems 2015: 360). This study's analysis of the emergence and development of Zimbabwean music, however, shows that syncretic fusions in Zimbabwean music manifested as early as the 1930s. It gives credit to Bere (2008) for arguing that there is no Zimbabwean music that can be said to be original except for mbira, ngoma and other forms of music that incorporate traditional instruments. According to Wade (1995: 2), the issue of power relations cannot be ignored when considering syncretism in music. Power relations for instance, define some traditions as authentic (and hence controllable), others as authentic and orthodox (and hence hegemonic) and others as impure and debased (and hence to be suppressed and ignored), thus there is an issue of power politics involved in the criticism of urban grooves as inauthentic as explained in detail in Chapter 5. However, Bere (2009) and Willems (2015) aptly argue that by merging the global and the local, Zimbabwe urban grooves music does not become a replica of western music but a distinct local genre, which in a way undermines some of the criticism of the genre.

The criticism that urban grooves lacks creativity is based on critics' distaste of the use of computer software by urban grooves musicians to generate beats, as noted by Bere (2008). However, Chapter 2 and Chapter 4 of this thesis discuss the benefits of machine technologies in music and other youth cultural productions. Moreover, creativity in music is found in more than just the instrumentation or beats. Creativity can be expressed in the musical texts,

videos, and other cultural practices linked to the music. As a result, this research engages in a textual analysis of urban grooves musical and video texts to ascertain their meanings (literal and symbolic) and to find out how the youthful artists define the Zimbabwean experience, generate and express a youthful identity and creativity through their music. Siyachitema (2014) notes that the creativity of urban grooves music is evident in the way the vernacular Shona has taken an artistic form that has seen the language transform. This musico-language creativity is confirmed by Mate's (2012) analysis that shows how the young musicians play around with local languages and subvert rules that govern vernacular languages to come up with their own language that expresses issues such as intergenerational, gender relations and pre-and extra-marital sex, which the older generation consider as taboo. Siziba (2009: 19) also observes that Zimbabwe urban grooves music has afforded youth the chance to challenge society's gerontocratic culture and perceptions by participating in the production and reproduction of culture that has formerly been a preserve of the older generation. I therefore consider these argumentations by Siziba (2009) and Mate (2012) but go further to enquire into other creativities and how they impact youth identities and cultures. Unlike Mate (2012) who focuses mainly on the subversion of vernacular languages and grammar, I examine the formation of words – what Paveda (2006) linguistically calls lexical innovation – and that of phrases and musical tropes in urban grooves. I examine how these words, phrases and tropes are constitutive of youth identities and creative cultures that resonate with the constitution of their identities and cultures at the intersection of their daily Zimbabwean experiences and global cultural encounters. Another form of creativity in urban grooves is evident in the dances that the artists have created. Moyo (2015) reports that the youngsters have been creating original dances as well as modifying old ones to suit the tempo of the genre, the most notable being the clarks which have become the standard dance routine for the Zimdancehall variant. This has also resulted in the formation of youth dance groups such as the Ghetto Clark Zone and Mbare Ghetto Creepers. Thus, in line with this issue of creativity, this study also assesses the role of urban grooves music in the establishment of resistant youth cultures and other creative and economic survival strategies.

The urban grooves music has further been dismissed as dealing with frivolous issues, especially love. Bere (2008) and Manase (2009) contend that the theme of love rather points to even larger socio-political and economic issues with urban grooves as a site inhabited by sad lovers whose partners are absent due to migration as well as death and divorce, all of which are experiences posed by the political and economic impasse in the country. Bere

(2008: 91) further observes that political and economic 'blues' make it impossible for love to blossom. This makes urban grooves a contemporary version of the early twentieth century blues in the United States. Therefore, this research assesses the content of some of the urban grooves songs and videos to ascertain the messages they contain, and how these resonate with youth everyday cultures and help them reflect on their socio-economic and political encounters.

Urban grooves has further been castigated for its misogynistic tendencies. Chari (2009b: 107) in his analysis of presentation of women in urban grooves points to the misogynistic and obscene elements in the music. He criticises urban grooves musicians for portraying stereotypical images of women, just as American hip-hop does, thus promoting patriarchal hegemonic cultural narratives. Chari further argues that women in music are not given a chance to articulate their own identities as they occupy peripheral roles as dancers and backing vocalists. Although the urban grooves musical scene is male dominated as stated by Chari, I seek to establish how the few female urban grooves artists articulate issues related to the female experience and their identities and what impact they have on the identities and cultures of youth. Related to the issue of misogyny is the censorship of some urban grooves songs by the state broadcaster ZBC on allegations that they contain sexist and obscene lyrics that degrade women. Nyamhangambiri (2007) Lists the following as some of the songs that were censored: "Jatropha" (2006), by Dino Mudondo "Small House" (n.d) and "Housegirl" (n.d) by Extra Large (Jimmy Mangezi and Norman Manwere), Maskiri's "Madam Mombeshora," (2004), "Miscarriage" (2005) and "*Zimhamha*" ("Sugar mama") (2005), Decibel's (Daniel Mazhindu) "*Madhara*" ("Old men") (2004) and "*Chimoko Chidanger*" ("Dangerous girl") (2005) by Nasty Trix (Trust Dojiwe). However, Siziba (2009) and Mate (2012) argue that the banning of some of the songs from radio was not necessarily meant to protect women but was an issue of generational politics, and a ploy to sustain gerontocratic dominance and avoid dealing with issues such as intergenerational relationships and marriages that implicate the older generation. Willems (2015: 360) agrees with this observation and posits further that the debate over urban grooves "was a contestation over generational power, and saw young musicians increasingly challenge the hegemonic position of older musicians and eventually also an older generation of politicians." The observations by Siziba (2009), Mate (2012) and Willems (2015), can be understood in terms of Bourdieu's (1984: 487) theory about consumer taste formation. Bourdieu argues that judgements of tastes and consumer choices reflect a symbolic hierarchy that is determined and maintained

by the socially dominant in order to enforce their distance or distinction from other classes of society. Taste thus becomes a social weapon that defines and marks off the 'high' from the 'low,' the 'sacred' from the 'profane' and the 'legitimate' from the 'illegitimate.' Therefore, hidden behind the criticism of misogyny in urban grooves are subtle reflections of power politics and forms of gate keeping. This study considers such argumentations and seeks an in-depth understanding of gender issues reflected in the music and/ or female presentations in both male and female urban grooves music rather than hurriedly dismiss the genre as misogynistic.

Urban grooves music is further accused of inciting violence, glorifying the use of drugs such as marijuana and influencing factionalism that has spread to the fans as shown through violence during some musical shows. Factionalism in youth music arises from a fight for recognition, especially considering the growth of the musical scene against a 2000-2009 down spiraling economy and the 2009 to the present dollarised but still unstable economy. The issue of the fight for recognition is however analysed in detail in Chapter 6. Moreover, the fight for recognition is not something new as some older musicians have composed songs to mock and outwit each other. A good example is the prominent sungura artist Alick Macheso's "*Murondatsimba"* ("copyist*")* (2005) which is alleged to be targeted at some musicians Macheso felt were copying his music. This research, therefore, seeks to analyse some of the contributing factors to the above-mentioned problems and how they impact on youth behaviours, identities and cultures.

Lastly, urban grooves has been castigated for advancing the ZANU-PF ideology and grand narratives on issues such as land, culture and anti-Euro-American imperialism. This accusation arises from the way the musical genre attained its fame through the enactment of the BSA and benefited from state funding. Kellerer (2013) cites an example of the album by the Born Free Crew titled *Get Connected* (2010) that is situated squarely within the ZANU-PF narrative by overtly celebrating Mugabe's presidency. Nevertheless, as observed earlier, Bere (2008) and Manase (2009) portray the ambivalent nature of urban grooves. This music, which has operated within the government controlled structures and is seemingly subservient to the state, has been able to subvert the government's political intentions as some of the songs reveal the pain caused by the Zimbabwean crisis. Bere (2008) points at both intended and unintended subversion and the satire where some musicians sing in a jocular way about serious issues and trivialise key political issues as a way of critiquing them. Bere, however,

does not reveal whether consumers of the music are able to comprehend such important revelations and how they are involved in meaning making. This is an issue that is considered in this study especially considering that youth consumers of urban grooves are directly involved in interviews for this research.

1.4 Interconnections between Music, Youth Culture and Youth Identity

The concept 'youth culture' is a complex phenomenon comprising two words 'youth' and 'culture' that have both been subject to varied definitions and use. The word 'youth', has often been used in relation to age group but it has proven difficult to reach a consensus on which age group should be identified as such. The western world categorises 'youth' as aged twenty four and below and yet for Africans (Zimbabwe included) the category goes beyond the age thirty because of perennial economic problems that have prolonged youth's economic dependence on the older generation or their parents (Kumavie 2015). Helfeinbein (2006) posits that the concept 'youth' has geographical characteristics and means different things in different places, thus youth identities are spatially constructed and so in trying to answer the question "who am I?" one may need to begin with the spatial twist, "where am I?" This also points to the heterogeneous characteristics of youth identities. However, borders between 'youth' in these different spaces, are open and interactive in a global economy, thus youth identities intersect in these global economies (Helfeinbein 2006) giving room for shared identities. The category 'youth' is neither a stagnant category nor a fixed point of reference (Kumavie 2015: 168). Studies on 'youth culture' have thus reconceptualised 'youth' as a social concept shaped by macro social forces (Steinberg 2006). In line with this, Kumavie (2015: 168) argues that 'youth' are social products of the specific environments in which they live. Thus, in this research, the term 'youth' is not used in relation to a specific age group, and in the analysis of consumption practices of youth and meaning making, I consider high school going urban 'youth' in impoverished residential townships for interviews as they are amongst the 'youth' who are significantly influenced by the urban grooves music culture. I however also consider other significant issues such as lack of employment opportunities and how youth map alternative livehoods in my textual analysis of urban grooves music. These issues affect youth past their school going age and are widely addressed in urban grooves.

The difficulties and complexities encountered in defining the word 'culture' stem from the way it has been presented as static and homogenous. For example, Tylor (1871: 1)

in his book, *Primitive Culture* defines 'culture' as that complex whole which include knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs and any other capabilities and habits acquired by people as members of a society; thus assuming that 'culture' is handed down from one generation to another and is stable, coherent and homogenous (Goldstein 2006; Siziba 2009). Therefore, according to those who follow this definition, 'youth culture' is merely an extension of a wider culture, that questions and challenges the wider culture but also reaffirms that culture on many levels (Goldstein 2006). Siziba (2009: 19) argues that the assumption that there is only one homogenous and static culture consolidates adult world views and simultaneously undermines young people's participation in the production and reproduction of culture, as well as curtail any youth's claims of ownership of their society's culture and presents culture as a gerontocratic enterprise used to induce submission among young people. Williams (1981: 11) counters definitions that homogenise culture by defining culture as "the whole way of life of a distinct people or other social group." In line with William's definition, Goldstein (2006) argues that 'culture,' which includes the traditions, language, practices, believes, education and politics of a given group, is in fact historically specific and much concerned with which group has the power to define and be reflected in that culture. 'Culture' is thus dynamic and heterogeneous as race, class, gender, ethnicity and language shape how one experiences and expresses or lives 'culture.' It is influenced by people who engage in its practices, hence this study gives precedence to Williams (1981) and Goldstein's (2006) notions of 'culture,' and considers 'youth culture' as a social construct that is constituted and sustained by specific groups of youth who live in that particular culture. Similarly, identities are perceived as not static and constantly in the "process of change and transformation" (Hall 1996:3), and as such youth identities are always in a state of flux and there are temporal dimensions (Kumavie 2015: 168) to how youth construct their identities. As a result, this thesis takes note of various ways through which youth map their identities in relation to societal and global changes that shape their daily lives.

There is an interface and close relationship between music, youth culture and youth identity such that it is often difficult to speak of one without making reference to the other. Music shapes and is shaped by society's cultural experiences; it is an important cultural repertoire and a tool for the expression of people's cultures and identities. In fact, music is constitutive rather than simply reflective of identity (Wade 1998: 4). Laughey (2006: 1) confirms the interface between music, youth culture and youth identity in his observation that music retains a social and cultural force of identification and presentation in nearly all young

people's lives as it is placed in youth's everyday lives. Furthermore, Kelly (2006) observes that youth develop a sense of cultural membership or identity through the music they listen to. Music also plays an important role as part of networks through which 'youth styles' in the form of language, dressing, body language and hairstyles are appropriated in ways that help youth build their own identities (Paveda 2006, Siziba 2009: 2). Hip-hop music, in particular, epitomises this intermesh as it has been celebrated and has existed worldwide as a youth cultural phenomenon, political expression and a form of oppositional culture used first by African American youth to forge an identity distinct from that of the mainstream white society that marginalised them (Olson and Shobe 2008: 994). Hip-hop music has since been adopted as a form of expression by African youth and youth of African descent in the 'diaspora' who have suffered different kinds of socio-political and economic deprivations. Through hip-hop music, youngsters all over the world express their culture and this has contributed to a global culture based on music, dance and video (Adedeji 2015:198).

Studies on contemporary African youth culture (Adedeji 2015; Kumavie 2015; Manase 2015) have also shown how African youth make use of popular music to respond to their everyday cultural experiences that are replete with neo-liberal, socio-political and economic deprivations and forge identities characterised by agency. According to Rapoo (2013), Botswana youth in the capital Gaborone tap into the creative industries and popular culture to give shape to the experiences, such as unemployment, poverty and the HIV and AIDS scourge which they encounter in the city. Rapoo asserts further that, the urban youth use indigenous knowledge and the urban aesthetic to perform African cultural memory and advise urban city dwellers about the realities of city life. Thus, the urban youth performer becomes a surrogate of the elderly and acts as a custodian of cultural and/ or moral knowledge and experience. In addition, this scenario of surrogation in which the city takes the place of the rural as the site of moral guidance substitutes traditional bodily forms of knowledge which get trafficked through popular culture.

The above analysis of youth as custodians of cultural experience is crucial. However, Rapoo can be challenged for lowering youth performers to the level of surrogates of the elderly as this diminishes their level of participation in the production and imparting of culture. Through such an argument, Rapoo participates in the preservation of the notion of youth culture as merely a substitute culture instead of a culture in its own right. Nonetheless, the above arguments are testimonies that music, youth culture and youth identity cannot be

viewed as separate entities; they are not just closely related but intertwined. This study therefore traces the extent to which urban grooves music acts as a conduit for the expression of youth culture and identities in Zimbabwe. It examines the various ways through which selected Zimbabwe urban grooves musical texts and videos express the lived experiences of Zimbabwean youth and how they impact on the cultures and identities of these youth.

Another important aspect in the discussion on the issue of culture is language. Related to this issue of language is the famous argument by Ngugi (1987: 14-15) in his nonfiction book *Decolonising the Mind*, that, language is inseparable from culture – "language carries culture, and culture carries the entire bodies of values by which we come to perceive ourselves and our place in the world." Duncan (2009), in support of the Ngugi line of argument, states that language and culture are complementary for you cannot have one without the other. Scholars such as Bere (2008), in their response to the accusation that urban grooves is not Zimbabwean, note that indigenous language use in most of the musical texts is part of the evidence that the music bears a Zimbabwean cultural identity. However, the use of indigenous languages in Zimbabwe urban grooves music can beg the question: if urban grooves musicians use indigenous languages that are only accessible to Zimbabweans who understand those languages, how have they participated in the formation of the global youth cultures and identities through their music? This question is considered in Chapter 2. The same chapter also focuses on other forms of language use by the youth as represented in urban grooves and how these correspond to youth everyday cultural and intercultural experiences. Having explored the linkages between music, youth culture and youth identities, the following section discusses the theories that inform the study's conceptualisation of the interconnections between urban grooves music, youth culture and youth identities.

1.4.1 Conceptualising the Interconnections between Zimbabwe Urban Grooves Music, Youth Culture and Youth Identity

This research is informed by globalisation and popular culture theories in its analysis of the issues relating to Zimbabwe urban grooves music, youth culture and youth identities. As noted earlier in this chapter, contemporary youthful musical genres intersect in global socio-political and cultural economies and this has culminated in different kinds of hybrid musical genres. Thus, globalisation theories are adopted in this study to trace the processes that take place as Zimbabwe urban grooves music, youth cultures and youth identities intersect in such

global socio-political and cultural economies. Globalisation is currently a prominent and influential but largely contested phenomenon, both in terms of its conceptualisation and the meaning of the term 'globalisation' itself (Robinson 2007). Robinson (2007: 138) points out that the most accepted definition of globalisation is perhaps the one offered by Robertson (1992). Robertson (1992: 8) who defines globalisation as a twentieth century concept seems to consider both Harvey's (1989) concept of 'time space compression' and Giddens' (1990) 'time space distanciation,' and articulates that,

> globalisation as a concept refers both to the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole [. . .] in line with the increasing acceleration in both concrete global interdependence and consciousness of the global whole in the twentieth century.

Castells (2010: 1968-1969) associates globalisation with what he terms the rise of the "network society" in the "information age" or the proliferation of the new media and Information Communication Technologies (ICTs) that foster various forms of global interdependences and flows of information. It is through such worldwide social interactions that contemporary youths, who are the main users of the new media and ICTs, have come to actively interact in ways that impact their identities and cultures. Kumavie (2015: 165) asserts that ICTs have enabled youth to find new ways in Africa and elsewhere to engage in conversations with each other, and produce and transmit cultural forms globally. De Block and Buckingham (2007: 136) add that the new media has accorded young people an opportunity to construct their identities, and to make sense of the social and cultural contexts in which they live. Thus, both scholars view young people as active users of the media who creatively engage in media productions such as video production and the creation of websites. Globalisation theories are therefore considered in this study in the examination of the extent to which Zimbabwean youth actively make use of the global media in creating youth cultures and how they "network" with other cultures through production and consumption of urban grooves music. In Chapter 2, I consider migration as a significant source of intercultural contacts for youth as it has become rampant in Zimbabwe due to socio-political and economic 'pull' and 'push' factors. Migration has also become a vehicle through which youth musicians transmit or translocate their music to "new translocatilities" (Appadurai 1990: 182) or "transnational communities" (Robinson 2007: 136). This is indeed revealed in the way

transnational Zimbabwean migrant communities host home-based and even exiled musicians at music arenas in an attempt to link with 'home.'

Globalisation has however been criticised by some scholars. Tunstall (1997) and Ritzer (2004) link the phenomena with forms of Euro-American cultural imperialism achieved through the western world's use of the media to undermine the 'local' by imposing a homogenous ideology or worldview. Some have also argued that globalisation is an extension of Euro-American capitalism as seen in the commercialisation of the media to serve the interests of the Global North (De Block and Buckingham 2007). Castells (2010: 1968) perceives 'unequal globalisation' in terms of the crises and conflicts that characterise the global world in the new millennium. These include, the global financial crisis, the flourishing of the global criminal economy, the social and cultural exclusion of large segments of the world's population from the global networks that accumulate knowledge, wealth and power, and thus the backlash of the disaffected in the form of religious fundamentalism and violence as ways of protest and domination. Vartour (2006) argues that although youth culture is a global phenomenon, global youth still live their lives differently, and while some youth have reaped the benefits of globalisation in terms of high standards of living and upward mobility, others have suffered because of it. Some of the ambivalences that are considered in this thesis are centred on the youth intercultural encounters and the paradoxes caused by migration and the prevalence of ICTs. The study notes that youth are in certain circumstances left vulnerable to treacherous encounters and risky practices as they try to negotiate their intercultural encounters. The thesis further considers youth resistance and the search for recognition and power as reactions to some of the societal changes associated with globalisation.

Critics of the Euro-American cultural imperialist thesis contend that the media imperialist thesis tends to ignore the agency and diversity of consumers. It implies that consumers are powerless to resist colonial ideologies yet they tend to respond to cultural products in diverse ways and interpret them in light of their own cultural and subcultural affiliations (De Block and Buckingham 2007). Subsequently, Robertson (1995) substitutes the term 'globalisation' with 'glocalisation' – a word that has its roots in the Japanese (*dochakuka*) idea of 'adapting a global outlook to local conditions' (Robertson 1995: 28). Thus, glocalisation is formed by "telescoping the global and local to make a blend" (Robertson 1995: 28). According to Robertson (1995: 34-35), it does not make sense to

define the global in terms of homogenisation, neither does it make sense to define the global as if it is counterpoised, excludes or is beyond the local. In fact, what is often referred to as the local is essentially included within the global. As noted earlier, Bere (2008: 9) borrows this conception of globalisation to define the so-called foreign elements in the local Zimbabwe urban grooves music as the glocalisation of hip-hop – a genre, which has 'travelled' to many places, has adapted to local situations and become a distinct local genre. Although this thesis takes cognisance of the ambivalent encounters of youth as they respond to the global, it values Robertson's approach to globalisation in the analysis of Zimbabwean youth practices that reflect ways in which they tap into global youth cultures and music practices to reflect on their local experiences.

I apply popular culture theories in this study as conceptualised by Barber (1987), Fiske (1989a, 1989b), Hermes (2005), Edgar and Sedwick (2008), Newell and Okome (2014) and Storey (2015). Edgar and Sedwick (2008: 246) view popular culture as an important source for identity formation. They posit that popular culture may refer to either individual artefacts (texts) such as songs and television programmes to a group's lifestyle, and thus patterns of artefacts, practices and understandings that serve to establish the group's distinctive identity. Hence, this thesis considers urban grooves music and related practices as popular culture texts through which Zimbabwean youth construct and express their identities and distinguish themselves from adults or the older generation. Edgar and Sedwick (2008) expostulate that theories of mass culture that were dominant in Europe and America in the 1930s and 1940s situated popular culture in relation to industrial production, whereby popular cultural artefacts were subject to industrial means of production and were controlled by the dominant classes. As a result, the dominated classes were seen as passive consumers of popular culture.

However, scholars argue that consumers of popular culture are not passive. The scholars (Fiske 1989a, 1989b; Duncan 2009; Harms 2015) expostulate that consumers negotiate meanings taken from the available cultural artefacts and creatively appropriate them to make social meanings that are in their own interests and resistant to dominant ideologies. Fiske (1989a: 10) calls such a form of resistance, semiotic resistance and he associates it with power – what he calls semiotic power of the subordinated that emanates from the desire to exert control over the meanings of their lives, a control that is denied them in their material social conditions. These observations by Fiske are considered in this study in my direct

engagement of youth in interviews to determine how they actively participate in meaning making as consumers of urban grooves music. I refer to youth's different consumption practices related to their resistance of dominant ideologies as 'acts of resistance.' My study however extends Fiske's observations by borrowing from De Certeau's (1984: xii) conception of consumption as a form of production that involves the marginalised classes using the popular culture products imposed on them by the dominant to produce meanings that correlate with their experiences and suit their own interests. The study shows how both urban grooves musicians and consumers resist the state's conceived idea of urban grooves as a tool of propaganda.

I also examine the significance of consumers' redeployment of parts of musical texts in expressing youth consciousness and identities, and consumers' use of words or phrases borrowed from urban grooves in the production of jokes, memes and catchy phrases that circulate with great rapidity and undergo many phases of elaboration while they are in vogue. Barber (1987: 3) describes such texts as, on the one hand, humorous to some people, and on the other hand, subterranean forms pregnant with the [youth's] disillusionment and resentment of the power bloc. This resonates with Fiske's (1989a: 2) observation that "popular pleasure is always social and political" (Fiske 1989a: 2). Storey (2015: 260) notes further that making popular culture can be empowering but contends that this is not to say that it is always empowering and resistant, for it is sometimes conformist. Bere (2008) explains this in line with the post-2000 Zimbabwean political instability and how musicians such as Hosiah Chipanga conformed to government ideologies to evade censorship, harassment and intimidation while others such as Sandra Ndebele did so to gain airplay for monetary benefits. This confirms Bere (2008) and Manase (2009)'s observation that popular culture is an ambivalent cultural phenomenon. Hence, Chapter 5 of the study examines some of the musical texts that attempt to conform to ZANU-PF propaganda and ideologies.

Another important feature of popular culture that is indicated above is that its primary motivation is entertainment and pleasure. Hermes (2005: vii) argues that we use popular culture for a variety of reasons, which include worthy goals as well as mindless relaxation or routine filling of time. As accurately observed by Manase (2015: 183), popular culture performances in Africa are often associated with youth culture and music, with music being a source of entertainment and pleasure for the youth. However, this study also refers to youth entertainment practices as 'acts of resistance' considering some of the ways youth employ to

resist the policing and surveillance of their entertainment practices and the way they map their identities as they meet to perform and experience the music culture. Finally, Barber (1987) and Newell and Okome (2014) assert, in relation to popular culture in Africa that, African popular cultures are urban oriented. Newell and Okome (2014) situate popular culture in urban experiences and specifically in the city streets, and this is an observation I consider in this study's analysis of economic survival strategies and other creativities that youth generate in the city streets. Furthermore, Newell and Okome (2014) make an observation that is important for this study in the way they relate African popular culture with media technologies that connect African people and enable them to name their shared experiences and reflect on the everyday as they interact with the global. This justifies my choice of both globalisation and popular culture theories as they play complementary roles in the comprehension of the ways contemporary Zimbabwean youth map and express their identities and cultures at the intersection of their local experiences and global encounters.

1.5 Conceptualising the Linkages between Celebrity Culture, Youth Culture and Youth Identity

Theories of celebrity culture are used in this study to examine the interconnections between celebrity culture and youth culture and identities in the context of urban grooves music. Scholars (Rojek 2001; Turner 2004; Cashmore 2006) link the phenomenon of celebrity and/ or celebrity culture with media involvement and highlight that the phenomena cannot exist outside the media involvement. Turner (2004) traces the origins of the phenomenon of celebrity to the American motion picture or film industry at the beginning of the twentieth century. In addition, Cashmore (2006: 6) defines a celebrity as a member of the public who becomes solely famous through media involvement. Similarly, Rojek (2001: 10) views celebrity as the consequence of the attribution of qualities to a particular individual through mass media. Turner (2004: 9) adds that the media has the ability to produce celebrities from nothing without any need to establish the individual's ability, skill or extraordinariness as the precondition for public attention. However, Turner (2004) also acknowledges that some celebrities, such as musicians and soccer stars, attain their celebrity status because of recognised skills or talent, although the media then becomes involved for their publicity. Critics of urban groovers such as Mhiripiri (2010) subscribe to the view on media publicity and consider urban grooves musicians as quasi celebrities who have only been made popular

through media publicity and yet they are not affluent. This study, contrary to Mhiripiri's argument, locates urban grooves musicians as celebrities and explores the roles they play in influencing youth identities and cultures. The study focuses on the interrelationships between musicians and their youth fans, their shared identities and cultural experiences.

In relation to the above, celebrity culture has also been associated with commodification and media commercialisation. In this instance, the celebrity's primary function is commercial and promotional (Turner 2004: 9). However, Cashmore (2006: 3) argues that celebrities have become more than just agents for the marketing of films, music or the consumer products they endorse, for they have become products themselves, as they are now commodities in the sense that they have become articles of trade that can be bought and sold in the market place. One cannot buy them but can buy their representation, their sounds and the products with which they are associated. In line with this, Turner (2004: 11-12) traces how the 'motion picture personality' evolved and led to the emergence of 'the star.' Whilst the 'picture personality' was a coherent construct promotionally integrated with the screen and could not exist outside his or her work in film, 'the star' turned the individual into a commodity to be marketed and traded with greater freedom and flexibility. 'The star' also acquired a new kind of power whereby he or she could construct a relationship with the audience that was independent of the media forms in which he or she appeared. Thus, 'the stars' developed personal interests in promoting themselves and not only the product in which they played a role through the media (Turner 2004: 13). Rojek (2001) observes that celebrities accrue significant material and cultural value, become objects of public attention and role models. In addition, western cultures came to accept 'the star' as a form of public personality with whom they identify, in whom they invest and maintain a personal interest, and to whom is ascribed a value that is cultural or social rather than merely economic (Turner 2004: 14).

The above observations on the significance and value of celebrities and how they seek to strike relationships with their audiences are instructive to the analysis of the interconnections between youth identities and celebrity culture in this thesis. The thesis takes note of the proposition by the above-referred theorists of celebrity culture that the ability to attract public attention and association with power are central to the definition and phenomenon of celebrity. These quests for public attention and power play remarkable roles in urban grooves music and have even greatly influenced lyrical compositions. Typical

examples of such compositions that have become popular in urban grooves and are analysed in this thesis are songs that are characterised by self-praise and lyrical feuds or what are commonly referred to as 'disses' or 'beefs.' Although I acknowledge the paradoxes related to performances of self-praise and 'disses' in urban grooves, I argue that the two practices have become a significant part of the urban grooves musical culture. Most importantly, self-praise and beefs have relevantly been utilised by musicians in their claims to recognition and power, and subsequently function as sources of identification between musicians and their fans.

The study however, corroborates theories of celebrity culture with forms of capital or power advanced by Bourdieu (1984, 1986, 1989) and the conceptualisation of recognition by Oliver (2001) in the analysis of self-praise and 'disses' and their association with recognition and power. Oliver (2001: 147) relates recognition to visibility and argues that the search for recognition is synonymous to the pursuit for visibility. This means that celebrity culture values the visual (Turner 2004: 4). The concept of 'bling', which is part of self-praise, is examined in this thesis as a typical representation of visibility and the visual in celebrity culture. The study focuses on lyrics and video texts that reflect on ostentatious visual displays of wealth. I also regard 'bling' as representing typical Zimbabwean youth aspirations for upward social mobility and visibility especially in light of their intercultural experiences and global economic changes that have left African youth at the economic margins of society. I analyse the concept of 'bling' and aspirations for visibility in association with the pursuit of economic capital, which Bourdieu (1984, 1986) considers as synonymous with the acquisition of material wealth. Ultimately, one can recognise here the interconnections between celebrity culture in the context of urban grooves and youth cultural experiences.

Furthermore, celebrity culture has the power to produce intense identification and solidarity between celebrities and the consumers or fans. Fans attending celebrity events enjoy the solidarity they have with other fans at least as much as with any contact with or sight of the celebrity they might have. This kind of solidarity influences youth identities and youth cultures, with the youth who are influenced by the same celebrities or by the same musical genre identifying with that celebrity's lifestyle and music (Milner Jnr 2005).[13] These kinds of group identification are analysed further in this thesis in terms of group identities and forms of identification between urban grooves musicians and their youth fans. In Chapter 3, the thesis explores group identities in terms of spatial relationships between musicians and fans, which are determined by musicians and fans' attachment to place as well as musicians'

tendencies of laying claim to fans in specific areas from where they hail. Naming has also become a popular tool of identification in urban grooves and is used by urban groovers to name themselves and give similar names to their fans in order to identify with them. Such forms of identities are also important sources of power in urban grooves; hence the analysis of celebrity-fan solidarity here is augmented by Bourdieu's (1984, 1986, 1989) concepts of social capital and symbolic capital. Bourdieu (1984: 122, 1986: 47) relates social capital to group membership or networks of connections that provide its members with the backing of collectively owned capital. These groups may be guaranteed by the application of a common name and can be represented by a subgroup or a member who speaks and exercises power on the group's behalf. Bourdieu defines such power to represent the collective as symbolic power. Marshall (2014: 241) who is a celebrity culture theorist views the relationships between celebrities and their fans in similar terms. He links the collective in celebrity culture with social power or with the power of the celebrity to represent the collective. However, Marshal notes the interdependences between celebrities and their fans, associates fans with social power and argues that a celebrity's relevance and power is sustained by the audience. These conceptualisations on celebrity culture and its association with power are therefore relevant and important in this study's analysis of the interconnections between celebrity culture and youth identities.

The celebrity culture theory of status relations propounded by Milner Jnr (2005) is also important for this study. The theory of status relations considers celebrities' concern with improving their status while the fans believe that associating themselves with those of higher status in this case, celebrities, improves their own status. In addition, the theory of status relations is characterised by the quest for intimacy, what Marshall (2014: xviii) calls the "public intimacy culture." Milner Jnr (2005: 70) adds that intimacy is characteristic of most status systems and is shown through the fans' tendency to seek imaginative intimate connections with celebrities. Fans can do this by writing letters to celebrities they have never met, standing in queues for long hours to get a glimpse of their 'idol,' seeking autographed pictures, buying t-shirts and playing cards emblazoned with the celebrity's image or collecting any object that has some connection with the 'idol.' In such instances, there are tendencies by fans to idolise celebrities. This type of emotive attachment to celebrities can be understood in terms of affective power, which is a type of power that draws from the emotional attachment that audiences have towards their favourite celebrities (Marshal 2014: xxiv). In the analysis of 'dissing,' I show typical instances of affective power demonstrated

by fans who fight for their favourite musicians in instances where performances of 'diss' may turn violent. The immense celebrity influence here may also be explained in terms of Bourdieu's (1989: 23) concept of symbolic power, whereby those members of a group who have acquired sufficient recognition obtain power to influence others in significant ways and even impose and instil their vision in other group members. Bourdieu (1989: 23) defines this power as "political power par excellence." Representative examples of such forms of power and influence are found in my third chapter's discussion of socio-cultural roles of celebrities and the different ways urban groovers influence important decision-making and behavioural changes among the youth.

In addition to the above, intimacy has become even more pronounced in the contemporary era. The new media and ICTs have accorded celebrities the opportunity to inhabit a social space closer to us than ever before, and fans can also follow celebrities on the social media. The spread of the new media and ICTs has made it quick and easy to disseminate information about celebrities, giving audiences unprecedented opportunities to view, examine and scrutinise their favourite celebrities in proximity (Antony 2011: 464). This is true mainly for the youth who are the main users of the new media and ICTs, and thus the main consumers of celebrity culture. In fact, the lives of celebrities have been put under a microscope to such an extent that their private lives have become more open to the public. This has reached a point where fame and celebrity are naturally linked with private revelation for public consumption and hidden intimacies have become some sort of desire for an inner truth and meaning that is oddly tied to prurient and voyeuristic pleasures (Marshall 2014: 8). This is evidenced by the current popularity of sex tapes and pornography. The prurient and voyeuristic behaviours have been identified by the adults as leading to early sexual indulgences amongst the young. Hence, this research examines the extent to which the media and celebrity culture can be blamed for causing early sexual indulgences and other youth delinquencies among the Zimbabwean youth. In the examination of behaviours associated with youth delinquencies, the thesis utilises more of the responses from youth interviewees, especially on questions related to whether youth regard urban grooves musicians as role models, and the reasons why they regard them as role models or not. Other related questions and their responses are considered and I utilise them as my basis for the evaluation of whether urban grooves musicians influence youth in positive or negative ways.

Celebrity gossip which is another characteristic of celebrity culture can also be viewed in terms of the exposure of celebrities' private lives as it usually involves the desire to know more about celebrities. Through celebrity gossip, celebrities are appropriated to the social tasks conventionally attributed to gossip, that is, sharing judgments, values and norms through the conversation about individuals 'known' to all participants (Turner 2004: 118). Celebrity gossip in this instance reveals the semiotic power (Fiske 1989a, 1989b) of audiences to create meaning and make value judgment from the gossip. Turner (2004) views these value judgments in terms of the socio-cultural empowerment of audiences. On a more significant note and in line with the thesis's focus on the intersection between celebrity culture and youth identities, celebrity gossip, according to Turner (2004: 115), is an important source of identification between celebrities and their audiences. In the process of talking about celebrities' private lives through gossip, audiences integrate the lives of celebrities into their own everyday lives. Milner Jr (2005: 70) perceives celebrity gossip in similar terms, as a source of intimate identification between celebrities with the audiences' possession of intimate knowledge about someone's life indicative of intimate identification. In this thesis, I note aspects of celebrity gossip in the manner in which youth share information on the urban grooves musicians' private lives and I analyse this shared information in relation to the concepts of identification and power proposed by Fiske (1989a, 1989b), Turner (2004) and Milner Jr (2005) but also show the ambivalence of these identifications.

Globalisation, celebrity culture and popular culture theories therefore significantly inform this study of urban grooves music and the interconnection between youth identities and celebrity culture. However, other related theories are considered in the analysis of other thematic areas that are discussed in this thesis in connection with the topic of the study. In Chapter 4, the thesis focuses on the everyday and makes reference to Highmore (2002) and Frith's (2002) conceptualisation of the everyday where both associate the everyday with culture from 'below' or simply, the experiences of the subordinated. I utilise this concept of the everyday by exploring how urban grooves musicians represent the everyday experiences and practices of the impoverished youth and how the youth try to transcend their deprivations. Both Frith and Highmore associate the everyday with both domestic and public spaces, but Frith (2002: 41) further argues that music creates a mediated collectivity and blurs the boundaries between the domestic and the public. This view is useful to this study as it examines how urban grooves musicians focus on both the youth and the nation as a whole in their representation of the everyday, thus becoming important national and cultural icons.

Lastly, the thesis makes reference to feminist theories as it considers the male dominated nature of urban grooves, the hostilities that female musicians face due to gendered perceptions on music and the subordinate roles female musicians play in influencing youth identities and cultures. I borrow Butler's (1988, 2009) theory of gender performativity in the analysis of representations of masculinity and femininity in urban grooves. Butler (1988: 526) argues that gender is perfomative as it involves a repetition of acts that comply with obligatory norms on what comprises masculinity or femininity. Butler (2009: ii, iv) further associates gender performativity with norms that govern power and recognition and how males and females are expected to appear in public, thus this theory is important in the analysis of recognition and power. Most importantly, Butler (1988) notes the transience of femininity and masculinity. She argues that gender identities can contest expectations through subversive performances of gender that reflect on the possibility of gender transformation. This conceptualisation of gender is utilised in this study in the analysis of emergent female sexualities in Zimbabwean youth female music and how these sexualities are resistant responses to societal dictates that govern femininity and restrict female sexualities.

1.6 Research Assumption, Objectives and Questions

As acknowledged earlier, Ndlela (2006), Bere (2008), Chari (2009a) and Manase (2009) observe that urban grooves is influenced by global popular culture, with Ndlela observing further how youth have used the 'alternative media' (mobile phones, the internet, foreign television channels and the informal market) to link with the global popular. I expand on this available scholarship in this thesis by focusing on how Zimbabwean youth's consumption of urban grooves music constitutes the interconnections with other cultures and the impact this has on behaviours, identities and cultures of the youth. Thus, the overarching research problem for this study is the intersection between Zimbabwe urban grooves music and global youth cultures and how this impacts on Zimbabwean youth's everyday cultures and identities. In addition, the study is based on the assumption that the shifting nature of urban grooves music and the associated intercultural encounters since its formation, impact on the Zimbabwean youth in various ways and yield further heterogeneous and complex forms of youth identities and agencies, perceptions of the existing social and economic conditions, senses of connection with space, and complex relationships amongst the youth and between

the musicians and the youth consumers on the basis of celebrity cultures, gender dynamics and the power thereof.

Hence, this examination of Zimbabwe urban grooves music and the interconnections between youth identities and celebrity culture seeks to meet the following objectives:

- To examine the significance of different forms of youth entertainment practices that relate to their consumption of urban grooves music and other related global youth entertainment practices.

- To analyse urban grooves songs and video texts and ascertain how they are constitutive of and impact on youth identities and cultures.

- To establish the role played by urban grooves musicians (celebrities) in influencing youth identities, group identities and cultures of youth in Zimbabwe.

- To consider the role of the American and Jamaican music and culture, and global popular culture in influencing urban grooves music and Zimbabwean youth identities and culture.

- To investigate and assess the role of urban grooves music in the establishment of resistant youth cultures and other creative and economic survival strategies.

Furthermore, a number of research questions linked to the above objectives are considered. These questions are as follows:

- What are the significant roles played by different forms of youth entertainment practices that relate to youth consumption of urban grooves and other related global youth entertainment practices?

- How are urban grooves music and video texts constitutive of youth identities and cultures?

- What impact do urban grooves music and video texts have on youth identities and cultures?

- What role do urban grooves musicians play in influencing youth identities, group identities and cultures?

- What roles do American and Jamaican music and cultures, and global popular culture play in influencing urban grooves music and Zimbabwean youth identities and cultures?

- How do urban grooves musicians influence resistant youth cultures and other creative and economic survival strategies?

1.7 Research Methods

This research, which falls within the field of Literary and Cultural studies, combines critical musical and video textual analysis with qualitative research. Much of the focus of the study is textual analysis of urban grooves musical and video texts to ascertain their meanings (literal and symbolic) and their significance in relation to the focus of the study. Textual analysis is complemented by qualitative methods located in cultural studies in the form of semi-structured interviews with urban grooves musicians, music producers and promoters. The urban youth consumers of urban grooves music are also engaged in group interviews in order to "...produce in-depth understanding of the processes of [music and cultural] consumption and their consequences by directly involving and listening to research subjects…" (Pickering 2008: 7). For the qualitative research, I carried out a two months field research from June to July 2016 in Harare and Chitungwiza.

Purposive sampling was used in choosing the musical and video texts for analysis. Only those texts anchored on the thematic areas considered in this study are examined. Purposive sampling was also used in the selection of musicians, music promoters and producers interviewed for this study. Interviews with musicians included five musicians who are well-known and have made an impact in the urban grooves genre, with some having won awards. Considering the significant changes that have been taking place in the development of urban grooves and the dominance of Zimdancehall in the music scene, I engaged two musicians who have been involved in urban grooves since the early years of its development. The other three interviewees are musicians who joined the music scene when musicians were beginning to specify the genres that were part of the urban grooves umbrella and the Zimdancehall variant was beginning to dominate the music scene. Thus, the three specify their genre as Zimdancehall and it is also due to this dominance of Zimdancehall that most of the musical texts used for textual analysis in this thesis are Zimdancehall texts. I also took note of the gender issues that characterise urban grooves, and in consideration of such dynamics, two of the musicians interviewed are female while three are male. In the selection of producers, I considered an award winning producer who has been in the music industry for long. He has been producing music for musicians who have been singing a variety of genres under urban groovers (including some of the musicians I interviewed) since the early years of the genre's inception as a mainstream genre in the Zimbabwean musical scene. The second producer is a producer specifically for Zimdancehall musicians. Of the two promoters interviewed, one is promoter for one of the musicians interviewed in the research while the

other promoter owns a promotion music company and an online music store of local music. Of both the music producers and promoters interviewed, none is female as there are hardly any female music producers and promoters in the Zimbabwean music scene.

The research problem for this study is centred on debates on urban grooves music as well as media reports on the music consumption and entertainment practises of high school going youth and how they have contributed to delinquent behaviours amongst these youth. Therefore, youth interviews for this research involved group interviews with youth in high school, although I also consider other youth who are past high school and tertiary education by making textual analysis of music texts that focus on issues that affect such youth and ensuing cultural practices. Interviews were held with permission granted by the Ministry of Education and school authorities. I interviewed students at four schools in Chitungwiza and Harare, namely, Zengeza 2, Seke 1, Harare and Mabvuku high schools which are situated in the impoverished residential townships of Chitungwiza and Harare where urban grooves especially the Zimdancehall variant has grown to become a powerful force. Harare High School is situated in Harare in Mbare residential township which has produced popular Zimdancehall artists such as Soul Jah Love, Kinnah, Seh Calaz and Killer T. I consider Mbare as the epicentre of the Zimdancehall culture. Mabvuku High School is also situated in Harare in the residential township of Mabvuku that has produced popular artists such as Ngonidzashe Kambarami who is a pioneer urban groover. Seke 1 and Zengeza 1 High Schools are located in the impoverished residential township of Chitungwiza. Chitungwiza has produced the popular and a pioneer urban groover, Maskiri and a pioneer female Zimdancehall artist, Lady Squanda and a number of other urban groovers. Chitungwiza is also famous for house parties and bashes organised and attended by high school youth.[14] Thus, I consider youth at these four school as representing typical consumption practices and youth music culture.

The sample for the research participants involved students who volunteered to be included in the research. Although this kind of sample is subject to bias, I considered it as the best method for this study since the research has a bias towards youth who have interests in the music and are actively involved in the consumption of the music in order to understand their consumption practices and how they are involved in meaning making. The sample comprised two group interviews of ten students per school except for Harare High School where one group interview involving A'level students was held due to the tight schedule at

the school on the day interviews were held. Ten students per group were considered as manageable and sizeable enough to elicit debates and varied responses on consumption practices of youth and how they make sense of urban grooves music. Gender issues related to urban grooves were also considered in these interviews and an equal number of male and female students took part in the interviews. In addition, I considered group dynamics that often characterise group interviews and may hamper participants from freely saying out their views, hence two groups interviews per school were meant to cater to such dynamics. At Mabvuku and Zengeza 2 High Schools, I separated students according to their levels, thus, at each of these two schools, one group comprised 5 female and 5 male O'level students whilst the other was made up of 5 male and 5 female A'level students. At Seke 1 High School, students were grouped into two separate groups of male and female participants. I also had an individual interview with one student at Harare High School who is an upcoming artist and has released one album to his name.

All interviews held for the research were recorded on an audio recorder and the data was transcribed using the rewind-stop-play method. I summarised and synthesised the data by considering the prominent ideas and common patterns in the data, thus the data was categorised into thematic areas. I then interpreted the data and drew conclusions. In addition to interviews I had a chance to attend two shows as part of the music consumers of urban grooves music. I attended a Trevor Dongo show that was held on the 16th of June at the Volt Night Club in the Harare CBD and a Killer T show on the 9th of June 2016 at Mega 2 Bar situated in the Hatfield residential suburb of Harare.[15] I had the opportunity to observe the popular trends, behaviours of fans and musicians, trends in dressing, hair styles as well as the nature of language used and the musician and audience performances.

An ethical clearance to carry out this study was applied for and provided by the University of the Free State. The Study's ethical clearance number is UFS-HSD2015/0688. In addition, ethical considerations for anonymity were made in the referencing of interviewees in this study. Hence, the respondents are coded, with musicians coded in numerical order as M1 to M5, producers as P1 and P2 and promoters as PR1 and PR2, and the upcoming musician interviewed at Harare High School is coded as UPM. The youth respondents interviewed at their schools during the research are coded numerically in accordance with their respective schools as HHR – Harare High School respondents. Mabvuku High School respondents are coded as MR and MHR for Ordinary Level (O-Level) and Advanced Level

(A-Level) students respectively, while SR and SHR are Seke High School respondents in the O and A-Level respectively. Finally, the O-Level student respondents from Zengeza 2 High School are coded ZR while A-Levels are coded as ZHR.

1.8 Chapter Organisation

The study's chapters are organised as follows: Chapter 2 analyses Zimbabwean youth intercultural encounters in the form of global interactions and how these impact on youth identities and influence the composition of urban grooves musical texts. The chapter explores the interculturality and syncretism exhibited in urban grooves songs in respect of the lyrical content, language (both literal and figurative) and style as well as how these are expressive of youth identities, cultural experiences and practices.

Chapter 3 examines celebrity culture in the context of Zimbabwe urban grooves music and the interconnections with youth identities. The chapter considers the role that is played by urban grooves musicians as role models and how they socially and culturally influence Zimbabwean youth. The analysis also takes into consideration youth interviewees' comments on urban groovers to determine their perceptions of the musicians, whether the youth consider the urban groovers as role models or not, and to evaluate the musicians' level of influence on youth. Responses from interviews with musicians, producers and promoters are also analysed to gather their insights into the roles played by urban grooves musicians in society. In addition, the analysis here draws on data gathered from the observations I made when I attended music shows as part of the consumers of urban grooves music. I do this to evaluate the relationship between musicians and their fans or how audiences respond to musician performers and their performances. Considering that urban grooves music is a male dominated musical genre, I examine the role played by female musicians in urban grooves music and in influencing youth identities and cultures. I thus consider as well responses from female interviewees on how they have fared in the male dominated urban grooves and how they perceive and respond to issues to do with gender and music.

Chapter 4 focuses on Zimbabwe urban grooves music as a repertory of the everyday and youth consumption of the music. The chapter evaluates youth consumption of urban grooves in relation to meaning making or how youth make sense of musical texts. Therefore, it references interviewee comments on and interpretation of songs. The discussion further examines the everyday and how it is conceived in urban grooves music, the language used to

sing about the everyday and the role played by the musicians in the representation of the everyday. Song texts are analysed with particular focus on how they represent everyday life experiences and practices of ordinary urban dwellers, especially the youth. Musicians' responses on what influences their musical texts are also considered.

Chapter 5 examines the linkage between urban grooves music and the constitution of resistant youth cultures in Zimbabwe. It reflects on different forms of resistance performed by urban groovers and youth consumers of the music as trajectories of youth identities. I analyse song texts to explore how they are expressive of resistant youth cultures and their implications. I also make use of interviewee responses and data gathered from my observations during musical shows to determine how they are reflective of resistant youth cultures. Lastly, the chapter engages female music and musicians' perceptions and their responses to male dominance in both the urban grooves musical scene and the society at large to establish forms of resistant cultures associated with female musicians.

Chapter 6 explores the concepts of self-praise and 'diss' as tropes for musicians' claims to recognition and power. I make an analysis of 'diss' songs and songs that feature self-praise to investigate different ways they highlight musicians' pursuit for recognition and power. The chapter also references youth interviewee responses to self-praise and 'diss' songs to find out how they identify with such songs as well as discern the nexus between musicians' claims to recognition and power and ways youth express their quest for recognition and power.

Chapter 7 concludes the thesis. It draws on the analyses made in the previous chapters, interprets the implications of the findings and draws conclusions on Zimbabwe urban grooves music and the interconnections between youth identities and celebrity culture. Finally, the chapter makes an expose of the limitations of the study and outlines areas that need to be analysed further.

Endnotes

[1] For media narratives that link music culture with youth delinquencies, see: Saunyama, (2012), "Bar Age Limits: Thing of the Past," *Newsday*, 14 December (https://www.newsday.co.zw/2012/12/bar-age-limits-thing-of-the-past/).

[2] '*Vuzu*,' is a term borrowed from the South African term for a South African youth oriented television channel produced by M-Net for sister pay television platform, DStv. see: (www.encyclo.co.uk/meaning-of-vuzu)

[3] For youth '*vuzu*' parties and other delinquencies, see; "48% of Bulawayo's teens indulging in sex, beer parties," *Bulawayo 24 News,* (https://bulawayo24.com/index-id-news-sc-local-byo-79911.html), "Vuzu Parties Arrest: 16 Pupils in Alcohol Abuse, Sex Orgies," *Chronicle* 25 July 2015 (https://www.chronicle.co.zw/vuzu-parties-arrest-16-pupils-in-alcohol-abuse-sex-orgies/).

[4] For information on Roki, see: (https://www.myzimbabwe.co.zw/news/4800-roki-a-father-of-6-children-with-5-different-women-reveals-why-they-broke-up-with-ammara-brown.html).

[5] When a grown-up person dies in the Shona culture, it is believed that his spirit wanders about as a homeless spirit until it is welcomed back home. Thus, *kurova guva* is a Shona ritual done to bring back the spirit of the deceased (*mudzimu*) from the grave to his hut to be amongst his descendants and protect them.

[6] Shona is part of the Bantu languages spoken by the majority of the people in Zimbabwe and the people who speak the language are called Shona people or *MaShona.*

[7] See Albert Chimedza interviews on:
(https://nai.uu.se/research/finalized_projects/cultural_images_in_and_of/zimbabwe/music/chimedza/).

[8] I referenced Turino (2000) in the use of the word 'world beat' so it is used in his sense to mean non-western music that was distributed and familiarised in the west because of its attractiveness and accessibility to western sensibilities.

[9] The word taken from Turino's (2000) idea of cosmopolitanism is used in this sense to mean cultural practices that were imported (literally imitated) by the Africans from the west because of colonial influences and Turino says these practices were eventually internalised.

[10] Part of the Bantu languages, Ndebele is also a Zulu dialect that is the second majority Zimbabwean language after Shona and it is spoken by the people from Matebeleland also called the Ndebele people.

[11] See: "Zimbabwe Alexio Kawara Drops New Single," *The Standard* 15 December 2013 (https://allafrica.com/stories/201312160293.html).

[12] Colloquially known as Chi-Town, Chitungwiza is a high-density dormitory town in Zimbabwe situated approximately 26km south of the capital Harare. It is popular for producing the highest number of popular musicians in the country.

[13] See also: (www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1G2-3401800707.html).

[14] See: (https://www.newsday.co.zw/2015/10/30-zengeza-4-high-school-students-investigated-for-participating-in-nude-party/) and (https://iharare.com/chitungwiza-teens-organise-explicit-skin-out-party-sexy-ladies-entered-freeugly-ones-fines-30/).

[15] Mega 2 Bar is situated in Hatfield a residential suburb in between the city of Harare and Chitungwiza. The music shows held at the bar attract people from both Chitungwiza and Harare.

Chapter 2: Zimbabwe Urban Grooves Music: Interculturality and Syncretism

2.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the emergence of Zimbabwe urban grooves music and its development within various forms of intercultural encounters and interactions. It considers the different forms of intercultural experiences that have shaped this musical genre and how these experiences intersect with Zimbabwean youth identities and cultures. The chapter discusses how the emergence of urban grooves, within a society characterised by intercultural contacts and global interaction, culminated in the constitution of the music's hybrid and syncretic nature. Chapter 1 defined and described urban grooves as a hybrid musical form that fuses local Zimbabwean experiences and global musical genres and cultural experiences. In relation to this definition, this current chapter makes a detailed analysis of the various forms of syncretism evident in urban grooves music. The chapter is therefore based on the assumption that although urban grooves is influenced by Euro-American genres and cultures, the musicians demonstrate an awareness of, and tap into the local Zimbabwean experiences and even traditional customs in their musical lyrics.

In the analysis of the concepts of interculturality and syncretism, I first consider ways in which different Zimbabwe urban grooves musicians envision and portray migration or the act of migration as one of the sources of Zimbabwean youth intercultural encounters. The study draws on Ndlela's (2006) analysis of alternative media where he considers migration as an alternative means through which Zimbabwean youth access and consume global cultural commodities. However, the analysis goes further than Ndlela's study as it also examines the paradoxes encountered by youth as they engage and relate with migration and the global in their daily life experiences, as noted, for instance in the analysis of Winky D's *"Vashakabvu"* ("Ancestors") (2013) which depicts global social and cultural changes that emanate mainly from the growth of media technologies. The chapter also focuses on the culture and language that shape urban grooves music and the role these play in the constitution of syncretism. The chapter is therefore informed by theories of globalisation and popular culture in an attempt to understand the different cultural processes that take place as different cultures converge in a globalised society.

2.2 Understanding Interculturality and Syncretism

Zimbabwe urban grooves music should be understood in the context of intercultural encounters that shape and influence the musical genre. Dai and Chen (2015: 100) posit that intercultural encounters take place when individuals cross cultural borders and begin to develop constructive interpersonal relations and intercultural ties in their interactions. The two critics add that this process enables different people to overcome their cultural differences and relate to each other for a meaningful dialogue. Similarly, Khan (2010) perceives interculturality as a dialogic process involving intercultural communication and, as observed by Murphy (2007: 42), globalisation advanced intercultural dialogue through progress in travel and communication. Music has also been an important source of intercultural communication between individuals from different areas because of its 'mobility' and diffuse nature. Thus, scholars such as Lipsitz (1994) and De Block and Buckingham (2007: 177) view popular music as a cultural product that has crossed and [continues to cross] boundaries and frontiers the most, offering the potential for [intercultural] communication and new forms of global culture. Shepherd et.al (2003: 185) concur with this view and add that popular music plays an important role in the creation of

> … communities [which] are not necessarily bounded and rooted, but shifting and transitory, cosmopolitan and transnational because popular music is a global culture involving relations of alliance and affinity between geographically dispersed groups and styles, cultural change and interaction, and musical 'routes' as opposed to 'roots.'

Chapter 1 of this study also explained how hip-hop has 'travelled' to many places and adapted to the specific experiences of such places and how in Zimbabwe it has led to the emergence of a youthful musical genre that came to be known as urban grooves. To put it in De Block and Buckingham's (2007: 178) perspective, hip-hop is an expressive musical and performance form that developed from the meeting of different cultures but is also being adapted throughout to reflect the local conditions and concerns of young people. Thus, music is an important source for the understanding of the phenomenon of global intercultural encounters. However, the process of intercultural interactions is not a linear nor a harmonious process, hence the analysis of intercultural encounters in this chapter takes into cognizance the ambivalences and conflicts that emanate from such contacts. The chapter, therefore, examines how intercultural communication and travel through migration have both positively

and negatively influenced the interculturality that constitutes urban grooves music, youth cultures and identities.

Intercultural encounters are epitomised by some forms of cultural contacts that occurred during the Trans-Atlantic slave trade of the 16th to the 19th century. White (2012: 18) contends that despite inequalities and violence that characterised slave societies, the societies were a universe of contact, exchange and blending and slavery was a cause of [interculturality] in which both masters and slaves took part. That the slave trade is referred to as the 'Atlantic slave trade' or 'Trans-Atlantic slave trade' denotes that the slaves were made to literally 'cross' the Atlantic on their way to the Americas. On a more significant note, the term 'Trans-Atlantic' denotes that the Atlantic was a trajectory and/ or a site of intercultural contacts and exchanges. Gilroy (1993: 16) presents the 'black Atlantic' as an intercultural and transnational formation as follows:

> …ships were the living means by which the points within the Atlantic world were joined. They were mobile elements that stood for the shifting spaces in between the fixed places that they connected, [thus] they need to be thought of as cultural and political units rather than abstract embodiments of the triangular trade…. The ship provides a chance to explore the articulations between the discontinuous histories of England's ports, its interfaces with the wider world.

White (2012: 30) describes how Africans were systematically dispersed on arrival at the slave plantations so that those from the same localities could not re-establish their group, forcing the slaves to invent new ways through which they could make sense of their condition and physical and social environment. The imperative to overcome their differences and reconstitute tools for thinking, communication and community-making in an effort to survive, was exerted in the areas of language, religion and music. The same processes of interculturality also took place in colonial Africa with both the coloniser and the colonised taking part. Christianity, for example, survived by negotiating with cultural practices and languages of the African people and an adoption of some of these cultural practices in Christian circles. Hence, inculturation became prominent in some Christian churches as efforts were made to Africanise them and come up with 'African Christian churches' (Wijsen 2000; Kurgat 2009; Antony 2012). Although Antony (2012) contends that not much has been achieved in terms of the Africanisation of Christian churches, adaptation to African values and cultures can be observed in Christian churches to date through, for example, the use of

native African languages even by white missionaries and the playing of traditional African instruments in some Christian churches. There was also the pidginisation of both the languages of the coloniser and those of the colonised during the colonial period in Africa. A good example was the pidgin dialect *'chilapalapa'* also known as *'fanagalo'* or *'chikabanga'* spoken mainly in Southern Africa (Rupare 2016). In his analysis of *'chilapalapa'* in the *Culture Review Magazine*, Rupare (2016) notes that it was a vehicular language that bridged a language gap between the coloniser and the colonised. However, Rupare argues further that *'Chilapalapa'* was more a language of instruction that "effectively dehumanised the Afrikan (sic) as a person of lower intellect who required a language of instruction rather than a conversation." Thus, interculturality is a phenomenon that has been in existence throughout history.

Intercultural communication, as discussed above, assisted the culturally different groups to survive and sustain themselves in the midst of violent intercultural contacts. Although Dai and Chen (2015: 101) define interculturality as the multiple connections between different cultures in which different individuals endeavour to reduce cultural distance, negotiate shared meanings and mutually desired identities as well as produce reciprocal relationships in order to achieve communication goals and intercultural harmony, interculturality is a phenomenon that is characterised by ambivalence. The phenomenon produces "fragments" (Boloka: 2003), embodies tension, conflicts, struggles and intercultural transformation (Dai and Chen 2015: 102). I draw on this observation to argue, in this chapter that, although Zimbabwean youth have appropriated numerous global products to express their daily cultural experiences as well as to access global youth culture, the phenomenon of globalisation and conduits for intercultural encounters, such as migration and media technologies, are characterised by complexities and paradoxes that impact on youth identities and cultures. Dai and Chen (2015: 104) explain how antagonism in intercultural encounters stems from the phenomenon's inherent two cultural agents, the 'self' and the 'other', who possess differences in power, knowledge and wealth such that the 'self' sometimes dominates the 'other' and vice versa. In addition, cultural prejudices and exclusion involve deep-seated ethnocentric tendencies within cultural beings that often cause serious barriers in the process of intercultural communication. White (2012: 30) observes that from the earliest experiences of intercultural encounters during the period of slavery, slave masters demonstrated an antagonism towards interculturality by drawing on their supposed supremacy and expressing a tendency of cultural prejudice. In his analysis, White notes that intercultural encounters

between slave and master led to inventions that saw the creolisation of languages and music which 'contaminated' the slave together with the master and the two often invented together although sometimes separately but out of the same elements.

However, slave masters denied ownership of creole inventions and their creoleness, while taking refuge behind a fixation of the supposed nobility and purity of their origins, and rejecting everything associated with creoleness as mongrel and degenerate. Consequently, creoleness became a gift that was offered to the slaves which they came to embrace as badges of their identity (White 2012: 30). White's observation resonates with that of Rupare (2016) who observes how the coloniser in Africa had to borrow tenets from indigenous languages to come up with the pidgin *'chilapalapa'* to bridge the language gap. However, the coloniser hid behind an illusory god complex, reducing *'chilapalapa'* to a language of instruction rather than conversation, thus creating an exclusionary space that became a bubble of self-importance. This attitude of domination and self-importance evokes Said's concept of 'Orientalism' through which he examines the European-Atlantic contacts and relation with the 'Orient' as relationships of power, domination and varying degrees of complex hegemony (Said 1978: 5). However, in his analysis of the concept of hybridity, Bhabha (1994: 37-38) notes that the purity of cultures such as that purported by the colonisers is untenable as he contends that all cultural statements and systems are constructed in a space he calls 'the third space of enunciation;' cultural identity always emerges in this contradictory and ambivalent space and this 'in-between space' is an articulation of culture's hybridity. This chapter therefore considers some of the ambivalences that result from intercultural encounters as observed in Zimbabwe urban grooves music and youth identities.

It should also be noted that syncretism originates from experiences of intercultural encounters. According to Wade (1995: 2), the word syncretism is derived from the Greek word which means to unify and it is used to describe the fusion of two distinct traditions to produce a new and distinctive whole (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin: 1998: 229) or what Barber (1987: 40) calls a "qualitatively new form." Barber (1987: 14) cites syncretism as a major characteristic of popular arts in Africa as the popular arts tap into both indigenous (hinterland) and imported (metropolitan) elements to express and negotiate "their real social position at the point of articulation of two worlds;" and anything syncretic, according to Barber (1987: 12), "almost automatically qualifies as popular." The word syncretism is sometimes used to replace the word hybridity which has been criticised for reducing

intercultural encounters to mutual cultural exchanges, replicating assimilationist tendencies and downplaying the cultural differences and ambivalences involved in interculturality (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 1998: 119). However, in this research, the two terms are used interchangeably but I take note of the different cultural facets and ambivalences involved in syncretic cultural and music formations. Different forms of intercultural encounters led to the creation of various forms of hybrid musical genres such as hip-hop, 'samba reggae,' 'samba rap,' 'jazz tango' and 'rap reggae', as discussed in Chapter 1. Lipsitz (1994) asserts that music hybridisation is part of the wider process of cultural hybridisation occurring through immigration, assimilation and acculturation. Most black music fits into the Euro-African hybrid segment of the continuum with individual musicians inventively weaving together elements inherited from an increasingly varied musical milieu (Wade 1995: 12). It is this same process of hybridisation that White (2012) refers to as creolisation in his theory of creolisation, which he notes reflects on the general phenomenon of intercultural encounters.

There have been negative reactions towards syncretism. A perfect example of this negative reaction is reflected in Thomas Mapfumo's criticism of urban grooves mentioned in Chapter 1, where he castigates the musical genre as unoriginal and not Zimbabwean. Scholars, however, argue that borrowing, cultural imitation or mimicry are not sterile spaces because new meanings are certainly created during the appropriation of words, tones and tunes in popular music consumption (Khan 2007: 4). Furthermore, cultural messages which emanate from elsewhere are differentially received and interpreted (Robertson 1995: 38). Hence, as posited by scholars such as Bere (2008) and Chari (2009b), urban grooves is not a genre that merely mimics western music but it is a 'glocal' genre, as it negotiates with global popular music and cultural texts to suit the Zimbabwean context and reflect on the contemporary Zimbabwean reality. Khan (2007: 4) adds that syncretism should be seen as enriching rather than impoverishing. Moreover, there is no world culture in the past, present or future that can remain impervious to outside cultural influences. What matters is the extent to which the receiving culture can rework the new cultural elements and the effect that this has on local cultures. Therefore, this chapter examines how the daily intercultural encounters of Zimbabwean youth impact on their identities and cultures.

Contrary to the above positive reception of 'glocalisation,' some scholars cite issues related to power and influence in the processes of adaptations in their critique of cultural adaptations and hybridisations. De Block and Buckingham (2007: 8) argue that the 'local' in

the glocal only becomes visible or encouraged when it works in the interest of the global and when global forces recognise it. The reality is that the 'local' becomes invisible and ignored, if it does not have any power or influence. Ndlela (2006) notes that African countries have not contributed significantly in intercultural media exchanges as done by those from Europe and America because of their poor economies. Ndlela (2006: 4) argues that film and television productions from Africa are often regarded as inferior in quality when compared to western productions. Moreover, they are so few that they cannot satisfy the twenty-four hour demands of television channels, and a few of them make it into the European and North American markets. Western film and television productions, in contrast, continuously flow into the African households, prompting critics to cite this imbalanced flow as a form of cultural imperialism. In addition, some critics cite the use of indigenous languages as another barrier to the recognition of cultural artefacts produced in languages other than, for example, English or French. The Zimbabwean musician, Thomas Mapfumo who was quoted by Guma (2013) in an article on *Nehanda Radio*, expressed his scepticism on the global success of urban grooves as he argued thus: "we are trying to spread our music all over the world, so today a lot of people are speaking English. You want to sell your music here abroad? You have to sing in English."

Nevertheless, the involvement of Zimbabwe urban grooves music on the international market cannot go unnoticed, even though they sing in Shona. Musicians such as Winky D, Stunner (Desmond Chideme), Seh Calaz (Tawanda Mumanyi), Soul Jah Love (Soul Musaka) and others have toured and held musical shows in Europe, Australia and America.[1] As I noted in Chapter 1, there has been a rise in these tours that has been necessitated by demands from a high number of migrant communities in the 'diasporas' who want to keep in touch with 'home.' Some videos have made it into international music channels, for example, Trevor Dongo's *"Ndashamisika"* ("I am stunned") (2012) and "That's How I Feel" (2013) have been played on Trace Africa, an African television channel while *"Mari-mari"* ("Money money") (2016) by Queen Vee (Vanessa Sibanda) featuring Soul Jah Love was played on DSTV's Channel O.[2] On a significant note, Winky D's popular 2015 song "Disappear", which is dominated by Shona lyrics, reached the top of the BBC African Chart in February 2016 (Zim Metro 2016), thus showing the involvement of some of the young musicians on the global music scene, despite the fact that they sing largely in the vernacular. There are also quite a number of older African musicians, such as Thomas Mapfumo himself and the late Oliver Mtukudzi from Zimbabwe, the late Papa Wemba from the Democratic Republic of Congo

(DRC) and Salif Keita from Mali, who are recognised internationally, despite the fact that most of their song texts are in their indigenous languages. In addition, De block and Buckingham (2007: 183) reveal that young people of the 'diaspora' who participated in their research could relate to music whose lyrics were delivered in foreign languages. They observe that "it was the form and delivery that facilitated connection while the words themselves played a secondary role." This study considers the above arguments in its evaluation of the ways in which Zimbabwe urban grooves musicians have infiltrated the global music scene although it cannot be denied that the global music culture is highly dominated by the Global North, and that the urban groovers' international tours have mainly been enabled by the demands to perform for Zimbabweans in the 'diasporas.' The analysis of interculturality and syncretism in this chapter begins in the section below with a discussion on the concept of migration and how Zimbabwe urban grooves music represents it in relation to intercultural encounters.

2.3 Urban Grooves and Migration as Sites of Intercultural Encounters

As different people migrate from one place to another, intercultural contacts and cultural flows are made possible. De Block and Buckingham (2007: 31) argue that continuing human and natural disasters have led to an increase in global migration, with an escape from poverty and conflict remaining the primary motives for such migrations. The phenomenon of migration and its link with intercultural encounters can be best understood through Appadurai's (1996) concept of ethnoscapes. The concept explains how migration across cultures and borders shows the world and its communities as fluid and mobile rather than static, and at the same time facilitating different types of cultural interactions and exchanges (Appadurai 1996: 33). The globalisation theory of transnationalism has also been used to explain the cultural processes and transformations that take place as people migrate from one place to another. Robinson (2007: 136) states that transnationalism can be understood in terms of "the multiple ties and interactions – economic, political, social and cultural – that link people, communities and institutions across the borders of nation-states." However, even though the above cited Appadurai (1996) and Robinson (2007) correctly note that migration enables socio-cultural interaction and exchanges, it must be acknowledged that the act of migration is not always mutual and has its own paradoxes. Erni (2015: 325, 337) who examines migration in association with citizen management, migration or movement

management, notes how techniques such as control of borders, of the right of abode and of IDs are imbued with questions of "belonging and unbelonging" or what he ambivalently calls the state of "included-outness." The concept of transnationalism has also been understood in connection with migrants' attempt at keeping in touch with 'back home,' building of continuities in the different places in which they live (De Block and Buckingham 2007: 11) and their tendency to live in two or more worlds or create and live in 'transnational spaces' (Robinson 2007: 136). This kind of transnational experience is embodied in Chikwava's (2009) novel *Harare North* where, as observed by Manase (2014), the linkage between Zimbabwe's capital Harare and London is perpetuated by the economic migrants who imagine London as Harare North, translocate the Shona language and make present the Zimbabwean economic crisis in London. The increasing number of musical shows for Zimbabweans in the 'diaspora' noted earlier, epitomise this transnational experience. One of the London shows held by Ricky Fire on the 30th of November 2013 available on YouTube, interestingly shows jubilant fans singing along to the song *"Kumba Kunouya Kuno"* ("Home shall come here") (2013).[3] The song which was not necessarily composed to reflect the situation of migrants, is appropriated to express the way in which 'home' (the Zimbabwean musical culture and experience) had indeed been translocated to the city of London.

The song *Ndiyambuke* ("Let me crossover") (2003) by Roy and Royce Gomo typically relates to migration, intercultural encounters and the way migration is perceived by different urban grooves musicians in the early 2000s. *"Ndiyambuke"* was released in 2003 when the urban grooves movement was still in its infancy. Thus, the twin duo (Roy and Royce) is significant to the Zimbabwean musical scene as they are recognised amongst the musicians who pioneered urban grooves music in Zimbabwe.[4] The release of the song coincided with the post-2000 downward spiralling of the country's economy and political fortunes. As revealed by Zanamwe and Devillard (2010: 13), Zimbabwe has not been performing well economically since 2000 to the extent that its economic crisis situation witnessed hyperinflation as notable, for instance, in the July 2008 rate of annual inflation reading 23 million percent. The country also faced severe shortages of commodities such as medication, fuel, food, industrial and consumer goods during this period. Dzingirai et.al (2015) report that the turn of the new millennium, which coincided with the fast track land reform programme,[5] witnessed a rise in the unemployment rate which reached over 70% by the year 2008. The harsh economic conditions and political unrest in Zimbabwe led to scores of people leaving the country for safer destinations and in search of better opportunities

(Dzingirai et.al 2015: 8). Eddie Cross (2015) who is a renowned Zimbabwean economist and who was once a Member of Parliament for Bulawayo South, captures the rate of the migration vividly in one of his articles on the *Politics Web* in what he terms an "extraordinary diaspora." He points out that, "as the crisis escalated the numbers of migrants began to grow – a steady outflow in the early days [early 2000s] and gradually escalating until 5000 people a day were crossing our borders – many illegally and without documentation of any kind." Dzingirai et.al's (2015: 8) research indicates that an estimated 2 to 3 million Zimbabweans are working in the 'diaspora.' Although Cross (2015) acknowledges that both the political and economic crisis in the country pushed Zimbabweans into regional and international migrant spaces, he argues that a small but significant minority could be classified as refugees from political oppression as the rest were economic migrants. However, those who migrated in search of better educational opportunities (mainly the youth) need to be mentioned as well since the youth are the subject of this research.

The political and economic quandary and the associated regional and transnational migration resulted in the burgeoning of urban grooves songs that reflect on this situation as well as the sadness arising from lovers' separation. The songs include Roy and Royce Gomo's *"Handirege"* ("I won't Stop") (2002), *"Ndakusuwa,"* ("I miss you") (2004) by Betty Makaya, Tererai Mugwadi's *"Waenda"* ("You have gone") (2004), *"Unodzoka Here?"* ("Will you come back?") (2004) by the late MC Villa (Tendai Murukutira) featuring Tendai Kwatara, Roki's *"Chidzoka"* ("Can you come back") (2007) and Kuchinei Chatsama's *"Ndakangomirira Iwe"* ("I am still waiting for you") (2009). The love songs were subject to criticism, with the general view being that urban groovers sing about frivolous love stories. However, Bere (2008: 157-158) rightly points out that the love songs are not frivolous but strongly resemble the United States blues where a lover mourns the departure of the beloved, for the beloved has to go in search of a largely economic, but also political, liberatory space. It is this same economic quandary and the resultant migration that Roy and Royce sing about in *"Ndiyambuke."*

The lyrical persona in *"Ndiyambuke"* who is wallowing in poverty and hunger is so agitated that he/she spends sleepless nights worrying about 'tomorrow'. The lyrical persona's lamentations are depicted vividly here:

Nhamo dzinotsitsira pane dzimwe

Poverty keeps on pursuing the poor

Rubatsiro aiwa kani ndodarireiko?

Hand-outs, oh no why should I do that?

Ndodzora ruoko rusina charwakabata

I return my hand with nothing in it

Kushaya hongu kani mugariro

Poverty, yes it is my lifestyle

Iyo nzara ndikazvimbirwa ndotorwara

With this hunger, if I get full I will get sick

Kutambudzika ndihwo hupenyu hwacho

Suffering, that's my life

Homwe dzongoziva maoko chete

My pockets only know my hands

Hope, aiwa bodo dzinouya sei?

