

**Working Paper
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Alternative Expressions of Citizen Voices: The Protest Song and Popular Engagements with the Mozambican State

**Anésio Manhiça, Alex Shankland, Kátia Taela,
Euclides Gonçalves, Catija Maivasse and Mariz Tadros**

November 2020

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Summary

This study examines Mozambican popular music to investigate three questions: Are notions of empowerment and accountability present in popular music in Mozambique? If so, what can these existing notions of empowerment and accountability reveal about relations between citizens and state institutions in general and about citizen-led social and political action in particular? In what ways is popular music used to support citizen mobilisation in Mozambique?

The discussion is based on an analysis of 46 protest songs, interviews with musicians, music producers and event promoters as well as field interviews and observations among audiences at selected popular music concerts and public workshops in Maputo city. Secondary data were drawn from radio broadcasts, digital media, and social networks. The songs analysed were widely played in the past two decades (1998–2018), a period in which three different presidents led the country. Our focus is on the protest song, conceived as those musical products that are concerned with public affairs, particularly public policy and how it affects citizens' social, political and economic life, and the relationship between citizens and the state.

We found indicators of empowerment and accountability in the protest songs surveyed. In these songs, musicians expressed awareness of their political and economic positions in relation to political and administrative authorities. The songs refer to citizens' duties such as paying taxes, preserving public infrastructures, and acknowledging the rights of fellow citizens. They also reference citizens' rights such as access to health, education, transport, security, and participation in governance processes through elections. In these songs, musicians demand that government authorities be accountable to citizens, with specific reference to political participation, right to information, public consultation, and the provision of public services. The report also found that in the past two decades Mozambican civil society organisations have turned to popular musicians to promote and animate public debates on awareness of citizen's rights and accountability.

Used as a vehicle to disseminate individual and collective experiences, we show that the protest song is a vehicle for popular engagements with the state. The lyrics used in the protest song denounce, demand, and mobilise for social and political change, in some cases using coded messages and, in other cases, resorting to open and direct messages.

Keywords

Protest songs; empowerment; accountability; citizen mobilisation; state; popular music; Mozambique; social and political action.

Authors

Alex Shankland is an IDS Fellow and Convenor of the Power and Popular Politics Cluster. His current research interests centre on theories and practices of democratic representation, accountability and the political strategies of marginalised groups engaging with the state around health, energy, and land rights.

Anésio Manhiça is a researcher at Kaleidoscopio – Research in Public Policy and Culture. He has worked on the dynamics of Maputo city occupation and the political economy of handicraft production in Maputo city.

Catija Maivasse is a research associate at Kaleidoscopio. She has a background in anthropology and is mainly interested in questions related to governance and education. Catija has collaborated with various government and non-governmental organisations conducting qualitative and quantitative research in Mozambique.

Euclides Gonçalves is a researcher and director at Kaleidoscopio – Research in Public Policy and Culture. He has published on topics such as governance, bureaucratic processes, and political rituals in scholarly journals.

Kátia Taela is a researcher and director of WILSA Mozambique. She has worked on gender equality and women's rights for over ten years in policy development and analysis, project evaluation and institutional assessments.

Mariz Tadros is an IDS Research Fellow specialising in the politics and human development of the Middle East. Areas of specialisation include democratisation, Islamist politics, gender, sectarianism, human security, and religion and development.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Background and questions

Globally, there is a significant body of literature that explores the links between politics and popular culture, covering various historical periods and geographic areas. These discussions look at the dynamics between states and popular culture focusing on a variety of issues from censorship and repression to nation-building and development (Drewett and Cloonan 2006; Payerhin 2012; Rabaka 2016; Maultsby 2018; Klenke 2019). A related body of work has explored feminism (Hollows 2000) and dressing (Breu and Marchese 2000) as ways in which citizens engage with the state.

In Africa, scholarly and media accounts have shown how popular culture can reveal the dynamics of the relationship between citizens and state institutions (Barber 1997; Dolby 2006; Coplan 2008; Turino 2008; Gilman 2011; Gunner, Ligaga and Moyo 2012; Gunner 2015). Popular music has received special attention as an entry point to understanding social and political action. In African popular music references have been made to colonialism and apartheid, social movements, protests, revolutions, national identity and political oppression (Askew 2002; Nyairo and Ogude 2005; Nyamnjoh and Fokwang 2005; Gilbert 2007; Moorman 2008; White 2008; Chirambo 2009; Gunner 2009; Ivaska 2011; Sithole 2012; Schumann 2013, 2015; Suriano 2015).

Approaches to popular music and political action have focused on the role of song in supporting and fuelling social movements, protests, revolutions, national identity and political oppression (Bratton and van de Walle 1992; Turino 2008; Coplan 2008; Gilman 2011; Perullo 2011; Jaji 2014). These studies often analyse cultural and artistic forms of political expression in times of social and political upheaval and crisis, such as the Egyptian Revolution (Eprile 2017), and during fuel protests in Nigeria (Akanle, Adetayo and Adebayo 2014).

This study examines Mozambican popular music to investigate three questions related to political action: Are notions of empowerment and accountability present in popular music in Mozambique? If so, what can these existing notions of empowerment and accountability reveal about relations between citizens and state institutions in general and about citizen-led social and political action in particular? In what ways is popular music used to support citizen mobilisation in Mozambique?

Our discussion of political action is inspired by approaches to politics that do not limit political action to open and direct confrontation of government authorities through public protest. We draw on approaches that consider moral judgement, ridicule, and laughter as forms of engagement with political power (Toulabor 1981;

Mbembe 1992; Jackson 2009; Bayat 2010). We also explore audiences as civic and political actors who can contribute to social change (Berger 2000; Sharpe 2008; Murru, Stehling and Scarcelli 2016).

We show that in the protest song, musicians express awareness of their political and economic positions in relation to political and administrative authorities. These songs make reference to citizens' duties such as to paying taxes, preserving public infrastructures, and acknowledging the rights of fellow citizens. They also reference citizens' rights such as access to health, education, transport, security, and participation in governance processes through elections. In these songs, musicians demand that government authorities be accountable to citizens, with specific reference to political participation, right to information, public consultation, and the provision of public services. Mozambican civil society organisations have turned to popular musicians to promote and animate public debates on citizen's rights and accountability.

Used as a vehicle to disseminate individual and collective experiences, we show that the protest song is a vehicle for popular engagements with the state. The lyrics used in the protest song denounce, demand, and mobilise for social and political change, in some cases using coded messages and, in other cases, resorting to open and direct messages.

1.2 Empowerment, public accountability, and the protest song

In the Action for Empowerment and Accountability (A4EA) conceptual framework, empowerment is conceptualised as comprising three elements: awareness, capacity, and agency. In this framework, awareness describes how people appraise and re-appraise their own situation, and the channels through which credible information is received and accepted. Capacity describes the importance of enhancing the capacity to make individual and collective choices for civic engagement. Finally, agency stresses the power, right, ability, and freedom to act in favour of one's choices – what scholars have called the 'power to' (Rowlands 1997). In each of these three elements of empowerment, the conceptual framework is particularly interested in the shift from individual to collective empowerment. The framework reasons that collective empowerment can increase awareness, capacities and agency through a combination of increasing civic and political knowledge; enhancing capacities and choices; and enabling individual and collective agency through new forms of participation and deepening of solidarities and networks.

This conceptualisation of empowerment considers the four forms of power identified by Rowlands (1997) – 'power over', 'power to', 'power with' and 'power within'. This conceptualisation goes beyond the focus on individuals' participation

in politics as members of the executive or legislature, since we understand that there are other spaces and paths for political empowerment (Tadros 2014; Cornwall 2017). As such, in this study we focus on citizens' individual and collective awareness of their position in relation to those in power. It is on the basis of this awareness that individuals and groups make political choices, often seeking to transform the material or affective conditions under which they live. In this sense empowerment is not limited to what can be granted by formal institutions or disseminated by groups promoting political change. Rather, it is primarily built through everyday experiences in the political contexts in which individuals and groups live.

Accountability is conceptualised in four dimensions: (i) provision of public goods and services; (ii) the capacity and political will to respond to citizens' needs; (iii) citizens' legitimacy and commitment to public institutions; and (iv) process inclusiveness (Fox 2015). Although a considerable part of this analysis focuses on relations between citizens and public authorities, we also consider accountability practices of civil society, global governance institutions, and bilateral agencies (Bovens, Schillemans and Goodin 2014). Thus, our understanding of accountability encompasses both formal and informal, individual and collective actors, allowing us to speak to broader debates on public accountability in Africa (Hyden 2010; Selormey 2012; Topsoe-Jensen *et al.* 2012; Leininger *et al.* 2012; Sjöberg *et al.* 2012; Faehndrich and Nhantumbo 2013; Abreu Lopes and Srinivasan 2014; Hossain *et al.* 2018).

Our analysis focuses on the protest song: songs concerned with public affairs, particularly public policy, and how these affect citizens' social, political, and economic life and the relationship between citizens and the state. Going beyond political propaganda and criticism of politicians and political parties, these songs celebrate political and economic development but also point out social injustice and suggest methods of dealing with it. As such, we have excluded from our analysis party anthems, marching tunes, and inspirational melodies composed and commissioned to promote party ideologies, build internal cohesion, or to mobilise support for political parties. In line with our understanding of accountability we included in the study songs that refer to the work and actions of political parties and civil society organisations, as well as foreign governmental and non-governmental organisations.

