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"I Too Sing Zimbabwe": The Conflict of Ethnicity in Popular Zimbabwean Music

Introduction

THIS paper discusses how selected Zimbabwean popular musical artistes contest some official and popular images of "foreigners" in Zimbabwe through their music. Second and third generation Zimbabweans of Malawian, Zambian and Mozambican origins are commonly denigrated through various images and designations that are designed to mark their Other-ness. Zimbabweans of Malawian ancestry are referred as "MaNyasarandi or "Mabwidi" while those of Mozambican ancestry are called "MaMoskeni" or "MaChikunda." Those who originate from both Malawi and Zambia are also called "MaChawa." It has been argued that these people are Zimbabweans by naturalization as they have lived in Zimbabwe from the 1950s although, for political expediency, their legitimate status is now being questioned by the establishment . The establishment's notion of "super-patriotism" belies a desire to marginalize minorities in a manner that is antithetical to the national reconciliation policy. While acknowledging that some indigenous musicians reinforced official and popular images of

"foreigners" as undesirable outsiders, some musicians who themselves trace their roots to some of the three countries mentioned above question the legitimacy of such negative designations within the broader matrix of nationalism and its claims of inclusivity.

Zimbabwean music is often conscripted into "popular" garrisons, foreclosing possibilities of reading the power of music beyond mere entertainment. This paper attempts a critical thematic analysis of music by selected Zimbabwean musicians of foreign origin to illustrate their contestation of political and popular constructions of Zimbabwean identities. While the two musicians whose lyrics are examined here do not question their foreign origin, they challenge narrow, nativist constructions of Zimbabwean postcolonial identities that exclude citizens such as themselves who are, after all, not immigrants but are only descendants of colonial migrant workers. By challenging narrow, exclusivist conceptions of national identity, the Khiama Boys expose the postcolonial government's failure to move beyond colonial hierarchies, anxieties and categories that were concocted to drive wedges between various races, shades and ethnicities. The musicians propose Zimbabwean identities as essentially multifaceted as opposed to one identity that seamlessly traces its origin to one ethnicity or place of origin. This former position is made more plausible given that Zimbabwe's national borders are an artificial creation of British colonialists and the fact that many people currently living in Zimbabwe trace their origins to areas outside the country's national borders. In this vein, selected musicians of foreign origins articulate the failure of the Zimbabwean

post-colonial nation to achieve what Benedict Anderson had termed "simultaneity", that is "the ability to imagine the existence of an extended community in time, even without direct knowledge of other members of this community who exist at the distant edges of national space" (Szeman 7) This is within a nation that has generally not appealed to a mythic or primordial past for national legitimacy but rather "a communal project whose aim is to create a promising future out of a terrible past" (8) These musicians insist that in spite of the mark of "foreignness" they remain Zimbabweans, thus dismissing notions of national identity rooted in ethnic origin or place of origin. The paper exposes the schizophrenic character of Zimbabwean post colonial identity(ies) given its ambivalent relationship with certain prominent "foreigners."

Orphans of the Federation

On their *"Kubva Kure*" ("*Coming from Afar*") album sleeves, the original Khiama Boys are pictured standing on a railway track. Both Nicholas Zachariah and his nephew, Alick Macheso, the core of this highly popular group at the time, trace their ancestry to Malawi although both were born in the then Southern Rhodesia. The railway line connecting then Nyasaland and the economically powerful Southern Rhodesia brought millions of Nyasas south to the cities, mines and farms of the southern federal territory. The story of the railway line is the collective story of millions of people from Zambia, Malawi and even Mozambique whose lives –and by extension, those of their descendants– were permanently changed by migration. Zachariah and

Macheso exemplify the plight of millions of other second generation Zimbabweans who have become "orphans of the Federation."