Sleep, how can I get some sleep?

The persona's lamentation above is punctuated by vivid images of hunger and poverty which he/she suggests have become part of him/her or part of his/her identity. One notes the hyperbolic description of this identity as the persona suggests that a full stomach is alien to him/her such that if he/she gets full he/she would get sick. Thus, the song is a social and economic commentary that was influenced by the reality of harsh economic conditions in Zimbabwe with the lyrical persona being an archetypal character representing the majority of Zimbabweans who suffered because of the post-2000 economic meltdown.

The persona's extremely needy situation forces him/her to contemplate about charity, as he/she sings about asking for hand-outs to alleviate his/her condition, something that he/she is averse to do, as noted in the refrain, *"aiwa kani ndodarireiko?"* (oh no, why should I do that?). Though he/she is so poor, the persona possesses the will power to transcend the situation and still has some hope for a better 'tomorrow.' Migration is therefore provided as a solution as captured in the chorus of the song:

Ndiyambuke

Let me crossover

Ndiendewo mune zvakawanda

And go where there is plenty

Ndigarewo mune dzakanaka

And live in beautiful houses

Ndigutewo nezvinonaka

And eat delicious food until I am full

Ndiudzei muganhu ndeupi?

Tell me where is the border?

Ndipfekewo idzo dzinodhura

And wear expensive clothes

Ndichengete iro rose dzinza

And take care of the whole clan

The chorus is the antithesis of the song's first lines cited above as it underscores the hope and aspirations invested in the imaginaries of migration. The 'diasporas', especially the Global North, and even South Africa and Botswana, were and still are perceived as destinations of opportunity. Ndlela (2006: 7) expostulates that America and the United Kingdom serve as points of social comparison and most youth aspire to immigrate to these places. In the song *"Ndiyambuke,"* the exact destination that is being contemplated by the persona is not given but whatever the destination is, it is presented in stark contrast to Zimbabwe; and the physical border itself that the persona wants to be shown is symbolic of the division and antithetical relationship between Zimbabwe and the 'diasporas.' Whilst Zimbabwe is a place of abject poverty and hunger, the 'diaspora', as noted above, is portrayed as the embodiment of prosperity and comfort, where one lives a life of plenty, in a beautiful house, eats good food and wears expensive clothes. The mention of expensive clothes is an allusion to contemporary trends in fashion and dressing. This shows that the song encompasses youth culture and identity as Paveda (2006) and Siziba (2009) argue that youth culture and identity

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cannot be separated from style and dressing. The rhetorical question "tell me where the border is?" is a cry of desperation as the persona yearns to escape from poverty. The act of *"Kuyambuka"* (crossing over) is symbolic in Shona language and culture as it symbolises a temporal transcendence over obstacles that one might be facing in an effort to achieve a goal. However, in the song, *'kuyambuka'* has both symbolic and literal significance, as the persona has the willpower to fight economic obstacles and contemplates physically crossing the borders in order to transcend these obstacles. Moreover, the song was released at a time when 'migration from poverty' was at its peak, hence the persona's contemplation of migration. It is also important to note that Roy and Royce released the song after they had graduated from the university and as such this is indicative of how the song symbolises a typical cry of the youth who found themselves roaming the streets without jobs after their graduation.[6] So many such youth crossed the border to regional and international migrant spaces in search of opportunities and jobs, confirming Cross's (2015) argument that the majority of migrants were economic migrants.

Some critics consider the lifestyle imagined by the persona in Roy and Royce's song as some form of consumerism. Chari (2009b), for example, argues that the youthful urban grooves musicians are influenced by American musicians and their consumerist values where commodities, money, trinkets and other material possessions are prioritised. However, Chari ignores the fact that Zimbabwean youth have been subjected to so much deprivation and economic struggle due to the economic meltdown in the country, such that they are left with no option except to aspire for a different lifestyle. One can thus argue that the seemingly consumerist attitude is a fight for an improved economic standing or a fight for visibility as Mateveke (2014: 219-220) suitably describes it. Nevertheless, what is significant with regard to this study here is that global intercultural influences become inevitable as one yearns to escape the poverty at 'home,' migrate and become a better person.

Although research has shown that migrant remittances improved lives of a significant number of Zimbabwean families (Zanamwe and Devillard 2010; Dzingirai et.al 2015), migration still needs to be perceived with its own ills, paradoxes and uncertainties. The song *"Ndiyambuke"* tends to idealise migration and its associated gains. History has, however, shown some uncertainties and unpleasant experiences associated with migration, which include cases of traumatising deportations and the horrors of the tragic xenophobic attacks such as those that took place in South Africa in 2015 and even earlier.[7] Some of these

paradoxes and ills of migration have impacted directly on the youth. Steinberg (2006) observes that where both parents migrate in search of better opportunities, new domestic responsibilities fall on children and youth, thus changing their roles in the family and blurring the lived world of adults and youth. Migration has been observed as one of the leading causes of child-headed families in Zimbabwe (Gubwe, Gubwe and Mago 2015: 293). However, Steinberg (2006) notes further that in spite of this assumed role, youth does not simply collapse into adulthood as contemporary youth seem to confirm an identity that is always distinct from adulthood. The (in) famous Bulawayo youth *'vuzu'* parties that have often been blamed for causing a series of youth delinquencies have also been blamed on migration as Ndlovu (2015) explains in his article in the *Financial Gazette*: "the absence of parents, who have migrated to other countries in search of greener pastures, has created a void and resulted in an entire generation growing without parental supervision." Moreover, Tshili (2015) reports that one of the parties that was held in Bulawayo's Cowdray Park Township was at a house belonging to two boys whose parents are in the 'diaspora.' As a result, migration needs to be viewed also in relation to its effects on both the migrants and the families they leave behind, particularly the youth who are the focus of this study. Therefore, these lived experiences of migration are contrary to the romantic picture of migration depicted by Roy and Royce in *"Ndiyambuke."*

The uncertainties that characterise migration are captured in some of the urban grooves songs released around the same time (early 2000s) that *"Ndiyambuke"* was released. These songs capture vividly the paradoxes of migration. The first regrettable element of migration in these songs is their notable portrayal of migration as a gendered space. Songs by female musicians are inundated by a tone of sorrow as the female lovers mourn the departure of their male lovers in search of economic opportunities. Betty Makaya's *"Ndakusuwa"* ("I miss you") (2004) and Kuchinei Chatsama's *"Ndakangomirira Iwe"* ("I am still waiting for you") (2009) both portray women who are sorrowfully waiting for the return of lovers who have been away for such a long time that the women are not even sure whether they will return. In situations of marriage, such instances have at times led to divorce and family break-ups. Roki's *"Chidzoka"* ("Can you come back") (2007) describes a male (youth) migrant who is facing a spiritual void as he is reeling in sorrow and without a sense of belonging in the country that he has migrated to and with no one to offer him love *("nyika ino haina anondida")*. He misses his mother and his lover, and he wishes he were home. Thus, even though globalisation offers him the opportunity to tele-communicate with those at home, the

global technology does not fill the void that separation has caused to the extent that he wishes he were home as he tells his lover:

Ndobva ndashuvira dai ndanga ndiri kumba tisingaiti zvekufonerana

I wish I were home and could be talking to you in person instead of talking over the phone.

Both the song *"Chidzoka"* and *"Ndakangomirira iwe"* are characterised by pathos and punctuated by sonics of mourning emphasising the undesirable conditions that migration has created for both the migrants and those who are left at 'home.'

Fictional literary works by Zimbabwean writers such as Chikwava (2009) and Gappah (2009) also describe some of the often unimagined painful and ill-fated 'diaspora' experiences. Migrant spaces, as revealed in Gappah's (2009) short story anthology *An Elegy to Easterly*, are a site where senses of the self have to be negotiated if one has to gain access as shown in Rambanai's case in the story "My Cousin Sister Rambanai." She changes her name to Langelihle Chantal Ndlukula in order to get a new passport after overstaying in the United States of America and as such could not use her old passport to apply for a visa to London. In the story "Something Nice from London" the United Kingdom bears tragic consequences for the young Peter Chikwiro and the Chikwiro family as, instead of delivering "something nice," it ironically delivers "a small parcel containing Peter's ashes" (Manase 2014: 66). Moreover, as depicted by both authors (Chikwava and Gappah), some of the economic migrants are pushed to the periphery of the socio-economic system and end up doing lowly-ranked jobs. These experiences form part of the ambivalences, tensions, struggles and tragedies that result from intercultural encounters, in spite of the opportunities for travel, economic advancement and intercultural communication that globalisation has accorded. However, the persona in *"Ndiyambuke"* fails to envision any of these.

The global intercultural encounters that emanate from migration also impact on those who are left at 'home' as the migrant strives to forge a continued economic and emotional connection (De Block and Buckingham: 2007) with the 'home' country. There is a continuous transnational flow and consumption of commodities from the 'diaspora' to the 'home' country that would inevitably impact the lifestyles and cultures of those left at 'home.' The persona in *"Ndiyambuke"* alludes to this when he envisages taking care of the whole clan as soon as he establishes himself in the 'diaspora.' As pointed out above, research

on migration shows that remittances of migrant income have improved the lives of families in the 'home' country as noted in the way Zimbabwean migrants have continued to support their families financially or in kind remittances (Zanamwe and Devillard 2010, Dzingirai et.al 2015). However, as noted by Ndlela (2006: 11), migration is an alternative means through which youth in Zimbabwe access global popular culture that impacts on their lifestyles. He argues that this impact arises from financial remittances, which give the youth spending power, or through transference of cultural commodities such as DVD players and other electronic gadgets and clothing. Ndlela adds that the 'diaspora' provides a route to the consumption of cultural commodities - MP3s with downloaded popular music, mobile telephones with entertainment functions, and designer labels. In this instance, Zimbabwean youth participate in global intercultural communication, albeit mainly as receivers of the global cultural commodities (Ndlela 2006: 2). The youth, however, do not participate as passive consumers of these cultural products as articulated later in this chapter through my analysis of the youth's active use of global technology products such as cell phones to take part in cultural discourses based on Zimbabweans' real-life experiences. Nonetheless, the idea that developing countries participate in global intercultural contacts mainly as receivers is debated by Robertson (1995:38) who argues that "many have seriously underestimated the flow of ideas and practices from the so called third world to the seemingly dominant societies and the regions of the world." This has been proven through music itself as revealed earlier in this chapter where I gave examples of African musicians who have been recognised globally.

Although the persona in *"Ndiyambuke"* esteems the different kind of life that migration offers, he/she expresses a sense of belonging and an attachment to family and roots. The persona shows an awareness of his/her social responsibility in accordance with the Shona social and cultural expectation that one should always remember one's roots or family. This is often expressed through references to idioms such as *"ziva kwawakabva"* (remember where you come from) which goes beyond just literally remembering but taking the necessary action such as taking care of one's parents and other family members. Moreover, the notion of family in the Shona tradition extends beyond the nuclear family to include the extended family or clan, and for this reason, the persona in *"Ndiyambuke"* wishes to take care of his/her 'dzinza' (clan) when he/she moves into the spaces of transnational migration. He/she seeks to do this through remittances of finances and commodities, an act that would be a source of the family's participation in the consumption of global cultural commodities. However, the persona would appropriate these cultural commodities that the diaspora would

offer, for the fulfilment of his/her social responsibility as dictated by the customs of his/her people and for the survival of his/her family that has been made vulnerable by the economic situation in the country. This confirms how migration becomes a site of intercultural contacts as the two cultures, (the Shona culture and that of the host country) are synergised, with the 'diasporic' coming in to aid the persona to fulfil his/her 'traditional' duty and responsibilities to his/her family.

2.4 Mediated Intercultural Encounters

This section focuses on how the media and media technologies facilitate intercultural encounters in contemporary societies dominated by the growth of media technologies. The analysis uses the song "*Vashakabvu*" ("Ancestors") (2013) by Winky D. *"Vashakabvu"* is a tribute to the fallen music heroes (Nemadire 2013) whom the musician invokes and addresses with regard to the heightened and dramatic social transformations that Zimbabwe, just as the rest of the world, has been experiencing due to the growth of media technologies. The musician Winky D reveals how media technologies inhabit our social and private spaces as noted in the way we carry our cell phones in our pockets and no longer use telephone booths to make calls and how vinyl records have been replaced by the iPods where we now store our music. Winky D also sings about the changes and their impact on the music industry, especially the way in which internet technology enables users to access music without having to spend so much money. This has however impoverished the families of the deceased musicians as it is now difficult for them to get royalties and income from the sales of their music. Winky D's song therefore details some of the changes that have come to influence citizens' daily life experiences because of the prevalence of the media and information technologies and how these are conduits to intercultural encounters.

The growth of media technologies has also led to the intensification of worldwide socio-cultural interactions and relationships. Appadurai (1996) discusses such technological global cultural flows and interactions through what he terms 'technoscopes,' a concept that is echoed in Castells' (2010: 1968) and Drori's (2010: 63) analyses of the contemporary era and how it is dominated by Information Communication Technologies (ICTs) that carry the essence of what they regard as the "information age" and "the age of globalisation", respectively. The revolution in telecommunication and the technology-based communication

and media services have rendered national cultural systems porous, thus leading to increased opportunities for intercultural dialogue and communication (De Block and Buckingham 2007: 4; Council of Europe 2008: 13) or the "network society" (Castells 2010: 1968). Vartour (2006), in considering this revolution, draws on Harvey's (1989) concept of 'time space compression' and Giddens's (1990) 'time space distanciation,' in the argument that the youth who are the main users of the media technologies now have access to social spaces previously bounded by time and geographic spaces. De Block and Buckingham (2007: 1) add that the youth use mobile phones, email, the internet, videos and photographs to communicate with friends and relatives who may be scattered around the world, and thus build continuities between the different places they live in and keep in touch with those at 'home' in more immediate ways than before. This role of technology and the new media is indeed expressed in Winky D's "*Vashakabvu*" in which he sings about the opportunities that have been rendered by media technologies, though sarcastically, in his reference to the way computers have accorded the Zimbabwean society access to global music:

> *Macomputer dzimbo dzese takungo googler*

> Because of the computers we can now access all songs through Google

Therefore, the contemporary age of global technology links has resulted in the intensification of cultural exchanges and in the process enhanced global linkages through the circulation of cultural artefacts such as music. As observed by Ndlela (2006: 7), alternative media, non-mainstream media such as graffiti, leaflets, cartoons, theatre, music or dramatic performances, audio-visuals and ICTs, have been crucial in the mediation of culture. Thus, the growth of the media has seen the intensification of intercultural encounters.

Music has for a long time been a mobile cultural form. It has probably been the most malleable and mobile of all cultural forms and more predisposed to fusion and mixing (Inglis and Robertson 2005: 57). The growth of the media technologies, mass production and wider distribution of popular music has made popular music a malleable cultural product that can be customised to fit local circumstances, as especially noted in its appropriation by the youth who are disempowered and rendered voiceless (Kumavie 2006: 166). This is evident, for instance, in the way Winky D asserts himself, in most of his songs, as the voice of the voiceless and especially the voice of the 'ghetto youth' with whom he identifies in his musical productions that have appropriated Jamaican Dancehall and/ or reggae to the Zimbabwean situation. As observed by De Block and Buckingham (2007: 178), reggae is

closely identified with Jamaica, yet its power as a form of protest has spread much more widely and been reworked to address specific local concerns elsewhere. For example, Winky D and Shinsoman's (real name - Tinashe Romeo Antony) collaborative song "Survivor," (2015) articulates the defiant spirit of the contemporary Zimbabwean 'ghetto youth' who are subjected to repressive state apparatuses, especially the police. The youth's efforts to eke out a living by engaging in the slim but illegal opportunities that they find available in the poor Zimbabwean economy are thwarted by the repressive state apparatuses (Tivenga 2018). The title of the song itself reveals the defiant spirit of the youth as it maps them as "survivors" against state-engineered daily adversities. Winky D and Shinsoman also tap into regional and/ or global politics as they portray themselves as the voices of the voiceless by comparing themselves to the late South African anti-apartheid activist, Steve Biko:

> *Takumiririra vanhu kunge Steve Biko*

> We are now representing people like Steve Biko.

Winky D has multiple stage names and compares himself to global popular figures as well as tap into global cultural experiences. The names symbolise the notion of popularity and elevation and the way musical texts and their performances become spaces of intercultural linkages. Winky D calls himself '*Messi weRaggae*' (Messi of Raggae) drawing his popularity from that of the international soccer star Lionel Messi. He also calls himself *'Ninja President,'* drawing on the mythical aura of the revered Japanese martial arts fighters and *'Dancehall Igwe,'* borrowing from the Nigerian title of honour for Ibgo kings.[8] Another Zimbabwe urban grooves musician Nasty Trix born Trust Dojiwe also taps into global popular experiences for his songs, as noted in the way the song, *"Mwana Uyu Anotyisa"* ("This girl is frightening") (2010) makes reference to the Rwandan genocide and the song "DDF" (2012) makes an allusion to the American war in Iraq, most probably the 2003 to 2011 war that was fought before the release of the song. This shows the Zimbabwean musicians' awareness of global popular figures and issues, which they refer to in their music owing to the way the media has expanded society's socio-political awareness from the local and national to beyond national boundaries and thus cover the regional and global (De Block and Buckingham 2007: 4).

It should also be underscored that hip-hop has contributed as well to the interchange of the local with the global. Kelly (2006) posits that youth of the African 'diaspora' have been at an interesting intersection with regard to the representation and consumption of hip-

hop music. These consumption practices enable youth to draw on media culture in order to represent and give meaning to everyday experiences and their identities as is explored in this chapter. In addition, De Block and Buckingham (2007) observe that hip-hop is now a global phenomenon and that it articulates the local conditions and concerns of young people. Hence, as argued by Bere (2008: 86), Zimbabwe urban grooves music is Zimbabwean hip-hop that localises the global and has been appropriated to articulate the real-life experiences of the Zimbabwean people.

While Zimbabwean youth have welcomed the growth of media technologies and used them to their advantage, some sections of society have found reasons to criticise the youth for this. Zimbabwe urban grooves musicians' creativity has been questioned because of their use of computer software to generate beats. Some, as revealed by Bere (2008: 121), have argued that this shows that the music is not original and is not music at all. However, critics such as Lipsitz (1994: 37) perceive the youth's use of computer technologies in music production as innovative and enabling intercultural exchanges through socially shared musical memories. He argues that digital sampling in rap music turns consumers into tapping consumer memories of parts of old songs and redeploying them in the present. Lipsitz (1994: 37) adds that the music producers' use of machine technologies through repetition, sampling and mixing humanises the new technologies as the act offers emancipatory possibilities to the marginalised and oppressed populations who employ them for humane ends. De Block and Buckingham (2007: 177) concur with Lipsitz that the expanding array of new media technologies offers many different opportunities for young people to make and exchange music through file sharing, sampling, remixing and creating their own sounds. It is because of such opportunities from media technologies that Zimbabwe urban grooves has dramatically grown, left a mark on the Zimbabwean musical scene and influenced local culture (Moyo 2015). In addition, the song *"Vashakabvu"* makes an allusion to this impact of youth music as Winky D sings about the transformations that the Zimbabwean musical scene has been experiencing. He sings:

Makasiya Leornard Dembo achiroka dhanzi

You left Leornard Dembo rocking the dance

Nhasi yangova "maNinja aenda nechibhanzi"

Today it's "the Ninjas have gone with the cash"

The above lines allude to the popularity that the older Zimbabwean musicians such as the late Leornard Dembo once enjoyed and how with the passage of time and the associated changes, younger musicians such as Winky D himself, whom he refers to as *'MaNinja,'* have risen to popularity. The implication here is that the popularity of youthful musicians is aligned with the global transformations and growth of media technologies that have afforded youth numerous opportunities owing to their entrance into this space of the intersection between local experiences and global media technology and opportunities.

The youth, however, are not passive receivers of the available global technologies. De Block and Buckingham (2007: 135) note that young people are increasingly involved in activities such as video production and the creation of websites through social networking sites like "Myspace." On a more interesting note, Vartour (2006) argues that, youth have become scavengers, taking the products that global capitalism has thrown at them and re-inventing these products in ways that go beyond the best interest of the global corporate order and original function of the products. In the case of music, global youth have taken the products of the corporate music industry and reconfigured how these products get circulated, hence [the youth] are not just puppets of globalisation. Winky D notes in the song *"Vashakabvu,"* the negative impact of media technologies on the music industry, especially in terms of piracy, but appropriates the same media technologies to demonstrate and make clear the message in his song which is also available on YouTube.[9] The media technologies enable him to 'scavenge' and bring to life the now obsolete vinyl records and the telephone booth, which he juxtaposes with new media technologies such as the cell phone and iPod to emphasise the transformations of the Zimbabwe socio-cultural experiences. Winky D also uses the video to bring to life some of the long gone legendary musicians such as Leornard Dembo and John Chibadura and the Zimbabwean anti-colonial historical figure Mbuya Nehanda. In addition, he uses the video to vividly capture the post-2000 Zimbabwean socio-economic changes that will be explained later in the chapter. It is through such skilful appropriation of products of global capitalism, especially global media technologies, that Winky D was awarded the 2013 best Zimdancehall video award for *"Vashakabvu."*[10] The media has enabled young people to find an audience for their creative expression in ways that were previously difficult, if not impossible, thus showing how it can be used to empower them and circulate their voices locally and globally.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the urban grooves musical culture has impacted greatly on the Zimbabwean musical scene, and this has arisen due to what Siziba (2009) identifies as the youth's access to global cultural developments. Siziba (2009: 19) observes that exposure to the "global" afforded the youthful urban groovers the chance to challenge society's gerontocratic cultural creativity and perceptions by participating in the production and reproduction of culture that has formerly been a preserve of the older generation. The urban groovers, just as contemporary Zimbabwean youth comics such as Prosper Ngomashi (Comic Pastor), Roland Lunga (Bhutisi) and Admire Kuzhangaira (Boss Kheda), who are circulating comic video skits that satirise the Zimbabwean socio-economic and political experiences and Zimbabwean youth experiences on Whatsapp, Facebook and YouTube, indicate the way youth find themselves at the intersection between global products and their daily life experiences. They, however, use the global media products to actively take part in discourses on local Zimbabwean daily cultural experiences, thus by-passing censorship and media laws.

Furthermore, the appropriated technology and associated media sites, such as Facebook and YouTube, enable youth to identify with cultural experiences of the global youth and constitute different identities in the process. De Block and Buckingham (2007: 150) observe that the [youth]'s exposure to a global culture means that they are connected more with their peers in other cultures than they are with their parents as youth identities are always built not necessarily in opposition to adults, but from the relationships with other youth which often plays a huge role in [youth] identity development (Paveda 2006). This experience is explained in depth by Brubaker and Cooper (2000: 19) who propose and employ the terms 'commonality,' 'connectedness' and 'groupness', which they view as unambiguous compared to the term identity in the context of formation of collective identities. This entails individuals developing a "sense of belonging to a distinctive bounded group, involving both a felt solidarity or oneness with fellow group members and a felt difference from or even antipathy to specified outsiders." The Facebook page "Youth Village,"[11] for instance, is used by Zimbabwean youth to share information about global popular music, youth style, fashion, celebrities and different art forms. Such sites are an important source of youth identity and culture because, as observed by Paveda (2006), youth style on dressing, body care, language and music preferences have important social functions that contribute to the construction of their own identities. Zimbabwean musicians even assert their youth style and culture in urban grooves musical video texts such as Roki's

"Chidzoka," (2007) Stunner's *"Godo"* ("Jealousy") (2011) and Lady Squanda (Sandra Gazi)'s *"Ndinovhaira"* ("I am proud") (2013) through the expression of youth identity via hair style, dressing, chains, tattoos and other objects associated with global youth culture. This shows the link between the global media and youth intercultural contacts and identity formation.

These media technologies used by the youth are nevertheless associated with a number of paradoxes. Kelly (2006) argues that while incessant media broadcasting creates new and unpredictable forms of connection, identification and cultural affinity, it also results in dislocation and disjuncture. Kelly's observation is to an extent demonstrated by Shinsoman in his song *"Mawaya-waya"* ("Hundred dollar notes") (2013), which won him the Best Song of the Year Award at the 2013 Zim Dancehall Awards.[12] He sings about his fans showering him with US hundred dollar bills, thus replicating the behaviour of fans (especially those from the Euro-American world) who at times shower their favourite celebrities with gifts or buy celebrity memorabilia at very high prices to show their appreciation and affinity to the celebrity. The paradox ensues as one wonders how Shinsoman's fans, mainly Zimbabwean poor and unemployed 'ghetto youth' can afford to shower him with such huge sums. However, this behaviour of fans envisioned in *"Mawaya-waya"* can be explained from another angle as a replication of commodity culture and conspicuous consumption similar and typical of *izikhothane* who are members of the growing South African township youth culture. The *izikhothane* youth assert their wealth by setting alight sums of money, designer clothes and shoes worth thousands of rands (Bambalele 2012; Jones 2013), and Jones (2013) calls this "conspicuous destruction" as reflected in the title of her article. Jones (2013: 210) interprets such behaviour amongst impoverished township youth as a form of commodity display that is less about wealth attained than wealth and belonging aspired to. To add on this, Kumavie (2015: 166) observes a paradox evident in African youth's use of global media technologies and the way they are considered as both creators of vibrant forces of culture, and a potential risk to themselves and the world around them. The Zimbabwean urban youth phenomenon of *'vuzu'* parties, discussed earlier, reflects such a contradiction, for it is the brainchild of the youth themselves and an attempt at creating a platform for entertainment and identification with regional (South African) and global youth music culture. The phenomenon has however come under attack as it is viewed as characterised by alcohol and substance abuse as well as sex orgies (Ndlovu 2015) with some school pupils as young as thirteen being part of these parties (Tshili 2015).

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Another paradox involved in the growth of the global media is the impact of computer technologies on the music industry. The musicians have managed to find audience for their musical creations and yet the mainly poor youth (especially in the case of Zimbabwe) have found easy access to the products without having to spend much money as the technologies also make piracy easier. Mate (2012) cites piracy by unemployed youth as one of the factors that have undermined Zimbabwean young musicians' chances of reaping profits from music as other musicians from Sub-Saharan Africa. The issue of piracy may as well be seen as contributing to part of the factionalism that has invaded the urban grooves movement, as noted in the emergence of factions such as "Mabhanditi" ("Bandits"), "Conquering Family," "Ninjas," "HKDs" (Moyo 2015) and the Stunner versus Maskiri faction (Dube 2015). Musicians' attempts to transcend piracy have resulted in a huge focus on live musical shows, which have contributed to contests and factionalism as means to secure recognition and readily available fans and followers who would attend these shows. This culture of contest is pointed out by Moyo (2015) in his article in *The Sunday Mail* where he asserts that [urban grooves] "fans have developed a culture of sabotaging artistes from camps they do not support, in most cases throwing cans on stage during performances." Thus, although the growth of media technologies offers youth countless opportunities to be in touch with the global, their adverse effects need not be ignored.

The growth of the global media technologies has nevertheless transformed and intensified intercultural encounters between global youth. The youth use these media technologies to create their own cultural products and share them globally, and in the process constitute different identities. However, the paradoxes attached to these mediated intercultural encounters, such as those mentioned above need to be taken into consideration if one has to give a balanced presentation and understand fully how the growth of media technologies influence intercultural encounters among the youth. Scholars such as Vartour (2006) argue that access and participation in intercultural communication has not been the same for all youth and has in fact excluded some as they have different levels of access to the global products. This has resulted in the polarisation between the "technology rich" and the "technology poor" (De Block and Buckingham 2007: 135) or what Drori (2010) calls the "digital divide" and "innovation divide." In addition, as observed by Ndlela (2006), access to the internet in Zimbabwe is mainly an urban phenomenon, as is the case in most African countries. However, Ndlela (2006: 10) rightly notes that Zimbabwe has registered a significant growth in internet usage and through a diffusion process, the lifestyles mediated in

these channels filter into society, touching even those remotely connected to modern communication systems, such as the urban slums and rural outposts.

2.5 Cultural Syncretism in Urban Grooves

This section examines the way in which three musicians, Stunner, Winky D and Shinsoman in their songs, *"Godo,"* ("Jealousy") (2011), *"Vashakabvu,"* ("Ancestors") (2013) and *"Mawaya-waya"* ("Hundred Dollar Notes") (2013) respectively, relate with the notion of cultural syncretism. Stunner's song draws from hip-hop, while Winky D's *"Vashakabvu"* and Shinsoman's*"Mawaya-waya"* are both influenced by Jamaican dancehall. The main focus of this section is to determine the syncretism demonstrated by the singers as they reflect on everyday life experiences and the associated cultural practices such as belief systems, customs, morals, dressing and symbols that influence them in their music lyrics and video texts. The analysis here is based on the assumption that, although the three singers are influenced by and draw on global cultural practices in their music, they demonstrate an awareness of the contemporary experiences and the traditional cultural practices and beliefs of the Zimbabwean people.

Stunner is one of the urban grooves musicians who is known for his flashy lifestyle and bragging about his material success in the music industry. An article in *The Herald* (2012) carried the headline, "Stunner Crowned 'King of Bling" and went on to explain how the musician 'out blinged' another youthful musician called Mudiwa Hood (real name, Mudiwa Mutandwa). In the same newspaper narrative, Stunner is quoted pointing out that, "I know I have been in the news for good and bad things but as you can see when it comes to fashion I am a trendsetter." He also owns a record label called *"Tazzoita Ca$h Records"* (We have made ca$h records) which spells out the way he associates himself with acquiring more money. In the song *"Godo,"* ("Jealousy"), Stunner sings about his material success and claims that some musicians are jealous of him. He portrays his success through vivid pictures of material acquisition as typified when he sings that, "*Daily cash yakunhuwa kunge nyama yehwai"* (Daily cash is now smelling like lamb meat). The video to the song is also inundated by images of cars, money and flashy clothing that he shows off. Stunner's materialism is even accentuated when he subverts the phrase 'from ashes to ashes' often associated with Christian funeral rites to "from ashes to class," as he celebrates his rise to fame. Chari (2009b) considers such display of materialism by musicians as indicative of the presence of

the influence of western consumerist values in Zimbabwe urban grooves. Chari adds that the kind of consumerism displayed in urban grooves is at odds with the economic meltdown then unfolding in the first decade of the twenty-first century and continuing still in Zimbabwe.

Contrary to Chari, scholars such as Psynakova (2012) do not display a dismissive attitude towards youth consumption practices. Using consumer culture theories, Psynakova (2012: 51; 72) argues that young people use consumer lifestyles as a means of inclusion and establishing their place especially under the condition of late modernity. In addition, Mateveke (2014: 220) notes that the association with money and material wealth in urban grooves music should be regarded as more than just mere materialism but a sign of the fight for visibility by the youth and a longing to transcend their inferior position. In the same vein, Jones (2013: 223), in her analysis of conspicuous consumption by South African *izikhothane* referenced in the previous section, argues that the act of "conspicuous destruction" through "spinning cars and burning expensive commodities is a double gesture that presses for visibility while registering the ways in which struggles against poverty, crime, unemployment are ordinary and acute." Furthermore, Stunner identifies with the African American hip-hop image, as the video displays the clothing and accessories such as sunglasses, ornamental chains, studs and caps common in American hip-hop music and video culture. Thus, as an urban groover who borrows from hip-hop music, Stunner is influenced by global cultural practices embodied in global hip-hop music.

Stunner also uses musical imagery and sonics that depict how his music has benefited from cultural syncretism. His idea of success is presented through images of aggressiveness, war and militarism that are punctuated by sonics echoing gun sounds. The song *"Godo,"* popularised the term *"MaShark"* (sharks) among the youth, following how he identifies himself as a "Shark" in the song. This reference and popularisation of the shark image indicates a certain aggressive culture, for a shark is a dangerous and aggressive creature, and a fascination as well as appropriation of the foreign into the everyday imaginaries, as Zimbabwe does not have a sea. There are also war and military images evident in the following lines:

Mawords angu ibazooka, victory ndakushoodai

My words are a bazooka, victory I have shot you

....Ndaremera industry I am a commander to the soldiers

I am heavy to the industry I am a commander to the soldiers

Such images of war and aggression are usually related to the violence that characterises American hip-hop, as Chari (2009b: 181) argues in consideration of the influence of American hip-hop musicians such as Tupac, 50 Cent and Eminem who sang about and were even involved in or became victims of violence. The three musicians' music as well reflected on the long history of race based violence in America as well as registered resistance to it. However, Chari (2009b: 182) contends that violence is not the exclusive domain of the American society as Zimbabwe has also been characterised by cases of violence in the form of political and domestic violence. Moreover, it is evident that the militarism and aggression referenced by Stunner in *"Godo"* is not necessarily physical but symbolic; lyrics such as "give me stronger competition *vapfanha ava* (these boys) they are just weaker/ they don't know why they rap *vapfanha ava* (these boys)…" signal the fighting spirit and real struggles that the Zimbabwean musicians have to go through if they are to succeed in the Zimbabwean music industry reeling under the country's economic woes. Chapter 6 offers an in-depth analysis of the significance of militarism and aggression as symbols in urban grooves.

Although Stunner is influenced by the global hip-hop culture and uses foreign images in his music as exemplified above, he demonstrates an awareness of the traditional Zimbabwean and African culture. At the beginning and end of the song *"Godo,"* Stunner makes a typical traditional *mbira* song chant, as noted when he recites *"hoyiyerere hiya, hoyirerere hiya…."* This chant is common in traditional *mbira* music by veteran Zimbabwean artists such as Hakurotwi Mude, Sekuru Gora, Beaular Dyoko, Matemai, Musekiwa Chingoza, Forward Kwenda and Tute Chigamba.[13] Thus, Stunner's hip-hop song, *"Godo,"* infuses the global African-American hip-hop and traditional Shona musical aesthetics. This song's video also juxtaposes the urban and the rural; Stunner is portrayed in an urban setting while another musician called BaShupi (Peace Ndlovu) with whom he collaborates in the song appears in a rural setting. The rural home is significant in the lives of black Zimbabweans as noted in their continued return, from cities, to the villages during holidays and weekends. In addition, most rural Zimbabweans are subsistent agriculturalists as invoked through the video portrayal of BaShupi while shelling maize and carrying a hoe. However, on a more significant note, the rural in the African way of life, is a person's spiritual home as the ancestors are buried on the rural land that a person is tied to as well (Turino 2000). All these images demonstrate how Stunner identifies with his roots. Popular urban slang for the rural

areas is *'kumaroots'* (at the roots) and affirms a Zimbabwean identity contrary to the claims that urban grooves musicians merely imitate foreign music cultures. At the beginning of the video to his song, Stunner appears wearing a cap that is labelled NY (New York), a trend that is popular both in American hip-hop and amongst the global youth. This can be taken to show how Stunner wants to identify with hip-hop culture and the global popular trends, but at the end of the song, Stunner and BaShupi display the Zimbabwean flag, which is a symbol of their Zimbabwean identity. Therefore, as the local cultures converge with the western cultures in a globalised world, urban grooves musicians such as Stunner demonstrate an identification with both the local cultures and the global hip-hop cultures. The musicians show knowledge and an awareness of both the contemporary experiences of the Zimbabwean people and their traditional music, customs, symbols and aesthetics that are still valorised by urbanised Zimbabweans. This reveals, as argued by Barber (1987), that popular arts in Africa can only be understood through their syncretic nature as exposure to two different bodies of cultural resources has seen artists taking elements from both.

The song *"Vashakabvu,"* by Winky D draws on the African philosophy of ancestor worship which I will present mainly from the Shona perspective since the musician is Shona and references the Shona culture. The title of the song literally means 'The deceased' but it is for want of the most suitable translation that the term 'ancestors,' which is *'vadzimu'* in Shona, is adopted here as the song carries the notion of ancestor worship and honouring of the dead, an important part of Shona people. Shona people believe in life after death and hold the view that the dead continue to live in the form of ancestral spirits, constantly commune with the living and continue to bear influence on the communities they have left behind (Bourdillon 1987). Jonathan Banda who is Winky D's manager is quoted in an article by Nemadire (2013) in *The Herald*, where he says the following about the song: "…I believe our fans understand the African philosophy in the afterlife*, 'Vashakabvu'* clearly tells the presence of the dead. He was acknowledging the legends who came before us." Banda confirms in his comment, how the song *"Vashakabvu"* is informed by the custom of ancestor worship in its celebration of past Zimbabwean musical legends. The song indeed honours the dead and draws on the philosophy of the afterlife and how the past can relate to the present. Hence, Winky D honours some of the departed musicians such as Leornard Dembo and John Chibadura who contributed to the development of Zimbabwean music (Banda in Nemadire 2013). As observed by Nemadire (2013), the idea behind the musical lyrics and the video is to show respect to some of the pioneers and great achievers in music and other spheres such

as sport and the history of the nation, especially the fight against colonialism as noted in the video reference to the 1890s anti-colonial heroine Mbuya Nehanda. Nevertheless, it should be underscored that Winky D's acknowledgement of the work of the late musicians credits their role in contributing to the culture of the Zimbabwean people, as music is part of any society's culture and by referring to the past in the present and celebrating legends from other spheres, the artist reflects another form of syncretism at the musical-cultural and historical level.

Winky D's upholding of Shona ancestral worship traditions and the historical past can be seen from another perspective as a sign of influence from the Rastafari philosophy. As reported in an article in *The Standard* by Mugugunyeki (2016), Winky D's manager revealed that Winky D is a Rastafari. The Rastafari religion valorises and embraces an ostensibly lost African identity. Accordingly, the Rastafari, religion "[…] is necessary for the development of a revitalised identity and a sense of self, both individually and collectively" (Simboonath 2003: 19). Simboonath (2003: 18) adds that Jamaican reggae music which is synonymous with Rastafari religion shows an attachment to an African past by (re)introducing older African and neo-African elements into the music. Winky D's *"Vashakabvu"* draws on Jamaican dancehall sonics and Rastafari religion which are embedded in the upholding of the African past and history. This also serves to explain the biblical references, typical of the Rastafari religion, evident in Winky D's reference to the biblical signs of times (Matthew 24: 6) as he sings about how the changes taking place are detrimental and not pleasing in the eyes of God, such that they can only be signs that the world is coming to an end. The song's video also shows an image of a snake, which is biblically a symbol of the devil or the tempter who leads to the fall of human kind (Genesis 3; Matthew 3: 7). Therefore, it is evident that *"Vashakabvu"* is characterised by syncretism as it synthesises traditional Shona beliefs, Rastafari philosophy and biblical beliefs.

Shinsoman in *"Mawaya-waya,"* also honours the dead but in a way that is different to Winky D's, for he honours only those from his own family lineage. Shinsoman expresses the wish that his relatives were alive so that they could witness his present musical success. The musician seems to be suggesting here that his ancestors influenced and contributed to his success. Wishing his ancestors were alive and referencing them in the song is some form of tribute and acknowledgement of their role. In fact, part of the song is dedicated to the ancestors as in the video, Shinsoman sings part of it at a cemetery and even wishes there were a telephonic link so that he could phone the ancestors and inform them about his success.

Paying tribute to the family ancestors and appropriating the phone, which is a global symbol of communication, in this traditional practice can be viewed as representing the vital nature of family ties despite the disruptions of the traditional family structure through urbanisation and the growth of globalisation which have rendered human beings more mobile beings. It is this interface between the traditional form of communication (ancestor worship) and the global form (phone) that demonstrates the syncretism in the song "Mawaya-waya"

On an interesting note, Shinsoman blends traditional rituals expected of ancestor veneration with contemporary everyday experiences. He draws on the traditional ritual of libation which he fuses with the 'modern' as noted in the video where he holds a bottle of beer and later pours it on the ground as a libation for his ancestors, yet rituals for ancestral worship are done using indigenous beer if the meaning of the ritual is to be realised (Turino 2000; Hames 2014). There is some kind of contamination of the ritual of libation by Shinsoman. Nevertheless, Mhlanga and Chigamba (cited in Turino 2000: 38) reveal that most Zimbabweans, themselves included, combine indigenous and western ideas and practices during ceremonies in the townships. What is significant therefore to my consideration of the way in which urban grooves music and its video texts express the associated cultural syncretism, is that Shinsoman acknowledges the presence of the ancestors, honours them in his song and reflects the traditional customs of his people, especially the aspect of family ties that is still considered vital in contemporary Zimbabwean culture. However, Shinsoman emphasises this vital nature of family ties by symbolically appropriating what the global economy has made readily available to him in terms of the phone and manufactured or 'modern' beer, hence confirming the syncretism in his music.

Cultural syncretism is also portrayed in the urban grooves' musical treatment of contemporary changes. Winky D's *"Vashakabvu,"* goes beyond acknowledging and paying tribute to the deceased artists as it also informs these departed musicians and ancestors about the changes that have gripped Zimbabwe in the 'age of information.' He draws the attention of the ancestors as well as that of his audience to the impact of these changes on society. In fact, hidden behind the focus on change in the 'age of information' is a subtle criticism of the socio-political and economic changes that have impacted negatively on the Zimbabwean society. This is implied in the chorus of the song that emphasises Winky D's message as meant for those who died in the 90s, 80s, and 70s and backwards to 'tip' them about the changes that have taken place in the world and in Zimbabwe in particular. The fact that the

song targets the changes that took place after the 90s alludes to the post-2000 socio-political and economic changes that gripped the Zimbabwean nation. Winky D in fact sings about some of the post-2000 socio-political and economic changes in a sarcastic way, indicating his satirical portrayal of the detrimental effects of the changes to the Zimbabwean society. First, he alludes to the souring of Zimbabwe's international relations, particularly with the West after the year 2000's fast track land reform programme, and the Zimbabwean government's adoption of the 'Look East Policy' with China being the main trading partner. Here, Winky D sings in a sarcastic tone about the presence of China-funded businesses and factories, *"MaChina avemo muno ovhura mafactories,"* yet generally the 'industry' consists of retail shops that sell the heavily despised sub-standard products derogatorily dubbed *'zhing zhongs'* by ordinary Zimbabweans. This perception is portrayed in detail in another song by Winky D, "Made in China" (2012) and according to Musanga's (2016: 3) analysis of the song, the mockery of the *'zhing zhongs'* by the ordinary Zimbabweans is a 'parallel counter discourse' through which they contest official narratives of the Zimbabwe-China relations. In the same vein, Chan (2006) describes Zimbabwe's 'Look East Policy' as a sign of desperation that is not likely to rescue the country's economy but would see China gaining economic benefits from Zimbabwe and using the country as a springboard into other African countries. It is at this desperation that Winky D scoffs.

In addition, Winky D sings about the dollarisation of the economy and other crises encountered in Zimbabwe after the year 2000. He expresses how the use of the American dollar in Zimbabwe means that the Zimbabwean dollar has totally been forgotten *("Zim dollar hakuna kana achamboriyeuka")*. This is an allusion to the Zimbabwean economic crisis that came to be characterised by hyperinflation and led to the Zimbabwean Government's adoption of a multi-currency policy. *"Vashakabvu"* makes another revelation of the impact of the post-2000 socio-economic and political crisis in Zimbabwe as follows:

> *Pane unity gavhumendi ndofunga makaudzwa*
>
> There is a unity government I think you were told
>
> *Mabato enyika obatana nyika tasimudza*
>
> The country's political parties have been united and we have uplifted the country

The above is reference to the Government of National Unity (GNU) of 2009 which came into being after the 29th of March 2008 harmonised elections had failed to produce an ultimate

winner between the ZANU-PF presidential candidate, Robert Mugabe and the MDC one, the late Morgan Tsvangirai. A power sharing deal, brokered by the Southern African leaders, led the two MDC formations and ZANU-PF into signing a political agreement on the 15th of September 2008, which consummated into the GNU on the 13th of February 2009 (Nhede 2012: 179). There is a remarkable sarcastic tone in Winky D's praise of the GNU. Although the GNU led to a few positive results, it generated some "unanticipated" challenges that were caused mainly by the political polarisation in the country and politicisation of public institutions (Nhede 2012: 179), and it is these challenges that Winky D's sarcasm reflects. Therefore, the syncretism in *"Vashakabvu"* becomes apparent where Winky D juxtaposes his people's traditional past and ancestors' eyes in the present to reveal that something has gone wrong in the present, hence the need for the ancestors to intervene.

It should also be underscored that by singing about traditional culture in relation to the present, Winky D is elevating himself to the position of the custodian of his society's cultural and moral knowledge. More so, since Winky D is an urban performer, 'the city and his urban observations replace the rural space as a site of moral guidance and knowledge' (Rapoo 2013: 373). His awareness of society's life experiences, its history and values, especially those related to the nation's social and political memory, as noted in reference to the liberation struggle, and Mbuya Nehanda, makes him a significant cultural icon. *"Vashakabvu"* offers a new paradigm to discourses about the past, the liberation war and liberation war heroes. Often, discourses that are offered through the state media valorise the past as part of the fabric of the ruling ZANU-PF party and its members as well as present the party members as custodians of this past. However, nothing is said to evaluate this past in relation to the present Zimbabwean predicaments and how the ruling party and its members can be held responsible for such predicaments. Winky D subverts such discourses as he suggests that the past should not be presented in isolation from the present. As a result, he subtly and symbolically invokes the ancestral spirits to witness whether the current state of affairs is what they would have liked. This resonates with Barber's (1987) observation that popular arts operate in novel and labile ways such that when they use established or 'official' traditions, they do so according to their own principles and construct their own meanings in their own way. Thus, there is cultural syncretism in the song where the past and present are made to interact and inform each other.

As noted earlier in the chapter, Winky D uses media technologies to bring the past to life and connect the audience to it. The video takes the viewers down memory lane with images of the late musical legends and Mbuya Nehanda (Nemadire 2013) as well as obsolete technologies such as the telephone booth and vinyl record conjuring up past memories. One recalls here Bere (2008) and Rapoo's (2013) observation that music sustains social and cultural memory. Bere (2008: 40) states further that the social memory underscores the society's shared values which make and shape that history. Experiences of the present depend on the knowledge of that history and images of the past legitimate a present social order and suggest the society's future. Winky D's honouring of the legends or 'pioneers' of Zimbabwean music reflects his acknowledgment of the legacy that they left and its impact on the contemporary musicians. The success of the contemporary music and future of Zimbabwean music is reliant on that legacy as well as on knowledge of that legacy. Thus, there is an interface between the past and the present, and as the video takes the audience through the past into the present, they are made to reconnect with that past and to reflect on whether the changes that have taken place in their society have helped in the upholding of their societal values. It is here that the syncretism in the song *"Vashakabvu"* becomes apparent as Winky D weaves together elements from the past and the present as well as from Jamaican dancehall, the Rastafari philosophy and the bible, in order to enable the interaction between the past and present. Moreover, as Winky D sings about the changes that have been effected through the global media technologies, he ironically uses that same global media as a medium through which the past and present interact with each other. He, therefore, symbolically transports both the past and the present into the global media using symbols and images through which the audience are made to understand, interpret and reflect on that past and present. Finally, it becomes evident that the major thrust of the song is not on the way global media technologies have disrupted the Zimbabwean societal values but how the post-2000 socio-economic and political changes that have gripped Zimbabwe are at variance with the values, needs and sensibilities of the Zimbabwean people.

2.6 Syncretism in the Language of Urban Grooves

Although language is part of and a carrier of culture as famously argued by Ngugi (1987), this analysis of syncretism in language is separate from the analysis of cultural syncretism above, as language plays a bigger role in urban grooves music and so requires its own

analysis. Siyachitema (2014), in an article in the *Interpress Service News*, posits that Shona has taken on an artistic form and undergone a language transformation as a result of the advent of urban grooves music. Siyachitema (2014) articulates further the role that urban grooves has played in transforming indigenous Zimbabwean languages, especially Shona, which is the language used by the majority of the urban grooves musicians. However, urban grooves has not seen the transformation of indigenous languages only; even English language has been 'tampered' with as urban grooves singers appropriate some English words to express their experiences and new meanings. In some instances English words are fused with Shona prefixes and suffixes to make them fit into Shona grammar. It is important here to note the relationship between language use in urban grooves music and that in hip-hop, especially considering Potter's (1995: 78) argument. Potter views American hip-hop as a form of 'resistance vernacular' that takes the minor language's variation and redefinition of the major language a step further and deforms as well as repositions the rules of intelligibility set up by the dominant language. Manase (2011: 87) views the use of slang in urban grooves as a subversion of "the cultural and ideological conservatism that was implied by the post-2000 Zimbabwe government's call for a restoration of the indigenous languages and black cultural values, as a means to fight against Western media and cultural imperialism." Ironically, urban grooves is seen subverting the same government that officially promoted the music as a mainstream genre in Zimbabwean music (Bere 2008; Manase 2009). In a similar fashion, Mate (2012) analyses the subversion of the Shona language through the use of slang and how the slang has become an effective means through which urban groovers challenge intergenerational sexual relationships and gerontocratic discourses in Zimbabwe. The analysis in this section however goes further than Mate's as it considers various forms of syncretic language formations in both the literal and figurative language of urban grooves and how these intersect with daily youth intercultural encounters.

The analysis of language syncretism in this chapter focuses on how urban grooves musicians interweave different forms of languages, mainly Shona, English and slang in their music as they constantly shift from one form of language to another in the lyrics, which is indicative of language syncretism in urban grooves, albeit through code switching. However, the language syncretism in the musical genre is seen in more than just language use in its literal sense as it is also evident in the figurative speech employed by the musicians. Even though Shona has its own figurative speech in the form of proverbs and idiomatic as well as metaphoric expressions, the musicians have not limited themselves to using these traditional

Shona figures of speech. Shona figurative speech is interwoven with metaphoric expressions, similes, symbols, allusions and images drawn from foreign or global concepts and contemporary daily cultural activities encountered by the musicians and ordinary Zimbabwean people. As a result, most of the musicians have become innovative as noted in the way they create their own figures of speech and not rely on the traditional or conventional ones. Thus, this analysis of language syncretism focuses on that syncretism demonstrated through code switching and figurative expressions.

2.6.1 Code Switching

Earlier in this chapter, it was noted that whenever people from two or more different cultural backgrounds meet, they are bound to influence each other culturally leading to cultural syncretism. Similarly, when people from different linguistic backgrounds meet, they are bound to influence each other linguistically leading to the creation of syncretic languages. Earlier forms of such languages were creole languages that developed in plantation colonies as a result of contacts between European and non-European languages during the period of slave trade. Such creoles developed into the first languages of the people who used them (Mufwene 2010). A similar situation exists in Africa but mostly in the form of urban slang that is popular among the urban youth and whose cultural significance, as observed by Veit-Wild (2009: 685), is that they often contain subversive elements and can be considered as anti-languages.[14] These languages, as noted by Veit-Wild (2009), include: *Isicamtho* and *Tsotsitaal* that developed in South Africa from the blending of African languages, English and Afrikaans; *Sheng* which is a mixture of Swahili and English and is spoken in Nairobi, and *Camfranglais* which is spoken in urban Cameroon and fuses French, English and African languages. Similarly, in code switching, contact between different languages influences speakers to consciously and unconsciously use more than one language in a conversation (Veit-Wild 2009: 685). In Zimbabwe which is a multilingual and multi-ethnic country, exposure of people to different languages, mainly the indigenous languages and English, influences code switching, but as observed by Veit-Wild (2009: 685), the languages used in code switching have not blended into single and first languages of the speakers as in creole.

Code switching is most common among Zimbabwean youth who are exposed to the English language at institutions of learning where it is the medium of instruction. It is common that students are forced to speak and use English within the school premises and

only speak in their own first languages at home or during informal school situations. The condition is the same for employed youth, as English is also used as the official language at work. As a result, youth often practice code switching in informal conversations because of this exposure to two separate languages. Although code switching is a widespread communicative resource among Zimbabwean bilinguals and/ [multilinguals] as observed by Mashiri (2002), I am of the view that urban grooves music has made code switching much more popular, as discussed below. Some linguists however distinguish the use of different languages in a linguistic text between code switching and code mixing. For example, Mashiri (2002: 247) points out that in code mixing, the Embedded Language (EL) elements which have their own internal structure occur in the sentence of the Main Language (ML), obeying the placement rule of the main language as in the example *"Ndipe makey angu!"* ("Give me my keys!"). The English noun 'key' is embedded into Shona and is made to follow the Shona grammatical construction where the plural prefix *'ma-'* is added to 'key' to create concordial agreement between the plural 'makey' ('keys') and the plural possessive *'angu'* ('my'). In code switching, however, elements of both the main language and the embedded language maintain the morphological and phonological attributes of the respective languages (Mashiri 2002: 247) as noted in the example, "Come and collect your books, *ndapedza kumaverenga"* (Come and collect your books, I have finished reading them). Thus, I acknowledge that there is use of both code mixing and code switching in urban grooves music, but this analysis will however not concentrate on the distinction between the two terms. Mashiri (2002) observes that the two terms are sometimes used interchangeably, hence, I adopt the term code switching and concentrate on showing how urban grooves musicians alternate between using different words and phrases from Shona, English and slang.

Code switching has become a prominent motif in urban grooves music as noted in the productions by musicians such as Winky D and EX-Q (born Enock Munhenga) who often switch from Shona to English and slang in their songs. Mugari (2014) observes that code switching has become an urban grooves music style that makes the music reach out to a huge audience, especially the urban youth who practice code switching as well. However, it can be argued that code switching is also being used by Zimbabwe urban grooves musicians to reach out to wider audiences including those from other countries. Collaborative singing between urban grooves musicians and those from other African countries has recently become common, with a good example being reflected in Trevor Dongo's song "African Girl" (2015), which features the local Soul Jah Love and Zambian musician Shyman Shaizo who

brings in Zambian Nyanja in the song. "African Girl," a love song that embodies a message of courtship and the lyrical persona's intention to marry the subject of the song, weaves together Shona, Nyanja, English and words from African American 'vernacular English,' (Potter 1995) such as 'noting' for 'nothing.' The code switching here is done in such a way that the song reaches out to a wider audience as the three musicians sing alternately in a way that makes it possible for people who speak the different languages used to understand parts of the song sung in their own languages. Here, one is reminded of another song *"Ndapengeswa Newe"* ("You have made me go crazy") (2015) by the duo Extra Large (Jimmy Mangezi and Norman Manwere) featuring Nox (Enock Guni) and Oskid (Prince Tapfuma) whose introductory part sees the persona making reference to different countries that include Zimbabwe, England and South Africa. The larger part of the song is in Shona but that introductory part is in a 'vernacular English' (Porter 1995) similar to the one used in hip-hop music, reggae or dancehall as well as pidgin English common in contemporary Nigerian music. The persona in *"Ndapengeswa Newe"* uses the language to identify himself with the global and global music that influences Zimbabwe urban grooves music. More importantly, Trevor Dongo's song is titled "African Girl" instead of "Zimbabwean Girl," implying that there are shared perceptions of love, courtship and what it means to be a "typical African girl" that the African audience the song reaches out to can identify with. In some songs, for example, *"Tezvara Varamba,"* ("The father-in-law has refused") (2012) by EX-Q and BaShupi and *"Maroja,"* ("Lodgers") (n.d) by Extra Large, code switching takes on another form common in other Zimbabwean musical genres such as *sungura,* where the musicians switch from Shona to a kind of 'adulterated' Shona commonly used by Zimbabwean nationals of Malawian origin. Although the musicians use the 'adulterated' Shona with some kind of playfulness, they are acknowledging the presence of Zimbabwean nationals of Malawian origin, identifying with them and reflecting the multilingualism and multi-ethnicity in the country. Thus, language syncretism through code switching, as Mugari (2014) notes, has enabled urban grooves musicians to reach out to and identify with their fans, the urban youth who practice code switching. However, it is also a way of identifying with and reaching out to wider audiences as evidenced in the examples above.

Urban grooves, especially songs that are influenced by rap and Jamaican dancehall involve a lot of rhyme, rhythmic sounds and movements. Henriques (2014: 96) argues that rhythm is the key element in dancehall and nowhere is its importance more evident than on the dancehall scene. It is through code switching that most urban grooves musicians have

managed to create rhyme and rhythm in their songs and in some instances some songs get overwhelmed by the rhyme such that it is easy to dismiss such songs as lacking content. A case in point is Doba Don's (born Dumalisile Mehlomakhulu) *"Mudendere"* ("In the nest") (2015), whose significant meaning can be discerned after a close analysis of the singer's figurative language. Soul Jah Love who was the most favourite artist amongst youth interviewed for this research is a celebrated Zimdancehall musician well known for his lyrical creativity and prowess. His creativity is closely linked to his use of code switching for rhyme and aesthetic and popular pleasure. He has been described as a "full time entertainer" owing to his rhymes that are pleasurable as evident in his music.[15] The songs *"This Time Havateri"* ("This time they will not follow") (2013), *"Magetsi"* ("Electricity") (2015) and *"Musombodhiya,"* (which refers to an alcoholic substance) (2015) are all dominated by rhymes which run throughout the songs as Soul Jah Love switches from Shona to English and slang. This is best exemplified in the following lines from *"Magetsi"*: *"nemangoma ndichatotenga boat/ kana goat/ kana kunokupinza mucourt"* (with music I will buy a boat/ or a goat/ or send you to court). Some youth interviewed for this study even revealed that when they listen to urban grooves music they do not necessarily pay attention to the message in the song but are captivated by the language that artists use and how they create 'tongue twisters' and 'punch-lines' in the lyrics. Therefore, language syncretism is one way that permits rhyme and rhythm in urban grooves music and makes the lyrics more appealing; hence musicians such as Soul Jah Love use rhyme for aesthetic pleasure. Code switching in urban grooves is thus a popular cultural phenomenon similar to other popular cultural phenomena that Duncan (2009) describes as important domains of pleasure and fun especially for youth who turn to music for mindless relaxation and entertainment. It has allowed musicians to revolutionise the languages that they come in contact with and escape the rigidity and limitations of such languages to create desired effects in their music.

Slang is popular in code switching as observed in urban grooves and in youth talk. There is a lot of innovation involved in slang as totally new words are at times invented, while the available words are sometimes transformed to carry new meanings through a process that Paveda (2006) calls lexical innovation. It is in such instances that those who are not familiar with the words or those who are not part of the group that uses such words find it difficult to understand the messages conveyed. Lexical innovation can at times be excluding to those who are not part of a group. Paveda (2006) argues that such lexical innovation helps youth to protect certain activities from adult surveillance and allows them to freely discuss

issues that are often considered as taboo. He adds that lexical innovation takes place within the context of activities that youth participate in as part of their identity construction. Similarly, Veit-Wild (2009: 686) posits that code switching is part of a social dialect that distinguishes people according to their social classes, ethnic groups, gender or age. Slang also involves an interweaving of words from different languages, as noted in the way purely Shona and English words are used in urban grooves for slang formations. For example, the word *"muface"* (friend) and its variant *"chiface"* (some kind of nepotism) have become so popular in daily youth talk and appear in most urban grooves songs, as revealed in Winky D's *"Vashakabvu,"* in Stunner's *"Godo"* and Soul Jah Love's *"Magetsi."* The word *muface* combines the Shona singular noun prefix *'mu-'* and the English 'face' to refer to a friend. There is no relationship between the word 'face' and friend hence 'face' assumes a totally different meaning in *"muface."* In addition, EX-Q and BaShupi's song *"Tezvara Varamba,"* which focuses on a father-in-law who has a negative perception of music and musicians such that he rejects a prospective musician son-in-law, shows the persona and prospective son-in-law using slang as he tries to convince the father-in-law: *"zvamunoona kuimba ichi chipo/ kuimba igraft, kuimba ritori basa…"* (…music is a talent/ music is a profession, music is a profession). The persona switches from slang *"igraft"* to the Shona *"basa"* and "graft" is borrowed from the English (informal) 'graft' which means to 'work hard.'[16] The two words *"igraft"* and *"basa"* have a similar meaning, 'profession,' and the persona uses code switching here to reiterate, emphasise and convince the father-in-law that he would be valuable as a son-in-law because he has a job in music.

Other slang words that have diffused into urban grooves music include, *'mudhara'* ('old man') drawn from the Ndebele word *'umdala'* for old man, *'tsano'* (mate), a Shona word that does not appear in standard Shona but bears Shona phonemes, *'skiri'* (skill) and *'kusaiza'* (to reduce to size as in reduce or downgrade someone) borrowed from the English word 'size.' The words *'mangemba'* (Shona slang for drugs), *'madhanzi'* (borrowed from English dances), *mangoma* (Shona slang for music particularly Zimdancehall), *'mustaera'* (Borrowed from English, being in style), 'swag' (English slang for fashionable or trendy) and *'wakasara'* (Shona slang for being outdated or backward) featured much into the interviews I had with youth. The above examples are just few of a multitude of innovative words that have come to be associated with urban grooves and youth. This proves the existence of the innovation and transformation of existent languages and hence that of language syncretism in the urban grooves discourses.

Code switching has become more prominent in the contemporary Zimbabwean society where people are dealing with global products and engaging in global activities on a daily basis. Veit-Wild (2009) links such code switching with activities related to the electronic media and exchange of messages. Her detailed analyses of the way English words related to media technologies and practices are embedded in the Shona verbal construction by adding Shona prefixes and suffixes to the English words, refers to words such as 'fax,' 'email' and 'text', which are embedded into the Shona language to express activities of 'faxing' *('kufaxirana'),* 'emailing' *('kuemailirana')* and 'texting' *('kutexitirana').* However, it can be observed that language syncretism through code switching is also prominent where global technologies or concepts are involved and usually in such instances, the products or concepts get introduced and popularised through their English terms, such that there would be no Shona equivalents or Shona equivalents may seem so remote and the English words more accessible. Usually in such instances, Shona borrows the English term but translates it into the Shona phonemic system. Veit-Wild (2009) calls these words, which include *'tekinoroji'* adapted from 'technology,' adaptive words. In some instances the English word may be used in its pure form or Shona prefixes and suffixes may be added. This explains why words such as 'video,' 'video tapes,' salad and TV are used in EX-Q's Shona lyrics in the song *"Salala"* (2000) (a word derived from salad that is often used by Zimbabweans to ridicule snobbish or westernised youths). The word 'remote' (as in a remote control device) is utilised in the song *"Mudendere"* by Doba Don, *'mabatteries'* ('batteries'), *'macomputer'* ('computers'), *'parecord'* ('vinyl record') and *'muiPod'* ('in the iPod') in winky D's *"Vashakabvu"* and *'mafans'* ('fans') in Shinsoman's *"Mawa-waya."* Therefore, language syncretism, through code switching, has become a popular cultural phenomenon that has been enhanced by the global encounters experienced by Zimbabweans as they interact with global products and activities that were conceived and marketed in English discourses.

The analysis above shows that there are a variety of reasons why code switching features in the daily languages of urban youth in Zimbabwe and in urban grooves music. However, Veit-Wild (2009: 686) argues that the most prominent motive for switching, particularly from vernacular languages to English, is to enhance one's status since English is regarded as the language of sophistication and a sign of being hip. Although I agree with Veit-Wild that English language is associated with urbanity and status, I consider the argument that the most prominent motive for switching from Shona to English relates to social status as an overstatement. English words have become part of Zimbabwean people's,

especially youth's, daily conversations, regardless of their status. Zimbabwe urban grooves singers who switch to English in an attempt to be hip often do so with an anglicised accent. Examples are found in Stunner's songs especially where he tries to spite his rivals, in Winky D and Chenai's "Independent Lady" (2015) where the woman wants to spite a male partner who tries to flatter and woo her, and in EX-Q's "*Salala"* where the persona claims that he is trendy and demonstrates this by switching from Shona to English and using an anglicised accent. Hip phrases such as 'it's like,' 'coz,' and 'you know' also feature in some of the songs, as noted in EX-Q songs. However, most of the urban grooves musicians' code switching from Shona to English does not exhibit anglicised accents as the switching is done for other reasons. Winky D is a typical example of a singer who more often than not constantly switches from Shona to English in his songs, but as reported in an article on *Nehanda Radio* by Katiyo (2011), Winky D's manager disclosed that Winky D hails from the 'ghetto' and sings about real issues about 'ghetto youth.' His songs, "Survivor" (2015) and "Copyrights" (2015), which are dominated by Shona lyrics both bear English titles and use code switching to detail the contemporary economic hardships and adversities that Zimbabwean 'ghetto youth' face and how they try to transcend and survive such hardships. It is through code switching that musicians such as Winky D have found numerous opportunities to let out and express their struggles, anger, emotions, hopes and aspirations without being limited by the restrictions and formal rules of standard Shona or English. Therefore, code switching is a language of resistance through which the urban youth challenge the status quo. This makes Veit Wild's claim that the most prominent motive for switching from vernacular languages to English is enhancement of status an overstatement. This section has explored a variety of other factors that contribute to code switching in the language of urban grooves music. The following section analyses the use of figurative language in Zimbabwe urban grooves music.

2.6.2 The Figurative Language of Urban Grooves

Musicians, just as poets and other creative writers, use a variety of figures of speech, hence figurative language plays a significant role in music. Potter (1995: 18), explores how figurative language is an important part of hip-hop music. He asserts that signifying is an important trope in the music and its most central trope is the sly exchange of the literal for the figurative. Similarly, figurative language holds an important place in urban grooves music.

Therefore, it can be argued that many of those who miss the messages embodied in urban grooves and criticise the genre for lack of content do not see beyond the literal level of meanings expressed in the lyrics. Although Shona has its own traditional figures of speech, urban grooves musicians have not limited themselves to use of only such figures of speech. They often use their creative potential to come up with their own figures of speech drawn from their daily cultural encounters, and there is a tendency to also draw from foreign or global activities for the figurative language. It is common in urban grooves to synthesise traditional Shona figures of speech with novel ones drawn from the musicians' daily contemporary cultural experiences and encounters with global cultures and activities.

The song *"Mudendere"* by Doba Don typically synthesises traditional Shona figures of speech with 'modern' ones. The song's message is centred on what Doba Don metaphorically expresses as *"kufadza ndyere"* (making the mind happy) and he recounts different ways (including taking drugs) through which people try to relieve stress, thus the metaphor expresses the condition of having a stress-free mind. The song further recounts how some people want to live autonomous lives and on top of every situation, but in this instance, he draws his figures of speech from contemporary and global concepts and activities. He sings:

> *Mumwe… haadi kushandiswa nemumhu kunge remote*
>
> One does not want to be used like a remote
>
> *Anoda kufloater pazvinhu fanika boat*
>
> He/she wants to float on things like a boat
>
> *Unoda kumira kumberi kunge judge mucourt*
>
> You want to stand in the front like a judge in court

'Being used like a remote', to 'float on things like a boat' and to 'stand in front like a judge in court' are all similes used to express the idea of freedom and autonomy but Doba Don visualises these ideas from 'modern' and global perspectives. Doba Don goes on to explain how it is important for one to have a sense of belonging and preserve it, what he calls *'kurarama mudendere'* as expressed in the title of the song. *'Dendere'* ('nest') is an important symbol and metaphor in the Shona tradition that is often used to allude to the possession of a sense of belonging and to show the importance of territorial possession and

preservation as expressed in the idiom *"shiri yakangwara inovaka dendere rayo mvura isati yaturuka"* (a clever bird builds its nest before the coming of the rains) and the proverb *"mudzimu weshiri uri mudendere"* (the powers of the bird lie in its nest). Thus, the song *"Mudendere"* is characterised by language syncretism evident in the way the musician visualises life experiences from both traditional Shona and global perspectives.

Winky D is another musician worth mentioning in the analysis of the use of syncretic figures of speech in urban grooves. What is most interesting about his language use is his refusal to be limited by conventional figures of speech and his use of quotidian metaphors and similes that resonate with local and global everyday youth experiences, practices and products that the youth use every day. As a result, Winky D's success lies in his ability to use figures of speech and to connect with his audiences through these figures of speech that his audiences find easier to relate to. In the song *"Woshora"* ("You do not appreciate") Winky D (2015) narrates the joys associated with the end of winter and how the youth embrace summer as they can now go to parties in open spaces with the female youth dressed accordingly, in short summer dresses. The hot summer weather is compared to the heat from an oven through the simile, *"kurikupisa kunge oven."* In the same song, Winky D warns the youth against being too much excited by the pleasures of summer and avoid engaging in sexual activities as they risk being infected with sexually transmitted diseases. The spread of sexual infections is compared to how one applies body lotion and spreads it on his body in the simile, *"ndotya kuzorwa kunge lotion."* In the song "Independent Lady" (2015), the male persona who is wooing a female subject promises her material possessions and a life of abundance. However, here Winky D makes reference to local Zimbabwean football. He makes a pun on the name 'Limited' in the simile *"handisi limited saChikafa"* (I am not limited like Chikafa) by referencing the former Zimbabwean Caps United footballer and captain Limited Chikafa whose career has gone down the drain. Winky D also makes reference to international soccer in the song *"Woshora"* in which he says in summer he is expensive to hire just as Fernando Torres who moved from Liverpool to Chelsea in 2011 after Chelsea had bought him for 50 million pounds.[17] These are just snippets of an array of examples that demonstrate how Winky D draws his figures of speech from daily experiences and concepts that his audiences are familiar with and in doing so, blends these daily experiences with the global ones that the audiences are familiar with too, thus proving the syncretic quality of his figures of speech and his ability to identify with his audiences. This is reminiscent of Barber's (1987: 43) observation that popular style encompasses vocabulary

and language forms that are fresh, simple, unsophisticated, and full of life and should be accessible to a wider range of people as well as appeal to the lowest denominator of comprehension.

In addition to the above, reference to soccer has become a popular cultural phenomenon that has influenced the youth's daily language and coining of new words and phrases. This is because watching soccer is a major pastime in Zimbabwe especially for males of all ages; and according to Zenenga (2012: 257), soccer lies at the heart of popular culture in Zimbabwe. Hofmeyer, Nyairo and Ogude (2010: 377) observe that a major characteristic of popular culture texts is their ability to be applied to a range of situations and to circumstances of everyday life, hence there is an intersection between the textual and the social (Fiske 1989a: 6). This is true about the phenomenon of soccer and how it has come to influence and to be applied to everyday Zimbabwean experiences as evident in urban grooves texts. Being faced with obstacles is perceived in relation to being tightly marked during a soccer match *("kusunga play")* as used in *"This Time Havateri"* by Soul Jah Love and *"Tezvara Varamba"* by EX-Q and BaShupi. In addition, outdoing one's rivals is perceived as getting a penalty shot as shown in "*Kuvarova kunge pena*" in Soul Jah Love's *"Magetsi"* and success is expressed as goal scoring, where Winky D sings that "*isu summer hatipotse igo bhora*" in *"Woshora"* and "*Bhora mumanet ndobva rakena*" (and the ball went straight into the net) in Lady Squanda's *"Ndini Ndega"* ("I am the only one" (2016). The height of soccer influence as a popular cultural phenomenon can be seen in how the phenomenon penetrated even the Zimbabwean political field as evidenced during political campaigns for the 2013 harmonised elections. The ZANU-PF candidate Robert Mugabe launched his election manifesto running under the theme *"Bhora mugedhe"* in Shona or *"ibhola egedini"* in Ndebele which means 'score the ball' (Ncube 2016). The phrase circulated prominently on social media and voting for ZANU-PF was perceived in terms of scoring goals. Ncube (2016: 208) notes that the *"bhora mugedhe"* campaign was a response to the *"bhora musango"* (kicking the ball wildly away from the soccer pitch) discourse that cost Robert Mugabe crucial votes during the 2008 harmonised elections as some members of parliament within ZANU-PF clandestinely campaigned against Mugabe whom they perceived as too old and not fit to represent the party. The ordinary Zimbabweans who were opposed to ZANU-PF rule and resented it coined their own subversive *"bhora ngariponjeswe"* which alludes to deflating the ball. This was both a way of dissuading each other from voting for the party and also a symbolic way of resisting ZANU-PF discourses and ideologies. This shows, as argued

by Fiske (1989b: 47), that popular culture is structured within the opposition between the power bloc and the people who find the pleasure of producing their own meaning out of their social experience and avoiding the social discipline of the power bloc.

Besides making reference to international soccer stars such as Torres mentioned above, urban grooves artists make allusions to other global popular figures and this is a sign of how the musicians are influenced by these celebrities and look up to them. In the song *"This Time Havateri,"* Soul Jah Love makes reference to the Hollywood actor Samuel Jackson to celebrate his successes in music and in *"Magetsi"* (2015) and *"Mari-mari"* (2015), he compares himself to the popular American rapper Jay-Z (Shawn Corey Carter). The urban grooves musicians also make allusions and references to Zimbabwean artists in their songs showing how figurative language use in urban grooves is characteristic of the syncretism in the music. This is typically exhibited in the song *"Tezvara Varamba"* by EX-Q and BaShupi where the two make reference to Zimbabwean music and musicians through intertextual references. The persona references Zimbabwean musicians (Stunner, Extra Large, Leornard Mapfumo, Alick Macheso, Winky D and others) and their songs focusing on how they have made names in the Zimbabwean music industry with the aim of making his prospective father-in-law change his negative attitude towards him and the music industry as a whole. Another interesting form of syncretism is seen in the love song *"Ndapengeswa Newe"* ("You have made me go crazy") by the duo Extra Large featuring Nox and Oskid where the four make use of traditional nursery rhymes that are popular with Shona people but 'contaminate' the rhymes by fusing a western image of love in them. The nursery rhymes *"Rure"* and *"Amina"*[18] are extended when after singing the *"Amina"* nursery rhyme, the persona extends it where he claims that he has a love injection machine which sings, *"amina ju jekiseni*/ on your middle section of your heart portion" indicating how the persona will inject his lover's heart with the love injection. The 'love injection' in the extended nursery rhyme *"Amina"* is synonymous to Cupid's arrow from the Roman Greek mythology which is one of the arrows that cupid is supposed to fire from his bow and causes the person struck to fall in love.[19] Cupid's arrow has become a globally recognised symbol of love especially for the youth. It must be underscored here that love is a major theme in urban grooves music, thus urban grooves musicians such as Extra Large and Nox have found numerous opportunities in syncretic figures of speech to create desired effects when they sing about love. Hence, language syncretism, as shown in this analysis of the use of figurative language in urban grooves, involves more than just language use in its literal sense but also the figures

of speech employed by the musicians which are drawn from both the Shona proverbs and idiomatic expressions, contemporary daily Zimbabwean experiences as well as foreign and/ or global cultural activities.