1.3 Data collection

Field research was carried out in Maputo city and Maputo province between January and September 2018. The discussion is based on an analysis of 46 protest songs, interviews with musicians, music producers, and event promoters as well as field interviews and observations among audiences at selected

popular music concerts and public workshops in Maputo city. Secondary data were drawn from radio broadcasts, digital media, and social networks.

During the different stages of the research, we organised three workshops with researchers, musicians, producers and presenters of musical events. These workshops provided inputs for data collection and analysis.

The study covers musical production from 1998 to 2018, two decades that cover a period of multi-party democracy during which three elected presidents from the same party, Frelimo, held power. During this period political and economic life was characterised by moments of optimism as well as political tensions and economic crisis.

The analysis focused on lyrics of 46 songs in Portuguese and XiChangana widely played from 1998 to 2018. Our focus was on the protest song, conceived as those musical products that are concerned with public affairs, particularly public policy and how it affects citizens' social, political and economic life, and the relationship between citizens and the state.

A number of songs included in the study were not released within 1998–2018 but remained popular and marked the soundscape of that period. We included songs from different musical genres, though hip-hop emerged as the primary genre in which demands for political and economic accountability are made.

A component of this study focused on audiences in live events where known authors of the protest song performed. Through field observations and interviews we learned that the connection between songs, musicians, and audiences needs to be investigated rather than assumed. For example, it emerged from the audience research that the popularity of a song does not always mean that members of the audience have complete knowledge of the lyrics of the song, or that they subscribe in full to the views of the musician. It also became evident that statements and actions in moments of collective catharsis during live concerts where members of the audience were critical of politicians and government policies should not be expected to be replicated in other moments or spaces.

We follow this introduction by presenting the hallmark Mozambican protest songs of the 1998–2018 decades. The ensuing section discusses the key topics of the protest song. After this, we examine empowerment and accountability as articulated in the protest song, before discussing the uses of music in the mobilisation of citizen's public engagement with the state. Before concluding we explore the relationship between empowerment and political action to draw out the larger implications of our findings for public accountability.

2. Musicians' voices in the 'time of democracy'

The first multi-party elections were held in 1994 and were a key event in the Mozambican democratic transition. The process had begun with the adoption of a new constitution in 1990 which opened up civic and political space, allowing for the emergence of independent private media and the formation of various interest groups in the form of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and political parties. This period also witnessed the growth of citizens' political engagement articulated through ideas such as 'human rights', 'accountability', 'inclusive governance', and 'rule of law'. Donor-funded civil society organisations have had an important influence in shaping civic space in the last two decades (Macamo 2006; Francisco 2007; Taela 2015; Deus *et al.* 2018).

The protest song is a genre with a history that can be dated back to the colonial period (Tracey 1948; Vail and White 1978, 1983, 1992; Manghezi 1980; Penvenne and Siteo 2000; Munguambe 2000; Filipe 2012; Israel 2014; Sopa 2014). The openness of the democratic period allowed musicians to increasingly speak openly and directly to public authorities. Our analysis of the protest song in the time of democracy highlights five influential works: 'Vadhla voche' by the late popular musician Jeremias Nguenha (1995); 'País da marrabenta' by hip-hop group Gpro-Fam (2003); 'Patrão é patrão' by popular musician MC Roger (2007); 'As mentiras da verdade' by rapper Azagaia (2007); and 'Fumo wa Armandinho/The governance of Armandinho' by popular musician Refila Boy (2013).

2.1 'They eat alone'

Jeremias Nguenha's (1995) 'Vadhla voche' can be credited with the elevation of the protest song to an unprecedented level of critique to those in power. Drawing on popular metaphors for crookery and corruption, the song is simultaneously a critique of those in power and a lament that gives voice to the hardships of those who are pushed to the margins by the neoliberal economy that came with the transition to democracy. Singing about marginalisation from education, Nguenha asserts that people should wake up and remain alert because there are people who eat in secret and then come and pretend that they are in the same position as everybody else who is hungry. The song captures the ubiquitous corruption of the time by quoting the popular saying 'goats eat where they are tied up', often used to justify illicit schemes to generate livelihoods from wherever one is positioned socially and professionally.

The expression was also used in conversations about corruption in other African contexts (Olivier de Sardan and Blundo 2006).

'Vadhla voche' is perhaps the song that best captures the ambivalence that prevailed during the years following the first multi-party elections. Mozambicans had celebrated the 1992 peace agreement which formally put an end to 16 years of an internal war that negatively affected the country's economy. The song was composed at a time when the euphoria surrounding the new peace had settled and questions were beginning to be asked about who was benefiting most from the democratic transition and the process of reconstruction of the national economy. Peace and the opening of public and political space that came with the transition to democracy were soon to create a context for growing inequality among Mozambicans.

2.2 'The land of *marrabenta*'

In 'País da marrabenta', Gpro-Fam (2003) celebrate the patience and resilience of the Mozambican people while listing unfulfilled promises made by successive governments that have ruled Mozambique since the end of the internal war. This list of problems includes the condition of public roads; a justice system that heavily penalises petty theft and grants bail to those who commit the most serious crimes; police corruption as a result of poor salaries; taxes for services not provided, and continued strikes. Finally, the song presents an account of the killing of journalist Carlos Cardoso and reproduces a popular narrative that suggests that President Samora Machel was killed in a conspiracy which included members of the ruling elite.

In many ways 'País da marrabenta' captures the sense of impunity that characterised the political climate of the democratic period. The song describes rampant corruption at all levels that is met with impunity, and the use of state power to protect white collar criminals while penalising petty theft.

The assassination and subsequent televised trial of those involved in the murder of Carlos Cardoso is presented in the song as symptomatic and symbolic of the Mozambican political situation. Those who publicly denounced high-level corruption risked their lives as the links between ruling elites and the murder became clear. Carlos Cardoso also came to symbolise the righteousness that citizens associate with the late President Samora Machel and his socialist project where corruption and poor management of public offices were criticised from the top. In 'País da marrabenta' Gpro-Fam simultaneously highlight and engage in this process of creating political symbols. The association of the country with *marrabenta*, a music style that after independence was promoted as authentic Mozambican music, is also ironically associated with a country that dances only to one tune – that of corruption with impunity.

2.3 'The boss is the boss'

The release of the hit song 'Patrão é patrão/The boss is the boss' (MC Roger 2007) introduced a distinct voice in the protest song. The song is dedicated to Mozambican businessmen and praises the former president Armando Guebuza – whom MC Roger refers to as 'the boss' – for his accomplishments while in office including the completion of the negotiation of the transfer of ownership of colonial built Cahora Bassa dam from Portuguese to Mozambican state (MC Roger 2007). Until then, no other popular protest song had celebrated a president from the democratic period.

'Patrão é patrão' echoed official rhetoric on entrepreneurship, the fight against poverty, and the production of wealth. According to Guebuza, Mozambicans should abandon their lazy behaviour, become entrepreneurs and not be ashamed of being wealthy (Guebuza 2004). As president, Guebuza projected an image of himself as a self-made businessman who became one of the wealthiest people in the country after humble beginnings keeping fowl. Similarly, MC Roger performed and promoted a personal narrative of rising to the top through hard work to become a 'boss' in the music business.

'Patrão é patrão' became a hit for MC Roger, but as it gained popularity on the dance floors it generated public debate on the role of those who work for 'the bosses'. Academics and people on the streets questioned what it took to succeed, as many Mozambicans who see themselves as hardworking people ensure their survival by engaging in multiple income-generating activities but rarely succeed in turning their small business ventures into stable enterprises (Beúla 2008). Rather than hard work, a more obvious common trend among successful businessmen was their association to the ruling elite: MC Roger himself took pride in his close association with the presidential family.

2.4 'Lies in truth'

Azagaia's (2007) 'As mentiras da verdade/Lies in truth' calls for awareness about the news circulated in the official media. The song builds on the popular perceptions of the deaths of Samora Machel and Carlos Cardoso described in 'País da marrabenta/The land of *marrabenta*' (Gpro-Fam 2003) and provides a more acute and direct critique of the ruling elite. It also provides a sharp contrast to MC Roger's (2007) 'Patrão é patrão' by questioning taken-for-granted historic facts and news in the media. In the song Azagaia goes as far as to suggest that the Cahora Bassa dam celebrated by MC Roger may in fact not belong to all Mozambicans but to a small group of elites (Azagaia 2007).

Rather than uncritically celebrate and repeat the rhetoric surrounding the fight against poverty as MC Roger (2007) does in 'Patrão é patrão/The boss is the boss', Azagaia (2007) 'As mentiras da verdade/Lies in truth' puts into perspective

the association between official rhetoric, corruption, and political drama. The song suggests that the supposed fight against corruption, and the investigations into the deaths of President Samora Machel, journalist Carlos Cardoso and economist and former president of Austral Bank António Siba-Siba Macuácu were all part of a show produced by a part of the media sector paid to disseminate questionable truths.