The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, sometimes called the Central African Federation, was the single largest factor behind the migration of many Malawians and Zambians from their homelands. The Federation, instituted from 1953 until 1963, theoretically meant that one could belong anywhere within the three territories of Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), Nyasaland (Malawi) and Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). While Northern Rhodesia had major copper reserves and Nyasaland had fish and rice, economic opportunities were much better in Southern Rhodesia(Zimbabwe) during the colonial period. It was during this time, for example, that the University of Rhodesia and the Kariba Dam were completed and built respectively. The many gold mines and major commercial farming operations also lured many Malawians and Zambians from their original territories. Many settled at the major mining towns like (Shabanie) Zvishavane, Hwange (Wankie), Kadoma (Gatooma), Bindura and Chinhoyi (Sinoia), centers which still boast significant migrant populations from these countries. Besides living on farms and in mining compounds, some immigrants and their descendants inhabited and later owned houses in working class urban districts that were variously called "locations", "high-density areas", "townships", or simply "ghettoes".

Mozambican immigrants are mostly a product of the civil war that raged in that country from 1974 until the Rome Convention of 1992 restored to the south-east African country. Descendants of these

immigrants have largely been absorbed and to some extent, accepted as Zimbabweans. Many descendants of these immigrants have never been to their ancestral "homes" and identify as Zimbabweans. Zimbabwe's first state president, Canaan Banana was born of a Zimbabwean-Malawian father and a Ndebele mother. Popular Zimbabwean musician, Simon Chimbetu also traced his roots to Malawi although, like Zachariah and Macheso, he was born in Zimbabwe. Other popular figures who similarly point to Malawi or Mozambique as their places of origin are current Zimbabwe national soccer team captain, Benjani(Benjamin) Mwaruwari, legendary soccer player and coach, Moses Chunga(Mozambique) and many players of who have played for the most popular soccer club, Dynamos Football Club. For a long time, long-serving state president, Robert Mugabe, was thought by many to be of Malawian origin himself, primarily because of the secrecy surrounding the identity of his father. It is evident from the cult following some of these Zimbabweans of foreign origin who have made Zimbabweans in general proud that there is an ambivalent attitude displayed by the so-called indigenous Zimbabweans towards these "heroes".

President Robert Mugabe set the standard and gave expression to barely veiled and long-held attitudes towards these orphans of a long-forgotten Federation through at a political campaign rally in 2000. As this paper demonstrates, ordinary Zimbabwean people often use denigrating remarks about other ethnic identities unwittingly and yet such actions empower myths of ethnic superiority on the part of the so-

called indigenous Zimbabweans. This unmasks the lie of multiculturalism and strength in diversity espoused by then Prime Minister Robert Mugabe in his inaugural speech on 18 April 1980. From a legal perspective, the status of descendants of immigrants is tied to the political establishment's goodwill, or lack of it. Precisely because many immigrants from Malawi, Zambia and Mozambique often worked as low-skill laborers, it follows that many of these and their children after them work for white-owned mining companies and commercial concerns. As this paper demonstrates, this perceived complicity with white interests has largely informed “indigenous” Zimbabweans' attitude towards these “others”.

The Third *Chimurenga* or Third Uprising of the late twentieth and early twenty first centuries supposedly aimed at revolutionizing land ownership in Zimbabwe did not help heal the uneasy relations between “indigenous” Zimbabweans and the descendants of immigrants, many of whom were still living in mining centers and commercial farming centers. Like the “Coloureds,” – the other “subject minorities”- Zimbabweans of foreign origin were deemed undeserving of land ownership, partly because of their perceived close association with white “enemies” of the Uprising. For this reason, many descendants of immigrants living on farms during the Third *Chimurenga*, “jambanja” or Fast Track Land Reform Exercise often had to suffer negative references to their perceived foreignness.

