

**Marketing, distribution, and consumption of popular music in the
face of music piracy and the economic meltdown in Zimbabwe from
2008 to 2019**

by

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the award of the degree of Master of Music

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COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature-----

Signed by candidate

Date-----

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Abstract

The expansion of recording technologies in the world over the past several decades has contributed to an increase in music piracy globally in all forms. As a result, piracy has become a global phenomenon affecting the production, marketing, distribution, and consumption of music. In Zimbabwe, this has been exacerbated by the economic meltdown that the country is facing since 2008. Piracy has emerged to be a problem which has attracted a substantial amount of local and international attention over the past few decades. However, the marketing, distribution, and consumption of popular music in Zimbabwe remains largely uncharted.

Thus, this study aims to examine how popular music is marketed, distributed, and consumed in Zimbabwe in the face of music piracy. It also seeks to explore how music piracy has impacted (negatively and positively) on the lives of musicians, record label owners and producers, and what these music personnel are doing to combat, or otherwise engage with, music piracy. This inquiry is qualitative in nature. Data collection was done using structured and informal interviews as well as document analysis and literature founded research. A concise account of music piracy in select countries of the world in Europe, the Americas, and Africa, in addition to a focus on Zimbabwe, is given through literature review and information gathered through fieldwork to contribute to a new conceptual framework.

Results show that music piracy is still a big problem affecting music and has changed the way in which music is marketed, distributed, and consumed in Zimbabwe. The economic situation in the country is also affecting music distribution and consumption with results showing that people would want to deal with basic needs first before embarking on anything else. It also emerged that established musicians are most affected by music piracy than upcoming ones. Key findings from this research indicate that piracy provide upcoming musicians with viable avenues to market themselves. This study is grounded on empirical findings and could be valuable by putting Zimbabwean music on the world map. Further studies should be carried out to see if the same conclusions can be reached.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The objective of this research is to delve into and investigate how popular music is being marketed, distributed, and consumed in Zimbabwe in the face of piracy and the economic crisis in which the country has remained for more than a decade. To achieve this, the study looks at how piracy and the economic crisis in the country, more broadly, have influenced the business and livelihoods of musicians, record label owners and the other people within the music industry. This research also seeks to look at what musicians and record companies are doing to cope with music piracy so that they benefit from their works.

Background

Music is an important component of everyday life. Musicians create music to express ideas and emotions in significant ways. As they create the music, they expect financial rewards through commercializing the product. In Zimbabwe popular music has been shaped by a lot of forces including colonialism and tradition and has evolved immensely. Over time, music piracy came and has had an effect not only on music sales but on the lives of music creators and the way music is marketed and consumed especially from the period 2008 to 2009. This was the same period that Zimbabwe was undergoing an intense economic crisis. Before music piracy and the economic meltdown, musicians in Zimbabwe were able to survive from music sales which is very difficult today. Thus, this research seeks to explore the financial and creative challenges faced by musicians and record labels in Zimbabwe in the face of piracy and how people are getting recorded music amid music piracy.

Rationale

People around the world engage with music in different ways. Technological advancements have contributed greatly to how various people engage with recorded music. This has prompted some people to engage in music piracy to varying degrees. As a result, music piracy has become a global problem thereby generating a lot of interest from various scholars. In Zimbabwe, studies on the negative impact of piracy on music sales, record companies and the livelihoods of musicians have generated a significant amount of research from scholars like Chibanda (2016), WIPO (2009), Mhiripiri (2006), Scannell (2001), Zindi (2017) and Hatitye (2015) just to mention a few. While studies have been previously conducted to study various aspects of music

piracy, this topic is far from exhausted as a research area. Specifically, new studies can be conducted in music piracy to analyze the impact of music piracy on music, production, marketing, distribution, and consumption in the face of piracy and the harsh economic environment in Zimbabwe. Thus, this research seeks to close this gap by finding out the various ways commercial or popular music is reaching the people in Zimbabwe in a context infested with piracy and harsh economic environment. By so doing, the research will contribute to literature about music piracy in Zimbabwe.

Additionally, the pragmatic implications of this research relate to helping musicians and record labels with better music marketing and distribution channels and to make more informed decisions to beat piracy. During my honors degree I looked at the effectiveness of the Copyright law in Zimbabwe therefore this research is a result of personal interest and need to comprehend the process of the copyright law and the questions that arise in complex ways. I associate my career goals with becoming a specialist in music Copyright law in Zimbabwe and for that reason, an in-depth knowledge of issues to do with music copyright will help me immensely.

Aims

The aim of this study is to investigate the effects of music piracy and the economic situation in Zimbabwe on music production, distribution, marketing, and consumption as well as other similar and contrasting regions for comparison. Additionally, the study aims at identifying the strategies being employed by musicians and record companies to survive against the backdrop of music piracy.

Objectives of the Study

This study is directed by the following objectives:

- To analytically engage with global literature on music piracy, music marketing, distribution, and consumption
- To use data and observations to investigate developing themes regarding the production, marketing, and consumption of music in the face of piracy in Zimbabwe
- To look at the possible compliant and noncompliant features of music piracy, music marketing and consumption and understand how these relate to other findings in collected works.

Research Questions

- a) What are the financial and creative challenges faced by musicians and record labels and how do they respond?
- b) Given these challenges, why do musicians continue to make music in Harare, Zimbabwe?
- c) How are people getting recorded music in a context that features so much music piracy?

Methodology

In this section, I discuss how the research was carried out and the overall strategy that was used to carry out the research and logical plan to tackle the established research question through data collection, instruments, and techniques as well as the data collection procedure. Musicians, record company owners and producers were interviewed around Harare Central Business District where most musicians and record companies are established. I decided to carry out my research in Harare because it is where piracy is rampant. Furthermore, Harare is well known for the culture of selling CDs on the streets. Being a Shona speaker and being from the same geographical location both facilitated my access to the musicians, record studio owners and producers who are central to this study. This study therefore focuses on the Shona speaking musicians in Zimbabwe.

During my fieldwork in November- December 2019, I interviewed several Zimbabwean music producers including Macdonald Chidavaenzi (Mac D), producer and owner of Eternity Productions, Tafadzwa Kadzima (Levels) of Chillspot Records, D.J Tamuka producer at Military Touch Movement, Martin Stewart of Vadzimu Records, Aaron Tom of Alema Studios and Tatenda Muzinde of Taylor Wayne Music Productions

I also had the chance to interview some established musicians such as Alexio Kawara, Joshua Mufunde, Sniper Storm and Tatenda Muzinde. These were chosen because they have more experience in the music industry. I interviewed five upcoming artists namely Dennis Mpariwa, lead singer with Superbeat band (sungura), Showban Kudzibamura, of Orchestra Jambanaye (sungura), Cephas Shumba, session musician, Givemore Bonde “Ndunge Yuti” (zimdancehall) and Nyasha Mano “Ras Pombi” (zimdancehall) to get their views on music piracy as new players in the music industry.

Research Design

To understand how popular music is marketed, distributed, and consumed in Zimbabwe in the face of piracy and the economic crisis bedeviling the country, I interviewed both upcoming and established musicians as well as record label owners and music producers in November-December 2019. I used structured and informal interviews posing questions like “How are people consuming music these days? Has your music business been affected by piracy in any way? Why do you continue to make music given these challenges? What do you think should be done to limit music piracy?” Informal interviews provided information for further examination and enabled me to understand some of the industry workings and enabled me to consider the respondent’s perceptions about themselves.

The interviews were recorded for later analysis. I also kept a field diary where I wrote a few notes of things I noticed during the interviews that could not be captured by the recorder such as facial expressions and body cues. Responses from informal interview questions were also written down in this diary. This helped me remember what transpired during the interview during my writing. Unfortunately, I was not able to spend extended periods of time with the musicians and music industry personnel beyond asking interview questions. That said, I was able to learn important aspects about their musical background and experience by combining interview techniques and general observations.

Ideally, I would have liked to interact with more individuals outside the formal music industry and music pirates to get their views. It was difficult to find individuals engaging in piracy because there seems to be fewer based on my observations on the streets as compared to the previous periods before the popularity of online marketing and distribution of music. Due to limited time, this research design did not allow me to work very closely with the participants in their everyday environments. I would have loved to have the pleasure of observing some musicians and record producers recording their music. The personal encounter with music artists and record producers enabled the research participants to express their world the way they understood it freely and all I did was to probe and put their views on record and paper. All the participants gave their consent for their names to be used in this research.

Research Participants

I interviewed five upcoming and five established musicians from different musical genres and backgrounds. This was done to see if they are affected by music piracy the same way. Alake (2020:3) defines an upcoming artist as “an artist who has not been a memorable, consistent fixture of mainstream consciousness for more than 2 to 4 years with recognizable brand and the commercial clout.” This suggests that the artist is likely to gain prominence and likely to advance or succeed sometime in the future. In contrast to this, Ober (2007) describes an established musician as a musician who has developed in his line of business and has contributed much to the music field. In addition to musicians, five record label owners and producers were chosen in Zimbabwe to get different views and perspectives from different angles within the recording industry.

This study employed purposive sampling. According to Given (2008) purposive sampling is a sampling technique that targets experienced professionals who occupy key positions to gather information. In this regard, musicians and record label producers and owners became the sample since they are the professionals in the music industry. This method was the most practical as it enabled me to carry out the research at minimal costs and within the shortest period. I believe this highlights a reasonable selection of a larger portion suitable for this study. Findings were related to the whole group or population of those working in the music industry in Zimbabwe. It is believed that properties of a larger portion are inherent in its fraction which means studying the fraction can reveal the characteristics of the whole. Caputi (2001) suggests that a culture may display its inherent order, no matter how much or little of it happen. Though taken to an extreme this is problematic, basic generalizations may be made from a small but diverse sample size.

Subsequently, data collected from the interviews and documents was analyzed. This was done to find out if and how the economic situation in the country, more broadly, piracy, has affected music marketing, distribution, and consumption. In addition, it was used to expose the results of piracy on the livelihoods of the music personnel in the country. I therefore used two forms of data collection instruments namely interviews and document analysis.

Data Collection Instruments

Structured interviews, informal interviews and document analysis were used to collect information related to this study. The use of multiple tools for collecting data was done to allow room for triangulation. Baxter (2008) notes that the use of “a variety of lenses” to view a

problem from different angles fosters a deeper understanding of the problem. This helped to compare and verify data thereby adding value to the study. This enabled me to gather information from participants who take up distinctive social positions and are expected to have different opinions. It was important for this study to cater for contradicting views to reflect the true views of the musicians, record label owners and producers in Harare. People always hold different opinions on a topic thus this research could not ignore that.

Interviews

I visited homes and business premises of musicians and record label producers to conduct the interviews to extract information after making appointments through the phone. Consent to conduct the interviews and use the information gathered was sought before the interviews took place to safeguard the integrity of the research. Atkinson (2006) suggests that one needs to gain access into the field to carry out the research. The interviews were recorded using an audio recorder. I only later realized that it would have been better if I had used a video recorder so that I could capture all the cues and gestures during the interviews. Stone and Stone (2013) suggest that video recordings provide a much fuller presentation of motion and action as well as sound, aspects often highly needed in feedback interviews. At one point the memory card on the recorder I was using got full during the interview and I had to restart the interview. Luckily, I had to use my phone to record as a backup plan.

Open ended structured and informal conversational interviews were used to get firsthand information and immediate feedback from the respondents. These interviews fostered high level of participation by respondents and the respondents were free to share their views hence firsthand information was gathered. Stone and Stone (2013) state that feedback interview is an invaluable technique in eliciting data that would otherwise not have been obtained. Thus, it encourages participants to talk about anything relevant to generate information that cannot be elicited from direct questions.

The feedback interviews also enabled me to probe for more comprehensive and clearer explanations of unclear answers and views from the respondents. This created room for me to take notes in a field diary. These interviews were done one-on-one and good rapport, trust, and a more natural environment conducive to open and honest communication was created. As a result, the research yielded a lot of information in a more relaxed atmosphere. This is because the

informal interview gives the respondents the impression that they are having a normal conversation and hence speak freely and truthfully. These interviews gave an insight into the impact of piracy on music marketing, distribution, and consumption in the country.

Document Analysis

Periodicals, magazines, articles, textbooks, and newspaper cuttings were used to collect information collected by others for the purpose of this study. These documents allowed room for triangulation. These documents were used to measure if there are any changes in the rate and way in which music is marketed, distributed, and consumed as well as the effect of piracy on the business and livelihoods of artists. Company records were used for contact details of musicians and record labels where applicable.

Limitations and Challenges

Time factor was a major challenge. I could not spend as much time as I wanted with the respondents so that I could see and feel what they go through in their day-to-day business. Additionally, the research was carried out towards the festive season and some respondents were already on holiday and it was difficult to get hold of them to carry out the interviews. Some of them were busy preparing for live shows for the Christmas holidays. Scheduling interviews with some respondents was also a challenge.

Ethical Considerations

For ethical reasons, data was gathered after permission was granted by the research participants. Myers (1982) suggests that a researcher should make ethical considerations when carrying out research. Behavior well thought out to be unprincipled in research such as initiating damage to people, breaking privacy, using data in manipulative ways and prejudice was avoided. The data was used for the purposes of this study as explained to the participants. Fortunately, all the respondents gave consent for their names to be used in this research. With the endorsement of the University Ethics Clearance Committee and the consent of the musicians and record label owners, the integrity of the sample was ensured.

Significance of Study

The findings of this research will help Zimbabwean musicians with ways of marketing their music on various platforms by creating fan pages. The research will also sensitize the government, law enforcement agents and responsible authorities on how best they can deal with the problem of piracy. It will also contribute to a change in attitude on how people get recorded music after realizing that they are promoting music piracy consciously or unconsciously after reading this article since it will be available online and in libraries. Additionally, the findings will present a unique opportunity to place Zimbabwean music industry on the map with all its challenges and its potential for future growth.

Delimitations

The research was delimited to Harare. It is both the major hub of the Zimbabwean recording industry and where I live thus being the logical choice. This means that views from musicians and record label owners around the country were not taken into consideration during the study.

Thesis Outline

Chapter 2 is a development on what I have introduced in Chapter 1 and showcases the key issues and concepts within the study mainly targeting the commercial music in Zimbabwe. It also outlines the changes that have taken place in the recording industry in Zimbabwe. The chapter also gives highlights an overview of popular music in Zimbabwe in recent years and historical and socio-political overview of popular music in Zimbabwe based on interviews and document analysis. I also went on to explore the changing technologies and music access as well as the circuits of popular music production and consumption which are very crucial for my research. Chapter 3 is the anatomy of piracy. Definition of music piracy and forms of piracy are explored to give the reader an insight of critical issues under discussion. A comparative overview of the anatomy of music piracy in the global south and the global north is done to see if there are any similarities and differences in the way music piracy is done. The chapter concludes with various perspectives on music piracy from musicians and record label producers since they are the stakeholders in the music industry in Zimbabwe.

Chapter 4 provides a summary and conclusion to wrap up what has been discussed and recommendations as suggestions for further study.

Chapter 2: Key Issues and Concepts within the Study- Commercial Music Industry in Zimbabwe

Introduction

This chapter will highlight the changes that have taken place in the recording industry and how music has been commercialized in Zimbabwe. The chapter also gives an account of the development of popular music in the country and how popular has been used by different people. Views of musicians and record labels on music piracy are also highlighted.

The Recording industry

Popular music is produced and recorded to reach the intended listeners and does this in various forms. Essentially, music reaches the people in recorded form or through live performances. For the music to effectively reach the listeners with the goal of financial reward, the process of marketing must happen. Printing, packaging, delivery, and sale of the music must also take place for the final musical product to reach the consumer.

Popular music in Zimbabwe was first recorded as early as the 1950s in the then Salisbury now Harare and the second largest city of Bulawayo when a lot of people migrated to cities due to industrial development in search of jobs. This saw many young musicians coming to the big cities. At this time there were no record labels, and first soundtracks were done by the Rhodesian Broadcasting Co-operation using a tape player (Zindi 2015). As a result, people relied mostly on music from the radio. Records from South Africa, Britain and America began to infiltrate into Zimbabwe. During this time, recorded music in Zimbabwe was meant for radio only. Recording for commercial purposes was only realized in the early 1970s when South African record labels began to record local artists on tape (Zindi 2015). Music that opposed the Rhodesian government was not allowed. However, this was the same time that the song “Hokoyo” by Thomas Mapfumo was a success as observed by Zindi (2015).

After Independence in 1980 Gramma records emerged and could then cater for local musicians. Many musicians came to record thus Gramma could not cope with the number of musicians that needed to be recorded. This led to the formation of the Zimbabwe Music Corporation. Over time, new players like Metro records and Shed studios appeared and they recorded music on vinyl

records. The influx of compact discs (CDs) substituted vinyl records. Over time, technological advancements enabled people to download music on the internet creating problems for already established record labels. Consequently, many new players that could easily burn CDs arose. Musicians began to abandon their record labels running to the newly emerging ones. This led to the closure of Zimbabwe Music Cooperation and Gramma records.

Overview of Popular Music in Zimbabwe in Recent Times

Popular music consists of musical compositions and performances that are created for commercial success, that is, products and services which can be sold for profit. In this regard, many musicians are encouraged to produce music that will appeal to the broadest audience possible and accommodate both the old and the young so that the musician remains relevant to the audience in the musical scene. In Zimbabwe, generational and class differences are stark. Furthermore, the music must be in languages better understood by all people from different locations and ethnic groups and speak to their lived realities. Like elsewhere, the music industry in Zimbabwe involves several players that includes musicians, instrument players, backup singers, music writers, producers, organizers, managers, and many others.