The song offers little hope for a country where official rhetoric covers up corruption, and argues that even development efforts and health crises such as AIDS are seen as financial opportunities for international NGOs which see a good business partner in the Mozambican government, with little benefit to the Mozambican people (Azagaia 2007).

2.5 'The governance of Armandinho'

In 2013, popular musician Refila Boy gained widespread notoriety by recreating the irreverent style of Jeremias Nguenha. Singing in XiChangana and adopting a style that mixes the coded popular sayings successfully used by Nguenha with the direct critique that characterises the hit songs of Gpro-Fam and Azagaia, Refila Boy (2013) delivers an acute critique to those in power. His 'Fumo wa Armandinho/The governance of Armandinho' is a detailed critique of the rule of Armando Guebuza in which the artist describes Guebuza's government as not interested in listening to the people, instead giving preference to those who seek to flatter them by passing on messages which did not reflect the realities lived by the majority of people (Refila Boy 2013). The song concludes that the people are tired of the rampant theft and they are ready for change – meaning new people in government.

Refila Boy's tune captures people's widespread disappointment with the ruling party Frelimo, which after being voted to power in all multi-party elections is yet to deliver on its promise of 'a better future' for Mozambicans. In the song, Refila Boy paints a picture of Mozambique, a country where the needs of the public go unmet due to poor governance. The situation is aggravated by an increasingly alienated ruling elite that can afford to make public statements denying that unemployment and increasing violent crime are a significant part of life for many Mozambicans.

Taken together, these five influential works provide a general characterisation of the protest song in the democratic period. The songs juxtapose citizens' everyday experiences and official rhetoric and reflect a growing distance between the two. At times, these juxtapositions are intentional, as in Azagaia's (2007) 'As mentiras da verdade/Lies in truth'. In other cases, songs that echo official rhetoric such as 'Patrão é patrão/The boss is the boss' (MC Roger 2007) also gain popularity, and spark discussions about citizen experience, government rhetoric, and economic hardship.

These influential works are dominated by male voices, which is a general trend in the protest song during this period. However, it is important to note the important contributions of female musicians such as Rosália Mboa and Dama do Bling. In her song 'Regalias/Perks' Mboa (2016) criticises those who abuse public office for personal gain and in 'O outro lado da lei/The other side of the law' Dama do Bling (2015) sympathises with Mozambican street police officers who, in spite of the criticism they receive for harassing people for bribes, are also citizens who go through the same economic hardships as the majority of the population.

In the following sections we turn to the ways in which the protest song has contributed to the framing of public debates and political action in democratic Mozambique. Next, we present the key topics in the protest song to highlight existing indicators of empowerment and accountability.

3. Two decades of the protest song: key topics

Our survey of 46 protest songs revealed eight recurring topics in the following descending order: economic situation, corruption, peace, popular action, police, public transport, progress, and donors. These topics are simplifications of sometimes complex ideas and sentiments articulated in songs. In some cases, songs consist of a couple of verses on a single topic while in other cases a song can deal with multiple topics. Often songs intentionally link multiple topics, such as the economic situation and corruption and it is also possible that all eight recurrent topics are found in a single song.

3.1 Economic situation

In the early 2000s, Mozambique was a darling of multilateral and donor communities due to its successful implementation of the 1992 peace agreement and the multi-party democracy inaugurated by the 1994 elections. In the meantime, then-fashionable Poverty Reduction Strategic Plans did little to alleviate the poor conditions in which the majority of Mozambicans lived.¹

The experience of destitution is expressed through different anecdotes in the protest song. For example, popular musician Eugénio Mucavele's (1992) 'Male ya pepa/Paper money' presents a vivid rendition of the conditions in which disenfranchised Mozambicans lived. He sings about those who have plenty to eat while he and his wife remain hungry. Mucavele also narrates how he has to talk his wife into drinking water to lessen the bitterness of the only vegetable they can afford, while at the same time taking in the smell of their wealthy neighbours' delicacies blown by the wind. One of the ironies of the economic situation is appearances can be deceptive and that sometimes it is the slimmer man who has plenty to eat, while the fat man is in reality a poor man (Mucavele 1992).

Like Mucavele, Gpro-Fam describe poverty as the inability to provide for one's family. In 'País da marrabenta/Land of *marrabenta*' Gpro-Fam (2003) sing about senior government officials who drive luxurious cars while the people starve, unable to live on the government's false promises. Micro 2, in 'Pobreza absoluta/Absolute poverty' (2008), also sings about hunger, empty pantries, and salaries that never rise.

In 'Frente a frente/Face to face' Izlo H (2008) suggests that the poverty in which the majority of Mozambicans live is a result of the wealth of government officials

¹ For national-level analysis of the distinctions between rural and urban poverty, see Cunguara and Hanlon (2012) and for the dynamics of Maputo city see Paulo, Rosário and Tvedten (2007).

and criticises the hypocrisy of the rhetorical fight against poverty. He takes up the same topic in 'Dinheiro do povo/The people's money' (Izlo H 2009), in which he criticises the government for not controlling inflation and accuses wealthy government officials of not knowing the current price of bread. Also, in reference to the economic situation, in 'Minha mesa/My table' Azagaia (2016) warns government officials against getting their hands on his table and touching his bread, referring to the increasing challenges that poor economic policy decisions pose to the livelihoods of the poor.

In the protest song, the responsibility for the economic situation is attributed to those running the country who have the power to make changes that could effectively ameliorate living conditions. Contrary to the expectations of the poor, those in government are perceived to use their positions to enrich themselves and worsen the living conditions of the economically disenfranchised.

3.2 Corruption

Corruption features in the protest song as both the cause and consequence of the economic situation. When lyrics identify corruption as a cause of poverty, they generally refer to the corruption of public servants who overindulge themselves in the privileges of public office. In 'Regalias/Perks' Rosália Mboa (2016) sings about irresponsible public servants who use public funds to support their luxurious lifestyle thus jeopardising the country's economy. Jeremias Nguenha alludes to the fact that in the early democratic period a wealthy minority had plenty to eat while the majority of Mozambicans could barely afford to survive (Nguenha 1995). 'La famba bicha' (Nguenha 1996), which translates as 'Is the line moving?', highlights how corruption can aggravate the pressure on the price of bread and public transport.²

Gpro-Fam's (2003) 'País da marrabenta/Land of *marrabenta*' tells the story of a famous corruption case which started with the misuse of funds in the first commercial bank in neoliberal Mozambique and ended with the killing of well-known investigative journalist Carlos Cardoso. The case also received wide national and international coverage as a result of consecutive dramatic arrests and prison breaks of Aníbal António dos Santos Júnior (also known as Anibalzinho) the death squad coordinator and Momade Assife Abdul Satar (also known as Nini Satar), who enjoyed a comfortable lifestyle while in prison and then became Mozambique's most wanted man after violating the conditions of his parole and resettling overseas.

In the song 'A voz do povo/The people's voice', Blood Stain (2002), presents a sharp critique of government corruption and neglect stating that the government

² More than a decade later these rising costs of daily living became triggers for what have been described as 'hunger revolts' (Brito *et al.* 2014).

agenda to fight corruption was not followed by actions. Instead, corruption and cheating became widespread (Blood Stain 2002). Izlo H (2009) sings about the effects of corruption on public services in 'Dinheiro do povo/The people's money'. He sees poor provision of public services as a result of frontline workers' low salaries and poor working conditions: in his analysis, this kind of corruption is a consequence of poverty as much as a cause.

While Izlo H (2009) presents a critique of wealthy public officials he also entertains sympathy towards frontline workers who benefit from the system. The distinction between senior public officials' large-scale corruption and the petty corruption of frontline workers is an important one with immediate and direct consequences to citizens who demand public services. The song gestures towards some common experiences of encountering corruption in everyday life, such as paying teachers and school principals to ensure children are enrolled or pass in class, how at public hospitals nurses demand that patients pay bribes in order to see doctors, and traffic police officers are often willing to exchange traffic fines for bribes.

Sampled excerpts from Samora Machel's speeches have been frequently used in songs that comment on corruption. These samples feature prominently in the work of Gpro-Fam, Azagaia, Olho Vivo and Izlo H. Musicians also impersonate Samora Machel in their verse. Flash Ency closes 'A memória de um combatente/The memory of a combatant' with a sample from Samora Machel which promises punishment to 'those who disregard the people, those who misappropriate state resources, those who squander state resources and others' (Flash Ency 2017).

3.3 Peace

In the 1980s, less than a decade after its independence in 1975, Mozambique found itself in an internal war that gradually spread to most of its territory. Mozambique's Broadcast Station aired protest songs such as Yana's 'Que venham/Let them come' (1981), Alexandre Langa's (1988, 2014) 'Smith está maluco/Smith is crazy', and 'Massotcha' by Ghorwane (1997) which reported on the effects of the war such as the limitations to traveling within the country, poverty and death while demanding that Mozambican leaders found a quick solution to end people's suffering.