Sisonke: Nation Formation in Post-Colonial Zimbabwe

At the height of the Third *Chimurenga*, the information machinery of the ruling Zanu (PF) party often imposed the image of national unity through one word: *Sisonke*. The Department of Information (later Ministry of Information) had the various *Sisonke* audio and visual jingles played on both national radio and television, sometimes at 15-minute intervals. The word *Sisonke* itself is Ndebele for "altogether sharing one experience" or more commonly, "we are together," a fallacy resurrected from the long-dead dream of "government of national unity" proclaimed by then Prime Minister Robert Mugabe in 1980. While it is not the intention of this paper to show how ironical the *Sisonke* slogan seemed in the face of prevailing political realities, this background frames the argument of fissures within the Zimbabwean nation along ethnic lines that campaigns such as *Sisonke* tried to present.

The emergence of the nation as an organizing principle and actual socio-political space has been examined by Benedict Anderson, Ernest Gellner, Eric Hobsbawm and Anthony Smith, among others. There is no agreement among these writers on the exact mechanisms that produce nations and nationalisms. As Imre Szeman observes, the one point of agreement among these writers' competing models of nation-formation is their awareness of the artificiality of the nation, "an artificiality that nationalisms manage to transform into "facts of nature"(13) Szeman further proposes that "the process by which the artifice of the nation is suppressed, and the nation reified into a fact not of history but of nature, would thus appear to be important, even essential, characteristic of both

the nature and nationalism"(13). Using this concept of nation-building, the Zimbabwean post-colonial state has failed to create new "collectivities" (61) and incorporate descendants of immigrants of Mozambican, Malawian and Zambian origin into the socio-political fabric of the country.

According to Muzondidya, colonial Rhodesia was a fragmented state in which race, color and historic origin determined one's access to resources and position in society (214). Race was also the medium through which colonial power was exercised and economic and political power, as exercised and defined in the Rhodesian colonial state, was essentially a black and white issue. White constituted citizens, while blacks constituted colonized subjects. The colonized subjects were not considered as a group. In terms of land rights, the indigenous African colonized were assigned the Tribal Trust Lands while "those considered as non-indigenous, including the numerous workers from Malawi, Zambia and Mozambique who were recruited to work on the farms and mines, many of whom even settled in the country after retirement, were not entitled to land rights in the Tribal Trust Lands (Mamdani 214-5). In spite of the stated policy of national reconciliation and a subsequent government of national unity, "the position and citizenship status of subject minorities in post-independence Zimbabwe was never officially clarified or publicly debated" (221).

By the definitions of citizenship, descendants of Malawian, Zambian and Mozambican immigrants are not recognized as part of the national fabric. While these descendants of Malawian, Zambian and

Mozambican migrant workers are not the only ones to suffer the outsider status (Coloured or bi-racial people also occupy marginal spaces are equally invisible in national discourses), this group is particularly vulnerable because unlike the Coloureds, they have to contend with official denigration as well. Besides being ignored from the land redistribution process, they have also been designated as the others who have no rights in Ziumbabwe. At a campaign rally in 2000, Robert Mugabe singled residents of the working class of Mbare for supporting the opposition MDC and referred to them as "undisciplined, totemless elements of alien origin" (Daily News 14. 10. 02). Further, they have been deemed foreigners, hence the highly derogatory term "mabwidi emutaundi" regularly used by both ordinary people and government officials.

The label "bwidi remutaundi" (plural: "mabwidi emutaundi") meaning "homeless foreigners who live in the cities" derives from colonial labor and residency policies that discouraged subject minorities from permanently settling in the urban centers. As a result of such policies, many of those classified as "indigenous" maintained two homes; the main one in the Tribal Trust Lands where the family lived and the urban lodgings in the working class black residential areas. Precisely because the Shona valued family ties with families in the rural areas, they denigrated the Chewa, Chikunda, and Komani migrant workers from Mozambique, Zambia and Malawi for whom it was impracticable to visit their countries of origin every month-end. Permanent urban residence thus became a mark of inferiority and synonymous with these

"foreigners". The fate of these "aliens" at the hands of the Zimbabwean state exemplifies Raftopoulous's (xv) observation that the ruling party's "revived nationalism" has been constructing "a series of exclusions". However, as this essay reveals, the marginaization and denigration of "foreigners" of Malawian, Zambian and Mozambican origin was not restricted to government officials but even to opinion makers such as musicians. Although the ostracisation of this group of people has its roots in Rhodesia's divide and rule policy towards subject minorities, the postcolonial government also failed to address this issue.