According to Mhiripiri and Mhiripiri (2011), “Zimbabwe’s popular music is normally classified into four large groups namely gospel, traditional, jazz and urban grooves.” Mhiripiri (2006) suggests that the traditional group is the biggest of them all as it has come a long way dating back to the liberation war. On the other hand, the urban grooves genre is a combination of various music genres characterized by use of idioms and pleasant-sounding lines, cyclic vocals and musical patterns based in local languages that appeals mostly to young listeners. Maguraushe and Muranda (2014) identify three categories of popular music in Zimbabwe that include *sungura*, rap, and dancehall music. Zimdancehall is a new genre that emerged in 2016 and is popular with the youths and features rhythms and grooves that imitate Jamaican reggae and dancehall.

Zimbabwean popular music provides work to a substantial number of people. Mhiripiri and Mhiripiri (2001) forwarded the idea that in 2001, the Zimbabwean music industry had the potential to raise Z\$900 million. By so doing, the industry would be helping the country in job creation by employing a considerable number of people. It is estimated that the number of people

that are employed in the music industry by the year 2003 to be over 60 000. The numbers seem to have increased following the passing of the Broadcasting Services Act of 2001 that was put in place to promote local music and artists. Mhiripiri and Mhiripiri (2001) assert that policies were implemented in the last few years as an aid to the development of the music sector and these have made an amazing contribution to the rise of many new musical genres. The realities of the music business are that some musicians do not last long while others have made it to the present day. A good example of musicians who have come a long way are Thomas Mapfumo and Lovemore Majaiwana.

Considering information provided by Mhiripiri (2006), the Zimbabwean popular music business does not fully utilize the copyright law to maximize profits. Complaints in local daily newspapers, magazines and social media from musicians also show that musicians in Zimbabwe are not happy about the relationship that exist between them and the record companies. Music artists allege that they are taken advantage of by the producers following the signing of some contracts that benefit the sponsors at the expense of the musicians. This has resulted in some artists moving from one recording company to another or starting their own independent labels. The musicians are therefore encouraged to be aware of how the copyright law works before engaging in any contractual agreements.

Echoing this, Scannell (2001) suggests that the musicians are ripped off by both street vendors and record label owners in different ways. This is simply because some musicians are ignorant of their rights as musicians. Recording companies take advantage of the situation by not giving the musicians a fair share in terms of royalties. This calls for the education of the Zimbabwean musicians about the copyright law and contractual agreements so that they will not fall victims to these deceitful record labels. As part of the solution and change, some musicians have established their own record labels to stop further exploitation. Some clear examples are Alick Macheso and Jah Prayzah who have established Alema studio and Military Touch Movement, respectively.

In this pleasant innovative world, what benefit do these scrounging record labels offer? Certainly, musicians' lives can be better by abandoning them and do their own recordings. The challenge is with the attitude of Zimbabwean artists and perhaps the absence of creative technicians who may help them in setting up their own distribution and marketing companies

(Gondo 2012). The musicians are gripped by fear of the unknown hence they hold on to these parasitic contracts which hurt them indirectly.

According to Musiiwa's (2013), this system was created by pre-independence contracts that were infamous for exploiting the musicians and as such, these contracts still exist today. Some musicians sign these contracts just for the joy of getting recorded without carefully reading and understanding the contract hence they fall victim. Musicians in Zimbabwe also have a culture of exploiting each other. Bandleaders are notorious for taking payments for music that they did not create. Mhiripiri and Mhiripiri (2001) suggest that obliviousness of the copyright law by musicians concerned is time and again alluded to as the reason they are taken advantage of.

Realizing that they are being exploited, the musicians in Zimbabwe organized themselves and formed some organizations. This led to the formation of Music Writers Association whose mandate was to cater for needs and enhance cordial relationships of all music personnel. The Zimbabwe Union of Musicians also came into existence around during this period. This organization was accused of serving the interest of musicians in Harare only and neglecting those from other smaller cities. There is need therefore for the formulation of an inclusive body that caters for all.

Musicians usually earn money from the royalties that are usually administered by the ZBC through airplay on radio and television station in the country as well as from gate-takings from live shows they perform. Scannell (2001) explains, "How do Zimbabwean musicians make a living these days? Their main sources of income are from live performances (mainly in clubs and pubs), and from recording sales." The implication here is that Zimbabwean musicians at present rely much more on live performances than music sales. The Zimbabwe Music Rights Association (ZIMURA) is the principal body assigned to collect royalties on behalf of the musicians. However, the interviews conducted indicate that many musicians complain that they do not often get the royalties promptly and some do not get them at all.

Recent work in the field has shown that the introduction of the quota system for homegrown subject matter led to the establishment of many new record labels and producers. The Act obliged that 75 percent of content to be played on national radio and television be locally produced. It was set up to unpack and promote the objectives of the recently launched culture and creative industries in the country. Mhiripiri and Mhiripiri (2014) suggest that the act led to

the formation of new recording companies such as “Ngaavongwe, Country Boy Records, Zimbabwe Music Records, Corner Studios, and Tonderai Music Corporation, Gramma and Zimbabwe Music Corporation (ZMC).” It is, however, disheartening to note that all these record companies have since closed due to the economic crisis in the country.

The closure of these record companies has left many recording personnel and musicians with no other form of income and some of them were left poor. This however was a blessing in disguise to some musicians to avoid being exploited by record labels. Mhiripiri (2006) notes that many record label employees and musicians were forced to live under unbearable conditions. It is only when death, illness or injury comes, does it turn out to be clear just how unjustified the earnings of musicians in Zimbabwe are. This is when many will realize how unfortunate they are. A substantial number of them die as paupers with nothing to show for their work. For this reason, musicians are forced to work hard as well as spend a substantial amount of time travelling or rehearsing since they mostly rely on income from gate takings. This exposes them to many dangers such as diseases, deaths, and accidents. This is a wake-up call to the musicians not to depend on single income but should venture into other businesses that may help them in time of need. Gondo (2012) suggests that “performing, touring, merchandising, sponsorship, royalties and other commercial tie ins are the new reality in the music business.”

One unusual thing that emerged from newspaper analysis about Zimbabwean artists is that local musicians do not get much money from music sales hence they are forced to work extra hard to an extent of performing as much as thrice a week. This makes it difficult to plan long term recording projects and marketing strategies as they are basically selling their labor throughout the week. In this situation, it is with no doubt that the musicians are overworked, and such frantic efforts compromise presentation and value of music produced as they hardly take a break. Forging ahead, Zimbabwean musicians should come up with innovative ideas such as selling branded merchandise like t-shirts, caps, key holders, face masks and pens with their faces or names on so that they can earn an extra income, but this also requires a strong economy in general which is not so much the case in Zimbabwe.

It is encouraging to know that there are several overseas online sites that provide Zimbabwean music. According to Mhiripiri and Mhiripiri (2001), these retail sites include “Africassette, Amazon, CD Now and HMV Online, Barnes & Noble, and Brown Sugar Web.³⁶” These sites

conduct business online only. This is a limitation to the acquisition of music by many Zimbabweans as they do not have credible online facilities to acquire the music. By and large, the period after 2008 has seen the country plunging into an economic crisis and the people's disposable income being eroded hence cannot spend much on buying music.

This was unlike the period soon after independence in 1980 and the period up to 2007 before the economic crisis, where a lot of Zimbabwean people had the disposable income and the ability to buy music from renowned music distributors for their enjoyment. There have been many changes and influences in which music in Zimbabwe has been produced, marketed, distributed, and consumed today.

Historical Overview of Popular Music in Zimbabwe

Colonization was critical in the development of various popular music genres in the country. It brought changes in politics, education, and religion. Formal education and Christian religion were introduced by the colonizers. Christianity brought with it, Christian hymns and an aesthetic approach to music making that were not known to the indigenous people. The conventional responsibility of music as a means of communication and teaching was substituted by the formal education system together with Christianity.

The establishment of the new religion alternatively influenced the way religious songs and ritual music was performed in the country. People were forced to abandon their way of singing and change their sacred and ceremonial music. Bender (1991) quoted in Kwaramba (1997: 1-3) states that the change in people's spiritual and ritual songs was used by the missionaries to make sure that the African Traditional religion falls apart. In support of this, Turino (2000:195) states that "Christianity has been used as the subtle instrument to destroy Zimbabwean culture and every form of African culture has been called heathen." Thus, the education system and the missionaries were held responsible for culture loss by the indigenous Zimbabweans. People were forced to believe that their culture was "primitive". As a result, Chimurenga songs were composed and the question of identity became the main subject. However, the missionaries were not totally to blame. Turino (2000:203) argues that "fifty percent of Chimurenga songs were Christian hymns and some missionaries supported the war of liberation." Choirs were established and people could only sing transcribed hymns that resembled the western type that were available in book form. Thus, many Zimbabweans were introduced to new way of singing that

was alien to them. Zimbabweans were used to their own type of music which is based on recurring and many sound cycles that fit and corresponds in methods different from the European way. Church brought with it, certain ways of dressing and introduced uniforms, changes in the way people sing and instruments were carefully chosen. As a result, some African musical instruments were subsequently banned.

Zimbabwean traditional instruments such as the mbira (a lamellophone with metal tines) and ngoma (animal skin drum) which were peculiar to the Shona tradition for quite some time were not fully acknowledged. Dancing in an African way was considered unholy and unrepresentative of God. According to Bender (1991) in Kwaramba (1997) new Christian members were prohibited to play customary pieces of equipment. The choir system that was introduced in church was set to divide people. Kwaramba (1997) argues that one of the most significant transformation that the choir idea achieved was to divide between those who were “gifted with voices” and those who were not, who as a result turn out to be the spectators in a cultural group. Prior to this, almost everyone was well thought to be a singer in their own way. In this manner, those who could not sing well felt insignificant.

Zindi (2017) makes several interesting points by suggesting that the roots of Zimbabwean music prior to independence is hard to map out because of lack of records that provide evidence about the musical pursuits before colonization. He goes on to suggest that it is a clear fact that Zimbabwe had a musical culture that existed before the arrival of the colonialists.

Additionally, Zindi (2012) suggests that Zimbabwe’s long-established melodic instruments for example mbira, chigufe, hosho (shakers), hwamanda (made of kudu horns) and chipendani (musical bow) are believed to be in use from as early as the 14th century. This suggests that if such musical instruments were in use during this time, they could have been used for several purposes but at this time they functioned as a musical presentation. For example, *hwamhanda* was used to spread messages. Therefore, these instruments played a pivotal role in music performance of the Zimbabwean people hence they valued them. Zindi (2017) asserts that the mbira was a pillar in the growth of the Shona tradition in Zimbabwe in the past. Thus, the mbira becomes a symbol of the Zimbabwean Shona tribe which they value most. This illustrates that many Shona prided their own culture which was disturbed by the white settlers who viewed it as barbaric.

Going forward, the white settlers devised new systems to dissuade the black majority from believing in their culture. The indigenous people were made to accept as true that they pray to the evil spirit and the possession of the mbira was wicked and ancient. The missionaries took away all traditional instruments and the instruments were no longer allowed to be played in church apart from the church hymns. However, this was met with resistance from the indigenous people. They would secretly attend traditional functions any other day and go to church on Sunday. They devised other ways to make sure that the Shona culture does not die. Simultaneously, the growth and elevation of Zimbabwean traditional music was enhanced by Kwanongoma College of Music, the first music academy that allowed indigenous music and instruments.

This led to the rise of some traditional music artists. Goddard (1991) suggests that it was around this time that the likes of famous artists such as Thomas Mapfumo rose and endure to delve into the traditional music using the traditional instruments like the mbira and marimba. With the passage of time, Thomas Mapfumo had reduced his arrangements drastically to such an extent that it was made up of more traditional instruments and less western instruments in his musical compositions.

Zindi (2017) notes that the mbira was originally played by men only in the Shona tradition. As a result, the mbira was always regarded as sacred and could not be played by any ordinary person. Attributable to urbanization and foreign influence which led to the breakdown of traditional norms and values, there is no longer separation of responsibilities between men and women, hence women can now play the traditional instruments that were regarded as the responsibility of men only. To the same degree, Stella Chiweshe, Zimbabwe's finest woman mbira players quoted in Zindi (2012) aptly reveals: "I counted the number of fingers on a man's hand and saw five. I counted the fingers on my hand, they also came to five. So, I said to myself, what the hell, if men can play mbira, I can too". Consequently, gender imbalance is broken.

It is a Shona tradition that music is passed on from generation to generation. In line with this, mbira music was passed on thereby enhancing the continuity of cultural values and norms. Mbira music has changed a lot over the past years. Music and instrument players can now sing about anything ranging from politics and economics to social issues. The mbira instrument can be used in many musical genres. Zindi (2012:7) states that local famous artists such as "Jah Prayzah,

Andy Muridzo, Hope Masike, Fungisayi Zvakavapano Mashavave and Diana Samkange” incorporate the mbira in their music.

Musiyiwa (2013) argues convincingly that the changes brought in by missionaries in the country brought about hymn singing in churches. This was followed by the establishment of many other missionary enterprises where singing of hymns turned out to be the norm. Thus, the traditional way of singing was abandoned.

Through continued pressure from foreign countries especially Britain and the United States of America, Zimbabweans started to leave behind their long-established instruments and adopted foreign instruments. Individuals who persisted to play the traditional instruments were shunned and were viewed as backward by those who had faith in Western things which they regarded as superior and would render one good enough in society. As a result, some instruments especially the traditional drums (ngoma) were substituted by state-of-the-art manufactured foreign instruments.

The situation continued like this until the attainment of independence at a time when musicians like Dumisani Maraire and Thomas Mapfumo managed to make the mbira widely accepted once more by many indigenous Zimbabweans. With the attainment of independence, numerous indigenous musicians also began to imitate reggae music that is believed to have originated from Jamaica and as a result, many groups came to prominence. Reggae music has now influenced the development of Zimdancehall in the country.

Racial discrimination prior to independence forced many indigenous Zimbabwean popular musicians to perform in ghettos (high density areas) where most black Zimbabweans live. No black people were allowed in plush suburbs that were designated for the white supremacists only. Only those who could be seen there were housemaids and other domestic helpers. In Harare, Mai Musodzi Hall in Mbare, was the most popular venue meant for the black majority where most famous musicians with prominent names at that time made regular appearances.

At the same time, Bulawayo and Mutare played host to other musicians. However, the main music boom was focused on Harare during the period 1940s until the 1960s. Zindi (2017) suggests that it was at this stage that famous groups and artists like the “De Black Evening Follies, Golden Rhythm Crooners, Marshall Brothers, The City Slickers, The City Quads, The

Capital City Dixies, Faith Dauti, Susan Chenjerai” and many others rose to fame. The musicians could now play in local taverns and pubs situated across town close to black people places of residence.

Musiyiwa (2013) notes that from the 1940s to the late 1950s, the basic rhythms of tsavatsava could be heard in most Zimbabwean urban music productions. During the same period, young people would form choirs which offered choral music that led to the rise to stardom of the first Zimbabwean pop bands. Musiyiwa (2013) notes that popular tsavatsava players now included the “De Black Evening Follies, The Black and White Band, The Golden City Dixies, Kandido Sabawu, Elijah Muzanya, The Coloured Arcadia Rhythm Lads, Zimunya Danger Band, Kaison Riya, Machipisa Band, Isaac Musarurwa, Augustine Musarurwa and Oliver Masvaure.” However, these pop bands did not sound the same as those we hear today. The musicians did not incorporate much foreign sounds, but they could play similar rhythm. As time passes, the musicians started to incorporate foreign instruments some of which are popular in the country today. Most musicians had no formal training in playing these instruments but learned out of passion and curiosity. This is one of the reasons why we have music with foreign elements in the country.

Bands could now play a variety of musical genres within a single show catering for the needs of a wider audience. Zindi (2017) states that as the music changed, bands like The Harare Mambo played rock, kwela, rhumba, traditional, reggae, soul, sungura, mbaqanga and jiti over a night. Thus, most of the bands became versatile. It is therefore imperative to say that all the music genres in Zimbabwe emanated from tsavatsava.

Local bands had the privilege to tour and perform in other countries making local music known to other countries. Zindi (2017) expands noting that artists such as “the late Oliver Mtukudzi, Thomas Mapfumo, Bhundu Boys, Stella Chiweshe, Lovemore Majaivana, John Chibadura, The Four Brothers, Devera Ngwena, Alick Macheso, Tongai Moyo and Jah Prayzah” have made Zimbabwean music in its various genres, enjoyable in other countries, particularly in Europe where they all travelled around to search for other bases for promoting their music. Therefore, touring has put Zimbabwean music on the world map.

Socio-Political Overview of Popular Music in Zimbabwe

Important socio-political proceedings and actions have influenced the development of popular music in Zimbabwe. Sanga (2008) posits that patriotism, for example, impacts the substance, shape, and presentation of music. As of the 1960s to the late 1970s, the developing events in Zimbabwean music were dominated by the need for emancipation from colonial rule and political independence. Turino (2000) observes that music in Zimbabwe in the 1970s was used to inspire, drum up support, educate, engage, and raise awareness amongst the indigenous people. Most of the music was about the quest for freedom from the British colonialists. It appears that Chimurenga music was arguably the greatest music which carried revolutionary messages (Turino 2000). The British colonialists made sure that news connected to political, economic and war matters never got to the indigenous Zimbabweans so that they would not be able to know what happening around them. As a result, the freedom fighters established a radio station that broadcasted from Mozambique responsible for spreading war news and playing Chimurenga songs that won the independence.

The years after independence in 1980 to the late 1990s were noticeable by widespread celebrations of independence from colonial rule. Turino (2000:311) states that “the coming of independence was celebrated in word and song.” As a result, the idea of freedom and freedom itself provided present day individual artists and musical bands the chance to sing without restrictions and with vigor and in turn giving birth to several new groups and types of music such as sungura, rhumba, mbaqanga and jiti. The ruling government and Non-Governmental Organizations reinforced the initiative to commercialize indigenous music by funding some bands so that they could tour foreign countries. Thus, local popular music managed to reach all the corners of the world.