In 1992, a political settlement was formalised in the Rome peace agreement and Mozambique engaged in reconstruction work. Multi-party elections were held in 1994. However, Renamo, Mozambique's major opposition party, has since claimed that general and municipal elections have not been fair.³ In addition to negotiating with the ruling party in parliament, Renamo threatened to return to

³ For a detailed discussion of electoral results, see Brito (2008).

war in order to force political reforms. Following what Morier-Genoud (2017) called a 'proto war' from 2013 to 2018, songs calling for peace emerged across musical genres, especially as attacks on public buses and trucks imposed severe travel restrictions in central Mozambique. Hip-hop group Xtaka Zero composed the tune 'Cool', calling for politicians to talk to each other (Xtaka Zero 2014), Ubakka echoed to the outcry against the war in 'Meu povo chora/My people are crying' (Ubakka 2018) and rapper Azagaia composed 'Declaração de paz (Vampiros)/Declaration of Peace (Vampires)' (Azagaia 2014) as an open and direct critique of armed conflict as a way to address political disputes.

Politicians, President Guebuza in particular, were blamed for allowing the political disputes between Frelimo and Renamo to cause a resurgence in armed conflict. While arguably the responsibility for the war was shared between President Guebuza and Renamo's late President Afonso Dhlakama, the protest song of the time largely put the blame on Guebuza who, as president, was seen to be in a position to accommodate the demands of his political opposition, but refused to do so.

3.4 Popular action

A number of musicians have composed songs that call for popular action in response to government corruption, incompetence, and general neglect. For example, André Cardoso's 'Chamboco/Baton' describes hardships in Maputo as a result of political corruption and ends with a call for disenfranchised citizens to move from a position of victims and act against elected officials (Cardoso 2018). A similar call for action is taken up in Refila Boy's 'Fumo wa Armandinho/The governance of Armandinho' where he points out that life became harder after President Guebuza took office. President Guebuza angered many Mozambicans when he claimed that people's grievances were exaggerated, leading Refila Boy to reject Armando Guebuza's rule, saying the people want change (Refila Boy 2013). Ubakka's 'Meu povo chora/My people are crying' also calls for unity and public protest, as those in power seemed to be unfazed by the proto war in central Mozambique and its impact on the lives of many Mozambicans (Ubakka 2018).

The most vigorous calls for action can be found in the work of Azagaia. His 'Povo no poder/Power to the people' not only celebrates the 2008 public protests that followed the rise in the price of fuel and bread but also issues a warning that such protests could escalate to a national level if the prices of bread and transport remained high (Azagaia 2008). Azagaia makes a similar call in 'MIR Música de Intervenção Rápida/Rapid Intervention Music' where he describes a harsh government's responses to public protests and asks that if a general strike is called, whether there will be enough police and tear gas to control the crowds (Azagaia 2013). As in Cardoso's 'Chamboco', the primary action taken in

Azagaia's 'MIR Música de Intervenção Rápida' is to speak back or sing back to the government.

3.5 Police

Mozambican police are popularly perceived as largely ineffective. In the weekly press conferences, the most common answer to publicly known crimes is: 'we are investigating'. Only in rare instances has a police investigation resulted in the arrest and punishment of criminals involved in cases that received wide media coverage. In a newspaper interview, rapper André Cardoso notes that the frequent use of the expression 'we are investigating' further discredits the Mozambican police (Jornal Savana 2018).

In the protest song this inefficiency is sometimes explained as a result of poor resources allocated to police operations or low salaries.⁴ Hip-hop band Xtaka Zero recorded 'Tipoliça/Uncle policeman', a song that narrates the conditions in which some police officers work: starting the day without breakfast and having to release thieves in exchange for money. This is the only way police officers are able to feed their families given their meagre salaries (Xtaka Zero 2007). The streets then become a place where police officers do whatever it takes to survive. In 'O outro lado da lei/The other side of the law', Dama do Bling draws a picture of a police officer who after a decade devoted to police work sees his work unrecognised and in a suicide note hopes that his family will survive in his absence (Dama do Bling 2015).

Major critiques of police inefficiency are often addressed to the top of the hierarchy. A street-level police officer's limited ability to prevent petty theft or burglaries and their generalised practices of harassing citizens in order to receive bribes, the use of excessive force when responding to public protest or the killing innocent civilians by stray bullets when in pursuit of criminals (Amnesty International 2008; Folha de Maputo 2016) are often seen as a result of the poor conditions in which street-level police are trained and work. Top-down corruption in the police force is associated with and replicated in the justice system. Courts are often described as institutions that imprison petty criminals and let more serious criminals pay bail (Gpro-Fam 2003). Gpro-Fam go on to suggest that inequality persists even when convictions are made, those involved in the biggest crimes enjoy privileges while in jail (*ibid.*).

Flash Ency also sings about the inequity in the justice system in 'Comida pra os cães/Dog food' (Flash Ency 2017).

⁴ For more examples of this perception of the justice system in Mozambican protest song, see Flash Ency's 'Ministério do Crime' (Flash Ency 2014) and Azagaia's 'Homem-Bomba' (Azagaia 2014).

3.6 Public transport

Public transport has been the subject of songs by a number of musicians. In 2014, popular musician Ta Basilly composed a song entitled 'My love' asking 'Papa Guebuza' and the then Minister for Transport and Communications Carlos Mesquita to address the issue of public transport (Ta Basilly 2014). In response to the transport crisis in Maputo, citizens coined the term 'my love' to refer to the unregistered open pickup trucks that provide public transportation to standing passengers who have to hold one another to avoid falling from the moving vehicle. The hugging and rubbing against each other in the pick-up trucks puts passengers in a position where conventional boundaries of privacy and intimacy cannot be upheld. The name 'my love' caricatures a situation where everybody could be anybody's 'beloved'.⁵

Xtaka Zero in their song 'Timaka ta chapa/The problems of *chapas*' (Xtaka Zero 2015) take up the issue and describe the privately owned public transport popularly known as *chapa* as an unruly place where passengers are victims of the arbitrariness of drivers and their assistants. Both 'my love' and the *chapa* are cast as stages where the consequences of poor decisions made by the ruling elites are played out.

Initially the government attempted to prohibit the circulation of 'my loves' due to security and health concerns but recently not only has it allowed these unregistered operators to circulate but also introduced its own version of improved 'my loves'. The 'my love' has come to symbolise poor management of urban transport and ultimately the government's failure to provide quality basic public services.

3.7 Progress

Building on government programmes to fight poverty, former president Armando Guebuza sought to promote development and progress through a change in what official rhetoric described as 'Mozambicans' lazy behaviour', and moving from a culture of waiting for handouts to a culture that valued business entrepreneurship (Brito 2009).

MC Roger's (2009) 'Moçambique sempre a subir/Mozambique always on the way up' sets the standard for the celebration of Mozambican progress and development. In his subsequent works, such as 'Em Maputo, eu me sinto bem/I feel good in Maputo' and 'Inhaca, ilha tão linda/Inhaca, what a beautiful island', he also echoes official rhetoric in the fight against poverty and the need to raise national pride and self-esteem (MC Roger 2011a, 2011b). In 'Patrão é

⁵ Representations of 'my love' in popular culture include other expressions such as theatre and handicrafts (Jethá 2017).

patrão/The boss is the boss', MC Roger praises former president Armando Guebuza, whom he referred to as 'the boss', for his accomplishments such as the completion of the negotiation of the transfer of ownership of the Cahora Bassa dam, built during the colonial regime, from the Portuguese to the Mozambican government (MC Roger 2007).

While MC Roger's song 'Patrão é patrão/The boss is the boss' exalts and amplifies the official rhetoric around the accomplishments of Armando Guebuza, Refila Boy's (2013) 'Fumo wa Armandinho/The governance of Armandinho' critically interrogates official rhetoric on progress and the Guebuza's rule. In this song, Refila Boy makes a different evaluation of Guebuza's accomplishments. He begins by suggesting that the president was incompetent and that he was learning on the job. As a consequence of tinkering with governance, Refila Boy remarks that during Guebuza's time in power employment decreased, crime increased, and people live in insecurity (Refila Boy 2013). Refila Boy goes on to highlight negative events that happened during Guebuza's time in office, pointing to the floods in the Chokwé district and the internal war in Muxungwe between Renamo's armed wing and government forces. Guebuza's major weakness, Refila Boy suggests, was his love for flattering reports which often presented accounts that did not reflect the reality on the ground (Refila Boy 2013).

In the context of the government's claims of progress, other musicians also reversed official rhetoric to narrate the experiences of the marginalised and the excluded. Rapper Olho Vivo composed a song entitled 'Sempre a mesma merda/Always the same shit' in which he describes Mozambique as a chaotic country where the ruling elite make consecutive promises of a better future but the lives of the majority of the Mozambican population remain the same (Olho Vivo 2017). Against official rhetoric, Azagaia describes a disenfranchised youth in 'Minha Geração/My generation' (Azagaia 2018) and in 'Homem Bomba/Suicide bomber' he narrates how some citizens are treated as the country's stepchildren (Azagaia 2014).

3.8 Donors

Mozambique has a long history of receiving external support for its development. After the signing of the 1992 peace agreement, Mozambique became a preferred destination for post-war reconstruction aid and then development aid. In the past two decades, aid partners have switched their focus between support for civil society and for government but their influence in macroeconomic decisions through budget support and the fight against poverty through developing the social sectors has been consistent throughout the years (Macamo 2006; Taela 2015).