Musical Responses to National Identity Rhetoric

Some musicians took the cue from government officials and sang songs that similarly denigrated people of Malawian, Zambian and Mozambican origin. Zexie Manatsa, a prominent musician in the early post-independence era, exemplifies Shona musicians who uncritically denigrated these "others" in some of his songs. However, other musicians such as the group the Khiama Boys, Oliver Mtukudzi and Alick Macheso have, through their art, contested this notion of Shona superiority to those designated "foreigners".

The Khiama Boys is a musical group formed by cousins Nicholas Zachariah and Alick Macheso. Both musicians trace their family roots to Malawi although they were born in Zimbabwe. They grew up in the Shamva commercial farming community where Chewa, and not Shona was the language of wider communication before the social upheavals brought by the land redistribution exercise. In the song "*Ndine*

Mubvunzo" ("I Have a Question"), the Khiama Boys challenge the notion of equating Zimbabweanness with particular ethnicities given its complex history of migrations. The song contests notions of indigeneity based on supposed ethnic superiority. *Ndine Mubvunzo*, for example, questions the basis of national belonging in Zimbabwe. The burden of the song is that national belonging based on supposed ethnic superiority alone is counter-productive.

Varume wee ndave nemubvunzo	Oh Gentlemen I now have a question
Ch nz rudz ch ko	What is a tribe?
In zvand netsa, zvand netsa	This has troubled me, this has troubled me
Mwar akas ka vanhu vav r	God created only two people
Mukadz nemurume	Woman and man
aana kus ka rudz	He did not create a tribe
Akas ka ch nonz munhu	He created a person
Ko MuKoman akabva nekup ko	Where did the Komani come from
Ko MuZezuru akabva nekup ko	Where did the Zezuru come from
Ku Much kunda akabva nekup ko	Where did the Chikunda come from
Ko MuNdebele akabva nekup ko	Where did the Ndebele come from
Kuva nemarudz ndokwakakonzera	Having different ethnicities has caused
Kutsv ny rana, kusarura pas rose	Denigrating and discrimination
Nekuda kwemarudz	Because of ethnicities
Baba t zarur re wo pfungwa	Father open up our brains
Baba t zarur re wo pfungwa	Father open up our brains
Mwar t zarur re wo pfungwa	God open up our brains
Mwar t zarur re wo pfungwa	God open up our brains

Chat notsvaga ch ko varume wee?	What do we seek gentlemen?
Ts ts , rudo, nd zvo zv ngatot batan dza	Mercy, love, these can bring us together
apana anonz nd ye wekwangu	No more nepotism
Munhu wese hama yako	Everybody is your relative
apana, hapana ch nonz rudz	There is no such thing as ethnicity
Chat notsvaga ch ko varume wee	What is it we seek gentlemen?
Ts ts , rudo, nd zvo zv ngatot batan dza	Mercy, love, can bring us together
apana anonz nd ye wekwangu	No more nepotism
Munhu wese hama yako	Everybody is your relative
apana, hapana ch nonz	There is no such thing as ethnicity

By raising the issue of the preponderance of ethnic-based national identities, the song demonstrates the failure of the ideal of multi-culturalism supposedly captioned in the "government of national unity" rhetoric. The song's opening question "*Chii chinonzi rudzi?*" ("What is ethnicity?") begs both the powers-that-be and ordinary citizens to re-examine the conflict. Rather than emphasize differences in origin (Shona as opposed to Chewa), the song suggests that it is rather through "*tsits*i"(mercy) and "*rudo*"(love) that the nation can be united. The critical value of this song is that whereas official policy towards the so-called foreigners shifted between outright hostility and quiet disapproval, Zimbabweans need not emphasize divisive elements but rather work towards finding common ground.