2.7 Conclusion

Zimbabwe urban grooves music is a musical genre that emerged and continues to develop at the intersection between Zimbabwean daily cultural experiences and global contacts and cultural activities. Thus, it is shaped by global intercultural experiences and in turn becomes a source for the intercultural encounters of those who consume the music. This chapter established the various forms of intercultural encounters and interactions that shape Zimbabwe urban grooves music and how these experiences intersect with Zimbabwean youth identities and cultures.

The chapter presented migration as a site of intercultural encounters in its analysis of Roy and Royce's *"Ndiyambuke"* and other related urban grooves songs. Zimbabwean migrants have been noted as agents of routes that link families in the 'home' country with the consumption of global cultures through the global cultural commodities and financial remittances. This has also enabled Zimbabwean youth to access and consume global cultural commodities that impact on their lifestyles (Ndlela 2006). In addition, the greater number of Zimbabwean migrants in countries such as the United States of America and the United Kingdom has seen the intensification of intercultural encounters through an increase in Zimbabwean musical shows held for the Zimbabwean migrants. This has enhanced the translocation of Zimbabwean cultural experiences in the transnational spaces.

It has also been noted that media technologies have intensified world-wide socio-cultural interactions and relationships as people connect across borders and become aware of issues from other parts of the world easily. Through an analysis of Winky D's *"Vashakabvu,"* the chapter established some of the drastic changes that have been influenced by media technologies on the day-to-day activities of world societies. Youth, who are the main active users of media technologies, have transformed technological products into important sites of intercultural encounters through the way they share and consume global cultural products and participate in global intercultural relationships. Global media platforms are a site for youth intercultural contacts and identity formation. In addition, the use of media

technologies has also enabled some youth to become cultural producers in their own right, as noted in the discussion on how some Zimbabwean youth are using media technologies to take part in discourses on Zimbabwean daily cultural experiences without having to undergo heavily censored media laws. Nevertheless, as youth make use of the media to actively participate in the creation of their own identities and cultures, they battle with a number of paradoxes that should always be considered when studying youth identities, cultures and media involvement.

The chapter also established that Zimbabwe urban grooves music is characterised by syncretism. The syncretism in the musical genre is observed in the reference to the global cultural concepts, contemporary Zimbabwean experiences as well as reference to Zimbabwean traditional customs and symbols. In the case of Winky D, reference to the past seems to be an influence from the Rastafari philosophy that valorises the African past. However, as observed, especially from the analysis of Winky D's *"Vashakabvu",* the past is referenced in so far as it informs the present and helps people reflect on their societal values and contemporary cultural experiences. This shows that there is an interface between the past and the present.

The chapter also examined the way in which language plays a greater role in urban grooves and leads to the constitution of some form of language syncretism that is realised mainly through code switching and the figurative language that the singers use. Urban grooves musicians interweave different languages, through code switching mainly Shona, English and slang, in their music. There is syncretism as well at the level of figurative language that is created through a fusion of foreign images and Shona idiomatic expressions and proverbs or images drawn from contemporary Zimbabwean experiences and cultural practices. Thus, there is a lot of innovation involved in language syncretism as urban grooves musicians incorporate the 'old' idioms and use them for their own meanings, come up with their own new figures of speech and also get involved in the transformation of both the local Zimbabwean languages and English and at the same time appeal to and identify with the youth who use syncretic language formations as well. Finally, I have argued that language syncretism is a domain for aesthetic pleasure especially where multi-lingual rhyme formations are involved. It is a popular culture phenomenon that instils the pleasurable to the musicians and their audiences as well as enables resistance to rigid language formations and hence repressive ideologies and discourses.

Endnotes

[1] For information on international tours by urban grooves musicians see: (*newsofthesouth.com/zimdancehall-outpacing-other-genres; www.pindula.co.zw/stunner*).

[2] For information on Trevor Dongo and Queen Vee video entry into international television channels, visit Trevor Dongo's Facebook page (https://www.facebook.com/trevor.dongo) and www.tizwe.com/2016/05/queen-vee-feat-souljah-luv-mari-mari-video) respectively.

[3] The Ricky Fire London show is shown on YouTube (https://www.youtube.com/watch?=-tyQWsOq3Lg).

[4] See: (https://www.pindula.co.zw/Roy_and_Royce).

[5] The Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLP) was implemented between 2000 and 2008 in Zimbabwe. It involved the takeover of farms previously owned by white commercial farmers for redistribution to indigenous Zimbabweans. However, the manner of its implementation has been condemned by the civil society in Zimbabwe, the opposition parties, non-governmental organisations and the international community as a chaotic action (jambanja) as it involved violence, coercion and lawlessness, which worsened the socio-economic crisis in the country.

[6] On Roy and Royce's music career after graduating from university, see: (https://www.pindula.co.zw/Roy_and_Royce).

[7] On 2015 xenophobic attacks in South Africa, see: (https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/apr/20/south-africa-xenophobic-violence-migrants-workforce).

[8] For definition of the Term "Igwe" see: (http://translation.babylon-software.com/english/igwe/).

[9] The song is available on YouTube (www.youtube.com/watch?v=NhjVbkTvhEY.)

[10] For Winky D best video award for *"Vashakabvu,"* see: The *Daily News* 28 March 2014 or *http://www.dailynews.co.zw/.../winky-d-shines-at-zim-dancehall-awards.*

[11] Find the page on: (https://www.facebook.com/youthVillageZW)

[12] For Shinsoman *"Mawaya-waya"* award for song of the year, see: (https://www.pindula.co.zw/Shinsoman).

[13] See: (http://tinotenda.org/culture.htm).

[14] The term 'anti-language' was borrowed from Veit-Wild (2009) where she uses it to refer to languages that contain subversive elements.

[15] Soul Jah Love is described as a full time entertainer on (http://www.zimsinsa.com/man-soul-jah-love-zims-own-vybz-cartel/).

[16] The definition of the term graft was taken from the online Cambridge Dictionary (https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/graft).

[17] The news on Torres moving from Liverpool to Chelsea is found on (http://news.bbc.co.uk/sport2/hi/football/teams/c/chelsea/9380389.stm).

[18] In the traditional Shona nursery rhyme *"Rure,"* children stand in a circle holding hands and as they sing the nursery rhyme they call out every member's name and as your name is called you have to kneel down. At the end, everybody rises up and dances to the nursery rhyme. The rhyme is anchored on identity and ability to identify each other by name as members of the group. The *"Amina"* nursery rhyme is sung by children clapping hands uniformly in pairs and in accordance with the tune of the rhyme. Its significance is anchored on the ability to master the skill of clapping hands correctly in accordance with the rhyming tune of the song.

[19] The concept of cupid's arrow is defined according to the online Collins Dictionary (www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/cupids-arrow).

Chapter 3: Celebrity Culture in the Context of Zimbabwe Urban Grooves Music and Interconnections with Youth Identities

3.1 Introduction

> *....While I do feel young at heart, I am comfortably into my "wise" years now. And my staff will tell you, I like to share my wisdom. But as we all know in today's world, wise older folks are not always listened to or followed by the younger generation. Sometimes they selectively choose who to listen to and what to hear. So I thought it would be wise to invite a group of young popular Zimbabweans to join me in this testing today…. All of you are all leaders in your respective career fields. Young people really look up to you. This is a blessing and a great responsibility. What you have done today by taking an HIV test is to show your fans and fellow Zimbabweans that this is an important step we all should take in our lives…* (Ray as reported by the United States (U.S.) Embassy Harare Public Affairs Section 2010).

The above epigraph is an extract from a speech delivered by the then United States of America's Ambassador to Zimbabwe, Charles A Ray, on 1 December 2010 in commemoration of the World AIDS Day. Ambassador Ray and the New Africa House HIV Centre organised HIV testing for seven youth celebrities, with Alexio Kawara,[1] a popular and award winning Zimbabwe urban grooves musician as one of these celebrities. The testing was done to commemorate that year's World AIDS Day and to encourage young people to know their HIV status. The epigraph indicates the role that celebrities play in influencing youth behaviours and decision making, which is the focus of this chapter. It suggests that celebrities have a social responsibility to influence others positively as their fans look up to them as role models. In addition, the epigraph indicates that youth celebrities influence youth in ways that the older people are not capable of doing, which is an important observation for this study considering that most urban grooves musicians are youthful as mentioned earlier in the study. This chapter, therefore examines the phenomenon of celebrity culture in the context of urban grooves music with the aim of determining the socio-cultural roles played by popular Zimbabwe urban grooves musicians and how they influence their youth audiences' identity constructions.

Celebrities have been analysed in relation to the processes through which cultural identity is negotiated (Turner 2004: 4). As argued by Frith (1996:121), popular music is

associated with an experience of identity as audiences are drawn, in their responses to songs, into emotional affinities with the performer and the performer's other fans. Similarly, Milner Jr (2005: 71-72) observes that fans attending celebrity events enjoy solidarity with one another "at least as much as any contact with or sight of the celebrity they might have." The emotional affinity between celebrities and their fans can be further understood from the concept or culture of 'stanning' which denotes an act of solidarity between the celebrity and the fans who adore him or her (Msimang 2017).Thus, in the analysis of the roles played by urban groovers in influencing youth identities, the chapter considers the roles played by celebrities as role models for youth and how they are sometimes perceived as social deviants whom youth should not emulate. The analysis focuses further on how space, place and naming contribute in shaping the linkages between music celebrities' identities and those of their youth fans. Finally, I examine the roles played by female urban grooves musicians in influencing youth identities considering that the music genre is male dominated. The chapter focuses on a textual analysis of musical and video texts and makes reference to media narratives on urban grooves music celebrities. I also make use of data gathered from interviews with youth, urban grooves musicians, music producers and promoters. I begin my analysis with an outline of the concepts 'celebrity' and 'celebrity culture' in an attempt to show how the two relate with the urban grooves musical genre. Although Chapter 1 gave an overview of the phenomena 'celebrity' and 'celebrity culture', this chapter again makes reference to the two concepts but this is done in detail with a specific focus on urban grooves music in an attempt to demonstrate how celebrities and celebrity culture influence Zimbabwean youth identities and culture.

3.2 Defining Celebrity and Celebrity Culture

Media and Cultural Studies perspectives on celebrity and celebrity culture underline aspects such as fame, publicity, media involvement, status, commercial value, religion, popular culture and semiotics as key to understanding the phenomena. The etymology of the word celebrity can be traced back to fourteenth century French *celebre* and its near-synonym *fama…* (Cashmore 2011; Marshall 2014) which express the notion of being well known or public. Scholars associate contemporary celebrities with public figures who accrue public renown and visibility through the mass media (Rojek 2001; Turner 2004; Cashmore 2011; Marshall 2014). As a result, celebrities are framed within the prism of "mass mediated

celebrities" (Omenugha, Uzuegbunam and Ndolo 2016: 201) and "mass mediated popular culture" (Turner 2004: 4). Bere (2008), in his exploration of the inception of the Zimbabwe urban grooves music intimates how celebrity status became mass mediated through the involvement of the state media in the publicity of urban grooves musicians during this period (early 2000s). He notes that some young musicians became tools for the propagation of the state narrative in return for the state sponsored media coverage and publicity. The award-winning urban grooves female artist Sandra Ndebele's rise and fall as a musician correlated with her participation in state propaganda programs: the instances she complied and took part in such programs, she was "big on radio, television and the press" while her refusal to comply rendered her invisible from the state media (Bere 2008: 134). This demonstrates how celebrity status can be a fleeting and ephemeral kind of fame (Marshall 2014) especially where the media is heavily politicised, as in the case of the Zimbabwean media of the early 2000s to the present.

The current ubiquitous nature of media technologies and social media platforms has however given rise to a new-media technology and social network mediated celebrity status. This means that Zimbabwean musicians no longer have to rely heavily on the state media for publicity as they can now market themselves and share their music on such social media platforms. One musician (M1, personal communication, 4 July 2016) interviewed for this study noted that: "I have got so many mediums of communicating to young people. I am very present on the social media. So, I relate to young people in a lot of ways…." It is on such media platforms that music fans access information about their favourite musicians. Omenugha, Uzuebgunam and Ndolo (2016: 207) note that Nigerian youth show remarkable knowledge of celebrities because of their access to various media platforms that focus on these celebrities. In the same vein, a number of youth interviewed for this research revealed that they always search for more information about their favourite musicians and demonstrated knowledge on the musicians' public and private lives. Nevertheless, the Zimbabwean musicians have gone beyond relying on the media for their publicity as they also use live shows as platforms for publicity, marketing and a source of income generation (Mhiripiri 2010: 218). The corrupt nature of and manipulation by the state media, similar to the one experienced by Sandra Ndebele mentioned above, are the major hurdles to the publicity of upcoming musicians in Zimbabwe. One music promoter interviewee revealed that urban grooves musicians have resorted to live shows as means to create publicity and market themselves and their productions. Therefore, fame and media publicity are

characteristic of contemporary celebrities, yet the forces in control of some media platforms have a tendency towards the manipulation of celebrities, a condition that some music celebrities are subverting by resorting to alternative media technologies, social networks and holding live shows as a means to generate publicity and connect with their fans.

Turner (2004: 3) adopts Boorstin's (1961: 58) popular aphorism, "the celebrity is a person who is well-known for their well-knownness" in consideration of the media's role in the publicity of celebrities. In the Zimbabwean context, Mhiripiri (2010: 219-221) draws from the music critic, Stephen Chifunyise's argument that urban grooves musicians attain 'overnight superstar status' which stems solely from their popularity and media coverage. He contends that the Zimbabwean music industry has created stars and celebrities who are mass-mediated, yet a few are living in affluence with the rest living as paupers. There are indeed a number of instances where some Zimbabwean celebrities have been mocked publicly and regarded as not fit for recognition as celebrities because of their failure to attain significant material success. A typical example of such mockery is the response to the video that went viral on 16 October 2016 that depicts the popular urban grooves musician Trevor Dongo in a street fight with an unidentified man.[2] An electronic media writer, Gasho (2016) argues that Zimbabwean celebrities are only celebrities on the social media as they "are living a life which is a far cry from their online personas" owing to the effects of the country's economic and political situation that has reduced them into a mocked and poor group of people. Gasho, in his reaction to allegations that Trevor had fought with the unidentified man because he had snatched his food, mocks him for fighting "with a person whom he is supposed to be donating money to" and for what he terms probably his inability to "buy himself some more groceries." It is thus apparent from both Mhiripiri (2010) and Gasho's (2016) arguments that celebrity status is often associated with attaining both public attention and material success. Gasho, however, acknowledges that some Zimbabwean musicians are "talented." There are quite a number of urban groovers who have been recognised by their youth fans as talented. These include Soul Jah Love, Winky D, Trevor Dongo and Freeman. The musicians are treated as celebrities because of their recognised talents even if they have not accrued significant material wealth similar to that of the American celebrity musicians such as Jay-Z and Beyonce Knowles. Hence, this chapter aims to explore the various ways through which such urban grooves musicians are viewed by and influence the youth.

Commodification and media commercialisation are other attributes associated with celebrity culture. Celebrities are commodified through promotion, publicity and advertising (Turner 2004: 34-39). There is a close relationship between celebrities and the consumption of commodities or consumerism (Turner 2004: 90). Nevertheless, celebrities have become more than just agents for the marketing of films, music or the consumer products they endorse (Cashmore 2006: 3). Rojek (2001) and Turner (2004: 14) observe that a celebrity acquires both material value and a public personality that consumers identify with, invest and maintain a personal interest in, and to whom they ascribe cultural or social value. It should be underscored as noted in Chapter 1 that, although there are some urban grooves musicians who have been brand ambassadors, this study does not concentrate on the commercial roles played by such Zimbabwean celebrities. I do not focus on such roles considering the economic crisis that affected and is still affecting the country's industry and commerce and making it difficult for the celebrities to play commercial roles on a significant degree. This chapter thus focuses on social and cultural roles of celebrities and draws on ideas by Rojek (2001), Turner (2004) and Cashmore (2006) in its unpacking of the socio-cultural value of Zimbabwean celebrities in the context of the urban grooves musical genre.

The concept of celebrity has also been analysed in relation to popular culture. Taking his cue from Dyer's (1979) analysis of the film star, Turner (2004) notes that a celebrity can be read as a cultural text to whom audiences assign social and cultural meanings. Thus, a celebrity is a sign or text (Marshall 2004: 55) or a semiotic system embedded with cultural meanings that can be actively read and interpreted by the audiences (Dyer 1979: 3; Fiske 1989a, 1989b). Fiske's (1989b: 95) analysis of the musician, Madonna, presents her as a "resource of popular culture" and a "site of meaning" especially for her girl fans or "wanna-bes." The Madonna fans pay far more attention to what she looks like, who she is and what she represents than what she sounds like (Fiske 1989b: 95). They also read her as a source of empowerment whose strength rests on the control over her own image and pronouncement of the right to an independent female sexuality (Fiske 1989b: 106). The same can be said about how some youth interviewed for this research relate to and interpret urban grooves musicians' attitudes and how they present themselves to their fans. One female youth registered her displeasure with musicians such as Quonfused (Macdonald Sheldon) who do not want to pose for photographs with their fans: "I do not appreciate Qounfused's attitude, he refuses to pose for photos with fans, Soul Jah Love is the opposite, he poses for photos with his fans" (MR 10, personal communication, 20 June 2016). Therefore, as perceived by

the respondent, Qounfused frames himself as an aloof celebrity who is full of pride and lacks solidarity with his fans. Furthermore, while some youth interpreted female musicians' dressing on the scale of whether it was 'decent' or 'indecent,' some considered the dressing as a way of enhancing female beauty and being trendy. One male urban grooves fan pointed out the following:

> For female artists, I think they should wear tight clothes that are best for their body shapes and make them look more beautiful and appealing. Women must dress accordingly, the way young women do and move with time and those who criticise this should learn to get used to it, for example, Amara Brown knows how to dress this way (MR3, personal communication, 20 June 2016).

Amara Brown is read by the above male fan as representative of contemporary trendy females whose sense of dressing enhance their beauty without being restrained by what society defines as 'decent' or 'indecent.' The mixed reactions to celebrity dressing echo Jackson and Vares' (2015: 493) feminist analysis of girls' understanding and negotiation of "sexually saturated" popular culture. Fans do not necessarily abandon their pleasure in music and celebrity because of what is perceived as the indecency of female celebrities; engagement with celebrity is more complicated and discursively negotiated. Fans' responses to female celebrities' "hypersexual" appearances are a discursive negotiation and complicated intermingling of affect, pleasure and/ or distaste, and age (Jackson and Vares 2015: 493). In addition, the concern over female celebrity dressing is critiqued in conjunction with the concern over body size and body image by feminist critics who contend that these are forms of patriarchal body policing. As observed by Winch (2012: 22) "the starkest examples of the surveillance of the female body are in celebrity culture". Brabazon (2006: 76) argues that the desire to shape and modify the body has political consequences which are to keep the women petite, controllable and submissive. As youth demonstrate mixed perspectives in their reading of celebrities as cultural texts, some of their reactions reveal how gender perspectives have been entrenched in celebrity culture.

The concept celebrity has also been understood along the popular culture paradigm of the relationship between the dominant forces that produce the celebrity and control the dominant culture versus that of the subordinate audiences of celebrity culture. In this instance, a celebrity is presented and marketed as a manufactured commodity (Turner 2004; Marshall 2014: 47) that is assigned commercial value and produced with the intention of

leading and/ or representing. This construction is significant for, as argued by Fiske (1989b: 4), "all commodities are consumed as much for their meanings, identities and pleasures as they are for their material function." Marshall (2014: 46-47) also argues that audiences construct new meanings out of the dominant cultural meanings of objects, actively work on the presentation of celebrity to make sense of their world and make it fit into their everyday experiences. Consequently, the Madonna fans' imitation of her dressing and style, which parodies patriarchal representation of women, also enables them to take part in the interrogation of their everyday experiences of critical areas of patriarchal power (Fiske 1989b: 105-113). The same subversion of patriarchal conventions is reflected in the study's respondents' admiration of the female Zimbabwean urban grooves musician, Amara Brown's dressing. Consequently, a celebrity can be defined as a text through which audiences try to make sense of their social world and everyday experiences as well as construct meanings that serve their own interests and not those of the dominant classes.

Celebrity status and celebrity culture are also understood and defined from religious perspectives. Milner Jr (2005: 70) observes that celebrity culture has quasi-religious elements as some celebrities are recognised as "idols" or even "gods" or "goddesses" with fans affirming that they "worship" or "idolise" these celebrities. In addition, celebrities like famous religious leaders, are invested with some kind of charisma (Milner Jr 2005; Tsaliki, Frangonikopolous and Huliaras 2011) and influence the public in remarkable ways. It is of interest to note here that musicians who are aware of the way fans idolise them sometimes employ religious references to express their charisma and celebrate their popularity. This is typically reflected by Winky D in his song *"Ndini Ndaita Kuti"* ("I made this possible") (2015) where he expresses his popularity in religious terms as follows:

> *Hanzi chilevel chaIgwe chava kumusoro kunge Messiah*
>
> They say the Igwe (the king) is at a higher level like the Messiah
>
> *...kunoku mangoma ndini ndomaita yadah saMagaya*
>
> Here, I am the one who yadahs the music like Magaya

Winky D, as noted in the above lyrics, equates his status with that of the Jewish Messiah or saviour or the biblical Christ. He uses the term 'yadah' which is popularly used at the Prophetic Healing and Deliverance (PHD) Ministries, to compare his appeal to that of Walter Magaya who is one of the most celebrated but controversial self-proclaimed prophet in

Zimbabwe and founder of PHD Ministries.[3] The term 'yadah' is a Hebrew verb which means to worship with extended hands and extending one's hands is "almost always equivalent to a yadah (whether literally or figuratively), especially when listening to music, you are worshipping the image of the creator or source of the music."[4] Winky D's religious references have however created controversies with some listeners accusing him of Satanism, allegations that he scoffed at.[5] Nevertheless, the religious references that he makes, especially in the song *"Ndini Ndaita Kuti,"* are a clear testimony of the popular tendencies by fans to idolise celebrities and indicative of the parallels between celebrity culture and religious behaviours.

In addition to the above, Milner Jr (2005: 70) notes how tourists attending a celebrity event in Hollywood are in many ways comparable to religious pilgrims at holy sites and how responses of fans at celebrity events resonate with the devotees' behaviours at spirit-filled religious events. I attended a Killer T (Kelvin Kusikwenyu) show where I witnessed responses that were typified by a quasi-religious euphoria when the audience caught sight of Killer T entering the venue and jostled with each other to reach the podium so that they could at least touch the musician's hand. Milner Jr (2005: 70) also observes that both the gods and their devotees, and celebrities and their fans, have no concrete social relations as the relationships are imagined. This might explain why fans use every opportunity they find to try and forge some form of physical contact with the celebrity and show their affection by at least touching his/her hand as in the case of the Killer T fans mentioned above. However, Marshall (2014: 195) contends that unlike in other celebrity forms, there is a close connection between the performer and the audience in popular music as music offers a physically live communal ritual of the concert that makes the music celebrity close to a living audience that is committed to her/his persona and music. Thus, "the popular music celebrity represents the physicality of affective power of the people" (Marshall 2014: 197). This outline of the definition and explanation of the concepts celebrity and celebrity culture and the significance of socio-cultural roles of celebrity is followed, in the next section, by an in-depth analysis of the social and cultural roles played by Zimbabwe urban grooves music celebrities.

3.3 Socio-Cultural Roles of Celebrities: Urban Grooves Musicians as Role Models for Zimbabwean Youth

One of the major aims of this study is to determine the impact of urban grooves music celebrities on Zimbabwean youth, with a particular focus on the ways in which these musicians influence the youth socially and culturally. Celebrities are credited with capacities superior to those of other people (Tsaliki, Frangonikopolous and Huliaras 2011: 9). They influence the public in significant ways as noted earlier. Consequently, one of the main questions that the interviewees had to respond to during the field research to this study focused on whether urban grooves musicians are considered as role models by their youth fans. The term role model is used to refer to an individual that one comes into contact with and might influence his/her attitudes, behaviours and aspirations (Bandura 1977). Adults often refer to the term to highlight other people's exemplary behaviour and achievements in order to encourage children to emulate them, hence celebrities are often assigned the tags 'good' or 'bad' role models in public discourse (Jackson and Vares 2015: 486). Most of the respondents indicated that the musicians are 'good' role models for the youth whilst some indicated that they are not exemplary and influence youth in negative ways. The binary 'good' and 'bad' in relation to celebrity influence evokes Turner's (2004: 109) observation that celebrity as a discourse, a commodity or a spectacle, is marked by contradictions, ambiguities and ambivalences. This section thus focuses on the positive roles that urban grooves musicians play in the lives of Zimbabwean youth whilst the next section explores how the musicians are perceived from another angle as social deviants and not good role models for youth.

Whilst some youth indicated that they only relate to urban grooves musicians through their music and not in any other significant way, there is evidence in the data gathered from interviews with the youth, musicians, music promoters and producers that, urban grooves musicians influence youth in a variety of significant ways and are role models who mould youth's behaviours. Two youth respondents pointed out that:

Yes they [musicians] do mould us. Even if my role model takes drugs, his songs help in moulding good character because he does not encourage us to smoke but tells us to respect our parents (MR3, personal communication, 20 June 2016).

The type of music one sings reflects on the type of person one is. Every musician can be a role model, but it depends on the fans' interests. The fans choose what they like

from a musician for them to consider him/her as a role model (ZHR6, personal communication, 24 June 2016).

One respondent promoter echoed the same sentiments and added that the conduct of musicians and what they sing about can impact significantly on youth as noted in the following:

> …that's why I care about what musicians sing about and how they portray themselves. They have a role beyond just composing and making money, they play a very important role in shaping culture in communities, how people should look at things, that's why I think many of these private players, NGOs enlist artists to come and spread a message (PR1, personal communication, 1 July 2016).

The above statement by producer (PR1) expresses how urban grooves musicians are invested with the social responsibility to influence youth and even effect behavioural change amongst them. Some Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in Zimbabwe have recruited urban grooves musicians to spread social messages especially in the fight against HIV and AIDS. This is evidenced in the 2010 case in which an NGO, the Zimbabwe Community Health Intervention Research Project (Zichire) partnered with a number of urban grooves musicians in their HIV and AIDS awareness campaigns. The campaigns sought to enlighten and encourage youth on HIV prevention methods such as abstinence and avoiding intergenerational relationships.[6] In another case, the popular and award-winning Zimdancehall musician Winky D was endorsed as the goodwill ambassador of Population Services International (PSI) Zimbabwe as part of the organisation's 2011 campaign seeking to reduce the spread of HIV and AIDS through male circumcision. He provided jingles for the circumcision campaign and featured on a number of advertisements calling for men to get circumcised.[7] The PSI manager, Ray Dlamini, notes that they chose Winky D in order to reach out to the youth since his music appeals to them (*Newsday* 2011). This reveals that musicians who are popular with youth are socio-cultural icons as the youth regard them as role models in whose footsteps they are bound to follow. More significantly, Dlamini notes that the recruitment of Winky D for the campaign made a great impact within the youth because "when the news filtered in and Winky D had been circumcised, we had to turn away many youth from our centres because of the overwhelming response. We could not cope with the huge numbers at once (*Newsday* 2011)." Thus, musician role models, as was the case with Winky D discussed above, are effective in influencing Zimbabwean youth.

Another musician, Alexio Kawara, mentioned earlier in the introduction to this chapter, was, just as happened to Winky D, requested to do a public voluntary HIV testing in order to encourage youth who look up to him to get tested too. The following is what Alexio himself said about Zimbabwean celebrities: "… we lead others to follow…. To all celebrities – let's lead the way. Let's show everybody that this is the way life is supposed to be lived."[8] Alexio's statement underlines that celebrities have a social responsibility to set examples that their fans must emulate. This evokes Tsaliki, Frangonikopolous and Huliaras' (2011: 9) views in their study on contemporary transnational celebrity activism. They assert that celebrities are occupying institutional positions of power through activities such as activist, diplomatic and charity initiatives. In such instances, celebrities are presented as advocates and initiators of commendable behaviours and societal principles that society can emulate. This and the above-noted examples, therefore, show how urban grooves musicians have played positive social roles as role models for youth. In the consideration of the interconnections between celebrity culture and youth identities, I take into account Tsaliki, Frangonikopolous and Huliaras' (2011: 10) observation that celebrity iniatives and activism are attempts at establishing a greater sense of connection and intimacy between the famous and their admirers. The fans emulate the example set by their favourite celebrity in order to identify with him/her, hence, as urban groovers set examples for their fans to follow, the interconnectivity between them and their fans gets enhanced.

It should also be underscored that the youth respondents disclosed what they look for in celebrities in order to consider them as role models. Some said they consider the musicians' academic achievements in framing these musicians as role models, with one respondent mentioning that his role model J Cole (born Jermaine Larmar Cole) is a university graduate, although the musician is not an urban grooves musician but an American hip-hop artist. In line with this, one musician asserted that it is important for musicians who are followed by the youth to not focus on music only but have a good academic record that can motivate youth who are in school to work hard and those who would want to join music to consider their studies as important. She said:

> Most of the stuff I do is centred on music and fashion but as an artist I have also done a fair amount of schooling. I believe I have also encouraged young people that even if you have an artistic mind, you also need to be educated. I have higher diplomas in marketing, in Public Relations, I have three diplomas in French, and a bit of Project

Management which I am still working on. So I believe I am also a role model to young people in that you need to continuously study to enrich your mind so that you can exploit your artistic capabilities. I believe I have always told young people that regardless of whether you start recording, but you are still in school, it's very important to get an education because it really does determine how you think and how you see things and how you strategise and how you then handle yourself as a professional (M1, personal communication, 4 July 2016).

Paradoxically, the majority of urban grooves musicians have not done well academically. Their biographies available on online websites such as *Pindula.com* reveal that most of the artists are educated only up to secondary or high school level. The harsh economic conditions that have been prevailing in Zimbabwe undermined some of these musicians' attempts at furthering their education. As a result, urban grooves music availed itself as a means of escape from poverty and a quick way of making money, a reality that some youth respondents were even aware of. The fact that the majority of urban grooves musicians have not been successful academically may be taken as one of the reasons why the older generation does not approve of these artists and their productions as well as why they disapprove of urban grooves musicians as examples for the youth to emulate. One musician respondent alluded to this in the following:

But what happens is that, when kids are even still in kindergarten they are socialised to aspire to do white collar jobs and nobody talks of music, thus when you ask such kids about what they want to become when they grow up, they will talk about white collar jobs. Even my own kids, I will never tell them to engage in music, because we have a culture of grooming our kids to go to school first, get their degree and then do other things later (M5, personal communication, 15 July 2016).

Ironically, some youth respondents mentioned that they are considering becoming musicians as they are inspired by their favourite urban grooves musicians. But, as noted by the musician (M5) above, Zimbabwean youth are socialised to value education first before anything else and this explains why some youth interviewees mentioned that they consider one's education for their choice of role models. However, there are only a few such role models in the urban grooves musical genre, for example, Roy and Royce, Plaxedes Wenyika, Mudiwa and Nox have university degrees (see the *Pindula* website).

The interview responses also show that urban grooves musicians are regarded as role models for youth because the musicians have managed to earn a living out of the music. The youthful artists have taken music as a profession and the transformation of urban grooves into a mainstream genre in the Zimbabwean musical scene saw an "era of … employment creation in the music sector. New stables were opened, new engineers and producers were employed and there was more business for record bars" (Muzari 2015). Some youth revealed that they have witnessed how some of the urban grooves musicians slowly climbed the social ladder and as such they were inspired and yearn to be like them. Below are some of the comments made by the youth:

> Soul Jah Love sings about his past and how he came to be what he is right now, so the benefit is that you get to know that no matter the suffering, God will make a way and you can climb the social ladder. Most of the singers' lives have changed (MHR3, personal communication, 20 June 2016).

> Urban grooves has helped a lot of musicians climb the social ladder. My favourite artist is Soul Jah Love. I appreciate the fact that he has succeeded through music, had he not ventured into music, he could have been a street kid (SHR1, personal communication, 22 June 2016).

> Most of the artists are from the ghetto and we are also from the ghetto. So if we look at them and their statuses now, we get to believe that it is possible for people in the ghetto to make it in life. My favourite artist is Winky D, he is good…. I am also inspired by the strides that he has made in life. If I look back, he started as a DJ and was just poor and even when he explains about his life, I get inspired and I am made to believe that it is even possible for me to climb the social ladder (ZHR5, personal communication, 24 June 2016).

Contrary to the above youth respondents' views, most urban grooves musicians have been presented as economic failures as noted earlier. Mhiripiri (2010: 221) notes that the urban grooves musicians "barely manage to survive with some even caught for petty crime, including piracy". Mate (2012), in concurrence with Mhiripiri, notes that urban grooves has not produced many affluent celebrities out of previously impoverished youth as in other Sub-Saharan African countries. However, I argue that it is important to note, from the comments made by the youth that, they are inspired by the social changes in the urban grooves musicians' lives no matter how small such changes are. These youth are from poor

backgrounds, hence their admiration of the way the musicians are now living decent lives that are different from their previous lifestyles even though they are not necessarily super affluent.

Nonetheless, there are contested views, among Zimbabwean youth, regarding the urban grooves musicians and the notion of role models. As shown in the youth responses referenced earlier, some youth claimed that they do not take musicians as role models, but relate to them only through their music and as such only get inspired by the messages in the music and not the personalities that the musicians have created. Other respondents asserted that the messages expressed in the songs aid in their consideration of urban groovers as their role models. Some were even of the view that there is a co-relationship between song text and one's personality as they argued that the types of songs one sings reflect the type of person he/she is. This view is however debatable considering that some youth's responses indicated that some musician personalities are at variance with the messages that they sing; this is examined further in the next section. One musician whom the youth mentioned as a role model, owing to his song texts, is Winky D and they made particular mention of the song *"Mafirakureva"* ("Prepared to die for the truth") (2013). The song discourages youth, especially those of school-going age, from taking drugs and interestingly reveals that there are some young artists who take drugs and these should not be allowed to influence the other youth. *"Mafirakureva"* went on to win the Zimdancehall 2013 award for best social message,[9] thus portraying Winky D as a role model who has participated in the spreading of positive socio-cultural messages through song text. Further youth respondents' comments on musicians' role modelling through song text were that:

> I love Seh Calaz, I love the message in his songs, for example *"Ndega ndinoziva kwandakakurira"* ("I am the only one who knows where I grew up"). It teaches me that if I know my background, I should work hard to improve myself. So, I Take Seh Calaz as my role model (HHR1, personal communication, 17 June 2016).

> Soul Jah Love is my role model. What he sings happens where he stays and where he goes, for example, the song *"Dai Hupenyu Hwaitengwa"* ("If life could be bought"), some people do not have parents. Soul Jah Love's personal life motivates me because he has not lost hope even when bad things are sometimes done to him… (MHR1, personal communication, 20 June 2016).

> …you can never write what you are not experiencing and that is why we make role models of the musicians who sing songs that relate to our own experiences, what is

happening. For example, I know Soul Jah Love, I used to see him and what he sings about in *"ChiSuit Chegreen"* ("The green suit") is true. He is somebody who was looked down upon and despised by people but to my surprise now, he has climbed the social ladder (HHR3, personal communication, 17 June 2016).

The above comments show that youth do not passively emulate celebrities but make the musicians their role models because they regard these musicians as their spokespersons, echoing Wade's (1998) perception that music shape and is shaped by daily cultural experiences. As fans of urban grooves musicians, the youth are involved in what Marshall (2014: 47) interprets as actively working on the presentation of the music celebrity, what he/she sings to make sense of their world and make it fit into their everyday experience. This means that the Zimbabwean youth regard urban grooves musicians as their role models because the musicians identify with them and their experiences through what they sing about.

Celebrities are also known for exerting their influence on the public's sense of dressing, style and language. People often emulate celebrities with respect to dress and style (Milner Jr 2005), with the youth especially desiring to imitate celebrities' style of dressing and what is fashionable (Omenugha, Uzuebgunam and Ndolo 2016: 209). One youth who mentioned Winky D as his role model articulated that:

I take Winky D as my role model. I love his dressing and his dread locks such that when I finish my A-Level I also want to have dreadlocks and even put on the doeks[10] and hats similar to the ones Winky D puts on. I also like wearing jackets and jeans as Winky D does (ZHR1, personal communication, 24 June 2016).

Some of the youth respondents even disclosed that they go out of their way to try to emulate current trends in celebrity fashion by doing what I call 'innovative imitation,' whereby they creatively appropriate what is available to them (also considering that these youth are from poor backgrounds) to demonstrate the levels of their fashion consciousness. A typical example, as revealed by the respondents, is how male high school students have used 'innovative imitation' to invent ways of altering their pairs of school trousers so that they resemble the trendy joggers which are loose at the upper part of the legs whilst the bottom part is tighter. This is done in order to identify with the contemporary celebrity fashion trends. Nonetheless, the youth disclosed that this undertaking often lands them in trouble with the school authorities. Most of the youth respondents reported that they do not want to be looked down upon as backward and as such try to keep up to date with what is fashionable by

doing what they call *"kupinda mustaera"* (being in style). Dressing is indeed an essential means of identification amongst the youth as they are often identified by the kind of clothes they wear and that which is viewed as ideal in fashion (Goldstein 2006). This resonates with Psynakova's (2012: 51; 72) analysis of consumer lifestyles practised by young people as means of social inclusion that help them to maintain relationships with their peers and locate their own identities. The considered instances lead the youth to regard celebrities as role models who lead the way on what is fashionable.

The reality that Zimbabwe urban grooves music is influenced by global genres of music, especially the Euro-American genres and Jamaican dancehall, means that urban grooves musicians also get influenced by global trends of dressing. One promoter respondent (PR1, personal communication, 1 July 2016) explained how urban grooves musicians emulate American music celebrities as follows:

> …who doesn't want to look up to Chris Brown as an artist when you are in hip-hop, Chris Brown introduces his attire, Justin Bieber is a very good example of an artist who has influence across our music, they just dress like him….

Zimbabwean musicians who borrow from Jamaican reggae and dancehall music usually wear clothes with the colours red, gold and green that are associated with the Rastafari culture (Statford 2011). In addition, some put on doeks and hats to emulate Jamaican reggae and dancehall artists such as Sizzla Kalonji (born Miguel Orlando Collins). Finally, there is a chain reaction of influence here where the urban grooves musicians' dressing and style is influenced by global celebrities and in turn these urban groovers influence their youth fans who regard them as role models; although it must be acknowledged that in some instances, youth become aware of the global trends in dressing and style through global media technologies.

Moyo (2015), however, contends that the era of urban grooves, especially the development of Zimdancehall music, has seen changes in fashion influence as Zimdancehall musicians are creatively influencing their fans' fashion trends and styles without having to look up to global celebrities as their points of reference. He explores the way in which youth from impoverished townships wear overalls labelled *"Bhanditi"* (Bandits) on the back to emulate the dress code popularised by the popular Zimdancehall musician Seh Calaz (born Tawanda Mumanyi) who calls himself The Bandit in his songs. Moyo adds that Soul Jah Love's release of the song *"Chisutu Chegreen"* ("The green suit") in which he sings about

his green suit, was followed by incidences where some of his fans started wearing brightly coloured suits. Moreover, urban grooves musicians have, on a significant note, influenced the language used by the youth and even older people as seen in their popularisation of words and phrases such as *"chibabababa"* (an inflated form of the word *baba* for father used to express how one is outstanding or an expert at something) and *"pakaipa mheni"* (reflecting a difficult situation). Such words permeate the youth's every day and classroom discourses as youth interviewees revealed that they, for example, talk in terms of *"chibaba cheMaths"* (an expert at Mathematics) to describe a good Mathematics teacher or an outstanding Mathematics student. Thus, as asserted by Moyo (2015), celebrities from the urban grooves genre inform youth culture, on their own terms, as noted in the way they influence dressing and language trends. This view is confirmed by Siziba (2009: 23) who notes that Zimbabwean youth now inform society's tastes and culture through music, dressing, youth dialect, body language and dance.

3.4 Urban Grooves Musicians as 'Social Deviants'

Having looked at positive socio-cultural roles played by celebrities in influencing youth, it is important to examine the flip side to this where celebrities are perceived as social deviants. This kind of contradiction can be read as emanating from the ambivalent nature of the celebrity and celebrity culture phenomena as noted earlier. Here, celebrities who are generally perceived as examples to emulate, are to the contrary variously perceived as non-exemplary figures and social deviants. Various media narratives portray urban grooves musicians' controversial behaviours. Roki, an award-winning urban grooves musician and one of the musicians who popularised the urban grooves genre and even groomed many young artists,[11] stirred controversy owing to his moral and sexual conduct. He is described, as noted in Chapter 1, as a "well-known super-dad who fathered six children with five different women…."[12] This sarcastic description (super dad) demonstrates the reporter's disapproval of Roki's moral and sexual conduct. The award winning Zimdancehall female artist Lady Squanda (born Sandra Gazi) has been reportedly associated with bullying, violent behaviour and a variety of petty crimes since she joined the music industry (Chaya 2016). Another female artist and one of the pioneers of urban grooves music, Tererai Mugwadi, was reported by Dube (2011) in *The Sunday Mail* to be a drug addict and described as Zimbabwe's version of Whitney Houston or Brenda Fassie. Dube added that the problem of drug abuse in turn

exposed her to sexual abuse by "several musicians to the extent that nobody really cares about her anymore." The way the reporter presents Tererai's alleged experience of sexual abuse with repudiation foregrounds the extent of the condemnation of women who dare to transgress patriarchal societal norms where it is taboo for women to smoke or consume alcohol, let alone abuse drugs. Gqola (2004: 143), in her critique of how the late South African Afro-pop musician Brenda Fassie was condemned for flouting conventional feminine behaviour, argues that such an attitude against female celebrities is a political tool meant to suppress women's pleasure and control their sexuality. These referenced cases of 'deviant' urban grooves musician behaviours as described in media narratives demonstrate how both concepts celebrity status and celebrity culture are also associated with notoriety (Marshall 2014). The public narratives or perceptions are significant here, hence this section's focus on celebrity culture and youth identities in relation to celebrity 'deviance' relies much on the notion of celebrity gossip and how it is significant in the assessment of celebrity behaviours, society's everyday experiences and the processes of identity construction.

3.4.1 Celebrity Gossip and the Evaluation of 'Celebrity Deviance'

The above noted media narratives are typical of the negative labelling that is commonly known as celebrity gossip. Celebrity gossip is sensationalist in nature. As a result, some victims of such narratives end up refuting the veracity of stories that emanate from celebrity gossip. A typical example is the Tererai Mugwadi case, in which *Nehanda Radio* (2015) reports that Tererai Mugwadi refuted *The Sunday Mail* allegations on her drug abuse. She took both the holding company, Zimpapers, and the reporter Mthandazo Dube to court in a defamation of character suit and won the case. This shows that judgement on celebrity 'deviance' is largely dependent on either truthful or false stories circulating as celebrity gossip. Despite being sensational, celebrity gossip serves a very important social function in celebrity culture. Turner (2004: 107-118) notes that celebrity gossip facilitates the sharing and passing of social judgements and the processing as well as evaluation of social behaviour. Thus, celebrity gossip mediates a form of social and cultural empowerment for the audience that invades the lives of the famous and reveals their secrets.

Gamson (1994) argues that fans may be less devotees than cynical spectators who get some fun out of the foibles and fates of those who are famous. Such instances of fun present celebrity culture as observed by Marshall (2014: 47), as a form of popular culture that enables

audiences to derive pleasure from discovering that the celebrities are human after all and no better than they are and in many cases worse, and that they are not especially gifted at managing their lives (Turner 2004: 49; 115). The comments below on the celebrity Trevor Dongo's street fight reported by Gasho (2016) speak to the audience's realisation of celebrities' humanity:

> Baba Goddy: No matter what status Trevor has, he is a man first.

> TheYellowTambourine: Celebrities are also humans that's why icons like Michael Jackson, Whitney Houston and many more are six feet under. When it comes to the nature of being human nothing can distinguish one person to another (sic).

These comments emphasise that Trevor Dongo and other famous people should be considered as humans first and not different from any other human being, and celebrities second. Turner (2004: 115) also notes that gossip enables the integration of celebrities into our everyday lives such that the celebrities end up becoming the centre of the discussion and evaluation of social encounters such as divorces, extra-marital affairs, deaths and career disappointments. This reveals that the concept of celebrity gossip is an important source of identification for audiences who get to associate their own humanity and daily human experiences with those of celebrities.

Furthermore, celebrity gossip's presentation of the scurrilous, pathetic and phony, works as a marketing gimmick that sells papers and satisfies audience interests that would have been neglected by the majority of the 'respectable media' (Turner 2004: 48-49). Gossip also markets the celebrities themselves and their products. For instance, it is reported by Chaya (2016) in the *Daily News* that Zimbabwe's Lady Squanda feigned her death in August 2013 as a marketing gimmick to market her song *"Rufu RwaSquanda"* ("The death of Squanda"). She generated a text message which read, "Lady Squanda was found dead yesterday after she drank rat poison. May her soul rest in peace, we love you girl," which she sent to her contacts and later circulated heavily as people sent condolence messages on various media platforms. This example and the Trevor Dongo one above prove the sensational nature of celebrity gossip and how audiences derive pleasure from circulating gossip as well as in evaluating Zimbabwean musicians against their moral fabric and in the process 'humanising' them.

As celebrities are labelled as deviant in media narratives and public discourses, it follows that such celebrities are usually considered as bad role models. Buford and Reuben (2009: 448) note that, "individuals acquire the attitudes, behaviours and aspirations of their role models through observation." As a result, role models who are perceived as deviant are conceived as bad role models. One musician (M1, personal communication, 4 July 2016) noted that Zimdancehall musicians in particular are not good role models for the youth:

> So you find that Soul Jah Love or whoever or whichever artist talks about being high and it being normal. It's normal, it's their lifestyle, it's their culture, it's very normal, so yes, celebrity culture does influence youth delinquencies in a huge way, it's sad but that's what it is like because its propaganda, it's a message that is repeated over and over again and eventually that message comes to make an impact on young people.

The song *"Musombodhiya,"* (2015) (a Shona word for an alcoholic substance) can be taken as a case in point to support the above musician's claims. In the song, Soul Jah Love repeatedly uses the word *musombodhiya* to compare some life pursuits especially worthless ones to the drug. One may argue that the word is used metaphorically to describe undesirable life situations and yet one may also take the choice of the metaphor and its repeated use as representing the musician's association with and glorification of drugs. One promoter (PR2, personal communication, 3 July 2016) affirmed the latter and added that urban grooves musicians influence youth to take drugs because during their shows, one can "notice that singers sing under the influence of drugs." The same promoter also noted that artists are doing very little to condemn drug abuse by youth and gave an example of Seh Calaz, who instead of supporting Winky D's song *"Mafirakureva"* ("Prepared to die for the truth") (2013) that encourages youth not to take drugs, composed his own song titled *"Mafirakureva (Winky D Reply)"* (2013) that criticises Winky D's anti-drug use song.

However, both urban grooves promoter respondents argued that social deviants must not be taken as a blanket conception of urban groovers as a number of musicians from other genres are known to be drug users. Promoter PR2 pointed out further that fans do not necessarily always learn to take drugs from the musicians, as some of them could have started on drugs way before the rise of pro-drug use urban groovers. He argued that musicians who glorify drugs would only be pampering and pleasing fans who are into drugs as a marketing gimmick to sell their music to this fan base:

…the situation is a catch-22 because the fans are also into drugs, so either you sing for your supper or you play good and lose money, for example *"Musombodhiya"* by Soul Jah love and *"Mudendere"* by Doba Don, the songs are about drugs and when the musicians sing about such, fans get so happy because that's what they do, take drugs, and that's why even Doba Don's *"Mudendere"* became a hit song.

Some respondents asserted that the socio-economic conditions in Zimbabwe are to blame for the high prevalence of social ills and youth delinquencies. Their view was that drug abuse by most youth arose from high levels of unemployment and that they have nothing else to do except roam the streets and take drugs. This view is expressed by musician M3 (personal communication, 8 July 2016) in the following:

…right now some youth are not going to school nor to work, one would be just idle at home and when he/she leaves home and in the end engages in delinquent activities, people would think it's because of influence of music but that's not it.

The issue here appears complex. There is some evidence, on the one hand, pointing to some urban grooves music celebrities influencing social ills such as taking of drugs through songs that support such behaviour. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that some of these social ills emanate from the complex socio-economic and political experiences including poverty and lack of employment bedevilling Zimbabwe from the year 2000 to the time of the research of this thesis.

Some youth respondents were also of the view that some urban grooves musicians are not good role models. The respondents mentioned the names of their favourite artists among the urban groovers, but were quick to point out that they do not regard these musicians as their role models nor do they intend to behave like them. Below are some of the comments the youth made about the musicians:

I love Soul Jah Love's music but not what he does and I don't want to be like him. He is not my role model because his personal life is not good. He influences people to take drugs and he also takes drugs, he was interviewed and he admitted to taking drugs and he said he learnt to take them whilst he was still young (MHR4, personal communication, 20 June 2016).

I like Soul Jah Love and Winky D but I don't want to copy them. Winky D is said to be satanic and at times he sings with Satanists from Jamaica. I however admire the

fact that he does not take drugs. I do not like the fact that Soul Jah Love takes drugs, he is addicted, so I do not want to copy him (SR2, personal communication, 22 June 2016).

One youth indicated that she did not approve of the way some musicians portray two different personae on stage and offstage. She noted: "if you consider their music in relation to their lifestyles, you realise that they sing against drugs, but away from the stage, they take the drugs" (ZR7, personal communication, 24 June 2016). This kind of behaviour can be explained from Goffman (1959)'s dramaturgical perspective using the theatrical concepts of front region or frontstage behaviour and back region or backstage behaviour. Goffman asserts that the front region and back region are partitioned, thus what one does in front of people or the audience (frontstage) is different from what he/she does when he/she is not being watched (backstage). In the frontstage one accentuates actions that will create positive impressions in accordance with the norms and expectations of the audience; actions that the audience may discredit are suppressed only to appear backstage when one is not watched (Goffman 1959). In the case of urban grooves musicians, the frontstage is where they perform music that will ensure positive impressions, while their personal lives exhibit backstage behaviour, hence the inconsistencies between what they sing and how they conduct themselves as claimed by the youth respondent above. It is important to note here that, in the case of celebrities in particular, the demarcations between the front region and the back region have broken down due to the contemporary ubiquitous nature of ICTs to such an extent that "we have normalised putting the famous under the microscope to such a degree that their private lives [backstage behaviours] are open to the public" (Marshall 2014: xiii). As noted earlier in the chapter, youth use media platforms to access information about celebrities' public and private lives, thus one can assume that the youth respondents used the same media platforms to access urban grooves musicians' backstage behaviours and measure their 'deviance.'

The audience evaluation of celebrity 'deviance,' as noted above, relies much on information that circulates on media platforms. The information usually circulates as celebrity gossip, and as noted earlier in this section, it is usually not easy to credit the information as truthful or discredit it as lies. However, what can be considered as important in the youth's evaluation of urban groovers' 'deviant' behaviours is their awareness of the fact that celebrities have their own human weaknesses that the youth should shun even in cases where they love these artists' music. Some youth adopted the good and bad binary

common in media narratives and public discourses for the evaluation of celebrity behaviours and choice of role models, while others revealed that their choice of role models does not depend on the behaviours of musicians but on what they sing. The latter regard such musicians as role models on the basis that they identify with their experiences, hopes and aspirations through song text as was noted earlier in this chapter. Some fans even revealed that they choose which songs to listen to and shun those with messages that they consider as bad. The body of urban grooves songs the fans considered as unacceptable here include, *"Mumota Murikubvira"* ("There is fire in the car") (2013) by Seh Calaz, *"Musombodhiya"* (2015) by Soul Jah Love and *"Mudendere"* ("In the nest") (2015) by Doba Don which glorify drug use. It is thus evident that the youth are not passive consumers of celebrity culture as the above discussion shows that they are actively involved in the evaluation of the musicians as well as their songs.

3.5 Celebrity Culture and Interconnections with Youth Identities

It was noted in the analysis of the socio-cultural roles played by celebrities that celebrities influence youth in a variety of ways and the youth often want to identify with them. Celebrity consumption itself is in many ways a process of identification through which fans seek to establish solidarity and interconnect with their favourite celebrity and vice versa. Therefore, it is important in this section to explore the various ways through which celebrity culture intersects with youth identities. The section also examines the importance of place in identity construction as represented in urban grooves music and how naming is an important means of group identification between musicians and their fans.

Identification between urban grooves musicians and their youth fans, as revealed by both the musicians and youth respondents, is most importantly facilitated by what Brubaker and Cooper (2000) call "commonality," which is the sharing of some common attribute (Brubaker and Cooper 2000: 20). This kind of commonality is confirmed by one musician respondent (M1, personal communication, 4 July 2016) in her explanation that: "…I relate to young people in a lot of ways and also being a young person, I also do relate to whatever they are going through because I am going through the same things as well." Thus, most urban grooves musicians draw on the youthfulness and experiences shared with their fans to identify with these youth fans. Moreover, most of the urban groovers have their roots in the impoverished township residential areas and, as such, their largest following hails from these

same spaces. Some youth responses, as noted in the statement by ZR4 (personal communication, 24 June 2016) below, demonstrate the ways they form their affinity with the musicians that express greater knowledge of their background and sing about their life experiences:

> I love Hwindi President because I knew him from the start and he also sings songs to advise, especially the song *"Chinyakare"* ("Tradition"). He talks about some bad things that people do, for example, bleaching. Soul Jah Love sings songs that I enjoy, he sings the art of ghetto life, because we are in the ghetto, so that is what we encourage.

Therefore, the identification of urban grooves musicians with their youth fans is most importantly facilitated by the sharing of common attributes and experiences.

The prevalence of the mass media and information communication technologies has greatly changed the way we relate and interact with each other and this is also felt in the construction of celebrity-fan connections. Turner (2004: 99) notes that: "We live in a world of mass-mediated relationships and that has changed the character and constitution of everyday life". The media has become an alternative means through which people forge social relationships even with other people who are distant from them. Youth use the media and social media platforms to forge relationships with their favourite celebrities, interact and identify with them. Giles (2000) calls such relationships and interactions para-social relationships and para-social interactions, respectively. Para-social relationships enable media users to relate to media figures in ways that are typical of real social relationships and thus, the para-social relationships become substitutes for real relationships, especially in situations where certain dimensions of family and community have shrunken (Giles 2000: 148, 2002: 279). Giles (2000: 280) notes further that the two essential functions of para-social interactions are companionship and personal identity; where, for instance, characters in soap operas remind their fans of people they know such that the fans end up using the characters' situations and behaviours as ways to understand their own lives. In the same manner, urban grooves music reminds fans of their own experiences, and enables them to identify with the personae and situations reflected in the songs. This identification is noted in respondent HHR2's (personal communication, 17 June 2016) passionate statement about Seh Calaz:

> Seh Calaz is also my role model. He is from Mbare, he grew up in a situation that I think I also grew up in. So when I listen to Seh Calaz, I realise that in some of his

songs he will be speaking to me, it feels like the songs refer to me, for example, the song *"Amai,"* ("Mother") I really realise that that song speaks to me […] despite the violence that is alleged to characterise Zimdancehall.

Furthermore, Zimbabwean youth make friends with the urban groovers or follow them on media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and interact with them on their WhatsApp groups. The youth use the same media platforms and others such as YouTube to download music and dances associated with the music and musicians and other aspects associated with celebrity style, thus facilitating urban groovers-youth fan connection and interaction. At the period of this research, Cindy Munyavi had 4 999 friends on Facebook, 19 600 followers on Twitter and 54 800 followers on Instagram. Winky D had 239 188 likes and 240 748 followers on his Facebook page, 74 900 followers on twitter and 110 000 followers on Instagram, Stunner had 90 320 likes and 90 532 followers on his Facebook page, 27 900 and 80 900 followers on Twitter and Instagram respectively, while Soul Jah Love had 47 000 followers on Facebook, 11 000 on Twitter and 43 200 on Instagram. Although these followers are not entirely youth, it is evident that the media, social media platform and music are conduits that offer fans the experience of identification with celebrities through what is known as para-social relationships or para-social interactions.

Another means of social and cultural identity formation between celebrities and their fans, as has already been established in the previous section, is celebrity gossip. In addition to Turner's (2004) views on celebrity gossip referenced earlier, Milner Jr (2005: 70) views gossip as a way through which fans attempt to establish intimate identification with celebrities as knowing about someone's personal life "indicates more intimacy than knowing the content of their last speech or movie." Such cases of intimacy were demonstrated by youth who excitedly shared information on urban grooves musicians' personal lives as mentioned earlier in the chapter. Moreover, intimacy with those of higher status (celebrities) improves one's status (Milner Jr 2005:70). Marshall (2014: xiii), as noted in Chapter 1, argues that the fans' search for intimate relationship with celebrities has developed into some sort of desire for an inner truth that is oddly tied to prurient and voyeuristic pleasures, and this can be linked to the prevalence of sex tapes in celebrity culture. Such sex tapes have found their way into the Zimbabwean media as exemplified by the urban groover Stunner and his former girlfriend Pokello Nare's sex tape as well as that of the popular musician Amara Brown which however turned out to be a hoax. The Zimbabwean audiences reacted to these

sex tapes with mixed feelings. Some audiences judged and condemned the musicians for being immoral, while others expressed their pleasure in watching the videos' exposure of the musicians' sexual activities. Others expressed affective responses demonstrated through their intimate support, sympathy and identification with the musicians as well as condemnation of the media for infringing on the musicians' privacy and for cyber bullying.[13] Thus, celebrity gossip enables consumers of celebrity culture to search for intimate identification with celebrities. This search for intimacy has, however, reached a point where consumers have developed a pleasurable desire for the exposure of celebrities' private and sexual matters.

Intimacy is however characterised by a number of ambivalences. First, Milner Jr (2005; 70-71) and Cashmore (2011) contend that fans can only develop imagined intimacy through celebrity gossip as it offers virtual intimacy that is different from real-life relationships one can have with close friends or lovers. Milner Jr (2005) gives typical examples of imagined intimacies that are often characteristic of celebrity idolisation as noted in Chapter 1. These epitomise the culture of 'stanning' based on the song "Stan" (2000) by Eminem where the fan or 'stan' demonstrates an overzealous and fervent affection for a celebrity, writes him letters and later commits suicide because the celebrity has not responded to the letters.[14] Similar forms of imagined intimacies and 'stanning' are indeed evident in urban grooves music as demonstrated in the song *"Ndini Ndaita Kuti"* ("I made this possible") (2015) by Winky D. Winky D uses the self-praise song form to celebrate his prowess and express how his music has become popular and made people feel happy. He claims that he enchants girls to the extent that they kiss his image on flyers – *"maGafa obigger zvimoko ndozvondikisa ndiri paflyer"* (the Gaffers praise me while girls kiss 'me' on the flyer). Although this claim is made in a gesture of self-praise, the act of kissing his image alludes to the different ways that fans use to forge and imagine intimate relationships with celebrities.

However, some scholars perceive identification between celebrities and their fans as not merely imagined. Thus, unlike Milner Jr (2005) and Cashmore (2011) who view the relationships between celebrities and their fans as only imagined, Marshall (2014: 195) as indicated earlier, contends that there exists, in popular music, a close identification between the music celebrity and the fans. This observation resonates with Lipsitz's (1994: 36) in his analysis of hip-hop music where he argues that hip-hop "blends music and life into an integrated totality, uniting performers, dancers and listeners in a collaborative endeavour."

Paradoxically, as argued by Milner Jr (2005), the search for intimacy with the celebrity or too much intimacy leads to loss of admiration, awe and mystery as familiarity often breeds contempt. Milner Jr (2005: 71) notes that "Celebrities who court too much publicity about their personal lives run the risk of becoming the "slut" who is "too easy" and hence uninteresting." As a result, the fans' attempts at forging intimate relationships with celebrities is met with the celebrities' seeking to manage their social distance and intimacy with the fans (Milner Jr 2005: 71) in order to preserve their higher statuses. A good example of an urban groover who has managed to preserve the privacy of his personal life is Winky D. The question 'who really is Winky D?' is indeed difficult to answer as details about his personal life are "frustratingly scarce" as *The Herald*'s Ndlovu (2018) notes. One youth respondent, ZHR3 (personal communication, 24 June 2016) pointed at this privacy as the reason why he admires and takes Winky D as his role model:

> I admire how Winky D deals with his personal life. He does not let his personal affairs come to be known by the public, he keeps his private life private. What we only know about him is his music. So I also want to live such a kind of life.

It is ironic though that attempts by celebrities to maintain a social distance from their fans may breed contempt as fans may resent what they perceive as celebrity aloofness or arrogance (Milner Jr 2005: 71). A perfect example is the case of the Zimdancehall musician, Qounfused, whom one of the youth respondents dislikes because of his refusal to pose for photographs with his fans as mentioned earlier in the chapter. This reveals how the search for identity connections between celebrities and their fans is permeated by ambivalences.

Identity should be understood in terms of a search for group membership or belonging, especially in the case where music, celebrities and youth are involved. In this instance, identity can be best defined through what Brubaker and Cooper (2000: 20) term "groupness" which they define as denoting a sense of "belonging to a distinctive, bounded solidary group." Milner (Jr 2005: 68) uses his theory of status relations to postulate that conformity to the norms of a group is a key source of status. Thus, one's social standing and acceptance as a member of a particular group depends on how he/she manages to adhere to the norms related to that particular group. The youth respondents to this study disclosed that it is imperative for a Zimbabwean youth to conform to the norms of the youth group especially through the kind of music they listen to and the clothes they wear as revealed in the following statement by ZHR2 (personal communication, 24 June 2016):

> For you to be regarded as youth, it depends with the type of music that you listen to. If you listen to sungura, then we won't really regard you as youth. As youth, we talk of Zim hip-hop not sungura. We determine youth by the type of music that they listen to.

However, in a status system such as the one that involves celebrities and the fans who identify with them, the process of trying to conform to the norms of the group in order for one to be accepted as a member has its own ambivalences. Those occupying a higher status, in this case, celebrities tend to elaborate and complicate the group norms such that it becomes difficult for upstarts and outsiders to conform and become competitors. The high ranking group members change the norms, in cases where these can be followed with ease, to ensure that the upstarts and outsiders are always a step behind. This reassures those of higher status that they are accomplished and sophisticated and thus deserve their superior status (Milner Jr 2005: 69). Celebrities practice this typically through their dressing in designer labels that are very expensive, a move that leaves fans behind, especially those who are unemployed like most Zimbabwean youth, as they would not afford such designer labels. At times, Zimbabwean fans fail to conform because of the differences in the context in which they and the celebrities often operate from. Some of the youth respondents referred to the awkwardness of imitating certain kinds of dressing and hairstyles that are popular with celebrities in ordinary everyday situations arguing that some forms of dressing and style are only fit for musical performances. Moreover, there are issues of 'indecency' and cultural differences that come to the fore, especially with regard to global celebrities, as indicated in the following:

> …if you wear trendy clothes here, you are labelled immoral, indecent and culturally lost. People may mock or victimise you if you walk down the streets dressed like that (SR4, personal communication, 22 June 2016).

This evokes several cases of harassment and forms of 'body policing' experienced especially by young Zimbabwean women and African women at large from men who condemn the wearing of mini-skirts as diluting and eroding African norms.[15] In some instances these men have gone to the extent of stripping their victims naked as in the case of a woman who was stripped naked in the Zimbabwean capital, Harare in March 2015 leading to the arrest and jailing of two male offenders (Mwando 2015). Celebrity culture is therefore a status system through which fans such as youth attempt to find a sense of belonging to a distinct group, and demonstrate their youthfulness and identification with their favourite celebrities. However,

this is not easy to accomplish as dilemmas, ambiguities and complications ensue due to the paradoxical nature of the status system.

Social association also stands out as a key feature to identification. An association with those of higher status results in the raising of one's own status, hence youth wear the "right" brands and hang out in the cool places and with the 'right' people to attain a higher status. Celebrities reinforce their own status by surrounding themselves with fashionable objects (Milner Jr 2005: 69). This social association is evident among urban grooves youth fans and musicians. For instance, one of the musician interviewees described dressing, the way of talking and style as part of a musician's status creation and image making as well as ways through which fans can associate or identify with their favourite musician's image. He stated that:

> Everybody has a role model, including people in business. So if I have fans and the fans get to like and appreciate my image they start dressing like me and even talking the way I talk and they also do what I love doing because they want to be part of the image that I have created. So if as a musician you find that you do not have people who follow you then it means there is something wrong with your image (M5, personal communication, 15 July 2016).

The kind of identification revealed by musician M5 above does not however involve only the fans' emulation of the celebrity's image. Reference to the concept of 'stanning' reveals how the celebrity himself/ herself becomes an extension of the fans who represent their identities. This kind of representation has its own pitfalls that can be noted, especially where the celebrity takes the responsibility to represent people whose desires and dreams she/ he would never know (Msimang 2017). In addition, social association itself presents a dilemma as it is difficult to maintain sameness of status amongst all the associates. As argued by Milner Jr (2005: 69), "the higher the status of one's associates the more one's status is raised, but the more deference one needs to show these associates." Most youth who participated in interviews for this study pointed out that they admire the way their favourite musicians dress and want to be trendy and dress like them. On the contrary, some of the interviewees, (musicians, music producers and promoters) expressed that musicians are concerned about distinguishing themselves from their fans through their dressing and hair style in order to earn respect and admiration from the fans as revealed below:

[Dressing] plays a bigger role because you have to be presentable and you have to come up with unique art, unique style of dressing and it must be obvious when people see you that you are an artist. Every artist is different from other people. He is distinguished from other people through hair style and dressing (P2, personal communication, 30 June 2016).

When I go on stage, I am not supposed to look similar to my fans. You will not earn the respect that you are supposed to earn, you have to be different, you have to show them the art and that is why you see that when I go on stage, I put on my unique regalia, those doeks and the kind of outfits I wear. That is why I got that award for best dressed artist in 2014. I even have a designer who designs my outfits and my shoes. I have to look different and people will say "this is [M3], this is his dressing" (M3, (personal communication, 8 July 2016).

Ambiguities are evident here as all interviewed musicians, except for one, indicated that they have two forms of dressing, one for their performances and another for ordinary life situations. This means that the musicians live with some form of "double consciousness" – being ordinary and being extraordinary and yet their ordinariness is in most cases overshadowed by their extraordinariness as this is what fans often see in them and admire. Celebrity consumption is thus a process of identity formation especially for youth who seek to identify with their favourite celebrities and other consumers of celebrity culture. However, in this process of identification, celebrities and celebrity fans encounter a number of ambivalences and dilemmas considering that celebrity culture is a 'status system' (Milner Jr 2005). It persuades fans to seek solidarity with celebrities yet at the same time valorises the celebrities who strive to maintain a status that is higher than that of their fans.

3.5.1 Urban Grooves Music and Representation of Youth Spatial Identities

Urban grooves music represents how the identities and relationships between the musicians and their fans are defined through attachment to place or space. The music also reflects the nature of the spatial relationships existing between the musicians and the youth. My analysis of the importance of space and place, as represented in urban grooves music, considers Helfeinbein's (2006) ideas on what he terms the "critical geography of youth culture," where he asserts that youth identities are spatially constructed such that any attempts at answering

questions on identity demands that one begins with the spatial twist, "where am I?" Helfeinbein (2006) defines space as the physical attributes of the world around us, that is, natural physical features such as mountains, rivers and deserts and man-made space such as national borders. Place on the other hand as defined by Helfeinbein (2006) is a particular form of space, one in which people assign meaning onto its particular location or characteristics. The process of identity formation always happen in spaces that paradoxically construct and limit possibilities and places that have been invested with meaning. Similarly, Lefebvre (1991: 158) who perceives space as socially produced, observes that space always embodies meaning. Unlike Helfeinbein who distinguishes natural space from man-made space, Lefebvre (1991: 68) argues that the distinction between the two is fast disappearing as spaces with social traits have become visibly more dominant than the natural ones. Lefebvre (1991: 30) contends that nature is now seen as merely the raw materials out of which the productive forces of a variety of society systems have forged their particular spaces. This section therefore seeks to examine the significance of space in the process of youth identity formation and identification between youth and urban grooves music celebrities as represented in urban grooves music.

As mentioned earlier, urban grooves music has its roots in the impoverished residential townships where most of the musicians were born and bred. The musicians, especially Zimdancehall musicians, draw the largest of their following from these townships where the genre has become a powerful cultural force. The term 'ghetto' is popularly used in Zimdancehall to refer to the impoverished residential townships, with the youth fans being labelled as 'the ghetto youth.' The word 'ghetto' denotes the slums and is reminiscent of the 'ghetto youth' of New York South Bronx and hip-hop culture and their slum conditions (Young 2014). Data gathered from this study's interviews regarding perceptions about the residential areas dominated by urban grooves map Mbare[16] as synonymous with the Zimdancehall culture and reveals four prominent musicians, Soul Jah Love, Killer T, Seh Calaz and Kinnah (Maliyakini Saizi), as originating from Mbare. A music promoter (PR2, personal communication, 3 July 2016) pointed out that the significance of Mbare in the Zimdancehall culture is evident in the annual *City Ngoma* festival that is held during the month of August to determine the most popular Zimdancehall artist for that particular year. Thus, I consider Mbare as the epicentre of the Zimdancehall culture and identity.

Zimdancehall associates impoverished residential townships with traits such as poverty, violence, resistance, hard work and talent. Songs such as *"Copyrights"* (2015) and *"Survivor"* (2015) by Winky D, on the one hand portray the bleak social and economic conditions experienced by the 'ghetto youth,' and on the other, demonstrate the youth's resilience against the hardships that they experience as they relate with the limited opportunities that the 'ghetto' and bleak economic conditions offer them. Other songs depict the 'ghetto youth's' tenacity and refute the stereotypes that they are idle, dishonest and thieves. This is evident in Soul Jah Love's song *"Ndini Uya Uya"* ("I am that one") (2014) that celebrates the musician's rise to fortune through hard work and his overcoming of negative and stereotypical accusations that were once levelled against him. In his analysis of Winky D's *"Rokesheni"* ("The locations") (2008), Manase (2011) observes that the song (2008), which is a Shona adaptive name for poor residential townships or 'ghettos,' is reflective of the culture of violence and unruliness that characterises and dominates the livelihoods of youth in these urban spaces. Nevertheless, Manase (2011: 92) postulates that the violence reflected in the songs mirrors the violence that was affecting the Zimbabweans [and is still affecting them] in the post-2000 era as a result of the ruling party's repressive hegemony. This evokes the musician, Killer T's reaction to the allegations of violence in the 'ghettos' as noted in his argument that, "these people want to pay rent. They have to do what a man has to do to survive. I condemn their activities but I do not blame them" (see Masau 2013). The reaction by Killer T to the violence that is frequently witnessed in the 'ghettoes' is reflective of what Manase (2011: 92) calls "the survivalist urban culture" that is prompted by the experiences of poverty in these residential townships. Interestingly though, songs such as *"Ghetto Yutts"* ("Ghetto youth") (2014) and *"Takangodaro"* ("We are like that") (2016) by Killer T portray and recount the existing talent, especially the artistic talent possessed by 'ghetto youth.' This is expressed in the popular term *"skiri"* (skill) recurrent in the song *"Ghetto Yutts."* While there are tendencies towards stereotypically associating the 'ghetto youth' with poverty and violence, virtues such as socio-political resistance, hard work and artistic creativity are musically depicted as the key attributes of some of these impoverished residential townships of Zimbabwe. These townships can be viewed as spaces that are crucial in the formation and shaping of youth identities portrayed in the songs referenced above.

The Zimbabwe urban grooves musicians' framing of spatial identities expresses commitment to both place and the fans who live in these places. Most of the musicians' compositions are heavily influenced by the places to which they belong or those from which

they originated. This kind of commitment can be understood in terms of what Williams, Patterson and Roggenbuck (1992: 31) term "place attachment" and define as the emotional bond between a person and a particular spatial setting. Killer T epitomises this kind of place attachment as depicted in his declaration of attachment to his home-township Mbare:

> I was born here and I shall die here. This is where I get my inspiration on daily basis and apart from that I enjoy life in Mbare. If I leave Mbare surely I will lose focus when it comes to the way I compose my lyrics (Killer T in a newspaper article by Chaya 2016).

The same spatial attachment is demonstrated in the song *"Ghetto Yutts,"* where he makes a declaration that *"kuMatapi ndiko kwangu kuZion"* (Matapi is my Zion). Zion, a term borrowed from the bible is very popular and significant in Rastafari religion and reggae music. As asserted in the Rastafari religion, it represents Ethiopia, a destined homeland for all black people that stands out as a true home and place where they are accepted and belong.[17] Matapi, which dates back to early days of colonial rule, is amongst the oldest and dilapidated hostels in the impoverished township of Mbare. Thus, by asserting Matapi as his Zion, Killer T proudly declares the place his home and forges a sense of belonging. Killer T recounts, in the song *"Takangodaro"* ("We are like that") (2016), various 'ghetto youth' traits and behaviours, and celebrates as well as shows pride in 'ghettoness' and an attachment to the 'ghetto' way of life as proclaimed in the lyrics: *"takangodaro, takazvarwa takangodaro hatiregere kuita hunhu hweghetto"* (we are like that, we were born like that and we will never stop behaving the ghetto way). Furthermore, as he identifies with Mbare, the popular Killer T also identifies with the youth represented by the 'ghetto' traits associated with Mbare. In the same song, Killer T utilises the call-and-response style typically used in traditional African songs to proclaim his identification with his 'ghetto youth' fans. The lyrical persona calls on the 'ghetto youth' who respond "ahoo" as follows:

Veghetto rangu dairai (ahoooo)

My fellow ghetto people respond (ahoooo)

Maghetto yutts dairai (ahoooo)

Ghetto youth respond (ahoooo)

According to Rohmer (2000: 148), African songs utilise the call-and-response style to foster participation, which in turn deepens the bonds between people. Songs that use this style facilitate identification on a communal and national level. Bere (2008: 46) adds that the call-and-response enables the people to establish themselves as members of a single community with a shared experience. Killer T is thus one musician whose songs represent the importance of the built and lived space in the shaping of youth identities and the communal identification between 'ghetto youth' and urban grooves music celebrities.