In the work of musicians such as André Cardoso, Azagaia, Flash Ency and Olho Vivo, donors feature as an important part of the Mozambican political

landscape. In general, the protest songs present a critique of donors' 'collusion' with or, at least, convenient ignorance of corrupt and unaccountable governance in Mozambique. In 'As mentiras da verdade/Lies in truth', Azagaia suggests that government statistics are presented in a way that the country looks poorer than it actually may be so that it can benefit from donor money.

While the A4EA programme's operational notions of empowerment and accountability are not fully articulated by any single musician, indicators of empowerment and accountability feature in the protest songs presented. Our survey of the key topics shows how Mozambicans have been aware of and have perceived the political and economic situations in which they found themselves in different moments of the country's history. The ways in which musicians engage with each of the eight recurrent topics in the protest song build on different indicators of the notions of empowerment and accountability, which are discussed next.

4. Singing empowerment and (un)accountability

The first part of this section presents indicators of empowerment found in musicians' discourses, actions, and songs. Then we explore the ways demands for accountability are expressed in songs. In our discussion we examine the implications of existing notions of empowerment and demands for accountability for our understanding of the relationship between state institutions and citizen-led social and political action.

4.1 On empowerment

Indicators of political empowerment can be found in two dominant forms of the protest song: firstly, reporting, giving voice, and venting; and secondly, singing to celebrate and inspire social and political action.

4.1.1 Reporting, giving voice, and venting

The protest song is largely associated with giving voice and celebrating acts and events for the disenfranchised. Indeed, most artists who work on the protest song identify themselves as the voice of the voiceless. However, it is important to note that some of the protest songs composed about and for the disenfranchised gain followers among those who are better off including among the ruling elite. Examples of this include the works of commercially successful artists Azagaia, Jeremias Nguenha and Refila Boy. Similarly, when the protest song celebrates those who are well off, the ruling elite, or successful businessmen, it can also gain currency among the disenfranchised, as in the work of MC Roger.

Artists who participated in this study often described themselves as 'reporters' who seek to document social and political issues and to 'amplify' the voices of the people. Musician Dingiswayo described himself as someone who makes journalism through rap noting that singing is 'a form of sharing knowledge about how people live and the values and behaviours of a society' (Dingiswayo 2018, Interview).

The reporting done in the protest song can be seen as taking place in two dimensions. The first dimension is an individual and affective one, in which songs purportedly express what is in a musician's heart. For example, popular musician Refila Boy prefaces his song 'Gomate wa Zaurinha' with the idea that singing calms his heart and soul (Refila Boy 2016) While this need for the musician to 'sing from the heart' is a general feature of many musical genres, in the protest song what comes from the 'heart' or 'soul' are those sentiments and

experiences that can no longer be handled or contained without causing pain to their bearer. Here, reporting performs a cathartic function, as hip-hop artist Flash Ency noted: 'music gives spiritual freedom and an escape to release what we have in our spirit' (Flash Ency 2018, Interview). This view was also shared by Azagaia who noted that music can be 'first an outlet to express feelings which, if kept inside, could produce negative effects for the musician or for society' (Azagaia, Workshop A).

This individual, affective dimension has political ramifications beyond the individual. During a workshop, musician Nhamungovela suggested that Mozambicans are socialised to abide by a 'false culture of peace' instead of a culture of citizenship. This culture is premised on people's consent to things they do not actually agree with and underpinned by a disregard for people's rights and duties (Nhamungovela, Workshop A). By taking the personal risks that come with making public criticisms of the government, composers of the protest song see their work as fighting official attempts at censorship (Azagaia 2014).

The second dimension of reporting in the protest song emphasises the collective experience. The protest song becomes a medium that enables musicians to act as the voices of the people. In this context musicians see themselves as self-appointed speakers for other citizens. Here, laments or celebrations of social situations are presented as a result of a collective experience and the song is used to publicise and amplify a collective sentiment.

The protest song is also used to celebrate citizens' collective social and political action. Azagaia's 'Povo no poder' exemplifies this: the song celebrates the public protests of February 2008 when Mozambicans took to the streets to express their discontent over the precarious economic situation that followed the 2007–08 global financial crisis (Azagaia 2008). In the same vein, Izlo H's 'Frente a frente/Face to face' shows solidarity with beaten protesters that the government tried to silence and denounces the use of the media to slander them (Izlo H 2008). Refila Boy's 'Frelimo 2018' mentions two popular uprisings in which citizens demonstrated against poor governance, but that the government failed to respond and instead became increasingly distant and more brutal (Refila Boy 2018).

These two dimensions of reporting do not need to exclude one another. One song can present both dimensions of reporting and still be effective. However, it is important to note that an artist's stated intentions and political messages within the song do not determine a song's popularity. Other factors related to the musical content and the political and economic context may influence how a musician or a song is received. Consequently, the popularity of a given protest song does not necessarily indicate the widespread popularity of its message.

4.1.2 Inspiring individual and collective action

In the past decades a number of civil society organisations and associations in Mozambique have increasingly used song for political mobilisation, whether to raise awareness of citizen's rights and support public action for more accountability, or for participation in electoral processes: for research into the use of song to mobilise participation in electoral processes, see Maia (1995). Musicians have also taken the initiative to call for political engagement. Azagaia, André Cardoso, Blood Stain, Flash Ency, Izlo H, Olho Vivo and Refila Boy have all included in their songs calls for political engagement in the form of public protest or expression of popular sentiment at the ballot box.

Composers of the protest song consider inspiring social and political action an important component of the work they do. A number of musicians interviewed described their work as 'intervention music' aimed towards fellow citizens and the government. Their 'interventions' towards fellow citizens are often framed as calls for awareness and exhortations for citizens' individual and collective public engagement with the major political and social issues of the day. The words of a musician who participated in the study illustrate this view:

We only talk about intervention when there is a situation, a specific problem that demands an intervention from somebody, right? It can be a surgical intervention, for example when somebody is ill and needs a surgery. My music is an intervention, it is music that addresses issues that need to be discussed and dealt with. It is social intervention because the field of action is society. I intervene in society. It is also political intervention, because politics is the foundation of every society. Politics is the first step to any action in society. But it is not party politics, even though many of us know the word politics through political parties; the politics I am talking about precedes political parties. I intervene because I want to see things around me improving.
(Azagaia, Workshop A)

Performers of the protest song often point to citizen inaction and call upon fellow citizens to speak up about the perceived social injustices. Individual action includes engaging with politics, voting wisely, and denouncing injustices while collective action is mainly framed in terms of union and voice in the street, through non-violent public protests. Micro 2 in 'Será que tu não vês?/Can it be that you can't see?' (Micro 2 ft. Pitcho 2012) asks if fellow citizens cannot see what is in front of their eyes as they may become the next victims of the social ills they witness in silence.

Similarly, in 'As mentiras da verdade', Azagaia (2007) indicates that the revolution against international capitalism will only start when people learn to say no to imported goods and cultures and the country adopts laws to promote local

content. Azagaia makes similar calls to action in 'Declaração de paz (Vampiros)/Declaration of Peace (Vampires)' (2014) when he asks fellow Mozambicans how long they will tolerate bloodshed and invites workers to go on strike, and in 'MIR Música de Intervenção Rápida/Rapid Intervention Music' (2013).

In 'Meu povo chora/My people are crying', Ubakka (2018) gives a rallying cry to fellow citizens to rise, and work together. While the lyrics of the song are a cry for those in power to acknowledge how the proto war (Morier-Genoud 2017) caused suffering to Mozambicans, the video begins and closes with images of Alice Mabota, a human rights lawyer and activist saying that 'every citizen has the right to protest, provided it is not a disturbance'. In 'Chamboco', André Cardoso (2018) suggests that citizens should stop acting as victims because the people put those in government in the power positions they occupy.

Pro-government musicians have also taken the initiative to call for political engagement. MC Roger (2009) has used his music to call for audiences to act on the messages of exhortation disseminated by the ruling party.

4.2 On (un)accountability

Journalism reports facts, but let's face it. The government building roads should not be news. News should be the government not building roads... Those in government do not like when we say – you are not building roads... Just like in journalism, rap music addresses things that are good but also seeks to highlight those issues that are neglected by those with the responsibility to address them.
(Dingiswayo 2018, Interview)

While the protest song is a good medium to report and to inspire social and political action, it is also used to demand public accountability. From the song lyrics and interviews with musicians, we identified three interrelated themes related to accountability: challenges to Frelimo's legitimacy as the sole authorised ruler of Mozambique, demands for better public services and demands for participatory governance.

4.2.1 Questioning authority and legitimacy

Frelimo came to power through the national liberation war against Portuguese colonialism. This status as initiators of Mozambique's independence, coupled with the discourse of national interest and popular will propagated in the post-independence period, has been used to position Frelimo as the 'natural' rulers of the country. This discourse is embedded in and embeds the idea that Frelimo knows what is best for the people and that the people are unable to decide for

themselves what is best for their lives and country. Mozambicans are constantly reminded of Frelimo's role in the liberation war and of a supposedly eternal debt to the country's liberators.