While so many of the songs now were about celebrating independence, the chief past occasion swaying the populace’s confidence regarding the ruling government, popular music in this decade symbolizes the important question that people had to contend with, that is self-rule’s flop to convert pro-independence objectives into life. As a result, cross-examination of independence became a current keynote in many of the songs of this decade. According to Musiyiwa (2013), one good example of such a song was Thomas Mapfumo’s “Todya Marara Here?” (So, Are We to Eat Rubbish?) which was subsequently banned.

The rise of the main opposition party in the country, the MDC, the land reform programme initiated by the government, and the consequential turning point of farm invasions where blacks forcibly took over farms from the white minority farmers were other factors that swayed people's mindset towards the ruling government. During this time, most messages in the songs were made to forsake the opposition. The influence of the raging party-political indulgence on popular music was remarkable. Some musicians were supported by the government under ZANU PF if they composed songs that denounced the opposition and praised the ruling party. This led to the buildup of local musical originality resulting in the establishment of brand-new music groups. As a result, many musicians were swayed to run away from gospel and turned to politics. Nothing much changed during this time, but the country continued to fall into economic crisis. Musicians were in turn forced to run away from politics and turned to gospel to find solace. Musiyiwa (2013) notes that it was during this period that new genres, namely urban grooves, and gospel, were founded as some of the most important musical genres in the country. In most cases the songs dealt with common social problems that were faced by the people and finding solutions to the problems. Musicians were not satisfied by the way the things were turning out in the country thus their music acted as a social commentary.

The enactment of the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation Act in 2001 also influenced the development of popular music in Zimbabwe. According to Zindi (2017), the act required radio and television to assign a 75 percent portion of their broadcasts to homegrown matter and thus the law compelled the broadcaster to fulfill the concerns of the ruling government. Musicians were encouraged to compose music that was not against the state, thus many musical genres were resuscitated. Chimurenga music was the most popular genre at this time and musicians received sponsorship directly from the Ministry of Information and Publicity. Galas were organized by the state and musicians whose songs fulfilled the needs of the state, especially that had to do with the "Third Chimurenga", were invited. This was the period that the state forcibly took land from the white owners and was dubbed the Third Chimurenga Movement. One good example of a song of this period was Chinx Chingaira's "Hondo Yeminda" (The War of the Land) which became very popular at the time (Musiyiwa 2013).

The period from 2000 to 2009, was a period with countless economic hardships for the public with no notable solution. Despite the prevalence of an overabundance of music promoters, the

musicians could not avoid the resultant pressure from harsh economic conditions heightened by music piracy renounced from normal business operations. Turino (2000) suggests that many bands had disappeared on the local scene because of the economic crunch around 1996. The ordinary people with very little disposable income to buy music because of the economic crunch sought comfort in music by buying cheap pirated CDs (Maguraushe and Muranda 2014). Much of the music around this period was about hope for a better future with most artists maintaining their genres. The pirated CDs were very cheap and could be sold for as little as \$1. This had an impact on record companies, record distribution companies and musicians at large forcing some record companies such as Gramma Records, Zimbabwe Music Corporation, Record Tape Production and Ngaavongwe records to shut down.

The continuous economic crunch in the country made many Zimbabweans lose confidence in matters to do with politics thus they took solace in religion. The people had faith in that only God could resolve their problems thus they believed gospel music provided an outlet from the jaws of poverty hence they sought sanctuary in religious matters. Musiyiwa (2013) states that one good example is Fungisai Zvakavapano's "Toita Zvedenga" (Doing Heavenly Thing) which became a popular hit. In support of this, Chitando (2001) observes that at the turn of the millennium, Zimbabwe saw the emergence of an increased appeal to popular music with a gospel slant. This was to implore for divine intervention from the looming economic hardships from the Almighty God using Biblical lyrical content. The movement with regards to heavenly answers meaningfully clarified the growth of gospel music to turn out be one of the most well-liked music genres at point in time. The ongoing effect of the missionary influence, the economic crunch in the country as well as the fact that people turn to religion in times of hardship has made Gospel well-liked in the country today.

Maguraushe and Muranda (2014) contend that from 2009 to 2015 there had been a shift toward an increased use of digital production, marketing, sales, and consumption of popular music. There was an upsurge in the number of musicians recording their music in their own home-based studios popularly known as *mikoto* (backyard studios) leading to an explosion of home-based studios as all one needed was a computer to burn CDS. The coming of digital technology has greatly reduced time taken to undertake recording projects. Due to the above-mentioned facts, music promoters made more efforts to take advantage of the prevailing current socio-economic

climate in Zimbabwe to boost business (Maguraushe and Muranda 2014). Furthermore, promoters resorted to play live musical instruments at live performances to market and advertise music instead of just playing CDs. This has seen the singing along of recorded music gradually coming to an end. The years 2010 to 2015 have seen a paradigm shift towards more digital based production of popular music in the form of hip-hop, dancehall, gospel, urban grooves and sungura which we see to the present day. Although digital technology was popular there was still a demand for live music.

Changing Technologies and Popular Music Access

The 20th century has seen new developments in technology in the country leading to various ways of accessing music. Consequently, people started moving away from total reliance on CDs and DVDs and began to embrace the new technology that enables them to buy music online. Manuel (1998) extends the view that the rise of popular music has been the most significant event in 20th century because of technological advancements. During the same time, people were able to get music through live performances in various venues. The socio-economic and technological developments associated with innovations have produced an increase in new music classes, musical tools and live shows contexts and led to a completely new empire of compositions with larger united listeners. Thus, popular music signified and put across new shared identities which appear as products of development and transformation the world over.

It is plausible that mass media has played a key role in persuading people to like popular music especially through recording, reproduction, broadcasting, and consumption. Manuel goes on to describe popular music as the music of the people and as the new forms of music that have arisen in this century in relation to mass media. In other words, for the music to become popular, it must get support from the audience or public through various means which change or expand over time via changes in media technology. Maguraushe and Muranda (2014) suggest that popular music is normal in cultures with great industrialized division of labor and well-defined difference concerning manufactures and customers in which music is produced mainly by specialists. This, however, seems to be different in Zimbabwe where anyone with access to a computer can now produce music, thereby removing dependence on external recording specialists and businesses.

Musiyiwa (2013) notes that in Zimbabwe, popular music is defined and recognized by means of how many times it has been played on air and sales standard. Thus, a song gains popularity by the number of times it is played on radio despite its appeal to the people. This seems to be an illogical way of determining how popular a song is. I believe a song should become popular considering how appeals to people and the sales. If we are to base and judge how a song becomes popular by the number of times it has been played, DJs run the risk of playing a song just for it to be voted popular. Political songs also became popular especially in post 2000 Zimbabwe due to increased airplay made possible by the government in quest to outdo the opposition. These songs gained popularity because they were the only ones that were played the whole day. You could hear a song 10 times a day on national radio and television. This was because the Zimbabwean government had banned all other forms of music and only Chimurenga songs were afforded airplay on both radio and television so that the government could further its interests.

Circuits of Popular Music Production and Consumption (Post 2008)

Cultural and creative industries, technology and social media have all seen extraordinary growth in the past few years. This has seen the disappearance of CDs and DVDs as the main source of music consumption and the emergence of new methods of music production, distribution and consumption in both Zimbabwe and the world at large. This paradigm shift did not just happen overnight but has fast-tracked in the last few years.

Alongside the development of compact discs (CDs) as an alternative to cassette tapes and to some extent vinyl records, this new system has posed some problems for reputable record labels. The availability of internet and digitized music permitted music enthusiasts to transfer music easily which altered the system considerably. This truth created a new problem for record labels as it became simpler to produce CDs with good sound quality as compared to that which was experienced with home-based cassette replication. Zindi (2017) notes that this forced the musicians to set up self-governed studios thereby abandoning their record labels at the expiration of signed contractual agreements. The record labels perceived this as an intrusion of their field by other competitors. This situation was worsened by the collapse of the country's economy between 2004 and 2008. Anthony Hagelthorn combined Zimbabwe Music Corporation (ZMC) and Gramma Records, but later gave up the recording business for good. Elias Musakwa took

over and combined the two to form Ngaavongwe Records but also gave in to the pressure of the economic meltdown. This illustrates the effect of a tight economy and access to changing technology.

After the closure of the previously mentioned record labels, new players emerged. Zindi (2011) notes that new companies that emerged on the picture due to the improvement in technology comprised of Corner Records, Gospel Train Studios, Diamond studios, Monolio studios, Eternity studio, Chillspot, Alema Studios, Vadzimu records, Military Touch Movement, and several others. These record companies have come aboard and embraced new ways of producing and consuming music in Zimbabwe just as it is in the world with such platforms as Spotify, YouTube, and many others. Intriguingly, individuals are using diverse social media platforms to consume music and any other content linked to music.

The way in which people consume music in Zimbabwe seems to have changed completely. Cole (2019) acknowledges that sales of tangible music gadgets have fallen tremendously as only a total of 132 million CDs were put up for sale in 2008 in the UK and this number is said to have dropped to 32 million ten years later. No figures are available for Zimbabwe, but it appears that it is following the trend around the world as both record companies and musicians have adopted the same methods of marketing and consuming music. Even though technology has presented musicians with the opportunity to become more autonomous, there comes another problem in the form of piracy. Music pirates discovered that it is relatively easier to duplicate and put-on sale recorded music with better sound quality than it was before. Artists who became familiar with to getting incentives for their recorded music could not assimilate the arrival of music piracy that was brought in by the changes in technology and were forced to find new ways to cope (Zindi 2017).

All interviewed established musicians concur that they are producing a limited number of CDs but are putting their music online, especially on YouTube. There is need therefore by Zimbabwean musicians and producers to explore other online platforms such as Spotify, Tune core, Apple Music and Vimeo to reach a wider audience.

Cole (2019) explains further saying, “Take Spotify for example, in 2016 its number of paid subscribers globally was 30 million but by 2019 it had more than tripled that figure to 100 million. Apple Music has a similar story, launching in 2015 and now boasting 60 million paid

users globally.” He also states that the firm expansion of Apple Music and Spotify signify a change in customer bated breath aimed at having recorded music whichever way and whenever they want.

Upcoming musicians acknowledge that social media platforms such as WhatsApp are helping them to market their music thus becoming known to the public. The aptitude to distribute tunes, records and playlists via social media channels has provided individuals with novel methods of presenting to their fans whatever they are paying attention to. In doing so, they create good rapport with their audience. According to Cole (2019), a good fraction of social media consumers concur that they find new musicians on these platforms, and almost 60 percent go to online platforms to pay attention to music after getting an apprise from something that has been posted. This is attributed to the progression in cellphone knowledge that allow consumers to log onto live performances in the comfort of their homes. Additionally, this is one unified means one can distribute preferred music tracks to thousands of followers on Instagram.

Most independent artists in Zimbabwe now prefer to avoid record labels by putting their music works on online media platforms and make personal contacts with their fans openly through their social media especially via WhatsApp. A survey carried out by Wintel, on world music, proves that income generated from live streaming only rose above 46 percent and the music market share went up to 39.9% by 2017. Worldwide, platforms like YouTube Music, Pandora, Soundcloud, Tidal and Soundtrack have been comprehensively consumed since they provide their consumers with the music they need. They also provide the consumers the chance to select the music they want indicating that consumers have adopted the new ways of consuming music. Lack of a reliable online music sales platform and limited internet access by most people prevent Zimbabwean musicians from using these platforms.

Research by LOOP in the US indicate that playlists are listened to by 31% of people both young and old as contrasted to albums which make up for 22% listenership. Intriguingly, The Guardian indicates that there has been a change in the way people listen to music and that streaming platforms can sell several songs by means of their customized and patented playlists. Reports also show that RapCaviar on Spotify now has gained a lot of fans on Instagram and commands more than 340 thousand consumers. As a result, it became so famous to such an extent that

Apple introduced its personal playlist dubbed Rap Life to try and win against its competitors and meet the demands of its followers.

Cole (2019) acknowledges that in a bid to fight competitors, Facebook initiated the use of music markers on both of its extra platforms namely Facebook Messenger and Instagram Stories. This mark enables fans to attach a song to shared stories and enable fans to share their much-loved music instantly. A study carried out by MusicWatch indicates that a substantial number of fans use the social media to participate in activities in connection with music and musicians. For example, more than 50 percent of the participants benefit from updates from their favorite musicians, and 63% use Snapchat to send or receive photos and videos from live music performances.

These statistics demonstrate the rising tendency by people of sharing music and videos on social media platforms both from musicians and followers in a similar way. Live shows and concerts are turning out to be more popular because of technological advancements. Technology and social media not only influence the way people use music on electronic gadgets but also how they consume music from live performances and concerts in addition. In Zimbabwe, most interviewed established artists such as Alexio Kawara, Taurai Murisa, Joshua Mufunde and Sniper Storm confirm that they now make money out of live performances because of music piracy. They bemoan that local people do not buy music but share via WhatsApp yet certainly come to live shows.

Besides enticing fans to attend shows, Zimbabwean artists should also adopt the system of becoming brand ambassadors for certain products so that they earn extra income. One good example is that undertaken by Nike in the United States. According to Cole (2019), Nike signed Lamar as one of their celebrity followers who would showcase their sportswear during his live performances. On the other hand, Nike has devised an app known as SNKRS which offers Nike sportswear plus exclusive Nike member rewards designed only for early access to products. Zimbabwean musicians are also encouraged to follow suit and take advantage of this innovation to allow music consumers to purchase limited version of personalized merchandise like t-shirts, caps, pens, and many others at live shows. This will improve their income and demonstrate a certain level of loyalty by their fans. Ansell (2016) suggest that an additional case in point of technological novelty in live performances and concerts is the use of computer made actual

performances that has been widely adopted by fans and has created new opportunities for businesses to bring into being items for consumption and shows to their doorsteps.

Conclusion

The development of the recording industry has played a pivotal role in Zimbabwe's popular music. An overview of popular music has indicated that the music industry contributes immensely to the economic development of the country by employing a substantial amount of people. The relationship between musicians and record labels is like that of predator and prey. Socio-political proceedings in Zimbabwe influenced the development of popular music in Zimbabwe. The changing technologies have also influenced the way people access popular music. The next chapter will look the various forms of piracy and how music piracy manifests itself in different countries.

Chapter 3: The Anatomy of Music Piracy - A Comparative Overview

Introduction

This chapter will define music piracy and identify various forms of music piracy. A comparative analysis of music piracy in selected African countries as well as some European countries to find out how music piracy manifests itself is made. A comparative analysis is also made to find out if music piracy is a global pandemic

Music Piracy Defined

Proserpio et al (2005:2) define music piracy as “the unauthorized copying of copyright materials for commercial purposes and the unauthorized commercial dealing in copied materials.” The illegality of it comes from when one duplicates and sell items for which they do not own the rights. The person with those rights is the creator of the original works. Thus, the works of the creator must be protected leading to the creation of the copyright law. The copyright law prohibits the sale of copyrighted material without purchasing the rights or getting permission to do so.

Gopal et al. (2004) describe piracy as “the act of copying digital goods, software, digital connection, music and voice and digital video for any reason without explicit permission from and compensation to the copyright holder.” Thus, the key component is consent as piracy is the use of a creator’s productions without his or her permission. Someone who unlawfully reproduces or sells someone’s work without consent or authority from the owner is generally referred to as a pirate. The pirate either sells the products himself or gives it to a vendor who sells the pirated products on his behalf.

Maphosa (2011:3) defines piracy as “the illegal copyright of copyrighted material for commercial gain,” and Assenova (2007:2) defines piracy as “the deliberate and illegal reproduction of copyrighted works for sale.” The perpetrator may be aware that he is breaking the law but does it for his own benefit. Penethiere (2005) is of the view that piracy includes the production of unauthorized copies of copyrighted works with the aim to resell them. In support of this, Skinner (2012:723) states that music piracy is “the unauthorized commercial reproduction of musical works.” From the above definitions, it can be generalized that piracy is the illegal use or reproduction of a creator’s protected works without his or her consent for

financial gains. Copyright laws are thus necessary to protect the copyrighted works to enable the creators to benefit more from their creations.

Forms of Piracy

Piracy as an international phenomenon and comes in different forms. These include online piracy, recorded sound piracy, counterfeit piracy, bootlegging and Napster file sharing. Each affects the countries' musicians and entertainment differently due to different levels of development.

Online Piracy

Bender and Wang (2009:158) state that “online piracy is an example of end user piracy in which consumers can obtain music for their own personal use without physical transactions.” Ronald (2006:67) notes that online piracy refers to “the unlawful and unauthorized downloading of music from the internet.” In essence, online piracy has to do with the unlawful use and transfer of music on the internet. This has been perpetuated by developments in digital technology. The most notable is the development of the internet which leads to an upsurge in the number of people consuming online music since it offers one of the most user-friendly services. Thus, more content is being pirated and illegally accessed online. This makes it one of the most significant developments competing against legal channels. The availability of the internet allows not only individual consumers, but music pirates as well, to easily access and download music. Pirates use this system to download music in large quantities and then sell it for as little as one dollar a copy in Zimbabwe while the musician gets nothing.

Online piracy also happens through streaming sites. Unlawful streaming enables one to view illegal copyrighted works on demand without downloading the illegal file. All that is needed is a link to share the content. This has now become common in Zimbabwe, even though sharing illegal content and providing links to people without permission is unlawful.

Counterfeit Piracy

Fink et al (2016) suggest that counterfeit piracy is when consumers are made to believe that a fake product has been produced by the brand owner. Grossman and Shapiro (1988) perceive counterfeit piracy as the sale of fakes that customers cannot easily differentiate from original

ones. In support of this, Carl (2010:21) states that it is the unauthorized recordings of pre-recorded music as well as the duplication of the original product, tag, brand, and pack. In this case the counterfeit resembles the original making it difficult to differentiate between the counterfeit and the original. It is made in such a way that deceives the consumer and the buyer is made to believe that he is buying the original copy. The distinction can only be picked up on sound quality as the counterfeit is of poor quality. This became popular in Zimbabwe in the late 1990s and was mostly through CDs and DVDs which could be seen everywhere in the streets around the city of Harare.