Apart from Killer T, Winky D declares his association with the 'ghetto youth' by positioning himself as their spokesperson. The latter's manager, Jonathan Banda, as reported in Nehanda Radio by Katiyo (2011) points out that, Winky D is devoted to singing about issues that affect youth from the 'ghetto' where he hails from. He even shows solidarity with his fans by making reference to them in some of his songs such as "*Survivor*" and "*Copyrights*." He symbolically shows his solidarity with the fans in both songs through his representation of the 'ghetto' experience in a communal or collective voice. He does this through his use of the first person plural pronoun 'we' in the song "*Survivor*", as represented by the Shona prefix *'ti'* as in *"tisu tine macopyrights enhamo"* (we have the copyrights to poverty) in the song "Copyrights" and *"tine nharo"* (we are defiant), thus showing how he identifies himself with the ghetto youth and the ghetto experience (Tivenga 2018: 139).

However, the nature of the musicians' commitment to certain township spaces is ambivalent. One needs to consider the earlier-mentioned point that some urban grooves musicians turned to music in an attempt to improve their economic status, an act that is also indicative of a desire for and attainment of an improved economic status that gets exemplified by living in a place with better living conditions. Killer T's promises to never leave Mbare compels one to ask whether the singer is suggesting that a musician who makes money must continue to stay in a bleak and run-down poor residential township such as Mbare's Matapi Flats in order to show his/ her commitment to his/her 'ghetto' origins and fans? If Killer T's attachment to Mbare suggests a physical bond and belonging, then that is an over-sentimentalised depiction of his attachment to his roots. The analysis by Shoniwa (2015) seems to confirm that being physically present at a certain place is important for musicians to preserve their musical careers. Shoniwa makes reference to Zimbabwe urban grooves musicians such as Nox, Plaxedes Wenyika and Decibel (Daniel Mazhindu) who relocated oversees and to neighbouring South Africa but have received lukewarm responses from their

Zimbabwean fans, thus suggesting that being physically away from one's roots can destroy one's musical career. Physical belonging and attachment to a place can be said to be important in as much as musicians need first-hand knowledge and the lived experience necessary to sing about (Olson and Shobe 2008). However, I draw on Williams, Patterson and Roggenbuck's (1992: 31) observation that place attachment is more significant on a symbolic than physical level and denotes the emotional bond between a person and a particular spatial setting than a physical one. This is why, as discussed in Chapter 2, popular musical forms such as hip-hop have crossed and influenced music lovers globally despite their origins in the United States.

It should also be underscored that the identification of urban grooves music with the 'ghetto' culture has resulted in some musicians and youth identifying with specific places within the Zimbabwean residential townships. Helfeinbein (2006) presents power as a key component in spatial relations and argues that, youth typically think of specific areas as their own while some spaces are relegated as belonging to other groups. He adds that the critical geography of youth culture must be understood in terms of how structures of power operate on young people, hence if an individual or group enjoys some degree of power, they then must be able to have some control over a given space. This kind of power matrix is reflected in urban grooves music practice where musician celebrities and their fans claim certain territories as their own with youth fans residing in certain areas as belonging to specific musicians. Lady Squanda, 'disses' fellow musicians Seh Calaz, Soul Jah Love and Bounty Lisa (Lynette Lisa Musenyi) in the song *"Hameno Akamutengera Altezza"* ("I don't know who bought him an Altezza") (2015), which refers to the Toyota Alteza car model that Soul Jah Love drives. She recounts negative things about these musicians and alleges that Soul Jah Love spends a lot of time riding in his Toyota Alteza instead of being productive. Lady Squanda even asserts herself as a better musician than the three and declares:

Zvimangoma zvenyu Chitungwiza ndakazvibanner

I banned your songs in Chitungwiza (Township)

Ndikakuonai kughetto rangu tichashupana

If I see you in my ghetto I will fight with you

"Hameno Akamutengera Altezza" typically demonstrates the power dynamics involved in spatial relations as asserted by Helfeinbein above. Lady Squanda declares the residential

township of Chitungwiza, where she comes from, as her own territory that her three rival musicians, should never intrude. She also declares possession of the Chitungwiza fans. These spatial claims and control of fan base are evident in a group of artists based in the Harare's residential township of Dzivarasekwa, popularly known as DZ in urban youth lingo, which stands for Danger Zone, with the Dzivarasekwa group identifying itself as the Danger Zone group. In addition, the musician, Freeman (Energy Sylvester Chizanga) who is the leader of the Danger Zone group declares control of Dzivarasekwa and the Dzivarasekwa fans by identifying himself as the HKD Boss, which is the acronym for *"Hatizi Kumira Dangerzone"* (We from the Danger Zone are moving on) and by identifying his fans as the Danger Zone Family.[18] The power dynamics, as epitomised in Lady Squanda's *"Hameno Akamutengera Altezza,"* also involve the ability to tarnish one's rivals' images considering that image making is important in celebrity culture. These rivalries resonate with those witnessed in American hip-hop musical culture between the East Coast-West Coast hip-hop groups which are said to have been ignited by two popular rappers of the 90s, the late Notorious B.I.G (Christopher Wallace) of the East Coast and the late Tupac Shakur of the West Coast (Sweet 2005; Derek 2015). Therefore, even though the urban grooves artists and their fans share similar 'ghetto' experiences, specific spatial settings divide the musician celebrities and fans into factions that are often characterised by rivalry and power struggles as they try to exert control and possession of specific places to which they belong. A detailed analysis of the power struggles in urban grooves will be done in Chapter 6.

Besides showing the territorialism that shape 'ghetto youth' identities, urban grooves musicians also portray how youth spatial identities are influenced by social class, linguistic and ethnic divisions that exist in the Zimbabwean society. The song *"Salala"* (2000) (a word derived from salad that is often used by Zimbabweans to ridicule snobbish or westernised youths) by EX-Q is a typical example as it parodies the snobbery demonstrated by youth from the posh Northern suburbs as they try and assert an identity that distinguishes them from other youth, in particular, the youth from impoverished residential townships and rural environs. Thus, the lyrical persona's use of the lyrics "masalad always stay kumadale-dale" (the salads always stay at the dale-dales), asserts a spatial association with the posh northern suburbs, *'madale-dale,'* a word derived from the common syllable in most of the names of these posh suburbs such as Borrowdale, Greendale, Avondale and Umwinsdale. EX-Q adopts an anglicised accent popularly known as *kunoser* (to speak through the nose) in urban lingo to express the different perceptions that these youth have about themselves. This also

demonstrates how language is a significant marker of social distinction (Veit-Wild 2009) amongst Zimbabwean youth. The song *"Maroja"* (Lodgers) (n.d) by Extra Large which parodies the 'adulterated' Shona language spoken by Zimbabwean nationals of Malawian origin as noted earlier in Chapter 2 can be said to be representative of a section of Zimbabwean youth of Malawian origin who are highly concentrated in Harare's Mabvuku and Tafara residential townships. Thus, the urban grooves musicians' expression of Zimbabwean youth spatial identities also considers the social class, ethnic and linguistic divisions that shape these identities.

Musicians also claim their spatial identities and attachment to specific places by referring to their hometowns in songs. By doing this, they depict their understanding and connectedness with the situation that they are singing about (Olson and Shobe 2008). Killer T and Lady Squanda reference their places of origin, Matapi and Chitungwiza, respectively, in their songs referenced above, with Killer T even showing a picture of the dilapidated Matapi Flats on the cover of the song "Ghetto Yutts". Winky D sings about the experiences and attributes of people who reside in the poor residential townships in *"Rokesheni,"* (2008) and makes references to typical impoverished residential townships such as Kambuzuma, Highfields, Mabvuku, Chitungwiza, Glenorah, Dzivarasekwa, Mbare, Mufakose and Tafara. Manase (2011) notes that Winky D's referencing of these different residential townships expresses the heterogeneity of urban experience represented by the uniqueness of the 'ghetto' culture of each spatial setting. However, there is some form of solidarity in this uniqueness as these mentioned townships share the similar experience of a tough life against which the youth demonstrate some defiance. In the song *"Rokesheni,"* Winky D, unlike those musicians who align themselves with specific places, identifies with the general attributes that shape the 'ghetto' experience and identity. The considered urban grooves songs here reveal the significant role played by urban grooves music celebrities in mapping place and space as important sources of identity and in this way assist in marking the intersection between youth identities and those of the urban grooves musicians themselves and/ or celebrity culture.

3.5.2 Naming and Group Identity

This subsection makes an analysis of the concept of naming and its significance in the process of identity construction between urban grooves musicians and their youth fans. Many

musicians are involved in the process of naming as they adopt stage names through which they are well known in the music circles. In addition, band members identify themselves by a collective band name. It is also important to note the significance of celebrity names in the concept of branding as celebrities are often considered or consider themselves as commodities with their names functioning as their "brand." A celebrity name is often identified with certain values, specific set of characteristics and personality traits (Delamoir and Nittins 2006: 31-34). However, the naming process in urban grooves music surpasses musician naming as the musicians' naming involves both themselves and their fans. Frith (1996: 110) asserts that music is key to identity because it offers a sense of self and others, and of the subjective in the collective. This section, therefore seeks to establish the role played by the musician-fan naming in the expression of the interconnections between urban grooves music celebrities' identities and those of their youth fans.

Through musician-fan naming, musicians express their common identity with the fans. The musicians who are the namers in this instance first give themselves names and then collectively give the same names to the fans to identify themselves with the collective. For instance, Winky D names himself as the *Gafa* and the Ninja President, while his fans are *Magafa* (gafas) and *Maninja* (Ninjas), respectively. Seh Calaz is a *Bhanditi* (Bandit) whilst his followers are identified in the plural *Mabhanditi* (Bandits). Freeman calls himself the HKD Boss as noted earlier, and his fans are the HKDs. The fact that a musician and his/her fans share the same name is reflective of a sense of connectedness based on celebrity-fan connection and a groupness – what Brubaker and Cooper (2000: 20) refer to as a sense of belonging to a distinctive, bounded, solidary group and sharing of a common identity. Consequently, musicians often reference their group by calling out the group name in their songs. This indicates that the musicians who are celebrities as noted earlier, represent the collective in their singing and project themselves as the spokespersons for the larger group as music itself is collective, and represents as well as offer the immediate experience of this collective (Frith 1996: 121).

Some group names such as Soul Jah Love's Conquering Family and Freeman's Danger Zone family are invested with imaginaries of bonds similar to the bonds that exist in familial relationships. This recalls Giles' (2000) notion of para-social relationships through which fans relate to musicians as if they are in a typical social relationship. In addition, Turner (2004: 115) observes that para-social relationships enable the celebrity to be

integrated into our everyday life as a family member would be, but without the network of responsibilities and obligations that such a relationship normally involves. However, I argue, contrary to Turner that there is some level of responsibility and obligation involved in para-social relationships, especially where a celebrity, in this case, a musician is aligned to a group of fans. This is evident in the way musicians are held responsible for whatever actions they take, especially those at odds with the expectations of the group. In such instances, musicians are forced to offer apologies to the fans in the same way a family member who errs offers apologies to other family members. Good examples of such cases include Trevor Dongo and Lady Squanda's in which they were forced to offer apologies to the public, especially their fans, after their scandalous incidences. After Trevor Dongo's involvement in a street fight with an unidentified man was widely reported on print, radio and the social media, he was heavily condemned by his fans and had to make the following apology: "after all is said and done, I wish to apologise to everyone, especially my fans who feel that I let them down…."[19] In a similar manner, "after initially taking a defiant stance, public pressure … forced Zimdancehall singer lady Squanda to issue a public apology for a sickening assault of a comedian Tatenda Matika (Abra Skimbo) which was captured on video." The following is the apology that she offered: "first, I am sorry that I have to greet you all for this sort of scandalous incident. And I am sincerely sorry that I have to cause this much drama to my fans…" (sic).[20] This demonstrates how some group names enable musician celebrities to identify with their fans through the creation of imagined familial bonds, a condition that in some instances allows fans to hold musicians responsible for certain actions in the same manner that a family member is held responsible for his actions by other family members. Therefore, musician-fan naming which, by extension, draws from a celebrity-fan connectedness, plays a significant role in expressing the intersection between the musicians' identities and those of their youth fans.

Most group names are significant at a semantic level. A name is a product of existential forces in the name-caller's mind that produce certain view points and thoughts ascribed to the name used (Nyambi 2015: 60). George (2007) argues that names in music convey strong cultural messages. For instance, the name *Gafa* or *MaGafa* for plural, a term that Winky D borrows from the informal English term 'gaffer,' denotes "someone who is always controlling the situation, someone who is always in control."[21] There is an element of control in the name and an expression of ghetto power and agency especially for the Winky D ghetto fans who are socially and economically disempowered. Similarly, the name

Conquering Family for Soul Jah Love fans signals the overcoming of undesirable situations and taking control. The name *MaNinja*, which is associated with Winky D fans, draws on the mythical aura of the revered Japanese martial arts fighters. It connotes the fighting spirit and militarism invested in the fans by the namer. A similar name *Masoja* (Soldiers), for Sniper Storm (born Donald Chirisa) fans designates militarism and presents the fans as fighters. Names of a similar nature are *MaBhanditi* (Bandits), Danger Zone Family and Mafia 19 (for Guspy Warrior – Emmanuel Manyeruke fans) but their significance lies especially in the way they connote gangsterism. This is reminiscent of the gang culture that became associated with the hip-hop music and culture. According to Young (2014: 4), the immediate social and cultural catalysts that begot hip-hop culture are the New York City youth gangs or "outlaw gangs" and the Black Consciousness or Black Arts Movements in New York City during the 1960s. Furthermore, the Black and Latino youth gangs that emerged during this period were formed in response to urban decay, aggression from white youth gangs and a desire to create in-groups for the minority youth. The Black and Latino youth gangs helped them to cope with their inferior positions, create identity with a ritual dimension and a culture that countered the existing culture that oppressed them (Young 2014: 26). Similar traits are reflected in the examples of group names above as most 'ghetto youth,' who bear the brunt of the post-2000 political and economic crisis in Zimbabwe, unemployment and lack of rule of law, sometimes turn to violence and gangsterism as survival strategies. Thus, the gangsterism reflected in the group names could be the Zimbabwean youth's coping mechanism against the Zimbabwean crisis and their declaration of membership to a gang offers a sense of mutual protection and resistance against existing conditions.

The group naming process also leads to the preservation of celebrity status. This preservation is shown in cases where the musicians use group names that are infused with some honorific titles and in that way presenting themselves as the leaders of their groups and the fans. Winky D calls himself the Ninja President whilst Freeman calls himself the HKD Boss, which are names that assert differences in status and symbolise how musicians command some respect from the fans through the self-titles. This confirms Milner Jr's (2005) observation that even though celebrity culture invokes social association between celebrities and their fans, celebrities always strive to demonstrate to their fans how different they are from them. Nyambi (2015) argues that the use of honorific titles is a display of power in his analysis of use of titles in the Zimbabwean political naming processes. The use of honorific titles by musicians can be viewed in a similar fashion as reflective of the power that the

musician has over his or her group. The musician, Trevor Dongo does not however use honorific titles but the way he sometimes refers to his fans as Team Trevor, denotes a possessive attitude, laying of claim over the fans and an integration of these fans (the collective) into his own (subjective) image. Furthermore, the term Team Trevor evokes the football discourse similar to the rebranding of the Zimbabwean ruling ZANU-PF party as "Team ZANU-PF" during the 2013 harmonised election campaign. The term emphasised the importance of unity and solidarity (Ncube 2016) as well as loyalty of the supporters to the political party. The name Team Trevor can also be viewed as conjuring up the solidarity and loyalty of Trevor Dongo's fans to the musician. As reflected in this analysis, group naming in urban grooves music is linked with the musician's power to name as he or she is the one who does the naming. Again, this shows that, even though celebrity culture invokes solidarity between a celebrity and his fans, it always preserves the higher status of the celebrity. Nonetheless, group naming in urban grooves music is a crucial means of identification as the names are reflective of musician celebrities and youth collective identities and imagined familial bonds or the interconnections between celebrity culture and youth identities.

3.6 Female Urban Grooves Musicians and their Role in Influencing Youth Identities and Cultures

The Zimbabwean musical scene has since the precolonial times been a preserve of men owing to the patriarchal nature of the society and its impact on women's participation in music. Togarasei (2004: 234) articulates that although women had a place in traditional music, danced and sang during traditional rituals, their singing was done chorally and under the leadership of men who officiated at such rituals. Rwafa and Vambe (2007: 66) assert that during the colonial period, African patriarchal attitudes and bigotry associated with colonial policies were hostile to female musicians performing at public entertainment spaces such as beer halls and nightclubs. These spaces were perceived in masculine terms, hence women who dared to trespass into the spaces were stigmatised as morally loose (Rwafa and Vambe 2007; Mhiripiri 2011; Chitando and Mateveke 2012). However, Rwafa and Vambe (2007) and Chitando and Mateveke (2012) analyse further how female *mbira* musicians, in post-independent Zimbabwe, such as Chioniso Maraire and Mbuya Madhuve (Ednah Chizema) and the gospel musician, Olivia Charamba, have managed to transcend the patriarchal restrictions and contribute to the Zimbabwean musical culture. The same point can be made

about female urban grooves musicians, but this analysis of the role played by these musicians in influencing youth identities and cultures draws much attention to the fact that the urban grooves musical genre is still a highly gendered space with only a few women having dared to join the genre as compared to their male counterparts. It was even difficult to balance the number of male versus female respondents for musicians, music producers and promoters who participated in interviews for this research. Out of the five musicians interviewees, two were females and three were males. There are hardly any female producers or promoters of urban grooves music, hence, of the two producers and two promoters who participated in the interviews, none is female. It is clear from the data gathered during the research that female urban grooves musicians have not been able to significantly influence youth in the same way that their male counterparts have. In fact, youth respondents scarcely mentioned female urban grooves musicians as their favourite artists or as their role models as most preferred male musicians.

There was indeed a scarce mentioning, even by female youth who participated in interviews for this study, of female musicians as favourites or role models by the youth. This was despite the balance in numbers of female versus male respondents as, out of the seven group interviews with ten participants each, five participants were females and five males for each group. The urban grooves musical scene has female award winning artists such as Cindy Munyavi, Ammara Brown, Lady Squanda and DaRuler (Dorothy Karengo), yet the list of favourite urban grooves musicians mentioned by youth was dominated by male artists as listed in the following in order of their popularity: Soul Jah Love, Winky D, Killer T, Seh Calaz, Trevor Dongo and Freeman. The same male artists, especially Soul Jah Love, Winky D, Killer T and Seh Calaz dominated the list of the role models that youth mentioned. This demonstrates the slight level of influence female musicians have on youth cultures and identities in comparison to their male counterparts. A female musician such as Lady Squanda sings for women as especially reflected in her (2016) album which targets Zimbabwean women predicaments such as sexual abuse and domestic violence, and yet there was no mention of her name as a favourite artist by female respondents. Her name only featured in response to questions asking groups of youth why there was scarce mentioning of female artists as their favourites, but she was appreciated merely as a better musician. Nevertheless, Lady Squanda describes herself as a voice for women and children, thus:

In many of my songs I talk about the abuse of women because I believe that I am the voice of young women out there (see Muromo 2016).

I target everyone because when we talk of women out there we are talking of our sisters, aunties, mothers and grandmothers. When we talk of women, we are talking of empowerment. I am saying let us do away with women and child abuse (Lady Squanda as quoted by Muromo 2016).

Two female youth respondents who spoke so highly and confidently about female urban grooves artists mentioned Cynthia Mare and Betty Makaya as their favourite musicians as noted here:

I love jazz and urban grooves and in urban grooves, I love especially the early urban grooves songs by artists such as Betty Makaya. In jazz, I love Zim jazz especially by Pachihera and Selmor Mtukudzi, it motivates me. The music encourages women to come face to face with problems they encounter and fight for their families (ZHR8, personal communication, 24 July 2016).

I love international hip-hop but I sometimes listen to urban grooves. My favourite in urban grooves is Cynthia Mare because she is a woman and she sings about girls and ladies. She empowers women in her songs and it is my wish to see women being empowered. In the song *"Usacheme Mwanasikana"* ("Don't cry girl child"), she encourages women not to lose hope even though they are looked down upon (ZHR3, personal communication, 24 July 2016).

The above female youth, expressed how they feel inspired and motivated by female musicians and their cultural roles in spreading messages that seek to emancipate and empower women. However, the rare cases in which youth acknowledged the role played by female urban grooves musicians in society proves that female musicians play minor roles in influencing youth identities and cultures as compared to male musicians.

The fact that female urban grooves musicians are outnumbered by male musicians may explain why female names were scant on the youth's list of favourite urban grooves musicians and role models. However, evidence from the collected data proves that there are other significant reasons why female names were rarely mentioned by youth and most of these reasons are centred around patriarchal perceptions on women and music. One reason relates to how girl children are socialised to value domestic roles, 'decency' and marriage and

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shun public and 'indecent' entertainment places such as beer halls and night clubs. One female musician (M1, personal communication, 4 July 2016) explained the patriarchal nature of the music industry as follows:

> But, you see, a female child has a certain role they are expected to play in society that is being a woman, a mother and a care giver. So you find the hours a person has to spend on entertainment are not very conducive for a person who is supposed to take care of a household, especially in Africa where a girl child is sheltered and much protected. Being a female musician is associated with going to bars and doing late hours and wayward behaviours. So, you find that even the parents do not want the female child to get into the entertainment industry. There is a certain stereotype that comes with a female musician, it's sad to say that stereotypes can lead to a female artist struggling to even get married or even struggling to have a decent relationship because the African community then stereotypes you as a wayward person, a prostitute etc.

Thus, women have not been courageous enough to join the music industry because of their gender socialisation and fear of being stigmatised as 'unwomanly.' Chitando and Mateveke (2012: 43-44) confirm this kind of gender socialisation in their observation that a girl child is socialised to regard marriage as the highest achievement and as such, there is a sharp distinction between 'decent' women *(madzimai)* and 'prostitutes or loose women' such as the ones who dare access 'indecent' public entertainment spaces. Another female musician (M2, personal communication, 1 July 2016) confirmed that she has been a victim of such female stereotypes as "so many people had negative perceptions of me because people believe Zimdancehall is music by people who are involved in drugs and who don't have anything significant to do." As mentioned and critiqued earlier in the case of Tererai Mugwadi and Brenda Fassie, taking drugs is usually perceived as unwomanly, and as such, women who take drugs are labelled as 'indecent.' Due to such stereotypes, Zimbabwean women have been seen dominating the gospel music genre as it is associated with 'decency' and 'moral uprightness' (Togarasei 2004). The female urban grooves musicians therefore play second fiddle to males as the musical genre has been and is still male dominated.

The Zimdancehall variant of urban grooves music in particular is associated with masculine qualities such as aggressiveness, masculine energy, violence and hoarse voices and not fit for women. As a result, the genre is highly dominated by male musicians. A female

musician (M2, personal communication, 1 July 2016) revealed that the genre is even labelled 'male music' and she disclosed further that many people discouraged her from joining the genre for that reason. Some youth respondents compared how male musicians fare better than females because of the masculine nature of the genre:

> Women may have realised that most of the messages that are sung in Zimdancehall are not good, so maybe that is why they are not courageous enough to join the genre. Those who venture into the genre end up doing bad things, for example, prostitution, drugs etc., and for women if you engage in these activities, it becomes an issue yet for men it is not an issue (SHR4, personal communication, 22 June 2016).

> If you consider live shows, you find that the way male and female musicians perform differs. Consider for example, the Big Man Winky D, he is more energetic on stage, he can jump high for as long as 2 hours, but females cannot do that. I witnessed DaRuler performing, she ended up taking a seat after only a 30 minutes performance…. (ZR5, personal communication, 24 June 2016).

The other respondents were concerned about the masculine nature of the genre as they associated it with hard beats and hoarse or husky male voices. Ironically, Lady Squanda, though not much appreciated, is credited by many fans for her possession of such a husky voice that most female musicians do not possess. Consequently, female voices are deemed fit for gospel music and as argued by Togarasei (2004: 238), women have been able to dominate gospel music because of the sharp nature of their voices. In addition, women in patriarchal societies are taught to strive for feminine qualities such as softness and likeability,[22] whereas there is a certain form of masculine aggressiveness that is associated with urban grooves music that restricts women from participating in the genre. This affirms how, unlike male musicians, female urban groovers play secondary roles in shaping and influencing youth identities and cultures through music.

Various stereotypical beliefs were revealed by both those who are involved in the making of the urban grooves musical genre (musicians, promoters and producers) and youth as the reasons why females are dominated by male musicians. The common stereotypes included that women are inferior to men and hence cannot compete with them; women are not talented and are jealousy of each other so they do not work together in order to ensure their success as musicians. Most of the respondents who referred to such stereotypes

endorsed them as they believed in the truth of the stereotypes. One female youth was, however, conscious of this kind of gender socialisation as she aptly argued:

> I think that from the very time of creation, women were looked down upon and considered as inferior to men, so up to now, women, me included, we have been brought up to believe that, as women, we are under men. Even though I am about to change that, I know that men will not accept it (ZR12, personal communication, 24 July 2016).

The music promoters, musicians and respondents who endorsed the stereotypes argued that women are naturally inferior to men and nothing can be done to change that. Below are some of their perceptions:

> It has been like that since time immemorial. In the past, Thomas Mapfumo and Oliver Mtukudzi were very popular, more popular than the likes of Mbuya Stella Chiweshe. Females lack talent. They can't be compared to men, men have a God given gift, even if we try to balance it, you will find that men will still dominate (PR2, personal communication, 3 July 2016).

> That's how it is like and that's how it is even in America and Jamaica because women cannot compete with men in the same industry because God gave the men powers that surpass those of women. That is why the bible says 'your husband is your master' if you understand the word master, it means they are on top of this world, no matter what women say about human rights, it does not work, it is actually destroying people's relationships and families. The bible always says respect your husband because your husband is your master, so why Babylon system want to change, because Babylon always want to change things, they always want to oppose the word of God so as to lead people astray, that's the Babylon system, it came up with the issue of human rights, there is nothing like that (M3, personal communication, 8 July 2016).

> In the Zimdancehall genre, males are more talented than females, females do not know how to sing, and males are the best (MR4, personal communication, 20 June 2016).

It is important to note here how all the above three respondents who are male offer masculine and subjective evaluation of male domination in music. In addition, the urban grooves

promoter (PR2) used the long-standing dominance of men in the music scene as evidence to support that men are more talented than women. The promoter, however, failed to recognise that older male musicians such as Thomas Mapfumo and the late Oliver Mtukudzi, whom he gave as examples, have been dominant over female musicians because of the long-standing patriarchal tradition that restricts women from competing with men in music. The musician (M3) on the other hand is Rastafari and as such uses Rastafari and biblical patriarchal traditions to endorse and preserve the inferiority of women. Such preservation of patriarchal-based inequalities makes it difficult for female urban grooves musicians to compete on an equal footing with male musicians and contribute towards the development of youth culture.

In addition to the above, society usually stereotypes women as jealous of each other while believing that men support each other and are quick to forgive whenever they are wronged. This perception was used by some youth fans of urban grooves music in their explanation of women's failure to succeed in music:

> I think that the fact that women have not been able to become popular is caused by the fact that women do not like other women, they are jealous of each other (SR7, personal communication, 22 June 2016).

> Soul Jah Love and Seh Calaz for example, took part in the sting and Seh Calaz was defeated but right now they are friends. Even when Soul Jah Love's house was demolished, [The house was demolished in 2015 by Harare Municipality together with other houses which the Municipality declared to be illegal structures] Seh Calaz was the first person to offer him accommodation yet Bounty Lisa and Lady Squanda still continue to diss each other. I think the main reason is jealousy and a fight for recognition (SR4, personal communication, 22 June 2016).

Thus for the above respondents, women fail to succeed in music because, instead of supporting each other, they concentrate on their rivalries. The youth were even quick to mention the rivalries between female musicians such as Lady Squanda and Bounty Lisa, and Lady Squanda and Ninja Lipsy (Tendazvaitwa Chitimbe), and yet they ignored rivalries of the same nature that are widely reported to exist between male musicians such as Seh Calaz and Winky D, and Stunner (Desmond Chideme) and Maskiri (Alishias Musimbe).[23] Chapter 6 focuses on some of these rivalries that are demonstrated in lyrical feuds. Finally, the youth respondents also mentioned that they do not like most female musicians because they often "use obscenities to provoke and insult each other" (SR2, personal communication, 22 June

2016). This is a paradoxical observation considering that various male urban grooves musicians are often accused of using obscenities in their songs. The Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) compiled a list of urban grooves musicians whose songs were banned on national radio for allegedly carrying obscenities and this list did not have a single female name (see Nyamhangambiri 2007). It is thus not easy for the negatively stereotyped women to significantly influence youth cultures as they are looked down upon by the youth for reasons that cannot be justified.

Furthermore, even though some youth argued that their dressing and that of the musicians should not be restricted, most youth, especially females who were socialised to uphold traditional views on women's need to aspire for 'decency', pointed out that they do not consider female musicians as their role models because they are 'indecent' and usually dress 'indecently.' Statements such as "I do not appreciate the way females dress" and "women should not appear semi naked in their videos" were common. Thus, the issue of 'decency' was mainly associated with dress code, which confirms Chitando and Mateveke's (2012: 44) observation that women musicians, dancers and actresses contend with the disapproval of some of their dress codes. Feminist critics associate this control of dress code with the social cultural control of female bodies and sexuality (Katrak 2006). In addition, Adichie argues that "the reason for controlling women's bodies is about men. It reduces women to mere props used to manage the appetites of men" and she notes further that dressing should be a question of taste and attractiveness not a question of morality.[24] Nevertheless, one can argue that the same concepts of taste and attractiveness are often used in the service of patriarchal policing of women's conduct and bodies where women are often made to dress and shape their bodies to appeal to men. The youth concentration on 'decency' and their castigation of female musicians for 'indecency' therefore make it is difficult for the female musicians to influence youth cultures and identities. I however contend that, although youth shun female musician role models on the basis of 'indecent dressing,' female urban groovers still exert some level of influence on youth dressing. One has to consider here as revealed earlier in this chapter, the youth's desire to be identified with what is fashionable and how celebrities are considered as leading the way on what is fashionable, dressing and style.

Women also contend with the ambivalent principles regarding their conduct. "The media dictates that women, especially entertainment figures, should wear clothes that are

tight fitting, show some cleavage, or is sexually attractive" (M1, personal communication, 4 July 2016), yet society labels such forms of dressing as indecent. The female musician (M1) explained further how sex sells for female musicians as noted below:

> Women are perceived as attractive, hence most of the times they are presented semi naked, it's meant to attract male audiences. I am not condoning it but I am just saying, the world we are in right now, sex sells…. Long ago, you wouldn't see semi naked women in videos, but now we do, and as a female artist, if you do not have sex appeal, you don't sell, that's the reality on the ground, ugly as it maybe. But if you don't look pretty, you find even the pains people go through to do their hair, to have weaves, lipstick, to show some cleavage, some legs, it's the evolution of the fashion industry, only when it comes to entertainment, and entertainment takes it to an extreme, to a higher note.

The fact that the female musician took pains to apologise about telling the truth about how sex sells and in emphasising that she does not condone such behaviour, shows the kind of ambivalences female urban grooves musicians have to contend with in trying to satisfy both patriarchal Zimbabwean principles and contemporary global media and fashion principles. Moreover, it is apparent from the revelation by the musician that female bodies are usually perceived as objects of male gaze. This confirms Adichie's (2016) earlier-noted observations that female bodies are treated as mere props to manage male appetites. Both the two female urban groovers interviewed for the research revealed that female musicians' attempts at improving their careers sometimes lead to their exposure to sexual abuse by promoters, producers and other authorities in the music industry. Berberick (2010: 2) argues that the representation of women in the media has always been exploitative as they have been reduced to nothing more than "objects to be won, prices to be shown off, and playthings to be abused." Some of the interviewed youth pointed out that that there was some level of 'indecency' evident in the scant dressing and sexually suggestive female dances. However, in as much as they are perceived as 'indecent,' these female musicians and dancers attract so much male attention, as noted in the huge male attention that the popular Zimbabwean pole dancer Bev (Beverly) Sibanda has. Ngoshi and Mutekwa (2013: 241) expostulate, in their analysis of the Mbare Chimurenga Choir music and dances that, the gyrating female bodies make tangible the objectification of women and exploitation of the female body in the service of particular political creeds and national ends. Therefore, a consideration of celebrity culture

in the context of urban grooves music, its interconnection with youth identities and the role played by female urban grooves musicians in these intersections shows that, female musicians play second fiddle to male musicians in the development of urban youth identities and cultures since the urban grooves musical scene is a gendered and male dominated space.

3.7 Conclusion

Celebrity and celebrity culture are significant phenomena that influence identification between celebrities and their fans. However, the process of identification involves different ambivalences mainly because celebrity is a status system (Milner Jr 2005). It invokes association and solidarity between celebrities and their fans yet at the same time influences celebrities to demonstrate how different they are to their fans and preserve their higher status. The chapter's analysis of urban grooves musicians who are popular with the youth has established that the musicians influence youth in varied ways even though critics such as Mhiripiri (2010) and some members of the public denigrate them. These critics justify their observation by arguing that urban grooves musicians have been made popular through media publicity and as such cannot be recognised as celebrities because they have not accumulated significant material possessions that accord them 'genuine' celebrity statuses. Contrary to this, the Zimbabwean youth, who are the majority of the urban grooves music fans, acknowledge the talents that urban grooves musicians possess and the economic changes that they have accomplished in life no matter how small they are. Hence, the youth regard such musicians highly and even take them as their role models.

This chapter also noted that the urban grooves musicians influence youth in various ways. The urban groovers are perceived as celebrities and role models and they have been instrumental in influencing their fans' behavioural changes and decisions related to reactions towards the deadly HIV and AIDS pandemic. Musicians often guide youth regarding fashion and style as well as significantly influence the language that they use in their daily discourses. However, it is important to note that though they are influenced by urban grooves musicians, Zimbabwean youth do not passively consume celebrity culture; instead they 'actively read musicians as signs or texts that are open to analysis' (Fiske 1989a). Even though youth have favourite musicians among the urban groovers, some respondents revealed that they do not consider some of these musicians as role models because they do not approve of some of their behaviours, such as the abuse of drugs.

Shared experiences between urban grooves musicians and youth play a significant role in the constitution of identification between the urban groovers and their fans. I discussed the importance of place in influencing spatial identities and pointed out how the musicians and youth show a common attachment to places of their origin and residence. In addition, naming is so common in urban grooves music, particularly in Zimdancehall music. Musician-fan naming is underscored as a crucial means of identification between the musician-namer celebrity and the named youth fans as the names are reflective of collective or group identities between the musicians and their fans, the imaginative familial bonds, and meanings that convey strong cultural messages.

Lastly, the chapter examined the place of female Zimbabwe urban grooves musicians and their role in influencing youth identities and cultures. Female singers' place is marginal to that of their male counterparts as the music genre is dominated by male musicians. The female urban groovers who have dared to join the musical scene battle against patriarchal-based stereotypes and stigmas. Some of the female artists have thus been labelled social deviants and 'indecent' even by the youth as evidenced from the data collected during the research, owing to the dominance of patriarchal perceptions.

Endnotes

[1] The source of the epigraph and information on the commemoration of the 2010 World AIDS Day is: (archive.kubatana.net/docs/hivaid/usemb_testing_with_celebrities.101201.pdf).

[2] The video and stories on the street fight can be accessed on: (https://zimnews,net/travor-dongo-latest; www.youtube.com/channel/UCpL8BgCiSRTGb_38wvMbxWw; 263newsafrica.blogspot.com.ng/2016/trevor-dongo-bashed-in-street-fight.html).

[3] For further information on Walter Magaya and PHD Ministries, see (www.pindula.co.zw/Walter_Magaya).

[4] For the definition of the term 'yadah,' I used (https://en,wikipedia.org/wiki/Yadah; anointed-word.org/burton.html).

[5] See (www.myzimbabwe.co.zw.news/8708-music-lovers-accuse-winky-d-of-satanism.html)

[6] See the *Newsday* 22 September 2010 (https://www.newsday.co.zw/2010/09/22/2010-09-22-zichire-urban-groovers-in-aids-awareness/).

[7] For information on the role of Winky D in the male circumcision campaign, see: the *Newsday* 21 September 2011 (http://www.newsday.co.zw/2011/09/21/2011-09-21-winky-d-popularises-circumcision/) and Harare 24 News (www.harare24.com/index-id-news-zk-11381.html).

[8] See (archive.kubatana.net/docs/hivad/usemb_testing_withcelebrities.101201.pdf).

[9] Mafirakureva won the 2013 best Zimdancehall social message as reported in the *Daily News* 28 March 2014 (https://www.dailynews.co.zw/article/2014/03/28/winky-d-shines-at-zim-dancehall-awards).

[10] The word doek here refers to a headscarf which the interviewee finds attractive as it is part of celebrity style

[11] See (https://www.pindula.co.zw/Roki).

[12] See *B-Metro* 26 August 2015 (www.myzimbabwe.co.zw/news/3946-roki-a-father-of-6-children-with-5-different-women-reveals-why-they-broke-up-with-ammara-brown).

[13] For the story on Stunner and Pokello sex tape and comments from the audience see: (nehandaradio.com/2011/12/05/the-woman-behind-stunner-sex-tape) and for the Ammara Brown story and audience comments see: (https://musvozimbabwe.com/2016/11/musvorologist-singer-ammara-brown).

[14] (www.urbandictionary.com)

[15] See (iharare.com/hwindis-and-mini-skirts-zimbabwe/2013/11/02.

[16] Mbare is the oldest residential township in Zimbabwe and it was built for African migrant workers during colonialism but it is now inhabited by impoverished township dwellers. It is located in the South of the Capital, Harare, about 5km from the Central Business District and is the most talked about area in the city. It is a hype of activity and has areas such as: Mbare Musika which is the largest farm produce market in Zimbabwe, Mupedzanhamo, which is a market for cheap second hand clothing and the Mbare Musika bus terminus which connects the city with all parts of the country.

[17] For more information on the concept Zion, see: (debate.uvm.edu/dreadlibrary/skowera.html).

[18] For information on Freeman and the Danger Zone, I used (www.pindula.co.zw/freeman).

[19] See the *Zimbabwe Daily* of 18 October 2016 on (www.thezimbabwedaily.com/news/82659-trevor-dongo-apologises.html.

[20] See *Nehanda Radio* 18 July 2016 (nehandaradio.com/2016/07/18/lady-squanda-apology-u-turn/).

[21] For Winky D meaning of Gafa see Winky D in Mtonzi (2016), "Winky D Outshines I Octane," the *Herald,* 14 December (www.herald.co.zw/winky-d-outshines-i-octane/).

[2222] On women and likeability, see Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's Feminist Manifesto on How to Raise a Child (accessed from: admin@kubatana.net via mail211.at121.rsgsv.net).

[23] For 'beefs' between male musicians see (Newsday 24 September 2015 and www.pindula.co/Seh_Calaz).

[24] See Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's Feminist Manifesto on How to Raise a Child (accessed from: admin@kubatana.net via mail211.at121.rsgsv.net).

Chapter 4: Youth Consumption and urban Grooves as Repertory of Everyday Life

4.1 Introduction

It is not as if private places are free of musical pollution. How many people now travel by car in silence? Who now doesn't shave or bath to music, cook or iron to music, read or write to music? Thanks to the radio and the record player and the tape machine, music is now the soundtrack of everyday life and no law is going to change that (Frith 2002: 36).

The omnipresence of music consumption, as aptly argued by Frith in the above epigraph, is evident of how music has pervaded both our public and private lives and become part of our daily activities and practices. Everyday life experiences, murmurings and practices, in turn, enter into the musical texts where they find a representational space; thus, music becomes a repertory (De Certeau 1984: 70) and expression of the everyday. This chapter takes cognisance of this omnipresence of music and seeks to examine the consumption practices of youth consumers of Zimbabwe urban grooves music. I draw on Warde's (2014) conception on consumer culture in my consideration of the consumption of urban grooves music by the youth and argue that there are linkages between the consumption of urban grooves musical texts and ways youth produce and make meanings that connect with their everyday experiences. In addition, the chapter analyses how the youthful urban groovers use their musical texts as conscious representations of daily social experiences of contemporary Zimbabwean youth. However, even though this chapter and the thesis as a whole focus largely on youth experiences, the chapter also takes into consideration some of the common everyday experiences that are shared by Zimbabwean youth and adults. Youth experiences and identities are often perceived as distinct from those of other members of society, especially adults (Paveda 2006), and the youth often define themselves as different from adults. Nevertheless, in spite of these differences, I consider, as argued by Highmore (2002: 2) that, the production of recognised social differences initially required the manufacture of a sense of commonality. Thus, everyday life has the potential of producing commonality. Such shared experiences are reflected in Clarke et.al's (2006) analysis of working class youth subcultures in post-war Britain, where the youth and their parents shared the same material and social class position and experiences. This resonates especially with the Zimbabwean

experiences beginning at the turn of the new millennium that ushered in an economic crisis that is still being experienced in the country; hence some sections of the chapter will show how youth – especially those from impoverished backgrounds – are caught up in their parents' everyday economic struggles.

The Zimbabwe urban grooves music makes a representation of experiences drawn from the everyday lives of urban people, as scholars who studied popular culture in Africa (Barber 1987; Forster 2014) affirm in their views on African popular arts. The city figures as a 'space associated with lived experience' (De Certeau 1984). Forster (2014: 37) argues that, the city is a social space as well as a creative space. I borrow these conceptualisations of the city by De Certaeu and Forster and present the 'Zimbabwean city' as a site that offers the youthful urban groovers a creative space to reflect on lived experiences. These experiences include the struggles encountered in the city such as lack of employment opportunities, exploitation of workers, and the difficulties faced by street vendors and public transport operators in their everyday business operations. Song texts, especially those that focus on the struggles and hardships faced by the poor who reside in impoverished urban spaces ('ghettoes'), are analysed in order to determine their significance in the reflection of urban realities. Issues centred on the relationships between mothers and their children are also considered as important in this study. These issues relate to daily-lived experiences and practices particularly associated with the youth and are popular thematic concerns within urban grooves music. It is apparent from the noted experiences that both the domestic (the home) and the public city spaces make up the creative spaces that musicians tap into for their musical texts. This is reminiscent of Newell and Okome (2014: 14)'s observation that everyday social exchanges, conversations, language and routine practices are transformed into artistic or cultural forms. This chapter therefore proffers the argument that, urban grooves musical texts are typical representations of the ordinary social experiences of the urban people, especially as they struggle for their survival in the city. These musical texts can be described in the manner Newell and Okome (2014: 4; 14) describe African popular art forms, which, they argue, do not simply mirror or name urban realities and struggles but assume a critical form, even in instances where they are performed in a playful or trivialising manner. Musicians show how the people respond to their struggles, demonstrating some 'agency and engaging with the city to create alternative livelihoods' (Forster 2014: 32). Therefore, the music is infused with satire, sarcasm, humour, irony and euphemism that resonate with this critical approach and engagement with the everyday.

The analysis in this chapter begins with an examination of issues related to the youth's consumption of urban grooves music and then proceeds to focus on song texts and how they express the everyday. Highmore (2002: 15) defines the everyday as the realm of repetitions and habits while De Certeau (1984: xi; xix) defines everyday practice as ways of doing things (cooking, talking, reading, moving about and shopping). Both De Certeau and Highmore associate the everyday with the subordinated or dominated and in this case, the everyday becomes a "shorthand for voices from below" (Highmore 2002: 2). However, both scholars contend that the everyday is not simply the name used to reference a reality that is conspicuously available for scrutiny; it is also the name for situations that lie hidden, hence to "invoke an ordinary culture from below is to make the invisible visible" (Highmore 2002: 2). In line with this invisibility, De Certeau (1984: xix) associates the everyday with the practices of the urban dweller that are tactical in nature and inventively defiant; and for De Certeau, many everyday practices such as cooking and others mentioned above are indeed tactical in character. My analysis which is informed by the above definitions of the everyday closely considers how regular practices of urban youth, which are often dismissed as frivolous, relate to youth's pressing needs and aspirations and how they challenge, survive and transcend the limitations of urban life.

4.2 Practices in Urban Grooves Music Consumption

This section focuses on the patterns and practices that characterise the youth's consumption of urban grooves musical texts. It also examines the linkages between youth music consumption and how they make sense of their everyday life. The terms, patterns and practices are used here to situate youth music consumption within what Laughey (2006: 157) calls the habits and routines of [their] everyday lives. In order to understand youth consumption patterns, I asked the youth in interviews held for this research to explain the reasons why they choose to listen to some musical texts and ignore others, and what it is that they consider and regard as valuable in the music they listen to. Using De Certeau's (1984: xii) conceptualisation of "use and consumption," which he describes as reflecting what a cultural consumer "makes" or "does" during consumption, I also sought to answer the questions: what do consumers of urban grooves music make of the musical texts that they buy and listen to? How do they interpret and utilise the music? The analysis of interview data

therefore draws on De Certeau's conceptualisation of consumption in an attempt to show the linkages between youth music consumption and the everyday.

It is important in the analysis of consumption patterns and practices related to urban grooves music, to refer back to the origins of the genre and the way the young artists became involved in the production of the music. The rationale for doing so is that production and consumption are inextricably intertwined, as revealed in De Certeau's (1984) analysis of 'practices of everyday life'. De Certeau (1984: xii) argues that consumption itself is a form of production that does not manifest itself through its own products but through the ways it uses products imposed by a dominant economic order. Thus, as explored in Chapter 1 of this study, the production and inception of urban grooves music link well with the state's imposition of the local content quota in an attempt to curb the spread of the so-called western imperialistic values through the consumption of Euro-American music. Chapter 1 revealed how the imposition of the local content quota was a strategic manipulation of broadcasting laws for the promotion of government political propaganda and control. Although some musicians complied and colluded with the state in spreading this propaganda, some urban grooves musical texts subverted the state that sponsored the genre as songs went on to both wittingly and unwittingly expose the state's political and economic failures (Bere 2008) that in turn impoverished ordinary Zimbabweans. Hence, as argued by Lipsitz (1994: 32), postcolonial cultural expressions are situated within the experiences of people rather than the master narrative of the nation state.

In consideration of the relationship between consumption and production, it is also important to note that urban grooves musicians stand not just as producers but as music consumers as well. Urban groovers are consumers of Euro-American and Jamaican musical genres and cultures despite the state's efforts to curb the consumption of such music. As observed in the previous chapters of this study, urban grooves musical productions are mainly influenced by American and Jamaican music and cultures. This has enabled the youthful musicians and their fans to identify with global youth cultures through the production and consumption of urban grooves music, and in that way perpetuate the existence of the cultural links with America and/ or the west (Bere 2008; Manase 2009). It is ironic that the state welcomed the use of indigenous languages by most of the urban groovers as part of their so-called de-westernisation of the media agenda (Bere 2008; Chikowero 2008; Manase 2009), yet a number of subversive elements also manifest in the language choices made by

musicians. For instance, the urban grooves musicians do not stick to standardised indigenous languages as they have introduced inventive, colloquial and syncretic language formations. These have become so popular since artists use them to let out and express their daily struggles, anger, emotions, hopes and aspirations without being limited by the restrictions and formal rules of standard languages. Chapter 2 of this study examined in detail both the literal and figurative syncretic language formations and how they signify musicians and consumers' involvement in intercultural or global interactions in ways that are contrary to the state's efforts to curb such interactions and contacts.

The global is in fact a significant part of the everyday and the question of where to locate the everyday takes us in both local and global directions (Highmore 2002: 14). Similarly, Newell and Okome (2014: 16) locate the everyday and African popular everyday performances in what they call "virtual popular neighbourhoods" that are made possible and connected by new technologies. These new technologies have changed the ways in which African popular culture is constituted and reflects on the everyday experiences of the African people. The new technologies have become sites through which ordinary people name their shared everyday experiences and needs in a manner that demonstrates how they react to their everyday social changes and show their sense of the world. Similarly, in terms of their consumption practices, the Zimbabwean youth have made use of computer technologies to access music that is consumed by other youth who share similar everyday experiences and worldviews with them and even use the same media technologies to produce their own music by sampling the music that they consume. Thus, it has become impossible for the Zimbabwean government to have control over youth music consumption and production (this will be explained further in Chapter 5). Consumption and production of urban grooves music can be understood in the manner in which De Certeau (1984: xii-xiii) perceives production and consumption as involving [musicians and consumers] "making do" with the product that was imposed by the dominant economic and [political] order but was adapted to suit their own interests and own rules. In this way, musicians and their fans situate their production and consumption of music within their everyday cultural practices, experiences, needs and social changes.

To understand youth consumption practices, one needs to consider their music preferences. It is important to determine why they choose to listen to specific musical texts and leave out others. Even though youth interviewees gave various reasons for their music

preferences and pointed out that they love music that is entertaining, they revealed that their consumption of musical texts is largely based on songs' messages. As a result, their consumption practices involve listening to songs that they can relate to. One youth interviewee regarded this as the reason why youth listen to urban grooves music and shun the *sungura* genre:

> We can't listen to *sungura* because it is for mature people. For example, Alick Macheso sings about *"Amai VaRuby"* ("Ruby's Mother") and we do not learn anything from that music because it is for the married people, so we completely omit *sungura* because it does not speak to us (SHR 11, personal communication, 22 June 2016).

The above respondent shows that, youth apply music lyrics to 'their own lives' (Reuster-Jahn 2014) during the process of music consumption and evaluate whether they are represented in the music performances. The youth are involved in the interpretation of the musical texts and meaning making as epitomised in the following:

> I am a big fan of Seh Calaz. In the song *"Paghetto"* ("In the ghetto"), he says *"Mwari toda zvizhinji paghetto"* (God we want to have more in the ghetto). Ghetto youth live miserable lives, they are deprived of better living conditions and food, but if you look at what ministers' children are eating or doing, it is very different. Some of the children don't even have the potential that ghetto youth have but just because they are ministers' children, they live better yet us in the ghetto are suppressed and eat their left overs (SHR2, personal communication, 22 June).

The above shows that the respondent assigns meaning to the song by Seh Calaz in accordance to what he sees happening in the society. This male respondent interprets the struggles of the 'ghetto youth' exposed in the song within the context of the corruption bedevilling the country and how it has contributed to the establishment of huge inequalities between the rich children of the politicians and the poor 'ghetto youth.' In addition, the respondent's appreciation of the song is related to its expression of 'ghetto youth's aspirations to live in a society with equal opportunities that would allow them to realise their dreams. The song clearly reflects these aspirations in the following rhetorical questions:

Ngavawane zvavanoda vasaite ruchiva

They should get what they want and not be envious

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Munoti ndovasingade here kufamba nemota?

You think they do not want to drive their own cars?

...kuchinja kalife and the way they dress?

To change their lives and the way they dress?

Kuita rich and famous?

To be rich and famous?

The above rhetorical questions are arguably addressed to those in positions of authority who are better positioned to live affluent lives with their families and cronies, while the poor youth from the 'ghetto' are marginalised and can only aspire to own what the affluent own. In this instance, the youth listen to, circulate this music and make meanings related to their desire in a manner that resonates with what Jones (2013: 219) calls "aspirational consumption."

In addition, the way the song exposes 'Ghetto youth's' privations followed by an expression of their aspirations can be understood to be characteristic of popular arts in Africa that, as asserted by Barber (1997:5), name ordinary people's suffering and the aspirations for a better life that often follow from it. We have already seen in Chapter 2 how conspicuous consumption, typified by South African township youth *(izikhothane)* and the urban groovers' prioritisation of money, cars and riches mentioned in the song above, should not be hurriedly dismissed as mere consumerism but also considered as "aspirational consumption" portraying youth's desires and struggles for visibility. Similarly, Livermon (2015: 294), in his analysis of South African *kwaito* music, contends that, the virtually obsessive attention to styling in relation to fashion, vehicular mobility and the receipt of necessities, presents youth not as drones imitating western capitalism and subject to consumer culture, but as means for the youth to create spaces for self-articulation. This contention on youth music consumption and the assumption that the music is characteristic of imitation of consumerist values presents the everyday, in the manner in which it is conceived by Highmore (2002; 6) as a problematic, contested and opaque terrain which needs not to be treated as a transparent realm. Behind the appearance of everyday life and youth music consumption lies another actuality. The consumption also involves youth treating urban grooves music as an expressive genre similar

to other African popular arts which Barber (1997: 8) defines as inviting attention and decipherment or meaning making.

A consideration of how the youth use the products that they consume – or what De Certeau (1984) terms the process of the product's utilisation – also expands our understanding of the evident consumer practices. De Certeau (1984: xiii) argues that consumers transform the products they consume through this process of utilisation in order to adapt them to their own interests and their own rules; he calls this, "secondary production." Typical examples of such "secondary production" can be observed in the way consumers of urban grooves music come up with their own renditions of popular songs or alter lyrics of some song texts in order to make commentaries on various life situations. For instance, the party song "Disappear" (2015) by Winky D which won awards and became popular both locally and internationally,[1] expresses the desire by the Zimbabweans experiencing economic hardships to live happy lives free from problems. The popularity of "Disappear" was evidenced by how other youthful artists-cum-consumers of the song such as Tariro Negitare and a group called Us 2, made their own renditions of the song. In addition, the song made inroads into the religious practices of the Zimbabweans as noted in the social media circulations of both an unidentified group's Catholic version of the song and several Independent African Apostolic Church versions to it.[2] "Disappear" therefore epitomises African popular arts that in Barber's (1987: 1) conceptualisation are penetrated by and penetrate political, economic as well as religious institutions. Moreover, the song typifies De Certeau's (1984) notion of secondary production as evidenced by the way consumers produced their own renditions to make commentaries on lived economic experiences and aspirations of ordinary Zimbabweans.

Another form of secondary production in urban grooves musical consumption and utilisation comes into play as lyrics of song texts undergo major transformations and are largely altered particularly by youth to deliver social commentary on the contemporary Zimbabwean experience. A typical example of a song that was subjected to such major transformations is Killer T's *"Bvunza Tinzwe!"* ("Ask, I am listening!") (2016). The original lyrics which are expressed in the vocative style invoke God to answer questions related to the unknown, such as questions on the status of the dead, the end of the world and whether God is literally aware of the predicaments of the living. The altered version of the song, which circulated on social media soon after the release of the original, addresses the former state

President Robert Mugabe by name and asks questions regarding the socio-political and economic situation in the country. Mugabe is interrogated on the 'invincibility of his power,' the lack of a state currency, freedom of expression and the whereabouts of activists who were allegedly abducted by state officials such as the popular journalist and political activist, Itai Dzamara. It is worth noting that what is altered in the original *"Bvunza Tinzwe"* are the lyrics, yet the inverted lyrics are sung following the original tempo, beat and rhythm. This portrays the benefits of ICTs in the processes of "secondary production" and evokes Lipsitz's (1994: 37) conception on "electronic reproduction" that allows the marginalised to reproduce music through repetition, scratching and mixing to serve their own ends. The example of *"Bvunza Tinzwe"* typically demonstrates that, in the process of music consumption, urban grooves music lovers, largely the youth, are involved in "secondary production" through the way they utilise the music and redeploy it for commentary on the status quo.

Product utilisation in music consumption also involves consumers' utilisation of some words, short phrases or chorus lines of song texts that are found to be catchy and applicable to a variety of lived experiences and practices. Quite a number of such words, phrases or chorus lines become popular memes and are used by the youth consumers of urban grooves music in the creation of a variety of comic skits that involve written texts, audios, images and videos circulated on social media to reflect on a variety of daily practices and experiences. Earlier in Chapter 3, reference was made to some of these catchy phrases, which have permeated classroom discourses as school-going youth use them to reflect on daily classroom practices. Such texts are therefore characteristic of popular arts that offer the pleasure to "illumine, analyse, understand, enliven or cast humorous light on everyday life" (Hofmeyer, Nyairo and Ogude 2003: 377). The phrase *"maproblem ose disappear"* from Winky D's song "Disappear" (2015) was also deployed to comment on the political and economic quandary in the country and at the same time express people's hopes for better and 'problem free lives.' This shows that consumers, in their product utilisation treat everyday life as both problem and possibility (Highmore 2002).

Another interesting example of a catchy phrase is the chorus line *"pamamonya ipapo"* (amongst the heavyweights) from the song *"Pamamonya Ipapo"* (2017) by Soul Jah Love. The word *mamonya* is from Shona slang usually used in the literal sense to refer especially to muscular and strong men or simply, heavyweights. In the song that seems to be a personal reflection, the singer who has a small built body uses the phrase *"pamamonya*

ipapo" to assert that even if he is skinny, he is not worried and will confidently stand and count himself amongst the heavyweights. However, a close analysis of the song reveals that the musician who is diabetic references his physical stature in a symbolic way in order to celebrate his comeback into the music scene despite his ill- health. Towards the end of 2016, Soul Jah Love's health was in a bad state such that there were fears that his leg could be amputated due to diabetes mellitus.[3] Soul Jah Love uses the song *"Pamamonya Ipapo"* to mock rival musicians who, had thought he would not make it again into the musical scene alleging that he was disabled *(chirema)* with some even spreading rumours that he was dead. He, therefore, spites these rivals and assures them that despite his ill health, he is back in full force and ready to compete with them. Consequently, youth consumers of the song use the phrase *"pamamonya ipapo"* to reveal and mock the societal power dynamics and how at times those who are regarded as the weakest or inferior members of a group can defy these power dynamics and demonstrate the same capabilities as the 'powerful.' A good example of music consumers' use of the phrase *"pamamyonya ipapo"* is an image showing a dark-skinned girl positioned between two very light-skinned girls with the inscription *"pamamonya ipapo."* The image circulated on social media and in doing so satirises the notion that female beauty is measured in accordance with the lightness of one's skin colour. Songs with male lyrical personae celebrating being in love with light-skinned women – popularly referred to as 'yellow bones' in slang – are extremely common in Zimbabwe. Examples of such songs include Jah Prayzer's (Mukudzei Mukombe) "Jenny" (2016) and Trevor Dongo's *"Shoko Rerudo"* ("A word of love") (2016). The meme *"pamamonya ipapo"* is therefore used sarcastically to mock society's notions on beauty where light-skinned girls are associated with beauty and vested with power, while the dark-skinned ones are looked down upon as inferior and ugly. However, the image in some way instils a sense of pride in dark-skinned female youth who should never feel inferior but claim equality with light-skinned female youth, hence the inscription *"pamamonya ipapo"* on the image. This utilisation of the phrase *"pamamonya ipapo"* is a good example that demonstrates how youth consume and produce texts in "socio-cultural contexts" (Laughey 2006: 145). In this instance, Zimbabwean youth expose and interrogate societal norms and the underlying power dynamics in the context of notions of beauty that characterise and affect female youth lives.

A second interesting and politically motivated *"pamamonya ipapo"* related image showed a Zimbabwean $2 bond note placed between two United States $50 notes again with the inscription *"pamamonya ipapo"* on it. The bond note is a quasi-currency that was

introduced by the Zimbabwean government on 28 November 2016 in order to stave off the shortages of the United States dollar. The United States dollar became the main currency in Zimbabwe from 2009 when the country switched to a multi-currency monetary regime due to the post-2000 skyrocketing inflation. Though the official exchange rate for the bond note is 1:1 with the United States dollar, there have been protests against the new bank note, as the majority of Zimbabweans do not have confidence in it. There are fears that it will bring back hyperinflation similar to the one that Zimbabwe experienced during the 2008-2009 economic meltdown. The bond note is thus so much despised and regarded by many as 'pseudo-money.'[4] Moreover, the 'money' cannot be used anywhere else except in Zimbabwe. Thus, the *"pamamonya ipapo"* reference to the $2 bond note between US $50 notes makes a satirical commentary and lampoons the pseudo and deceptive value of the bond note that the Zimbabwean government claims to have the same value (1:1) as the United States dollar. The phrase and its utilisation in this instance also reveal significant economic issues and the fears of the people, as they exist within an economically unstable nation as well as their resistance to state decisions that expose them to economic risks.

It is apparent that, as revealed in the above examples, music is "an everyday consumer and producer practice" (Laughey 2006: 111) that "serves the practical activities of everyday life" (Warde 2014: 284). In this regard, youth fans of urban grooves music stand as not passive consumers of musical texts as they use the texts to interpret and appropriate them in the production of messages that comment on their practical everyday experiences and aspirations. This also relates to how youth create culture in the sense that culture is the constant process of producing meanings of and from social identity of the people involved (Fiske 1989a: 1). The above examples of meanings produced through youth consumption practices also show, as argued by Highmore (2002), that everyday life requires scrutiny to decipher its underlying features and meanings as it is not always as simple as it may appear.

4:3 Singing about the Everyday

The above section has shown how practices of youth music consumption and production of meaning are closely linked to their social experiences. It is thus difficult to conceive of music outside everyday living as it is an integral part of the day-to-day practices of society (Mutonya 2013). A high school student, who is also an upcoming Zimbabwean musician

(UPM), echoed the observation on the omnipresence of music presented in the epigraph to this chapter. He revealed the following:

> Since I was very young, I would always sing, my mother could be my witness. When bathing, cooking or doing anything, I always sing (UPM, personal communication, 17 June 2016).

This practice of ordinary everyday activities to the accompaniment of music attests to how music is embedded in the people's day-to-day experiences. Consequently, it is these same experiences and activities that shape and inform the music, designating it as "the soundtrack of everyday life" (Frith 2002: 36). Frith conceptualises the everyday as existing in both public and private/domestic spaces, an observation that is also made by Highmore (2002). Frith (2002: 41) argues, with respect to this theorisation of the everyday that music transforms the domestic space, blurring the boundaries between the public and private space and creates the nation as a mediated collectivity and gives ordinary people a public platform. In consideration of the interaction between the domestic and public spaces, this chapter shows how Zimbabweans' everyday material and social conditions are determined and affected by the nation's socio-economic and political situations. It follows that urban grooves music concerns itself with the collective, thus mapping the music as a collective representation of the everyday. Earlier on, I noted that De Certeau (1984) and Highmore (2002) associate the everyday with dominated classes and how they respond to their social conditions. Similarly, popular culture theorists (Barber 1987, 1997; Fiske 1989a, 1989b; Newell and Okome 2014) associate popular culture with the everyday experiences of the subordinated people. According to Fiske (1989a: 3, 5), texts can only become popular if they express meanings that are relevant to the everyday struggles and lives of the subordinated people. Thus, in the analysis of songs about the everyday, I examine the ways musicians generate musical texts from every day social contexts of the marginalised urban people, especially the youth, naming their suffering, deprivations, aspirations and the tactics they use to respond to their conditions and struggles.

Musicians interviewed for this research explained that their music is produced from every day social contexts and issues that matter to people. When asked to explain what it is that influences them to sing, some musicians responded as follows:

…several topical issues, marital issues, relationship issues, things happening in the country, spiritual issues, various topics, but my main topic being love (M1, personal communication, 4 July 2016).

I sing about what happens in the community. If I go out and see something happening there, I can sing about it, so it is things that are happening that I sing about (M2, personal communication, 1 July 2016).

Day to day activities, the nature around me, the environment, my friends, and places I visit where I stay and my neighbours. You see a lot of things that happen around you then you sing about that. Sometimes when I sing about something, people may think that, that is what happened to me but at times it does not necessarily mean that happened directly to me but it just might have happened around me (M5, personal communication, 15 July 2016).

Another musician explained how an ordinary everyday social activity such as beer drinking and the observations one can make in this context could be generated into song. He illustrated this by picking out one of his songs and singing some parts to demonstrate how he came up with that particular song as follows:

When I want to write a song, I do what is called auto pirating, I can go to a club and watch what happens there. You see people drinking ciders and Bollinger's, then I feel, these people are happy and they are not even thinking of going back home. Thus, (singing) *"umwe akabata quart, umwe green bhodhoro…"* (One is holding a quart, another a green bottle) says part of the song. Therefore, that is how I came up with *"Kumba Kunouya Kuno"* ("Home shall come here") (M3, personal communication, 8 July 2016).

The above comments show that the musician turned this simple and ordinary beer drinking social activity into song. However, on a more significant note, by majoring on the happiness that the beer drinkers draw from the drinking such that they seem not even willing to go back home, the musician reflects on the illusions of the beer drinkers and their desires for happiness. This is significant considering that beer drinking is considered as an escape by many Zimbabweans who desire for an escape from their social struggles (note also the revelation made in Chapter 3 that some youth turn to drugs to relieve themselves from the socio-economic struggles). This confirms that, as noted earlier, popular arts do not simply

mirror everyday social contexts but show how people respond to their social conditions (Barber 1997: 6; Newell and Okome 2014: 3). In addition, considering that the song became popular especially in bars and clubs where it became a sing-along as revealed by Moyo (2015) on *Nehanda Radio*, one can argue that, as observed by El-Nour (2014: 102), audience members feel part of the performance. The performance becomes part of their everyday experience, and when they [listen to the song] they relive its scenarios.

Youth consumers of urban grooves music conceive of the everyday in relation to their social status. Their responses are linked with their status as marginalised 'ghetto youth,' their social experiences and material conditions of poverty:

I want to speak on behalf of people who live in Mbare, we are ghetto youth and things that urban grooves artists sing about are the real things that happen (HHR8, personal communication, 17 June 2016).

I love Soul Jah Love and Seh Calaz because they are the most popular musicians in Zimdancehall. They are good musicians. They sing about things that happen where we stay and our habits as human beings (ZR1, personal communication, 24 June 2016).

The song "Copyrights" by Winky D speaks to us because we see such people reflected in the song in the ghettoes. For example, when he says *"macopyrights enhamo"* he means ownership of poverty, he is saying *"tisu varidzi vayo"* (we are the owners of the poverty). Even crime is always associated with ghetto people because people often say they engage in crime because they are poor (ZHR3, personal communication, 24 June 2016).

As youth, we face a lot of challenges, the urban grooves songs make us feel better, for example, there are songs that speak to our situation and we feel better in the end (HHR2, personal communication, 17 June 2016).

The above responses show that the youth relate to urban grooves music as they perceive the genre to be addressing issues that are important to them and speak about the everyday conditions of their existence as Barber (1997: 4) notes about characteristics of African popular culture. The analysis of these experiences begins in the sub-section below with a focus on the struggles encountered in the impoverished residential townships popularly known as 'ghettoes' in urban grooves music.

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4.3.1 Representing the Daily Struggles of the 'Ghetto'

Urban grooves music – especially the Zimdancehall variant of the genre – exposes the bleak lived experiences of the people who live in the 'ghetto.' As established earlier in this thesis, the majority of the urban grooves musicians have their roots and origins in the poor residential areas, hence they use their music to offer an insider's view of 'ghetto' experiences and act as spokespersons for the people who reside in such residential townships. The thematic concerns of the song texts are drawn mainly from the socio-political and economic crises that have been tormenting ordinary Zimbabweans since the year 2000. Thus, my inclusion of youth in this section takes cognisance of how the youthful urban groovers attain what, according to Ntarangwi's analysis (2009) of hip-hop musicians of East Africa, is some form of agency that gives them the chance to enter the public domain, participate in and influence everyday socio-political and economic discourses. It is important to note here that this kind of influence closely relates to the rise of urban grooves into being what Frith (2002: 32) defines as "the soundtrack of everyday life" that dominates the musical scene and public spaces such as city streets and commuter minibuses. Every day economic hardships have exposed ordinary Zimbabweans, especially impoverished township residents, to bleak conditions inundated by shortages of basic commodities, water and electricity. One has to bear in mind that urban grooves borrows from American hip-hop and Jamaican reggae and dancehall, thus, the creation of urban grooves musical texts can be seen here reflecting the way these global genres were influenced by the living conditions of marginalised black people. As observed by Young (2014), the intense urban decay or slum conditions and poverty in the Bronx Borough of New York city contributed to the birth of hip-hop music and culture. Similarly, urban grooves music is key to understanding the bleak lived experiences of the Zimbabwean 'ghetto' people. To give a clear picture of such experiences, the analysis in this section focuses mainly on three song texts, "One Room" (2005) by Sniper Storm, *"Magetsi neMvura"* ("Electricity and water") (2015) by Hwindi President (Bessel Mugo Parewa) and "City Council" (2013) by Spider Man (Munashe Jonnel Tanjani).

Sniper Storm's "One Room" articulates the daily living conditions of the poor people from the perspective of a 'ghetto youth' persona who has been living in "one room" since birth. The choice of a youth perspective makes it easier for the singer to appeal to his youth audiences, the majority of whom are 'ghetto youth,' who can identify with the persona and her/his experiences. The song also uses humour and the trope of the "one room" coupled with a euphemistic presentation of the "one room" that downplays its actual meaning, to offer a

satiric presentation of the life of insufficiency and abject poverty that the poor have been exposed to. The chorus of the song articulates:

Baba namai vakasangana muone room

Father and mother met (had sex) in the one room

Nine months mudumbu mamai yaiva one room

Nine months in my mother's womb, it was one room

Kusvika pakuzvarwa kwangu vari muone room

Until I was born, they were in the one room

Kukura kuenda kuchikoro ndichibva muone room

Growing up and going to school, I was coming from the one room

"Kusangana" (meeting) is a Shona word used euphemistically in the song to express that the lyrical persona's parents had intercourse in the "one room" and gave birth to the child whilst they were living in the "one room." As the persona proceeds to sing about how he/she grew up in the "one room" and went to school coming from the "one room," one can ascertain the implication that, as the poetic persona was growing up, he/she shared the room with the parents and they continued having intercourse in this same room. Thus, the "one room" is a multi-purpose room and a symbol of lack, as the family cannot afford a space that is sufficient for them. This experience paints a gloomy picture of 'ghetto' life and the 'ghetto' space as a "site of privation" (Rapoo 2013: 370) as most people in these places cannot afford to buy or rent enough spaces for their families. Sniper Storm utilises the ordinary act of having sexual intercourse in his presentation of the everyday in "One Room." He however presents this common practice in a humorous and euphemistic way to expose the economic situation in the country that has contributed to the privations and the bleak living conditions experienced by the poor urban dwellers. Through these techniques, the youthful musician exposes the absurdity of growing up under impoverishment and the shameful "one-room" experiences. Hence, the humour and euphemism are further intended to express the desire for the betterment of the everyday living conditions and lives of ordinary Zimbabweans.

It is important to note that the insufficiency and abject poverty symbolised by the iteration of the "one room" is reminiscent of the gloomy images of colonial and post-

independence Zimbabwean township life depicted in texts such as Dambudzo Marechera's (1978) *The House of Hunger* and Madanhire's (2003) short story, "The Grim Reaper's Car" respectively. First, the "one room" experiences resonate with the experiences in the novella "House of Hunger" (Marechera 1978: 35) where the narrator reveals that when he was four years old he "used to sleep in a cramped space between the wall and the parents' bed." This exposed him to the sexual acts of his parents that haunted him for "eight nights a week" and that of his mother and her lover who comes over during one of the weeks 'father' is away. Similar to the trope of the "one room," the image of the "house of hunger" represents the bleak, horrid and shameful experiences of the poor township life of social and economic hardships. The persona in "One Room" further informs us that as he/she is now old enough to take care of himself/herself, he/she is renting his/her own space but it is still a "one room." This can be taken to symbolise the perpetual poverty for the persona who inherits the poverty (living in one room) from the parents. Moreover, the persona lives in a room that is infested by cockroaches, rats, flies and mosquitos, which are all symbols of abject poverty. The squalor that is reflected in the song is similar to the deplorable living conditions experienced by the child narrator in the poor residential area of Tafara in Madanhire's (2003) "The Grim Reaper's Car." More significantly, the persistent lack experienced by the persona and the family in "One Room" symbolises the economic stasis being faced by the nation at large. This evokes Frith's (2002: 41) conceptualisation of the everyday as existing in both the domestic and public spaces and how music bridges the gap between the two spaces and creates a mediated connectivity as noted earlier in this chapter. Thus, Sniper Storm, as articulated in the above analysis, effectively employs a youthful persona and uses the youth's perspective to make a conscious and critical representation of daily material conditions of the 'ghetto youth,' their parents and the poor people at large who are, to borrow from Nuttal (2009: 1), 'entangled in mutual experiences' of privation.

As noted earlier in the chapter, youth identities and cultures are viewed as distinct from those of other members of society, especially adults. However, the everyday socio-cultural experiences of the marginalised Zimbabweans represented in Zimbabwe urban grooves music are not exclusive to youth. The youthful urban groovers can be considered as what Coplan (1985: 237) calls "cultural brokers" who in certain instances use their music to link sectors of society and mediate between the daily socio-cultural experiences of the youth and those of other societal members. Furthermore, the youth who are often left out of important socio-economic and political commentaries attain agency (Ntarangwi 2009: 3) by

using urban grooves music to articulate significant national concerns over every day experiences and national disasters. These concerns include the water scarcity that has been affecting the country since 2002 (Maodzwa 2015), electricity shortages that have been affecting people's livelihoods since the early 2000s (Kaseke 2013), the cholera epidemic of 2008 and severe typhoid outbreaks of 2011-2012 and 2016-2017 (see Houston 2011 and Muzenda 2017). In this way, youthful urban groovers take part in what Ntarangwi (2009: 3) describes as raising public awareness and consciousness to socio-economic and political issues in his analysis of hip-hop music in East Africa. This maps urban grooves music as what Barber (1987: 7) calls, a true popular art that furthers the cause of the people by opening their eyes to their objective situation, conscientises them and prepares them to take radical and progressive action. I therefore argue that, urban grooves musicians are not copycats merely imitating 'foreign' or western music and ignorant to Zimbabwean experiences as their critics (see Chapter 1) present them.

The songs "City Council" by Spiderman and *"Magetsi neMvura"* ("Water and electricity") by Hwindi President expose the state's failure to provide basic services and commodities that are needed for the daily upkeep of its people. Both songs vividly portray how water has become a scarce commodity in the country especially in the impoverished residential townships of Harare and Chitungwiza. The Zimbabwe National Water Authority (ZINWA), the authority responsible for water storage and its distribution, has been subject to ridicule as ordinary people have subverted the meaning of the acronym ZINWA to Zimbabwe No Water Available in mockery of the authority's failure to deliver water to the residents. The repetitive refrain "ghetto people are crying water, water, water" in the song "City Council" emphasises the extent of the water scarcity and the everyday struggles that people go through. The song is permeated by pathos as the singer adopts a mournful voice, sorrowful sonics and a slow-paced rhythmic reggae beat to capture and reveal the people's struggles. In contrast, *"Magetsi neMvura"* is a satirical song that makes a comic and exaggerated presentation of the impact of water outages. This is especially shown in the lyrics that humorously express that the lyrical persona has gone for ten days now without taking a bath *("zuva ranhasi ndisina kugeza nderechiten")* to the extent that it seems as if his body is going to rot *("takunge tichaora")*. Nevertheless, one notes how the humour and exaggerations are meant to ridicule the failures of responsible authorities to provide basic services to the people and the hygiene and health risks that these failures pose.