The Zezuru, a Shona sub-group, has sometimes been imagined as the "owners" of the country for no other reason than its enjoyment of tacit

official support since the codification of the Shona language. Many top government officials also belong to this group. In the song, this group identity is contrasted with those ethnic groups that are often denigrated in Zimbabwe: Chikunda, Ndebele and Komani. The song argues that categories such as these have been used to retrogressive ends by both political figures and ordinary Zimbabweans. The song's central argument is carried in this verse:

Mwari akasika vanhu vaviri	God created two people
Mukadzi nemurume	Woman and man
Haana kusika rudzi	He did not create an ethnic group
Akasika chinonzi munhu	He created a person

The song's central argument is carried in this verse:

Mwari akasika vanhu vaviri	God created two people
Mukadzi nemurume	Woman and man
rudzi	Not an ethnic group; He created a person

By dismissing a Zimbabwean national identity based on ethnic belonging, the song suggests that Zimbabweans have to look elsewhere for a true sense of national belonging: humanness and acceptance of multiple ethnicities given the artificial nature of the essentially colonial national boundaries and the complex history of migrations. The verse dismisses ethnic categories as human creations that have been exploited to benefit some and exclude and marginalize others. By tracing human presence on earth to the Christian genesis, The song

turns political understanding of Zimbabwean identity on its head. The conclusion, ("*Hapana chinonzi* rudzi") ("There is nothing like ethnicity") buttresses this last point, namely that the debate over which ethnic group is better or superior is, in the final analysis, counter-productive to national unity. In the song's logic, if there is no sense to ethnicity, then everybody belongs and should be treated as such.

The intractable question of identity also finds expression in another of the Khiama Boys' song, "*Kubva Kure*" ("*To Come From Afar*"). This is the title song on the album of the same name. Complimented by a picture of forlorn-looking Alick Macheso and Nicholas Zachariah on a railway track, the song literally speaks volumes about the extent of ethnic marginalization in post-independence Zimbabwe outside the well-documented Ndebele genocide of the early 1980s. The railway track symbolizes the historical memory associated with the largely Chewa people's migration from Malawi and Zambia. While the railway track is the historical umbilical cord that reminds the Chewa of their ancestral home country, the tragedy is that the second and third generation Chewa whose plight is verbalized by the group have no lived experience outside Zimbabwe. Much as Macheso and Zachariah yearn for "home" in Malawi, the reality is that they are already home and have been all their lives.

In the song, the group explores the plight of ethnic bias that results in the marginalization of competent people who are designated "others". To the group, the fact of foreign origin becomes a mark of "alienness" and consequently, systematic discrimination on that basis alone:

Hama tismbotsvinyirana kubva kure haisi mhosva
Mwari wedu mumwechete, akasika baba na mai
Ini ndinoera Phiri
Phiri ndiyo Soko yakare
Phiri ndiyo Ncube
Kusiyana kwemashevedzero

Relatives let's not denigrate each other
Our God is the one who created father and mother
As for myself, my totem is Phiri
Phiri is the same old Soko
Phiri is also Ncube
What is different are names only

Ndikati nditsvake basa
"Pano tinoda Soko"
Phiri haina nzvimbo
Ndikati nditsvake basa
Pano tinoda Ncube
Phiri haina nzvimbo

If I try to look for a job
Here we want a Soko
Phiri has no place here
When I try to look for a job
Here we want a Ncube
Phiri has no place here

Hazvina mhosva ndisarudzeiwo
Pasi hapasarudze ohh
Tonosangana ikoko

Please give me a chance
We are all the same
We shall all meet there

APhiri, Soko, Ncube, vanhu ava
Vakuru vakatadza kusiyanisa rurimi

A Phiri, a Soko, a Ncube are all people
It's our elders who erred by using different languages

Shamwari Phiri, Soko, Ncube
Havasi vanhu vamwe here ava?
Tiri vanhu vamwe shamwari
Asi kuti takangosiyaniswa rurimi chete
Ahh zvakaoma
Phiri anogowana basa sei Soko achishaya nemhaka yei?