The lyrics analysed express distrust of politicians, scepticism regarding Frelimo's ability to protect the interests of Mozambicans and rule in an inclusive and democratic manner and a desire for political change. By reminding Frelimo of the unfulfilled promises made when Mozambique became independent in 1975, singers and lyricists argue that Frelimo's legacy as a liberation movement is not enough to guarantee their continuity in power. These artists argue that Frelimo's years in power since independence have been used to accumulate wealth instead of the redistribution they had promised.

In 'Combatentes da fortuna/Fighters for fortune' Azagaia (2009) sings about the unfulfilled promises made by African leaders at independence and the suffering brought by those who freed Africans from colonialism by fighting in liberation wars. The song is about disillusionment with people who were once the country's idols. While in 'Frelimo 2018' Refila Boy asks the Frelimo leadership if this is the Mozambique they fought for (Refila Boy 2018), Azagaia reminds the leadership of their professed values epitomised in the speeches of Mozambique's first president, Samora Machel. In the song, he contests Frelimo's self-presentation as freedom fighters and liberators of Mozambicans saying they do not fight for freedom, but for wealth, exposing the contradiction between their discourse and their practices (Azagaia 2009).

Slim, in 'País do pandza/The land of *pandza*' sings about the contradiction between political independence and the disappointment with the living conditions in independent Mozambique, saying nothing has changed (Slim 2012). On a similar note, Refila Boy (2018) suggests that although Frelimo brought freedom, the people are still suffering. In 'Frente a frente' (2008) Izlo H contests the version of Mozambican history told by Frelimo in the history books of the national education system and describes Frelimo's efforts to undermine alternative accounts of it.

While the bulk of the contestation of legitimacy claims are directed at Frelimo, rappers Olho Vivo and André Cardoso extend their critique to members of parliament from all political parties. In 'Chamboco/Baton' (2018), André Cardoso contrasts the privileges of the members of parliament with the neglect and lack of public accountability. He uses the term *chamboco* (baton) as a metaphor for the suffering infringed on people and talks about various instances where the people are beaten down by the government. In his song, the parliament is described as a place where those who brought independence and democracy pass bills that sacrifice the people (Cardoso 2018).

The contestation about the legitimacy of Frelimo-led governments is often articulated through romanticising the past, by praising and invoking previous leaders, particularly Samora Machel. Samora Machel's audio and video recordings of events, where he is generally critical of governance and leadership that puts individual interests ahead of the wellbeing of the Mozambican people, are used prominently in the material analysed. In his analysis of the invocations of Samora Machel in contemporary Maputo rap scene, Rantala suggests that 'Machel's technologically vivified body or spirit is invoked for the empowerment of otherwise marginalised youth' (2016: 1161).

4.2.2 Demanding public services

In the lyrics analysed, musicians acknowledge the provision of poor public services and demand that these be improved. For instance, Flash Ency (2017) qualifies the poor provision of health care, food, and employment as human rights violations. The poor quality of service provision in security, education and health is sometimes attributed to inadequate work conditions and very low salaries. This claim is also made by other musicians such as Gpro-Fam (2003) in 'País da marrabenta/The land of *marrabenta*', Dama do Bling (2015) in 'O outro lado da lei/The other side of the law', Xtaka Zero (2007) in 'Tipoliça/Uncle policeman' and by Refila Boy (2018) in 'Frelimo 2018'. For example, in 'País da marrabenta/Land of *marrabenta*', Gpro-Fam (2003) refer to how policemen live on meagre salaries and go for decades without career promotion in a working environment where criminals have more guns than the police.

Along similar lines to Gpro-Fam, Refila Boy (2013) blames the government for the health workers' silent strike after their requests had not been addressed and hospitals and health centres continue to be inadequately resourced, pointing out that the effects of this silent strike are much worse than public strikes. Yet instead of being heard, in the case of the silent strikes, health workers were humiliated and threatened. Some faced disciplinary processes and others were transferred to other regions of the country where work conditions were worse than the situation they were already complaining about. Others were fired, or their relatives suffered reprisals.⁶

Both Gpro-Fam, in 'País da marrabenta/Land of *marrabenta*', and Azagaia, in 'Homem Bomba/Suicide bomber', talk about the contradiction between taxation and lack of adequate public services. Gpro-Fam (2003) complains that in Maputo city there is a huge refuse problem while those in power continue to spend their wealth on luxury items.

⁶ See [Médicos terminam greve em Moçambique](#) and [Médicos são punidos em Moçambique após participarem de greves](#).

Similarly, Izlo H in 'Dinheiro do povo' (Izlo H 2009) takes on the voices of a working class factory worker, a school teacher and a male nurse to give an account of people's struggles to survive with a 'slim salary' reduced further by several tax deductions. In the same song, Izlo H speaks in the voice of an informal trader and then a businessman in order to articulate citizens' reluctance to pay taxes and their mistrust in public servants who are known for using public money for personal gain (Izlo H 2009) The song refers to the 'hidden' illegal public debts, contracted in 2013 and 2014.

4.2.3 For participatory governance

The protest song has also been used to demand participatory governance and more effective communication between those who govern and the citizenry. In 'Frelimo 2018', Refila Boy (2018) sings an open letter to Mozambique's colonial liberators and, since independence, the single party in central government. In the voice of a woman, a former Frelimo supporter, he demands to be listened to and answered. The open letter demands explanations for social, economic, and political problems faced by Mozambicans during Guebuza's rule. According to the narrator-persona, during Guebuza's time in office Mozambicans were stripped of their dignity, morale and hope, and left deeply dissatisfied and revolted. Through his narrator, Refila Boy complains that there is no clear plan to deal with the rampant corruption and that cabinet members do not know what they are doing, do not know the institutions they govern or the problems of their sectors, and do not measure their words when they address citizens. He talks about impunity in relation to various crimes, including the kidnapping of businessmen.

The lyrics of the song attribute all these problems to Guebuza's governance and asks other Frelimo leaders who participated in the liberation struggle to not be complicit with those who mistreat and exploit the people (Refila Boy 2018).

He goes on to sing that the indignation expressed in the open letter is widespread, and reflects the feelings and thoughts of Mozambicans that have been verbalised in private conversations, including by some government officials, who do not do so in public due to fear of reprisals such as police brutality and losing their jobs. He stresses that rights such as freedom of thought, association and expression are essential for all individuals and that people should be able to speak freely, otherwise one day they may explode. Refila Boy goes further in his critique by singing about political exclusion and the lack of redistribution of wealth beyond Frelimo's elite and asking if there is an agreement among Frelimo's leadership to bring suffering to those who didn't fight in the liberation war, continuing through the generations (Refila Boy 2018).

In 'Gomate wa Zaurinha', Refila Boy (2016) takes on incumbent President Filipe Nyusi and questions why he has not delivered on the promise of inclusive governance made during his inauguration ceremony. In the speech, Nyusi said:

I will promote a participatory governance based on increasing trust and an effective spirit of inclusion. This spirit of inclusion can only be achieved through a permanent and true dialogue. We need to build consensus; we need to share without fear information on major decisions to be made by my government... The building of an inclusive society requires not only speeches and declarations of intent. I shall work to make more visible and real the inclusion that we all talk about and yearn for. I will be open to welcome proposals and ideas from other political parties with a view of promoting peace and development in Mozambique... I want better educated and healthier people, [a people] that actively participates in decision-making and in decisions about public policy. I want all Mozambicans to be able to make their voices heard whether they belong to a political party or not. This is the most profound idea and essence of inclusion which begins with full citizenship of all Mozambicans and with respect for diversity and plurality of opinion.
(Nyusi 2015)

President Nyusi's speech raised expectations among the majority of poor Mozambicans, who hoped that the statement 'the people are my boss' marked a contrast with the rule of Guebuza who was celebrated in the song 'Patrão é patrão/The boss is the boss' (MC Roger 2007). In a country where the people are the bosses, the hope was that the delivery of public services would improve and a government more open to dialogue would follow.

Refila Boy is not the only one demanding action and dialogue with the government and Frelimo's leadership. Ubakka, in 'Meu povo chora/My people are crying' asks where the government officials are, as they are not responding to the loss of lives due to the proto-war between Renamo and Frelimo (Ubakka 2018). In 'My love', Ta Basilly calls on Guebuza and the Minister for Transport to pay attention to the problems that have been caused and are caused by 'my love' transport (Ta Basilly 2014). In 'Povo no poder', Azagaia (2008) warns the government that if the price of transport and bread do not decrease there will be riots on a national scale. Like Gpro-Fam (2003) and Azagaia (2008), Olho Vivo (2017) observes that people no longer believe in false promises and Refila Boy (2018) underlines that corrupt government officials need to vacate their offices.

5. Mobilising acoustic communities

In this section we focus on citizen mobilisation through the protest song. We begin by discussing the ways in which the protest song circulates through formal and informal channels. We then turn our attention to how the protest song is received before we discuss examples of citizen engagements through song.

5.1 (Un)censored

In the Mozambican regulatory framework there is no reference to censorship in the arts. However, bureaucratic practice and popular perceptions reveal complex practices in which freedom of expression is valued but forms of institutional and self-censorship continue to be practiced (Siteo 2013, 2017; Rantala 2015, 2016; Araldi 2016; Siteo and Guerra 2019). Musicians Gpro-Fam, Azagaia and Refila Boy have seen some of their work temporarily banned from Mozambican public broadcast networks. Others, such as Flash Ency, have been summoned by the police to explain the contents of their lyrics (Siteo 2018). Gpro-Fam's 'País da marrabenta' was banned by Rádio Moçambique just after its release and attempts at controlling the protest song have led to the detention of musicians Azagaia and Refila Boy (Canal de Moçambique 2013; Jornal Savana 2018).