Maodzwa's (2015) case study on the water crisis in the relatively opulent Harare suburbs of Greendale and the impoverished residential townships of Mabvuku reveals that the impact of the crisis is different in the two residential areas. Maodzwa attributes these differences to the fact that the residents of Greendale have access to minimal water as well as private boreholes within their residences whereas the residents of Mabvuku hardly have reliable potable water supplies. This confirms that those who dwell in the city's impoverished residential areas endure the most of the country's economic decline. However, boreholes have also been drilled for poor township dwellers. These are nonetheless public boreholes, most of which were drilled by international agencies during the cholera epidemic in 2008, and residents queue for water for up to five hours a day at these public boreholes.[5] This situation is reflected in *"Magetsi neMvura,"* where the persona reveals that they spent the whole night queuing at the borehole waiting for their turn to fetch water *("kurara pachibhorani")*, while the video of "City Council" shows a long queue of buckets at a borehole. Thus, the youthful singers Spiderman and Hwindi President situate the everyday within what is conceptualised by De Certeau (1984) and Highmore (2002) as the common experiences, needs and desires of the ordinary and marginalised people

The everyday water shortages experienced in the poor residential townships have forced some of the residents to resort to using water from shallow and unprotected wells. Such water sources are contaminated with sewage and even the boreholes located in these spaces are not safe sources as a third of them showed contamination after being tested by the Harare Water Department (Human Rights Watch 2013). In addition, the government has been failing to maintain infrastructure and collect refuse. The impoverished residential townships are exposed to burst water and sewage pipes, and garbage that litter the streets (Muzenda 2017). These squalid and poor sanitary conditions have posed serious health hazards that have resulted in the spread of water-borne diseases such as cholera and typhoid fever, as mentioned earlier. The cholera outbreak of 2008 reportedly killed more than 4000 people. Higher percentage rates of the pandemic were recorded in the city of Harare's poor residential townships of Budiriro. In addition, the typhoid fever which claimed lives in 2011 and 2016 affected mainly 'ghetto' townships such as Mbare, which was named the epicentre of the disease in 2016 (Human Rights Watch 2013). The song "City Council" is thus a detailed and sad expression of such conditions and experiences with the video vividly capturing the extent of the squalor. However, the singer does not adopt a resigned attitude but claims agency as he challenges the 'city fathers' to resolve these problems since people are

paying their bills. Therefore, the youthful singer acts as the people's spokesperson, with the song reflecting the popular culture function of serving the interests of the people as Barber (1997: 5) conceives popular culture, and the people in this instance are the 'ghetto people.'

Urban grooves musical texts also represent the power outages experienced in people's everyday lives. The authority responsible for the electricity distribution, the Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority (ZESA) introduced load shedding in early 2000 after being incapacitated by higher electricity demands and the failure to pay for electricity imports from the region. In 2014, ZESA announced a massive load-shedding schedule indicating that some areas would go for up to sixteen hours without electricity while others would go for nine hours without the commodity on a daily basis.[6] The power outages experienced in the 'ghetto' are satirically captured in *"Magetsi neMvura"* through the techniques of humour, irony and sarcasm to articulate how urban life has become a mockery. There is humour in the use of the phrase *"akuuya takarara odzokazve takarara"* which literally translates to "electricity comes while we are asleep and comes back while we are asleep." This is a popular everyday phrase that is used in a comic way to express that people never make use of electricity as it is only in supply during the night hours when they are in bed. Ordinary people have thus subverted the meaning of the acronym ZESA to Zimbabwe Electricity Sometimes Available to lampoon the authorities' failures to provide regular electricity to the people. The satire is heightened in the ironic presentation of the urban setting, which is often regarded as a space of opportunity and modern advancement. This is noted in the way Hwindi President sings about shortage of electricity in the cities. What is more interesting about the song *"Magetsi neMvura"* is the way everyday living conditions and utterances of the everyday are represented in a familiar way and using familiar language that ordinary people can identify with, and correlates with their material and social conditions. Hwindi President dramatises 'ghetto people's' reactions towards power cuts through use of interjections that permeate the song. The interjections enable those familiar with ghetto power outages to connect with their everyday social and 'spatial experiences' (Hones 2017) as utterances such as *"ah! Shuwa magetsi aenda?"* (Ah! Truly, there has been a power cut?) in *"Magetsi neMvura"* echo common utterances of disbelief and frustrations that sweep the townships after a power cut. However, these common everyday utterances are significant in the song because they help the musician to expose the Zimbabwean government's incompetence and ensuing struggles faced by ordinary people.

In addition, the solo singer, Hwindi President, utilises lyrical voice variations, a prominent style in urban grooves music particularly Zimdancehall, to bring in the interjections and express the different reactions people make towards power outages. His tone fluctuates between the utterance *"ah! Shuwa magetsi aenda?"* (Ah! Truly there has been a power cut?), *"ah! Aenda?"* (Ah! There has been a power cut?) and *"mvura yetea haisati yapisa!"* (The water for making tea has not yet boiled!). These voice fluctuations make it possible for the singer to dramatise or enact three different utterances made by different people who experience power cuts at critical moments as well as dramatise their disbelief and frustrations. Thus, Hwindi President dramatises in song form what happens in the daily lives of the 'ghetto' dwellers.

The textual analysis of this and the other songs in this section underscores the song texts as typical forms of popular art and as expressive acts (Barber 1987: 2) that have the power to communicate and articulate the pressing concerns of the people, experiences and daily struggles (Barber 1997: 5). In this case, the people are the impoverished township dwellers who include both the youth and other members of the poor residential townships who are 'mutually entangled' (Nuttal 2009) in similar experiences. The artists represent routine and ordinary practices, experiences and utterances of the everyday with Hwindi President in particular presenting in a playful and comic way common experiences such as power outages, water cuts and bathing. However, one notes beyond this playful representation, a mockery and critique of those responsible for people's suffering, in a way that resonates with the people's discontent. This affirms the argument by Newell and Okome (2014: 13) that the representation of the everyday in popular arts assumes a critical dimension even in instances when the presentation is done in a trivialising manner as noted earlier in the chapter.

4.3.2 The Plight of the worker and the unemployed

It is imperative when focusing on the Zimbabwean people's everyday experiences to also examine the plight of the worker and the unemployed who constitute largely the youth. The economic meltdown that has plagued the country since the year 2000 has resulted in de-industrialisation. A significant number of companies were forced to shut down or massively scale down operation. This situation has resulted in the escalation of the rate of unemployment as well as the growth of the informal sector and the parallel black market

(Zinhumwe 2012). However, those still in the employ of the few remaining companies have not been faring any better as many companies are not paying their workers regularly, such that workers can go for periods ranging from three to twenty four months or more without getting salaries or part thereof (Mandizha 2017). As a result, urban grooves musicians produced a significant number of songs that express such situations and respond to the everyday plight of the worker and the unemployed. In this section I focus mainly on Winky D's "Twenty Five (25)" (2016) and Sniper Storm's "Vampire" (2011). I borrow from Newell and Okome (2014) and Forster (2014)'s conceptions on the significance of the city in African popular culture and analyse the song "Twenty Five (25)" in relation to how it locates the everyday within the material conditions, needs and desires of the unemployed, in particular, the youth, and how they respond to these conditions especially by mapping the city as a site of possibilities and alternative livelihoods. "Vampire" connects the everyday with the work place, the exploitation of the worker who is a father and reflects on his responses to conditions of his exploitation.

A plethora of musical texts produced in the early 2000s, during the urban grooves' infancy responded to the problems posed by the economic crisis and the increased rate of unemployment in Zimbabwe. Most of these songs focused on the exodus of Zimbabweans as they migrated to regional and international spaces in search of employment opportunities. Chapter 2 has already analysed a significant number of the songs that express the experiences related to lack of employment opportunities, economic migration, the separation of lovers and family members and other ugly encounters in migrant spaces. As a result, I will not focus in detail on these songs. Nonetheless, suffices to note here that the youthful urban groovers who sing on migration note the adverse effects of the early impact of the economic downturn and express the daily struggles experienced by ordinary people.

Winky D's 2016 song "Twenty Five" focuses on the contemporary predicaments of the unemployed youth who are resident in Zimbabwe, unlike the majority of the urban grooves songs that were released in the early 2000s which speak about unemployment and migration. As observed by Zinhumwe (2012: 1-2), youth have the highest unemployment rate among all age groups and this has resulted in most of them engaging in drugs, violence, crime and promiscuity, with some contracting sexually transmitted infections and HIV. It is important to note in this instance that most of the mentioned delinquent behaviours are attributed to 'ghetto youth' who are often vilified without looking into the root causes of the

delinquencies. In contrast to this, the song "Survivor," (2015) by Winky D undermines the stereotypes associated with 'ghetto youth' who are said to loiter at street corners and exposes how the state of the economy has deprived them of so many opportunities to use their talents to sustain themselves. Furthermore, and significant to my main focus here, Winky D's "Twenty Five" gives an account of the everyday struggles of unemployed youth from the perspective of a 'ghetto youth' persona who is over thirty years old and represents the height of unemployment for the youth.

The song "Twenty Five" takes the form of a bildungsroman as it follows the life of the persona who grows both physically and at the level of consciousness. The song reflects how the persona grew up with the firm belief that he/she would never struggle in life. He/she thought that by the age of twenty five, (an age that the singer probably uses to signify a period most youth would be employed after graduating from university) he/she would be able to put food on the table and live affluently driving luxurious cars such as a Jaguar. The song portrays that the persona, now above the age of thirty, has learnt a significant lesson not because of being educated, but through life experience *("ndaona zvizhinji pandakura")*. Thus, he/she goes through a process of spiritual growth and realises that life is not easy and that education in the Zimbabwean economy does not offer an automatic route to success. The song indeed expresses that the persona is struggling owing to joblessness and is surviving through a variety of *"madhiri"* (deals), reminiscent of the Zimbabwean *"kukiya-kiya economy"* which refers to multiple ways of making do or simply, an "informal economy" (Jones 2010: 286). In addition to *"madhiri,"* the persona engages in soccer betting, which has become popular especially in the country's capital, Harare, as most of the youth who are unemployed do anything that can bring them money,[7] and make efforts to cope "with the intricacies of everyday urban life" (Forster 2014: 32). This is an indication that urban popular culture is not just a reflection of the struggles and desires of urban people. It rather emphasises on the people's agency showing how they make efforts to earn a living by imagining other possibilities to their everyday social existence and engaging with the city to create alternative livelihoods (Forster 2014: 32). Thus, there are resonances between the observation by Forster and the bildungsroman form that the song "Twenty Five" takes, as it gives value on the growth of the persona who has learnt to come up with alternatives to survive the struggles of the everyday.

Sniper Storm's "Vampire" (2011) represents the everyday struggles encountered by

workers at their spaces of employment. It is important to emphasise here, in relation to the focus of this study that, despite the use of an adult persona in "Vampire," the youthful musician takes on the role of the workers' representative and thus enters the space of the Zimbabwean worker agency, traditionally dominated by adults. Sniper Storm projects himself as the workers' representative and makes a scathing attack on exploitative and egotistic employers. The setting of the song is between the periods 2009 to 2013 after the signing of the Global Political Agreement, which ushered in a new political dispensation. This dispensation was based on a power-sharing deal between the two MDC formations and the ruling ZANU-PF in the aftermath of the 29th of March 2008 elections (see Chapter 2 for more details). This political dispensation stabilised the economy and the *"kukiya-kiya"* economy came to a sudden halt (Zinhumwe 2012). That "Vampire" is influenced by this period is reflected in the way the persona says, *"madhiri akapera takadzokera kumaindustry, ndokupindawo mabasa mumakambani"* (deals ended, we went back to the industries and got jobs in companies). However, the persona who is a father, has nothing to celebrate about this employment opportunity as he labours in vain. The persona's selfish employers concentrate on buying themselves posh cars, having relationships with their secretaries and paying no attention to the welfare of their employees. The song expresses that the very lowly wages received are only enough for bus fare to and from work *("Kamari kavo kanongokwanirana nekuenda kumba nekudzoka kubasa")*. The persona says in relation to the low wages, the employees *"varikungokwangwaya,"* a very powerful Shona slang word used to describe the daily condition of living in abject poverty. The juxtaposition of the workers' conditions and the employers' excesses attests to the observation by Barber (1997: 5) that if popular culture texts articulate the people's deprivation, they also show its corollary, the elite's excesses and exploitative corruption (Barber 1997:5).

There indeed exists a huge gap between employers and their employees and/ or the rich and the poor in Zimbabwe. The country is dominated by a conspicuous upper class comprising mainly those in authority and the politically connected business people whilst the majority of the citizens are poor and have very few opportunities for social upliftment (Ruwo and Makaudze 2015). This gap between the rich and the poor is even reflected in Winky D's "Twenty Five" where the trope of a closed gate is used to express how the rich lock out the poor from entering their space. This is noted in the refrain: *("kune maguta hakuendeki because vane mari vakatenga zichain ndokulocker gate")* (the place of plenty is unreachable because the wealthy bought a large chain and locked the gate). The persona in Winky D's

"Twenty Five" also uses an aspirational tone noted in the lyrics that state his/her wish to sit at a table with food similar to that eaten by Chiyangwa (*"chishuwo changu ndechekugara patafura ine food seiri mune yaChiyangwa plate,"*), a famous politically-connected and wealthy businessperson. This testifies to this huge gap between the rich and the poor and the excesses of the rich that are juxtaposed with the quest for upward social mobility on the part of the poor. It is significant that the reference to Chiyangwa shows on one level, the persona's aspirations, and on another, the artist's mockery and hence satire on the excesses of the affluent that are in sharp contrast to the poverty of the majority. In a similar way, "Vampire" reflects on these huge gaps and inequalities between the rich and the poor, but the focus is on the everyday happenings in the workplaces.

The persona in "Vampire" reveals his emotional status and response towards his work related struggles. The song is punctuated by hard-hitting, stinging lyrics, as well as a rhythm and a beat that captures the persona's anger and resentment towards his employers who are not grateful for the good work that their employees are doing. He says all the hard work is done by the employees (*"tisu tinofondoka"*) who meet all the company's targets but the employers do not show any appreciation. It is important in this instance to note the youthful musician's agency and combative attitude towards this situation that is demonstrated through the imaginary of a revolution where the employee threatens that one day there will be a rebellion (*"one day chichabvondoka"*). Moreover, the persona uses grotesque images, as noted in the way he equates the employers to vampires that suck the employees' blood (*"vanotisveta ropa saka mavampire"*) to castigate his employers for their exploitative nature and to show his contempt for their 'ugliness.' The image of the vampire echoes Mbembe's (2001: 103) insights on the grotesque and the obscene as essential characteristics that identify postcolonial regimes of domination. As observed by Mbembe (2001: 84), ordinary people often paint images of the obscene and grotesque through their representation of "the obesity of the men in power, their impressive physique [and…] the flow of shit from such a physique." In these instances, the body, specifically the mouth and belly become locales for the mockery of the excesses of the dominant classes. Most importantly and in relation to this chapter's focus on the everyday, the body (mouth and belly) is associated with a great feast of food and drink, signifying not only official banquets but also more commonplace and yet major activities of daily life (Mbembe 2001: 83) that represent the excesses of the dominant and the gap between them and the poor. There are also intertextual connections between the song "Vampire" and Ngugi waThiongo's (1982) *Devil on the Cross* as the song evokes the

abusive nature of the human relationships in the postcolonial state where the rich abuse the poor and the peasants, while the employers exploit the workers in the novel *Devil on the Cross*. The way Sniper Storm imagines the exploitative employers as vampires resonates further, with images of the ogre, the modern Nding'uri's, "eaters of human flesh" and "drinkers of human blood" in Ngugi waThiongo's (1982: 175) *Devil on the Cross.* Thus, Sniper Storm's "Vampire" is a representation by a youthful musician who uses urban grooves music to create a space through which he enters what Ntarangwi (2009) refers to as the public domain to condemn the daily plight of the worker who is subjected to a typical "postcolonial regime of domination" (Mbembe 2001) in the form of greedy, selfish and exploitative employers. The following section focuses on the experiences of those who are not formally employed and how they navigate the city space for their livelihoods.

4.3.3 Navigating the City Space and its Streets: The Struggles faced by Public Transport Operators and Street Vendors

This section focuses on the daily experiences and struggles faced by street vendors and public transport operators – especially the commuter omnibus conductors and/ or touts or *mahwindi,* as they are popularly known in Shona slang – and how they try to navigate the city in their daily trades. The youth who have the highest unemployment rate, as noted earlier, have become largely reliant on informal trades or *"kukiya-kiya economy."* Consequently, these youth dominate the city space and its streets as they attempt to earn a living. In addition, the majority of commuter omnibus conductors and/ or touts are male youth, while another significant number of the youth are street vendors. In these instances of an informal economy, the artists situate the everyday in the city streets and map them as generating an understanding of the experiences of urban people (Newell and Okome 2014: 3-4), indicating as argued by Newell and Okome (2014: 3) that popular arts circulate around the everyday worlds of the people on the street. Thus as noted earlier, the city becomes a social space that links with the lived experiences of the urban people and a creative space where they carve out a niche for their survival while artists generate their music from what happens in this social and creative space. The section thus advances the argument that, as the youth navigate the city spaces especially the streets, they appropriate them into creative spaces that offer them an alternative livelihood in a failed economy (although they have to contend with a variety of adversities in this undertaking). Specifically, youth who have become musicians creatively

tap into these spaces for their musical texts and the expression of the everyday.

As noted above, my analysis of the public transport operators' daily encounters focuses on experiences associated with the public commuter minibuses popularly known as kombis in Zimbabwe. This is the mode of transport for travelling to the city or workplaces and vice versa for the majority of city dwellers. Public transport operators' daily practices involve manoeuvring the city streets and utilising the slim chances that they find available in the city to make ends meet. However, their survival attempts lead them to contend with a number of daily adversities that include running battles with the municipal and traffic police, numerous roadblocks that slow their trips, and corrupt traffic police officers who solicit bribes at the roadblocks. The *Newsday* (2015) article titled "Roadblocks: Cash Cow for Traffic Police", reports that a one way trip often involves three to four roadblocks where traffic police officers demand sport fines and bribes of up to $20, thus making it difficult for public transport operators to make profits from their business.[8] In addition, the police impound kombis over the operators' various traffic offences with the police often chasing the kombis down the city streets and smashing their windscreens in instances where an operator would have tried to evade arrest. There has been an outcry against the traffic and municipal police officers' use of spikes to deflate the tyres of errant drivers who might be trying to evade arrest. This has been criticised as a very dangerous method of law enforcement as it leads to accidents and jeopardises the lives of innocent passengers and other road users.[9] Therefore, the city is riddled with daily struggles that public transport operators – and their passengers who are caught up in the transport operators' ordeals – have to contend with as the transport operators try to navigate the city space to better their livelihoods. The urban groovers integrate their music into these everyday struggles of the people and they do so in ways similar to other African popular cultural texts envisaged by Newell and Okome (2014: 4) as representing 'proactive responses' to these complex struggles and dynamic power relations that constitute city life.

Songs by the musician, Hwindi President, are essential in this instance. Hwindi President is an actual *hwindi* (kombi conductor) with the majority of his musical texts drawing on the tough work of kombi operators and especially the conductors and/ or touts.[10] This presents the artist as a participant who lives the city both as a social and creative space (Forster 2014: 41). The signature chant that he uses to introduce his songs, *"zvatanga bvunza mahwindi pamushika-shika"* is drawn from the struggles, especially the running battles with

the police that the kombi operators often have to contend with in the city streets.[11] *"Mushika-shika"* is an illegal passenger pick-up point that often involves running battles with traffic police who will be preventing the use of such pick-up points. The signature chant expresses how tough it is to operate from the illegal pick-up points, as it can be translated to, 'if you want to know what happens at an illegal passenger pick-up point, ask kombi conductors.' Hwindi President acts as a spokesperson for the kombi conductors and/ or touts through his songs. He even chants *"mahwindi* to the fullest" in some of his songs to express his representation of this group of people. In addition, he demonstrates "street credibility" in ways defined by Olson and Shobe (2008: 1001) as having an authentic experiences with the material a musician sings about. The singer establishes this credibility by identifying with typical *hwindi* experiences that he shows in his videos where he appears singing from the city streets and passenger pick-up points while in some instances the videos show kombi conductors battling with the police. Hwindi President clearly has first-hand experience of what he sings about in his music. His success in the music circles lies in his ability to prove to the audience how he is an archetypal *hwindi* who personally experiences the subject matter of his music (Olson and Shobe 2008: 1001). His music is thus a first-hand representation of the everyday experiences of commuter omnibus conductors as they try to navigate the city streets in their trade.

In consideration of how public transport operators navigate the city streets in their daily practices and operations, I argue that undesignated sites, *mishika-shika*, plural for *mushika-shika*, constitute parts of the city spaces that youth map as creative spaces in an attempt to get the better of a stifling economy. It is important to note at this point the relationship between the mapping of *mishika-shika* as creative spaces and the origins of the word from the South African IsiZulu, 'umshika-shika' which means, 'to hustle.'[12] These spaces are often created by illegal transport operators without operating licences. Legal kombi operators likewise opt for *mishika-shika* and avoid the city council-designated passenger pick-up points, some of which are outside the Central Business District (CBD), yet the undesignated sites that are within the CBD are always full with passengers and thus make brisk business. Kombi operators who have to contend with losing money through traffic fines and demands from kombi owners that they meet their daily revenue targets often prefer undesignated pick-up points to try to make their operation quicker and meet their targets. *Mushika-shika* is evidently characteristic of tactics and "tactical ruses and surprises: clever tricks of the weak within the order established by the strong" (De Certeau 1984:40). This also

echoes Barber's (1997: 5) observation that "in a predatory world the poor must be cleverer than the rich to get their own." One also notes the creativity in the term *mushika-shika* itself which forms part of the street lingo that Paveda (2006) associates with urban youth language creativity and processes of identity construction. The use of the term by Hwindi President in his signature chant also resonates with the urban groovers' use of language associated with youth, their daily practices and experiences in order to appeal to and identify with them. City spaces are therefore characteristic of struggles transport operators contend with in their everyday operations and yet stand out as spaces for youth creativity as the youth claim the city space in determining their livelihoods, while youthful musicians tap into these city spaces for their musical productions.

The song *"Changa chakabhiridha"* ("It was a tight situation") (2016) by Hwindi President articulates and responds to some of the everyday practices and struggles faced by public transport operators as discussed above. First, it details the undesirable as well as brutal consequences of running battles between transport operators and the municipal traffic police. Hwindi President refers to a raid on public transport operators by traffic police officers who were armed with iron spikes and how one of the kombi operators brutally lost his life during this raid, as he was squashed *("adzvanywa")* probably while fleeing from the police officers. This is vividly portrayed through the image of a broken candle *("kutyorwa tyorwa sekenduru")* to emphasise the brutality of the experience. The song is most probably a response to an incident that happened in January 2016 when a kombi tout lost his life after being knocked down by a kombi during a police operation code-named "scorpion" that was aimed at clearing illegal passenger pick-up points in cities such as Harare. Eight people including two Harare municipal traffic police officers and several other passers-by were injured in these skirmishes.[13] In this instance, it is evident that Hwindi President taps into the daily struggles and brutalities encountered by transport operators in the city streets and thus maps the city streets in terms of what Rapoo (2013) considers as precarious spaces.

Secondly, *"Changa Chakabhiridha,"* is significant in its depiction of the role of an urban performer who both observes and experiences what happens in the city spaces. The song projects an image of a musician who offers an accurate yet critical depiction of the situation in city spaces, and acts as a representative voice of the urban youth and identifies with them and their situation. *"Changa Chakabhiridha"* can thus be considered as a tribute to the late kombi tout who lost his life in the skirmishes discussed above. It begins with Hwindi

President's exclamation, *"tirikuchema!"* (We are mourning!). This elegiac tone expresses solidarity with fellow kombi conductors and/ or touts. In addition, the song, which describes the struggles and brutalities meted out to public transport operators by the traffic police, which are vividly described in the song, appeals to the music audiences who find themselves sympathising with the transport operators. The song also appeals to the audiences' sympathies where the kombi conductor persona recounts his endurance of the city struggles as his grandmother and her other grandchildren at home rely on him for their 'daily bread' *"apa kumba gogo variko nevazukuru vangagodyei tikasaita zvemhasuru?")*. This represents a desperate situation where the persona who is probably an orphan has to struggle to feed his grandmother and other orphan siblings left in the care of the grandmother. In this instance, the song creates a powerful vision of what Barber (1997: 5) terms 'confraternity in suffering' as the musical audiences who are also victims of various urban adversities find themselves sympathising and identifying with the struggles of transport operators. Hwindi President's critical depiction of everyday experiences of transport operators also involves his mockery of the excesses of the traffic police officers. The officers sometimes falsely accuse transport operators and even demand exorbitant fines for offences committed, as exposed in the following:

> *Unotozvishaya hanzi bhazi rasungwa tirikuda waya*
>
> You get to wonder, you are told you have to pay $100 for an offence committed
>
> *Aiwa ipapapo tangai mapagaya*
>
> No, you need to think about it first
>
> *Kune maminimini ndeKwaMagaya*
>
> Miracles are performed by Magaya

Hwindi President makes a mockery of such unreasonable charges and wonders where the police expect the conductors and transport operators to get such amounts when they know very well about operators' struggles to make money. He mockingly says such miracles (raising $100) can only be performed by Magaya.[14] The song *"Changa Chakabhiridha"* therefore symbolises popular arts, which function in the interest of the "masses" (Barber 1997: 5) who in this case are represented by the urban youth, specifically the kombi conductors, and hence the everyday is critically depicted and in such instances, a mockery of

the instigators of youth struggles finds its way into the music.

It was noted earlier in the section that city spaces are also defined by the tactics used by the vulnerable to evade their control by the dominant classes. However, a closer analysis of what takes place in the Zimbabwean city spaces reveals that ordinary people are in certain instances entrapped into victimhood by the tactics of fellow ordinary Zimbabweans. This maps the city space as a precarious space (Rapoo 2013) characterised by multiplicities and vicious cycles of victimisations and manipulations. Kombi operators who struggle to get profit from their trades due to the daily adversities encountered in the city end up utilising and attempting to maximise every moneymaking opportunity that comes their way. One such strategy is the manipulation of desperate passengers, which is reflected by Hwindi President in the song *"Pakadoma"* (2015). *"Pakadoma"* is a word popularly used in street lingo to refer to the space behind the driver's seat – located on the engine cover of a commuter omnibus – which commuter omnibus operators use as an undesignated seat especially for desperate passengers who cannot afford to pay a full commuter fare. It feels very uncomfortable sitting on *"pakadoma"* as one has to contend with the heat from the engine and the small sitting space that makes up the *pakadoma*. In some instances, these passengers are told to squat *('kurembera')* near the door together with the conductors who are always squatting in order not to lose money from the one seat they would have sat on. This means that these kombis are usually overloaded. In the chorus of the song *"Pakadoma,"* the persona who plays the role of a conductor in a kombi bound for Zengeza,[15] from the City of Harare, tells a passenger who only has R4 to sit *"pakadoma"* as the money is not enough for the commuter fare, which is $1 or R10. The passenger desperation that is depicted in the song's chorus reflects how the daily conditions in the city have created a vicious cycle marked by transport operators' victimisation by the traffic police and the operators' victimisation of the desperate passengers who are the most vulnerable group of people in this instance. Hwindi President thus represents real struggles of city people in their material conditions of deprivation and how they respond to these experiences. In this representation, there is a linkage between lived experience and language (*pakadoma*). The language is generated from these lived experiences and it is a language that the people can relate to.

Hwindi President's music is key to the understanding of daily commuter omnibus conductors and passenger interactions; he uses typical conductor-passenger interactions that are usually centred on payment of commuter fares for his song lyrics. The singer adopts a

conversational style of singing for the dramatisation of typical dialogues between conductors and passengers. In *"Bhazi neTuckshop,"* ("A Bus and a Tuck-shop") (2015), the conductor persona addresses and mocks passengers who are in the habit of begging to be allowed to pay commuter fares that are lesser than the full charges. The persona goes on to compare a kombi to a bus (long distance bus), a tuck-shop, a barber shop and a phone shop to humorously raise the point that if the passengers pay full charges for services offered there, then they must also pay a full commuter taxi fare. Hwindi President changes his voice and adopts a sharp female voice to enact the role of a female passenger and changes to a hoarse male voice when playing the role of the conductor in the dialogue. It is apparent in this case that Hwindi President taps into daily practices of kombi conductors and their passengers for his musical lyrics. Thus, he role plays to dramatise typical daily passenger-conductor interactions that are however instructive as they expose economic struggles of poor urban dwellers.

Hwindi President also features whistling in his songs. Whistling is a typical daily practice associated with kombi conductors' behaviour and sonics punctuating passenger pick-up points. Thus, whistling in this instance is a 'spatialising sound' (Hones 2017: 112) that connects listeners of the songs to the authentic daily practices of kombi conductors and passengers in the city streets. Another typical daily practice of kombi conductors featured in Hwindi President's songs is the shouting of names of places or routes that are plied by the kombis as the conductors beckon to passengers. These shouts and whistling resonate with Rapoo's (2013: 372) notion on urban noises as soundtracks that symbolise creativity; both the creativity of the urban people and their agency in mapping alternative livelihoods in the streets and that of musicians such as Hwindi President who creatively appropriate such urban noises in song to respond to and echo daily experiences of the city. One also notes how Hwindi President's songs are characterised by a deluge of street lingo. The Zimbabwean public transport operators, especially the youthful commuter omnibus conductors and touts, are acknowledged as the main originators of such language. Ultimately, Hwindi President intermingles experience, mockery, agency, language, routine practices and daily exchanges to represent and comment on urban realities. Therefore, Hwindi President's musical texts and style of singing represent African popular arts that Linnebuhr (1997) perceives as reflecting the habits and conceptions of the cultural or everyday practices from which they originate or for which they have been produced.

The everyday experiences of street vendors are captured in the song *"Kanzuru"*

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("City Council") (2016) by the artist Vendor President, whose real name is Calvin Ruocha. Street vending has become the most common means of livelihood for the majority of both youth and adult Zimbabweans who are not formally employed. The streets of Harare, Bulawayo, the country's other towns, and the related poor residential townships are flooded with vendors who sell a variety of products such as foodstuffs, vegetables, confectionaries, pirated CDs and DVDs, new and second-hand clothing, pesticides and cosmetics. Street vending has become a means of self-sustenance for the poor and those who are not formally employed, while the majority of impoverished Zimbabweans have come to rely on the vendors, as they cannot afford higher prices and terms for commodities sold in shops. As a result, they prefer buying from the streets where the prices are affordable and even negotiable. The song *"Kanzuru"* highlights the reality of street vending and how it has become a means of survival for many poor Zimbabwean families. The lyrical persona in the song describes how his parents managed to take care of him using revenue from street vending *("ini ndakarerwa nemari yemusika")*. The lyrical persona, who is now a street vendor himself, also recounts that he used revenue from street vending to pay the bride price or *lobola* for his wife *("mukadzi wandinaye ndakatora nemusika")*. Thus, Vendor President portrays both the way in which street vending has become a daily reality in Zimbabwe and how urban dwellers map the city streets in relation to their daily survival and fulfilment of other social and cultural needs.

My analysis of the city spaces so far has located them as sites of the struggles between ordinary people and the state leaders who in these struggles are represented by the repressive state apparatuses in the form of the police and other law enforcement agents. Since urban grooves music and urban experiences are inextricably intertwined, as noted earlier in the chapter, urban grooves musical texts that are informed by happenings in the city spaces are, to borrow from Mutonya (2013: 47), salient sites of the struggles between the state leaders and ordinary people as well. The street vendors' experiences are commonly characterised by scenes of government 'vendorphobia' in the form of running battles between vendors and the police, which often involve the confiscation of the vendors' wares. However, the situation of vendors is not unique to Zimbabwe as elsewhere in Africa such experiences are common. In Kenya, city council police officers, *'Askaris'* endlessly harass hawkers and seize their wares (Mutonya 2013: 41), and Mutonya further notes how this situation is articulated in Kenyan music. This attests to ways African popular arts provide a platform for the articulation of shared interests and are thus integral to the self-expression, if not the actual formation of

urban classes in Africa (Newell and Okome 2014: 8). Both the Zimbabwe and Kenya situations are typical of the excesses of postcolonial governance.

The persona in *"Kanzuru,"* (a song that is addressed to the city council, specifically the council or municipal police) reveals the nature of the city council's attitude and their brutality to the vendors:

Munondishungurudza pamango time

You torment me during the season of mangos

Take take neni kuma airtime

You come after me even when I try to sell airtime

The song *"Kanzuru"* portrays the relationship between the vendors and the city council through the image of enmity to emphasise the struggles vendors face and the 'dynamic power struggles' (Newell and Okome 2014: 4) that make up everyday life in the city. The persona sings *"kanzuru nemavendor hazvimbofa zvakalinker,"* which means that the city council will never see eye to eye with vendors as vendors despise the city council for their attempts to destroy their livelihoods. This kind of animosity evokes Winky D's "Survivor" (2015) where the persona's resentment towards the city council is emphasised through a crude caricature of the city council's excesses and 'vendorphobia' drawing on the imagery of demons. Winky D presents the city council as demon-possessed and imagines the eviction of the helpless vendors from the city streets as demonic since the government does not have any viable solutions to mitigate the high unemployment level, which is affecting the youth disproportionately. *"Kanzuru"* portrays the city council's excesses through reference to the way the police turn violent and destroy the vendor's wares by treading heavily on their tomatoes while at the same time kicking and slapping the vendors *(kanzuru madomasi imi muchitsika-tsika/ mambama nemabhutsu muchikika-kika).* The song *"Kanzuru"* which details the daily struggles encountered by street vendors as they try to navigate the city streets for self-sustenance is therefore typical of popular arts that act as "maps of experiences" (Barber 1997: 5) while the youthful musician plays the role of the people's mouthpiece who names their struggles.

Urban grooves musicians also map the city streets as sites of resistance, a feature that is emphasised by De Certeau (1984) as characteristic of the ordinary people's practices of

everyday life. The vendors' resistance is reflected in *"Kanzuru"* through the persona's warning and promises to the city council that they will fight back. Violence is even hinted at where the persona talks of the vendors being united and roaring *(kudzvova)*. One recalls here how urban grooves music has often been castigated for ostensibly inciting violence amongst the youth. However, as argued by Chari (2009b) and Manase (2011), the violence in urban grooves reflects the social reality in the Zimbabwean state dominated by both political and social violence. Manase (2011: 92) argues further that violence and unruliness are expressed as dominating the urban youth's livelihoods. Moreover, the vendor's resistance itself – reflected in *"Kanzuru"* echoes the social reality of the street vendors' resistance to the historical June 2015 directive by the government that vendors vacate the streets and make use of designated sites, initially giving them the 8th of June 2015 as the deadline but later extending it to 26 June. The directive was met with much resistance and protests from the vendors who vowed that they would not leave the streets and argued that the designated sites were controlled by exploitative space barons.[16] Therefore, the song *"Kanzuru"* is informed by the daily realities and the dilemma of being a street vendor in an economy that offers no other opportunities for one's survival and when that available single opportunity is threatened, resistance is the result. This shows that, as argued by Barber (1997:8), popular arts have the capacity to express experience as well as demand from people acts of exegesis or response. In addition, the vendor's refusal to leave the streets resonates with Jones' (2010: 299) observation that it is difficult to eradicate the *kukiya-kiya* economy and change the situation in the country until the structures that have produced it have been changed.

The shared experiences between public transport operators and street vendors serve to explain why the song *"Kanzuru"* echoes songs by Hwindi President and his style of singing. The moniker Vendor President itself for the singer of *"Kanzuru"* is a replica of Hwindi President. Thus, just as Hwindi President is a spokesperson of the commuter omnibus conductors through his songs, Vendor President is also a spokesperson for the street vendors through his songs. The signature chant *"zvatengwa bvunza mavendor pamusika-sika"* (my wares have been bought, ask the vendors on the streets) echoes Hwindi President's *"zvatanga bvunza hwindi pamushika-shika."* However, the Vendor President's signature chant carries overtones of sarcasm considering that it is most likely targeted at the city council and the persona brags that even though the city council is bent on destroying his source of income, he has not given up and is thriving as he is still able to sale his wares. The signature chant mocks the city council and at the same time epitomises the humour and irony, features that are

illustrated by Barber (1997: 5) as characterising African popular arts in the presentation of the ordinary people's struggles, their endurance and resistance. In addition, Vendor President's *"Kanzuru,"* similar to Hwindi President who presents typical daily practices of commuter omnibus conductors, mirrors the typical daily practices of street vendors who shout to advertise their wares and in that way contribute to the mapping of the urban noise (Rapoo 2013) that characterise the city spaces.

In short, an analysis of the songs by Hwindi President and Vendor President has shown that urban grooves musical texts offer a response to the daily experiences of public transport operators and street vendors. The routine practices and language of the streets dominate the musical lyrics, thus showing that urban grooves music is representative of the everyday in ways that echo Highmore (2002: 15)'s conceptualisation of the everyday as realms of repetitions and habits that are more significant than they may appear and thus need to be scrutinised to understand their significance. Furthermore, beyond the commonplace practices articulated by Hwindi President and Vendor President is a significant exposure of the prevailing socio-economic and political situation in the country. The songs outline the struggles public transport operators and vendors encounter while trying to navigate the city streets, elude the police and come up with schemes such as *mishika-shika* in order to continue sustaining themselves in a harsh economy. Hence, urban grooves music maps the city spaces as sites of struggle between the ruling elite and the ordinary people, especially the youth who are affected severely by unemployment and appropriate city spaces and turn them into creative spaces that offer them an alternative livelihood in a failed economy.

4.3.4 Representations of Mothers and their Value in Youth Lives

This section considers songs that focus on mothers with the aim of showing how mothers are integrated into the youth's daily-lived experiences. Youth have, as part of their identity, the status of children who are reliant on their parents for their existence and this significantly reveals how what is often thought of as separate identities (youth versus adult identities) come together and find what Nuttall (2009: 1) terms a point of intersection. However, the presentation of parenting and the everyday by a large body of urban grooves musical texts focuses on motherhood and places the role of parenting predominantly on women as mothers. This explains why there is a scarcity of songs that pay attention to fatherhood. In line with this urban grooves conceptualisation of the everyday, Schor (1992: 188), presents the street

or generally, public places and the home, as synecdoche that represent two particular orientations of everyday life. First, there is the feminine or feminist form that places the everyday in the daily rituals of private life that take place within the domestic sphere traditionally presided over by women. Second, there is the masculine or masculinist form where the everyday exists in the public spaces dominated especially, but not exclusively in the modern western [and westernised] societies, by men. The observation by Schor rightly captures the way motherhood is linked with the everyday in urban grooves music, as the value of motherhood is largely situated within the domestic space. This constricting of motherhood to the domestic sphere may be interpreted from a feminist critique that relates motherhood to patriarchal structures that sustain the domestication and subordination of women (Derrickson: 2002) and this also resonates with the patriarchal nature of the Zimbabwean society that apparently influences the presentation of motherhood by the urban groovers. The analysis of motherhood in this section will draw from the songs *"Seiko?"* ("Why?") (2002) by Leornard Mapfumo featuring Roki, *"Mhai"* ("Mother") (2014) by Tocky Vibes (Obey Makamure), Soul Jah Love's *"Dai Hupenyu Hwaitengwa"* ("If life could be bought") (2016) and Seh Calaz's *"Kwatinobva Kwakasiyana"* ("We come from different backgrounds") (2014).

Zimbabwe urban grooves musicians represent youth who have a strong attachment and dependence on their mothers. This attachment and dependence is traced back to childbirth and childhood, hence the songs are an appreciation of a mother's love through the valorisation of her roles in childbirth, childcare and the nurturing and sustenance of the family. This once again shows how the value of mothers as presented in urban grooves music is constituted within their everyday domestic roles. However, contrary to feminist critics who note how the concept of motherhood has been conceived in line with patriarchal domestication and domination of women, Hudson-Weems' (1993) projection of Africana Womanism presents motherhood as one of the major characteristics of Africana Womanism. She reiterates the centrality of motherhood in the lived experiences of women of African descent whose struggles since the colonial dispensations were both African and family centred. Thus, Hudson-Weem (1993: 83) argues that Africana Womanism is family centred, and has a racial empowerment agenda that is different from forms of feminism which are female centred and concerned above all else with female empowerment. The urban grooves music conception of motherhood can be interpreted from this Africana Womanist perspective as the roles of mothers mentioned above revolve around the family-centeredness of

motherhood and the youth's involvement in the everyday family experiences from their position as the mothers' children. It is however important to note in this instance that socio-economic changes and the influence of globalisation have altered the concept and the structure of the family in Africa. As argued by Chirozva, Mubaya and Mukamuri (http://www.beatafrica.org/comm.pdf) the term family no longer means the same for all people and childcare and family sustenance is no longer principally reliant on motherhood. I explain further in the chapter the other family support systems that exist in Zimbabwe. Therefore, even though most urban groovers anchor family support and sustenance of youth on motherhood, some singers such as Seh Calaz take cognisance of the broader sense of the term family. Reference will be made to Seh Calaz's song *"Kwatinobva Kwakasiyana"* to show how the singer represents family and youth upbringing as broader than just reliant on motherhood.

Some songs pay tribute as well as mourn departed mothers in their presentation of the significance of motherhood. The song *"Mhai"* by Tocky Vibes is "a dedication to his mother, or loosely to all mothers, thanking them for their roles in the upbringing of their children."[17] Soul Jah Love's *"Dai Hupenyu Hwaitengwa"* is a tribute to his deceased mother, with the video of the song showing the musician singing beside his mother's grave. This represents urban grooves as a repertory of the everyday experiences (De Certeau 1984) of young people who conceive their everyday existence as reliant on their mothers. The musicians find a representational space in music (De Certeau 1984) for their own personal stories about their personal experiences and relationships with their mothers. However, the song *"Dai Hupenyu Hwaitengwa* can also be considered as a tribute to all deceased mothers with Soul Jah Love being an archetypal character representing all youth who have lost their mothers. Similar to *"Dai Hupenyu Hwaitengwa,"* Leornard Mapfumo featuring Roki's *"Seiko?"* is a tribute to departed mothers as evident where the singers express that they dedicate the song to all those who lost their mothers *("dedicated kunemi mose vakarasikirwa")*. Through these songs, the artists acknowledge and appreciate the important roles mothers play in the lives of their children, which explains why *"Dai Hupenyu Hwaitengwa"* was the most mentioned song, or the most favourite for the youth interviewed for this study. In addition, Tocky Vibes' *"Mhai"* became very popular amongst both the young and old and made the singer rise to fame. This indicates the significance of motherhood and the way songs about mothers get audiences' appreciation. The appreciation demonstrates that motherhood is still broadly valorised in the Zimbabwean set-up in spite of the ways patriarchy aligns it with domesticity as noted earlier.

The musicians' celebrations of mothers' significant roles represent mothers as integral figures in their children's lives. This is done from the vantage point of children who are now in their youthful stage but still reliant on their mothers. Tocky Vibes's *"Mhai"* represents this through references to a strong bond that exists in the mother-child relationship. Tocky uses a conversational style in the beginning of his song where the mother persona and her youthful son Tocky exchange promises never to abandon each other, and this symbolises the bond between them. The perception on children who are so much dependant on their mothers is explained by Muwati, Gambahaya and Gwekwerere (2011: 4) as indicating the indispensability of a mother and they argue that this is evidenced by the difficult lives that are led by children who lose their mothers. Thus, Muwati, Gambahaya and Gwekwerere (2011: 4) further argue that "mothering/motherhood constitutes a life-supporting mechanism without which the individual cannot thrive." The song *"Dai Hupenyu Hwaitengwa,"* describes a persona whose mother's death now exposes him to a life of struggles *("ndotatarika")* and wondering from place to place *("ndichingotetereka")*. Due to such struggles, Soul Jah Love mourns the loss of his mother and also wishes it were possible to buy her back to life as expressed in the title of the song. A youth respondent (SR3, personal communication, 22 June 2016) who commented on *"Dai Hupenyu Hwaitengwa"* expressed how a mother is indispensable as follows: "[the song] shows that nobody is able to replace a mother and give one a mother's love." Although Seh Calaz centres his presentation of youth upbringing on the roles played by female figures, his song *"Kwatinobva kwakasiyana"* is instructive as it portrays other means of upbringing apart from reliance on mothers. While he acknowledges and valorises motherhood, Seh Calaz refutes the notion of a mother's indispensability as he recognises different backgrounds that have shaped his audiences' life histories and everyday existence.

In *"Kwatinobva Kwakasiyana,"* Seh Calaz portrays a persona who grows up as an orphan being taken care of by her/his grandmother and is grateful to the grandmother for her/his well-being. Seh Calaz thus urges his audiences to be thankful and acknowledge their different backgrounds and he encourages those who were brought up by their grandmothers to be grateful in the following lyrics:

Kwatinobva kwakasiyana siyana

We come from different backgrounds

Takarerwa nevanhu vakatosiyana

We were brought up by different people

Iwe nagogo ini namhamha

You, by your grandmother, me, by my mother

Asi gara uchitenda usamboridza tsamwa

But, be thankful and not complain

The song *"Kwatinobva Kwakasiyana"* is indeed informative. It reflects the lived experiences of children and youth who have fallen victim to socio-economic changes that shape contemporary Zimbabwe. As observed by Chirozva, Mubaya and Mukamuri (http://www.beatafrica.org/comm.pdf), the socio-economic changes brought about by globalisation, migration, economic hardships and the impact of HIV and AIDS have resulted in the existence of new types of families. This has seen care of most children being taken over by the elderly and in other situations, child-headed families have surfaced. Chirozva, Mubaya and Mukamuri also recognise that due to social changes, single parenthood has become a common phenomenon in Zimbabwe particularly among both male and female young urban Zimbabweans. Therefore, even though there is a significant dependence on the phenomenon of motherhood among youth in Zimbabwe, other means of family upbringing that shape everyday lives and well-being of the youth need to be acknowledged, thus problematising the indispensability of motherhood noted earlier.

Child-bearing is one of the major roles that is central to African motherhood. The valorisation of mothers by the youth thus commences with and is anchored on the acknowledgement of their role in child-birth. In *"Mhai,"* Tocky Vibes expresses mothers' remarkable qualities evident in their carrying babies in their wombs for nine months. He articulates how this is not an easy task and further points out that without his mother he would not have been animate *("vasipo ndingadai ndiripi")*, making clear how he owes his present life as a youth to his mother. The life-giving qualities of mothers are emphasised in Soul Jah Love's *"Dai Hupenyu Hwaitengwa"* through the Shona titles such as *"nyakutumbura"* or *"nyakubereka"* that are usually associated with mothers being life givers as both titles mean 'one who gives birth' or 'one who gives life.' This is underscored by Muwati, Gambahaya and Gwekwerere (2011: 2) in their Africana Womanist conceptualisation of mothering/motherhood as the "defining centrepiece of African centred existence" and that mothers are centrepieces of creation. However, the three scholars also

acknowledge that in this role of creation, the females operate together with the males. The Africana Womanist conceptualisation and conflation between motherhood and creation or childbirth can nonetheless be criticised from a feminist critique for presenting childbearing and motherhood as forming the core of a woman's nature, identity and self-worth. This is detrimental to women who fail to bear children as it establishes motherhood as a requirement for social acceptance and empowerment; hence, non-mothering women experience feelings of rejection and low self-esteem (Akujobi 2011: 4; Gerda and Laura 2011: 165). Feminist critics further argue that motherhood takes away a woman's autonomy as "she is one way or the other attached to another – her baby" (Akujobi 2011: 2). They, therefore, advocate for the separation of motherhood and reproduction (Gerda and Laura 2011) and associate being child free with emancipation (Maqubela 2016). Considering both the appreciation of life-giving roles of mothers by urban groovers and the arguments posed by feminist critics against motherhood, I argue that mothers hold a significant position in everyday human existence. Youth appreciation of motherhood is an indication of linkages between motherhood and youth existence and lived experiences, but it is also important for societies to take cognisance of the fact that a woman's identity and self-worth surpasses becoming a mother.

Urban grooves music further celebrates the mothers' assumed nurturing role and provision of sustenance. According to Hudson-Weems (1993), nurturing is one of the characteristics of Africana Womanism that centres on the lived experiences of African people. In *"Mhai"* Tocky Vibes celebrates the tenacity of mothers in taking care of children from the moment of childbirth: *"usati watsenga sadza vaikupa mukaka wavo kuti uyamwe"* (before you learnt to chew solid foods, your mother breast-fed you). In *"Seiko?"* the artist sings about a deceased mother whom, in her lifetime, was a hard worker who provided for her family through proceeds from street hawking *("zuva nezuva maimukira kumusika kuti tidye tichiguta").* The implication here is that, now that the mother is deceased, the children are going hungry because they have no one to nurture and provide for them. Difficulties faced by children who lost their mothers are confirmed by one female interviewee, who disclosed that her mother is deceased and that she relates to the song *"Dai Hupenyu Hwaitengwa"*:

> …my mother passed on, so if I hear such a song, I relate to it and the kind of life I am living especially if I look at the way step mothers treat their own children and their step children, you realise that the love they give them is different. Seh Calaz also sings about orphans and a lot of people can relate this to their lives, so I listen to

songs that are related to what I like or what happens in my life… (ZR8, personal communication, 24 July 2016).

Feminist critics however question the nurturing role of women as mothers. They note how it is usually conceived as relating to a mothers' sense of responsibility and self-sacrificing love (Derrickson 2002; Akujobi 2011). According to these critics, such perceptions of motherhood leave no space for the acknowledgement of "mothers as women who feel pain, anger, frustration, or women drained by the responsibilities that accompany their roles as mothers" (Akujobi 2011: 5). This contention is revealed in Emecheta's (1979) ironic depiction of "the joys of motherhood." However, the urban groovers, as shown in the analysis of songs above, celebrate the struggles mothers go through emphasising on how they endure these struggles for the sake of their children, thus indicating the value of mothers in the daily lives of youth.

Nevertheless, it is of great importance to take into consideration that the African concept of motherhood transcends childcare and nurturing. People continue to celebrate and rely on their mothers even past their childhood. This explains why youthful urban groovers compose songs to honour mothers and celebrate their value in their everyday lives. In *"Mhai"* for example, Tocky Vibes goes beyond just celebrating the role his mother played in childbirth and in taking care of him as a child. He notes that he even owes his status as a singer to his mother *("vasipo ndingadai ndisimo mudariro").* Thus, motherhood is a perpetual role that does not cease to hold value past childhood, for, as observed by Maqubela (2016: 7225), motherhood is a "source and perpetuation of life and/ or humanity." Hudson-Weems (1993) associates the priority of Africana Womanism with commitment to human survival. Furthermore, the reality that motherhood transcends childbirth and nurturing roles is evident in the way some mothers are always concerned about the well-being and prosperity of the future generation, and in such instances, they are perceived as visionaries (Maqubela 2016: 7225). This image of mothers who are visionaries is represented in *"Seiko?"* where the persona reveals that their mother used to teach them life lessons through her story-telling, advising them to map their lives towards a brighter 'tomorrow' and elude delinquency *("…maitiudza ngano dzeupenyu/ chigadzirisa ramangwana usazove mombe yemashanga").* The persona even promises that he/she will heed the mother's advice and work hard in order to be successful *("zvisinei ndichashanda nesimba sekutaura kwamaiita, ukashinga uchakunda").* This means that, the mother, although deceased, is acknowledged as a visionary whose advice holds value even in the future life of the persona.

Motherhood, as reiterated in African-centred feminisms, is a phenomenon that is still valued in contemporary African societies in spite of the drawbacks that are attached to it. It is significant to humanity and interlinked with [some form of] power, respect and reverences (Makaudze 2015: 266) as well as embedded in the lived experiences of African people. I therefore argue that, even though youth identities and cultures are often understood as different from those of adults such as mothers, youth and mothers find a point of intersection in the mother-child relationship that they share. Hence, the phenomenon of motherhood is celebrated in the Zimbabwean society and in Zimbabwe urban grooves music by youthful musicians who recognise that there is need to include mothers in their conceptions of their everyday life experiences.

4.4 Conclusion

The focus of this chapter has been on the consumption patterns and practices that are depicted in and associated with urban grooves music and the youth everyday experience. The analysis has shown how both the production and consumption of urban grooves music by the youth relate to the ways the youth make sense of the everyday and reflect on their daily encounters, needs and aspirations. I noted that youth are not passive consumers of urban grooves music as they engage in meaning making and contextualise songs in relation to their societal experiences and aspirations. I drew on De Certeau's (1984) concepts of product utilisation and secondary production to show how youth make sense of urban grooves. Musical texts or parts of musical texts are often employed by youth consumers of urban grooves music to make critical commentaries on the socio-political and economic experiences that impact on their lived experiences. Such musical texts become popular arts that Linnebuhr (1997) define as reflecting on the everyday practices of the people or environs from which they originate.

The analysis of urban grooves musical texts in this chapter has also revealed that musicians tap into everyday lived experiences, concerns and practices of their youth audiences, such as lack of employment opportunities, the struggles encountered in the 'ghetto' and the city and relations with their mothers. This shows that urban grooves musical compositions are informed by commonplace every day experiences of the youth. However, the everyday as conceptualised by De Certeau (1984) and Highmore (2002), signifies more than just what is simply understood as common or routine experiences, as beneath these experiences are larger and significant issues that need to be closely scrutinised and revealed.

Thus, my analysis of the everyday has shown that most of the experiences that urban groovers sing about are larger than just youth encounters; they are significant national issues that affect both the youth and adults in Zimbabwe. By exposing and singing about these issues, youthful urban groovers play significant roles as society's conscience and spokespersons. Moreover, even in their style of singing, urban grooves tap into common everyday language and utterances of ordinary people but this common everyday language helps to expose social and economic struggles that significantly affect the lives of ordinary people in Zimbabwe and also reveal how the people respond to these struggles.

Endnotes

[1] For Winky D awards for "Disappear" and its entry into the international music scene, see (www.pindula.co.zw/Winky_D) and The *Daily News* of 2 February 2016 (https://www.dailynews.co.zw/articles/2016/02/02/winky-d-s-disappear-tops-bbc-charts).

[2] I used information on the popularity of the song "Disappear" from the article "Winky D's Disappear Tops BBC Charts" in the *Daily News* of 2 February 2016.

[3] See Chaya (2017), "I Did my Part on Soul Jah Love: Magaya," *Daily News,* 30 January, (https://www.dailynews.co.zw/article/2017/01/30/i-did-my-part-on-soul-jah-love-magaya).

[4] For information on the Zimbabwean currency, see Conner Gaffey (2016), "Zimbabwe's New Currency': What You Should Know about the Bond Notes, Newsweek, 28 November, (www.newsweek.com).

[5] See "Zimbabwe: Water and Sanitation Crisis" in the *Human Rights Watch*, 19 November 2013 (https://www.hrw.org/news/2013/11/19/zimbabwe-water-and-sanitation-crisis).

[6] See (allafrica.com/stories/2004070246.html) and the *Herald* of 11 June 2014 (www.herald.co,zw/massive-load-shedding-begins/).

[7]See "Sports Gambling a Hit in Harare" in the *Zimbabwe Independent* of 3 February 2014 (https://www.theindependent.co.zw/2014/02/03/sports-gambling-hit-harare/).

[8] It is important to note that with the end of the Mugabe rule and assumption of leadership by President Emmerson Mnangagwa on 24 November 2017, some changes have been implemented on traffic rules and policies and this has seen the reduction of roadblocks and spot fines as the Mnangagwa government seeks to restore public confidence. see (https://www.zimbabwesituation.com/news/police-scrap-spot-fines-reduce-roadblocks/).

[9] See the article "Iron Spikes, ZRP's New Weaponry," in the *Newsday* of 16 January 2017 (https://www.dailynews.co.zw/articles/2017/01/16/iron-spikes-zrp-s-new-weaponry).

[10] See (www.pindula.co.zw/Hwindi_President).

[11] See earlier note where I made an explanation on reduction of roadblocks

[12] For the origins of the term '*mushika-shika*,' see the article, "Mushika-shika Out of Control" in the *Sunday Mail of* 3 December 2017 (https://www.sundaymail.co.zw/mushika-shika-out-of-control).

[13] See the article "Iron Spikes, ZRP's New Weaponry," in the *Newsday* of 16 January 2017 (https://www.dailynews.co.zw/articles/2017/01/16/iron-spikes-zrp-s-new-weaponry).

[14] Walter Magaya is one of the most celebrated but controversial self-proclaimed Zimbabwean religious prophet and founder of PHD Ministries. He is also famous for claiming to perform miracles, hence, most people and musicians who are critical of his claim often mock the said miracles as dubious.

[15] Zengeza is a poor working class residential township in the dormitory town of Chitungwiza situated approximately 26km south of the capital, Harare.

[16] For report on the vendors' protests, see Kunambura (2015), "Zimbabwe Vendors Remain Defiant," (allafrica.com/stories/201506250576.html).

[17] See (www.pindula.co.zw/Tocky_Vibes).

Chapter 5: Urban Grooves Music and the Constitution of Resistant Youth Cultures

5.1 Introduction

I had to be firm. I said you guys are going to be disappointed but I stand for what I believe in (Guspy Warrior as quoted by Samukange 2015).

The statement in the above epigraph is Guspy Warrior's (Emmanuel Manyeruke) response to his family members who were against his decision to become a Zimdancehall musician. The reaction exposes some of the parental, familial or societal hostilities, criticisms and restrictions that young musicians, especially urban grooves artists and their fans, grapple with and contest in their musical choices. Guspy Warrrior's personal experience reveals the nature of existing parental and societal supervision of youth, especially its drawing on the belief that youth need moral guidance. This has contributed to attempts to confine youth to music preferences that the older generation approve of. Guspy Warrior's criticism almost always involves him being pitted against his father, Mechanic Manyeruke, who is recognised as a legendary gospel musician. The youthful musician is judged in the 'like father, like son' fashion and regarded as the antithesis of his father and a rebel who flouted family and societal expectations by not taking after his father and singing, not necessarily gospel music, but 'good' or 'clean' lyrics.[1] Mechanic Manyeruke himself, as reported in an article in the *Newsday* by Samukange (2015), expressed distaste for his son's music by describing it as "noise" and "crazy" and revealing that he had not yet gathered the courage to listen to the music.[2] Guspy Warrior's experiences are instructive. They reveal that musical texts are a "contested site of constructing meaning" as asserted by Viljoen (2014: 73) who analyses the interaction between feminist debates and music from a musicological feminist perspective. Ultimately, Guspy Warrior's experiences and especially his response in the epigraph above, offer an insight into the way youth map music as a site of resistance.

There is a long tradition of resistance in music in Zimbabwe and elsewhere in the world. Zimbabwean music of resistance dates back to the precolonial era where there was a protest music tradition both in the domestic and political circles. Music was used, for instance, by daughters in law to express their bitterness against dreadful mothers-in-law, embittered wives against greedy husbands and a whole community would use music to resist a chief's injustices (Kwaramba 1997:1). During the colonial period and the liberation struggle

in Zimbabwe, *chimurenga* music was a notable musical form of resistance, hence the songs were identified as "songs that won the liberation struggle" (Pongweni 1982) as already noted in Chapter 1. Resistance continued to be a characteristic feature of some Zimbabwean songs of the post-independent period, with Thomas Mapfumo being an iconic protest musician who sang about his discontent with government political ideologies and repressions. The Negro spirituals of the American slave period have been described as anti-slavery hymnody and vehicles of protest (Spencer 1990). Similarly, hip-hop music has been defined as oppositional culture (Olson and Shobe 2008) and a site of resistance world-wide (Marsh and Petty 2011), whilst reggae has been instrumental in political struggles, not only in Jamaica where it originated, but also in other nations of the world (Lipsitz 1994; De Block and Buckingham 2007). Individual musicians have also been very instrumental in popular music and culture as resistant voices against different oppressive policies, wars and ideologies that infringed on human rights in different parts of the world. The American musician Bob Dylan, for example, is well known for his songs about the African American Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s while the American musician Marvin Gaye with his 1971 album "What's Going On" raised his voice against the Vietnam War while the Jamaican musician Bob Marley became popular as the 'voice of the third world' (Nunez 2015). Music by South African musicians such as Hugh Masekela, LadySmith Black Mambazo and Miriam Makeba were influential in the fight against apartheid in South Africa. It is noteworthy in this tradition of worldwide protest music that resistance is a common and significant characteristic feature of music. Since urban grooves borrows from the musical genres of resistance, such as hip-hop and reggae mentioned above, I argue that resistance is an inherent feature of urban grooves music. Therefore, the analysis in this chapter considers the forms of resistance that characterise urban grooves music and their expression in the musical genre and cultural practices of the youth.

Resistance in urban grooves music takes on various forms that are related to youth experiences and practices. Siziba (2009: 14) considers urban grooves from an angle of cultural resistance and youth challenge to the existing production of culture. This involves the youthful urban groovers practising agency in defining the production and re-production of culture through music. This observation by Siziba informs the discussion in this chapter, but, over and above resistance demonstrated through music production, this discussion focuses on youth consumers of urban grooves music and I argue that music consumption itself constitutes 'acts of resistance.' Bere (2008) and Manase (2009) locate resistance in the

subversive performances of urban groovers and show the various ways in which the musicians undermine the ZANU-PF led government's repressive hegemony despite the fact that the genre was initially sponsored and promoted by this government. The subversion model of resistance is considered in this chapter but with a focus on identity and how youth are actively involved in defining who they are and challenge the confinement to restrictive and monolithic identities constituted from the dominant cultures and political establishment.

Resistance is also perceived in terms of intergenerational power struggles. Willems' (2015) research on state sponsorship of urban groves and the nature of power politics involved locates these struggles between youth musicians and an older generation of musicians and politicians. This chapter's analysis of intergenerational power struggles includes but is not limited to struggles between younger musicians and older ones. It also focuses on conflicts between younger generations and older generations of non-musicians societal members who interact with the urban grooves music culture. The chapter extends Willems' research by considering the changes that have taken place in the relationship between younger and older generations of musicians. Clarke et al. (2006: 5-7) use the term "parent culture" to show how youth cultures are often in conflict with the "parent cultures" which are, not only the cultures of their parents, but also the dominant or 'mainstream' culture which the youth are [expected to be] part of. In this regard, youth cultures are often referred to as "counter cultures" (Clarke et al. 2006: 48).

This chapter also refers to different 'acts of resistance' employed by youth to dodge parental or societal supervision of their cultural consumption and performances. To this end, there is the creation or manipulation of what I call 'safe spaces' that are 'remote' from parental control or "communitarian supervision" (Diouf 2003: 5). The last section of the chapter places particular focus on resistance demonstrated by musicians who disrupt the social order by flouting societal norms and values. Bere's (2008) study on the performance of politics in urban grooves considers such resistance as social dissonance that is demonstrated typically by the male urban groover Maskiri, whose controversial lyrics are an attack on society's wrong doings. This chapter's analysis of similar forms of resistance is however centred on youthful female urban groovers who challenge societal conventions related to notions of femininity and female sexuality. It pays particular attention on social dissonance expressed through what Makombe (2015) in his analysis of representation of women in

Zimbabwean newspaper stories, presents as emerging perspectives on female sexualities and behaviours that challenge pre-existing patriarchal norms and values.

Contrary to the above scholars who note various forms of resistance constituted in urban grooves music, Kellerer (2013) criticises the musical genre that she distinguishes from what she calls underground hip-hop which she commends as socially and politically conscious music. Kellerer (2013:45), unlike Bere (2008) and Manase (2009), argues that the musical genre is connected to the ZANU-PF government that sponsored it. She argues that the musical lyrics are apolitical and pro-government. Kellerer (2013: 56) also claims that the lack of consciousness in urban grooves music is evident in the lyrics that are centred on *"swagga,* money and fame."* I, however, argue that the preoccupation with *"swagga,* money and fame"* is a form of postcolonial urban youth resistance that challenges the "failure[s] of nationalist economies" (Diouf 2003: 2) and is situated in the desires and aspirations of youth who are victims of such failed economies. This chapter thus further analyses forms of political resistance evident in urban grooves musical lyrics and pays particular attention to songs that critique the ruling party leadership, practices and ideologies. Such kinds of political resistance, however, usually take on subtle forms considering how precarious it is to offer a direct or radical criticism of the dominant political establishment in Zimbabwe. Scott (1990: 19) calls such subtle forms of political resistance, "infrapolitics of subordinate groups," hence the discussion here incorporates his ideas on "disguised forms of public dissent" and "hidden transcript." Scott (1990: 4) defines "hidden transcript" as "discourse that takes place 'offstage' beyond direct observation by power holders." I therefore consider the different urban grooves musical texts that offer subtle forms of resistance and also examine the role played by the social media as a form of "hidden transcript" that aids and complements the political critique in the analysed musical texts. The analysis in this chapter is thus based on the assumption that there is a linkage between urban grooves music and resistant youth cultures; and in line with this supposition, the discussion seeks to answer the following questions: What forms of resistant youth cultures emanate from the production, performances and consumption of urban grooves music? What is resisted and why? How are the resistant youth cultures expressed through urban grooves musical production, performances and consumption? How effective is urban grooves music as a tool of resistance and what challenges do the youth encounter in their constitution of resistance through production, performances and consumption of urban grooves music?

5.2 Urban Grooves and Intergenerational Power Struggles

Youth resistance in urban grooves can be understood by considering the intergenerational power struggles that have permeated the genre. Intergenerational power struggles hold a special place in music as music itself is a significant marker of generational differences. Music is an important trajectory of generational membership and identification for members of the same generation and there is always a "homology between the values and the lifestyles of a group, its subjective experience, and the musical form the group adopts" (Willis 2006: 88). This observation was vividly echoed by a producer interviewee who asserted that:

> Music has got the power to define a generation, and the only reason why people want music in their lives is because it is relevant to their times, it is relevant to their situation, it is relevant to who they are as people and to who they are as a generation. So there is always a type of music that speaks to a certain generation. Our parents, they would listen to the Thomas Mapfumos, and before, our grandparents would listen to the white people's music, for example, the Tina Turners. [They would also listen to] the Gregory Isaacs and the what, but it changed. From there, then came the Mapfumos and the Tukus, from there came the urban grooves, why? Because every type of music is there for a specific generation. Every generation have their preferences in terms of what speaks to them and what is relevant to them (P1, personal communication, 28 June 2016).

The producer (P1) references a succession of three different generations of youth to show the existence of a constant shift in music preferences, and what is key in his observation is how the popularity of one youth musical genre over another is sustained by a specific group of youth of that particular time. In addition, just as identities are mobile (Frith 1996) or "constantly in the process of change and transformation" (Hall 1996: 4), popular youth music cultures, being key to youth identity (Kelly 2006), are also in a state of flux. As a result, the "experience of music making and music listening is best understood as the experience of this self in process" (Frith 1996: 110). The suggestion then is that there is no need to rule out one generation's music preference. The intergenerational power struggles that have been ignited by the popularity of urban grooves music can therefore be said to constitute youth resistance and the struggle over representation and affirmation of generational membership and differences, with the contemporary generation of youth distinguishing itself from the generation of their adults. This is mirrored in Brubaker and Cooper's (2000: 19)

conceptualisation of identity as commonality, connectedness or groupness which entail a "sense of belonging to a distinctive, bounded group, involving both a felt solidarity or oneness with fellow group members and a felt difference from and even antipathy to specified outsiders." In addition, the youth's confirmation of generational membership is significant for purposes of social inclusion and maintenance of relationship with peers (Psynakova's 2012: 72).

Intergenerational power struggles related to urban grooves are highly evident in the heated debates and criticisms of the genre that ensued soon after the inception of the music as a mainstream genre in the Zimbabwean musical scene. Chapter 1 explores some of the negative comments levelled against urban grooves; and the condemnation of American and/ or western music's influence on the genre is central to the analysis of resistance here. As observed in Chapter 1, older musicians such as Thomas Mapfumo (in Bere 2008) dismissed urban grooves as 'inauthentic' and not Zimbabwean. Wade's (1995) observation that the question of 'authenticity' in music lies in power relations noticeable in how some cultural artefacts are considered as 'inauthentic' and 'impure,' and, hence, deserving to be dismissed and suppressed, noted earlier in the thesis, is instructive. The older musicians, Thomas Mapfumo himself included, have been composing music that might be considered as 'inauthentic' as it fuses the traditional and the western (see Chapter 1), thus showing that the issue here is not about 'authenticity.' Instead, the older musicians' claims on the 'inauthenticity' of urban grooves point to power relations characterised by contestations over generational power (Willems 2015) that involved younger musicians' penetration into the domain of the production of culture (Siziba 2009) that was once dominated by older musicians.

That the debates over urban grooves music highlight the struggles between the younger and older generation of musicians is affirmed by a musician interviewee as follows:

> In Zimbabwe we do not have music we can authentically call ours because almost everything is borrowed from somewhere, *sungura* came from *kanindo,* our own music is *mbira.* Thomas Mapfumo sang his *chimurenga* music, he played guitars but guitars are not from Zimbabwe, so all comments people like Mapfumo make about urban grooves not being Zimbabwean are angry comments of an artist who has realised there is some competition. He was in a comfortable place and was thinking that he is the only one in music, we were forced to listen to that music because that was the only

music that was there, now things are changing, we have cell phones and computers. Even Oliver Mtukudzi criticised us for not using live bands but look at him now, we are singing with him now. Our music moves with time… (M5, personal communication, 15 July 2016).

As noted above, the contestations over urban grooves music involved older musicians perceiving younger musicians as competitors. Thus, the rejection of urban grooves sought to consolidate the older musicians' popularity and control of the Zimbabwean musical scene and culture. The popularity of urban grooves is however unavoidable as it is in tandem with the current transformations in the era of ICTs, a reality that some members of the older generation have rejected by criticising urban groovers for not using live bands as revealed by the musician cited above. However, it is important to note at this juncture that musicians such as Winky D have also started using live bands in their music performances. Siziba (2009: 5) aligns the benefit of ICTs with "restructuring [of] society, social relations and more saliently cultural and power domains." Mate (2012) and Willems (2015) note that both older generation musicians and politicians got implicated in the intergenerational tensions involving the control of the musical scene. Mate discusses the tensions in relation to the banning of some urban grooves songs in 2007 (see Nyamhangambiri 2007 and Chapter 1 for the list of songs) on allegations that the lyrics were sexist and obscene and yet the songs exposed issues of sexual immorality which implicated the older generations especially older politicians. Mate's observation that the actual issue that influenced the banning of the songs was neither the sexism nor obscenities in the lyrics, is confirmed by the contradictions related to the government's sponsorship of some music videos featuring erotic female dances that were at variance with the sexual modesty that, according to Thram (2006b: 82), characterises Shona cultural traditions. In addition, the Mbare Chimurenga choir which was sponsored by the government to sing songs that celebrated the leadership of former President Robert Mugabe featured females who danced erotically and gyrated their bodies. As noted in Chapter 3, this was tantamount to sexism and exploitation of the female body in the service of the ruling party's political interests. This confirms Mate's (2012: 126-127) argument that the censorship of urban grooves songs on allegations of sexism was an attempt to mask intergenerational tensions in which older generation politicians were trying to silence the younger musicians from exposing their excesses.

Another important revelation made by the respondent M5 quoted above is the featuring of older musicians in songs by the urban groovers. EX-Q collaborated with the late Oliver Mtukudzi in the song *"Pane Rudo"* ("There is love") (2007). Mtukudzi is also featured in Winky D's *"Panorwadza Mwoyo"* ("What breaks the heart") (2016). This co-option of older musicians by urban groovers in their songs after such heated debates begs the question: are younger musicians seeking the older musicians' approval of their music, considering that it is younger musicians who feature them in their songs and not the other way round? That the late Oliver Mtukudzi, a one time lead critic of urban grooves music (see Thram 2006; Willems 2015) accepted to be featured in songs by urban groovers also begs the question: have the older musicians finally accepted urban grooves music as Zimbabwean music? Or, has youth resistance taken the form of transformation of structures of power espoused by Jefferess (2008) in his analysis of postcolonial resistance? Jefferess (2008: 17) defines resistance as the transformation of structures or cultures of power by "recognising and fostering an order in which the relationship between Self and Other is one of mutual interdependence rather than antagonism."

It is however difficult to give definite answers to the above questions as criticism, debates and ambivalences related to urban grooves music are still ongoing despite the popularity of the musical genre ahead of others. Alick Macheso, for example, who is an older musician and *sungura* artist played a Zimdancehall song during his album launch on the 6th of June 2018,[3] yet earlier in 2016, he was quoted condemning Zimdancehall claiming that:

> *Sungura* will never die but Zimdancehall will come and go. Most of the Zimdancehall songs are just popular for a few days and then they fade. Some of them are recorded in these backyard studios and the sound quality is poor.[4]

A similar example of the rejection of Zimdancehall is noted in the way Fungisai Zvakavapano was vilified by the society for turning from gospel music to Zimdancehall even though the lyrics that she sang to the Zimdancehall beat were still gospel.[5] Despite such criticism, Fungisai's Zimdancehall songs became popular especially *"Vanondibatirana"* ("They help each other to hold me") (2016) which features the Zimdancehall artist Killer T.[6] The song won the 2016 awards for best Zimdancehall collaboration, most viewed song of the year (online) and the best collaboration at the Permican Gospel Awards.[7] Some youth respondents even disclosed that they do not love gospel music but they were inspired by Fungisai and Killer T's gospel lyrics in *"Vandibatirana"* because of the Zimdancehall beat

accompanying the lyrics. Another good example of ambivalences related to the reception of Zimdancehall is the song *"Seunononga"* by Guspy Warrior which was heavily criticised for carrying obscenities yet it made the musician popular soon after its release in 2012.[8] I can also confirm from my own observation and experiences that *"Seunononga"* became a sing-along and popular even amongst the older generation especially adult women who played it at kitchen parties. These given examples signify the popularity of the musical genre irrespective of the continued ambivalences and hostilities against urban grooves music.