Bootleg Recording

Hima (2006:424) states that bootlegging is the illegal recording of an unofficially released compact disc and unlawful recording of live performance or studio intakes for commercial purposes without the consent of the performer. Jacobs (2005:67) notes that it is the recording of an audio or audiovisual that was not originally released by the musician or under any legal authorities. This was once common in Zimbabwe. At one point, Alick Macheso was recording and releasing his album *Zvinoda Kutendwa* in South Africa but before he finished it was already available on the streets of Harare without his knowledge forcing him to change the title of the album.

Bootleg recording is also called underground recording. This form of piracy happens at live shows where the pirate illegally records the videos and goes on to distribute them even before the release of the original music and videos. The pirates can steal and reproduce the music without the musician's knowledge only to hear it being played. Thus, the musician is denied a substantial amount of money.

Peer-to-Peer File Sharing

Oberholzer-Gee and Strumpf (2010) define peer-to-peer file sharing as an internet source of piracy that allows individuals to reproduce music, records, motion pictures as well as additional protected products at exceptional degree." In line with this, Huang (2005) states that it is the duplication and sharing of music files at no cost. He goes on to suggest that there are more than 60 file sharing platforms on the internet at the time. Thus, many people can share large quantities of music quickly and freely at any given time provided they have internet access. This system

allows files stored on one's computer to be available for copying by other users. The exact copies can therefore be transferred from one computer to another illegally thus many people around the world can access files at the same time as long they are part of the same P2P system.

This system allows music to be compacted, such as in the form of an mp3, thereby taking little space on electronic devices and makes downloading large amounts of music easier. Early studies showed that this type of piracy was commonly perpetuated by college students in some countries. Peer to Peer file sharing became popular in 1999 and was popularized Napster file sharing, however, this system is not common in Zimbabwe.

Music Piracy Abroad

The term music piracy, according to Veliz (2003) relate to the unlawful copying and selling of recorded music. This may be done through various means. Music piracy is a menace to both countries in the global north and those in the global south. Piracy does not disappear based on geography or based on the strength of a national economy, but it does manifest itself differently in different regions. The details of how it is done vary from place to place based on local context. Thus, this presentation will investigate music piracy in a variety of countries with varying contexts including Spain, Peru, United States, Tanzania, Nigeria, and South Africa. Finally, a look at Zimbabwe will round out the discussion.

Spain

The cultural and creative industry in Spain has not been spared by piracy especially the unlawful consumption of digital content. Horton (2017) reports that income from the sale of recorded music in Spain fell dismally by 80.2% from 2001 to 2013. This translates to 1million Euros from 123.7million Euros. Within a short space of time, the consumption of recorded music in Spain rose tremendously with unlawful acquisition of online material becoming part and parcel of the Spanish culture. This was exacerbated by the absence of robust administrative and lawmaking structure to fight the progressively more destructive problem. Thus, the contribution of music as

cultural expression to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was compromised and could not reach the expected levels.

The struggle with this was the same for the most part of the preceding years up to 2016. Research indicate that Spain jumped down from 10th to 12th position in MUSO's (Music in Spain Organization) worldwide survey in terms of online piracy pop ins. However, there was a considerable number of unlawful online pop ins. These are online musical brief visits. At this point in time, the Spaniards began to change the way they illegally consumed music, but the country was still faced with another complexity of downloading files from other users' devices over the internet unlike in other countries across the world. In no time, Spain began to benefit from web streaming and ripping (copying songs from an audio CD to a personal computer). Cuadrado et al. (2009) acknowledge that downloading music files from other people's devices on the internet became big in Spain becoming responsible for more than 50 percent of all the illegal retrieval of music thereby becoming one of the fourth high ranking stream of abuse the world over.

The authors went further to suggest that during the same period, total piracy deprived the country's economy of a projected 1.8 billion euros of which could have been helpful to the development of the country. As a result of piracy, the Spanish music industry continues to lose millions of euros which could have contributed immensely to the GDP of the country. Horton (2017) points out that the nation could have achieved an extra 576 million Euros if there was no music piracy by the year 2012. These are unfavorable statistics regarding the country's financial prudence. There is no doubt that the country needs to revamp the cultural and creative industries laws to evade additional deficits while also keeping up with the needs of music consumers.

Consequently, the country has been forced to apply measures to restrict and reduce further loss due to music piracy. A sequence of amendments has been made to the intellectual property right and copyright laws in a bid to clamp down on unlawful acquisition of copyrighted music by consumers. These included the closing down of all pirate places and blocking some notorious popular music piracy sites. This seems to have partially worked for the country in fighting piracy. Spain is continuing with the fight against music piracy and it is far from being over. The country still holds the tenth position in the world rankings regarding music piracy.

Peru

According to Veliz (2003), Peru is currently believed to have one of the most horrible music piracies in Latin America. Peru, just like Zimbabwe, has experienced the worst economic crisis in history. Accordingly, just as in Zimbabwe, piracy is being used as a form of income by many jobless people, especially the young adults. Even though it is illegal, piracy continues as a means for Peruvians to earn a living. There are street vendors who act as the middlemen between the manufacturers and buyers. Buying original music in Peru is very expensive thus music becomes out of reach of many. Thus, cost is one of the factors that adds immensely to the perpetuation of illegal acquisition and consumption of music. Veliz (2003) notes that street vendors sell a CD copy for as little as 3 soles which translates to less than 1 U.S. dollar while on the other hand, the price can get up to 19 US dollars a copy in record stores. Consequently, people flock to street vendors to get music at cheap price.

Just like in Zimbabwe, music pirates in Peru do not need much to reproduce copies, all they need is a sample copy of the original. Fake copies of CDs are produced in no time after the release of an original CD and they quickly flood the market with not much costs incurred. In contrast, established record labels incur costs by transporting music albums from production centers to the marketplace. Extra costs are incurred when producers send albums by air, hence an increase in costs. This makes it hard for authorized music producers to sell music at a low price because they want to recover production and transport costs from the sales. It is almost impossible for legal producers to offer their albums as cheaper ones without losing money and thus maintain their high prices.

The advent of new recording technology in the country has led to an increase in the production of fake CDs. Tyler (2013) argues that CD piracy in Peru was boosted by the arrival of the recordable CD format (CD-R) in the year 1997. This system makes the copying of music easier and no cost are incurred in terms of production and transport hence it becomes possible to sell the CDs for as little as one dollar. Thus, the pirates take advantage of this and continue producing pirated goods in large quantities. In this regard, the word piracy suggests that the widespread obtainability of illegal music imitations is the consequence of ruthless players predatory on the legal system, but the more complex reality is that the breakdown of the legal system and the reluctance by existing producers and marketers to provide the product at a price affordable to customers is partially to blame. Nevertheless, in Peru, fans have a legal right to the

copying of music onto CD for individual and commercial purposes. Thus, several Peruvians take advantage of this gap to replicate and copy music in bulk quantities for resale at very low prices. This arrangement is unjust and needs to be forbidden to safeguard the creator's motivation to produce.

However, the Peruvian law claims that there is an understandable advantage to consumers as illegally produced goods are cheaper than legally made choices and music piracy has made music available cheaply to people who could not have been able to buy it. As a result, music piracy helps people acquire music at a very low and reasonable price, which can be beneficial to both music retailers and music consumers. According to Veliz (2003), some retailers in Bangkok argue that if they are to sell the original products, they would not even sell as much as they are doing now. The people are aware that what they are doing is bad, but the reality is that they need to survive.

Though music piracy in the country has done good to some, it has ruined others to a greater extent. Record labels are the most hit by this problem in Peru. There has been an increase in pirated music on the market. Tegel (2016) suggests that there was a realization of a sum of 1.9 billion from illegal recordings in 2001. Basically, this problem is not unique to Peru only, but internationally. For example, in Brazil, artists in the home market take pride in the good news that people consume more of the local product now than in previous years. The damaging report is that the greatest percentage of the music sales in Brazil are illegally produced products. Considering the issue of piracy carefully, Peruvian music is in danger of disappearing because of an influx of imported music coupled with the lack of any consistent or effective clampdown on piracy. In contrast, Vilez (2003) notes that in Africa, the Ghanaian music industry was killed by music piracy during the late 1980s after the government failed to efficiently enforce the copyright law. In this regard, the musicians too are not spared either. They are unable to get incentives due to them if a legal music was bought through the right channels.

A very encouraging scenario is that efforts to curb music piracy in Peru have been implemented. Scheener (2006) notes that an exclusive police task force trained to deal with Intellectual property Rights was put in charge to combat piracy and related crimes. Scheener (2006) went on to suggest that several raids were conducted by the police seizing a considerable number of CDs worth millions of dollars. This money could have contributed immensely to the development of

the country had the CDs been sold through the right channels. These raids and other campaigns are continually embarked on every two weeks across the country.

United States

In the United States, digital music piracy has been a contentious issue since 1998 when Napster was created. This program enabled easy downloading and sharing of music files through the internet.

Some listeners' primary concern is the ability to listen to a variety of music offline for little to no cost which is illegally available on online platforms. Richter (2018) notes that most legal payment facilities cost in the region of £10 a month for listening to music which sounds like a bit expensive to some people. The IFPI estimated that some facilities like YouTube charge not more than \$1 (76p) per user as compared to other sites which charge \$20 (£15). Peer to peer (P2P hereafter) allows fans to link with each other and exchange protected content and files through their computer and an internet connection. This act of downloading free music was called digital piracy. Bender and Wang (2009) note that "market statistics compiled by the International Federation of the Phonographic Industry (IFPI) show that worldwide music sales fell at the turn of the century and P2P networks were to blame." Thus, P2P network companies were taken to court.

In the United States, stream ripping is arguably held as the most popular form of copyright infringement. This system uses cheap and easy to find software to pick up audio sounds from online sites at a low-quality bit rate. The second popular form of illegal music access is P2P file sharing. The third most popular way is the acquisition of music by means of various search engines (Alexander2002).

Without any doubt, the United States faces the same problems associated with digital piracy like many countries in the world. Equally, the video and movie businesses are affected too, demonstrating that piracy has presented a considerable amount of damage on product sales (Bender and Wang 2009). Along these lines, a decrease in sales leads to a negative impact on the economy. The United States of America Department of Commerce statistics claim that the culture and creative industries contribute six percent of the state's Gross Domestic Product. In recent years, other P2P networks namely Kazza and Morpheus came into play revolutionizing

the P2P technology creating a way of sharing sizeable amounts of data with minimal storage space. According to Richter (2018) listening to music has never been cheaper and more convenient because of streaming services that are available in the United States. Thus, people have resorted to cheaper ways of acquiring music hence, music piracy remains a concern across the country. IFPI's report suggests that, 38 percent of people around the world listen to music that has been unlawfully accessed.

A survey by MusicWatch points towards the fact that about 57 million Americans illegally get music because of P2P network facilities or obtaining an original copy of content that is streamed online (Huang 2005). Intriguingly, scores of these individuals also buy music through the legal channels, but also turn to piracy because they do not desire the music seriously as much as necessary to come up with money for it. MusicWatch carried out a study to unpack the reality on how people who illegally get music think. The survey revealed that many of those people who illegally acquire music are otherwise noble paying customers for music. Another remarkable fact that emerged is that a lot of the people do not use unlawful purchase only as a way of receiving music but in various instances pay for the music.

The same survey carried out by MusicWatch shows that 80 percent of music rippers cited that they would be fond of the music hence they resort to stealing. Although, a lot also get music unlawfully as a way of saving money, they can pay for it. Geddes (2016) suggests that about one third of the buyers confessed to have accessed music through illegal means. Research also shows that music buyers concern does not lie on the possession of songs if they have unrestricted access to streaming. Thus, access is a limitation to ownership. It appears though that copying and permanently possessing the music are important to many music consumers showing that people engage in unlawful acquisition of music knowingly or unknowingly and for various reasons.

Richter (2018) suggests that the means for copying music unlawfully have changed ever since Napster and LimeWire were introduced. This is attributed to rampant technological advancements. Bender and Wang (2009) describe technology as an aid to the rise of digital piracy as computers now come with CD burners (at the time of that publication) and enough memory as well as the pace to sustain the copying and storing of files. To prevent losses, the recording industry in the United States took P2P software companies to court spreading the lawful battle to other individual people who unlawfully acquired music files. This would seem to

be the only logical way to deal with music piracy as it relates to P2P companies. However, the war against music piracy in the United States is far from being over.

Music Piracy in African Countries: Nigeria, Tanzania, and South Africa

Nigeria

In Nigeria, conventional (lawful) music retail stores are not common, even in the capital city of Lagos. Additionally, streaming services are not yet popular and music consumers go to markets like Computer Village, where young men sell illegal downloads via CDs. Paulson (2012) puts forward the idea that thousands of illegally copied CDs are produced daily throughout the capital leading to some musicians paying to be included on them, hopeful that the experience might one way or another help them. Recordings of audio and audiovisual music not yet officially released by the artist are a common sight in Nigerian streets together with other fake CDs. Larkin (2004) states that buccaneers and upcoming musicians benefit from an interdependent connection as they both use radio and television personnel to market upcoming and established musicians. Perullo's findings (2011) when writing about music in Tanzania echoes this idea stating that musicians pay radio DJs and station managers to have their music played. Pirates become very crucial in the music business in Nigeria as they assume the role of marketers thereby making musicians known to the fans. Tade and Akinleye (2012) argue that regardless the undesirable outcomes of music piracy and strain on money, upcoming and established musicians equally acknowledged that music pirates afford celebrity status to many artistes.

In Nigeria, musicians do not benefit from royalty payments because the system is corrupt and record companies are ignoring lawful practices (Tade and Akinleye (2012)). The musicians and record label owners appear to be in a parasitic relationship. Musicians express dissatisfaction that even the country's biggest film industry frequently take pleasure in using songs in movies illegally or without compensation thereby depriving the artists of financial gains. Even though many countries around the globe have courts and legal advice that focus on copyright cases, musicians in Nigeria had gone for a long time without such a thing and, only recently have they started to engage in copyright protection. As a result, they have been exploited for years. Many are said to express dissatisfaction towards the laws that are meant to protect them which are so

rarely cited to the extent that some of those in judiciary system do not even know they exist. It would seem logical that the copyright law be openly available to the benefit of all.

Nnamani (2016) notes that music production in Nigeria has faced some problems that resulted in financial losses for some time in the past attributable to music piracy and other forces that put unnecessary violation of the Intellectual Property Rights laws within the country. Research indicates that loss of income because of piracy separately from additional systems of violation cost the country over USD 260 million every year. Additionally, the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) reports that a projected figure exceeding one hundred billion naira (USD 260 million) that could have been generated from the cultural and creative industries was lost due to piracy as of August 2008. This is indeed a great loss to the country. The money could have helped in the development of the country overall. Nnamani (2016) further projected Nigeria as one of the largest trading floors in Africa for products that are unlawfully accessed. Piracy does not just occur out of nowhere without any reason and is not done by creators. It is an offence and a purposeful act aimed at exploiting and misusing musicians' creative works.

The coming in of new digital technologies have brought in new challenges which establish or enable the production of copyrighted material in large quantities. In Nigeria, just like the world over, the distribution and marketing of online music files is done through the internet. Technology has enabled music artists to use laptops to record music and sell openly on the Internet. By so doing, the music artists avoid the conventional recording studios and music distributors simultaneously.

Nnamani (2016) further argues convincingly that there are many reasons and causes that spur piracy and they take on distinct components. According to research, its dominance is credited to several important related factors including the shortage and price of original goods, lack of resources, poor delivery channels, a weak law enforcement system, lack of co-operation by all members of the music industry and lack of funding, among others. These factors not only contribute to music piracy in Nigeria but the world at large. This therefore calls for all responsible authorities to be part and parcel of the solution and change.

The pirated music vendors are very much aware that the artists receive nothing from the sale of their music. Many artists bemoan the effect of music piracy and those who practice it. Larkin (2009) adds that it kills the creativity of creators hence the musicians are not motivated to create.

As a result, music piracy in Nigeria has left many producers, artists, marketers, and stake holders with nothing. Furthermore, piracy has stalled the rapid financial development of the music industry and contribution to major areas of the country's economy. He views pirates as mysterious individuals, but one may begin to wonder who these pirates are. Are they a loose collection of individuals or somehow organized in a locale? Considering the question carefully, I would suggest that they are a group of people trying to survive in a world full of poverty. However, some argue that they are pushers and movers while others say that they are illegal manufacturers in the distribution channel. Tade and Akinleye (2012) assert that some pirates counter the allegations that they are pirates, but rather they are marketers.

To be part of the solution and change in a bid to curb piracy, the Copyright Society of Nigeria has opened court cases against offenders, demonstrated, held meetings with concerned parties and held campaigns to organizations and people making them aware of the copyright law. The group is said to be currently fighting the country's main cell phone business entity, MTN, for not paying musicians for the use of clips of their tunes and for not giving artists what they deserve financially from the sales. Music has long been part and parcel of Nigerian culture, but changes have come in the way it is sold and accessed. According to Paulson (2012) recording artists press mobile phone businesses to pay more for the use their tunes. He states that the Nigerian government has made efforts to protect copyrighted works by establishing a training center for musicians and law makers about Intellectual Property Rights. After all, has been said and done about piracy in Nigeria, it is intriguing to observe that the Nigerian music and motion picture business would not be at the level it is today without piracy.

South Africa

South Africa is one African state that has been at work with the crucial tasks of reforming itself politically and economically since 1994 after the fall of apartheid. The fall of apartheid rule and the coming in of democracy gave rise to the abolition of racism leading to an inclusive, non-racial democratic government. Despite this, the country is still faced with the problem of music piracy. This therefore called for changes in the way in which the cultural and creative industries are being run.