Some artists we interviewed told us that before broadcasting their songs on state-owned public television and radio, some hosts have asked them to cut, paraphrase, or change verses from their lyrics out of fear that an uncensored broadcast may cause trouble for the television or radio station and the hosts themselves. In other cases, artists saw their protest songs first played in less popular time slots in order to test the reaction from the hierarchy in state-owned public media. In fact, a radio host interviewed for this study noted that because there are not clear censorship guidelines it is common for senior managers in public broadcasting media to pretend that they are not aware of the broadcasting of potentially problematic songs until they receive direct external pressure to ban the songs (Hélder Lionel, Workshop A).

Musicians we interviewed referred to different strategies used to review or disguise the content of their own songs in order to avoid censorship in state controlled public media. One approach mentioned was that of sharing songs first with relatives and friends in order to test if sensitive issues addressed in the songs might attract undesired attention and incite a response from public officials that could get the author in trouble. Another strategy is that of editing out or muting certain words even though these words can easily be inferred from the context of the song. This approach often means not naming the directly responsible or implicated in order to avoid push back from individuals in positions of power who may feel that they have been personally attacked. The third

strategy is to resort to rhetorical devices that allow artists to refer indirectly to situations and individuals.

Using rhetorical devices to refer metaphorically to individuals and situations is both a strategy to avoid naming and direct confrontation and a powerful way to convey culturally coded messages that resonate with large audiences. Jeremias Nguenha used this approach very effectively to sharply criticise the ruling elite in his songs 'Vadhla voche' and 'La famba bicha' (1995, 1996). The song lyrics are filled with vivid metaphors and popular sayings that got the audiences and those in power simultaneously acknowledging and laughing at Mozambicans' everyday hardships. Just as Samora Machel embraced Ghorwane's critique of the internal war in the song 'Massotcha', nicknaming the group *bons rapazes* (good guys), President Chissano embraced Nguenha's critique and in 2001 invited him to his official residence. Both cases are notable exceptions.

The advent of new technology for the production and sharing of music has meant that traditional media (television and radio) no longer holds hegemony or control over what information or art gains wider circulation. Alternative media is becoming the preferred approach to launch new music; the rise of rapper André Cardoso through Facebook posts is a case in point (Jornal Savana 2018). The hip-hop community has an underground circuit and following that thrives thanks to a shared code, on the basis of which the protest song circulates internally before being disseminated to the broader public. Here the line between artists and audiences is thin: in the words of a hip-hop fan, 'it is rare to find a hip-hop fan who does not rap or produce lyrics himself' (Field Observation A, 2018).

5.2 Spontaneous interventions

On 26 July 2017, Mozambican writer Paulina Chiziane launched her most recent book, *O Canto dos Escravos*. The book launch was hosted and co-sponsored by one of Mozambique's largest commercial banks. One of the acts of the launching event was rapper Azagaia who took the stage to sing 'Declaração de paz (Vampiros)/Declaration of Peace (Vampires)' a song that sharply criticises all involved in the proto-war of 2013–16. In the song Azagaia (2014) asserts that the children of ordinary soldiers die in the war while the leaders fuel the war from the comfort of their offices. After all, he suggests, the country has enough resources for all to share.

The audience at the book launch was composed of prominent members of the ruling party, businessmen, scholars, and artists. At the beginning of Azagaia's song the audience was quiet, partly because they did not know the song but also because, individually, members of the audience did not feel comfortable celebrating such harsh critique towards the government of the day. By the middle of the song the room was laughing at Azagaia's suggestion that in order to attain peace Frelimo (the corncob) should share the country wealth with Renamo (the

partridge) and ideally give some as well to MDM (the cock).⁷ By the end of the song, most of the room sang the chorus along with Azagaia (Azagaia 2014).

Similar to the performance at the book launch, in 2017 a video went viral in the Mozambican social networks in which members of the music concert audience in chorus named 'Guebuza' as responsible for the hidden debts that led the country into a financial crisis. Other artists such as Refila Boy are also popular for performances that incite the audience to respond at public events. We also learned that while in public they respond critically or not at all to the critiques of the government made in protest songs, some Frelimo senior officials privately befriend musicians and are sympathetic to the messages conveyed in the protest song.

What these events have in common is the potential to create what Ibraheem (2015: 52) calls 'acoustic communities' in which the shared experience of hardship and suffering becomes politicised through music. In Maputo city, these communities are constituted spontaneously but also sporadically. Spontaneous interventions similar to the one that took place during Azagaia's performance at Paulina Chiziane's book launch have taken place in other hip-hop events.

5.3 Citizenship through music

In Mozambique, politicians and social movements have long known the potential of popular culture⁸ in general – and music in particular – for social and political mobilisation, communication, and group cohesion. When Mozambique finally achieved peace and politicians sought to mobilise the country towards political and economic reconstruction, again music was chosen to be a key medium.⁹ Since then, a number of national and international organisations supporting development have also commissioned music to raise awareness of various social causes such as HIV, human trafficking, domestic violence against women, water and sanitation, education, and electoral participation.

Recently a number of initiatives organised by Parlamento Juvenil/Youth Parliament, MASC Foundation and a collective of artists and activists have mobilised citizens to political action. Parlamento Juvenil, a non-governmental youth organisation that promotes the rights and duties of young people and seeks to foster their participation in politics and channel their concerns and

⁷ See [Azagaia's performance](#).

⁸ For example see the work of Alpers (1988) CNCD (Montoya 2016), Fouré (2008), Israel (2009), Santos (2010), Taela *et al.* (2017) Showmícios, Road Show, Nweti, Cena Aberta and more recently Grupo de Teatro do Oprimido and Teatro em Casa.

⁹ See for example, 'Artistas pela paz', published after the peace agreement in 1992. Since then, a number of national and international organisations supporting development have also commissioned music to raise awareness to various social causes. For awareness songs see Kapa Dêch's *Guimbia Guade* on land mines, Fouré's (2008) work on music and HIV and AIDS, Mr Bow, Julia Duarte, Liloca, Pureza Wafino and Antonio Marcos' 'Malária For a' and Lizha James' 'Stop tráfico' on child trafficking.

priorities to decision makers, have integrated cultural forms of expression into their events. In May 2017, the NGO launched a project entitled A Lua do Cidadão/The Citizen's Moon aimed at using arts and culture to contribute to build citizenship and foster a 'more active society' (Combate cultural dos excluídos 2017). Music is one of the artistic forms of expression adopted. Both renowned and less well-known musicians from the outskirts of Maputo city have been key collaborators. Hip-hop musicians such as Marcus Maússe and André Cardoso have also been among the guests in A Lua do Cidadão's/The Citizen's Moon monthly events known as *Combate cultural dos excluídos*, meaning 'cultural combat of the excluded'.

Parlamento Juvenil took the same approach in its event Convenção Popular sobre as Dívidas Ilegais/Popular Convention on Illegal Debts, where the well-known musician Refila Boy joined a panel session entitled 'Combat songs' and performed 'Gomati wa' in which he openly and directly criticised incumbent President Filipe Nyusi and his government.¹⁰

MASC Foundation has taken a slightly different approach. In December 2017, the non-governmental organisation launched a nationwide series of festivals called Governance Hip-Hop which combine live music, poetry and public debates with the aim of providing a platform for the youth to 'build citizenship and participation in public and democratic processes'.¹¹ A similar approach was used to promote youth participation in the municipal elections of 2018, by the Votar Moçambique consortium.¹²

Votar Moçambique launched the contest Hip-Hop Festival – For My Future I Will Vote,¹³ designed to increase awareness about municipal elections and the importance of voting among youth, as the quote below from a member of the event programme coordination team illustrates:

We think that this [festival] can be a way to foster youth participation in governance processes, because they don't participate. Regardless of information levels, they don't participate... Many young people produce good critical music, but they don't react. For instance, in Niassa [a province in Northern Mozambique] we found music that shows [political] awareness, yet there is no [political] participation.

¹⁰ 'Refila boy na convenção popular sobre as dívidas ilegais', YouTube, 2017; 'Refila boy Gomati wa', YouTube, 2017.

¹¹ For details see: **Fundação MASC promove Hip Hop da Governação.**

¹² Votar Moçambique is a Consortium of six non-governmental organisations: Fundação MASC, Centro de Integridade Pública (CIP), Instituto de Estudos Sociais e Económicos (IESE), Centro de Aprendizagem e Capacitação da Sociedade Civil (CESC), Fórum Nacional de Rádios Comunitárias (FORCOM), and Women and Law in Southern Africa (WLSA) formed to promote citizen (especially youth and women) engagement in electoral processes.

¹³ Hip-hop was selected because there was an understanding that the genre is popular with young people and frequently includes content related to social and political issues.

There are several participation spaces at local level – water committees, development observatory, etc. – but there are no young people in those spaces.