My friend, a Phiri, a Soko and a Ncube
Are these not all people?
Indeed, we are all just one people
It's just that we have different languages
Oh it's so hard
Why then does a Phiri get a job while a Soko can not?

Hazvina mhosva ndisarudzeiwo	Please give me a chance
Pasi hapasarudze ohh	We are all the same
Tonosangana ikoko	We shall all meet there
Aphiri, Soko, Ncube, vanhu ava	A Phiri, a Soko, a Ncube are all people
Vakuru vakatadza kusiyanisa rurimi	It's our elders who erred by using different languages

The song takes the argument further to another level. Where *Ndine Mubvunzo* interogates the question of national belonging and ends by suggesting that all people in Zimbabwe belong there because they all trace their origin from Adam and Eve, Kubva Kure dismisses the myth that the so-called foreigners have no totems. The song reveals for example that President Mugabe is wrong to castigate these so-called foreigners as "totemless" because they do in fact have totems, only the totems are coded in a different language. The song's very opening "*varume tisambotsvinyirana*" is a reference of the rampant ethnic labeling and discrimination that second and third generation Zimbabweans have suffered from over the years. In this song, the Khiama Boys acknowledge their ancestors' Malawian roots but refuse to be imprisoned by that ancestral connection. The very title of the song *Kubva Kure/To Come From Afar* is a concession of this fact even as he seeks to transcend this ancestral connection. While sustaining the rationality of common origin noted in *Ndine Mubvunzo*, *Kubva Kure* goes further to show that the Chewa people for example do have totems as shown in the verse:

Ini ndinoera Phiri	As for myself, my totem is Phiri
Phiri ndiyo Soko yakare	Phiri is the same old Soko
Phiri ndiyo Ncube	Phiri is also Ncube
Kusiyana kwemashevedzero	Only the names are different

The verse explodes the commonly-held myth among the dominant Shona people that people of Chewa origin are inferior because they do not have totems. The song's argument shows that this assumption is based on ignorance and not authentic fact. By revealing that the totem that the Shona call Soko is the same one that the Ndebele call Ncube and the Chewa call Phiri. By dispelling myths of superiority based on "ethnic superiority" reveals that much of the dominant groups' "superiority" is nothing but cheap arrogance. The last line *Kusiyana kwemashevedzero/Only the languages are different*, is in fact a call for national identity that is beyond language.

In the final analysis, Nicholas Zachariah and Alick Macheso, in the songs discussed, effectively dismiss notions of Zimbabweanness grounded in specific ethnicities. Rather, they advocate a multicultural inclusiveness that appreciates the complexities brought forth by pre-colonial demographic shifts, colonial migrations and cross cultural currents. With specific reference to oppressed second and third generation Zimbabweans of Malawian, Zambian and Mozambican extraction, the songs expose the failure of true reconciliation and envision multiple Zimbabwean identities liberated from ethnocentrism.

NOTES

[1]The Shona people, who make up over 70 per cent of Zimbabwe's national population trace their origins to a mythical place called Guruuswa(Beach 1980 60-64) whose exact location is subject for debate while the Ndebele, who constitute about 15 percent of the population only migrated from Nguniland in the mid-19th century. In this sense, none of these major groups have any authentic claim to historical "ownership" of what is now Zimbabwe at the expense of other African groups.

[2]During the colonial era, many indigenous Zimbabweans who held jobs in towns and cities considered it contemptible to buy a house and actually live permanently in such areas. The city was where one went to gather wealth that one used to develop a proper home in the rural areas. For this reason, many opted to have lodgings in the city rather than own their places of residence while maintaining a family in the rural areas--the real home.

[3]Zimbabwe has at least fourteen languages. The song therefore suggests that it would be unreasonable to use language as the sole licence to national belonging when there are so many languages actively used within one country.

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Discography

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