Durbach's study (2015) provides much relevant information noting that the country is lagging the world in terms of dealing with music piracy. This may not be shocking because technology

was introduced late and broadband internet has only been established recently. Piracy in the country continues to be a challenge for the foreseeable future, especially when internet connectivity in the country at last begins to compete with the rest of the world. The recording of audio and audiovisuals that has not been originally released by the musician and the unauthorized recordings of pre-recorded music and duplication of original work have traditionally been the most common pirate activities in South Africa. Many anti-piracy campaigns have been organized to limit these two types of piracy since they are believed to be easier to control. However, online piracy which is believed to be a more difficult problem continues to grow in the Southern African country.

A current study on online piracy carried out by MyBroadband reveals that most people use broadband where they engage in pirate activities that involve TV series, movies, and music. Importantly, in South Africa, people engaged in online piracy because the content was unavailable in the country at that time. The research also discovered that inaccessibility and convenience were the major reasons why people engage in piracy rather than the need to conserve money (Matsukis 2015). South Africa, according to Matsukis (2015), is placed 14th globally for unlawful downloads in which Brazil is at the top. Illicit downloads very much help financially those involved in organized crime and contribute nothing to efforts to sustain the cultural and creative industries. However, new internet sites that allow music and films to be unlawfully run have arisen.

The sale of fake CDs and DVDs was also lucrative in South Africa. This was attributed to the fact that South Africans had limited access to online music and content lawfully for a long time. However, this explanation seems flawed, as this problem is faced by most countries in the world. In this regard, it is unjustifiable for people to engage in piracy by opportunely contending that lawful ways to get music online are nonexistent. The South African Federation Against Copyright Theft estimates that music and film industry has lost just about R300 million to R600 million due to unlawful copying. However, statistics on the impact of piracy on the livelihoods of musicians are not available. As a result, South African Music Rights Organization (SAMRO) has embarked on a mission to educate the people on the hazards of music piracy since 2013.

Recent work in the field has shown that sustained stress has been put on educating music consumers about the effects of music piracy on the economy and the lives of music producers.

This indicates that the reduction of music piracy needs an essential mindset change concerning this habit, and education is key to attainment of set goals. As a result, SAMRO has published booklets that try to educate the populace about the importance of exclusive rights and the hazards of music piracy. Information is available in all eleven official languages and have been dispatched to all the corners of the country and are also available in schools, universities, churches, conferences as well as events such as 702 Walk the Talk, an organization formed to fight piracy in the country and that believes in acting rather than merely talking.

Strand et al. (2005) suggest a few legal issues that are involved in the music industry, some of which South Africa has implemented. According to SAMRO's perspective, the South African government been actively engaged in efforts to control music piracy over the past years by trying to efficiently enforce the copyright law. Many operations and anti -piracy campaigns have been rolled out. Raids were sometimes organized and effected especially in major cities. Primo and Lloyd (2011) in Karaganis (2011) suggest that those caught on the wrong side of the law by infringing the Copyright Act are liable to fines to the tune of R5 000 or a jail term for copyright infringement. South Africa is also involved in many international conferences that discuss issues to do with protection of intellectual property. SAMRO suggests that in South Africa, copying a film or music is not just unavoidably immoral, but it is illegal, and a court case can be filed against the offender leading to a jail term.

Tanzania

Tanzania, like most any other country, has not been spared by music piracy. According to Privat (2012), music piracy in Tanzania poses an increasingly disturbing danger to the music industry. Although official statistics are still lacking, piracy of music works has reached an unprecedented level. This is evidenced by frequent complaints by artists in newspapers, radios, televisions, blogs, seminars, workshops, letters to responsible authorities, campaigns and in other forums that serve to demonstrate the state of music piracy in Tanzania. Perullo (2011) argues that initial forms of piracy in Tanzania harm musician's careers and the economy at large and the music could serve as a form of publicity rather than as an object of profit before the 1990s.

The effect of piracy in Tanzania is felt by both the artists and the government at large. Though the overall impact of piracy is hard to estimate, it has generally caused great income losses to both artists and the government. A research study carried out in 2010 revealed that the

government suffered loss of tax revenue of 10 million United States Dollars (Tanzanian shilling 23.5 billion) in music industry only because of unsuccessful implementation of the copyright law. People can now create copies of protected music and distribute them at low costs. Many internet users also share music video files on the Msuva leading to losses of billions from music piracy.

Larkin (2009) discussing this in the context of music piracy in general presents media piracy as a path with the ability for establishing skills of reproduction, the flexible capability to store, replicate and save data. Music piracy is an act that depends much on the movement of media from controlled and legal ways of trade but then creates its own constitution of imitation and circulation that is outside and inside the confines of the state economy. To try and curb this, the Tanzanian administration formed the Films and Music Products Regulations which put into action a method that makes use of Tax Stamps to control music piracy. This directive required that all music productions ought to have a Tax Stamp. Regrettably, this attempt did not achieve much as piracy is still a problem and fake music is readily available. Renowned music wholesalers have nearly run out of business because of piracy. Musicians in Tanzania no longer rely much on payment of royalties. They now concentrate on releasing singles and marketing them profoundly through live shows to get money as an alternative to record sales. Thus, the musicians saw live performances as the only way they could escape from piracy.

Perullo (2011) argues that piracy in Tanzania did not just appear but slowly arose from the impending breakdown of an effective music industry in the delivery of music. Thus, piracy became the most significant component weakening the continued success of the music business in the country. Internet and broadband access have afforded people the opportunity to share music easily. Technical progressions have made possible the production of high-quality illegal copies and the means to download them faster and easier unlike VHS tapes that damage the quality of the digital copy.

The Tanzania Communications Regulatory Authority (TCRA) reports that radio and television stations in the country have not been paying royalty fees to the musicians up to 2012. As a result, all other self-governing broadcasters took over the practice of not paying royalties leaving the musicians exposed. They then use this example as an excuse to avoid payment of royalties despite the plea for royalty payments by musicians. The radio and television stations could

sometimes simply stop airing the music from those musicians who might have objected the non-payment of royalties. This has forced many inexperienced musicians to pay large sums of money to these DJs in anticipation of receiving airplay and getting signed up for live shows. It became the norm in Tanzania that one must pay for his/her music to be aired thereby leading to corruption.

Continued efforts to control music piracy in Tanzania have been made and have made a significant impact. Kitime (2015) notes that the National Arts Council amended the existing copyright law in a bid to end piracy, but it was approved as law after many years. Thus, the musicians continue to suffer prior to the approval of the new copyright law. During all these years the draft was waiting to be approved, music pirates had grown in strength and were able to afford more advanced equipment to reproduce copies. Furthermore, they had devised well-organized distribution channels that became very difficult to disband. By the time the law came into effect, people in Tanzania had acquired a new system of buying pirated music hence they were a step further than the law. To continue fighting piracy, the country at last set up the new Copyright and Neighboring Rights Act (No. 7 of 1999) in 1999. This gave the musicians something to smile about after years of struggle with music piracy.

With the passage, the Copyright Society of Tanzania (COSOTA) was created and was responsible for the supervision of the operative nature of the regulations. In Kitime's view, the Copyright Society of Tanzania is a patent office and a closed society organization set up to oversee, help, and defend the welfare of creators, artists, originators, producers of sound recordings and broadcasters in particular, to decrease piracy, gather and dispense royalties and additional payments given to them regarding their rights stipulated under the Act. Despite this, the regulation failed to succeed because of lack of financial support from the government which was supposed to oversee its implementation. The failure of this legislation led to the formation of the Tanzania Musicians Network (TAMUNET), whose responsibility was to oversee the management and payment of royalties. For the most part, its mandate was to make sure that the state-owned broadcaster was the first institution to pay royalty fees to the musicians. Unfortunately, it is not clear whether it has succeeded to achieve this objective. One remarkable fact is that musicians are now generating some income from royalty payments from the usage of their tunes as ring tones on mobile phones, but the disbursements are not constant. However,

despite all these efforts, music piracy is still a problem in the country. According to Perullo (2011), it is interesting to note that without piracy, Tanzanian music would not be as prosperous and successful as it is now. Thus, piracy became a blessing in disguise. Music piracy also promotes production in other sectors of the economy such as software makers, CD manufactures and others in the digital industry.

Looking at the above information, it is well defined that music piracy is a universal problem. Developed countries, although they boast of advanced technology, have the problem of piracy too, thus piracy is a global phenomenon. For instance, research shows that Italy and Spain take up the unconjurable sixth and seventh places respectively in the world with regards to music piracy. Nevertheless, the problem of music piracy cannot be eradicated by application of the Copyright law alone, but concerted efforts from all sectors are needed.

Karaganis (2011) argues that piracy does not exist because people desire to infringe the law deliberately but rather the factors tend to be culturally rooted especially in emerging economies and copyright in many communities is a completely unfamiliar idea. Nonetheless, in some instances it may simply be ignored. This argument can therefore be accepted as valid judging by the different circumstances cited above in which piracy manifest itself in different countries. Another factor that should be put into consideration is economics. The situation is not like individuals all over the world rather to buy pirated music, but they often simply do not have any other option because of tight disposable income. The only choice they have is to acquire the music illegally since it will be cheap.

The Anatomy of Music Piracy in Zimbabwe

In Zimbabwe, piracy used to be rampant in cities and towns across the country, most especially in the streets and shopping malls of the capital city Harare. Brian Gondo, a journalist with Techno Magazine describes the situation in 2013 saying “Certainly the proliferation of (copying) and music pirates at places like popular Harare Zimex Mall and the Gulf Complex is fueling music piracy” (2013:13). Ximex mall has since been demolished and converted into a car park in 2013. More recently, there seems to be a shift as very few, if any, music pirates can be seen at these places. This suggests that they have discovered new channels of pirating the music. WhatsApp seems to be the preferred medium as this platform makes it easier to share music to a large group of people at once directly to their mobile devices and all that is needed is data.

In Zimbabwe, piracy is perpetuated by unemployed young adults who have taken it as a form of income following the high rate of unemployment since the country experienced an economic crisis. Murimba (2012) acknowledges that music piracy had grown so big to such an extent that many individuals were making a living out of it. Large stacks of CDs could be seen on street pathways and in buildings up and downtown areas. This demonstrates that piracy continues to be an escape window from the harsh economic jaws. Tade and Akinleye (2012:6) echo this sentiment saying that “Youths are most involved in piracy because of their inability to be gainfully employed after school hence piracy becomes a way of coping with the economic problem.”

Murimba (2012) makes several interesting points noting that there are three parties involved in music piracy which include buccaneers, runners, and consumers. The buccaneers by and large have access to produce discs together with free internet connection which is not readily available to many and is necessary for downloading music and acting as a wholesaler. The finished goods are then packaged and sold to distributors. Runners get the already packaged CDs indiscriminately and then set up shop on the street. At \$1 a copy, they sell a lot within a short space of time depending on the site and when traffic is high. Quality is not a major concern for movers because the product sells fast regardless.

Thirdly, there are the customers. When it comes to this industry, the market is steady because there is no worthy alternative entertainment which is widespread. Seemingly, there are fewer fans of radio and television programs because people can now easily access music on demand for a ridiculously low amount. In addition to this, there are several players in the music industry who play a symbiotic role in piracy. These include radio DJs (disc jockeys) who determine how prompt and often a CD is played, engineers who break into secured or protected CDs and pirates who act as producers, marketers, and promoters of upcoming artists.

There is relatively little needed in terms of start-up costs and material needs to start the business by both the pirates and movers. For pirates, a customer with a burner, an active internet connection, a flash disk and of course discs which costs as little as \$15 for a hundred is all that is needed. For movers, all it takes is finding people who buy in large quantities and setting up a stall along any busy street (Murimba 2012). In line with this, Tade and Akinleye (2012) state that

the use of technology has made it easier for pirates to download music using certain software which includes Virtual DJ, Nero, and Lime wire.

Vava (2011) a music journalist with Nehanda radio says in Zimbabwe, the increase in cases of piracy were recorded in the early 1990s due to the economic meltdown that had taken its toll. It is believed that audio cassettes produced in neighboring Zambia and Mozambique at a low price compared to original ones infiltrated Zimbabwe then. Piracy in Zimbabwe, like the rest of the world, took off because of technological developments. Zimbabwe, just like the United States, UK and Canada who were already technologically advanced continued to devise systems that enabled the production and sharing of music more easily. During this time, people in Zimbabwe shifted from using gadgets with cassette players to CD players. This shift saw the extinction of pirated cassettes and the emergence of CDs on the streets. Snelling's finding (2013) supports this idea noting that piracy in Zimbabwe really took off in the early 1990s when methods for copying and recording CDs became more readily available.

In support of this, Zvimba (2012) states that piracy in the country began at the beginning of 1990s with the establishment of flea markets and increased technological advancements. This led to the flooding of pirated music on the streets and popular shopping malls such as Ximex mall and Gulf Complex in Harare. Piracy later spread to other small towns as the level of unemployment amongst the youths increased (Murimba 2012). Oberholzer and Strumpf (2004) assert that the introduction of a popular network Fast Track/KaZaA in 2003 enabled the production of more than one billion downloads each week contributing to piracy. Most Zimbabweans took advantage of this network, and this gave rise to music piracy. With the passage of time and technological advancements, people can now unlawfully download music online and share via WhatsApp.

Various Perspectives on Music Piracy in Zimbabwe

Upcoming Artists Perspectives

Contrary to what might be expected, upcoming artists feel that music piracy is beneficial to them and use it as a marketing strategy. In interviews I conducted, four upcoming artists, Givemore Bonde, Cephas Shumba, Showban Kadzimore and Nyasha Mano, all concurred that music piracy helped them market their music and that people attended their shows after hearing their music

via pirated sources. They explain that they do not get any monetary rewards directly from piracy but rather through live shows, hence they see it as a necessary evil. Gayer and Shy (2006) state that upcoming artists not only benefit from royalty fees but from the sale of tickets for live shows. In support of this, Ernesto (2009) says revenue for musicians went up through increased income from live gigs perhaps due to piracy which offers an easy means to discover new music.

Most artists I spoke with see music piracy as a good thing as it makes them known to the public and help them build careers. Zimdancehall artist “Ndunge Yuti” (real name Givemore Bonde) does not see anything wrong with piracy now but might be harmful only when he is established. For now, it makes him known in the music circles (Interview G. Bonde 18/11/19). He says, “People will know that there is a musician known as “Ndunge Yuti” after hearing my music shared via WhatsApp. They then will attend my shows. That’s the only way I can make money.” (Interview G. Bonde 18/11/19). Keel (2012) suggests that piracy helps musicians build and uphold hale and hearty livelihoods in this technically powered world. In this context, piracy is not seen as hurting the music business, but it escalates sales of goods and live performance attendances. As a result, upcoming musicians benefit more. According to Keel (2012) some international musicians who have made careers in some way through piracy on the internet include MIA, James Blunt, and Justin Bieber.

There are several upcoming artists in Zimbabwe who share these views and do not see anything wrong with music piracy since it gives them exposure they would not otherwise have. Showban Kudzibamura explains, “I live in Chirundu and people in other parts of the country do not even know that I exist. I am a sungura musician, but through music piracy people will know that I am here and might want to listen to my music.” (Interview S. Kudzibamura 26/11/19). Pursehouse (2010) states that “since music is an experience good and tastes are different, consumers do not know beforehand whether they like a piece of music thus file sharing enables consumers to try out new musical genres and artists.”

Furthermore, some of the artists I interviewed have created fan pages on YouTube (see appendice) where people can access their music for free thereby creating a fan base for themselves. One musician that stood out was another upcoming Zimdancehall artist, Nyasha Mano (also known as Ras Pombi,) who says, “I have uploaded my music on YouTube and those who want to listen to my music can just go there and listen to it and share with others.” (Interview N. Mano

18/11/19). Tade and Akinleye (2012) note that artists have resorted to establishing fan pages and allowing their listeners to copy their music without paying thereby increasing their popularity.

Established Musicians' Perspectives

Urban grooves artist, Alexio Kawara is of the view that music piracy has adversely affected his music in terms of sales. Hence, he has been concentrating more on live performances and partnering with other musicians and companies by becoming their brand ambassador as an additional source of revenue. He also said that he is trying to put his music online but explains that this is mainly for those outside Zimbabwe. For many Zimbabweans locally online sales present many difficulties and they do not have the capacity to buy music online. Masekera (2011:4) expands on this saying “On the local scene, the lack of a convenient payment method such as credit cards or internet banking (that goes beyond a bank having a platform for its customers to transfer cash and check balances) coupled with a lack of access to decent internet connectivity to download their purchases excludes a very significant group of potential customers.”

Another established gospel artist, Taurai Murisa, says that he has never realized any financial benefits from music piracy. He says, “Piracy has never been helpful to me in any way and I have never seen an advantage from it, but it has stolen my bread and butter. I am currently surviving on live performances, but it is not that much.” Shaleem and Tsao (2012) explain that the musicians do not get what they are supposed to get because the music pirate essentially gets 100% of the profits. This illustrates how skewed the system is. He therefore calls for stiffer penalties such as a jail term to those who engage in piracy, for he equates it to stealing. He argues that those who steal are given a jail term but one who is charged for piracy is only asked to pay a small fine which is not enough of a deterrent.

Joshua Mufunde, a chimurenga musician, is of the view that music piracy has greatly affected the music industry. He says “Most musicians are not selling music because of piracy. Even if they sell music the sales are near nonexistent.” He expanded on this saying that “In Zimbabwe, piracy is sort of official because nothing much is done to the offenders.” He describes the treatment given to offenders as a slap on the wrist. “There are sites which do not function in

other parts of the world to copy music but in Zimbabwe you can use a site Tubid.mobile and get all the recorded music in the archives. The legislation is there but policing is lacking. Sales are non-existent.” (Interview J. Mufunde 06/12/19). This has forced most musicians to have back up professions. He calls for software that can tag music and that can detect that such music has been obtained illegally and is being played at such a place.