Urban grooves has been negatively labelled, with the lyrics perceived as obscene and inciting violence and other deviant youth behaviours that taint societal values. The choices made by youth in their consumption of urban grooves music have been subject to parental and societal concern. Youth consumers often find themselves having to contend with parental or societal supervision and rejection of their musical choices. Thus, intergenerational power struggles regarding music consumption can be understood in the context of youth consumers contesting parental or societal gate keeping of their music consumption. Bourdieu (1984: 7) in his theory of consumer taste formation perceives such forms of societal gate keeping as characterised by the rejection of some consumer choices as vulgar, profane, coarse, servile or venal, in an attempt to serve the social function of legitimising social differences and hierarchies. Some youth respondents even revealed how they live within the confines of such societal hierarchies by making musical choices they know will be approved by their parents:

> [I listen to] Killer T because both the youth and their parents can listen to his songs, for example, the song *"Vanondibatirana,"* the lyrics are clean (MR4, personal communication, 20 June 2016).

> …I should also not be embarrassed to play [the music] in the presence of my parents and other people (SHR5, personal communication, 22 June 2016).

> [I consider] songs that when you play in the presence of parents, they won't say, "Can you change your music!" (ZR1 personal communication, 24 June 2016).

> If we consider listening to musicians such as Bounty Lisa, our parents are likely to prohibit us from listening to the music, so we usually listen to such songs when we are on our own… (ZR6 personal communication, 24 June 2016).

Although the above respondents demonstrated that they live within the precincts of parental control and listen to the music their parents approve of, this does not necessarily mean that

youth do not listen to songs that their parents may deem as bad. Zimbabwean youth usually employ sly means of accessing music of their choice by manipulating what I referred to earlier on as 'safe spaces' that elude parental and societal supervision. As illustrated by ZR6 above, youth find it 'safer' to listen to the 'forbidden' songs in the absence of their parents. Thus, I refer to such sly forms employed by youth to consume the 'forbidden' music as 'acts of resistance.'

The growth of ICTs has created opportunities for youth to enact various forms of resistance against societal restraint of music production and consumption. Lipsitz (1994: 37) in his analysis of the production of hip-hop music perceives the practice of digital sampling as

> Illumin[ating] the emancipatory possibilities of new technologies and the readiness of marginalised and oppressed populations to employ them for shedding restricting social identities and embracing new possibilities of a life without a hierarchy and exploitation.

Similarly, in the consumption of music, ICTs form part of the 'safe spaces' which escape societal hierarchies of supervision such as state media laws that censure the kind of music the public can listen to, and parental prescription of youth music consumption. Bull (2006: 132) associates the digital age of music technologies with increased freedom of music choices and with the development of MP3 and products such as the Apple iPod whereby music lovers store several tracks and continually select how they listen to music. Therefore, besides listening to negatively labelled songs in the absence of their parents, youth can utilise the privacy of ICTs such as cell phones to share music and take control of their music choices. In addition, ear phones which have become a popular means through which youth listen to music privately typify the sly and 'safe spaces' of resistance that are available for youth consumption of music and inaccessible to societal and parental supervision and restraint.

There are other forms of resistant music consumption that have become popular with urban Zimbabwean youth. Some youths counteract adult surveillance through musical shows, bashes and *vuzu* parties, and other house parties mentioned earlier in the thesis. These forms of music consumption and entertainment, especially the bashes, house parties and *vuzu* parties, are characteristic of youth agency as youth organise them and consume the music on their own terms. This aspect of agency is interestingly expressed in Winky D's party song *"Mudhara Vauya"* ("The old man has come") (2015) in the following simile which draws on

the aspect of control: *"tiripanyanga kunge driver ane makey ebhazi"* (we are in control like a driver who has the bus keys). This simile is a celebration of the freedom that the youth enjoy at parties and the opportunity to take charge of events away from parental supervision. What is also striking about bashes, house parties and *vuzu* parties is the way in which venues are chosen and become 'safe spaces.' As noted in Chapter 2, houses with absentee parents or those belonging to youth whose parents have migrated to other countries in search of employment opportunities are considered as most suitable 'safe spaces' for the *vuzu* parties, house parties and bashes. Unlike some digital technologies such as cell-phones which offer private 'safe spaces' for music consumption, house parties, *vuzu* parties, bashes and shows provide youth with public 'safe spaces' to experience the music culture with peers who share similar outlooks and world views, thus empowering young people collectively (Manase 2015: 187). They are places where youth find their niche to craft their group identities (Oosterom and Pswarayi 2014). Moreover, these places offer an uninhibited musical experience and pleasure as I observed during one of the musical shows that I attended where youth could dance provocatively and in some instances enjoy replacing song lyrics with sexually explicit ones. This inversion of song lyrics and the pleasure drawn from it is what Fiske (1989b) defines as popular pleasure that is characteristic of resistance in popular culture. Fiske (1989b:6) describes this further by asserting that, popular culture is characterised by inversion and subversion, it is tasteless and vulgar for taste is social control that is disguised as a naturally finer sensibility. Thus, Zimbabwean youth consumption practices can be discerned as 'acts of resistance' in accordance with popular culture theory.

However, the spaces for music performances and consumption are partially 'safe spaces' and ambivalences often characterise them. While "optimists and dissidents" view them as "geographies of resistance," "moralists and pessimists" often regard the spaces as "geographies of delinquency" (Diouf 2003: 5). *Vuzu* parties for example, have reportedly been associated with teenage delinquencies such as binge drinking and sex orgies whilst musical shows have been notable for violent clashes between musicians and different camps of fans (see Chapter 1 and 2). In some instances where an entry fee has to be paid, the 'safe spaces' are prone to sexism as evidenced by posters with adverts with 'ladies free' offers. This signifies as observed by Duque (2006), how sexuality becomes an advertisement and a commodity because what is on offer in this instance is the perpetuation and manipulation of female sexuality. In addition, although youth perceive the 'safe spaces' as free from societal and adult surveillance, the places are sometimes invaded by law enforcement agents who

disrupt the events and arrest participants as what typically happened with 224 youths who were arrested for conducting a *vuzu* party (see Chapter 1). On a more significant note, the *vuzu* parties were treated as a national problem; they were a subject in an August 2015 National Assembly debate with legislators suggesting that they should come up with ways to curb them (Ndlovu 2015). Thus, even those spaces that youth regard as safe for their social gatherings and music consumption are not without their paradoxes as the spaces are sometimes risky and the youth still find themselves having to fight different forms of societal restraint.

Some critics (Diouf 2003; Herr 2006; Ugor 2015) note, with regard to the case of youth delinquencies, how some societal changes have left youth vulnerable and exposed to "geographies of delinquency" (Diouf 2003: 5); and more often, youth themselves are villainised instead of society being held accountable for such societal shifts (Herr 2006). Diouf (2003: 5) analyses such societal shifts in relation to the failures of African nationalist economies and how youth find themselves in the "theatre of globalisation" as migrant or clandestine workers, or sometimes as musicians and artists "resolved to make their way into the world markets' economy of desires and consumption." Some Zimbabwean youth, as reported by the *Financial Gazette* journalist, Ndlovu (2015), explained some of their 'delinquent' behaviours in relation to the economic challenges that they are facing. The youth disclosed to Ndlovu that they take alcohol to relieve stress due to social and economic hardships. Ugor (2015: 14) takes into account societal transformations brought about by neoliberal globalisation and how they have dispossessed and marginalised African youth to the extent that they find themselves constantly negotiating treacherous terrains in their everyday lives. According to Herr (2006), contemporary economics that have effected changes in the modern family impact on youth as parents now work more hours outside their homes and do not have enough time for family life. Such familial changes are manifest in Zimbabwe due to the economic situation in the country with the associated transformations perceived as having contributed to the rise of the *vuzu* culture. Zibusiso Dube, a social commentator cited by Ndlovu (2015), describes the *vuzu* parties as "a symptom of the breakdown of the family structure as more and more people leave to work either in neighbouring countries or overseas." Youth who are subject to such social transformations that the society dominated by the older generation has created, often find themselves negotiating ambivalent experiences brought about by the social transformations. In this process, youth often contest the restrictions and world views of the older generation, hence

the intergenerational power struggles examined in this section. Similar kinds of struggles will be noted in the next section which focuses on youth resistance to confining identities.

5.3 Urban Grooves as a Site of Youth Resistance to Confining Identities

This thesis has so far established how urban grooves is closely linked with youth identities and an important source of identity construction for the youth who identify with the music culture. The thesis has so far noted the role of urban grooves as a significant source of identification between the youth fans of the music and the urban grooves music celebrities. However, youth also challenge and reject notions of identities that are not in harmony with their experiences and world views, for as noted by Paveda (2006), youth identities set them apart from children and especially adults. This was confirmed by youth respondents who participated in interviews for this study. Most of the respondents perceive themselves through their relationships with other youth and in that way distinguish themselves from the old. This is confirmed in the statements where some of the respondents defined a youth as:

> One who does what is different from what old people do and moves with time like other young people (MR2, personal communication, 20 June 2016).

> One who does what is done by people of his generation and not what old people do (MR7, personal communication, 20 June 2016).

It is because of such perceptions of identity that youth often reject being affiliated to adult world views and identities imposed on them by the dominant cultures. This section, therefore, considers the assumption that, urban grooves music is a site of youth resistance to confining identities, and explores different ways that the urban groovers and youth employ to contravene such restrictive identities.

The statement, 'move with time' in MR2's response above and in musician M5's response referenced earlier, is an important descriptor that is also key in the expression of youth attempts to break away from restrictive identities. Ironically, there also exists the descriptor 'lost generation,' which the older generation commonly uses to describe such youth who 'move with time.' The youth are often perceived as straying from their societal values and identities and aligning themselves more with the modern which is regarded as western or foreign and a source of moral decadence. The contradiction or conflict here stems mainly from the fact that the older generation seeks to impose on youth notions of cultural

identities related to the past. Nonetheless, by 'moving with time,' youth challenge the belief that identities are grounded on tradition (Biddle and Knights 2007), unchangeable and homogenous (Siziba 2009; Mate 2012: 127). Youth resistance in this instance assumes a form conceptualised by Bhabha (1994: 37) whereby one who imposes essence, unity and singleness of identity is a rival – so everything that is done to challenge such an idea of unity counts as radical and hence a form of resistance. This means that, the different practices that youth engage in order to 'move with time' and subvert confining and unchangeable identities are 'acts of resistance.'

There is a close linkage between national political enforcement and the imposition of identities embedded on the past in Zimbabwe. This echoes Brubaker and Cooper's (2000: 16) description of the state as a "powerful identifier." The ruling ZANU-PF party made concerted efforts to forcibly inculcate the liberation struggle history within the nation in general and the youth in particular in order to cultivate what was intended to be a 'patriotic citizenry' (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2008: 70). This was motivated by the antipathetic relationship between the ruling ZANU-PF party and the west that developed soon after the 2000 fast-track land reform programme, increasing the popularity of the MDC opposition party and other political upheavals discussed in Chapter 1. The ruling party made huge attempts to curb western influences on the Zimbabwean people under the banner of an anti-western cultural imperialism campaign. As discussed in Chapter 1, this involved the purging of western and or/ American music from the national radio and television and the promotion of local music such as the urban grooves. It is however paradoxical, as observed by Bere (2008) that, the state rejected even American hip-hop and reggae as western cultural contamination and yet these genres originated as part of the black people's struggles against white forms of oppression and the suppression of black cultures and identities. Thus, Bere (2008: 126) suggests that, the Zimbabwean government could have indexed these genres as part of a universal black struggle against white racism. There was, in addition to the rejection of western music, the promotion of music that valorised the Zimbabwean past and the liberation war heroes (Thram 2006). All Zimbabweans were reminded through songs such as *"Hondo Yeminda"* ("War for land") (2002) by the late Comrade Chinx (Dickson Chingaira) and *"Hoko"* ("Hook") (2002) by the late Simon Chimbetu that they must be proud of and remember their history and the liberation war heroes who fought for the country's liberation. The youth especially, the 'born frees' (born after the Zimbabwean independence day, 18 April 1980) were constantly reminded of their need to be grateful because they never

experienced the yoke of colonialism and owe their status as 'born frees' to the liberation war heroes who fought for their independence. The label 'born free' itself and the constant reminders to the youth that they are 'born frees' is some form of political patronage that carries connotations of marginalisation and repression. What emerges here is that youth are not entitled to have a say in anything important (Oosterom and Pswarayi 2014) and especially offer a political critique on the ruling ZANU-PF, as doing so amounts to being ungrateful to the party that brought them the independence that they are enjoying. This shows that the tag is designed to force youth to extend an unquestioning loyalty to ZANU-PF. It indicates, as stressed by Thram (2006: 75), the politicisation and manipulation of memory and historical consciousness meant to aid ZANU-PF's propaganda and claim for political legitimacy. Therefore, the youth always seek to challenge notions of identity associated with the past that are socially and politically imposed on them by the older generation and the dominant political establishment respectively.

In addition to the songs mentioned above which were promoted and targeted at the nation at large, the Zimbabwean government sponsored the urban grooves group, Born Free Crew which was established under the idea of grooming youth to be patriotic and grateful to their liberation war heroes. The group's songs were also meant to instil the concept of an identity that is interlinked with the historical past in youth. The albums *Get Connected* (2010) and *Nhaka Yedu/ Our Heritage* (2011) carry songs that celebrate the liberation war heroes and the struggle for independence. The titles *Get Connected* and *"Nhaka Yedu/* Our Heritage" denote connectivity, rootedness and a celebration of the legacy of being 'born free' that is passed on to the youth from the liberation war heroes. The song "Network" on the album *Get Connected* celebrates the work of the then president of Zimbabwe Robert Mugabe, and calls on the youth to identify and stay connected to Mugabe. The glorification of Mugabe in this instance is akin to how he posed "as one of the few liberation war heroes and iconic founder of the nation [and] living national ancestor who militarily personifies and tells the grand narrative, … and brings to life memories of liberation war and nation-making" (Mpofu 2017: 19).

However, most of the urban groovers take a divergent route as they seek to identify with the contemporary instead of searching for a connection with the past and the liberation war heroes. These musicians, refer to global popular figures such as Jay-Z, Samuel Jackson and Fernando Torres whom they seek to identify with and aspire to be like, as discussed in

Chapter 2. The reference to global celebrities counts as resistance as youth are involved in challenging the notion of identifying with a liberation war hero and "our sense of historical identity of culture as a homogenising unifying force, authenticated by the originary past, kept alive in the national tradition of the people" (Bhabha 1994: 37). The urban grooves musicians, it must be noted, do not necessarily ignore the past as my analysis of syncretism in Chapter 2 shows in detail how they tap into both the past and the present Zimbabwean experiences, and the global experiences. This marks urban grooves music as a "glocal" music genre that is constitutive of what Robertson (1995) refers to as the interpenetration between the global and the local, hence the resistance to restrictive monolithic identities. Furthermore, this underscores that the urban grooves' interaction with the past and present and local and global results in their identity being located in what Bhabha (1994: 4) calls a "liminal space" that "opens up the possibility of a cultural hybridity that entertains difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy."

Some urban groovers challenge monolithic identities by rejecting the valorisation of a past that is divorced from the present. A typical example is Winky D's juxtaposition of the past and the present in *"Vashakabvu"* ("Ancestors") (2013) analysed in Chapter 2. Winky D uses the juxtaposition to probe into the contemporary Zimbabwean situation and question whether the ZANU-PF party leaders are upholding the ideals of the historical past and liberation struggle that they purport to represent. One can then discern the satire here: it is this failure of the leadership to uphold the gains of independence that has created a 'lost generation' that refuses to be connected to a past that offers cosmetic gains. The youth even scoff at the tag 'born free' as epitomised by Delight Magora (2006) in an article in the *Zimbabwe Independent*. Magora notes that the tag reduces youth to "a parasitic animal that ungratefully feeds off the sweat and blood of those who actively partook in the war that liberated this country." He further describes the label as enslaving and asphyxiating as it robs the youth of their independence of thought, originality and forever binds them to hopeless ideas, methods, conventions, protocols and ideologies. He also argues that it disarms the youth and dissuades them from fighting for their freedom from an imposed identity and a superficial notion of being 'born free.' Therefore, the Zimbabwean youth's resistance against the confinement to identities based on the past also exposes the hypocrisies of a ruling party that has failed to uphold the ideals and gains of the liberation struggle and independence that this ruling party claims to have handed to the 'born frees' on a silver platter.

The government of Zimbabwe further prescribes a unique national identity on youth, which the urban grooves contest. The attempt to curb the so called western imperialism mentioned earlier saw the state adopting what Pieterse (1995: 61), in his critique of the conceptualisation of culture as localised, calls, a "territorial inward-looking sense of place." This was typically demonstrated in the former President, Robert Mugabe's popular rhetoric, 'safeguarding Zimbabwe's sovereignty and territorial integrity.'[9] The song "Happy Birthday Zimbabwe" which was released in 2010 as a celebration of Zimbabwe's thirty years of independence by the urban groovers Lungisani (Sanii) Makhalima, Cindy Munyavi, Trevor Dongo, Tawanda Mugodhi and Leornard Mapfumo is a good example that draws on the notion of home, belonging and a sense of place. This sense of belonging and pride in being Zimbabwean is declared in lyrics such as *"kunyangwe ndikaenda nyika ipi, handikanganwe kwandakabva"* (no matter where I go, I will never forget where I come from), "this is where I am from, this is my home," and *"Ndiyo nyika yangu, ndiyo nzvimbo yangu,"* (that is my country, that is my place). The state adopted and promoted a particularistic concept of a national identity that was exclusively Zimbabwean (Mpofu 2017) in line with 'safeguarding Zimbabwe's sovereignty.' Most importantly, the youth became highly targeted in this constitution of an exclusively Zimbabwean national identity. This was done through the establishment of The National Youth Service Program (NYSPZ) in July 2001. The NYSPZ focused on instilling values of a national identity and values such as patriotism, unity, oneness, self-reliance and discipline in youth (McGovern 2013: 1). With regards to music production, the state undertook to control the national imaginary (Manase 2009) through the stipulation of the local content quota (see Chapter 1) that promoted local music such as urban grooves. However, even though songs such as "Happy Birthday Zimbabwe" referenced above celebrate being Zimbabwean, youthful urban groovers and the consumers of the music defy the government's attempt to narrow their conceptualisation of identity on nationhood.

The Zimbabwean youth's rejection of the idea of an identity based on a narrow nationhood involves their challenging of the notion of a unique national identity. The contestation here corresponds with Brubaker and Cooper's (2000: 16) argument that, although the state is a "powerful identifier," it fails to monopolise "the production and diffusion of identification and categories; and those that it does produce may be contested." Youth demonstrate their resistance to this kind of identification by transcending national borders or boundaries in their identity construction. Even though the government of Zimbabwe has made efforts to control youth's conceptualisation of their identities as

exemplified in the institution of the National Youth Service Program, such efforts have been threatened and curtailed by the growth of globalisation. As aptly argued by Nyere (2014: 1), the prevalence of Information Communication Technologies has rendered governments powerless as they cannot significantly control information that flows to and from their jurisdiction or the so called 'sovereign nations.' It is this growth in globalisation that has enabled youth to surpass national borders in the mapping of their identities. ICTs have opened up social spaces that are not bounded by time and geographic borders, thus youth have broader networks of connection, identification and cultural affinity (Kelly 2006). Omoniyi, Scheld and Oni (2009: 8; 16), taking their cue from Anderson (1991), note that youth have extended the boundaries of their "imagined communities" through music - a means for youth to cross nation state boundaries and a vehicle for the formulation of new identities. Chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis discussed how urban grooves music has enabled youth to cross national boundaries and identify with global youth music cultures and global celebrities. Chapter 3 analysed further musician-fan-naming (group naming) and how it is an important source of identification between musicians and their fans. Thus, it is important to note how individual naming by urban grooves musicians through pseudo naming is a means for them to identify with global musicians and not with Zimbabwean nationhood. A look at some of the urban grooves musician pseudonyms reveals how they make replications of global popular musician pseudonyms. Female urban groovers for example use titles such as 'Lady' or 'Queen' before their creative names similar to what is done by global female musicians. The name Queen Vee for Vanessa Sibanda reminds one of the American rapper Queen Latifah (Dana Owens), whilst the use of the title 'Lady' in the names Lady Squanda (Sandra Gazi) and Lady Bee (Brenda Bechani) resemble names such as the American Lady Gaga (Stefani Joanne Angelina) and Lady Saw (Marian Hall), a Jamaican dancehall singer. Lady Squanda even revealed that her inspiration as a musician is Lady Saw.[10] The name Slim Doggs for the Zimdancehall producer Tawanda Bayisai echoes the American rapper Calvin Cordoza Broadus' pseudonym, Snoop Dogg, while there is a semblance between the name Bounty Lisa (Lynette Lisa Musenyi) and Bounty Killer the Jamaican reggae and dancehall musician Rodney Price. Some Zimdancehall musicians have even gone to the extent of using Patois in their music lyrics to identify with the Jamaican roots of the genre. Thus, youth resist being confined to restrictive national identities by conceptualising their identities beyond national borders and identifying with global popular figures and music traditions.

The attempt to use music in the conceptualisation and fixation of a unique national identity is indeed a futile exercise. Barber (1987: 15), in her in-depth analysis of "modern popular arts" argues that the arts "have the capacity to transcend geographical, ethnic and even national boundaries..., they are endowed with an unprecedented mobility [and appeal to] heterogeneous crowds." It is therefore difficult to assign purely national attributes on popular music such as urban grooves. Some shortcomings, complexities and ambivalences characterise the conceptualisation of identities in such purely and exclusive national terms. National identities and the imaginings of a nation and nation states are always in constant flux and renegotiation depending on the socio-political and economic environment. This makes the relationship between purely musical characteristics and national sentiments extraordinarily slippery (Biddle and Knights 2007: 9). In addition, the major shortcoming of a Zimbabwean national identity is that it is centred on essentialist and autochthonous tropes that are thought of and promoted in partisan terms and serve partisan agendas (Chidzanga 2016: 56). This has "produced a highly polarised society in Zimbabwe which […] consists of revolutionaries – those who support the regime, and sell-outs – all the rest" (Thram 2006: 76). Even the National Youth Service Program was partisan as members who graduated from the program were used as ZANU-PF pawns in the harassment of opposition party members, some of whom were tortured and murdered as they were viewed as sell-outs (McGovern 2013: 1). This exposes the notion of a homogeneous national identity as a façade.

5.4 Political Resistance in Urban Grooves

This section examines political resistance as expressed in urban grooves musical texts. The section focuses on the songs "Gafa Party (*Toi Toi*)" (2016) by Winky D and *"Ndiri Zvinhu"* ("I am things") (2017) by Soul Jah Love in its analysis of how both are representative of the political resistance in urban grooves music. World popular 'musics' as hinted earlier in the chapter, are repertories of people's political struggles and have been at the forefront of mass political mobilisation (Biddle and Knights 2007: 8). This observation is not entirely applicable in the Zimbabwean situation under study. The harsh political environment and intolerance under Mugabe's rule made it very difficult for artists to openly perform their political criticism, especially that of the ruling party and its leaders. Although Chapter 61 Section 1 and 2 of Zimbabwe's current constitution grants "freedom of expression and freedom of the media" as well as "freedom of artistic expression," (see Zimbabwe's

Constitution of 2013) a number of media laws contradict the constitutional right as they limit freedom of expression. A newspaper article in the *Zimbabwe Independent* by a Zimbabwean lawyer, Mhike (2015) reveals that laws such as the Criminal Law (Codification and Reform) Act, the Access to Protection and Privacy Act and the Interception of the Communications Act all "limit the citizens' ability to freely communicate and to self-express without the fear of adverse consequences." Mhike adds that "dozens" of citizens have been arrested and tried for contravening the insult laws, "statutes that make it a criminal offense to 'insult' the honour or dignity of public officials and other very-important-persons." To make matters worse, there have been threats of physical violence and imprisonment for artists in particular, as well as the censorship of their songs from the state media (Bere 2008: 12). Through such tactics, the state instils fear in the sequence of music production and consumption, from the artist to the consumer (Bere 2008: 12). It is because of such a harsh political environment and severe penalties for open criticism that artists avoid expressing direct criticism of the dominant political establishment. Where criticism by urban groovers is more direct, it usually focuses on those within the lower ranks in the hierarchy of political leadership, especially the 'city fathers,' for their failure to alleviate the daily struggles of ordinary people as shown in songs analysed in Chapter 4. My analysis here excludes this form of political resistance that the previous chapter has already considered. I am interested in examining how urban grooves musicians and consumers of the music use 'disguised public transcripts' and "hidden transcripts" (Scott 1990) to critique the ideologies and practices associated with party politics, involving largely the ruling party and its leadership.

Both Winky D and Soul Jah Love's "Gafa Party (*Toi Toi*)" (2016) and *"Ndiri Zvinhu"* (2017), respectively, display veiled criticism of party politics especially the ruling ZANU-PF party's ideologies, practices and leadership through engaging in what Scott (1990) terms "infrapolitics in the form of 'hidden' and 'public transcripts.' Although Scott's analysis of "infrapolitics of subordinate groups" focuses on peasant societies, his arguments are instructive as musicians have not been able to offer or influence dramatic or radical political opposition in post-independent Zimbabwe due to the conditions that militate against artistic freedom. Thomas Mapfumo who sang such songs that overtly criticise Mugabe's government ended up in self-imposed exile in the United States of America claiming that his family was in danger of harm by the ruling party.[11] The urban grooves genre has not evinced radical resistance nor influenced change in the conditions of the dominated. Nonetheless, the music is significant in the manner in which it offers musicians the space to partake in the country's

political discourses through their songs, albeit in a covert way. The genre also elicits political consciousness and dissident discourses from its consumers of the music, as this discussion will illustrate. Thus, as argued by Jefferres (2008: 39), such subtle forms of resistance "may subvert a regime by raising the confidence of people that power may be contested…." Therefore, my analysis of *"Toi-Toi"* and *"Ndiri Zvinhu"* considers both songs as "public transcripts" on the basis that they were officially released and are in public circulation. In this sense, the discussion considers how the two musicians make use of "disguised public transcripts" and "hidden transcripts" for their political critique.

Winky D's "Gafa Party (*Toi-Toi*)*"* is a 'party' song that extends an invitation to people to join the Gafa Party. Gafa is Winky D's pseudonym, illustrating that the party is the musician's party. The song uses indirection to offer a subtle satire on party politics, especially political cultures and ideologies associated with violence, intimidation and force, which have greatly affected the youth that Winky D represents in his music (Winky D asserts himself as the voice of the ghetto youth – see Chapter 2).[12] The use of terms such as *maex* (exes), politics, party, *toi-toi,* (a political march), rally, *musangano* (meeting) and votes in the song, evokes sentiments of Zimbabwean politics and its ills. Some of these terms are characterised by double meanings and ambiguities with most appearing in the song for purposes of comparison as the persona compares his party with other parties and reveals that there is an antithetical relationship between his party and the other parties. There is a double meaning to the use of the word party and this is part of the musician's disguise and sanitisation of his resistance (Scott 1990) as he avoids an explicit revelation of the party that his critique is targeting. One notes the relationship between the word party and *maex* (exes) in the introduction of the song, also used as a pun. The singer introduces the song as follows:

> *Maex ese (Gafa)…*
>
> All exes to the Gafa
>
> *Maex ese (gafa purezha party)*
>
> All exes to the Gafa pleasure party

The pun *maex* refers to those who have broken up with their lovers and have been invited by the singer to be part of the Gafa Party where they enjoy themselves and forget about their exes. It also alludes to party politics and the practice of voting. As the persona calls on people to join his party, he borrows from this practice of voting whereby supporters mark a ballot

paper with the letter 'X' under the name of their chosen political candidate. The utilisation of this pun is similar to its earlier use in another song by Winky D, *"Woshora"* ("You do not appreciate") (2015). In *"Woshora,"* the male persona reveals: *"vese vakatizwa nezvimoko zvenyu" ndini ndine maex enyu kunge* politics" (all those who were dumped by their girlfriends, I am the one with your exes like politics.") Winky D maintains this same double meaning of the term ex in the song "Gafa Party *(Toi Toi)*" for his political resistance and satirical criticism of the evils of party politics in Zimbabwe.

However, there is irony in the lyrics *"Gafa purezha party"* (Gafa pleasure party) as they contradict the notion of party politics reflected earlier in marking the ballot paper with the letter X. The lyrics point to the Gafa Party as a lively party where people meet to enjoy themselves, thus the song envisions the party as a social gathering for entertainment. The singer affirms that the Gafa Party is for entertainment as he progresses with the description of this party and compares it with other parties. He points out that his party is not a political party as he asserts that he does not do politics *("handiite politics")*. He further associates his party with enjoyment *("Pano apa kufara joy joy")* and drinking and defines it as a unique party, the only party that is not involved in *'toi-toing' ("one party isina toi-toi")* and the only party in Zimbabwe that does not care about votes *("one party paZimbabwe isina basa nemavotes")*. Winky D also distinguishes his party from other parties on the basis that the Gafa Party is not involved in rallies: *Hapana rally saka shoko ngarisvike kuti paita party* (There is no rally so spread the word that there is a party). Therefore, by referring to the political party characteristics such as *"toi-toi,"* "votes," and "rally" as a means to differentiate this political performance with his, a joyful Gafa Party, the persona demonstrates a mockery and rejection of the other parties for their lack of this positive quality (joy). This shows that Winky D's displeasure with the experiences and conditions generated through political practices in Zimbabwe.

There is indeed much sadness, hostility and violence driven from the practices of *'toi-toing,'* voting and rallies in Zimbabwe. *"Toi toi"* is an aesthetic that originated from the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe. It is a march and dance style that could start as a stomping of feet and spontaneous chanting that can include political slogans and songs (Bere 2008).[13] *'Toi-toing'* continues to characterise party politics of both the ruling ZANU-PF party and opposition parties in Zimbabwe, but the concept has been utilised differently by the ruling party and the opposition. The ZANU-PF party has employed *'toi-toing'* in line with party

ideologies linked to patriotism and legitimisation of its rule through coercion as well as legitimisation of the former Zimbabwean president, Robert Mugabe's rule at a time when there was in-fighting within his party. The "one million men march" of 25 May 2016 is a typical example. The march was organised by the ZANU-PF's youth wing in solidarity with the then President Mugabe and his long stay in power and as a reaction to alleged plots from within the ruling party to succeed him. This involved people *'toi-toing'* in the streets of Harare singing praises of Mugabe and chanting party slogans, and there were reports of the coercion of some people to join the march.[14] Opposition parties mainly employed *'toi-toing'* for protests against the Mugabe regime and its policies. The "biggest protest" of such kind were the demonstrations of 14 April 2016 that were organised by the then opposition MDC leader, the late Morgan Tsvangirai, to "denounce Robert Mugabe's alleged misrule" which saw marchers in the streets of Harare chanting songs to denounce Mugabe. Such protests by the opposition however often ended in violence as police routinely used force to break up opposition.[15] Interestingly, the 15 November 2017 coup that deposed Mugabe involved *'toi-toing'* as ordinary Zimbabweans marched on the streets of Harare on the 18th of November in solidarity with the 'coup plotters.'[16] However, it appears that it is the culture of political violence that sometimes characterise the marches that Winky D satirises in his mockery of *'toi-toing.'*

Political rallies, a common feature in the run-up to elections and the election period itself (voting), have been characterised by more suffering and violence. Youth have been implicated as both perpetrators and victims of violence (Dzimiri 2014: 442). Youth militias and graduates from the National Youth Service Program used to force people to attend ZANU-PF rallies during election campaigns, threatened opposition MDC supporters and instigated violence during election time (Dzimiri 2014; Oosterom and Pswarayi 2014). However, violence is not exclusive to ZANU-PF as the then Tsvangirai led opposition MDC party has been involved in intra-party violence. Reports alleged that, on the 6th of August 2017, MDC youth assaulted the then Deputy President of the party, Thokozani Khupe, based on her disagreements with the party leader (Matshazi 2017). Thokozani Khupe again became a victim of violence during the burial of the late Morgan Tsvangirai in his rural home in Buhera and this eventually contributed to Khupe's forming her own faction of the MDC party.[17] Thus, by distinguishing his Gafa Party practices from the activities of political parties, Winky D demonstrates his distaste of vices associated with party politics in Zimbabwe. The invitation of people to join his Gafa Party indicates that the musician

dissuades people, especially his youth fans, from being part of or perpetrators of such political evils. Winky D's rejection of party politics in a way alludes to youth's disappointment and disillusionment with Zimbabwean political institutions, especially their lack of trust in the electoral process. This echoes Oostererom and Pswarayi's (2014) research findings on violence encountered by Zimbabwean youth and how it has led to voter apathy amongst them. Oosterom and Pswarayi's (2014: 39) research indeed indicates that most of their participants disclosed that they had refused to vote in 2013 because of the violence they had experienced in the 2008 elections and that they had since lost faith in voting as their votes do not make a difference in their lives.[18]

In addition to the above, Zimbabwean politics is exclusionary. The major victims of this political marginalisation are youth who hardly find a space that accommodates them in formal politics (Oosterom and Pswarayi: 2014) except when they have to unleash violence on other youth or those deemed as enemies of particular political parties or party leaders. A good case in point is the political change brought about by the coup mentioned earlier and the replacement of Mugabe by Emmerson Mnangagwa as the country's president. The youth who were hopeful that this change would see them being represented in the new cabinet were disappointed to discover that Mnangagwa's cabinet was a mere recycling of the same old people who dominated Mugabe's cabinet. The youth took to social media to register their disillusionment, caricaturing the new cabinet as some form of cronyism and naming it the G70 (Generation 70), meaning very old people who are the (then) 75-year-old President Mnangagwa's age-mates. Due to such exclusions and the distrust of political institutions and political leaders, youth have found alternative spaces and niches in society to express their agency and construct their identities (Diouf 2003; Mate 2012; Ukeje and Iwalade 2012). Musicians such as Winky D are typical examples of such agency as they speak on behalf of the marginalised youth through their music. The ambiguity and contradiction in the use of the pun 'exes' in "Gafa Party *(Toi-Toi)*" when Winky D calls on people to give all the Xs to him whilst at the same time rejecting party politics by articulating that he is not concerned about votes, resonate with this agency. The ambiguous pun on the one hand represents Winky D's mockery of political leaders whose preoccupation is getting votes but neglect the people who voted for them when they get into power. On the other hand, Winky D uses the pun to distinguish himself from political leaders and asserts his agency as a musician by welcoming all 'Xs' and taking the social responsibility of being the spokesperson of the people the politicians have neglected, hence his political critique in "Gafa Party *(Toi-Toi)."*

Although Winky D does not single out or name a particular political party as the target of his criticism and seems to distinguish his party from all other parties, his use of the terms *"musangano"* and Mukwati insinuates the ruling ZANU-PF as the subject of his political criticism. He sings: "*Party yangu hausi musangano, haisi meeting*" (my party is not a 'party' nor a meeting). The word *"musangano"* has multiple meanings. It is the Shona term for meeting, and also means political party in political circles. Although the ruling ZANU-PF and opposition parties both use the term to refer to their political parties, the Zimbabwean public associates the word with ZANU-PF. This main identification of *"musangano"* with ZANU-PF seems to emanate from the party's long stay in power and Mugabe's intolerance for opposition political parties and his quest to make Zimbabwe a one party state (Mpofu 2017: 64). The use of the name Mukwati in, *"Pano paparty office handireve Mukwati ini"* (here at the party office I do not mean Mukwati) is significant. The Mukwati Building houses governmental departments including the Ministry of Youth Development, Indigenisation and Empowerment. The building is associated with ZANU-PF in the sense that the ruling ZANU-PF party ministers are the ones in control of the governmental departments housed at Mukwati. Moreover, affiliation to the ZANU-PF party sometimes makes it easy during the search for employment in the governmental departments or civil service. The civil service has, for example, considered graduation from the National Youth Service Program when offering jobs to youth (Oosterom and Pswarayi: 2014: 20). This reference to the ruling party by inference demonstrates how indirection and understatements underpin Winky D's political resistance as he avoids open criticism of the targeted political party and political leaders in an environment where doing so is risky. In addition, by using elements of ambiguity through reference to words with double and multiple meanings, Winky D leaves the song open to more than one interpretation while hiding behind the lyrics' apparent meaning and disguising his real intention. Therefore, as argued by Scott (1990: 200), such subtle forms of political resistance (infrapolitics) call for more than a little interpretation as things are not as they seem.

The song *"Ndiri Zvinhu"* ("I am things") (2017) by Soul Jah Love is also a song of resistance or political protest targeted at ZANU-PF leadership and its ideologies. There are two versions of the song; the first, a freestyle, circulated rapidly on social media, while the second version is the one that was officially released. This discussion considers both versions of *"Ndiri Zvinhu"* as they complement each other in demonstrating how Soul Jah Love manipulates the song form for political resistance. My analysis of the song considers the

freestyle version as a "hidden transcript" that utilised the "backstage" (Scott 1990) for the performance of political resistance, while the official song is regarded as a form of "public transcript" that still utilises "hidden transcripts" to execute a disguised and subtle form of political critique. Soul Jah Love composed *"Ndiri Zvinhu"* as a reaction to his humiliation at a ZANU-PF Mutare "meet-the-youth-rally" in June 2017.[19] The rally was one of the "meet-the-youth tours" that were organised by the ZANU-PF Youth League to campaign for Robert Mugabe for the 2018 national elections. Such rallies were part of the strategies by the then Robert Mugabe-led ZANU-PF to try to lure the youth to vote for the party in these elections.[20] In line with this, the party manipulated the popularity of musicians such as Soul Jah Love to perform during the "meet-the-youth-rallies" for the fulfilment of the ZANU-PF election agenda. The Mutare rally is very important to this discussion of political resistance as it gave birth to *"Ndiri Zvinhu,"* a song that contradicts the ZANU-PF agenda of youth rallies. The song demonstrates a "counter consciousness" (Mhlambi 2014: 237) on the part of both the musician and the youth who listened to the song as explained further in the course of this analysis.

However, co-option of musicians in ZANU-PF and/ or state events is not a new phenomenon. This is evidenced by the state galas,[21] which became popular state functions and incorporated both young and older generations of popular musicians. Willems (2015: 358) envisages such phenomena especially galas, in terms of how performance and politics intertwine to lure voters and conjure up memories of the liberation struggle in order for ZANU-PF to legitimise its rule. Bere (2008) and Willems (2015), however, note that musicians who performed at state functions increased chances of losing fans who would label them as allies of the state, whilst refusal to take part would expose the musicians to state reprimands and even put their careers at risk through exclusion from airplay on national state radio. Thus, musicians ended up taking part in the events to save their careers (Bere 2008: 189) and secure a living through live performances in an economy that jeopardises music sales (Willems 2015: 358). Bere (2008: 77) further notes that some musicians such as Simon Chimbetu, Andy Brown and Tambaoga (real name Last Chiyangwa) became willing accomplices of the state by availing themselves as its allies. This, as Bere (2008: 80) notes, contributed to the decline of these musicians' popularity as people shunned their shows and recorded music. Incidentally, there were speculations that Soul Jah Love was a member of ZANU-PF after he recorded a song that showers praise on Mugabe.[22] Nevertheless, performance is risky to the dominant groups and it proves not to be always reliable in

furthering the status quo (Willems: 2015: 365), hence the incorporation of Soul Jah Love at the Mutare rally backfired on ZANU-PF.

Although Soul Jah Love's political critique in *"Ndiri Zvinhu"* was unpremeditated as it was the musician's response to his humiliation at the Mutare rally, I consider it as significant in this study because it exposes the way in which some songs act as effective tools of political resistance. As reported by Chaya (2017), the then ZANU-PF National Youth League Commissar, Innocent Hamandishe humiliated Soul Jah Love after the youth who were at the Mutare rally screamed upon seeing Soul Jah Love. The following is how Hamandishe dressed down Soul Jah Love: *"Apoo, hey! Ndoindscipline iyoyo. Soul Jah Love hachisi chinhu. Mukadaro haridzi pano"* ("Hey, there! That's indiscipline. Soul Jah Love is not a thing (not important at all). If you behave like that he will not perform here, do you understand?"). Hamandishe's verbal attack on Soul Jah Love is noteworthy as it demonstrates the youth leader's discomfort at the confirmation by the youth's behaviour that the ZANU-PF party, especially the then President Robert Mugabe, who was about to take to the podium, had lost popularity with the youth. The attack therefore symbolises punishment meted out to Soul Jah Love owing to his stealing of the limelight from the president. Hamandishe's attempt to dress down the musician, which 'thingifies' him and defines him as a nonentity, attests to this.

In addition, the fact that the youth diverted and centred their interest on Soul Jah Love reveals that popular culture does not always conform to the agendas of the dominant as its primary motivation, as noted by Hermes (2005) and Duncan (2009), is entertainment. Bere (2008: 79) affirms that this is usually the case with most people who attend functions linked to ZANU-PF such as state galas as they attend them for the enjoyment of the music. It is also important to note how the measures that were taken by Hamandishe embody the culture of discipline and humiliation that shaped the ZANU-PF politics of that time. The ZANU-PF Party gatherings of the period, prior to the coup that toppled Robert Mugabe, were utilised to publicly embarrass party members, especially those who were viewed as enemies of Mugabe and were a threat to his position. Grace Mugabe, who is Robert Mugabe's wife, routinely lectured and scolded vice presidents, ministers and other party leaders and members.[23] Unlike most of the victims of such embarrassments who were lulled into silence and submission, Soul Jah Love found an outlet in music for his political resistance, for as argued by Viljoen

(2014: 73), "music has the power to speak back, and to work against the grain of the power relation they unmask."

The title of the song itself *"Ndiri Zvinhu"* (I am things) is drawn from Soul Jah Love's humiliation, in particular, Hamandishe's 'thingification' (not a thing) of the musician. Soul Jah Love takes up the term *"chinhu"* (thing) that the youth leader used to define him and inverts it to *"zvinhu"* (things), the plural of *"chinhu."* The word *"zvinhu"* is however a popular term used in everyday youth discourses to shower praises at a person, a situation or experience, thus in cases where the word refers to a human being, it is stripped of its original sense and purpose of objectifying its referent. In the same vein, Soul Jah Love uses the word to elevate himself against his demeaning by Hamandishe; but most importantly, the word makes part of Soul Jah Love's subversive acts in that he undermines Hamandishe's power by changing to be the new definer of self. By redefining himself, Soul Jah Love performs agency and autonomy in a manner that evokes memories of American slaves' experiences and how they renamed and redefined themselves in their quest towards freedom. The freestyle version of *"Ndiri Zvinhu"* is the more stinging of the two versions of the song as Soul Jah Love presents an uninhibited form of political critique. Freestyle is an element of music borrowed from rap, where a live performance mainly characterised by improvisation is held in front of a live audience (Fitzgerald 2006; Fogarty 2016). Thus, Fitzgerald (2006: 617) defines this music form as an unrehearsed, free flowing, not written down or impromptu musical form that is not meant for recording and is performed in front of a crowd as a competition between rappers. The audience then chooses the rapper who is the most creative. Most young Zimbabwean musicians who do freestyles however present the freestyles in studios first, after which they circulate on social media just as what happened with the *"Ndiri Zvinhu"* freestyle. Another important element of freestyle in rap, as observed by Fogarty (2016: 71) is that it fulfils the community's needs for conscious rap and this is in tandem with my earlier observation that *"Ndiri Zvinhu"* is a form of "counter consciousness"(Mhlambi 2014: 237). This freestyle, *"Ndiri Zvinhu"* employs this musical style as "a social site of hidden transcript […] in which the unspoken riposte, stifled anger and bitten tongues created by relations of domination find a vehement, full-throated expression" (Scott 1990: 120).

The *"Ndiri Zvinhu"* freestyle is a satirical political critique and what is most interesting about the song lyrics is that Soul Jah Love ended up implicating the ZANU-PF leadership at large and their practices in what was supposed to be a hit back at Hamandishe.

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Soul Jah Love claims: *"ende futi ndini ndavaunganidza"* (I am the one who gathered them) as a reminder to the youth leader to be grateful to the musician's popularity as it was instrumental in drawing the numbers of youth to the rally. This in itself becomes a mockery of the waning of Mugabe's popularity who was using other means to lure crowds to his party gatherings. In addition, Soul Jah Love sings, *"zvikanzi entertainment, hazvina kunzi punishment"* (if you say its entertainment, it does not mean punishment). In this instance, the lyrics denounce ZANU-PF for using the deceptive offer of entertainment to lure people to its rallies and end up coercing and subjecting them to their party propaganda and ideologies. This counter attack and mockery of the dominant party (ZANU-PF) by the subordinate (Soul Jah Love) through the 'backstage' (freestyle) highlights how "the frustration, tension, and control necessary in public give way to unbridled retaliation in a safer setting, where the accounts of reciprocity are symbolically at least, finally balanced" (Scott 1990: 38).

The officially released song is however, a 'sanitised' (Scott 1990) version of the freestyle as Soul Jah Love edits the freestyle and discards controversial lyrics such as the ones analysed above. However, there are still traces of satire and resistance in the official version. For example, Soul Jah Love offers an apology for what happened on the day of the rally but still emphasises his popularity and declares that he is not able to do anything to stop it. He also distinguishes himself from the group, Chipangano by describing himself as a well-behaved youth *("handingaite kahunhu keChipanagano")*.[24] Thus, by absolving himself from the indiscipline that Hamandishe had accused him of, Soul Jah Love ironically exposes ZANU-PF acts of violence and the role of the ZANU-PF youth such as Hamandishe himself, as political pawns who engage in violence on behalf of the party leaders. Soul Jah Love emphasises in the song that he is just an entertainer and had taken part in the rally just to entertain people and not for political reasons. This is an act of resistance as it is suggestive of the musician's refusal to be linked with ZANU-PF propaganda and ideologies. It can also be taken as a form of assurance to his fans that he had attended the rally just to entertain people and not to advance the ZANU-PF agenda. Apologies however mask the political critique in the song as Soul Jah Love asks for forgiveness for having contributed to the interruption of the proceedings at the rally. Discourses of apology such as the following overwhelm the song: *pandinenge ndatadza ndiregererei* (when I err, forgive me), *ndiregererei ndarasa muswe* (forgive me, I have gone astray), *ndopfugama ndichipa kuchema ruregerero* (I kneel down pleading for forgiveness) and many more. The repeated use of the word for 'forgiveness' *(ruregerero)* and its variants heightens the satire in the song as it overstates the

apology; and according to Draitser (1994: 110-111), such kinds of repetition or overstatement become comic, strip the word of its sense and leads to "semantic anesthesia." Thus, the veracity of the apology in this instance is very questionable. It is therefore, clear that the apology in the official *"Ndiri Zvinhu"* is deceptive and its major role is to disguise and sanitise (Scott 1990) Soul Jah Love's political critique of the dominant political party, its leadership and ideologies.

Interestingly, the release of *"Ndiri Zvinhu"* elicited many responses from consumers who took to the social media to offer their commentaries. The song generated politically conscious responses from fans who utilised social media as a safer space for the expression of their political resistance. This underlines the role played by the electronic media in giving members of a group some amount of discursive power (Newell and Okome 2014) as exemplified by satirical and dissident voices that are mirrored in comments such as the following:

> Nason: *Hamandishe ndiani uye anozviita ani? Ngaaregedze kuita seinda yasara mumatongo. Anofunga kuti ndiye Mugabe here? Tichaona kuti achaenda kupi ZANU-PF zvayava kubva pachigaro....* (Who is Hamandishe? He must stop behaving like a louse in a deserted home. Does he think he is Mugabe? We will see where he will go since ZANU-PF is losing power soon).

> Godwin: Soul Jah Love *zvinhu,* (Soul Jah Love is 'things') he is a talented artist. Hamandishe what skills have you to display? Are you a mechanic or teacher, what qualifications do you have? What have you done for Zimbabwe to be remembered for besides being recruited because of your thuggish and murderous tendencies…?

> Conros Mabvuku: The rally was in Sakubva. Ghetto youth love Soul Jah Love and most of them only went to the rally to see Chibaba (Soul Jah Love)….

> Sickbob: *Vanhu vakatofambira hawo Chibaba kwete baba* (People went to the rally for Chibaba (Soul Jah Love) not father (Mugabe).[25]

The above responses from Soul Jah Love's fans express a reversal of Hamandishe's humiliation of Soul Jah Love. This redefines Soul Jah Love as a skilled artist and reduces Hamandishe to a nonentity who does not have any form of skill except his skill in violence (thuggish and murderous tendencies).

Nevertheless, the responses by Soul Jah Love's fans are more than mere reflections of their solidarity and love for the artist. They take the incident as an opportunity not only to direct their anger at Hamandishe as an individual, but also at ZANU-PF as an institution and the ills of its leadership at large. Godwin even predicts a Mugabe loss in the 2018 national elections, revealing his desire for change in leadership. Incidentally, this desire and prediction was fulfilled in the majority of Zimbabweans' support of the 15 November 2017 coup through the 18 November solidarity march that ostensibly contributed to Mugabe's resignation.[26] Considering that Soul Jah Love fans are largely youth, the assumption is that the youth made the above comments. With respect to this, youth who are often excluded from active politics and feel threatened by the "intimidating gaze of power" (Scott 1990: 18) turn to the new media technologies where they find popular culture more relevant than formal politics as a channel for expressing politically conscious views among themselves (Ukeje and Iwilade 2012). The significance of Soul Jah Love's *"Ndiri Zvinhu"* as shown in this analysis, lies in the fact that it does not only reflect on the musician's political resistance but also on the consumers' conscious reproach of the oppressive nature of the dominant political establishment, practices and ideologies.

5.5 Female Urban Grooves and Contestations over Societal Conventions on Femininity

The point of departure for this analysis of resistance in female urban grooves is the reality that the urban grooves musical scene is a male-dominated space. Chapter 3 of this thesis made an in-depth analysis of various forms of masculinities, patriarchal mores and beliefs that female urban groovers grapple with and negotiate in their musical performances. The chapter (Chapter 3) also discussed the spaces for musical performances and the masculine-based perceptions that such spaces are not fit for women. It is therefore appropriate in this instance to argue that the female urban groovers who have 'invaded' these male musical domains, no matter how outnumbered they are by male musicians, demonstrate some form of resistance. Youthful female musicians who defy societal conventions on femininity even further exhibit female resistance. They present themselves and their music lyrics in 'unfeminine' ways and challenge established traditional dictates on female sexualities. Two female musicians, Lady Bee and Lady Squanda who are perceived as controversial in Zimbabwean music are of interest in this section. Both musicians have attracted wide

negative criticism for their lyrics and behaviours that are deemed to be controversial. They are considered as loose and immoral since they flaunt their bodies, sing about taboo subjects and celebrate their sexuality, acts that subvert the dominant gender discourses suggesting that women must "adhere to very limiting notions of femininity" (Gqola 2007: 116). Lady Bee is popular for her sexually explicit lyrics and erotic dance moves, hence the censorship of her music on state radio and television.[27] However, in spite of her pejorative labelling and 'ostracism,' Lady Bee's music finds an audience on the internet. In addition, Lady Bee herself discloses that most of her critics make up part of her biggest fans who follow her secretly.[28] This section thus focuses on Lady Squanda and Lady Bee's public personas and musical lyrics in order to determine their significance in extending female resistance to societal conventions on femininity.

Both Lady Bee and Lady Squanda demonstrate their defiance to societal conventions on femininity by, first, becoming part of the male-dominated Zimdancehall musical scene. Zimdancehall is immensely masculine in nature. According to statistics presented by Dube (2014) in an article in *The Sunday Mail* newspaper, 90% of Zimdancehall musicians are male. Musician M2 (personal communicarion, 1 July 2016) confirmed this male dominance and as observed in Chapter 3, she confessed that the musical genre is labelled as male music and it is for this reason that people have often dissuaded her from singing Zimdancehall. Furthermore, Zimdancehall is popularly associated with masculine characteristics that include violence, aggressiveness, aggressive sonics and masculine hoarse voices. Women who possess such aggressive qualities are often criticised as unwomanly since aggression is contrary to patriarchal notions of likeability (Adichie 2014) and "feminine passivity" (Gqola 2007: 117) as principal feminine characteristics. Adichie (2014: 24) adds that likeability does not include "showing anger, or being aggressive or disagreeing too loudly" as these are qualities that are only praised and excused in males. In line with such notions of femininity, both Lady Bee and Lady Squanda's femaleness is questioned due to their subversion of feminine norms. *The Sunday Mail* reporter, Dube (2014), reveals the social criticism raised with regard to the appropriateness of the titles Lady for both Lady Squanda and Lady Bee because of their vulgar and crude lyrics and uncouth behaviour. These characteristics are at variance with normative Shona cultural values. Nevertheless, the above revelation by Dube shows that being vulgar, crude and uncouth is acceptable and excusable when demonstrated by males. This is an indication that qualities of femininity and masculinity are shrouded in gender politics that are meant to entrench gender differences and thus preserve patriarchy.

In addition, Lady Squanda and Lady Bee display subversive qualities in the way they present themselves and their musical lyrics in masculine terms. Lady Squanda describes herself as "male" (Dube 2014) and boasts about her male toughness (Richard 2006) and ability to compete in Zimdancehall masculinities:

Zimdancehall is not for the fainthearted. *Ndekwevarume ndikosaka ndichizviti murume* (it is for males, that is why I call myself a man). There is nothing that can be done by a male Zimdancehall artiste that I cannot. Where they swim I swim and where they hunt I hunt as well. I challenge them and that is why you will always find me in the thick of things…. (Lady Squanda in Dube 2014).

Lady Squanda affirms the above in her signature chant *"mudhara!"* (old man) to articulate her equality to male urban groovers. Lady Bee also adopts a similar signature chant, *"murume"* (man). Furthermore, both singers sing in hoarse voices and as revealed in Chapter 3, music consumers credit Lady Squanda for possessing an 'authentic' Zimdancehall hoarse voice. Lady Bee even goes to the extent of appearing in male clothing and playing male roles in her videos. For example, in the video for the song *"Inomira,"* ("It Stops") (2014), a song that describes the flexibility of a kombi that stops whenever it is required to pick and drop passengers, Lady Bee appears in two-piece overalls, usually conceived as men's work wear, and plays the role of a commuter omnibus conductor, a job regarded as exclusively for males. The song *"Chigero"* ("Scissors") (2015) expresses Lady Bee's celebration of her success and resilience in the male-dominated Zimdancehall musical scene. She however, celebrates this success in masculine terms by using lyrics that directly defy feminine qualities of likeability described by Adichie (2014: 24), as noted in her bold spite on those who define her as uncouth: *"hanzi hee kakafumuka/ hakana hunhu, saka!"* (They say she is uncouth/ ill behaved, so what!). She further defines her rebelliousness and resilience with militaristic and masculine tropes by wearing khakis and celebrating drug use: *"neguerrilla attack/ ndakarova makhaki/ ndine chivindi chekubhema dhobhu"* (with a guerrilla attack/ wearing khakis/ I am so daring that I smoke marijuana). Thus, Lady Bee contests societal conventions on femininity in masculine terms that involve adopting socially dissonant behaviours not necessarily condoned in males but excused, and yet inexcusable in females. This indicates that Lady Bee and Lady Squanda's vilification by the Zimbabwean society is not because they transgress societal values; their criticism is rather largely centred on how they disrupt the male social order.

The different forms of masculinities that Lady Bee and Lady Squanda adopt are reminiscent of Richard's (2006) analysis on female punks and their entrance into the male territory of rock music. These female punks wore male clothes such as army or work boots, adopted male styles such as extremely short dyed hair and shaved heads. Moreover, the female punks described men in similar ways that men would describe women, taxingly and scrutinisingly (Richard 2006). This is demonstrated in the song *"Ane Zihombe"* ("He has a big one") (2012) where Lady Bee makes an inversion of the tendency by some male urban groovers to sexually objectify women and express their sexual desires through the description of the female body. In the song, Lady Bee makes a sensual description of the male body and focuses on creating phallic images to express the sexual needs of the female persona. According to Richard (2006), female punks adopted different forms of masculinities as being 'girlie' or feminine was considered as conformist and hardly autonomous. However, imitating models of masculinities for female liberation is problematic, as this does not really change the social structures that contribute to gender inequalities. Richard (2006) argues that the preferences for females with masculine qualities and tomboys as true representatives of female rebellion do not lead to emancipation. Nonetheless, I argue that the adoption of masculine characteristics by females is a symbolic gesture of resistance that has the capacity to draw society's attention to the wrongs of societal norms that have perpetuated gender differences. It is more relevant as far as it exhibits women's abilities and exposes femininity and masculinity as social constructs that are impermanent. Butler's (1988) gender theory of performativity is crucial in the unveiling of this transient nature of gender concepts such as femininity and masculinity. According to Butler (1988: 526), gender is perfomative. It involves a repetition of acts that conform to the "confines of already existing directives." However, as argued by Butler (1988: 518), gender identity is not a seamless identity as it can contest expectations through subversive performances and such performances usher in the possibility of gender transformation. Therefore, the adoption of masculine qualities by both female musicians under focus here demonstrates this transitory nature of femininity and masculinity as gender constructs.

Female Zimdancehall musicians have also demonstrated their resistance through the way they represent issues related to sex and sexuality. Their music deviates from the course taken by the majority of youthful female urban groovers who sing about romantic relationships and express their emotions albeit in asexual ways. This female expression of emotions and romantic relationships in asexual ways is conformant with the Zimbabwean as

well as African societal norms that deny women spaces to speak about sex and express how they feel about sex and sexual relationships. In fact, as argued by feminist critics such as McFadden (2003), women are silenced through the surveillance of their sexuality. McFadden (2003: 3) adds that there are sanctified beliefs, values and practices that are attached to female sexualities and these, according to Makombe (2015), may include the prescription that women are to exercise sexual restraint and supress their feelings. Adichie (2014: 33) also notes that girls are socialised to feel ashamed about their sexuality and grow up to be women who cannot say they have desire. Similarly, in the western culture, females are denied the spaces to express the desires or pleasures they may derive from being sexual, while female youth who refuse to conform to rules of sexuality are often stigmatised as "sluts" (Bailey and Goodman 2006). Bailey and Goodman (2006) argue that such forms of sexual restrictions and stigmatisations marginalise women, and as indicated in Chapter 3 and argued by feminist scholars (McFadden 2003), such sexual control is indicative of patriarchal policing of female bodies and a political tool meant to control women. However, despite the conservative and restrictive nature in which the Zimbabwean society treats the issue of female sexuality, there are notable changes in Zimbabwe because, as noted by Makombe (2015), women are beginning to assert themselves sexually and challenge traditionally instituted norms on sexuality. Youthful female musicians, especially Lady Bee and Lady Squanda use sexually explicit lyrics and represent female sexual experiences and needs in a manner that flouts societal conventions. In *"Ane zihombe"* Lady Bee conjures up phallic imaginaries to express the female persona's desires for a well-endowed and sexually virile man. She articulates that she wants to have intercourse with a man with a huge phallus in terms such as the following: *"ane zihombe"* (he has a big one), *"zimhitsa"* (it is very big) and *"kuzvimba"* (it is erect). This is against the societal norm that women should not express their sexual desires as noted earlier, hence a demonstration of resistance.

Furthermore, the female singers subvert the patriarchal image of female sexual passivity by expressing scenes of agency on matters regarding sex and sexuality. In the song *"Huya umbondi Ryder"* ("Come and Ride Me") (2016), Lady Squanda uses the euphemistic term 'ride' (spelt as ryde) to represent a female persona who is expressing her desire for sex. She articulates that she is missing her lover and calls out on him to come and have sexual intercourse with her *(kukusuwa ndiko kwandaita dai wauya wambondirider)*. In this instance, the female persona initiates sex yet, as revealed by Makombe (2015: 191), in the Shona culture [that Lady Squanda is part of], it is the prerogative of men to initiate every sexual

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move. The sexual act itself, as observed by Makombe (2015: 191), is a site for the exhibition of male superiority and masculinities. Therefore, by representing women who take the initiative in sexual relationships and talk about their sexual needs, Lady Squanda, just as Lady Bee, challenges patriarchal supremacy.

In relation to the above, sexual restraint in [female youth] especially, is appropriated with a concern for protection, regulation and discipline (Shefer and Ngabaza 2015: 64). Thus, society's vilification of sexually explicit lyrics by Lady Bee and Lady Squanda is in a way related to these concerns considering that, as observed in Chapter 3, celebrity culture and music influence youth cultures, behaviours and identities. Lady Bee's lyrics are even labelled "adult content" and thus not fit for youth.[29] The regulation, protection and discipline approach is however problematic in that it is one-sided and not strictly imposed on [male youth] (Makombe 2015: 189), suggesting that female youth are responsible for social ills related to youth and sex. In the Zimbabwean society, it is indeed the responsibility of female youth to exercise sexual restraint; and it is such one-sided responsibilities imposed on women that lead to the perpetuation of gender stereotypes such as the assumption that 'women are morally or sexually loose.' One may want to argue on the contrary that, male urban groovers have also been subject to discipline and regulation as seen in the state censorship of some songs by male musicians (see the list of the songs in Chapter 1) on allegations that they carry sexually explicit lyrics and objectify women. However, as noted earlier in this thesis, scholars such as Mate (2012) argue that the censorship of the particular male urban groovers' songs had nothing to do with a concern for youth or women, but was a ploy to silence youth who were exposing the sexual excesses of an older generation of politicians. Furthermore, observance of sexual restraint on female youth per se does not really assist in curbing social ills related to sex. As aptly argued by Adichie (2014: 32), if parents praise girls for virginity, they have to do the same for boys because "loss of virginity is a process that usually involves two people of opposite genders." Adichie (2014: 32) also argues that silencing girls on issues to do with sex and relationships does not really help them become better women. In fact, girls such as these are in danger of ignorantly entering into relationships and when time for marriage is due, they may fail to bring home the perfect men as per their parents' expectations.

Finally, Lady Bee demonstrates her resistance to societal dictates on femininity by rebelling against patriarchal body policing. She defies the suppression of 'female erotic

pleasure' (Gqola 2004) through her erotic dances shown in her musical videos. Lady Bee proudly asserts that, "besides my good looks and voice, I also have the body to show I can dance."[30] This echoes the behaviour and sentiments of the controversial South Africa female musician, the late Brenda Fassie who was "unapologetic about foregrounding her own (sexual) pleasure and admiration of herself and body" (Gqola 2004: 143). In the song *"Mpunduru"* (2013), Lady Bee demonstrates the above assertion through song lyrics and dance. *Mpunduru* is a term that she adopts from the Xhosa word *'impundu'* for buttocks. She sings: *"panoti purezha ndopanoti mpunduru"* (pleasure means buttocks) and *"handina tsitsi nepurezha"* (I am not merciful when it comes to pleasure). Lady Bee sings these lyrics to the accompaniment of provocative dances signifying how she uses her body for her own pleasure. This is contrary to the majority of instances in music where females occupy peripheral roles as dancers in male music endorsing male perspectives on females (Chari 2009b) and the female body commodified to sell music for the benefit of the male musicians. Lady Bee further shows her agency by appropriating terms such as *"sele"* and *"mazakwatira"* that male musicians often use to describe female bodies (big buttocks) in objectifying ways. Thus, she appropriates the terms to define her body and her erotic dances herself. She sings *"mazakwatira kuita kuzunguzira/ kuita kutapukira sele"* which means that she gyrates her body in an unrestrained way as she performs her erotic dance moves. Such provocative dancing or what is known as 'twerking' in international music circles has been perceived as an enunciation of female agency and affirmation of women's right to feel pleasure and pride in their bodies (Perez 2016: 21). McFadden (2003: 1) concurs with this observation as she articulates that sexual pleasure and eroticism have political power and between this power and pleasure lies female power and freedom.

Nevertheless, one may argue that erotic female dances serve, in both female and male music, to sell the music. One recalls here the female musician M1 referenced in Chapter 3 who revealed that, in the contemporary popular media culture, sex sells. In line with this ambivalence in performances of female sexualities, Evans and Riley (2013: 270) reveal that feminists are divided between those that celebrate the performance of such sexiness as queering conventional sexual identities and creating change from sexual objectification to sexual subjectification. Others argue that such female representations commodify female sexualities and depoliticise feminist issues related to autonomy and sexual agency. In the same vein, Crothers (2005: 52) argues that Madonna and other musicians who flaunt themselves trade on sexually stimulating images to sell their music and appeal to audiences

with prurient interests. Fiske (1989b) on the other hand hails Madonna as a source of power who represents an independent female sexuality for her female fans. This shows that female bodies are sites of conflicts and ambivalences. They are enshrined in gender politics where "gender is made to comply with a model of truth and falsity which not only contradicts its own Perfomative fluidity, but serves a social policy of gender regulation and control" (Butler 1988: 529). Nonetheless, even though female music is characterised by the noted ambivalences, I maintain, as demonstrated by this analysis of female musicians' resistance to societal conventions, that, we cannot ignore the emergent female sexualities in Zimbabwean youth music and their destabilisation of patriarchal norms that perpetuate gender inequalities.

5.6 Conclusion

Urban grooves is a musical genre that originated under hostile conditions, which include a hostile political environment characterised by inward-looking policies and their anti-western cultural and political agenda as well as mistrust by older musicians and adults; and such hostilities continue to shape the genre to date. Critics of the music, who are largely from the older generation, have condemned this genre by young musicians for influencing bad behaviour among the youth as discussed in Chapter 1 of this thesis. As a result, the government of Zimbabwe has attempted to police urban grooves musical production and circulation. This is ironic as the government is the same political establishment that promoted urban grooves as a mainstream musical genre. The government of Zimbabwe and the older generation at large have also tried to supervise youth musical performances and consumption, thus interfering with youth identity construction and cultural practices that intersect with the production, performance and consumption of urban grooves. An in-depth analysis of the Zimbabwean government's promotion and continued surveillance of urban grooves music reflects that this supervision is fraught with attempts by the government to entrench its political mandate through the control of the social memory and cultural identities of youth. Attempts by the older generation to oversee musical performances and consumption by the youth indicate the older generation's endeavour to preserve its social world-views. However, these attempts have not been successful as youth use urban grooves music in their search "for a narrative that provides a territory for the free play of their imagination" (Diouf 2003). This contributes to the constitution of resistant youth cultures in the music, hence my argument that urban grooves music is a 'genre of resistance.'

The discussion in this chapter focused on the different ways employed by both youthful urban grooves musicians and music consumers to resist cultures and identities imposed on them by the older generation. The youth conceive of their identities and cultures differently from the way the older members of society map their world-views. Therefore, although Zimbabwean youth do not discard their local experiences in their conceptualisation of their identities and cultures, they choose to 'move with time' to contest straightjacketed national and cultural identities, and conceptually cross national boundaries to identify with youth with whom they share similar cultural attributes and worldviews. Locally, youth have found a niche in relatively 'safe spaces' to map their identities and enjoy the music culture. Urban grooves musicians and consumers have used urban grooves music to express politically charged commentaries on the dominant political establishment, albeit indirectly or through use of "hidden transcripts" (Scott 1990) for fear of retribution. It is very important to note that the needs of youth and trajectories of their identities and cultures differ in some instances (Goldstein 2006), and this is noted in urban grooves music through concerns expressed in female urban grooves. Defiant female urban groovers have emerged in Zimdancehall music to challenge society's representation of femininity and expose this as a social construct that preserves gender inequalities among the youth as well as societal members at large. Nevertheless, there are paradoxes involved in resistant youth cultures and these paradoxes usually encompass youth exposure to hazardous terrains and conditions and delinquent behaviours. Such paradoxes should be noted and addressed to save youth from risky experiences and significantly prevent their cultural identities from being subordinated or marginalised.

Endnotes

[1] Narratives that compare Guspy Warrior to his father can be accessed from *The Zimbabwe Daily* of 19 August 2015 (https://www.thezimbabwedaily.com/news/34613-between-the-music-generations...-new-documentary-explores-music-inheritance.html) and (celebritycheck.co.zw/manyeruke-hasnt-listened-2-sons-music/).

[2] Note that Guspy Warrior started singing in 2008, see: (https://www.pindula.co.zw/Guspy_Warrior).

[3] See the video of Macheso singing Zimdancehall on (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5l15v-87cdQ).

[4] See The *Daily News* of 19 September 2016, "Macheso Album Ready."

[5] See Fungisai's story in *The Herald* of 28 March 2016, "Is Fungisai a Saint or a Villain."

[6] The idea of holding the persona denotes the experience where one is possessed by a violent demon that can make him/her fall violently, so several people have to hold the persona to try to take control of the situation. The idea also reflects on the current popularity of exorcisms in Pentecostal churches where people who are believed to be possessed by demons are always seen falling during exorcism.

[7] The Permican gospel awards are yearly awards organised by the self-proclaimed prophet and leader of the United Family International Church (UFIC), Emmanuel Makandiwa.

[8] See (www.pindula.co.zw/Guspy_Warrior).

[9] See Mugabe's speech on Zimbabwe's 32nd Independence on (https://redantliberationarrmy.wordpress.com/2012/04/18/president-of-zimbabwe-robert-mugabes-speech-on-country-32nd-anniversary-fo-sovereignity/amp/) and (www.africanews.com/2017/09/22/mugabe-speaks-peace-freedom-and-return-of-giant-gold-goliath//).

[10] See (www.pindula.co.zw/Lady_Sqanda).

[11] See (www.pindula.co.zw/Thomas_Mapfumo).

[12] Youth experienced direct violence mainly during election time especially during the 2008 elections. They were forced by the ruling party to attend youth militia bases and rallies. See (Oosterom and Pswarayi 2014) for more on youth experiences of intimidation and violence.

[13] See also (englishdictionary.education) for the definition of 'toi-toi.'

[14] For details on the "one million men march," see (https:www.newsday.co.zw/2016/05/live-updates-zanu-pfs-million-men-march/) and (nehandaradio.com/2016/05/25/Zimbabweans-cry-foul-mugabe-million-man-march).

[15] See (https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/april/14/thousands-march-harare-rare-mass-protest-against-robert-mugabe).

[16] On Mugabe resignation and related events, see (https://www.herald.co.zw/live-parliament-sit-to-impeach-president-mugabe/).

[17] For more on the violence meted out to Khupe and her break away from the main MDC party, see (https://www.newsday.co.zw/2018/02/mdc-t-must-exorcise-demon-violence/; https://www.zimbabwesituation.com/news/khupe-chamisa-fight-over-party-name/).

[18] Although there has been voter apathy among the youth in previous elections, it has been reported that women and youth dominate the number of registered voters for the July 2018 election. See: (http://www.chronicle.co.zw/women-youths-dominate-number-of-registered-voters/).

[19] Mutare is the fourth largest city in Zimbabwe situated near the country's border with Mozambique. It is also the capital of the Manicaland Province, which is one of the eight provinces of Zimbabwe.

[20] For more on ZANU-PF "meet-the-youth" tours, see the *Newsday* of 25 April 2017 on (https://www.newsday.co.zw/2017/04/mdc-t-scoffs-mugabe-meet-youth-tours).

[21] According to Willems (2015), the state galas involved mainly musical performances that were organised for the commemoration of historical events and national days as well as to honour politicians who were declared as national heroes.

[22] For more on the speculations on Soul Jah Love's ZANU-PF membership, see the *Newsday* of 20 June 2017 available online on (https://www.newsday.co.zw/2017/06/soul-jah-love-hits-back/).

[23] See (https://zimbabwe-today.com/discipline-control-wayward-sons-first-grace-mugabe-told/).

[24] Oostererom and Pswarayi (2014: 20) describe Chipangano as a youth militia based in the residential township of Mbare formed in 2000 amongst other youth militias that were at the forefront of land invasions and mobilised by ZANU-PF for election violence.

[25] The comments were taken from responses on the story, "Soul Jah Love Hits Back" published online by the *Newsday* (https://www.newday.co.zw/2017/06/20/soul-jah-love-hits-back/).

[26] On the solidarity march against Mugabe, see story and pictures on (https://www.herald.co.zw/live-from-harare-massive-war-vets-led-national-rally-to-ouster-president-mugabe/).

[27] See (https://www.dailynews.co.zw/articles/2012/09/02/lady-bee-ecstatic-after-uk-gigs).

[28] See the above.

[29] On Lady Bee's music as adult content, see (https://www.google.co.za/amp/www.heraldlive.co.za/my-heraldlive...).

[30] See the above.

Chapter 6: Self-Praise and Lyrical Feuds: Tropes for Claims to Recognition and Power in Urban Grooves Music

6.1 Introduction

This is just a lyrical confrontation. The rift with Fungisai is simple: Dancehall music is a war zone and Fungisai came to dancehall and what I am doing is showing her what dancehall is all about as we play with lyrics, if she cannot stand the heat, then let her retrace to gospel (Lindsay in an interview with Antonio 2016).

I believe in disses since it is Zimdancehall music culture and style (Lindsay quoted by Antonio 2016).

Self-praise and lyrical feuds or what is popularly known as 'beefs' or 'disses' in music circles are dominant features that define urban grooves music and culture. Musicians such as Seh Calaz and Platinum Prince were even identified as synonymous with the 'dissing' culture by participants who took part in interviews for this research. Seh Calaz himself boasts about being on top of the 'dissing' game as revealed by Mushawevato (2014) in *The Sunday Mail*. Various fans and critics of urban grooves music have condemned and dismissed 'dissing' as not beneficial to Zimbabwean music, arguing that it fuels hatred and violence between artists and leads to the artists' downfall; hence there have been calls for musicians to unite and refrain from 'dissing' each other (Mushawevato 2014; Antonio 2016). Some youth who took part in interviews for this research even distanced themselves from musicians who are associated with the 'dissing' culture and articulated that 'dissing' creates disunity between musicians and encourages fights amongst music fans. On the contrary, the female Zimdancehall musician, Lindsay (Mildred Munyikwa), quoted in the epigraph above, supports the practice of 'dissing' in Zimdancehall music. The above-noted epigraph captures Lindsay's response to questions on her 'diss' song *"Ngoma Hauimbe (Fungisai Diss)"*[1] (2016) targeted at fellow female musician Fungisai Zvakavapano. The epigraph affirms that 'dissing' is an important feature of Zimdancehall music and performance culture. Thus, 'dissing' plays a far more significant role in Zimdancehall music than its critics may want to ascribe to it. This chapter analyses the significance of this concept, specifically paying attention to how it relates to musicians' claims to recognition and power.