Sniper Storm, a Zimdancehall artist, is also strongly against music piracy. He, like many others, is not getting revenue from music sales as sales have dropped drastically because of music piracy. He concurs with other musicians that they are only getting financial gains from live performances. The challenge then is to attract as many patrons as possible. The more the people who attend, the more the gate takings. He also calls for stiffer penalties against the offenders as a way of minimizing piracy adding that piracy cannot be stopped but only minimized as there are those like upcoming artists who benefit immensely from it as a marketing tool.

Recording Companies’ Perspectives

DJ Tamuka, a producer at Military Touch Movement describes music piracy as a double-edged sword that is on one end helping upcoming musicians by moving music to the people. It also helps them as recording studios to get royalties after music is played on radio as many people would request it. On the other hand, it is killing established musicians as they are not getting anything directly from it. He said many artists continue coming in to record with them and that piracy cannot be stopped in any way so let it be. He states that, “If we just sit down and cry there will be no progress in the music recording industry. We know we deserve to get paid for the work that we do. It’s not up to us to control piracy but there should be government structures that deal with piracy.” (Interview 11/12/19). He calls for government structures to stop pirates and active policing of the law to stop them because they are there on the street. Tamuka bemoans the lack of provision for music at the national level stating that “The system does not have provision for music as an industry that is earning money as any other industry, so we do things informally. Piracy moves music to the people. Musicians earn a living out of it then we take money from live shows and earn royalties from it. That is the way we have devised as recording studios although people don’t want to say it because they are afraid to be called to promote piracy.” (Interview 11/12/19).

According to Tamuka, he charges reasonably for his services hence he has managed to survive. Accepting that piracy cannot be stopped, he cites the USA as an example where they have a big budget on piracy worth billions of dollars but have failed to stop piracy. “The only way is to go digital. You can control the way you want your music to be accessed. You put it on a certain platform and people can pay and get music from there. In Zimbabwe, the challenge is tariffs. They must be low.” He challenges telecom network providers to charge reasonable rates. “If they can say here is a code to download Jah Prayzah’s song for just \$10 on their phones and a million people can download, how much money is generated? Even people from Mbare can afford to pay. Who would want to go and buy a CD if they can access music on their phones cheaply? The only way to stop piracy is to let it be and devise other ways of distribution,” (Interview DJ Tamuka 11/12/19)

Macdonald Chidavaenzi, popularly known in the music circles as Mac D, is the owner and producer at Eternity music. He says people are not buying music because of the economic situation. Music is something that falls at the bottom of the needs charter. People would rather first deal with issues of food, rental, and fees. It is only when they think they have something to spare that they will then think of buying music. When he started, he used to literally survive on CD sales. “We could just make a CD today and every month you could collect a cheque from Gramma records. That is how it was. Piracy was there and will always be there but still people could afford to buy music.” (Interview Mac D 28/11/19).

Just like most record labels and musicians, he has resorted to live shows as the main source of income. “People love music. If you organize a good show people will come and if you release a good song it will trend.” (Interview Mac D 28/11/19). Acknowledging that financial benefits have declined as compared to before, he says “I think if the economy gets back to where it was, we can slowly build the culture of people consuming music in a way that benefit the artist. CDs are still there for those who are doing piracy but as far as artist and music houses have scaled down. We are slowly getting into the digital era where music is sold on iTunes, Deezer, Spotify, YouTube or Vivo at a more commercialized note. You can monetize these platforms to benefit from your content and make money.” Most of the money made now is from digital sales. At a global scale Zimbabwe is not consuming enough because of piracy. “All there is to push sales so that your presence is felt even in other countries. Piracy has greatly affected business.”

He describes how he survives because he does not compromise on the quality of his work here:

“My charge for a song does not change because the economy is not well. I would rather not sell at all. The value of my work does not change. I stick to my charges no matter what changes but the consumers of my products meaning the artists who come and get services from me cannot afford that so what they do is they do a limited number of songs and then they do other songs at other studios that are willing to compromise on the value of the work so in a way it has compromised my business. The only thing I have been telling artist to be stubborn about keeping prices where they are to keep value of their work. It is important to preserve value. Tuku was a man of value. To get him to do a show in Zimbabwe was not cheap. People abroad know that he does not come cheap. We have to remain steadfast.” (Interview 28/11/19).

Furthermore, he explains that “digitally we are getting to a stage where it is going to be hard to pirate music. The issue of CDs is complex is we can’t do anything to control them. Now that CDs are becoming extinct, it is a plus for us.” “In Zimbabwe we need stiffer penalties. Simple. How can you have stiffer penalties for the theft of a cow and nothing to the theft of a song to which even the president can dance to.” (Interview 28/11/19). People believe that the leaders need to take heed of the musicians’ voice regarding piracy. They point to a need to empower the artists by making sure that their music is paid for. Mac D calls for stiffer penalties, stiffer penalties and more clear conditions of protecting the artists.

Tom Aaron, producer at Alema studios, is of the view that music piracy has led to the closure of Gramma records where he used to work. Aaron points out that they are still producing CDs but, at a small scale. “We only make money the very day of the album launch from the CDs and thereafter there is nothing as most people would have copied or shared the music via social media.” This means that the business suffers in the long run. “We have also resorted to online music sales through YouTube and relying much on live shows.” (Interview 11/12/19). Aaron suggests that live shows take a toll on the performance of the musicians as they are sometimes forced to perform three times a week to make ends meet. Much time is spent moving from one venue to the other. Aaron calls for stiffer penalties to offenders concurring with other record producers for stiffer penalties from the responsible authorities. He states that “Imagine one who steals a cow is given a life- time jail term and one who steals someone’s music or livelihood is asked to pay a fine of just \$20. It is unfair. Stealing is stealing and should be treated the same.” (Interview 11/12/19).

Tatenda Muzinde, owner and producer at Taylor Wayne Music is of the view that music piracy is not bad because it helps musicians grow their brand which reaches to the heart of people in general without any age restrictions. But, as a record label, he explains that they are drained, and have, at some point had to rely on financial help from music guru Dr Oliver Mutukudzi. He states that:

We are also faced with financial difficulties because of the current inflation rate in the country but managed to sail through. We are not getting enough support from the ministry responsible for arts in Zimbabwe and we are getting no royalties for airplay from responsible authorities. That is why as both a musician and a record label, I have resorted to a new strategy of holding more shows just like everyone else.

Levels, (real name Tafadzwa Kadzima), producer and owner of Chillspot records describes piracy as the number one enemy in the music business. He states that no one can sell music because of piracy but sometimes had to take advantage of piracy to push music. He seems to have given up on piracy. During the interview, his powerful desire to end piracy is illuminated in the following interview excerpts:

BN: How have you managed to survive?

TK: “We have managed to survive because if someone throws lemons at you, you make out of them, so as a record company we have decided to utilize piracy as a way of marketing our products. What we have seen is we cannot beat music piracy, so we it to push music. Generally, live shows are helping my business to make money especially from Zimdancehall, a new genre favorable to the youths but it is not. The use of some online platforms like YouTube, Spotify, and iTunes to sell music not enough because only people from outside the country get music from there at cheap prices. Locals do not buy music but rely on piracy.”

BN: What do you think should be done to stop piracy?

TK: “I call for stiffer penalties to the offenders and the responsible authorities should do whatever they deem necessary. I also propose that they close all internet cafes promoting piracy.”

He suggests that the government should act as a matter of urgency as piracy is affecting his business and source of livelihood. He wonders why some artists in United States of America will just do one show and will be able to buy a car, but this is not possible in Zimbabwe.

Conclusion

There is an intimate relationship in which music piracy manifest itself in developing and developed countries. Judging from the above information, music piracy is not just peculiar to Zimbabwe but is a global phenomenon that can only be eradicated through concerted efforts from all sectors. Music piracy worldwide exist because of socio-cultural and economic factors and the default mode of audience engagement. Music piracy is a way of speaking about and collapsing differences between extremely diverse systems that is negatively affecting the economies of different countries.

Lack of cheap sources of original recorded music, poor marketing and distribution channels, a weak execution of the law and lack of support from responsible authorities are some of the reasons and causes that stimulate music piracy. In Zimbabwe, music piracy affects established musicians more than upcoming ones.

Chapter 4: Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations

Introduction

This chapter concludes the thesis by addressing the main points and provides a brief background to the findings. Suggestions to mitigate music piracy in Zimbabwe are given. These are aimed at helping the law enforcement agents and policy makers to fight music piracy thereby saving the music industry from collapsing.

Summary

The focus of the study was to establish how popular music is being marketed, distributed, and consumed in Zimbabwe in the face of piracy during the period 2008 to 2019. This was the period of dollarization which everyone in the country welcomed. It helped deal with the country's wayward hyperinflation in restoring commodities in supermarkets. Through secondary literature and fieldwork, a historical, socio-political overview of popular music and music piracy in Zimbabwe was given. Changing technologies and music access, circuits of popular music production and consumption post 2008, a comparative overview of the anatomy of music piracy in developing and developed countries and various perspectives on music piracy in Zimbabwe were established. How music is marketed, distributed, and consumed was recognized as well.

The research design and its relation to this research was detailed in the methodology. Data gathering instruments were designed and administered to respondents to gather the information. The data gathered from musicians and record studios was analyzed and interpreted so that it could be easily understood. Despite time constraints and other related problems encountered, I was able to finish the research from which conclusions were drawn.

Music piracy in Zimbabwe has greatly affected the marketing, distribution and consumption of music departing from the traditional methods of CDs to online platforms. Literature has shown that this is not peculiar to Zimbabwe alone but has happened worldwide. Countries like the United States, Peru, Spain, Nigeria, Tanzania, and South Africa have gone through the same process. Music piracy was and is still a global phenomenon. The way music piracy is executed is similar globally although some countries are much ahead of others. In Zimbabwe, established

musicians and record labels are mostly affected by piracy in a negative way compared to upcoming musicians. This has led to the closure of some record labels further creating the problem of unemployment in a country already in economic turmoil thereby affecting the country's GDP.

It is a fact that piracy affects the contribution of creative industries to the GDP in many countries worldwide. When it comes to the causes of music piracy, it has come to light that in most countries it is caused by affordability and accessibility. Taking this into consideration, marketers and distributors should therefore make sure that music is available at prices that are affordable to many and that the music can be easily retrieved. Zimbabwe lacks a credible online payment method and music access channel as compared to other developing and developed countries. Music piracy in Tanzania, Nigeria and Zimbabwe is mostly perpetuated by unemployed young adults.

On the other hand, piracy in Zimbabwe, just like the rest of the world, helps upcoming musicians market their music. There is no denying that piracy is not uniformly bad as it is typically portrayed since it has some benefits. This should not come as a surprise that some established musicians in many countries are where they are today because of piracy. Technological advancements have made it possible for people to reproduce and copy music worldwide. This is the reason why music piracy is on the rise globally. In Zimbabwe, most musicians are now only doing music just for the love of it and some cannot stop since they have taken it as a profession. However, nothing was said about other countries regarding this issue. Many musicians no longer seek the services of record labels to market their music but are doing it on their own. Musicians in Zimbabwe and Tanzania had at some point resorted to paying DJs to get their music played on radio and television stations.

It has also emerged from the findings that musicians and recording companies in Zimbabwe have devised new ways in which music can be accessed and consumed in the country that is online. In line with this, many countries worldwide have followed suit. It came to light that local people do not buy music online but share via WhatsApp. This is unlike in many other countries where people still buy music online despite the advent of piracy. Zimbabwean citizens access online music mostly via WhatsApp and YouTube and very few are aware of other platforms such as Vimeo, Spotify and TuneCore. Countries like the United States, Spain, Peru, and others have a

lot of online music platforms where people can access music. There is need therefore to conscientize local people and musicians about these various online music platforms. Zimbabwean and Tanzanian musicians are relying much on live shows to survive. The evolution of the music industries globally and the technological changes that have occurred has influenced the way the public engages with music in the form of streaming. Musicians predominantly make money from live shows and other forms of revenue of which Zimbabwe is no exception.

The advertising of online facilities available is missing in Zimbabwe. I believe that with attention to availability, affordability coupled with quality products, piracy can be beaten. Additionally, good quality, availability and affordability can ensure that people are enticed back to buying original music thereby curbing piracy. The absence of decent internet to buy and download music bars potential music buyers in Zimbabwe. YouTube and WhatsApp platforms are very popular among the populace. It is vital that local online stores fully use mobile and online payment methods so that many local people can buy digital music. It is also notable that people engage in pirate activities because of lack of employment and view piracy as a source of income. Unemployment has been greatly caused by the economic situation in the country as many people are being laid off their jobs.

There is need for local musicians to market themselves abroad so that they are known and increase chances of online music sales if they are to benefit from their works. This can be achieved by organizing more international shows. Proper marketing and packaging of products by musicians can improve the predicament of musicians and be able to compete internationally. Online music sales in the country should be aligned with international standards so that local people can afford to buy music.

Conclusions

- Music piracy has and is helping upcoming musicians in Zimbabwe to create a fanbase and market their music.
- Lack of enforcement and regulatory provisions in Zimbabwe has led to continuous piracy thereby affecting the livelihoods of musicians and recording business.
- Piracy is to a greater extent affecting established musicians and record companies who are getting nothing out of it.

- Musicians in the country have resorted to rely on live performances to earn an income from their music.
- Musicians continue to do music or pursue a musical career out of passion.
- Political and socio-economic forces have contributed greatly to change on how music is marketed, distributed, and consumed in Zimbabwe.

Recommendations

I recommend that further study be carried out on marketing, distribution, and consumption of popular music in Zimbabwe to see if the same conclusions can be reached. Record companies and musicians must put in place opportunities to affordably package their creations so that people benefit from the treble effect of good quality, accessibility and affordability which will ensure that the people are enticed back into buying original music. I believe that with consideration given to quality products, easy access and affordability, piracy can be minimized.

In addition, musicians should market their music on online platforms as a strategy to beat piracy. A suitable, cheap, and credible online payment method such as use of credit cards and mobile phones to buy music online should also be established. This will help people buy music at any time. Action should be taken against all online pirate sites and unregistered recording studios should be closed or should be asked to register. The pricing of music should be reasonable to the local market and be in tandem with international standards. Currently, acquiring music locally is considered quite expensive.

I also recommend that the government make piracy a serious offense and continue to arrest music pirates and put in place stiffer penalties regarding music piracy to ensure that musicians and recording companies benefit from their works. Musicians should get themselves more in vigorous investing and marketing of their music in such an economy so that they benefit more. Royalties to musicians should be paid timeously so that they benefit from their works and are encouraged to create more works.

The government should empower the music artists so that their music is paid for. Responsible authorities such as Zimbabwe Music Revenue Authority (ZIMURA), National Arts Council of Zimbabwe and the responsible ministry, the ministry of Arts and Culture, should effectively discharge their duties so that music artists and recording companies get their royalties and in

time. This may help improve the livelihoods of the musicians. Unregistered recording studios should be encouraged to register so that they contribute to the good of music industry through payment of taxes. They should not be allowed to operate, and stiffer penalties should be administered to those seen flouting the regulations. I believe that the best way of dealing with piracy is to go digital with anti-piracy software.

The fight against music piracy in Zimbabwe in the current economic situation is far from being over. However, I trust that the systematic and proper execution of suggested recommendations by the law enforcement agents and the responsible authorities will help counter music piracy. Musicians will in the long run benefit from their creations and innovations thereby contributing to the country's Gross Domestic Product. This will in turn lead to the development of the country and cultural and creative industries in general.

Appendix 1 Exploring Local Views on Music Piracy in Zimbabwe

Introduction

I present the musicians to get the feel of their music. I also explore the musical scene in Zimbabwe and provide a sense of musical genres. A description of what the music scene was before music piracy is given. Music is important in expressing and creating social identities in society and an integral part of social life. In times of crisis, people need cultural practices more than ever. Thus, people identify themselves with music they think is important to them and how it is regarded in the country; they try to safeguard or preserve it at all cost. Music therefore becomes an integral part of peoples' everyday life. Today, the music industry has been hard hit by piracy. As a result, many industry professionals can no longer benefit fully because of the effects of piracy. The current crisis thus highlights the need to save the industry from piracy. I therefore sought various views from different musicians and record labels regarding this issue.

The Musical Scene in Harare

The music industry in Zimbabwe boasts of live performances as the main and thriving sector. Harare is believed to be the stronghold of live music playing host to both local and international artists. Stadiums, community halls, pubs, theaters, and night clubs are areas around Harare where different genres of music are played with Zimdancehall and sungura attracting large followings. Charwadza (2014) notes that jazz, Afro-fusion and hip-hop are predominantly played in glamorous places like the Jazz 105 and the now non-operational Book Cafe while sungura and Zimdancehall are usually performed in high density areas referred to some people as ghettos which seems to be a derogatory term to some but used regularly.

Harare also plays homage to several annual events such as the Zimfest (Zimbabwe music festival) and Harare International Festival of the Arts (HIFA) which is the biggest and draws artists from around the globe. The HIFA has produced a lot of extraordinary collaborations between homegrown and foreign musicians such as Jah Praizah, Salif Keita, Mi Casa, Winky D and Mookomba (Charwadza 2014). The National Arts Council of Zimbabwe also runs annual

music festivals in the capital that include the Lion Lager Beer Festival and Chibuku Road to Fame as a talent search type of festival for upcoming musicians. This has seen the emergence of the Afro- jazz band Jesa, the Afro- fusion band Shanga and Gasa as well as some sungura bands rising to stardom.

Charwadza (2014) suggests that Harare, as the capital city, also plays homage to national galas often hosted by the government to commemorate national events such as the National Youth Day, Defence Forces Day, and Heroes' Day holidays in local stadiums around the capital. Several local musicians are called upon to take part at these galas and numerous musicians have risen to prominence through such galas which are well attended as they are usually free of charge and are screened on national television for the benefit of those who could not have made it to the venues.

Mjanana (2013) suggests that live performances have seen some established musicians such as Alick Macheso, Sulumani Chimbetu, Stunner and Winky D among many others promoting their own shows to maximize profits. Live music has become the basis of a music career for several musicians in Harare as it has become a reliable source of income. This is in line with what upcoming musicians said during the interviews I conducted as well. Uncontrolled music piracy in the city along with lack of support from responsible authorities has forced musicians to exclusively depend on live performances for their wellbeing (Mhiripiri 2006). Thus, production of well-polished live shows is of utmost importance for one to become a successful musician. Mhiripiri (2006) suggests that the need for polished shows has forced many musicians to work extra hard every now and then leaving them tired thereby compromising on quality performance.

When the recording industry was thriving, musicians in Harare did not rely merely on live shows but also on recorded music that was available on vinyl records. The music on these vinyl records could not be copied without use of expensive machines and materials hence piracy was not as rampant as it is today. Because of technological advancements, one can now copy or download music with a simple computer which has CD writer (CD-WR) leading to rampant music piracy in Harare which has forced musicians to rely almost exclusively on live performances in order to earn a living.

With the passage of time, recorded music was available on CDs and DVDs from renowned distribution stores such as Express, Spinalong and Power sales but these are now non-existent

because of the economic crisis in the country. It is with no doubt that even pirated CDs and DVDs that were seen on every corner and street pathways seem to have vanished. Very few vendors can now be seen in the streets selling pirated CDs and DVDs demonstrating how the way music is distributed has changed and people have changed the way they consume music. People are now getting music online and some share music files on social media. Opposed to past musicians who made their fortunes from record sales, nowadays musicians are compelled to take more advantage of live shows. As a result, they are forced to perform many times within a week (Mhiripiri (2006). Charwadza (2014) is of the view that the widespread economic meltdown that Zimbabwe is facing now has put the survival of an exciting live music scene in danger as shown by the drop in turnouts.

Upcoming Musicians, Zimdancehall and Sungura Music

Alake (2020) defines an upcoming artist essentially as “an artist who has not been a memorable, consistent fixture of mainstream consciousness for more than 2 to 4 years with recognizable brand and the commercial clout.” This possibly means that an upcoming musician is someone new to the music business and is yet to establish a market and fan base. In Zimbabwe, this often involves unemployed young adults who have taken music as their employment and a source of income. This is attributed to many business organizations having collapsed due to the economic crunch that the country is going through hence most youths see music as a way out of poverty. Tade and Akinleye (2012) also suggest that youths are most involved in music piracy because of their inability to be gainfully employed after school hence becoming a musician turns out to be a way of coping with the economic problem.

During my research I interviewed five upcoming musicians within two musical genres. They are: Nyasha Mano (Zimdancehall), Givemore Bonde (Zimdancehall), Cephas Mabhara (sungura), Showbarn Kudzibamura (Sungura) and Dennis Mpariwa (sungura). I chose to concentrate on these two genres since they command a large following in the country.

Zimdancehall is a variation of urban grooves (a mixture of Rhythm and Blues, hip hop and dancehall) that arose at a time Zimbabwe started facing socio-economic and political hardships. Tevenga (2012) notes that Zimdancehall is chiefly a combination of Afro diasporic genres and Euro-American genres that are taken by the young artists who sing in two main local languages (Shona and Ndebele) about the actual events affecting the modern people. In line with this,

Groves (2017) suggests that Zimdancehall enables people who experience poverty to speak out about their suffering and seclusion from normal life though some people associate Zimdancehall with drugs and violence.

This results in musicians trying to take charge of their fate in a country where there is virtually no improvement on socio-economic conditions of the general populace. Zimdancehall, therefore becomes a considerable part of Zimbabwean music genres and everyday social practices especially of the unemployed young adults mostly from the high-density suburbs commonly known as ghettos in Zimbabwe. The deduction here is that Zimdancehall results from efforts by struggling Zimbabweans to improve their living conditions.

On the other hand, sungura music arose in part from the independence movement as the nationalists' fruitfully waged war against the colonialists leading to an independent Zimbabwe in 1980. Muranda and Maguraushe (2014) view sungura as a signal of increasing self-realization surrounding local musicians with a recently discovered liberty to express themselves. Accordingly, from its inception, sungura music concentrated on varied themes including love, marriage, poverty, the clash between African and Western cultures and to some extent politics among others. Up to the present-day sungura trends as a social commentary which appeals to both the young and old generations.

Upcoming Musicians' and Music Piracy

I was fortunate to meet the two zimdancehall artists, Nyasha Mano and Givemore Bonde when they gone to record their music at Chillspot records in Mbare, one of Zimbabwe's high-density suburbs. I had originally gone there to interview Tafadzwa Kadzime, the producer and owner of Chillspot but other musicians were gracious enough to participate as well. I also met Cephas Mabhara and Showban Kudzibamura at Alema studios in Chitungwiza owned by Alick Macheso, one of Zimbabwe's finest sungura musicians when I had a scheduled interview with Tom Aaron, the producer.

These musicians perceive themselves as upcoming artists in the sense that they are still in their early stages of their career. As upcoming artists, they are finding it difficult for their music to be played on national radio even if they give the station managers a few recorded copies to play on air. The station managers oversee everything that happens at the station including the music to be

played and how many times it is to be played. Giving the CDs to DJs has led to corruption because the DJs would want to be paid to play the upcoming musicians' music. According to Perullo (2011) the same scenario of giving CDs to station managers and DJs occurs in Tanzania as well. This transaction is a larger effort to market their music. Sometimes they give their music free of charge to drivers of commuter omnibus taxis popularly known as Kombis in Zimbabwe for them to play to the commuting public so that passengers may hear their music. In this sense they risk becoming their own pirates.

Furthermore, piracy is the most significant way their music reaches the audiences. The interviewed musicians believe that fans attend shows of musicians whose music they have been exposed to more so than those of musicians they have not listened to, as audience members view those who receive airplay as more appealing. It would therefore make sense that after listening to a musician's work, the music will have a positive impact on the listeners. In turn, these listeners may like to be associated with the musicians whose music they value. In this regard, the musicians act as role models to the listeners.

It also emerged that audience members perceive musicians whose music they have listened to differently from those they have not. Pursehouse (2010) suggests that piracy is great for lesser-known artists to get the exposure they normally would not have, thereby increasing their fan base. The musicians believe that fans do not attend shows of musicians whose music they have not heard as they view them as not doing well in the music industry. The implication is that people will only attend musicians' shows after they have heard how good a musician is regardless of how the audience got the music. They do not care if the audience got the music through piracy all they want is to be heard.

The musicians I spoke with said that no record companies are marketing their music hence they are only known through piracy. As a result, they want piracy to continue because it markets them to consumers who would then attend live shows where they accrue financial benefits through gate takings. The upcoming musicians agree that they are not having any monetary benefits from music sales but only through live shows, and it this is not enough. In tandem with this, Gayer and Shy (2006) assert that artists earn a profit from activities such as ticket sales for live performances. Ernesto (2009) concurs with Gayer and shy stating that revenue for musicians

goes up through increased income from live gigs which provide an easy avenue to discover new music.

The musicians I spoke with felt that piracy is a blessing in disguise to them and would not want it to go as they manage and market their own music. As a result, they become their own marketers. Tade and Akinleye (2012) note that piracy helps musicians to promote their music thereby creating a fan base. Certainly, this means that they do not have to pay marketing and distribution companies to sell and deliver their music thereby cutting on costs. The musicians contend that music piracy has improved their visibility after the collapse of the official Zimbabwe music industry. This is evident in the following interview excerpts with all the five upcoming musicians mentioned earlier. The interviews were carried out on different days at separate locations during June and December 2019.

I had the first interview with Nyasha Mano and Givemore Bonde seated under a tree just outside Chillspot studio in Mbare, Harare. On this day, the room that houses Chillspot record label was being repainted so asked them if we could have the interview somewhere else. The tree was close to the road used by many people moving up and down from the country's biggest vegetable market. Most people visit this place to buy vegetables for resale in their respective suburbs. The interview was from time to time disrupted by passing cars and people from the market. Some parts of the recordings were not audible. Chillspot record label is housed in a block flats of called Matapi in Mbare. Whether music piracy is helping the musician or not is discussed here.

BN: Tingati piracy iri kubatsira here mubasa rako rezvekuimba? (Is piracy helping your business in any way?)

GB: Ini hangu ndakazvimiririra ndinoona kuti piracy iri kundibatsira pakumarketer music yangu. Ndoyakatoita kuti Ndunge azivikanwe. Ukada kubvunza maartist evanhu vachangotanga vanotokuudza kuti vanoendesa maCDs avo kumavendor. Ndovakatoita kuti mamusicians azivikanwe. Saka ini hangu ndinoti piracy ngairambe iriko.

(I personally believe that piracy is helping me to boost and market my music. It is because of music piracy that I am known to people as Ndunge. Even if you ask all upcoming artists, they will tell that they give their music to CD vendors. They are the ones who make musicians known to people. So, I believe piracy should not go.)

The second interview was with Nyasha Mano whose stage name is Ras Pombi at the same place. Views on whether piracy should stay or go are discussed below.

BN: Is piracy helping your business in any way?

NM: Piracy is helping me for now as an upcoming musician because it is the only way that my music reaches people. So, for now I would not want it to go. Maybe once I am established then will I want it to go? I have heard that piracy does not help established musicians but instead kills their music.

The other two interviews took place at Alema studio at Chitungwiza Aquatic complex in Chitungwiza, a high-density suburb just a few kilometers outside Harare. I first spoke to Showban Kudzibamura who is also a policeman by profession. He had come all the way from Chirundu, a border town between Zimbabwe and Zambia. He said there are no recording studios close to his place of residence.

BN: VaKudzibamura munooona sokuti piracy iri kubatsira here kana kuti iri kukanganisa mubasa renyu rezvekuimba iri?

(Mr Kudzibamura. Is music piracy helping your music business in any way?)

SK: Piracy ine kakubatsira uye ine kakudzoseira kumashure. Yakanakira kuti inoita kuti vanhu vakuzive nekukurmidza. Inobatsirawo zvakare pakuti ukangokanda music yako mumawhatsApp group vanhu vokuziva vozouya kumalive shows ako wowanawo mari. Asi dambudziko riripo ndere kuti haukwanise kuwana mari yawanga uchiwana pakutengesa maCDs. Saka parizvino ndnoona sokuti iri kubatsira saka ngazvimbogara zvakadaro.

(Piracy is both helpful and harmful. It is helpful in the way that it makes the musician known to the fans quickly. It also helps in that people will attend your live shows after they have seen or heard your music especially through WhatsApp groups. The problem comes because you are not able to get any monetary rewards from the sale of your CDs. So, for now it looks like it is helping me, so I do not want it to go.)

I later spoke to Charles Mabhara another sungura musician. Charles stays in Chitungwiza where his band is situated but he has become a session guitar player for many music artists across the country to gain an extra income.

BN: VaMabhara, sokuona kwenyu tingati piracy iri kubatsira here kana kukanganisa basa renyu?

(Is music piracy helping your music business in anyway?)

CM: Ini music piracy parizvino iri kundibatsira pakuti music yangu izivikanwe nevanhu mushure mekunge vanhu vashare pasocial media kunyanya newhatsapp. Saka parizvino ichakandinakira ndisingazive pamberi apo.Ndinoona sokuti inonyanya kuuraya maestablished musicians nokuti havna mari yawanowana kubva pakutengeswa kwemusic yavo sezvo vanhu vazhinji vasisatenge music.

(My music is known to people when they share the music through various social media platforms, especially WhatsApp. So, for now piracy is very helpful I am not sure about later. I think the established musicians are the ones affected because they do not get any monetary rewards from the sale of their music since people are not buying music these days.)

The overall result is that the musician's music is distributed in large volumes by pirates since they will be shared freely especially via WhatsApp hence, they are known by a sizable group of individuals at the shortest possible time. Based on my interviews, upcoming musicians believe that established musicians are significantly affected by piracy because they are already known. If their music is pirated, they do not get monetary rewards from publicity, because they are already known whereas the upcoming musician gains popularity in return. Despite this downside of piracy, the upcoming musicians' view about piracy has not changed because they feel that it helps them make their music and message reach the intended listeners.

It also emerged that the musicians are aware of the Copyright Law but are taking advantage of the situation because it is not being effectively implemented. Mhiripiri (2006) states that the copyright law in Zimbabwe is not realistically applied leading to copyright infringement. In support of this, Larkin (2009) argues convincingly that "piracy's success lies in its own

infrastructural order that preys on the official distribution of globalized media making it the corruption of infrastructure.” This therefore calls for the effective reinforcement of the copyright law by the responsible authorities if musicians are to maximize earnings. The musicians agree that the passion for music only gives them the zeal to continue doing music since they see no other profession fit for them other than music.

Established Musicians

Ober (2009) describes an established artist as “an artist who is at a mature stage in his or her career, has created an extensive body of independent work and has reached an advanced level of achievement by sustaining a nationally or internationally recognized contribution to the discipline.” Thus, an established musician is one with experience and has immensely contributed to the field of music and is recognized as such. This typically involves spending several years in the field. Therefore, the under mentioned musicians are established since they have more than ten years in the music business and some of them have performed internationally rendering themselves the status of being established. A clear example is Joshua Mufunde who has performed in Germany, the United States and Britain.

Established musicians and music piracy

The interviewed musicians were Alexio Kawara, Taurai Murisa, Joshua Mufunde, Sniper Storm and Tatenda Muzinde. These musicians each have more than ten years in the music industry and are thus experienced. The interviews revealed that all musicians are against music piracy. The reasons given being that they are not getting any monetary rewards out of it now that they are established, and their music sales have dropped drastically as a result. However, it is intriguing to take in that some of these artists are where they are because of music piracy. It helped them market themselves and gain the popularity they enjoy today thereby gaining from piracy directly or indirectly. Accordingly, piracy is not as bad as it is portrayed.

The musicians explained that people are getting their music online primarily via YouTube and WhatsApp and only a few are using other platforms like TuneCore, Vimeo, Spotify, Amazon, Deezer and Google. The era of relying much on CDs and DVDs seem to have long gone. However, it emerged that some musicians are not aware of these online distribution channels. The musicians point out that local people does not buy music but share it for free. Most of their

music is bought by those in the diaspora. They attribute this to easy accessibility of online facilities as compared to Zimbabwe. Alexio Kawara puts forward the idea that online music is cheaper in outside countries than in Zimbabwe therefore many people in the country cannot afford it. This has been aggravated by the financial situation in the country as the people's disposable income has dwindled demonstrating that the economic situation in the country has negatively influenced the way in which music is marketed and consumed.

Tatenda Muzinde puts across the view that mobile operators and internet providers should charge reasonable prices so that people can afford to download the music they want. "Imagine if Econet (mobile network provider in Zimbabwe) charges a \$1 for certain number of music downloads. How many people even from poor backgrounds can afford to buy music? Imagine how much money the musician would make in a day?" (Interview 11/12.19). This would in turn help the musician increase sales and people would tend to shy away from buying pirated music.

The artists have resorted to using online distribution of music as a way of mitigating music piracy although they still produce CDs as marketing tools for live shows. Some of these CDs are distributed for free to fans and commuter omnibus drivers. Joshua Mufunde explains, "When we started music, we used to survive on music sales from CDs but now it is impossible," thus reaffirming how music piracy has negatively affected the livelihoods of musicians.

The artists suggest that live shows have become the order of the day for one to earn a living. Scannell (2001) states that Zimbabwean musicians' main source of income is from live shows. Mhiripiri's findings (2012) support this idea noting that most Zimbabwean music artists nowadays get a living from live music shows which is different from the past, when they made money from the sale of their music and live shows were there to make their music known to people so that they could buy it.

All the interviewed musicians do not want music piracy to continue since it is not helping them and call for measures that will enable them to benefit from their music. They bemoan the exploitation by some record labels that tend to benefit more than them. Gondo (2012) states that musicians and record companies in Zimbabwe are in an opportunistic relationship in which the musicians receive trivial payments. In Vambe's view (2000) the rapport between artists and recording companies is not always friendly as record labels have a habit of exploiting the singers.

The musicians admit that recording companies are failing to sell their music, so they are finding it better to sell their music on their own.

A clear example is gospel musician, Kudzi Nyakudya, who was arrested by the police in the streets of Harare selling his own music CDs (Hatitye 2015). By so doing, he was trying to do away with record labels. He was released after paying a fine and simply because he was selling his own music. He was charged on the allegations of defrauding the state of tax that he was supposed to pay. The law prohibits the selling of copyrighted music by someone who has no rights to the music. One wonders why the law enforcement agents are ineffective when it comes to pirates. Even if the law enforcement agents manage to arrest music pirates, they are immediately released after paying a paltry fine which they can easily raise within a short space of time from the CD sales, and they are back on the streets in no time. This calls for heavy fines that deter music pirates from engaging in such illegal acts.

Some musicians put the blame on marketing strategies employed by record labels and distribution companies. For instance, Joshua Mufunde asks “Have you ever heard of any Zimbabwean musicians who have sold a million copies like in other countries? Does it mean that Zimbabwean music is not good? I think it is because of poor marketing strategies by record labels.” Musicians should therefore advertise their own music online to attract a wider audience.

Larkin (2009) suggest that piracy kills the creativeness of musicians. The musicians I worked with agree with this by saying that their creative practice has been affected by piracy since there is nothing much left to motivate them, but only to continue doing music out of passion yet some have chosen it as a career path. Feelings on piracy of these musicians has not changed because they are not benefiting as much as they should from their works hence, they call upon the government and other responsible authorities to intervene to curb piracy. They contend that live shows are well attended and are the only way they are making money right now

Personal ideologies and motivations of music artists

In Zimbabwe, musicians use music as a medium to engage with socio-political and economic issues. The music is used in various ways to enhance the messages contained in the songs. Zimbabwe has gone through a lot of changes within the past few decades mainly due to the worsening socio-political and economic situation. With all these changes, music has played a crucial part in engaging and revealing them. Most musicians were not satisfied by the way in which the country is governed after attaining independence and as a result, they had their own ways of dealing with the problems bedeviling the country through music. Voices of criticism can be heard in most musical genres in the country today. In line with this, I present brief biographical sketches and the views of interviewed musicians below in order to illustrate how disgruntled the musicians are.