It is crucial at this point to note how the two musical traits of self-praise and lyrical feuds overlap or intersect. Usually, musicians engage in self-praise and elevation of their self-image in the songs where they 'diss' rival musicians. Skold and Rehn (2005: 22, 2007: 55) point out that musicians involved in lyrical feuds through 'dissing', that is, disrespecting, disparaging, dismissing, discrediting or dishonouring rival musicians do so whilst accentuating their own greatness. Thus, the ability to 'diss' others whilst not being 'dissed' in return, enhances one's reputation and self-image (Watts 1997: 44). Most importantly and close to the focus of this study, the pre-occupation with enhancing one's reputation while deprecating that of another, is a trait of celebrity culture. This is well articulated in Milner Jr's (2005: 66, 68) conceptualisation of celebrities as part of a status or prestige system. He describes status as a relative ranking and primarily a "relational or positional good." Therefore, one's status elevation relates to the lowering of that of the other.

In addition, recognition itself, which is central to the focus of this chapter, is a hallmark of celebrity culture as celebrity is produced from the outset by recognition (Cashmore 2011: 408). Cashmore further argues that all celebrity is attributed and cannot exist without public recognition. This involves consumers discerning certain qualities in someone that make them develop an interest in the persona and acknowledge him/her as a celebrity. In respect of this, the analysis of recognition in this chapter considers the quest for acknowledgement or public attention and visibility as posited by Oliver (2001) and Turner (2004) in their conception of celebrity. Oliver (2001: 147) asserts that recognition is usually accompanied by visibility as its political partner, and the demands for recognition are also demands for visibility. Turner (2004: 4) relates the concept of celebrity with the ways it excites public interest and privileges the visual. These observations are considered particularly in my analysis of musicians' search for visibility through visual displays of wealth in terms of 'bling' and conspicuous consumption. Finally, and in relation to this chapter's focus on claims to power, the phenomena of celebrity and popular culture and their relation to power are informative. Marshall (2014) relates the phenomenon of celebrity to power whilst Barber (1987) and Fiske (1989a, 1989b) associate popular culture with the empowerment of the subordinated classes, as discussed in detail in Chapter 1. It is important to note at this point that power and recognition are intertwined, hence Oliver (2001: 147), in associating recognition with visibility asserts that, "visibility empowers." This chapter draws upon celebrity culture and popular culture theories in the consideration of the role played by

self-praise and lyrical feuds in the urban grooves musicians' search for recognition and power.

In the conceptualisation of power, I take into account different forms of power that manifest in urban grooves as musicians make claims to power through self-praise and 'diss.' Power is not limited to musicians, thus the discussion also considers different forms of power that are attained by the music fans in their interaction with the concepts of self-praise and 'diss' in urban grooves. First, I reference the notion of affective power as conceived in theories of celebrity culture by Marshall (2014). Marshall (2014: xxiv) posits that affective power is a type of power that celebrities derive from the emotional attachment that audiences have towards them. The discussion explores affective power in urban grooves by examining the relationship between musicians and their fans as they interact with concepts of self-praise and 'diss.' Second, focus is on a manifestation of social power drawing on the popular culture idea of a cultural economy that circulates meanings and pleasures and empowers particularly the audiences who become the producers of the meanings and pleasures (Fiske 1989b: 26-27). Fiske (1989a, 1989b) also calls this power to make meanings, semiotic power. The chapter unpacks this form of power in relation to urban grooves fans and how they produce meanings and pleasures from 'diss' that are distinct from interpretations often made by societal 'gate keepers.'

Different forms of capital or power that are postulated by Bourdieu (1984, 1986, 1989) are instructive, hence the analysis of urban grooves musicians' claims to power is also informed by notions of economic capital, social capital, cultural capital and symbolic capital. Economic capital is the form of capital that is "directly and immediately convertible into money and may be institutionalised in the form of property rights" (Bourdieu 1986: 47). Bourdieu (1984: 122, 1986: 47) defines social capital as a capital of social connections or network of connections which in certain conditions may be convertible to economic capital and maybe institutionalised in the forms of a title of nobility. Cultural power which is also convertible on certain conditions, into economic capital and maybe institutionalised in the forms of educational qualification can exist in three forms: these maybe embodied as dispositions, objectified in the form of goods and qualifications or may exist in institutionalised form (Bourdieu 1984: 110, 1986: 47). Lastly, symbolic capital is related to social power in that its basis is the existence of social connections or membership within a group but it defines the symbolic power of individual(s) within a group, to represent and

speak on behalf of the collective or exercise authority in the name of the group (Bourdieu 1986: 53). In the course of the chapter, I show how these forms of power are exhibited in songs that utilise self-praise and 'diss.'

It is also important to highlight that the cultural perceptions on self-praise and 'dissing' evident in urban grooves music are part of the cultural traditions that the musical genre borrows from the United States of America and Jamaica (Mushawevato 2014), especially from hip-hop and dancehall music, respectively. The Zimbabwe urban grooves musical scene is a contested terrain in which power is exercised and musicians fight for space and recognition (Mpofu and Tembo: 2015: 111, 112). This musical battle for recognition and power correlates with the economic situation in the country and with Sweet's (2005) argument that 'beefs' are economically driven. It thus follows that 'beefs' emanate from the pursuit for economic capital in terms defined by Bourdieu (1986: 47), where economic capital equates to money. Chapter 1 of this thesis revealed that the rise of unemployment among the youth saw a multitude becoming urban groovers with the desire to improve their economic well-being. This explains why the culture of self-praise and 'dissing' has even become more pronounced in contemporary Zimbabwean music. The prolonged economic downturn has forced more and more youth to join the urban grooves musical scene as can be noted in the massive rise of the Zimdancehall music variant in particular, and the increase of the so called "backyard studios" that produce the music.[2] As a result, the majority of the songs that I analyse in this chapter are Zimdancehall songs that reflect self-praise and lyrical feuds that have become a mainstay in the genre, as most of the impoverished youth scramble for the limited economic resources to gain 'economic capital' (Bourdieu 1986) through music.

Interestingly, 'dissing' is used by new musicians to claim visibility in the music industry and attract 'public attention' (Marshall 2014: 3) through 'dissing' well-known and established performers (Kufakurinani and Mwatara 2017), whilst the established performers utilise the same concepts of 'dissing' and self-praise to defend and consolidate their fame. One youth interviewee (SHR2, personal communication, 21 June 2016) affirmed this argument as shown in the statement that,

> Seh Calaz was unknown and when he joined the Zimdancehall genre, he dissed the popular Winky D who has been in the industry for long. People really paid attention to Seh Calaz as they were curious to know who that person was who was dissing the

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popular Winky D, and after getting the attention he stopped the disses, now he is making money.

In addition, a number of Winky D's songs such as *"Ndini Ndaita Kuti"* ("I made this possible") (2015), "Extraterrestrial" (2016), "Bob Marley Funeral" (2016) and *"Onaiwo"* ("See") (2018) employ a much more subtle 'dissing' style, and rely more on an overt form of self-praise used to reclaim fame and mock detractors. Although Seh Calaz has not necessarily abandoned the 'diss' culture as claimed by interviewee SHR2 above,[3] the given response is an apt observation that shows how 'dissing' has been utilised by musicians as a means to recognition and acknowledgment by the public. It also signifies youth audiences' awareness of the power dynamics that define urban grooves music and how these youth are actively involved in analysing and interpreting what transpires on the music scene. This indicates, as noted in previous chapters, that youth are not passive consumers of music. In addition, their engagement with interpretation and meaning making in the music culture enables the youth to associate themselves with power. By participating in meaning making in music, youth attain semiotic power – "the power to make meanings" (Fiske 1989a: 10) that popular culture accords to the marginalised (Barber 1987; Fiske 1989a, 1989b). This is significant especially considering, as noted in Chapter 5, that Zimbabwean youth are marginalised and not actively involved in important decision making in the governmental bodies that are dominated by the old.

The key argument in this chapter is based on the assumption that the concepts of self-praise and lyrical feuds that dominate urban grooves music are tropes for recognition and power. I posit that musicians' claims to recognition and power resonate with their quest for celebrity status as well as the constitution of youth identities, cultural experiences and the search for visibility. This chapter thus examines the different forms of self-images that are created and projected by musicians. My focus here is to determine how the musicians claim power through self-praise, 'bling' and demonstrate street credibility. An analysis of lyrical feuds mainly considers 'diss' songs and how they represent the musicians' search and claims to recognition and power. The central aspects of this discussion include different forms of masculinities that are represented in male music and these are compared with female musicians' forms of 'dissing.' In addition, I consider the role played by both symbolic and physical violence, militarism and territorial protection and integrity. In the discussion of these key aspects, the chapter explores how power and visibility are exhibited in the different forms

noted earlier. The key discussion areas also assist in answering the following questions that are central to the analysis in this chapter: What are the attributes and forms that characterise the self-praise and lyrical feuds in urban grooves music? How effective are these forms in musicians' search for recognition and power and the quest for celebrity status? How do youth fans of urban grooves music relate and identify with the cultures of self-praise and lyrical feuds? How do youth relate to images that musicians create through self-praise and lyrical feuds?

6.2 The Search for Recognition and Power through Self-praise and 'Bling'

The urban grooves musicians' application of self-praise and performance of 'bling' is epitomised by musicians who lyrically engage in the self-proclamation of their greatness and achievements, and visually display their material wealth and successes through music videos. The concept of self-praise and 'bling' in this instance underscore recognition in terms of visibility demonstrated through visual metaphors (Oliver 2014) of material wealth and power displayed through visual displays of economic capital (Bourdieu 1986). Winky D, for example is one typical musician who employs self-praise as a style in his music. Every album that he has released so far has songs that proclaim his greatness, uniqueness and success. He even creates a larger than life image of himself as typically represented by the cosmic figure *"Chi Extraterrestial"* (the Extraterrestrial – an identity and signature chant that he uses in songs on his album *Gafa Futi* (Gafa again) (2016). This section's analysis of self-praise does not however focus on Winky D's music. It focuses on the music of an award winning rapper, Mudiwa Hood and an award winning and pioneer female Zimdancehall artist, Lady Squanda, and determines how both have utilised the notions of self-praise and 'bling' in their search for recognition and power. Mudiwa is well known for his flamboyance and ostentatious display of material possessions, and this even culminated in his involvement in the "Battle of Bling" with fellow rapper, Stunner, where Stunner was crowned the winner (see Chapter 2). Such ostentatious displays of wealth accentuate the pursuit for economic power that is incisively described by Bourdieu (1984: 55) as a power to keep economic necessity at arm's length. Bourdieu further argues that this kind of economic power universally proclaims itself through the destruction of riches, or "conspicuous destruction" as defined by Jones (2013: 210), where individuals engage in conspicuous consumption, squandering and gratuitous luxury.

Mudiwa's conceptualisation and representation of 'bling' is of interest here because of the way it is fused with the contemporary Christian religious doctrine that has come to be known as the gospel of prosperity. Mudiwa has named his music Christian rap and hip-hop gospel (see Mudiwa interview with Chipato 2012). He is said to be a member of the Spirit Embassy Ministries International and a spiritual son of the founder, Eubert Angel,[4] who sings about the prosperity gospel that his spiritual father preaches (Chipato 2012). Thus, Mudiwa's music represents what Togarasei (2015) describes as the allure of the Modern Charismatic Pentecostal Churches that offer the prosperity gospel for many impoverished Zimbabwean youth. I draw on Togarasei's (2015) theorisation of religious secularism and Comaroff and Comaroff's (2000) conception of the gospel of prosperity in the Millennial Pentecostal Movements in the examination of Mudiwa's performance of 'bling' in urban grooves music. I argue that 'bling' represents the desire for recognition and power by the youth who occupy economically marginal positions and feel disempowered in an economically crisis-ridden Zimbabwe. This echoes Oliver's (2001: 147) conflation of recognition and power in the argument that visibility empowers whilst those that are disempowered are rendered invisible. Lady Squanda's self-praise is of interest in this section, especially considering, as noted in Chapters 3 and 5, the patriarchal nature of the urban grooves musical scene and how society stereotypes female musicians and treats them with suspicion. Lady Squanda herself has been a victim of negative labelling, and self-praise is significant as a symbol of her ability to survive an environment that is prejudiced against and hostile to female musicians. This shows Lady Squanda's attainment of power conceived by Bourdieu (1986: 47) as cultural capital that exists in the form of the embodied state and exhibits a "long-lasting disposition" to resist and survive societal and patriarchal prejudices.

Skold and Rehn's (2005: 18) definition of 'bling' appropriately describes the manner in which Mudiwa performs his 'bling.' They note that the term denotes "the gleam that is projected into the eyes of the observer when rays of light reflect and refract from jewellery and gold." Both scholars further associate the term with a particular fashion and proving one's place in the world through ostentatious displays of wealth and boasting about chains and jewellery that one wears. Therefore, 'bling' elicits recognition as the involvement of the observer who notices and acknowledges the "gleam" and visual displays of material possessions proves that the performer of 'bling' attracts public attention. In *"Anhu Acho Tisu"* ("We are the people") (2012), Mudiwa brags about his choice of fashion designer labels, "either Gucci, Armani, Salvatore Ferragamo" and in *"Slayin"* (2017), he refers to

'swag,' a word that, just as 'slaying,' is popular in youth culture and relates to "gleam" and being fashionable. Youth that were interviewed for this research identify with 'swag' as the word featured much in their discussion of fashion and youth lifestyle as exemplified in the following: "[youth lifestyle] is all about swag these days" (ZHR3, personal communication, 24 June 2016). The videos of the songs *"Ndaita Mari"* ("I have made money") (2012), and *"Slayin"* signal typical ostentatious displays of wealth and "gleam" that feature Mudiwa rolling around in expensive cars while in some instances, he goes to the extent of standing on car roofs – a symbol of the consummation of his search for visibility. He also shows off expensive clothing and a posh house. Mudiwa's preoccupation with boasting and 'bling' resembles the typical behaviours of the rags to riches American rappers. For such artists, the achievement of financial success is not necessarily something that one would keep quiet about (Skold and Rehn 2005: 22). Mudiwa's song, *"Anhu Acho Tisu"* indeed typifies this in the lyrics: *"ndakararama life yakahwanda kunge socks remusoja but naJesu ndapachena kunge reflector yemupurisa."* (My life was invisible like a soldier's pair of socks but with Jesus I am now visible like a policeman's reflector jacket). This resonates with typical behaviours of youth who press for visibility in the midst of impoverishment and unemployment (Jones 2013: 210), and as argued by Milner Jr (2005: 74), visibility itself is a criterion of status. Thus, there is an intricate relationship between youth's search for visibility, performance of 'bling' and the quest for celebrity status by urban grooves musicians who claim recognition by invoking public attention and visibility.

Furthermore, success is performed in extremes in instances such as the above, where a rapper signals an escape from poverty (Skold and Rehn 2005). Mudiwa's celebration of success has resonances with conspicuous consumption. This is exemplified in the following lyrics in *"Ndaita Mari"* (2012): *"If money talks then yangu ine makuhwa"* (if money talks, then mine gossips), *"yangu mari ine manyemwe ndikanyarara inotaura/ the only problem I got iri loud segonyeti"* (my money is uncontrollable, if I keep quiet it talks/ the only problem I got, it is loud like a haulage truck), *"homwe dzonyara cause dzine mahumunya"* (my pockets are shy because they have mumps) "*bank account yakatsamwa hanzi we are overcrowded"* (my bank account is angry, it is saying we are overcrowded), *angu maoko dzangove mhoni ndoverenga mari chimbogaya!"* (My palms are full of blisters I got from counting money, imagine!). These lyrics create a musical imagery where the accumulation of money is vividly magnified through personification and hyperbole that spread over the long song. The personification and hyperbole here serve as an economic language while bragging

and 'bling' are means used to talk about the economy (Skold and Rehn 2005: 24, 30) and counter hegemonic constructions of the socio-political and [economic] order in contemporary Zimbabwe (Chari 2016) that have kept Mudiwa and the other youth at large in marginal positions. Moreover, money itself primarily represents economic capital as noted earlier in Bourdieu's (1986) postulation. Thus, Mudiwa's preoccupation with the accumulation of money demonstrates a claim to recognition and power that involves the marginalised (invisible) clamouring for visibility and economic capital.

As noted earlier, Mudiwa's performance of 'bling' is more significant in the manner in which it represents and is influenced by religious secularism that is manifest in modern Pentecostalism and the related gospel of prosperity that coincide with the quest for economic capital. According to Togarasei (2015: 57), religious secularisation is characterised by people's concern with proximate (this worldly) needs rather than ultimate (post-mortem) issues. It is some kind of temporal change, and an adaptation of religious faith to the experiences and 'exigencies of an age' (Togarasei 2015: 65). This form of secularism and the associated concern with instant material needs is described in similar ways by Comaroff and Comaroff (2000: 309) in their conceptualisation of what they call millennial capitalism – a "salvivic form of capitalism – a capitalism that no longer waits for the Messiah – but acts like one." Accordingly, the gospel of prosperity which is the culmination of this type of 'religious secularisation' and 'salvivic capitalism' is premised on the teaching that "wealth is a sign of God's blessing upon an individual" (Togarasei 2015: 60). Thus, Mudiwa justifies his concern with 'bling' by referencing the doctrine of prosperity. In *"Ndaita Mari,"* he claims: *"kuti muKristo ndokuti mhene"* (being Christian means being wealthy) and *"...kunzi muKristo hakusi kushaya/ naye Jesu tiri mhene..."* (being Christian does not mean being poor/ with Jesus we are rich). What is most striking about Mudiwa's material success is that he does not say anything about where and how he acquires the wealth that he brags about. In *"Anhu Acho Tisu,"* he rather claims, *"Imagine cash irikunditsvaga ungati iri kuziva ane bhora"* (Imagine cash is looking for me as if it knows who has the ball). There is some resemblance between this claim and the idea of miracle money that is associated with the gospel of prosperity and its "allure of conjuring wealth from nothing" (Comaroff and Comaroff 2000: 304). For instance, believers of the gospel find themselves with huge sums of money they never worked for (Bishau 2013: 73), as in the case of Prophet Emmanuel Makandiwa's miracle crusades that saw his congregants miraculously having money in their pockets and bank accounts.[5] Comaroff and Comaroff (2000: 304) argue that there is a thin line between Ponzi

schemes and prosperity gospels, and state that prosperity gospels are "the apotheosis of the occult economies, their holy-owned subsidiaries."

Interestingly, some musicians reject the idea of success that comes without work. The valorisation of the hard work has even seen church leaders associated with the gospel of prosperity and their followers being subject to mockery in some songs. In "Photo Life" (2016), Winky D claims that he was taught to reject wealth that comes effortlessly *("... nekuti vamwe takafundiswa kuti mulife zvikauya nyore haikona kugamuchira)*. In "Robots," (2018), a song about the tough 'ghetto' life that has left some people clueless, Winky D sings about how he makes it through hard work and mocks those who rush to get help from 'spiritual fathers' *("vamwe voti tande kuna papa/ but pachigafa chedu kushanda)*. Thus, Winky D, scoffs at the instantaneous attainment of economic capital conceived by Mudiwa. For Winky D, economic capital develops from cultural capital in the form expostulated by Bourdieu (1986) as embodied skills or disposition to work hard, and this cultural capital will then be convertible to economic capital (Bourdieu 1986: 47). This convertibility of power from cultural capital to economic capital is especially prominent in the pursuit for power through street credibility – a concept that is analysed in detail later in the chapter.

However, for Chari (2016: 24), there is a possibility that Mudiwa might be bragging about wealth that is acquired through corrupt means considering the lyrics, *"macontacts awanda, macontracts auya"* (I have more contacts, I have more contracts) in *"Ndaita Mari."* The lyrics echo the popular sentiments in contemporary Zimbabwe where getting a job or becoming successful is attributed to networking and connections with influential people, notably the various arms of government (Jones 2010: 285). Moreover, Pentecostal gospels of prosperity even ascribe wealth accumulated through criminal and corrupt means to God's blessings (Togarasei 2015: 64) and it is little wonder that the three most popular preachers of the gospel of prosperity in Zimbabwe, Emmanuel Makandiwa, Walter Magaya and Eubert Angel have all been implicated in corruption scandals.[6] Furthermore, Chari (2016) regards the prosperity gospel as a hegemonic discourse that privileges the rich and powerful and subjugates the poor in the sense that it attributes prosperity to divine blessings while poverty is interpreted as a curse and blamed on spiritual impurity and sinning. Thus, Chari defines a song such as *"Ndaita Mari"* that is premised on such a prosperity gospel as furthering a hegemonic discourse. I however argue that songs by Mudiwa and his adherence to the gospel of prosperity coincide with the pursuit for faux glamour and conspicuous expenditure that

Cashmore (2011: 413) points out as part of the distinct features of celebrity culture. But on a more significant note and in relation to the experiences of the Zimbabwean youth such as Mudiwa, the gospel of prosperity should be read as representing the search for visibility and economic capital among the disempowered and disadvantaged who try to make sense of and act upon what Comaroff and Comaroff (2000) perceive as impoverishing neo-liberal economies. This explains why many Zimbabwean youth who currently have the highest unemployment rate in the country (see Chapter 4) flood the Pentecostal churches (Togarasei 2015: 62) as they search for means to miraculously escape from the poverty that disempowers them and renders them 'invisible.'

Lady Squanda's self-praise also ties-up with the quest for recognition and power and concepts of celebrity culture. Her self-praise is mainly characterised by an assertion of public fame and attainment of material success or economic capital. As observed by Marshall (2014: xlviii), recognition and fame are characteristics of celebrity culture that celebrities regard as forming part of the act of celebrating their recognition and public fame. The song *"Squanda Fire Ndini"* ("I am Squanda Fire") (2013) is solely centred on proclaiming her fame and recognition that is characterised by the ability to excite public interest (Marshall 2014). She sings:

> *Pandinofamba vondirecogniser zita rangu votanga kudaidza*
>
> Wherever I go they recognise me and call out my name
>
> *Squanda Fire zita rangu vakudaidza arikupi Squanda Fire?*
>
> Squanda Fire, they call out my name, where is Squanda Fire?
>
> *Squanda atimhanyisa waya*
>
> Squanda has sent us crazy.

The above lyrics also express Lady's Squanda's claims to affective power (Marshall 2014) where she sings about her fans who demonstrate their fascination and emotional affinity towards her.

Lady Squanda goes further in the song to claim the title 'Dancehall Queen' and in line with this kind of self-praise, the media often identify her as a "self-proclaimed Dancehall Queen."[7] She even bolsters this position by boasting that she only recognises competition from men within the genre. This can be interpreted as both contempt for fellow female

musicians and an advancement of the patriarchal conviction that female musicians lack talent (see Chapter 3), or one can interpret it as Lady Squanda's way of daring the males and claiming her space in a musical scene that disempowers women. And if one considers the latter interpretation, then the bragging can be associated with claims to power in the form of cultural capital. Here, Lady Squanda's embodied disposition enables her to fight against her disempowerment and suppression in the male dominated urban grooves. In another instance, Lady Squanda is quoted saying that there are only a few "real" Zimdancehall artists in Zimbabwe who include herself, Winky D and Kinnah.[8] It is less wonder that her song *"Squanda Fire Ndini,"* declares that she is the Dancehall Queen and proclaims that all other musicians are loafers *("mamwe ose marombe")*. This confirms Marshall's argument (2014) cited earlier, that status elevation results in the lowering of the other. Status elevation is also a feature of 'diss' and reflects the intersection between self-praise and 'diss' as noted earlier. However, it is imperative at this point to acknowledge that Lady Squanda is a pioneer female Zimdancehall artist who has managed to penetrate and survive the highly male dominated music scene. Furthermore, she won the best female Zimdancehall artist awards consecutively for 2013 and 2014.[9] The self-assigning of honorific titles in music is not a performative practice unique to Lady Squanda. My analysis in Chapter 3 shows the use of honorific titles as associated with claims to power and how musicians use them to lay claim to their power over particular groups of fans that they identify with. Similarly, musicians use titles in their search for power in the music scene, hence the following musicians and their titles: Dancehall *Igwe* (Dancehall King) for Winky D, *Mambokadzi* (Shona for Queen) for DaRuler (real name, Dorothy Karengo), Chairman for Killer T, Empress Shelly (real name, Shalvin Chakwada), the Dancehall Father for Shinsoman and Boss Yala for Seh Calaz. Therefore, Lady Squanda's self-praise is a feature of the urban grooves music culture that is attached to claims to recognition and power in the competitive musical scene and the constitution as well as self-affirmation of celebrity status.

Although Lady Squanda's musical performances are marked by an assertion of material success as noted above, they make an important revelation of the disparity between the performance of material success in music and actual wealth attained. The representation of material success in the song called *"Ndinovhaira"* (2013) which means "I am bragging," is made through the utilisation of the concept of 'bling.' Lady Squanda boasts about how she has made it in life through music. She claims that she has managed to make money and buy cars with the video of the song showing her displaying her various cars, a showing off that is

however not as elaborate as that of Mudiwa. Moreover, unlike Mudiwa who attributes his success to God's blessing, Lady Squanda ascribes hers to hard work – sweating *('kubuda ziya')*. Thus, in a way similar to Winky D's perception of power noted earlier, Lady Squanda's power is conceived in terms of cultural capital conceived by Bourdieu (1984: 110, 1986: 47) as existing in the embodied state as disposition to work hard, which then translates to economic capital. However, her displayed material success exhibits the tension between performance and reality as she is reportedly given to stealing even things of little value such as groceries.[10] Similarly, music audiences have questioned the genuineness of Mudiwa's material success and excesses with some who claim to have inside information on him and his music profession stating that he hired the house and cars that he parades in the video of *"Slayin."*[11] This is however, a norm in music and the entertainment industry as musicians concentrate on producing videos with a huge popular appeal such that some Zimbabwean musicians have even gone to the extent of shooting their videos from countries such as South Africa where there are better equipment and production facilities. This need for popular appeal has created the discrepancy between performance and reality. Skold and Rehn (2007: 64), in their consideration of this paradox state that,

> the discourse of excess is interesting in so far as it shows us how the economic language can be utilised as entertainment, thus subtly problematising the assumed dichotomy between economy/organisation and entertainment/popular culture.

Nevertheless, the significance of the excess and success performed in music videos by urban grooves musicians needs to be understood beyond concern with popular appeal. The majority of urban groovers come from poor backgrounds. As a result, Jones' (2013) observations pointed out in Chapter 2 regarding conspicuous consumption by the poor South African *'izikhothane'* youth and how it should be regarded less as wealth attained than wealth aspired to, resonates with this urban grooves phenomenon of musical videos that splash excess to demonstrate musicians' longing for visibility and economic capital. I have also noted in Chapter 3 how youth fans of urban grooves music value the socio-economic changes that have materialised in the lives of urban groovers no matter how small they are. For the youth, these changes are of value as they indicate possibility as expressed by respondent ZHR5 quoted in Chapter 3. Thus, it is apparent that 'bling' and self-praise are significant representations more of the youthful musicians' search for visibility and power than a sign of actual wealth attained.

Another important point regarding Lady Squanda's self-praise and showing off, as reflected in the video of *"Ndinovhaira,"* relates to the way the musician reinforces her claim to recognition and power through her performance of gender and female autonomy. Earlier on, I discussed Lady Squanda's concern with claiming her space in the male dominated Zimdancehall genre. As argued by Lindsey (2013: 58), music visuals accord women spaces to function as authorial figures. Lindsey analyses Kelly Rowland's video for the song "Motivation" (2011) and observes how her dances and inclusion of male dancers situate her as the author and director of sexual scenarios in the video, thereby transcending female objectification. Similarly, in the video of *"Ndinovhaira,"* Lady Squanda alternately dances with different men. The men dance behind Lady Squanda whilst Lady Squanda does all the singing and controls the dance moves, thus, she poses as an authorial figure. The video also shows a shirtless man with a tattooed breast displaying his body and in another instance Lady Squanda appears touching the body of the man. Here again, Lady Squanda poses as an "authorial subject" (Lindsey 2013: 59) and demonstrates female agency. Subjectivity itself is significant as it is synonymous with empowerment and contrasts with objectivity that is disempowering (Oliver 2001: 4) as is often the case in music videos, especially male videos, where male musicians are flanked by scantily dressed female dancers who are sexually objectified and perform sexual dances to sell male music.

Ultimately, the significance of self-praise and 'bling' in urban grooves music and how they are representative of the musicians' claims to recognition and power cannot be denied. Mudiwa's preoccupation with self-praise and 'bling' epitomises this claim to recognition and power especially considering how it is centred on the gospel of prosperity that is embraced by poor Zimbabwean youth who quest for visibility and economic capital. In addition, Lady Squanda's self-praise and 'bling' is underpinned by her performance of female autonomy and cultural capital as she celebrates her entry and survival in the highly male dominated musical scene. Most importantly, although the veracity of Mudiwa's and Lady Squanda's attainment of actual material success is contentious, both musicians' display of 'bling' and self-praise in their claims to recognition and power is important to this thesis' focus in that it resonates with their quest for celebrity status and the Zimbabwean youth's search for visibility.

6.3 Demonstrating Street Credibility to claim Recognition and Power

The significance of the streets in relation to music can be best understood by referring to the origins of rap in the streets of South Bronx in New York (see Chapter 3). Being an authentic rapper was related with being a tough persona from the streets or family bond through street gang affiliation (Olson and Shobe 2008: 1001). In addition, the bid for street credibility formed part of the rappers' search for recognition and fame (Watkins 2006: 2) by corroborating symbolic power and social capital which are both associated with group formations, affiliations and connections (Bourdieu1986, 1989). Bourdieu (1986: 47, 1989: 23) defines social capital as made up of social obligations or connections. He argues that symbolic power is based on the possession of social capital which is bestowed on those who have attained sufficient recognition to make up a group, speak on behalf of it as authorised spokespersons, enforce the group's vision and impose recognition. Afrika Bambaataa, born Kevin Donovan, played a central role in the rise of hip-hop at a time when the streets of South Bronx generated a number of street gangs. His own group, the Zulu Nation channelled hip-hop's energy towards effecting change in the lives of the youth and thus showing the significance of the street, street gangs and hip-hop as well as other musical culture (Watkins 2006: 23) and social capital. Watkins also identifies Bambaataa as one of hip-hop's street philosophers and this shows that he possessed the symbolic power to speak on behalf of his street gang and inculcate its vision (Bourdieu 1989: 23). Hip-hop street gangs therefore played a significant role in the gang members' search for recognition and power.

As noted earlier in Chapter 3 of this thesis, Young (2014: 26) associates the Bronx street gangs with the constitution of the Black and Latino youth's mechanism to cope with their inferior position and creation of a culture that opposed the existing oppressive conditions. Furthermore, Chapter 3 referred to Zimdancehall groups such as Mafia 19, *Mabhanditi* (Bandits) and Danger Zone Family as synonymous with hip-hop street gangs. Affiliation to these groups can also be viewed in line with the members' search for recognition and power as explained later in this chapter in my analysis of the song "Danger Zone All Stars Anthem" (2014) by the Danger Zone Family. In the analysis of city spaces in Chapter 4, I noted the way city streets appear as part of the creative spaces that urban grooves musicians tap into for their music lyrics, while ordinary youth map the city streets as creative spaces for alternative livelihoods in a failed economy. The central argument in Chapter 4 is that the streets are precarious spaces and sites of struggles between the ruling elite and the ordinary Zimbabweans as well as creative spaces that the urban poor tap into for alternative

livelihoods. This section, which focuses mainly on the songs *"Reverse Dhiri"* ("Reverse deal") (2009) and "Robots" (2018) by Winky D, however, equates street lifestyles and street credibility with claims to recognition and power in urban grooves music. In these claims to recognition and power, the urban groovers demonstrate 'first-hand knowledge and experience' (Olson and Shobe 2008) of street lifestyles, and deploy self-praise to celebrate and boast about their ability to decipher and utilise street tactics and survive, and hence establish cultural capital.

The demonstration of street credibility is an important characteristic feature in urban grooves music that is associated with symbolic power and cultural capital as conceptualised by Bourdieu (1984, 1986, 1989). Urban grooves musicians use street credibility to identify with the urban youth and their shared experiences. This kind of identification attests to Bourdieu's (1984: 122; 1986: 51) notion of social capital in the form of membership in a group or a capital of social connections. Skold and Rehn (2007) make an important observation about hip-hop music that is relevant to urban grooves music and how urban groovers express street credibility in their claims to recognition and power. Skold and Rehn (2007: 60) note that credibility in hip-hop music is often represented by statements about "how 'ghetto,' how 'hood,' or how 'street' one is." Similarly, urban groovers have ways of declaring how street they are. Soul Jah Love for example, proudly identifies himself as *"Chigunduru"* in some of his songs, a term that is associated with 'street kids' or generally, life in the street in street parlance and Shona slang. Winky D declares himself a 'ghetto voice' and a spokesperson for the 'ghetto' youth (see Chapter 2), and he sings to portray the 'ghetto' and what Skold and Rehn (2007: 60) describe as "urban reality" in their analysis of hip-hop. By proclaiming himself the spokesperson of 'ghetto' youth, Winky D significantly claims symbolic power as Bourdieu (1986: 53, 1989: 23) asserts that speaking on behalf of a group as its authorised spokesperson indeed offers symbolic power. In the song "Robots," Winky D represents such 'urban realities' of the 'ghetto' where the cost of living has become high *("cost of living paghetto yava high")* with many youth turning to the streets to eke out a living. The lyrical persona of "Robots" asserts that his/her purpose in the street is for survival, *"ukandioona muguta/ziva ndirikutsvaga maguta"* (If you see me in town/ know that I am searching for survival"). The song envisions cultural capital for those who demonstrate 'embodied skills' (Bourdieu 1986) of street credibility whose cultural capital is embodied in their strong personalities (Bourdieu 1984: 11) that refuse to be defeated by struggles of urban

life as displayed in the defiance of the persona, *"chisuffer life tachiramba, tachijamukira, "no" nhasi"* (we have rejected a life of suffering, we have defied it, "no" today).

The song "Robots" makes a typical representation of street life through the creation of the image and symbol of "robots," the Zimbabwean slang term for traffic lights, which are stationed in the streets. Thus, the persona references their presence in the street and hence displays street credibility and being "street enough" (Watkins 2006: 1) by comparing himself/herself to the "robots," *"takakurira mustreet semarobots"* (we grew up in the streets like robots). Being 'real' and being great in this case involve being "streetwise" (Skold and Rehn 2007: 68) and being able to decipher and execute the street code (Watts 1997: 44). Therefore, "Robots" represents a typical streetwise persona who possesses cultural capital as he/she has mastered the street code and tactics of urban survival and this is demonstrated when he/she discloses, *"patonazi pane chitsotsi"* (urban life requires being tactful). The persona also reveals the following:

> *Pavanenge vachipinduka vari mumasheets*
>
> As they will be turning in their bed sheets
>
> *Magafa takagumbuka tiri mumastreets*
>
> We Gafas are fiery in the streets
>
> *Vanenge vatosara vakabata defeat*
>
> They will be left behind tied to defeat

As articulated in the above, the persona has learnt that, to succeed in the street, one needs to stay awake – a symbol of vigilance. A heightened level of vigilance is evident in the persona's claims that they never slumber and even see with the backs of their heads *(hativarairwe kana kabodzi/ tinoona nyangwe negotsi)*. Seeing with the back of one's head can also be regarded as a metaphor representing speculative and innovative ways of being such as earning a living in unbelievable ways that Skold and Rehn (2007) consider to characterise "makin' it" in hip-hop culture. Thus, street credibility in this case relates to street entrepreneurship, a concept that also invokes hustling (Skold and Rehn 2007). Winky D therefore claims power in the song "Robots" through the representation of a persona who embodies the Bourdieuan cultural capital as demonstrated by a firm and lasting presence in the street and a utilisation of *(chitsotsi)* 'tactical ruses' (De Certeau 1984) to survive.

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Winky D's claim to power is also represented by his declaration of knowledge about the street survival tactics – a form of cultural capital that exists in the form of 'embodied skills' (Bourdieu 1986) – and how he poses as an advisor who offers guidance to those who have not yet mastered the 'street code.' In this process of claiming power, Winky D empowers his fans too as seen when he makes reference to them – *MaGafa* (Gafas) – in the song "Robots." Thus, when he offers advice to others on how to make it in the streets, he does so collectively as follows: *"rega tivatipire how we do it"* (let us give them tips on how we do it). Moreover, by offering advice in the collective, Winky D expresses symbolic power in the sense that Bourdieu (1989: 24) describes it as inculcating the vision of the group. Marshall (2014: 241) notes the significance of the collective in celebrity culture and how it links with social power. He asserts that the celebrities' ability to embody the collective in the individual identifies their cultural sign as powerful. Winky D's street credibility also corresponds with the definition of the concept by Skold and Rehn (2007: 64) as, the ability to stand apart and make it against all odds. This is intimated by the persona in "Robots" who asserts that they are so clever that they create opportunities and make it even where there are obstacles: *"patonazi panoda kusvinura/ mukana wakakiyiwa tinokiyinura"* (urban life demands cleverness/even where there are obstacles, we create opportunities). Such street credibility becomes a source of power postulated by Bourdieu (1986) as cultural capital in the form of embodied assets; and in this instance of street credibility, such embodied assets manifest in terms of street orientation by which young people often develop a 'heightened sense of self-importance' (Watts 1997: 45). The pronouncement by the persona towards the end of the song "Robots" typifies this sense of self-importance as the persona claims*: "pachiGafa tinofaisa zvichibuda/kopai patani vanun'una"* (in the Gafa way, we make it/ copy the pattern young brothers/sisters). Interestingly, the persona's sense of self-worth relies on distinguishing himself/herself from those who lack street credibility and reducing them to *"vanun'una,"* a Shona word that is used to refer to those who are younger than oneself, in particular, one's younger brothers or sisters. In this case therefore, the word *"vanun'una"* symbolises lack of knowledge or lack of embodied skills that are conceived by Bourdieu (1986) as according cultural capital.

The allusion to one's rivals' lack of skills resonates with Milner Jr's (2005) observation about a status elevation that relies on putting others down. Moreover, Winky D's use of the symbol of "robots" where the persona is compared to traffic lights, correlates with this status elevation especially considering that traffic lights are in control of pedestrian and

vehicle traffic. Thus, being 'like robots' means being in control and this tallies with the moniker *'maGafa'* (Gafas) for Winky D and his fans, which also means being in control. The persona's will and ability to transcend obstacles that are characteristic of city life can be understood in a way that is reminiscent of Ngara's (2009: 20) discussion of the character Toloki of Zakes Mda's novel, *Ways of Dying* and how he takes control of his own life in the city. According to Ngara, Toloki does this by not resigning himself to being a helpless victim of any grand metanarrative, but by continually looking for ways to recreate himself and narrate himself into the fabric of the city. This similar kind of relationship with the city for the persona of the song "Robots" maps the song as a typical representation of the way street credibility resonates with the claim to recognition and power in urban grooves music and urban youth experiences.

Winky D's *"Reverse Dhiri"* is more aggressive in its reflection of street credibility and street lifestyle or cultural capital. It dwells on the typical urban Zimbabwean *"kukiya-kiya"* lifestyle that is centred on illegal and illicit deals and a "survival of the fittest" (Jones 2010: 286). The song exposes some of the illegal deals such as foreign currency exchanges and other fraudulent schemes that were carried out by the urban wheeler and dealer tricksters that rose to fame in the streets of Harare and other cities in the mid-2000s (Manase 2011: 86) due to the Zimbabwean economic downturn. The street lifestyles portrayed in *"Reverse Dhiri"* resemble Jones' (2010) portrayal of the *kukiya-kiya* life-style of gambling and exploitation of whatever resources are available, all with the aim of self-sustenance as typified in the persona's testimony below:

> *Ndakachinjana phone nemotikari*
>
> I exchanged a phone for a car
>
> *Ndikazochinjana bhutsu nechikochikari*
>
> And exchanged shoes for a cart
>
> *Muvet akandipa stove ndikamupa hari*
>
> A client gave me a stove and I gave him a pot

The above is Winky D's testament of activities that were mainly associated with impoverished urban youth and are described by Jones (2010: 286) as part of the 'survival strategies' that became sources of livelihood for the majority of the urban population in post-

2000 Zimbabwean 'kukiya-kiya' economy. By referencing such typical urban youth schemes, Winky D exhibits cultural capital as he expresses a knowledge of urban youth life-styles and affirms street credibility and at the same time exposes the way the urban youth sought to empower themselves and rise above their privations.

In addition to the presentation of the schemes illustrated above, Winky D commits to street credibility by exploring and boasting about the extremes that the youth could engage in on the streets to ensure their survival and cultural capital. The song *"Reverse Dhiri"* follows up the above referenced activities by outlining how the persona went as far as perpetrating outright criminal lifestyles, or living what is interpreted as a "hard-core urban reality" by Skold and Rehn (2007: 60). The song references drug dealing where the persona makes claims and boasts that he/she duped a client that wanted cocaine and gave him/her bicarbonate of soda *("ndakazotenderedza ngetani gore ramangoda/ raida cocaine ndakabva ndaripa soda").* Such street oriented criminal behaviours are often accompanied by the ability to handle affronts verbally or physically (Watts 1997: 44) or some toughness, ruthlessness and brutality that is equated with respect and power (Iwamoto 2015). In *"Reverse Dhiri,"* Winky D portrays a typical tough, brutal and resolute character who boldly declares that he/she has skills for duping clients and will never agree to 'reversing deals' even in cases where the clients are deceived: *("asi handibvume mareverse dhiri/ vanoziva pakuvhara ini ndine zvikiri").* When the client who gets bicarbonate of soda instead of cocaine complains about the deception, he/she is threatened with a fight *(...ndikati iri fight ini ndoda).* Accordingly, Winky D was vilified in his early career for such songs as *"reverse Dhiri"* that have traces of violence and gangsterism.[12] However, one youth respondent made an interesting evaluation on forms of violence expressed in Zimdancehall music in the assertion that:

> Although I am not a big fan of Zimdancehall music, I think it is right for musicians to express violence through music. They should sing and express their anger and frustrations, they express their emotions through music and it is better than one who physically fights and goes to jail for that (HHR5, personal communication, 17 June 2016).

Although there are suggestions of physical violence in the quoted lyrics of *"Reverse Dhiri"* above, the observation by respondent HHR5 is important in the manner in which it points to symbolic violence and how it relates to youth experiences and struggles. It is the kind of

violence that I referred to earlier in Chapter 3 as indicative of what Manase (2011: 92) calls "the survivalist urban culture" that resonates with the aggressiveness of the *"kukiya-kiya economy"* (Jones 2010) reflected in the song *"Reverse Dhiri."* Most importantly, HHR5's response is significant in the sense in which it indicates the 'semiotic power' (Fiske 1989a, 1989b) of the audience to make meaning that resist dominant meanings but produce oppositional ones that serve their interests as the subordinated (Barber 1987; Fiske 1989a, 1989b). By linking violence to urban youth struggles, HHR5 demonstrates 'semiotic resistance' (Fiske 1989a: 10) as he contradicts the dominant perception that presents Zimbabwean youth (especially 'ghetto' youth) as violent without acknowledging the socio-political and economic struggles that they grapple with or the violent system that begets the violent youth.

Winky D indeed exhibits street credibility through his ability to demonstrate personal knowledge and a stock power reminiscent of Bourdieu's (1986) notion of cultural and social capital constituted from the lived experiences of urban youth and identification with youth who survive by hustling in the streets. In addition, the song *"Reverse Dhiri"* and other songs such as *"Vanhu Vakuru"* ("Big people") (2008), *"Godo"* ("Jealousy") (2009) and *"Shaya"* ("Jaws") (2009) released in his early music career that evince much of aggressiveness and violence can be read as representing a rigorous search for recognition and power at a time when Winky D was still seeking for popularity. In contrast, the song "Robots" from his latest (2018) album that is characterised mainly by self-praise for having mastered street tactics can be conceived as symbolising an assertion and consummation of power. This consummation of power can even be explained in terms of how cultural capital is convertible to economic capital (Bourdieu 1986) as Winky D is now one of the most prominent and most successful Zimbabwean musicians. Ultimately, "Robots" and *"Reverse Dhiri"* make typical representations of the link between street credibility and musicians' claims to recognition and power, and at the same time represent how the urban youth at large quest for the recognition and power evident in an improved economic and social status. More violent and aggressive displays of the pursuit for recognition and power are analysed in-depth in the following section that examines violent and aggressive masculinities in lyrical feuds.

6.4 Violent and Aggressive Masculinities as Sources of Recognition and Power in Lyrical Feuds

This discussion on lyrical feuds analyses aggressive and violent masculinities that are expressed in the song *"Calaz Ndakamukwapaidza"* ("Calaz I beat him") (2014) by Soul Jah Love and the forms of aggressive masculinities that are expressed through the militarism in Sniper Storm's *"Hapana Hapana"* ("Nothing nothing") (2013). I also examine how Stunner involves women in his claims to recognition and power through forms of masculinities expressed in the song *"Team Hombe"* ("Big Team") (2009). Finally, I examine the ways in which the female performer disrupts male dominance and male power in lyrical feuds. I focus on Lady Squanda and how she 'disses' male performers, a scarce practice in urban grooves as female musicians normally 'diss' each other. In the presentation of masculinity by male musicians, there is an inclination towards juxtaposing it with femininity, whereby masculinity is subjectified whilst femininity is objectified in the same manner in which patriarchy often juxtaposes the two attributes to emphasise on how they are distinct from each other. As such, Oliver's (2001) conceptualisation of recognition in terms of visibility and the counteraction between subject and object is instructive in this analysis of violent and aggressive masculinities and how the two concepts are linked to recognition and power. Oliver (2001: 4; 11) posits that we attain subjectivity through recognition from others and usually, a sense of self-worth is reliant on positive recognition from others while a negative sense of self stems from negative recognition or lack of recognition from others. Consequently, to be recognised is to be visible and to be visible is to be empowered as power is spoken of in terms of visibility. Therefore, the means by which musicians claim subjectivity by objectifying each other (subject versus object) are key in this analysis of violent and aggressive masculinity as sources of recognition and power.

Masculinities – violent and aggressive masculinities in particular – have turned out to be significant features of urban grooves lyrical feuds, just as in hip-hop and Jamaican dancehall. Lyrical feuds, as argued earlier in the introduction to this chapter, are prominent in the urban grooves musicians' fight for recognition and power in the competitive genre. Hope (2006: 126) argues in the case of Jamaican dancehall music, that aggressive and violent masculinities are not fully restricted to dancehall but are part of the wider spaces of Jamaica's patriarchal society. The same is true of urban grooves music and the patriarchal Zimbabwean society. Hope (2006: 127) adds that patriarchy reifies masculinity; as a result, different markers of masculinity become important as signifiers in the quest for identity. This quest for

identity, especially status that offer one recognition and power, is permeated by violent and aggressive masculinities as these types of masculinities are perceived as indicators of recognition and affirmation of power (Sweet 2005). According to Iwamoto (2015: 46), exaggerated toughness and physical strength, or what is referred to as aggressiveness in this chapter, are signifiers of hypermasculinity that are regarded as defining a real man and equated with power and respect in patriarchal societies. Performance of manliness in terms of hypermasculinity is reminiscent of Butler's (1988, 2009) gender theory of performativity, especially with regards to how it relates to power and recognition and how humans appear in public space. Butler (2009: I, iv) argues that gender performativity is characterised by different ways in which the subject becomes eligible for recognition. This eligibility entails recognition of subjects through certain kinds of enactments and compliance with obligatory norms. Most importantly, and as noted in Chapter 5, Butler's theory of performativity emphasises on the transient nature of gender and how it can be challenged. Hence, we have female musicians such as Lady Squanda who claim subjectivity and recognition through subversive performances of gender.

In addition, violence is a deliberate technique utilised by musicians in their search for recognition and power (Kufakurinani and Mwatara 2017). Violence has become a mainstay in 'beef' (Sweet 2005) or lyrical feuds. Sweet (2005) and Kufakurinani and Mwatara (2017) discuss the notion of the duality of violence and note that it is characterised by lyrical feuds that incorporate physical or symbolic violence or both. There is an interplay between the two in instances where both physical and symbolic violence play out, as noted later in the section when I examine the lyrical feud between Soul Jah Love and Seh Calaz that culminated in physical violence. The duality that characterises lyrical feuds accounts for the ambivalent responses from interviewees regarding how the interviewees relate to 'disses' or lyrical feuds. Below are some of these responses:

> Seh Calaz and Soul Jah Love seem to like fighting when it comes to their music, but in reality they are friends. If they come to the ghetto you see them together…. So sometimes us youth need to reason out things, that since we see Seh Calaz and Soul Jah Love together yet they seem to lyrically fight in their music, so I am not supposed to pay attention to their lyrical fights because those are just ways of making money. Moreover, the music that is characterised by disses is fascinating because at times, as

a teenager you picture some of the encounters at school with your peers (HHR1, personal communication, 17 June 2016).

Dissing, it benefits us when we are debating with friends, let's say our favourite musicians are different, each one of us will stand by his favourite and we debate on who is the best (ZR5, personal communication, 24 June 2016).

Sometimes musicians show disunity because they diss each other and this may affect youth as well. For example, I love Soul Jah Love and if there is another youth that loves Seh Calaz, when Soul Jah Love and Seh Calaz start dissing each other we may be influenced to fight (MR4, personal communication, 20 June 2016).

MR4 identifies lyrical feuds more with physical violence. Although HHR1 seems to suggest that 'disses' result in physical fights among youth fans, as noted in the advice that the youth should resolve issues peacefully, he like ZHR1 aligns disses more with symbolic violence. HHR1 views 'disses' as means of making money. This means that they are symbolic ways of fighting for recognition and power. Both HHR1 and ZHR1 regard 'disses' as sources of entertainment, identify with the 'disses' and the discursive power dynamics that they (HHR1 and ZHR1) practice with their peers. There is a presentation of audience power here, which manifests, as noted earlier, in the creation of meanings and pleasures (Fiske 1989b: 26-27) by urban grooves music fans. Another important feature of lyrical feuds that is associated with masculinity is the commitment to offer a response when one is 'dissed' because not offering a response is regarded as a weakness that is tantamount to softness (Watkins 2006: 3) and lack of manliness. Seh Calaz for example, revealed that he sang *"Life Yemboko"* ("Life of a fool") (2014) which 'disses' Soul Jah Love and his wife Bounty Lisa as a response to the song *"Ndine Musindo"* ("I am unruly") (2014) by Soul Jah Love that 'disses' him (Mushawevato 2014). Thus, despite the ambivalent responses to lyrical feuds, specifically pleasure and distaste, the culture of 'diss' and the related features such as violence and aggressive masculinities are embedded in societal perceptions on masculine identities in particular, and how males press for power and visibility.

Soul Jah Love's *"Calaz Ndakamukwapaidza"* is a lyrical attack on Seh Calaz that is a reaction to the sting – a concept and practice borrowed from Jamaican dancehall – involving both artists that took place on 8 November 2014 at the Harare City Sports Centre.[13] Hope (2006: 120) defines a sting as "a supreme year end stage show where hard core dancehall stage acts are represented across the dancehall body." Hope explains that the purpose of such

an event is to crown the "lyrical gladiator" for that specific year whose reign the ensuing year would be met with lyrical challenges from other aspiring "gladiators." This shows that a sting relies on 'diss' and is associated with lyrical and symbolic fights for recognition, power and the attainment of social capital as surviving such hard core stage acts requires powerful skills and a formidable disposition. It is within this context that the feud depicted in the song *"Calaz Ndamukwapaidza"* is located. As reported by Phiri (2011), the Soul Jah Love – Seh Calaz sting was marred by physical violence as the two artists clashed on the stage. Their fans joined in the fight and this forced the police to fire teargas leading to a stampede that left at least ten people seriously injured. This incident shows the interplay between symbolic and physical violence that I mentioned earlier in this section. Hope (2006: 23) views this interplay in terms of how "beef as a discourse transforms words into real action and action into verbal action." Soul Jah Love himself makes reference to the physical violence during the sting in the song *"Calaz Ndakamukwapaidza"* where he reveals that *"vamwe vakakuvara"* (some got injured) and *"vamwe vakapotsa vafa"* (some almost died). However, Soul Jah love reveals this without showing any feeling of remorse and this can be attributed to the fact that real violence is not unusual in the musical genre. According to Hope (2006: 127), physical violence, especially for male youth who are from marginalised and patriarchal backgrounds, offers a masculine status by simultaneously uplifting the masculine ideal and negating the feminine. This can be explained in terms of the recognition and power postulated by Oliver (2001), where recognition has to be accompanied by visibility which empowers those who are from backgrounds of various forms of disempowerment, such as economic disempowerment for most urban groovers. Soul Jah Love's failure to show remorse, which is considered a feminine attribute by patriarchy, demonstrates claims to power and recognition through Butler's (2009: ii-iv) concept of gender performativity and public display of norms that govern recognition in a patriarchal society and male-dominated music scene.

Nevertheless, Soul Jah Love centres the song *"Calaz Ndakamukwapaidza"* more on symbolic violence in his claims to recognition and power. The title of the song itself exhibits violence. The word '*Kukwapaidza*' is Shona slang that carries overtones of aggressiveness and is equated to the English slang form 'bash' for striking someone very hard. Thus, *'kukwapaidza'* relates to symbolic violence when Soul Jah Love sings:

Ndakangotanga nekukwapaidza

I just started by 'bashing'

Calaz handina kumupa nguva yekubatanidza

Calaz I did not give him time to prepare

Ende ndakabva ndangovanakidza vanhu

I immediately amused people

Vese Chibaba vazviona kuti ndinovaraidza

All have noticed that I Chibaba am an entertainer

'Kukwapaidza' as reflected by the lyrics above symbolises the ability to defeat one's rival in a lyrical duel. In addition, the lyrics reveal that lyrical feuds and stings also serve as entertainment as Soul Jah love claims that he managed to amuse fans through his 'diss.' This also reminds us of the claim by respondent HHR1 referenced earlier that 'disses' are fascinating. The 'diss' reflects the social power that is related to the pleasures and meanings generated and circulated by the subordinated (both musicians and their fans) (Fiske 1989a, 1989b) as they make sense of 'diss.' There is an undercurrent of entertainment in the violent lyrics in *"Calaz Ndakamukwapaidza"* itself as expressed in the resonances between the amusement, flippant tone and carefree rhymes in "…*kukwapaidza"* (to 'bash'), "…*kubatanidza"* (to prepare) and "*ndinovaraidza"* (I entertain) in the lyrics quoted above. Sweet (2005) acknowledges this relationship between lyrical feuds and entertainment, and, although he recognises the boundary between the violence portrayed in entertainment and real violence, he perceives the relationship in more intricate terms especially where physical violence and the media are involved. He argues that there is a more complex relationship between lyrical feuds and the market place, where the media treats lyrical feuds as assets and not a moral concern or dilemma (Sweet 2005: 5). Sweet bases this argument on a comparison of the lyrical feuds between the American East Coast and West Coast hip-hop groups and how the media commercialised them. The American media indeed publicised the feuds highly and in the end contributed to the murders of rival hip-hop musicians Tupac Shakur and Notorious B.I.G. In the case of Zimbabwe however, the media has been involved in castigating violent lyrics as exemplified in newspaper articles written by Mushawevato (2014) and Antonio (2016), and yet fans still access such violent songs that are found on YouTube. They even comment in amusement on the YouTube videos and show their appreciation of musicians' mastery of 'diss' which is again a sign of the ambivalence in 'diss,' in the sense that fans do not abandon their pleasure in music because of what is

regarded as bad in it.[14] Most importantly, this resonates with social power associated with popular culture and the meanings and pleasures that music fans create without adhering to societal 'gate keepers' or dominant ideologies that want to control their pleasure (Barber 1987; Fiske 1989a, 1989b) by castigating lyrical feuds.

There is an excessive performance of violence and aggressiveness in *"Calaz Ndakamukwapaidza"* as Soul Jah Love aligns his claims to recognition and power with hypermasculinity. Violence is emphasised in the song through the use of the word *"ndakamukwapaidza"* and its near synonyms such as *"Ndinomuponda"* and *"ndomudhanda,"* which are expressive of enormous violence and paint pictures of murder. The word *"ndinomuponda"* is Shona for 'I will murder him/her" while *"ndomudhanda"* is a colloquial Shona word with the same meaning as *"ndinomuponda"* but it suggests murdering by ripping apart. However, just as in *"ndakamukwapaidza,"* the two words are used symbolically as Soul Jah Love claims that he defeated Seh Calaz in their lyrical duel during the sting, thereby securing power by blatantly eliminating or symbolically murdering Seh Calaz. This correlates with recognition and power in the sense that Soul Jah Love's visibility is dependent on the invisibility of Seh Calaz. Symbolically murdering and eliminating Seh Calaz makes him invisible and disempowered. Moreover, this objectifies Seh Calaz whilst Soul Jah Love renders himself the subject, "a kind of being who asks for recognition" (Butler 2009: IV), hence recognition in this instance is signified by means of subject versus object as it is defined by Oliver (2001). More hypermasculine images are created through the portrayal of hyperbolic boldness and aggressiveness as in the lyrics: *"ndakadya nduru/rine guru/rine huturu"* (I ate gall bladder/with tripe/with venom) which also carry aggressive alliterative sounds and rhymes. According to Iwamoto (2015: 45) male youth identify with such exaggerated masculine characteristics to prove themselves and claim respect from peers. A related emphasis on masculinity by patriarchy is noted in how it is lionised. In the dancehall culture, the male singer is assigned the religious or biblical role of the conquering "Lion of the tribe of Judah" that positions the male singer as modern royalty (Pinnock 2007: 70). This concept is even borrowed by Soul Jah Love where he identifies himself as the *'Conquering Shumba'* (Conquering Lion). Therefore, it is apparent that hypermasculinity in the song *"Calaz Ndakamukwapaidza"* relates to Soul Jah Love's claims to recognition and power in terms of gender performativity that is the mainstay of patriarchy for the regulation of recognition and power. Hypermasculinity also resonates with how male youth who are socialised in patriarchal societies conceive their identities.

Another significant technique that Soul Jah Love uses in his claims to recognition and power as he performs violent and aggressive masculinities in his 'diss' is the juxtaposition of his positive attributes with Seh Calaz's negative ones. Thus, Soul Jah Love claims recognition by claiming positive recognition and contrasting it with negative recognition in line with Oliver's (2001) conceptualisation of recognition. This corresponds with aspects of a status system where an increase in one's status evinces the flip-side of the other, hence negative labelling, gossip and cutting remarks are common in the fight for status elevation in status systems such as celebrity culture (Milner Jr 2005: 68). Soul Jah Love elevates himself in masculine ways, on one level, and then he downgrades Seh Calaz, on another, by assigning him contrasting qualities that emasculate and infantilise him. He typically does this by presenting Seh Calaz with feminine features that are considered as degrading and humiliating to men in 'beef' and masculine performances (Sweet 2005; Pinnock 2007) as well as in patriarchal societies where men are expected to display traditionally manly attributes that distinguish them from women. Soul Jah Love boasts: *"uyu kwandiri musikana"* which means Seh Calaz is a girl and he mocks him for attending the sting in pink shoes *("...kuuya akapfeka bhutsu yepink")* which suggests that he is feminine as the colour is associated with women. Furthermore, Soul Jah Love calls himself a bull *("ndiri bhuru")*, which is a masculine imagery that symbolises strength and invincibility in the Shona culture. Soul Jah love also differentiates his status from that of Seh Calaz by hailing himself as follows: *"ndiri munhu mukuru* (I am an elder) and: *"chirikunyepera kukuma chimwana/chinoziva ndiri Chibaba"* (it pretends to bellow this toddler/ it knows I am *Chibaba*). Thus, Soul Jah Love uplifts his status by infantilising Seh Calaz whom he reduces to a toddler while he uplifts himself to the level of an elder and even to a father figure as seen in the pun between *Chibaba* his moniker and *baba* for father. Significantly, the term *Chibaba* has become one of the monikers that are most popular with youth who identify with *Chibaba* in contexts where they express their achievements and abilities (see also Chapter 3). The moniker has also generated an equivalent and feminine term for females, namely *chimhamha* which is borrowed from 'mama' for mother. The fact that the term *Chibaba* circulated among and gets appropriated by the fans who identify with Soul Jah Love, reflects the recognition and form of symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1989) that accords Soul Jah Love the power to make things with words and inculcate within youth (considering that the youth are from poor backgrounds) a vision of pride in their capabilities. In addition, this performance of masculinity alongside the feminisation and infantilising of Seh Calaz tallies with Oliver's

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(2001) perception of recognition in the sense of the pursuit for subjectivity, visibility and power through the objectification of one's rivals.

Militarism, which is also associated with violent and aggressive masculinities, is an important attribute of hip-hop and Jamaican dancehall that has remarkably infiltrated into urban grooves music. In the Jamaican dancehall and 'ghetto' culture, 'real' men are soldiers that can be relied upon to defend the borders and integrity of 'ghetto' politics (Pinnock 2007: 64). The authority that is conferred on the 'soldier' to defend his group can be explained in relation to symbolic power and the "outstandingness" of the 'soldier' that makes him eligible to exercise authority in the name of the whole group (Bourdieu 1986: 53). Mpofu and Tembo (2015) also acknowledge that militarism is a source of power and they associate the embrace of militarism by Zimbabwean musicians with the need by the musicians to raise their significance. Musicians adopt this militarism together with its tropes such as warfare, destruction, military prowess, strength, military names or titles, guns and gun sounds. As noted by Mpofu and Tembo (2015), musicians such as Sniper Storm and Jah Prayzer are identified as soldiers *(masoja)*, while the name Sniper Storm itself is borrowed from the militaristic concept of gun shots. The artists even go as far as adopting military uniforms and militaristic titles, such as the General for Sniper storm. According to Mpofu and Tembo (2015: 113), the militaristic titles and identities are "brand names" that musicians appropriate to transform their music into powerful commodities as they canvass for recognition and power. The artists additionally bestow the same powers upon their fans whom they also identify as *Masoja*, hence in *"Hapana Hapana"* (Nothing nothing) – a song that borrows heavily from the concept of militarism – Sniper Storm presents the military fight in the collective, as he poses as a commander who fights together with his army.

Bourdieu (1986: 53, 1989: 23) links the kind of collectivity and group association noted above, with social capital and the musician in this instance gains symbolic power as he/she represents the group, speaks and acts in its name, and bears the name of the group to which he gives his/her name. By identifying their fans, as *Masoja,* Sniper Storm and Jah Prayzer exercise symbolic power and empower their fans by integrating them into the powerful images that they create and demonstrate that they fight in unison for recognition and power. This explains the reality of physical fights that have seen fans being involved, such as in the case of the Soul Jah Love and Seh Calaz sting mentioned earlier. That fans fight for musicians can also be described as denoting the musicians' affective power that is

demonstrated by the emotional attachment that fans have towards celebrity figures (Marshall xxiv). The significance of the musicians' reference to their fans and identification with the collective, as noted above, can also be explained differently by giving precedence to the audience as proposed in celebrity culture by Marshall (2014). Marshall (2014: 65) conceives the audience as a modern representation of social power and argues that the power of the celebrity is derived from the collective configuration of its meaning, whereby the audience plays a pivotal role in sustaining the power of a celebrity. This explains how urban grooves music is associated with the quest for power for both the musicians and their fans, and in the case of social capital or power discussed here, there is an interdependence between musicians and their fans for the attainment of this form of power.

The song *"Hapana Hapana"* does not have a specific target as it does not single out any specific artist for 'dissing', but it still fits into the category of lyrical feuds as it challenges other artists to a fight, albeit in a symbolic way. Sniper Storm boasts in the song that he is not afraid of anyone. However, we need to take note in this instance that 'diss' songs are sometimes camouflaged and artists leave it up to fans to figure out who the target of the 'diss' is, and this might be the case with the song *"Hapana Hapana."* Sniper Storm claims recognition and power by drawing from the military concept of warfare. Thus, the fight for status in urban grooves, just as in Jamaican dancehall and American hip-hop, is imagined as a "state of warfare" (Bakare-Yusuf 2006: 463) that needs to be approached in militaristic terms (Mpofu and Tembo 2015). The song makes direct references to and portrays images of war such as violence and destruction as in the following:

> *Anoda hondo izvezvi hativhunduke*
>
> Anyone who wants war now, we are not afraid
>
> *Program yacho ngaitange*
>
> The program should start
>
> *Uri seri kwegomo tokoromora*
>
> Even when you are behind a mountain we demolish

There is reference to weapons of destruction *("zvombo")* and other types of guns, "AK" and *"mabazooka"* (bazookas) in line with the dominant images of war. Furthermore, the video of the song shows Sniper Storm in military uniform and holding a gun that he fires towards the

end. As observed by Hope (2006: 116), the gun is espoused in male dominated music culture as an offensive or a defensive weapon, a symbol of masculinity and personal power as well as a symbol of liberation and ultimate violence. Gunner (2008) attests to the link between militarism and masculinity in her analysis of the song *"Umshini Wami"* ("My machine gun") which was adopted by Jacob Zuma, the then president of the South African National Congress (ANC) since early 2005. Gunner (2008: 40) argues that the song was centred on a largely masculinist conception of militarism and nationalism. Nevertheless, Pinnock (2007: 51) asserts that gun lyrics and sounds of bullets are conceptualised as a significant part of the identity of those who celebrate the struggle of the 'ghetto' youth. Both Hope (2006) and Pinnock (2007) who examine militarism from the perspective of Jamaican dancehall argue that gun violence reflects the social realities of the Jamaican 'ghetto' gun violence and gun culture. The fact is true for Zimbabwe whose condition has been characterised by both social and political violence (Chari 2009b; Manase 2011) as pointed in previous chapters. Militarism, as shown in this discussion, is a significant trope in the fight for power. It is associated with qualities of aggressive and violent masculinities that coincide with the male dominated urban grooves music, with the male urban groovers utilising it to claim different forms of power that include social capital/ social power, symbolic power and affective power.

Self-worth and masculinity in male dominated genres of music are also demonstrated through the involvement of women especially through the male musicians' portrayal of how they relate to women or treat them. In this instance, male musicians often prove their manliness in hypersexual ways (Iwamoto 2015) and by treating women as objects through which they denigrate the masculinities of rival musicians (Sweet 2005: 14). In this instance, recognition is expressed in the form of the subjectivity of the male performer that relies on the objectification of women. Consequently, male-dominated musical genres such as hip-hop and urban grooves have often been condemned for misogyny and sexism. Stunner's *"Team Hombe"* ("Big Team") (2009) is a good example that objectifies women. He sets out to claim visibility and celebrity status in the song in masculine ways whilst lowering the statuses of other musicians. Stunner boasts about having become so popular that women are now after him including those belonging to rival musicians as reflected in the lyrics *"ndakutora vasikana venyu."* This is a manifestation of the observation by Sweet (2005: 15) that men express their masculinity by protecting their women or conquering those of other men. Moreover, Stunner sings, "more money more women," indicating that women are after his money. The claim here stereotypes women as financially dependent on men and implies that

men control and conquer women through their financial power. This resonates with the traditional patriarchal perception of men as providers or breadwinners (Hope 2006). In addition, sexual prowess or sexual control is valued in male music [and by patriarchy] as a symbol of masculinity and social status (Iwamoto 2015). Tupac Shakur, as noted by Iwamoto (2015: 46), demonstrated his manhood and social status in hypersexual ways – by asserting how sexually active he could be and how many women he could sleep with. Stunner affirms his sexual prowess in similar ways when he declares: *"that's why mababy hobho ava kuda kundibvisa matrousers"* (that's why so many girls want to take off my trousers), implying that so many women want to have sex with him. Thus, in the song *"Team Hombe,"* Stunner manipulates popular concepts of 'diss' that are related to Butler's (2009) concept of gender performativity and can be conceived as governing male recognition in male dominated societies as well as bestowing celebrity status in male dominated musical genres.

Finally, Lady Squanda's performance of lyrical feuds complicates the situation as she disrupts the norm in the male-dominated urban grooves culture where 'disses' are conceived and performed in binary terms. Generally, male musicians define their worth by competing with fellow males while the few female musicians in the musical genre compete amongst themselves. This has seen female 'disses' mainly conforming to traditional perceptions of femininity just as male 'disses' conform to traditional forms of masculinity. Female musicians usually bring down rivals by denigrating their physical appearances. These female lyrical feuds are discussed in greater detail in the section that follows. Lady Squanda transcends the attacking of fellow female musicians in her search for recognition and power. She has composed songs that denigrate and threaten male musicians and even adopts violent and aggressive masculinities similar to those represented by male musicians. As noted in Chapter 5, Lady Squanda boasts that she is a 'man' and only recognises competition from male musicians. In the song *"Hameno Akamutengera Altezza"* (I don't know who bought him an Altezza car") (2015), referenced in Chapter 3, she 'disses' and threatens the male musicians Soul Jah Love and Seh Calaz, while in *"Passa Passa Ravhariswa,"* ("Passa passa has been banned") (2015) – she again 'disses' Soul Jah Love. In the "Seh Calaz and Bounty Lisa Diss" (2015), Lady Squanda denigrates the fellow female musician Bounty Lisa together with the male Seh Calaz. The threats made to men in some of her 'disses' are evidence of how she utilises symbolic violence and aggression to penetrate the male dominated urban grooves genre, defy male dominance and gendered perceptions about the genre and claim celebrity status in a way that resonates with cultural capital as noted earlier in this chapter.

Lady Squanda proclaims typical masculine characteristics in the song *"Ndiri Warrior,"* ("I am a warrior") (2017) where she draws from tropes of militarism discussed earlier. She claims in the song that she is a warrior who is not afraid of anyone and instils fear in other musicians such that they sweat when they see her approaching *(vamwe vanobuda ziya vandiona ndauya)*. More boldness is displayed when she sings: *"ndozvitemba ndiri one, handitembe nemafia"* (I have confidence in myself, I do not rely on a mafia). Here, Lady Squanda indirectly 'disses' Guspy Warrior who calls a group of his followers Mafia 19. She also mocks Guspy Warrior by singing that *"handisi Guspy asi ndiri warrior"* (I am not Guspy but I am a warrior), thus downgrading Guspy Warrior by stating that she is a better warrior. She espouses more power here by comparing herself (a woman who is perceived as inferior), to a man who is traditionally viewed as more powerful than a woman. More interestingly, Lady Squanda takes her aggressive and violent masculinities to greater heights when she demonstrates the qualities of physical violence and aggressiveness by assaulting not only female artists, but males as well. In 2016, a video circulated on social media showing Lady Squanda bullying and assaulting a Zimbabwean male comedian, Skimbo (Tatenda Matika).[15] Although Lady Squanda later apologised for this assault,[16] there were claims from the musician's manager that Lady Squanda gained even more popularity after the incident as many Zimdancehall artists wanted to do some collaborations with her while more promoters wanted to book her for music shows (Kufakurinani and Mwatara 2017: 42). All this attests to how Lady Squanda makes use of violent and aggressive masculinities to claim recognition in the form described by Marshall (2014) as 'exciting public attention'. I therefore concur with Kufakurinani and Mwatara (2017: 43) who argue that this female musician disrupts and challenges patriarchal Zimbabwean norms as well as patriarchal norms and dominance in the urban grooves musical scene, by using forms of masculine aggression and violence against men. Although Lady Squanda is one female musician who has been so much vilified by society for her controversial behaviour, she has attained part of her fame through these controversies or non-conformity to social norms: a condition that corresponds with Milner Jr's (2005: 74) postulation that conformity to social norms has become less crucial as a source of celebrity status.

This section revealed that, "disses" utilise violent and aggressive masculinities and reflect the gendered nature of the urban grooves genre and how it is dominated by male musicians. Hence, the male musicians map their identities and search for celebrity status in line with masculine conceptions that govern recognition and power for men. In such instances

of male dominance, the female Lady Squanda has relied on performing a subversion of masculine power and status. She attains her status by maximising on her visibility through flouting patriarchal norms and fighting for recognition and power on an equal footing with male musicians. The section that follows analyses how the majority of female musicians, contrary to male musicians, utilise societal notions on femininity in their 'disses' as they fight for recognition and power.

6.5 Female Disses and Body Shaming

The concept of body shaming is popular in female urban grooves, particularly Zimdancehall 'disses' where female musicians make use of the phenomenon to devalue female rivals while they enhance their statuses. This section focuses mainly on body shaming performed by female musicians. This discussion is informed by the conceptualisation of body shaming by Bouson (2009) although other critics are considered as well. Critics such as Shezi and Chigumadzi (2014) perceive body shaming as a product of patriarchy, and argue that body shaming entails keeping within the normative behaviour of patriarchal societies. Bouson (2009: 1) and Hungerford (2015: 362) define the concept as involving shame about the self and body, where women's social experiences instil shame into them when their bodies do not conform or adhere to certain cultural norms. Bouson (2009: 1) outlines other factors that contribute to shaming of women in patriarchal societies such as "the trauma of defective or abusive parenting and […] various forms of sexual, racial or social denigration of females in our culture." Thus, body shaming is a "cultural inheritance of women" (Bouson 2009: 1) and this explains why it pervades female 'disses.' The quest for recognition and power through body shaming relies largely on the counteraction between subjectivity and objectivity. This entails body shamers posing as subjects who attain visibility and power through a negative labelling of those that they body shame, thus disempowering them and rendering them invisible (Oliver 2001).

Body shaming in women is associated with thoughts that one is physically unattractive, flawed, undesirable or ugly (Bouson 2015: 2). As a result, women avoid such shame by shaping and modifying their bodies to conform to the ideal body images or shapes (Brabazon 2006). This practice of modifying and altering the body to conform to what is considered as beautiful is especially true of female celebrities and a feature of celebrity culture, where the bodies of female celebrities are subject to intense scrutiny, with audiences

often talking about their beauty and attractiveness (Marshall 2014: 144-145). In this way, female bodies are envisaged in terms of recognition, whereby female celebrities attract public attention (Marshall 2014) and are rendered visible (Oliver 2001). However, Brabazon (2006: 76) contends, as observed earlier in Chapter 3 that concerns with the right size of the female bodies relate to the preservation of patriarchy and the desire to keep women submissive and disempowered. This means that as female musicians shame each other's bodies, they play a role in the bid to fit women's bodies into patriarchal perceptions of feminine beauty and attractiveness, thereby becoming accomplices in the perpetuation of patriarchy.