Givemore Bonde

Bonde is a young upcoming Zimdancehall artist hailing from the suburb of Mbare in Harare. He got his inspiration from a very well-known Zimbabwean n'anga (traditional healer) by the name of Ndunge hence he adopted the name Ndunge as his stage name. During the interview he jokingly explained what his name means, explaining that his name Givemore Bonde had sex connotations. He said that his mother was asking for more sex from his father hence the name "Give more sex." Bonde in Zimbabwe means sex in English. In his music he uses slang, idioms, and satire. This may be because of fear of victimization since most of his songs talk of the current communal, governmental, and economic situation in the country.

In his song "Tauya kuzoona Mary" he cleverly denounces the arrest of the vice president's wife Mary Chiwenga after her marriage to the vice president fell out. Givemore demands to know the whereabouts of the vice president's wife and the reasons why they have arrested such a beautiful lady. He is very concerned about her and does not see anyone misbehaving with her. This is evident in the following text:

Hatina kuvinga Melissa kana Sharlene, Yolanda kana Moline we have not come for Melissa,
Sharlene, Yolanda or Moline

Asi tauya kuzoona Mary

But, we have come to see Mary.

<i>Tsvarakadenga yemwana</i>	the most beautiful girl
<i>Tauya kuzoona Mary x 2</i>	we have come to see Mary.
<i>Ko nhai Mary aenda kupi x2</i>	where is Mary?
<i>Ko ndekupiko kwamakamuhwandisa?</i>	Where have you hidden her?
<i>Handidi kuona munhu anomutambisa</i>	I do not want to see anyone who misbehaves with her.

In the song “Ngaende Ngaende”, he sends a message on gender-based violence where a woman is finally happy that her husband who often abuses her is dead. She gladly tells the husband to go since he was a nuisance.

<i>Aigara achirova mukadzi</i>	He used to beat his wife.
<i>Zvisineiwo akazofa</i>	Then he died.
<i>Mukadzi wake ndokuchema achiti</i>	the wife was crying saying,
<i>Ngaende ngaende</i>	Let him go, let him go.
<i>Munhu uyu idhongwi</i>	He is a donkey.

In the song “Robert Mugabe, Fambai Mushe” he pays tribute to the late and long serving former president of Zimbabwe Robert Mugabe. He praises him for his works and that many people remember him to such an extent that they have saved him on their WhatsApp statuses.

<i>Fambai Mushe baBona</i>	Go well Bona’s Father.
<i>Kunouku muri pamastatus</i>	We have saved you as our status profile pictures.
<i>Fambai Mushe baBona</i>	Go well dear father.

In this regard, Givemore Bonde’s music act as a social commentary ranging from socio-economic to political events that are affecting the ordinary young and old in everyday life.

Alexio Kawara

Alexio Kawara is an Afro-fusion musician who hails from the high-density suburb of Glen Norah in Harare. Alexio has been involved in many human rights activities gaining himself the

position of the United States ambassador for HIV testing in the country. Most of his songs are about women, love, and some act as a social commentary of what is happening in the country. He has made many collaborations with several local and international artists and has a substantial number of local awards to his name. In his song “Amai”, Alexio praises all the women for the wonderful job they do to keep the family together in happy and sad times. He states that there is no one who can ever take the place of a dear mother. This is revealed by the following text:

<i>Amai nemoyo wangu wose ndinotenda</i>	Mother, I thank you with all my heart.
<i>Amai ndinoziva nhamo yamakaona</i>	Mother, I know the struggles you went through.
<i>Nekundichengeta, Zvinhu zvainetsa</i>	for my upkeep. Things were not rosy.
<i>Mararamiro edu aive ekubatanidza</i>	We lived through bits and pieces.
<i>Zvino handizive</i>	So I do not know.
<i>Ndinotenda sei mama</i>	How can thank you dear mother.

The song Shaina encourages the girl child to take pride in herself and shine since it is her time. It encourages the girl child never to give up but to remember that in life there are challenges that will come to pass. Behind a bad day there is a brighter tomorrow. This is clearly put across through the following lyrics:

<i>Mhepo inovhuvhuta ndiwo mugariro wayo</i>	the wind blows, that is the way it is.
<i>Denga rinokwidibira roda kumisa mvura</i>	the sky is dark, and it is about to rain.
<i>Mwedzi unotombonyura wani</i>	the moon sometimes sets.
<i>Husiku kochinyatosviba</i>	and it becomes very dark in the evening.
<i>Asi hona mabvazuva cheidza chotouya</i>	but see light comes out in the morning.
<i>Zuva parinobuda richishaina newe Shainawo</i>	the sun comes out and it shines, you shine as well.
<i>Kunyange kune rima uri mwenje usazodzimawo</i>	even when it’s dark, you are the light so don’t
blow off.	

The song “Tinodanana” is a love song that speaks about a boy and a girl declaring love towards each other and they are encouraging and promising never to leave each other until the end of time. They believe that they have learnt a lot from each other, and they are promising each other heaven on earth.

<i>Iwe neni, tinodanana</i>	you and I are in love.
<i>Ngatisafe takasiyana</i>	let us not leave each other.
<i>Iwe neni kudzamara</i>	you and I until
<i>Pakuguma kwenguva</i>	the end of time
<i>Ini handikurase iwe usatombotya</i>	do not be afraid, I will not let you down.
<i>Wakandidzidzisa rudo rwakadzama</i>	you taught me deep love.
<i>Ukandiratidza zvandaisaziva</i>	you showed me things that I did not know.
<i>Ndasuruvara unondifarisa</i>	when I am sad, you make me happy.
<i>Ndokuda pedyo</i>	I need close to me.

Thus, Alexio Kawara’s music is more concerned about the appreciation, love, and the welfare of women in general. This emanated from the love he got from his mother.

Taurai Murisa

Taurai Murisa is a gospel musician from Glen view in Harare. Born on 12 October in 1971, he is an apostle of Christ Jesus and he loves preaching, especially to the rural folk. He always wanted to preach the gospel of Christ Jesus through music and that is the reason why he ended up gospel. His music is inspired by Charles Charamba, one of Zimbabwe’s greatest gospel musician and Dereck Dzimande from South Africa. Taurai sometimes fuses gospel with afro jazz, traditional and jiti. Much of his music is about praising and worshiping God for the wonderful work he has done in his life.

The song “Nguva” from his first album reminds him of the love of God and the understanding that Christ has the desire to save people but most of the time the people deny him especially the following text:

<i>Ndaida zvikuru</i>	I greatly wanted.
<i>Kuunganidza vana vako</i>	to gather your children.
<i>Sembambo inounganidza vana vayo</i>	like a bird that gathers its chicks.
<i>Asi iwe wakaramba</i>	but you refused.

Another song that inspires him is “Achadzoka” from his second album called “Mwaka”. In this song he believes and understands that Christ went to heaven to prepare a place for his children and he has the desire to be with his children always. This is made clear by the following text:

<i>Ichi chaiva chishuwo chake</i>	it was his desire.
<i>Kuzotora vake</i>	to take his people.
<i>Kuti agare navo nokusingaperi</i>	so that he stays with them forever.

The song “Munda Waibva” from his third album with same title places emphasis on the need to save fellow brethren from the wicked ways that lead to death because if they do not do so God will hold them accountable for those who would have perished. The emphasis comes from the following sentence which is also the chorus:

<i>Nyevera hama dzigozona iwe</i>	Advise your brethren so that they are saved.
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The lyrics from all the three songs prove that Taurai Murisa’s music is about uplifting the lives of people as he preaches the word of God through music. He advises and teaches people about the greatness of God.

Showban Kudzibamura

He is an upcoming sungura musician based in Chirundu, a border post close to the Zambian border with Zimbabwe. He is a policeman by profession and music is his passion. He has not released many songs citing the problem that in the border town where he lives there are no instrument players who can play the type of music that he plays. As a result, he comes to Harare

to look for session musicians. When I met him at Alema studio he was recording a single which he hopes will do well. He explains that he does not have much time to spend on music since he is on work related duty most of the time. His music is about love and the socio-economic problems that are affecting the people of Zimbabwe and the country in general. Unfortunately, he could not share much about the lyrics and the meaning of the song that he was recording because of time.

In Chirundu, there are no sungura music producers. Most producers there are Zambians who only produce Zambian music using computers. As a result, he is forced to travel all the way to Harare to record. This is an opportunity for local record labels to set up studios in such remote areas so that they serve artists like Showban. By so doing, business opportunities are created.

Joshua Gumisai Mufunde

Joshua Mufunde is a traditional chimurenga singer from Chitungwiza, a few kilometers just outside the capital Harare. He has worked with well-known traditional music artists like Stella Chiweshe and Jonah Sithole for many years. Born on 11 June 1964, he equates his life and music to a sparrow that might seemingly be enjoying picking from the chaff or husks, but the dream is really to feast on the pure clean grain spread to dry in the sun. Life's limited choices dictate that he lives in this straitjacket, but his dream is that his talent flourishes and be better acknowledged even within these confines.

His music speaks about what is currently happening in the society. The song "Kurasa Mombe" is a lover's lament of discovering that his princess is but an alcoholic. He felt that he has wasted his wealth. It is the Shona custom to pay the bride price with cattle. This later became sort of a social commentary on the criticism of Chief Makoni of the Maungwe tribe who had introduced virginity tests for girls under his rule. The virgin boy, who has remained pure, is thus cheated by an experienced woman pretending to be as inexperienced as himself. Thus, the man cannot tell the woman to go back to her parents but is grateful the chief has created a utopia for both male and female virgins. The following lyrics tell the story.

Kumwe kuroora kurasa mombe

My marriage is a waste.

Ndakange ndati ndawana wandaiti tochengetana	I thought I had found the one.
Handina kunge ndaziva kuti chidhakwa	not knowing she was a drunkard.
Chitima nditakure ini ndinange Maungwe	Train come take me to Maungwe
Ndinotsvaka mhandara	to look for a virgin.

The song “Amai Godhi” is about a cheating wife who creates alibis by buying evidence of a visit to her rural home from Mbare Musika. The husband had given her bus fare to go to her rural home to see her parents but instead she visited her boyfriend. The husband followed her to the rural home and discovered that she was never there. On her return she bought some groundnuts, pumpkins, and maize as evidence that she had been to the rural home not knowing that the husband had been there. Now the husband asks where she got all those things, and she cannot explain herself.

Nhai Mai Godhi Seiko kundinyepera	why do you lie to me my wife?
Makati munoenda kumusha	you said you were going to your rural home.
Imi monanga Girinora	But, you went to Glen Norah.
Ndakatevera kumusha ndikawana usiko	I followed you home, but you were not there.
Tubage, tunzungu netunhanga twabvepiko	where did you get the groundnuts and maize?

The song “Kumadai Dai” is a cry from the heart in the early days of Aids after he lost someone close to him due to the pandemic. He flew in from Germany when this close person was critically ill, and he passed on a few hours after his arrival, so it was a dedication to him. He wishes that he had a chance to talk to him for the last time.

Kuseri kwemusha kune mumwe wangu	beyond the village there is my friend.
Akafawo nechirwere chemukondombera	who died of AIDS.
Dairai uripiko sahwira wangu	where are you Dairai My friend?
Ndodairwa negomo kani	No one answers me but the mountain.

Joshua Mufunde's music is usually meant for the adults. His lyrics carry a deeper meaning that can be better understood by adults. The music talks about love, marital affairs, and the deadly disease AIDS.

Zimbabwean musicians are motivated by socio-economic and political factors. Thus, music speaks to an individual at a personal level with the regards to experiences that surround the individual. Music is therefore regarded as an important means through which people show what they individually go through, like, dislike, identify with and what they think is ethically acceptable. Generally, most of the music by Zimbabwean established and upcoming musicians act as a social commentary encompassing love, marital affairs, women and child abuse, drug abuse, death, and the gospel of God, among others. The goal is merely to express life in all its facets through music. Young adult musicians concentrate more on politics and the economic situation in Zimbabwe. This is so because these two affect them the most. They have left a sizeable number of them disgruntled, unemployed and with no source of income. As a result, they see music as an outlet. The musicians devote all their time and energy to create such wonderful works in the hope that they will earn a living out of it only to find someone stealing the music and benefiting more than the artist.

Record companies and piracy

I interviewed five record engineers and producers. They are: Tom Aaron of Alema studios, Dj Tamuka of Military Touch Music, Macdonald Chidavaenzi of Eternity Productions, Tafadzwa Kadzima of Chillspot Records and Marcello Paprita of Vadzimu Records. These record companies have been in the music business for more than ten years and have vast experience in the recording industry. The staff and representatives at the record labels reveal that musicians are still coming to record with them, but the number has decreased over the past ten years because of music piracy coupled with the poor economic conditions within the country.

Some record labels have resorted to compromising on prices so that they retain their clients. This may lead to compromise on quality of the product resulting in fans getting poor quality recorded music. Macdonald Chidavaenzi said that he cannot compromise on pricing because he rates his music production on international standards so he would rather maintain his standard even if it means having a few musicians who come to record with him. "It is important to preserve value." he said (Interview 21/12/19). By so doing he defends his integrity.

The record labels also agreed that piracy has negatively impacted on their business as sales have decreased. Dj Tamuka suggests that there is nothing they can do to stop piracy but to play along with it and try to use online platforms to sell music. They agree that local people no longer buy music but share via various social media platforms. The interviews revealed that the last ten years have been difficult and have seen the closure of renowned big record companies like Gramma, R.T.P, Zimbabwe Music Corporation and Ngaavongwe records. This is the same period that the economic crunch was felt in Zimbabwe. Tom Aaron said that he used to work for Gramma Records but was retrenched before it closed due economic hardships coupled with piracy.

Macdonald Chidavaenzi suggested that music piracy in the country has suffocated music sales and distribution by ninety percent. As a result, revenue has decreased by about seventy percent. Recording studios have been forced to scale down their workforce because of music piracy coupled with the economic crisis in the country as they were unable to recover costs incurred during production of albums. This resulted in some artists shunning record companies and becoming their own producers. Muranda and Maguraushe (2014) suggest that stopping from working with other homegrown record labels may be beneficial to established musicians as it may sooner or later lead to them founding their own recording businesses. This has seen the birth of Military Touch Music owned by Jah Praizah and Alema Studios owned by Alick Macheso. Mhiripiri (2006) notes that significant changes brought in by piracy have been noticed between the periods 2005 to 2010. This was the period when music piracy was at its peak in Zimbabwe and has not changed up to the present day. These changes include the decline in the number of recording musicians.

Conclusion

The research discovered that music piracy is helping upcoming musicians more than established ones. Views from upcoming and established musicians vary and most of them want music piracy to stop. The study also found out that musicians are motivated to create music by social factors. Musicians and record labels in Zimbabwe appear to be in a parasitic relationship that has forced many musicians to record on their own. Local people do not buy music online because of limited online facilities. Chapter 4 gives the overall conclusions and recommendations of this study.

Appendix 2: Glossary of Local Instruments

Ngoma	drum
Hosho	shakers
Chipendani	traditional plucked string instrument made from twine and bow.
Chigufe	traditional wind instrument
Hwamanda	wind instrument made from Kudu horn.
Mbira	a plucked instrument that consist of wooden board and metal keys whose parts resonate to the body.

Appendix 3: Glossary of Local words and phrases

Ghettos	densely populated suburbs
Mushikashika goods.	undesignated places where a lot of people converge to buy.
n'anga	traditional healer
bonde	literally a reed mat, but also a euphemism for sex
mikoto	backyard recording studios.

Appendix 4. Glossary of Zimbabwean music

Sungura	a music genre that emerged as during the liberation war whose lyrics were mainly about the quest for independence but later transcended to social commentary.
Tsavatsava	a combination of cha cha cha and rhumba from East Africa
Chimurenga	music that delivers messages of social and political protest that emerged during the war of liberation with a fusion of western and African rhythm.
Jiti	consist of swift fast rhythm played on mbira, drum, and guitar.
Urban grooves	music created by young urban musicians in the period between 1999 and 2009 whose genres included Hip hop, soul, RnB, and Dancehall.
Zimdancehall	a fusion of Jamaican reggae and local beats whose messages talk of poverty, unemployment, and drug abuse.
Mbaqana	A South African music style with rural Zulu roots popular in Matebeleland

Appendix 5: Glossary of Abbreviations

CD	compact disc
DVD	digital video disc
MUZI	Music Union of Zimbabwe
ZIMURA	Zimbabwe Music Rights Association
ZUM	Zimbabwe Union of Musicians
ZBC	Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation
ZMC	Zimbabwe Music Corporation
HMV	His Master's Voice
RnB	Rhythm and Blues
DJ	Disc Jockey
MUSO	Music in Spain Organization
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
CD-R	Compact Disc Recordable
AHRA	Audio Home Recording Act
IPR	Intellectual Property Rights
IFPI	International Federation of the Phonographic Industry
P2P	Peer to Peer
NTA	Nigerian Television Authority
MTN	Mobile Telephone Network
SAMRO	South African Music Rights Organization
VHS	Video Home System
TCRA	Tanzania Communications Regulatory Authority

NAC	National Arts Council
COSOTA	Copyright Society of Tanzania
TAMUNET	Tanzania Musicians Network
ZIMFEST	Zimbabwe Music Festival
HIFA	Harare International Festival of the Arts
HIV	Human Immune -Deficiency Virus

Taenda Muzinde https://youtube.com/channel/UCdAwbdEeGENybON8x1_ap8g

MacD Eternity Media Zw

Alexio Kawara <https://www.facebook.com/iamalexiokawara/>

Taurai Murisa https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC1qcqzawOPTo_xkN9Wif9Bg

Vadzimu records <https://www.apmmusic.com/libraries/vadzimu-vad>

Sniper Storm https://youtube.com/channel/UCILIIW_hyNL1x20IXw8H7gw

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