In the song *"Mbuya Mbuya,"* (2016) which is an attack on Lady Squanda, Bounty Lisa plies on ageism, particularly, getting old, which is represented by the word *"mbuya,"* the Shona word for grandmother, and also refers to Lady Squanda as "gogas," a slang form that is borrowed from the Ndebele, *"ugogo"* and has the same meaning as *"mbuya."* She sings: *"utori mbuya mbuya"* claiming that Lady Squanda looks old and at the same time presents a contrasting image of herself to raise her status while downgrading that of the rival. Thus in this instance, Bounty Lisa claims that, she, unlike Lady Squanda, does not look old *("asi ini handisi mbuya mbuya")*. She adds that she loves bathing *"ini ndiri webhavhu"* and *"fashion rangu rinotaura kuti ini ndiri ani"* (my fashion sense says who I am). This implies that Lady Squanda looks old and unattractive because she loathes bathing and does not have an appropriate fashion sense. It is important to note here that the preoccupation with fashion is an aspect of celebrity culture as noted by Milner Jr (2005) and Marshall (2014), but it is associated with both female and male music cultures. However, fashion serves different purposes in female and in male music. In male music, it is associated more with their economic power as shown in Mudiwa's case analysed earlier. In female music, it is usually conceived in relation to physical beauty and attractiveness (see Chapter 3) as portrayed by Bounty Lisa above. Dressing for attractiveness is in a way problematic as it poses the paradox between female subjectivity and objectivity. I noted in Chapter 3 how feminist critics such as Adichie (see Chapter 3) welcome dressing for attractiveness and associate it with taste and hence, female subjectivity and power. Yet, attractiveness becomes problematic in cases where women dress to appeal to men, thus signifying patriarchal body policing, objectification of women and their disempowerment.

Being old, physically unattractive and dirtied, as expressed in the above analysed songs, are some of the attributes of body shaming that Bouson (2015: 14) lists. The

comparison between bathing and not bathing resonates with attributes of body shaming where the abject, which is the opposite of the clean body, is defiled and described as disgusting and shameful. The abject in body shaming is associated with bodily substance and waste products such as saliva, faeces, urine, vomit and mucus (Bouson 2015: 4) showing how body shaming is dependent on 'objectification and negative recognition of the other' (Oliver 2001). A very good example of such references to the abject in body shaming appears in Lady Squanda's "Seh Calaz and Bounty Lisa Diss" (2015) where she conveys that the two smell of sewage *("zviri kunhuwa sewage").* The fact that body shaming here relies on generating feelings of self-hatred, disgust and shame, as observed by Bouson (2015) above, shows how the search for recognition and power by female musicians who engage in the shaming of the body entails soliciting celebrity status by devaluing one's rival's self-worth and ensuring the rival's invisibility.

Lady Squanda utilises similar ways of body shaming as those used by Bounty Lisa to denounce Bounty Lisa in the "Bounty Lisa Diss" (2016) as she claims for recognition by soliciting for visibility, and as argued by Oliver (2001: 147), visibility itself is a matter of power. Lady Squanda performs the Bounty Lisa diss in a much more derisive way and portrays a grotesque image of her as follows:

> *Kana ndikakutarisa ndonzwa kuda kuseka*
>
> When I look at you I feel like laughing
>
> *Face yakaunyana iri kuita kunge yakuda kucracker*
>
> Your face is wrinkled, it looks as if it is going to crack

There is a relationship between ugliness and looking old and unattractive, thus, the grotesque serves to emphasise how ugly and unattractive Bounty Lisa is. She does not just look old and ugly, but she is grotesquely wrinkled. The defacing of Bounty Lisa is significant in relation to the contest for recognition and power as it symbolises how Lady Squanda goes further than just putting Bounty Lisa down as espoused in Milner Jr's (2005) analysis of status attainment in celebrity culture. The disfiguring represents how Lady Squanda elevates her status by effacing Bounty Lisa from the music scene or ensuring that she is invisible and thus disempowered.

Lindsay also utilises the tropes of ugliness, oldness, unattractiveness and the abject to 'diss' Fungisai in *"Ngoma Hauimbe (Fungisai Diss)."* She conflates the body shaming with a mockery of Fungisai's marriage status based on the allegations that Fungisai had separated from her husband.[17] Such an allegation resonates with the concept of gossip and how it pervades the fight for celebrity status as observed by Milner Jr (2005). Lindsay makes an intertextual reference to Fungisai's song *"Amai Ndakanaka"* ("Mother I am beautiful") (2016) which is centred on the celebration of female beauty, and deploys it ironically to mock Fungisai for her alleged separation. She asks: *"hanzi ndakanaka nhai/ ko murume akaendepi nhai?"* (You say you are beautiful/ where is your husband?) Lindsay also makes the following supposition: *"zvamunoti makanaka mhai/ zvimwe mvura yava shoma nhai"* (you say you are beautiful/ maybe you have not been bathing). She adds that Fungisai is a wolf who wears sheep skin *("apa uri chikara chinofamba chakapfeka dehwe rehwai).* Lindsay therefore discredits Fungisai in her 'diss' by targeting her marriage to disgrace and shame her. This devaluing of Fungisai, based on her marital status, is a true reflection of the experiences many women endure in the rigidly patriarchal Zimbabwean society where a woman cannot make a personal choice to stay single or divorce. Marriage is perceived as obligatory for women and a measure of their self-value. This has seen women who choose to stay single, or those who are 'older' and yet unmarried – identified as *tsikombi* in Shona – being subjected to various forms of derision. Single mothers are also derogatorily identified as *mvana* for bearing children out of wedlock and yet there is no male equivalent for *mvana.* Thus, Fungisai's alleged separation from her husband means a loss of status. Claims by Lindsay that Fungisai is ugly, dirty and dresses poorly, are made with the aim of advancing the perception that Fungisai's husband actually dumped her because she repulsed him. Lindsay draws her critique and supposition here from traditional patriarchal gender relations where, as asserted by Evans and Riley (2013: 270), women are supposed to work on their bodies to attract husbands. Her appropriation of gender concepts that patriarchy uses for female body policing or what Brabazon (2006) calls, controlling and disciplining female bodies, is in line with her quest for the empowerment and elevation of her self-image. This relies on the objectification and lowering of the image of the 'other,' who in this case are fellow female musicians such as Fungisai.

In the introduction to this section, I pointed out that body shaming is dominant in female 'disses.' I argue further that although body shaming is a product of patriarchy, it is the most prominent method utilised by female musicians to denigrate each other while they claim

and search for recognition and power in music. As a result, one may ask why females use this method against fellow victims of patriarchy. How appropriate is body shaming in this endeavour for female artists to enhance their influence and status in music? Bouson's (2009) conceptualisation on body shaming raises pertinent arguments that help in understanding how body shaming works for women. The first pertinent point she puts forward is that female socialisation has worked as a prolonged immersion in body shaming. To date, women are engrossed in anxieties about the body; body size, weight, shape, appearance (Brabazon 2006) and colour; and although feminists have made attempts to valorise the female body, it has remained a source of shame (Bouson 2009: 3). The ironic deployment of Fungisai's *"Amai Ndakanaka"* is such a significant manifestation of the undermining of these feminists and women's efforts to reclaim their bodies and assert female subjectivity and agency that is crucial for female empowerment. The song *"Amai Ndakanaka"* is centred on instilling pride in women through a self-assertion of female beauty and yet Lindsay subverts such efforts and uses the song against Fungisai to shame her. Bouson (2009: 5) argues further that such encounters and interactions with body shamers often lead victims of the shame into an inferiority complex that influences them to view themselves as bad, failures, inadequate and defective. Consequently, the victims of shaming may try to hide or conceal themselves to protect themselves from feelings of exposure. Thus, body shaming influences female identity and selfhood (Bouson 2009). These insights by Bouson are useful in explaining why body shaming pervades female 'disses,' most importantly considering the socialisation of female musicians in a rigidly patriarchal society such as Zimbabwe. Chapter 3 discussed how such a socialisation even influences the way female fans of urban grooves music construct their identities and make stereotypical judgments against female musicians. In addition, since body shaming, as argued by Bouson (2009), tends to influence feelings of inferiority and resignation to the victims, it follows that the perpetrators, in this case, urban groovers who perform 'diss' – align themselves with "power spoken of in terms of visibility" (Oliver 2001: 11).

6.6 Preserving and Protecting Territory in the Quest for Power

This last section of this chapter examines another important feature that shapes lyrical feuds in the musicians' pursuit for power, which is the urban grooves musicians' preoccupation with preservation and protection of territory. The obsession with territory is based on the

premise that "the discourse of beef is territorialised" (Sweet 2005: 27). Storey (2017) observes that the concepts of territory and power are interlinked. He argues that conceptions about territory, the production of territories and the employment of territorial strategies, are linked with the maintenance of power or the resistance of its imposition by a dominant group. In Chapter 3, I made brief reference to territory in the analysis of spatial identity, the way territory influences identification between musicians and their fans and the power dynamics that ensue as musicians attempt to control and lay claim to fan bases in specific spaces. In this Chapter I analyse in detail how a group of musicians that call themselves the Danger Zone Family, who hail from Dzivarasekwa, utilise the upholding of territorial integrity, through the song "Danger Zone All Stars Anthem" (2014), to express group affiliation and identities as well as a musical search for power and celebrity status. I noted earlier in this chapter that group affiliations, associations and collective identities are crucial in the quest for power as they offer group members social capital (Bourdieu 1986, 1989). Marshall (2014) posits that, in relation to the concept of group identities in music, collective forms of identity are central to popular music.

In my analysis of territory here, I acknowledge as observed by Storey (2017) that, the concept of territory is not limited to geographic spaces. The analysis also considers musical spaces and/ or genres as territories that musicians fight to control and protect from the intrusion and influence of those perceived as outsiders. It is therefore important to note in this instance that the song *"Ngoma Hauimbe"* by Lindsay analysed earlier, was influenced by this kind of concern to protect musical territory. The main reason why Lindsay resorted to 'dissing' Fungisai was that Fungisai (a gospel musician) was trespassing into the Zimdancehall territory by singing Zimdancehall songs and even winning an award (see Chapter 5). Moreover one has to recall here that Zimdancehall and gospel music genres are considered as the antithesis of each other (see Chapter 5). Lindsay herself is reported in the *Newsday* by Antonio (2016), to have explained that she targeted Fungisai in her 'diss' because "She was treading in dancehall territory."

I also take into consideration the developments that have taken place in the urban grooves musical scene with the specification of the genres and the popularity of the Zimdancehall variant ahead of other variants (see Chapter 1). The focus here is on how the growth of urban grooves music and the popularity of Zimdancehall has led to the fight for ownership and power to control the urban grooves umbrella and demonstrate which genre is

the most popular amongst the specific genres. An analysis of the song *Papi Pacho?* (In What Way?) (2017) by the duo Extra Large, BaShupi and Stunner is made to determine the power struggles in this instance and tease the issue of authenticity in this quest for power.

In Chapter 3, I noted that the power dynamics in urban grooves music that are kindled through spatial identities echo the rivalries between the American rappers of the East Coast and the West Coast. These rapping communities engaged in highly publicised lyrical feuds that triggered a tremendous amount of competition between these groups and eventually contributed to the murders of Tupac Shakur and Notorious B.I.G. (Sweet 2005: 6). Although some urban groovers and their fans express attachment to certain spaces and declare them as their territories, there are no such defined territorial music communities that express their rivalries through lyrical feuds as in the case of the East Coast versus the West Coast. Thus, in spite of the Danger Zone Family being a defined group of musicians representing their territory of Dzivarasekwa, they do not have a specific community of musicians they compete with. As a result, the song "Danger Zone All Stars Anthem" utilises both elements of self-praise and 'diss,' yet the 'dissing' is not as explicit as in the 'disses' analysed previously and it has no specific target. These different musicians from Dzivaresekwa – the HKD Family, came together in this song to express their identity as HKD members and declare their allegiance to the group and territory, thus upholding their territorial integrity. The creation of the name Danger Zone Family is an attribute of social capital, whilst the territory Danger Zone or Dzivarasekwa is their collectively-owned-capital "which entitles them to credit in various sense of the word" (Bourdieu 1986: 51).The fact that they identify the song as an anthem signifies this integrity and resonates with typical spatial representations such as ones in rap where artists could compose odes to their city and express their identities through their hood, their block, their borough or their city (Sweet 2005: 12). This is also an expression of social capital as it relates to group membership and affiliation

There are two main features that characterise the song "Danger Zone All Stars Anthem" in relation to the preservation and protection of territory in the musicians' quest for power. First, the musicians express their identity and swear allegiance to their territory and music group, and second, they express their determination to defend the same territory. The purpose of the song here parallels the way hip-hop was utilised by the West Coast and East Coast communities as a medium through which to bring a sense of resistance and power to their communities (Potter 1995: 49). The HKD Family swear allegiance to their community

in the chorus as follows: "*HKD ndiyo yangu family/ kuDanger Zone tetiriko kusvika narini*" (HKD is my family/ we will be in the Danger Zone for eternity). The lyrics also reveal the musicians' commitment to their territory and music group and proclamation of territorial integrity and social capital which is corroborated by their expression of a familial bond and sense of belonging or attachment to place. There is a relationship between attachment to place and authenticity, and as articulated by Sweet (2005: 21) authenticity or realness are often rooted in local or regional affiliation. Most importantly, there is a relationship between authenticity and power and as argued by Watkins (2006: 2), a claim to authenticity is a claim to power. The HKD Family indeed connect their authenticity with power, hence soon after expressing their rootedness to place, they envision power which will help them to defeat their rivals, who in this case can be assumed to be musicians who are not from Dzivarasekwa since the song has no specific target. This is evident in the following: "*tisu takagadzirirwa victory/ chero vakada kuzvichinja asi ndozvazviri*" (we are meant for victory/ even if they may want to change it (the rivals), they will not succeed). Thus, power as reflected in the lyrics, relates with the attainment of victory, showing how territorial attachment and affiliation are rooted in the quest for power and celebrity status, since as pointed out earlier, celebrity is related to power

A claim to power also entails musical groups defending or protecting their territory and upholding their territory's integrity. In line with this, Storey (2017) links the concept of territory to both the maintenance of power and resistance of its imposition by a dominant group, or suitably in the case of music here, by a rival group. The adoption of football discourse and militaristic concepts in the song "Danger Zone All Stars Anthem" intersects with this need to protect the territory and uphold its integrity. The relevant aspects of soccer that the song borrows in this instance involve defending, tight marking and scoring as in the lyrics below:

Danger zone line up

Tasunga makaka

We have tight defence

...tomaka vanhu kunge Verane

We mark people like Verane[18]

Hatife takapera kunge Inter Milan

We will never lose popularity like Inter Milan

Togoweza tiri kure kunge Forlan

We score from afar like Forlan[19]

There is an interaction between the appropriated elements of soccer in the above lyrics and the point made earlier in the chapter that the urban grooves musical scene is a battlefield or a contested terrain where musicians fight for recognition and power.

Protection of territory by the HKD Family is appropriately compared to a soccer match between the defending champions and a rival team, with the HKD Family being represented by the defending champions that uses teamwork to defend its title. What transpires during the match and contestation here - the teamwork and rivalry - resonates with Zenenga's (2012: 251) observation on the duality of soccer which engenders trust and co-operation and is at the same time characterised by an inherent agonistic struggle between the two teams fighting to defeat each other. The mutuality envisioned through the concept of teamwork in soccer is an important source of power that Bourdieu (1986) identifies as a resource of social capital. In addition, the militaristic concept of guns and gunshots is deployed into the song to co-ordinate the idea of defending territory and territorial power or social capital. The group sings: "*takapinda kare musystem saSystem Tazvida/ pfuti tichikoka*" (we got into the system a long time ago like System Tazvida/ firing guns) and gun sounds are heard from the song. The fact that the group claims that they have been in music for long resonates with the notion of being the defending soccer champion, and in this sense, the gun serves as a 'defensive weapon' (Hope 2006: 116). There is also a relationship between the term Danger Zone, the militarism and defence in the song. The Danger Zone is portrayed as a dangerous zone to tread for outsiders or rivals. It is therefore, apparent, as revealed in this discussion that, 'beefing' about territory corresponds with the quest for power as power in this instance is associated with local space, loyalty to it and the ability to control (Sweet 2005; Helfeinbein 2006) and protect its integrity. Furthermore, the presentation of territory through the discourse of soccer resonates with youth identities and cultures since, as revealed in Chapter 2, soccer is an important pastime, especially among male youth, that even influences the daily languages and interactions among young people.

Finally, the song *"Papi Pacho"* by Extra Large, BaShupi and Stunner, reflects the contestations for power that have surfaced in the urban grooves music genre. It is apparent that the type of power that the musicians fight for here is symbolic power or the power and authority to control the social capital, that is, the urban grooves movement as an umbrella. The categorisation of the urban grooves umbrella into specific genres (see Chapter 1) means that contestations for the symbolic power involves the question: which genre is the most outstanding or the most visible, considering that 'oustandingness' and visibility are amongst the key features that Bourdieu (1986) describes as making-up symbolic power. The song by the four musicians, who are amongst the pioneers of the urban grooves music who started singing before Zimdancehall music became prominent, 'disses' Zimdancehall artists. Extra Large, BaShupi and Stunner bolster their 'diss' by downgrading the Zimdancehall artists, just as in 'disses' analysed earlier, by belittling the rivals whilst elevating themselves. For example, they address the rivals as *"vapfanha"* (young men) and *"pwere"* (toddlers) whilst they identify themselves as *"madhara"* (old men) and *"malandlords"* (landlords). They mock the musicians for claiming ownership and control of the urban grooves territory: *"kutozviti vakadiscover nyika yatinogara"* (they say they discovered the territory we live in). Extra Large, BaShupi and Stunner then claim ownership of the urban grooves genre themselves: *("... isu tisu vene vezvinhu izvi")*. They declare that they nurtured the Zimdancehall genre and that it would not have been recognised had they not established urban grooves: *("papi pacho pamaitungamira isusu tisipo?/ Papi pacho pamaizvitanga isusu tisipo?")* (How would you have led without us?/ How would you have begun without us?). They also define the Zimdancehall artists as newcomers and most of them as fake *("vakazouya iye zvino vakutanga kutamba maclarks/ but hobho vacho vangori fake kunge locks raVic Taks")* (they emerged recently and created their dance style (the clarks)/ but most of them are as fake as Vic Taks' dread locks).

The implication above is that Zimdancehall artists do not have the right to claim ownership of the urban grooves territory as they can never make mention of their music without acknowledging the likes of Extra Large, Stunner and BaShupi. The four musicians therefore assert their value and significance in the emergence and development of urban grooves in ways that resonate with the representative symbolic power; as they claim to represent the urban grooves umbrella since they are its pioneers. In other words, they claim that they are the "group personified" (Bourdieu 1986: 47). This assertion of value and significance is a central feature of the phenomenon of celebrity. According to Marshall

(2014: 7), the term celebrity is a metaphor for value in modern societies that can be expressed through an individual and celebrated publicly as significant. It is very ironic that issues of authenticity and originality surface here – the very same issues that were raised by the older generation of musicians to discredit urban grooves during its inception. Nevertheless, it is evident that the claims to authenticity and originality relate to the fight for recognition and power.

6.7 Conclusion

The urban grooves musical genre is indeed a highly contested terrain and a 'warzone.' The 'warfare' involving the urban groovers is fought from many fronts, ranging from the inter-generational power struggles with the older musicians that the urban groovers have been and are still fighting (see Chapter 5), to the 'wars' that the younger musicians fight with each other in varied ways. This has resulted in self-praise and lyrical feuds pervading urban grooves music as the young artists, most of whom became musicians to survive the harsh Zimbabwean economic environment, battle it out for recognition and power. Thus, urban grooves resembles hip-hop in the way it has remained "a never ending battle for status, prestige…, always in formation, always contested and never fully achieved" (Rose 1994: 36). However, I have shown how urban grooves musicians make effective use of self-praise and lyrical feuds in their claims to recognition and power by referencing different forms of recognition and power conceptualised by scholars such as Barber (1987), Bourdieu (1984, 1986, 1989), Oliver (2001) and Marshall (2014). I therefore consider self-praise and lyrical feuds as important tropes that represent the musicians' claims to recognition and power in the highly competitive urban grooves musical scene. This is despite the negative reactions that both tropes have provoked even from some of the fans of the music; and in spite of some paradoxes that the discussion noted as ensuing in some instances of such claims to recognition and power. I have also shown, in relation to the focus of this thesis, how recognition and power stand as central concepts to celebrity culture especially in terms of visibility, attainment of public attention and affective power.

The analysis of self-praise also revealed that self-praise is integrated in the search for economic capital, hence the American hip-hop culture of 'bling' has been appropriated into urban grooves. Interestingly, a musician such as Mudiwa synthesises 'bling' with the gospel of prosperity. This allows him to legitimise his accumulation of wealth by attributing it to

blessings from God and to celebrate success without work. The conflation of 'bling' and the gospel of prosperity also enables Mudiwa to perform his material success in excess especially through visual displays of the accumulated material wealth that he utilises to solicit for recognition in the form of visibility. I noted how this represents the allure of the gospel of prosperity to many marginalised youth who have been wallowing in the economic doldrums. Hence, the gospel of prosperity in this instance, which may seem escapist, is relatable to the youth's immediate material needs and aspirations for visibility and by extension, power since visibility empowers (Oliver 2001). However, a discussion on street credibility in the search for recognition and power contradicts Mudiwa's glorification of prosperity, especially the notion of success without work. Musicians who demonstrate street credibility celebrate success gained through hard work and the ability to utilise street tactics for survival, although these tactics are extended to include illegal and illicit deals. Nevertheless, street credibility is a source of power which manifests in the form of social capital and symbolic power and both are also translatable to economic capital as noted in my analysis of Winky D's music.

In addition, some performance of self-praise, as noted in Lady Squanda's music, disrupts patriarchal norms and dares the male-dominated urban grooves. Lady Squanda competes on an equal footing with male singers for power, celebrity status and autonomy. Thus, her defiance and ability to make it in the male-dominated urban grooves offers her cultural capital. She also celebrates material success in a manner that represents how she disrupts patriarchal norms, and fights for economic emancipation where material display in music is often associated with male musicians, male celebrities and male economic power.

My discussion on 'diss' also revealed the different ways in which male musicians and female musicians apply it, with the exception of controversial Squanda who applies 'diss' in both masculine and feminine ways. This duality of 'disses' reflects on the gendered nature of urban grooves. 'Disses' have also been seen to serve significant roles in claims to power as they rely on the demotion of the status of the performer's rivals, whilst in the process the performer raises his/her own status as is common in celebrity culture. In this instance power is mainly signified through the performance of subjectivity that contrasts with objectivity. Male 'disses' often include violent and aggressive masculinities as well as militaristic concepts. However, it is important to note that violent and aggressive masculinities emanate from the patriarchal nature and male dominance of urban grooves, as patriarchy emphasises and valorises toughness and aggressiveness in men. This emphasis is often demonstrated in

the hypermasculine nature of 'disses,' such as the 'diss' by Soul Jah Love analysed in the chapter. Thus, different forms of masculinities correlate with symbolic power and patriarchal norms that regulate ways in which men attain recognition and power.

The chapter also noted other forms of violence, such as political violence, which characterised many societies that have generated male-dominated genres such as hip-hop, dancehall and Zimbabwe urban grooves music. Thus, violence in male-dominated genres such as hip-hip, as Potter (1995) argues, is a product of societies that produced the music. Female musicians use body shaming as the most popular means to bring their rivals down (usually fellow females) as they claim for recognition and fame. This is a product of the socialisation of women in the patriarchal Zimbabwean society and hence, when women 'diss' each other that way, they assist in the perpetuation of patriarchy and the gendering of urban grooves. This, however does not take away the fact that lyrical feuds are a significant feature of urban grooves music that resonate with urban groovers' search for recognition and power as I indeed argued in this chapter.

Endnotes

[1] Although *'ngoma'* means drum in Shona, the term has been adopted in Zimdancehall to refer to Zimdancehall songs and *'hauimbe'* means 'you cannot sing,' hence by saying *"Ngoma hauimbe"* in the title of her song, Lindsay means Fungisai cannot sing Zimdancehall. Fungisai was well known in the gospel music circles as a gospel artist but in 2016 she sang some Zimdancehall songs, hence the Lindsay 'diss.'

[2] See (https://www.musicinafrica.net/magazine/rise-zim-dancehall).

[3] See the story "Seh Calaz Re-ignites Soul Jah Love Rivalry in the *Herald* of 14 March 2018 (https://www.herald.co.zw/she-calaz-re-ignites-soul-jah-love-rivalry). The story reveals how She Calaz still 'disses' rival musicians.

[4] Spirit Embassy Ministries International's founder, Eubert Angel is listed amongst the most three influential Zimbabwean Pentecostal Church founders and leaders (the other two being Emmanuel Makandiwa and Walter Magaya) who preach the gospel of prosperity (see Bishau 2013; Togarasei 2015; Magezi and Manzanga 2016).

[5] See (https://www.pindula.co.zw/Emmanuel_Makandiwa).

[6] See (https://www.pindula.co.zw).

[7] See (https://www.pindula.co.zw).

[8] See the *Sunday Mail* (http://www.sundaymail.co.zw/dancehall-lady-squanda-bullies-way-to-the-top/) and the *Daily News* (https://www.dailynews.co.zw/articles/2015/05/11/squanda-ridicules-fellow-female-chanters).

[9] See the *Daily News* (https://www.dailynews.co.zw/articles/2015/05/11/squanda-ridicules-fellow-female-chanters).

[10] See (https://www.pindula.co.zw).

[11] See comments on "Slayin" video on (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vMdqjNPSJ6g).

[12] See (https://www.pindula.co.zw/Winky_D).

[13] For more on the sting, see (http://nehandaradio.com/2014/11/11/seh-calaz-soul-jah-love-blame-violence/).

[14] See examples on fans' amusement with 'diss' and their appreciation of Lady Squanda's mastery of 'diss' on (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=llf4cWGeRqE).

[15] See the video on (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lxtevdf0LO8).

[16] See (http://www.chronicle.co.zw/lady-squanda-to-apologise-to-skimbo/).

[17] See the story on Fungisa's separation on (http://www.zimbojam.com/im-neither-divorced-alcoholic-empress-fungie/).

[18] Verane (Raphael Verane) is a French footballer who plays for the Spanish club, Real Madrid.

[19] Forlan (Diego Forlan) is a professional footballer from Uruguay. He was awarded the golden Ball as a standout player at the 2010 FIFA World Cup

Chapter 7: Conclusion

In this study I considered Zimbabwe urban grooves music as a contemporary urban genre that most Zimbabwean youth listen to for entertainment and other reasons. The music appeals to youth and plays a significant role in the way they construct and express their identities and culture. The study also considered urban grooves music as a hybrid genre that borrows from global youth popular music and music cultures and fuses them with local Zimbabwean music cultures and everyday experiences. The urban grooves musicians themselves, who are perceived as celebrities in the research, are evidently influenced by global popular musicians and celebrity cultures. I examined the linkages between Zimbabwean youth identities and celebrity culture as constituted in urban grooves music. Thus, the study considered the assumption that the shifting nature of urban grooves music and the associated intercultural encounters since its formation, impact on Zimbabwean youth in various ways and yield further heterogeneous and complex forms of identities and agencies, perceptions of the existing social and economic conditions, senses of connection with space, and complex relationships amongst the youth and between the musicians and the youth consumers on the basis of celebrity cultures, gender dynamics and the power thereof.

An examination of the co-relationship between urban grooves music and societal experiences and aspirations of youth revealed that the urban grooves musical texts play a representational role in the sense that they embody issues that are important to youth. Existing research on urban grooves, (Bere 2008; Chari 2009a, 2009b, 2016; Manase 2009, 2011; Viriri, Viriri and Chapwanya 2011; Mate 2012; Mugari 2014; Willems 2015; Musanga 2016) has not paid attention to how consumers of the genre engage in meaning making, as most researchers have placed their focus on the musical texts in the exploration of the messages they express. In this study, I placed value on the consumers of urban grooves music to establish how they make sense of the music that they consume. The interviews that engaged the youth at four schools, Harare, Mabvuku, Seke 1 and Zengeza 2 High Schools, situated in impoverished residential townships in Harare and Chitungwiza where the music has its roots and is most popular, made important revelations on how youth comprehend urban grooves. The interviews indicated that youth make sense of urban grooves music and music culture in relationship to things that matter to them, their everyday experiences and aspirations even in instances when their interpretations differed. Varied interpretations were especially notable where youth talked about urban grooves in relation to dressing, drugs and 'disses.' For example, as discussed in Chapter 3, some interviewees interpreted female

dressing in music in relation to being trendy or 'moving with time' and thus showed how they make sense of fashion in relation to contemporary changes in fashion trends and their aspirations. Others, especially female respondents, interpreted the same issue of female dressing in terms of 'decency' and 'indecency' and in that way demonstrated the everyday realities of their gender socialisation in the patriarchal Zimbabwean society where 'decency' is emphasised in women.

The research also established that the depiction of the everyday in urban grooves centres predominantly on the experiences of the urban poor, and in line with this, interviewees made reference to musical texts such as Winky D's "Copyrights" (2015) and Seh Calaz's *"Paghetto"* ("In the ghetto") (2016) that talk about the material conditions of the poor. The youth used the songs that they referenced to make conscious comments on their economic struggles which they compared with the excesses of the affluent, especially those who are politically connected. They also articulated their aspirations for improved social conditions. The conceptualisation of urban grooves in this instance illustrated the popular culture conception by Fiske (1989a) that situates meaning making in the interest of the subordinated and not the dominant ideology. In addition, the research established that urban grooves songs are further utilised in what De Certeau (1984) calls 'secondary production' as noted in the way music consumers tapped from the musical texts to come up with their own renditions of songs as what happened with Winky D's "Disappear" (2015). In most instances 'secondary production' involves consumers borrowing words or phrases from a song to produce satirical or comic texts and videos. They also make comments on the status quo or ridicule political leaders as noted in the discussion in Chapter 4 on music consumer agency regarding Killer T's *"Bvunza Tinzwe"* "Ask, I am listening" (2016) and Soul Jah Love's *"Pamamonya Ipapo"* "Amongst the heavy weights" (2017). This demonstrates that musicians have subverted the state that sponsored urban grooves by exposing the government's socio-political and economic failures (Bere 2008; Manase 2009). Consumers of urban grooves also reconfigured the music to reflect on their local experiences and material conditions that have been caused by the state's failures.

An analysis of high school research participants' responses and those of the musicians, music producers and promoters, as well as that of the selected music texts, established that the songs critically reflect on urban youth experiences. These experiences include, lack of employment opportunities and how youth in Zimbabwe have responded to

such situations by hustling in the streets. Thus, although the city is represented as a precarious space that is characterised by many risks and struggles that youth encounter, city spaces, especially the streets, are conceived as spaces of possibilities. The analysis of the song "Robots" (2018) by Winky D showed that youth are prepared to employ some economic survival strategies or tactics to transcend obstacles that limit them from eking out a living in the city. The study has thus noted the youth's will to survive the harsh conditions and their use of survivalist tactics of the street. This observation falls within the concept of power postulated by Bourdieu (1986) as cultural capital in the form of innovative ways and embodied skills of earning a living. I concurred with Forster's (2014) perception on streets as creative spaces, in my analysis of songs such as *"Kanzuru"* "City Council" (2016) by Vendor President and Winky D's "Twenty Five" and the depicted youth culture of *"kukiya-kiya"* or 'informal economy' (Jones 2010) in Chapters 4 and 6, and thus called the city streets creative spaces where youth find other means of survival. In addition, I noted that the same streets enable the musicians' creativity in the sense that the musicians translate whatever happens in the city streets into song. Thus, the noises, language, social exchanges, power struggles, yearnings and the "tactical ruses" (De Certeau 1984: 40) are all translated into song where they find a representational space. These observations indeed link well with the study's placing of musical texts within African popular culture theories as conceptualised by Newell and Okome (2014) who argue that city streets are typical spaces that generate an understanding of the everyday experiences of urban Africa.

The study noted that, although urban grooves musicians are mainly spokespersons for youth, they also represent everyday problems that are faced by the nation at large. Usually, the impoverished youth get caught up in their parents' material conditions and hence there is a collective experience of poverty between the older generation and the younger generation. I used Sniper Storm's "One Room" (2005) as a typical depiction of mutual poverty between the youth persona and his/her parents as the persona who is from a poor background inherited the poverty from his/her parents. I drew on Coplan's (1985) idea of 'cultural brokers' to explain the role of the musicians as they link the young and the old and show the intricate relationship between what transpires in the domestic and public spaces or nationally and ultimately represent the collective in the process.

The concept of motherhood is another significant theme that is of value to youth and has found representation in urban grooves music. Although youth largely construct their

identities as distinct from those of the older generation, the urban grooves songs analysed in this research reveal that there is an interrelatedness in the mother-child relationships that the youth share with their mothers. Musicians have composed songs to honour mothers and celebrate their important roles in the lives of youth. The value of motherhood was affirmed by the youth I interviewed through appreciation for songs that honour mothers. However, the way motherhood is presented in urban grooves music is problematic in the sense that urban groovers place everyday roles of motherhood into the domestic and not the public space. Such a conception of motherhood has been a bone of contention as noted by feminist critiques (Derrickson 2002; Akujobi 2011; Gerda and Laura 2011) who argue against the confinement of women to domestic spaces. Nevertheless, I maintain that this presentation of motherhood is in line with the societal experiences of youth as the Zimbabwean society is largely patriarchal and perceives motherhood in such domesticating terms as musically represented by youth.

The available research on urban grooves music does not capture the fundamental shifts that have been impacting and are still impacting on youth, and have also contributed to the significant rise and popularity of urban grooves music amongst the Zimbabwean youth. I considered this research gap and I observed that there has been a significant paradigm shift in the Zimbabwean musical scene with the arrival of urban grooves music as it intersects with youth identities, everyday lives and cultural experiences that are shaped and influenced by global cultural changes. These global cultural changes include transformations brought about by globalisation and ICTs that have contributed to changes in means of communication, entertainment practices, "transformations in the everyday economic world" (Comaroff and Comaroff's 2000: 303) and constant changes in dressing and lifestyles. Youth have been responding to these global cultural changes through the production and consumption of urban grooves music. It is important to observe that youth acknowledge societal shifts and are always conscious of as well as interpret them in relation to youthful identities. During the interviews with youth, there were some respondents who interpreted societal shifts as contributing to cultural dilution and loss. These youth also indicated that they do not subscribe to some of these changes as their parents do not approve of them. However, most youth defined their identities in terms of 'moving with time,' what they called *'kupinda musataera'* which literally translates to 'being in style' and this was contrasted with *'kusara'* (being left behind). *"Kusara"* is related with living in the past, and most youth do not want to identify with the idea of living in the past. Thus, my analysis of resistance in Chapter 5

showed how youth subvert the assignation of identities that are linked to the past or tradition. The interviewees even emphasised that being young means being different from the old. Moreover, this points to the fact that, the youth express their identities in terms of generational membership and pursuit to find a sense of belonging. Ultimately, the youth associated urban grooves music with 'moving with time' and emphasised that it is the music that they identify with.

Globalisation theories are paramount in the understanding of societal shifts that have contributed to various intercultural encounters and experiences among the Zimbabwean youth. The concept of the "network society" (Castells 2010) is of particular interest as it denotes global interdependences and social interactions that have been facilitated by the prevalence of ICTs. Global youth actively use ICTs to interact with each other in significant ways and access what happens around the world. Music and music cultures in particular have been remarkably shared and accessed by the youth through the use of computer technologies. Lipsitz (1994) perceives the benefits of ICTs in terms of digital sampling, repetition and mixing that have enabled youth to tap into other songs or borrow music from youth with similar experiences, identities and world views to produce their own hybrid forms of music that speak to both their local and global experiences. The study pointed out that hip-hop has been widely borrowed world-wide as most youth who occupy marginal positions identify with the music culture and sensibilities. This study has shown that this technological development has contributed immensely to the growth of the urban grooves genre although I acknowledged, in Chapter 6, the effects of this growth against an economy which cannot sustain such a huge number of musicians. Nevertheless, the study revealed that it is with this growth in ICTs that youth who have been excluded from important political decision making and national discourses, have found a voice to do so through music. In addition, the music consumers make conscious political comments on songs shared on YouTube and other social media sites as what happened with Soul Jah Love's song *"Ndiri Zvinhu"* "I am things" (2017) analysed in Chapter 5.

As noted earlier, this research has considered urban grooves music as a hybrid genre that adopted global popular music cultures such as American hip-hop music cultures and those of Jamaican dancehall. The urban groovers demonstrate a global outlook and their identification with these music cultures through visual displays of dressing, base-ball caps, chains, tattoos, studs and splashing wealth, such as the ostentatious displays of wealth in the

songs *"Ndaita Mari"* ("I have made money") (2012), and *"Slayin"* by Mudiwa analysed in Chapter 6. At the same time, youth consumers borrow global music cultures in their consumption of music and entertainment practices as seen in the house parties, such as *'vuzu'* parties – or what I refer to as '*vuzu* culture' – popularised by the youth, and echo South African youth and MTV music cultures. In light of these entertainment and cultural practices, youth resist narrowing national identities as they conceive their sense of self in broader terms that resonate with global youth identities and cultures. Thus, it is clear that the urban grooves genre is 'music of resistance' as the 'acts of resistance' expressed in the various entertainment and consumption practices, such as the house parties, vuzu parties and bashes, demonstrate that youth resist the narrowing of their identities and cultures and identify with other youth across the globe. I however noted, in Chapter 5, the ambivalences regarding risks involved in these 'acts of resistance' and what I called relatively 'safe spaces' where youth go to enjoy the music culture. I observed that the spaces are prone to risks such as violence, sexism and sexual indulgences that expose youth to unwanted pregnancies and sexually transmitted diseases.

Urban grooves, as a hybrid genre of music that blends the global and the local, demonstrates the intersection between the local and the global cultures that shape youth identities and cultural experiences. I explored in Chapter 2 the language used in urban grooves musical texts and revealed how it is expressive of the intersection between the global and the local. What emerged in this analysis is that urban groovers use syncretic language formations that are formed by merging different languages, especially Shona, English and slang through code switching, to express and represent youth identities and daily experiences in the context of global intercultural experiences and linkages. In the use of these syncretic language formations, musicians resist confinement to conventional grammar, in a manner similar to what Potter (1995: 78) calls 'resistance vernaculars,' whereby both the Shona words and the English words are played around with. Shona and English prefixes and suffixes are merged together sometimes coming up with new words or slang formations as the musicians set out to demonstrate and explore the realities of youth everyday local experiences as they intersect with the global. I considered examples such as *mu-face* (friend) and *kusaiza* (to reduce to size or downgrade). I observed syncretism in the figurative language formations used in the music, and here musicians use figures of speech drawn from everyday local experiences to create quotidian images that link with common experiences, while figures of speech drawn from global experiences are created to reflect youth

interactions with the global. A case in point is Winky D whose songs use a lot of quotidian puns, metaphors and similes drawn from common socio-economic and political practices to represent the local as in the example where he raises youth awareness towards the spread of HIV and AIDS and advises them against engaging in sex. The spread of HIV is compared to the common daily practice of applying lotion over one's body *('kuzora lotion'*) as reflected in the analysis of the song *"Woshora"* ("You do not appreciate") (2015) in Chapter 2. Doba Don's *"Mudendere"* "In the nest" (2015) is also a good example that utilises metaphors and similes drawn from his daily interaction with global products such as a remote control. Hence, Doba Don visualises a life of agency that is free from being remote controlled *(kushandiswa nemunhu kunge remote)* as reflected in Chapter 2. The chapter also established that, in instances of syncretic figures of speech, musicians create their own novel figures of speech, thus showing how urban grooves music is a popular art that is characterised by novelty (Barber 1987). However, conventional Shona figures of speech are also used in some instances as I pointed out in my analysis of the symbol of the nest *('dendere')* in Doba Don's *"Mudendere."* This shows musicians have an awareness of their traditions and at the same time, it is befitting to call urban grooves music a glocal genre. Collaborative singing, which has become very popular in youth music, has seen urban groovers work together with other African musicians and utilising code switching, and incorporating the local languages of artists who are featured in the music as Trevor Dongo does in the song "African Girl" analysed in Chapter 2. I argued that this makes it easier for musicians to appeal to wider audiences, including audiences from other African countries. Such music is usually played on Trace Africa, a TV channel that airs predominantly hybrid African and youthful popular music genres. This confirms, as observed in the study, that music enables youth to transcend national borders and identify with other music lovers across the borders and thus constitute regional and trans-national identities.

In the thesis' Chapter 6 that discusses concepts of self-praise and lyrical feuds in urban grooves and relates these to musicians' claims to power and recognition, I argued that societal and global changes have contributed greatly to this quest for power and recognition among the youth. The study observed that youth in Africa have been pushed to the margins of the social and economic systems due to the changes that have been brought about by the neo-global capitalistic economies. As a result, youth have reacted to these changes by showing an aspiration for visibility and economic power or economic capital (Bourdieu 1986) through 'conspicuous consumption' (Jones 2013). The concept of 'bling' that is popular in hip-hop

music and has been borrowed by urban groovers is typical of this 'conspicuous consumption' which is shown through ostentatious visual displays of wealth in video texts. My analysis of the musician Mudiwa's songs involved the synthesis of this concept of 'bling' with the gospel of prosperity, an ideology that has diffused in Zimbabwe especially with the emergency and growth of Millenarian Pentecostal Churches. The study noted that 'bling' and 'the gospel of prosperity' resonate with the realities of the majority of the impoverished Zimbabwean youth who aspire for improved material conditions and are flooding Pentecostal Churches that promise instant wealth. Thus, what I deduced from my study of 'bling' in urban grooves is that 'conspicuous consumption' is not merely consumerist or escapist but should be regarded in terms of the global changes and interactions that youth respond to and in the way it has impacted their everyday life, cultural experiences and identities. Although this study acknowledged the vital role the global media technologies and/ or globalisation has played in aiding Zimbabwean youth in the construction and expression of their identities in their own terms, identifying with other youth across the globe, sharing and producing music and other creative arts, the study has exposed some of the drawbacks of globalisation that impact negatively on Zimbabwean youth. Chapter 2 discussed some of these drawbacks in relation to migration and the 'diaspora' experiences that have exposed migrants to exploitation, risky experiences such as xenophobia and alienation as in the case of the persona in the song "*Chidzoka*" ("Can you come back") I referenced in Chapter 2.

As youth identify with urban grooves music, they also identify with the musicians who influence them in notable ways. The research intended to find out ways in which urban grooves musicians influence Zimbabwean youth with a particular focus on the synergies between their identities and cultures. To begin with, youth disclosed that they identify with urban grooves musicians because most of them are youthful and have the same roots and thus, they share the same lived experiences. It is these lived experiences that the urban groovers sing about from their first-hand experience and that invoke among the youth the feeling that they are part of the collective representations made in the texts, thus facilitating identification between the youth fans and the musicians. One youth interviewee (ZR6, personal communication, 24 June 2016) from Chitungwiza township mentioned Hwindi President, who is also from Chitungwiza, as one of his favourite musicians and explained that, "I knew him from the start…. He sings the art of ghetto life, because we are in the ghetto, so that is what we encourage." Although this research has noted that youth construct their identities in broader terms, surpassing even national borders, the point noted above

reveals that there is a tendency by youth to identify with specific spaces, confirming Helfeinbein's (2006) observation that youth identities are spatially constructed. The interesting observation here is that the youth are connected with local spaces. This has also further created group identities in urban grooves where specific spaces have generated specific groups of youth who identify with specific musicians who are from such places, as noted in the example of the group Danger Zone family from Dzivarasekwa. I also noticed that a number of Harare High School students, who are from Mbare, mentioned Seh Calaz, Killer T and Soul Jah Love, who hail from Mbare, as their favourite musicians. In such instances there is also a tendency by musicians to lay claim over fans from these specific places where they belong as seen in Chapter 3 with the example of Lady Squanda. Another popular practice in urban grooves that further strengthens group identities is naming. Musicians name themselves and assign the same names to their fans, for example, Winky D is Gafa and his fans are MaGafa, (Gafas) and Sniper Storm is Musoja (Soldier) while his fans are Masoja (Soldiers). Such group naming also involves aspects of power as the musician-namer attains symbolic power by naming, which also means that he/she represents the group as he/she becomes a spokesperson for the group. However, some musicians such as Killer T who is famous for his saying *"isu hatiite zvemagroup"* ("we do not engage in factional groups"), have rejected such forms of identification aligning them with factionalism in music and violence owing to power dynamics that are involved in such instances, as musicians fight for fans. The study also revealed that these power dynamics, spatial and group identifications resemble the American hip-hop groupings such as the famous East Coast and West Coast hip-hop groups.

Media narratives and societal perspectives on the urban groovers have presented the musicians as deviants who show a disregard for societal conventions by engaging in different immoral practises, and singing sexually explicit lyrics or about drugs. Hence, urban grooves musicians have been perceived as bad influences to youth. As I have shown in this research, urban grooves musicians are accorded celebrity status by youth, which is contrary to perceptions by some critics who believe that the status of celebrity is not befitting for the musicians who have not been able to acquire significant material success. The study pointed out that urban groovers should be regarded as celebrities in their own right without comparing them with affluent celebrities such as American musicians, as there are different economic structures that shape these musicians. The interviews with youth revealed that even a slight rise in the economic status of the musicians has influenced youth to admire them and

aspire to be like them. These celebrities symbolise possibility for youth who expressed their belief that it is possible for one to rise materially, no matter one's status; and I noted that we also have to be mindful of the fact that these celebrities hail from poor backgrounds just as their interviewed youth fans. Most youth mentioned Soul Jah Love as representative of such possibility alleging that at one time he was homeless and used to roam the streets but he is now a successful musician. In addition, the youth acknowledged the musicians' talents and creativity as another reason why they looked up to them and considered them as role models. Theorists of celebrity culture (Turner 2004) note that a celebrity's value is not only in his or her material success as celebrities are also assigned social and cultural values. Therefore, the research noted the various ways in which the urban groovers become celebrities and influence youth socially and culturally.

In addition, the research, in its consideration of whether musicians influence youth negatively, found out that urban grooves musicians are indeed role models who influence youth in significant ways. Various examples showed that youth responded positively where musicians were recruited to influence behavioural change, such as in the fight against HIV and AIDS. In Chapter 3, I noted the example of Winky D who was recruited as a goodwill ambassador for Population Services International (PSI) Zimbabwe in the fight against HIV and AIDS through circumcision, and ended up influencing a huge number of youth to respond positively to the programme. Nonetheless, the youth's interview responses revealed that even though they are significantly influenced by urban groovers, they are not passive consumers of the music and neither do they passively emulate the musicians. The youth showed a huge awareness of musicians' lives and lifestyles, as especially noted in their discussion on Soul Jah Love's background and alleged 'abuse of drugs.' I noted that the youth use information that they access usually through the media to make an evaluation of the celebrities, what I have called in popular culture conceptual terms, 'reading celebrities as texts that are open to analysis' (Fiske 1989a). As a result, the youth described some musicians favourably as 'good' role models that they emulate and others as 'bad' role models that they would never want to emulate. Furthermore, they associated some of the musicians with 'good' music and stated that they value such musicians, and those they associated with music they described as 'inappropriate' were rebuked as in the case where they rebuked the song *"Mumota Murikubvira"* ("There is fire in the car") (2013) that encourages drug use and hailed Winky D's "Mafirakureva" ("Prepared to die for the truth") (2013) for condemning drug abuse. Other youth revealed that when they listen to music, they do so in search of

pleasure, hence they are attracted to the aesthetics in the music, which is the rhymes, tongue twisters and punch lines and not necessarily the content. Therefore, it can be drawn from these and other revelations in the study that, although we cannot rule out the fact that celebrities can influence youth negatively, there are complex socio-political and economic issues that have contributed to delinquent behaviours amongst the youth.

It was also noted, in this study's analysis of the interconnections between youth identities and celebrity culture, that urban grooves musicians play a significant role in providing a link between global celebrities and celebrity culture. Global celebrities are seen as a link to celebrity culture because, as revealed in the study, celebrity is a status system, and a link with those of higher status ensures a rise in one's status (Milner Jr 2005). As a result, the successful global celebrities from the Global North have become reference points for Zimbabwean musicians in many ways, and in the process become vehicles through which youth become aware of trends in global celebrity culture such as dressing and lifestyles. Nonetheless, I noted that media technologies are also utilised by youth to access and consume global celebrity culture as in the case of television networks that expose youth to global music, lifestyles and fashion trends. Furthermore, the research acknowledged the significant ways in which urban grooves musicians influence popular trends without taking global celebrities as their reference points. A trend which cannot go unnoticed is language creation and its popularisation through urban grooves music. Different urban groovers have been associated with the formation and popularisation of different words and phrases that have diffused into different spaces where they are utilised. These words and phrases have even diffused into the school setting as youth disclosed that they used some of the words and phrases to talk about what happens in the classroom. The word *Chibaba*, derived from father and popularised by Soul Jah Love, was the most referenced by youth interviewees. They also explained that they use it to compliment each other's capabilities and achievements. Therefore, urban grooves musicians influence youth in so many ways and have become celebrity figures that youth want to identify with, to the extent that some youth show emotional attachment to them and engage in physical or verbal fights to defend them. There indeed exists an emotional attachment that was observed between musicians and the youth audiences. This was confirmed during a musical show I attended as an audience member. I witnessed the audience members jostling with each other to get closer to the musician Killer T so that they could greet him.

However, this study also noted that the urban grooves musical genre is highly gendered. The genre is male dominated and there is a tendency in male music to objectify and use patriarchal perceptions in their representation of women. Female musicians in the genre are stereotyped in many ways as in the case of Lady Squanda and Lady Bee who are defined as unwomanly and social deviants for presenting their music in 'unfeminine' ways. Hence, the study noted that female urban grooves musicians do not participate equally in influencing youth identities as their male counterparts. Evidently, only a few female musicians were acknowledged during the interviews with youth, and only a very insignificant number of female youth mentioned some female musicians as their favourite musicians. For example, Cynthia Mare was acknowledged by a female youth (ZHR3) for singing music that empowers women. I noted that youth (female youth largely included) stereotyped female musicians. The research established the reason for this stereotyping as the gender socialisation of the youth in a patriarchal society that marginalises female public figures such as musicians. Interestingly, some female musicians, epitomised by Lady Squanda and Lady Bee, have asserted themselves by resisting and destabilising patriarchal conventions on what comprises femininity as my discussion revealed in Chapter 5.

Although I have centred this research on urban youth experiences where the urban grooves music culture is most prevalent, I am aware that, as I have noted in the study, urban grooves has even diffused to rural settings. It will be interesting to know how these rural youth respond to the music. Thus, future research needs to consider rural youth and how they make sense of the music and music culture and whether they feel represented in it. Another interesting area of research on youth and urban grooves music is the emergent youth stand-up comedy noted in the rise of youth comedians such as Gonyeti (Samantha Kureya), Maggie (Sharon Chideu), Comic Pastor, (Prosper Ngomashi), Bhutisi (Roland Lunga) and Boss Kheda (Admire Kuzhangaira). In most of their comic skits widely shared on social media, these comedians introduce and end their skits by incorporating music, especially urban grooves music. The comedians have also been recruited in the advertising of youth music and album launches as seen in the involvement of Gonyeti and Maggie in advertising Winky D's *Gombwe* ("Spirit Medium") (2018) album launch. Gonyeti is also featured in the video of *"Ngirozi"* (Angel) on the *Gombwe* album and Stunner's *"Ndoenda"* ("I am leaving") (2017). Gonyeti, Maggie, Boss Kheda and Bhutisi are also featured in a video parodying Ammara Brown's "Akiliz" (2018) found on YouTube,[1] while Comic Pastor has released his own rap songs, *"Ndidewo"* ("Could you please love me") (2017) and *"Ngachitenderere"* ("Spread it

everywhere") (2017). Thus, it will be interesting to examine the relationship between youth stand-up comedy and contemporary youth music.

Overall, what emerged from this study of urban grooves music, is that urban grooves is indeed an important genre, a real cultural artefact that has the power to inform society about youth life experiences, ways youth express their identities and cultures and react to their life experiences. But this can only be done by paying very close attention to the music and not offer a simplistic interpretation of it as some of the critics of the music have been doing. Youth identities have been shaped by complex local (Zimbabwean) socio-political and economic conditions that converge with the ever-presence of complex and shifting intercultural encounters. Youth have therefore been reacting to these complex experiences in intricate ways. Moreover, such local and global complexities have even contributed to the ambivalences evident in the ways youth express their identities. Although youth express their identities in line with generational membership and global youth culture, these identities are not mapped nor expressed in a linear or uniform way. The study explored trajectories of youth identities that are mapped in ambivalent and intricate ways which involve complex gender dynamics, spatial attachments, group affiliations, celebrity culture and the quest for visibility and power. What is reflected in the music in terms of gender dynamics and the ambivalent way in which youth express their identities is that, on the one hand, youth express their identities as distinct from the older generation. On the other, the youth perpetuate long-standing patriarchal traditions such as hypermasculinity and body shaming to demonstrate masculinity and feminininity. I however concluded that this is a result of the gender socialisation of youth and the entrenched nature of patriarchal traditions in the Zimbabwean society and the global societies at large. The study also revealed the complex ways (conspicuous consumption, adherence to gospel of prosperity, violence and others) in which youth respond to global economic changes that have caused an upsurge in youth desires and yet does not provide the means to fulfil such desires for most of the impoverished youth. Ultimately, this analysis of urban grooves music and the interconnections between youth identities and celebrity culture has revealed that urban grooves music is generated by the realities of the youth's complex cultural experiences, hence the popularity of the genre amongst the youth who identify with the music

Endnotes

[1] See video on (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AC1NIGnN5OQ).

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Appendix 1: Ethical Clearance

Faculty of the Humanites

Dear **Miss Tivenga**

Ethics Clearance: **Zimbabwe Urban Grooves Music and the Interconnections between Youth Identities and**
Celebrity Culture

Principal Investigator: **Miss Doreen Rumbidzai Tivenga**

Department: **English (Bloemfontein Campus)**

APPLICATION APPROVED

With reference to your application for ethical clearance with the Faculty of the Humanities. I am pleased to inform you on behalf of the Research Ethics Committee of the faculty that you have been granted ethical clearance for your research.

Your ethical clearance number, to be used in all correspondence is: **UFS-HSD2015/0688**

This ethical clearance number is valid for research conducted for one year from issuance. Should you require more time to complete this research, please apply for an extension.

We request that any changes that may take place during the course of your research project be submitted to the ethics office to ensure we are kept up to date with your progress and any ethical implications that may arise.

Thank you for submitting this proposal for ethical clearance and we wish you every success with your research.

Yours Sincerely

Prof. Robert Peacock

Chair: Research Ethics Committee

Faculty of the Humanities

Appendix 2: Information Sheets

Dear Research Participant (the youth)

My name is Doreen Rumbidzai Tivenga and I am a Zimbabwean student studying for a PhD in English at the University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa. I am carrying out a research titled ***"Zimbabwe Urban Grooves Music and the Interconnections between Youth Identities and Celebrity Culture"*** which examines urban grooves music and the link between Zimbabwean youth identities and culture and celebrity culture. The study focuses on how the music and musicians that appeal to the youth contribute to the constitution of youth creativities and identities and impact on youth cultures. I therefore wish to interview the youth and hear their views concerning issues mentioned above.

Since you are one of such youths, I kindly request your participation in the interviews that will be carried out from June 2016 to July 2016. Please take note of the fact that your participation in the interviews will be voluntary and should you feel you are not prepared to answer any of the questions, in the course of the interview, you will not be forced to and are also free to stop your participation at any time when you feel that you are not prepared to continue. In addition, your names and viewpoints will be kept anonymous. The interviews and recording transcripts will be accessible only to my supervisor and I and they will be kept under lock and key. I will also put a password that is only known to me on everything that I will save on the computer.

I would greatly appreciate your participation in the interviews because first and foremost, this research is about you the youth and I hope that you will benefit from the chance to speak freely about your own experiences and views with regards to issues about music, celebrity culture, your aspirations, identities and culture as the youth. In addition, youth views are often not taken seriously, hence, this will be an important chance for your knowledge, experiences and views to be seriously considered in academic writings and discussions.

Finally, while there is no harm that is anticipated in the interviews because of the nature of the research, should there be any distress, I will make use of the staff responsible for guidance and counselling at the school to assist us.

Should you require further information, you may contact me on +263772216113 (Zimbabwe), +27626173474 (South Africa) or email me at drtivenga@gmail.com or contact my supervisor on +27(0)514017879 or email at ManaseI@ufs.ac.za.

Thank you

Yours Sincerely

Doreen Rumbidzai Tivenga

Dear Research Participant (Musician)

My name is Doreen Rumbidzai Tivenga and I am a Zimbabwean student studying for a PhD in English at the University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa. I am carrying out a research titled ***"Zimbabwe Urban Grooves Music and the Interconnection between Youth Identities and Celebrity Culture"*** which examines urban grooves music and the link between Zimbabwean youth identities and culture and celebrity culture. The study focuses on how the music and musicians that appeal to the youth contribute to the constitution of youth creativities and identities and impact on youth cultures. I therefore wish to interview and engage youthful musicians of Zimbabwe urban grooves and its other related contemporary genres of music that appeal to the youth in an attempt to understand the nature of their public musical life styles and cultures as well as the creativity associated with the genre in an effort to analyse further how the youth relate to this music in their everyday lives and construction of identities.

Since you are one of such musicians that appeal to the youth, I kindly request your participation in the interviews that will be carried out from June 2016 to July 2016. Please take note of the fact that your participation in the interviews will be voluntary and should you feel that you are not prepared to answer any of the questions, in the course of the interview, you will not be forced to and are also free to stop your participation at any time when you feel that you are not prepared to continue. In addition, your names and viewpoints will be kept anonymous. The interviews and recording transcripts will be accessible only to my supervisor and I and they will be kept under lock and key. I will also put a password that is only known to me on everything that I will save on the computer.

I would greatly appreciate your participation in the interviews and I hope that it will benefit you as a musician because instead of letting people always do their own interpretations of your music which may be sometimes incorrect, this will be a chance to explain your own music and be heard. In addition, this will be an important chance for your knowledge, creativity, music and views to circulate in academic writings and discussions.

Should you require further information, you may contact me on +263772216113 (Zimbabwe), +27626173474 (South Africa) or email me at drtivenga@gmail.com or contact my supervisor on +27(0)514017879 or email at ManaseI@ufs.ac.za

Thank you

Yours Sincerely

Doreen Rumbidzai Tivenga

Dear Research Participant (Music Producer)

My name is Doreen Rumbidzai Tivenga and I am a Zimbabwean student studying for a PhD in English at the University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa. I am carrying out a research titled ***"Zimbabwe Urban Grooves Music and the Interconnections between Youth Identities and Celebrity Culture"*** which examines urban grooves music and the link between Zimbabwean youth identities and culture and celebrity culture. The study focuses on how the music and musicians that appeal to the youth contribute to the constitution of youth creativities and identities and impact on youth cultures. I therefore wish to interview and engage producers of Zimbabwe urban grooves and its other related contemporary genres of music that appeal to the youth in an attempt to understand their encounters in music production and what they also know and understand in relation to urban grooves music, youth identities, youth culture and celebrity culture.

Since you are one of such music producers, I kindly request your participation in the interviews that will be carried out from June 2016 to July 2016. Please take note of the fact that your participation in the interviews will be voluntary and should you feel that you are not prepared to answer any of the questions, you will not be forced to and you are also free to stop your participation at any time when you feel you are not prepared to continue. In addition, your name and viewpoints will be kept anonymous. The interviews and recording transcripts will be accessible only to my supervisor and I and they will be kept under lock and key. I will also put a password that is only known to me on everything that I will save on the computer.

I would greatly appreciate your participation in the interviews and I hope that it will benefit you as a music producer because this will be a chance to explain your encounters in the music industry and be heard. In addition, this will be an important chance for your knowledge and music views to circulate in academic writings and discussions.

Should you require further information, you may contact me on +263772216113 (Zimbabwe), +27626173474 (South Africa) or email me at drtivenga@gmail.com or contact my supervisor on +27(0)514017879 or email at ManaseI@ufs.ac.za

Thank you

Yours Sincerely

Doreen Rumbidzai Tivenga

Dear Research Participant (Music Promoter)

My name is Doreen Rumbidzai Tivenga and I am a Zimbabwean student studying for a PhD in English at the University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa. I am carrying out a research titled ***"Zimbabwe Urban Grooves Music and the Interconnections between Youth Identities and Celebrity Culture"*** which examines urban grooves music and the link between Zimbabwean youth identities and culture and celebrity culture. The study focuses on how the music and musicians that appeal to the youth contribute to the constitution of youth creativities and identities and impact on youth cultures. I therefore wish to interview and engage promoters of urban grooves music and its other related contemporary genres of music that appeal to the youth in an attempt to understand how they are involved in the promotion of the music genres, their views and experiences in relation to the music, youth identities, youth culture and celebrity culture.

Since you are one of such promoters, I kindly request your participation in the interviews that will be carried out from June 2016 to July 2016. Please take note of the fact that your participation in the interviews will be voluntary and should you feel that you are not prepared to answer any of the questions, you will not be forced to and you are also free to stop your participation at any time when you feel you are not prepared to continue. In addition, your name and viewpoints will be kept anonymous. The interviews and recording transcripts will be accessible only to my supervisor and I and they will be kept under lock and key. I will also put a password that is only known to me on everything that I will save on the computer.

I would greatly appreciate your participation in the interviews and I hope that it will benefit you as a music promoter because you will be given an opportunity to explain your encounters in the musical scene and be heard. In addition, this will be an important chance for your knowledge, and views to be considered in academic writings and discussions.

Should you require further information, you may contact me on +263772216113 (Zimbabwe), +27626173474 (South Africa) or email me at drtivenga@gmail.com or contact my supervisor on +27(0)514017879 or email at ManaseI@ufs.ac.za

Thank you

Yours Sincerely

Doreen Rumbidzai Tivenga

Appendix 3: Consent Forms

Researcher: Doreen R. Tivenga
No. 9 Stevens Street
Bloemfontein
South Africa
Cell: +263216113/ +27626173474
Email:drtivenga@gmail.com

Supervisor: Dr I Manase
The University of the Free State
P.O Box 339
Bloemfontein
South Africa
Tell: +27(0)514017879
Email: ManaseI@ufs.ac.za

Charne Vercueil
Officer: Research Co-ordinator
P. Box 339
Bloemfontein
South Africa
Tel: +27(0)514017083
Email: VercueilCC@ufs.ac.za

Informed Consent

22 April 2016

Dear Research Participant (the youth)

My name is Doreen Rumbidzai Tivenga and I am a Zimbabwean student studying for a PhD in English at the University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa. I am carrying out a research titled ***"Zimbabwe Urban Grooves Music and the Interconnections between Youth Identities and Celebrity Culture"*** which examines urban grooves music and the link between Zimbabwean youth identities and culture and celebrity culture. The study focuses on how the music and musicians that appeal to the youth contribute to the constitution of youth creativities and youth identities and impact on youth cultures. I therefore wish to interview the youth and hear their views concerning issues mentioned above.

Since you are one of such youths, I kindly request your participation in the interviews that will be carried out from June to July 2016. Please take note of the fact that your participation in the interviews will be voluntary and should you feel that you are not prepared to answer any of the questions, you will not be forced to and are also free to stop your participation when you feel that you are not prepared to continue. In addition, your names and viewpoints will be kept anonymous. The interviews and recording transcripts will be accessible only to my supervisor and I and they will be kept under lock and key. I will also put a password that is only known to me on everything that I will save on the computer.

I would greatly appreciate your participation in the interviews because first and foremost, this research is about you the youth and I hope that you will benefit from the chance to speak freely about issues to do with music, celebrity culture, your aspirations, identities and culture as the youth. In addition, youth views are often not taken seriously hence this will be an important chance for your knowledge, experiences and views to be seriously considered in academic writings and discussions.

Finally, while there is no harm that is anticipated in the interviews because of the nature of the research, should there be any distress, I will make use of the staff responsible for guidance and counselling at the school to assist us.

Thank you

Yours Sincerely

Doreen Rumbidzai Tivenga

Signed Consent Form

Please fill in and return this page. Keep the attached letter for future references.

Study Topic: Zimbabwe Urban Grooves Music and the Interconnections between Youth Identities and Celebrity Culture

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the introductory letter describing the study above and have had the opportunity to ask questions.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving reason.
3. I agree to take part in the above study.
4. I agree to the interview being audio recorded.
5. I agree to that the researcher may use data gathered from this interview to write a report and other publications under the conditions stated in the letter.

Name of youth   Date   Signature

Name of Researcher   Date   Signature

Researcher: Doreen R. Tivenga
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Informed Consent

22 April 2016

Dear Research Participant (Musician)

My name is Doreen Rumbidzai Tivenga and I am a Zimbabwean student studying for a PhD in English at the University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa. I am carrying out a research titled *"Zimbabwe Urban Grooves Music and the Interconnection between Youth Identities and Celebrity Culture"* which examines urban grooves music and the link between Zimbabwean youth identities and culture and celebrity culture. The study focuses on how the music and musicians that appeal to the youth contribute to the constitution of youth creativities and in generating youth identities and youth cultures. I therefore wish to interview and engage youthful musicians of Zimbabwe urban grooves and its other related contemporary genres of music that appeal to the youth in an attempt to understand the nature of their public musical life styles and cultures as well as the creativity associated with the genre in an effort to analyse further how the youth relate to this music in their everyday lives and construction of identities.

Since you are one of such musicians that appeal to the youth, I kindly request your participation in the interviews that will be carried out from June 2016 to July 2016. Please take note of the fact that your participation in the interviews will be voluntary. In addition, if you feel that you are not prepared to answer any of the questions, you will not be forced to and will be free to stop your participation at any time when you are not prepared to continue. Your name and viewpoints will also be kept anonymous. The interviews and recording transcripts will be accessible only to my supervisor and I and they will be kept under lock and key. I will also put a password that is only known to me on everything that I will save on the computer.

I would greatly appreciate your participation in the interviews and I hope that it will benefit you as a musician because this opportunity gives you a chance to explain your own music and be heard. In addition, this will be an important chance for your knowledge, creativity, music and views to be considered and circulate in academic writings and discussions.

Thank you

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Doreen Rumbidzai Tivenga

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Informed Consent

22 April 2016

Dear Research Participant (Music Producer)

My name is Doreen Rumbidzai Tivenga and I am a Zimbabwean student studying for a PhD in English at the University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa. I am carrying out a research titled ***"Zimbabwe Urban Grooves Music and the Interconnections between Youth Identities and Celebrity Culture"*** which examines urban grooves music and the link between Zimbabwean youth identities and culture and celebrity culture. The study focuses on how the music and musicians that appeal to the youth contribute to the constitution of youth creativities and identities and impact on youth cultures. I therefore wish to interview and engage producers of Zimbabwe urban grooves and its other related contemporary genres of music that appeal to the youth in an attempt to understand their encounters in music production and what they also know and understand in relation to urban grooves music, youth identities, youth culture and celebrity culture.

Since you are one of such music producers, I kindly request your participation in the interviews that will be carried out from June 2016 to July 2016. Please take note of the fact that your participation in the interviews will be voluntary and should you feel that you are not prepared to answer any of the questions, in the course of the interview, you will not be forced to and are also free to stop your participation at any time when you feel that you are not prepared to continue. In addition, your name and viewpoints will be kept anonymous. The interviews and recording transcripts will be accessible only to my supervisor and I and they will be kept under lock and key. I will also put a password that is only known to me on everything that I will save on the computer.

I would greatly appreciate your participation in the interviews and I hope that it will benefit you as a music producer because this will be a chance for you to explain your encounters in the music industry and be heard. In addition, this will be an important chance for your knowledge and views to be considered and circulate in academic writings and discussions.

Thank you

Yours Sincerely

Doreen Rumbidzai Tivenga

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Study Topic: Zimbabwe Urban Grooves Music and the Interconnections between Youth Identities and Celebrity Culture

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Name of Participant	Date	Signature

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Informed Consent

22 April 2016

Dear Research Participant (Music Promoter)

My name is Doreen Rumbidzai Tivenga and I am a Zimbabwean student studying for a PhD in English at the University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa. I am carrying out a research titled *"Zimbabwe Urban Grooves Music and the Interconnections between Youth Identities and Celebrity Culture"* which examines urban grooves music and the link between Zimbabwean youth identities and culture and celebrity culture. The study focuses on how the music and musicians that appeal to the youth contribute to the constitution of youth creativities and identities and impact on youth cultures. I therefore wish to interview and engage promoters of urban grooves music and its other related contemporary genres of music that appeal to the youth in an attempt to understand how they are involved in the promotion of the music genres, their views and experiences in relation to the music, youth identities, youth culture and celebrity culture.

Since you are one of such promoters, I kindly request your participation in the interviews that will be carried out from June 2016 to July 2016. Please take note of the fact that your participation in the interviews will be voluntary and should you feel you are not prepared to answer any of the questions, you will not be forced to and you are also free to stop your participation at any time when you feel you are not prepared to continue. In addition, your name and viewpoints will be kept anonymous. The interviews and recording transcripts will be accessible only to my supervisor and I and they will be kept under lock and key. I will also put a password that is only known to me on everything that I will save on the computer.

I would greatly appreciate your participation in the interviews and I hope that it will benefit you as a music promoter because you will be given an opportunity to explain your encounters in the musical scene and be heard. In addition, this will be an important chance for your knowledge, and music views to circulate in academic writings and discussions.

Thank you

Yours Sincerely

Doreen Rumbidzai Tivenga

Signed Consent Form

Please fill in and return this page. Keep the attached letter for future references.

Study Topic: Zimbabwe Urban Grooves Music and the Interconnections between Youth Identities and Celebrity Culture

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the introductory letter describing the study above and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

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---

Name of Participant   Date   Signature

Name of Researcher   Date   Signature

Appendix 4: Interview Guide

Interview Guide for Youth

The following are the guidelines for the questions that will be asked during the interviews:

1. How do you define a Zimbabwean youth?

2. What do you like about urban grooves music?

3. What is it that you look for in music?

4. Do you take your favourite musician as a role model? Has he/she or his or her music helped in shaping your personal life and views on life?

5. Do you think urban grooves music speaks to you as a Zimbabwean youth and how?

6. How have you as a Zimbabwean youth benefited from urban grooves music?

7. How has urban grooves music helped you to relate with other youth?

8. Has urban grooves music helped you to feel that you are part of the Zimbabwean youth community? Explain your answer.

9. Has urban grooves music helped you to feel that you are part of the global youth community? Explain your answer.

10. The older generation has often blamed urban grooves music and the media for influencing youth delinquencies such as beer drinking and others, do you agree with them and why?

11. Society and the media have criticised youth parties or bashes as causing the above delinquencies, do you think youth parties and bashes are bad and why?

Interview Guide for Musicians

1. How do you define Zimbabwe urban grooves music and what are its main characteristics?
2. What is it that you mainly sing about?
3. What is it that influences you to sing?
4. It is widely agreed that most of the fans of urban grooves music are the youth, what do you think attracts the youth to this music?
5. Does your music speak to the youth? How? And what does it say about being a Zimbabwean youth?
6. How do you as a musician relate to the youth? And are there any shared beliefs, values, challenges and aspirations between you and your youth fans?
7. What benefits have the youth drawn from your music and from urban grooves in general
8. How much has your music and position as a musician contributed in shaping youth behaviours, identities and culture?
9. The older generation in Zimbabwe has often blamed music and the media for influencing youth delinquencies, do you agree with their perceptions? Why?
10. How have the American, Jamaican and other global music and cultures influenced youthful musicians and their music genres in Zimbabwe as well as the music fans?
11. What can you say is the place of your music in a world characterised by global and intercultural experiences? How much have you contributed onto the global intercultural music scene?

Interview Guide for Music Producers

1. How do you define Zimbabwe urban grooves music and what are its main characteristics?

2. What influences you to produce urban grooves music?

3. What initiatives have you taken as a producer in the production of urban grooves music?

4. What are the challenges that you are facing as a producer in the production of the music?

5. What is it that is being done to counter such challenges?

6. What benefits have the youth drawn from urban grooves music?

7. The older generation in Zimbabwe has often blamed music and the media for influencing youth delinquencies, do you agree with their perceptions? Why?

8. Musicians have also been condemned as social deviants, do you agree that they are? If so, why? And what do you think causes such social deviance amongst them?

9. How have the American, Jamaican and other global music and cultures influenced youthful musicians and youthful music genres in Zimbabwe as well as the music fans?

10. What can you say is the place of urban grooves music in a world characterised by global and intercultural experiences? How much has urban grooves contributed to the global intercultural music scene?

Interview Guide for Music Promoters

1. How do you define Zimbabwe urban grooves music and what are its main characteristics?

2. What influences you to promote music?

3. What is being done in the promotion of youth talent and music in Zimbabwe?

4. What initiatives have you taken you as a promoter to promote urban grooves music?

5. How have spaces created by music promoters of young talent benefited urban grooves musicians and their fans?

6. What are the challenges that you are facing as a promoter in the promotion of music?

7. What benefits do you think the youth have drawn from urban grooves music?

8. The older generation in Zimbabwe has often blamed music and the media for influencing youth delinquencies, do you agree with their perceptions? Why?

9. Musicians have also been condemned as social deviants, do you agree that they are? If so, why? And what do you think causes such social deviance amongst them?

10. How have the American, Jamaican and other global music and cultures influenced youthful musicians and youthful music genres in Zimbabwe as well as the music fans?

11. What can you say is the place of urban grooves music in a world characterised by global and intercultural experiences? How much has urban grooves contributed to the global intercultural music scene?