(Votar Moçambique Coordination Team 2018, Interview)

Thus, young musicians and poets from the southern, central, and northern regions of Mozambique were invited to submit work related to governance, elections and voting; 26 candidates (22 men and 4 women) submitted their work. The songs and poems were analysed by a jury comprised of three people¹⁴ based on the extent to which they had a 'social intervention' on governance focus (60 per cent), their originality (20 per cent) and non-offensiveness (20 per cent). While a significant proportion of the work submitted addressed governance issues, very few were about elections or voting.

Those that talked about governance addressed a wide range of topics, including those presented in sections 2 and 3 of this paper, namely: war and peace, price rises, transport, corruption, freedom of expression, weak law enforcement, democracy, taxes, social and regional disparities, unemployment and precarious work, solidarity, individual responsibility, consumerism, hunger, people's inaction, quality of public services, crime, and neo-colonialism.

Explicit references to the elections and voting included statements in relation to the menu of voting options available to voters (although lyrics focused on Frelimo, Renamo and MDM, the three main political parties), the importance of not letting others decide for them, respect for the winner, that politicians neglect the people in between elections but always need them during election time, and that the elections are an opportunity to demand what people want and create social change. For example, Rei Bravo, Orquídia and Carol (2018) suggest in their lyrics that people should speak up and present their grievances and that they should not underestimate the power of the vote. Another group also motivates fellow citizens to 'fulfil the civic duty' and turn up to the municipal elections to vote for change (Grupo Batalhão da Inteligência 2018).

The regional winners presented their work in a public festival organised in their region (Maputo City, Quelimane City and Lichinga). The performances were preceded by a debate about youth participation in electoral processes and on the role of artists as civic and political actors; the debates were moderated by a local musician, following terms of reference prepared by the festival organisers. The festivals were free of charge to make it more accessible for young people. This initiative resulted from the recognition that there exist civic spaces which non-governmental organisations are not tapping into, and from an attempt to engage

¹⁴ Kátia Taela, one of the research team members and writers of this paper, was part of this jury.

with other forms of expression of citizen voice and mobilise new social movements.

Musicians have also been mobilised in episodes of public contestation. For instance, following the kidnapping and assault of Ericino de Salema, a Mozambican journalist and political commentator on 'Pontos de Vista/Points of View', a television programme broadcast by private channel STV, a vigil against violations of freedom of expression brought together Mozambican activists and artists. The protest took place in the Mozambican Association of Journalists and was attended by dozens of people who expressed their repudiation through the verses of Azagaia and André Cardoso. The participants held placards containing messages such as 'no political party can survive without freedom of expression', 'we have freedom to speak, but nobody guarantees us freedom after we have spoken', 'don't kill our democracy, kill our hunger', 'there is a strong shout in our silence, one day you will hear us!', and 'Ring Road or death corridor?'¹⁵

Those who use music for social and political mobilisation do so on the assumption that audiences follow artists and know the content of songs. Through interviews and observations with members of audiences we learned that there are multiple reasons that draw people to concerts. Many participants we interviewed revealed that they had joined a group of friends for the first time or attended concerts out of curiosity. They knew the names of most of the artists but did not necessarily know more than a couple of their songs. Among those who considered themselves fans of one or more artists at the concerts we also learned that there was a limited knowledge of the song lyrics beyond the catchy lines that we sang in the chorus. This was the case even for the most commercially successful songs for which most of the participants were not able to describe most of the content of the lyrics. Hip-hop fans interviewed demonstrated a comparatively better grasp of song lyrics, likely because die-hard fans are themselves potential rappers.

¹⁵ This was the second assault in less than two years against a 'Pontos de Vista' political commentator. The first was the abduction of political scientist and analyst José Macuane in May 2016, who was found injured and abandoned in a section of the Maputo Ring Road. The second TV commentator kidnapped was Ericino de Salema, who was also found hours later in another section of the Maputo Ring Road.

6. Political awareness and political action

Music captivates many people. The big problem is that people listen, then there is nothing beyond that. Music advises, music guides, music proposes solutions, but people listen and say: 'yeah, this guy sings well, sings good things, we should do that'. The musician has already done his part. So, what is missing? There are good social interventions in music, especially the hip-hop scene is very fertile when it comes to social intervention, but people listen and after that, nothing.

(Dingiswayo 2018, Interview)

6.1 Knowledgeable citizens, engaged musicians

Dingiswayo's quote above captures well the central issues in Mozambican debates about music and political action. One view holds that the work of musicians should be limited to raising awareness and serving as a source of inspiration for political action, thus leaving to others the enactment of messages and ideas disseminated through songs. In fact, proponents of this view consider that protest or intervention music is a form of social and political action focused on openly denouncing injustices and violations of people's rights. Azagaia remarked:

Very often the critique is not meant to achieve something else. Many times, it is just about rebelling and that does not necessarily lead to another kind of action. When a musician criticises, people expect him to do something. I think that should be another people's [sic] work.

(Azagaia, Workshop A)

The other view suggests that more than inspiring action musicians should play an active role beyond the composition and performance of their music. Proponents of this view argue that musicians should be role models, belong to social movements, engage in and mobilise others for civic action, showing people that everybody has a part to play in solving societal problems, through participation in activities such as rubbish collection. Amongst those who hold this view there is a sense of a promise unfulfilled or a project incomplete on the part of the musicians. As a member of a civil society organisation that works with musicians put it: 'it is as if some artists do not identify with what they sing' (Maura Martins, MASC Foundation, Workshop A). In that sense, musicians' inaction contributes to the maintenance of a status quo they wish to change.

Rapper Mundulai sees 'a lot of hypocrisy' and asks, 'Artists sing about hunger to the elites and eat burgers? It is important to discuss to what extent artists act upon the things they preach through their songs' (Workshop A).

6.2 Doing nothing?

Underlying the debate about music and political action are assumptions about political empowerment and political action. Instrumental approaches to music assume that the absence of recognisable forms of political action result from the lack of political awareness or information. However, the protest song has been shown to be a repository of citizens' awareness of their positions in relation to public authorities. Thus, relying solely on more education and awareness campaigns is unlikely to drive up citizen political participation.

A view of political action that overemphasised public and direct contestation of public authority is likely to miss nuanced and context-specific strategies of political action. For example, some musicians and music producers interviewed for this study understand writing and performing protest songs as a form of activism that denounces injustices, crime, and violations of people's rights. They also framed protest songs as a fight without physical violence where words are weapons, a framing which is also evident in the titles of some songs and events organised by this group of musicians, such as one of Mozambique's annual hip-hop festivals, 'Raised Fists'.

Instrumental approaches to music also take it for granted that the protest song serves only to give voice and to celebrate acts and events related to the disenfranchised. Even if many artists identify themselves as 'the voice of the voiceless' it is important to note the protest song also gains followers among the wealthy and the ruling elite. A good example of this are the works of popular protest song musicians such as Azagaia, Jeremias Nguenha, and Refila Boy that even though not officially sanctioned, circulate and are celebrated by those in power in what Mbembe (1992: 5) has described as 'a convivial tension between the *commandement* and its "targets" '.

7. Conclusion

This study has examined Mozambican popular music to investigate three questions: Are notions of empowerment and accountability present in popular music in Mozambique? If so, what can these existing notions of empowerment and accountability reveal about relations between citizens and state institutions in general and about citizen-led social and political action in particular? In what ways is popular music used to support citizen mobilisation in Mozambique?

We began the study by offering a brief characterisation of the democratic period as sung in the voices of five popular musicians whose work expressed popular sentiments in relation to social and economic development in the past two decades. Punctuated by routine multi-party elections and the leadership of three presidents from the same party, these songs address official rhetoric on the fight against poverty and corruption and express the increasing popular disappointment with the ruling party's unfulfilled promises of a better future and an increasing alienation of the ruling elite from the majority of citizens and the issues that concern them.

Through an examination of the key topics in the protest song, the study shows the presence of notions of empowerment and accountability in the protest song as musicians show awareness of their own and citizens' positions in relation to the holders of public office. The songs also call for collective action, generally in response to poor service delivery.

The key topics found in the protest song, namely the economic situation, corruption, peace, popular action, police, public transport, progress, and donors were discussed in our examination of empowerment and accountability which showed how musicians sought to amplify citizen's voices and inspire political action while questioning the authority and legitimacy of the ruling elite and demanding better public service delivery and participatory governance.

Aware of the power of the protest song, civil society organisations are increasingly including musicians as part of citizen awareness campaigns in a variety of edutainment initiatives. Our analysis of audiences revealed a complex relationship between publics and musicians. Popularity and celebration of songs did not always mean that the audiences had full knowledge of the lyrics of popular songs or subscribed to the song's political message. Nevertheless, the interactions between musicians and audiences in concerts and public workshops allowed for the creation of 'acoustic communities' (Ibraheem 2008: 52) in which citizens, at least temporarily, made a collective critique of poor service delivery and corrupt governance.

In all, this study has shown that the composition, performance, and shared experience of the protest song constitutes political action. This suggests that those interested in the protest song as a medium for citizen mobilisation should think beyond instrumental approaches to music and consider listening to and learning from messages already contained in these songs.

Annexe 1 List of songs, interviews, workshops, and field observations

Songs

No.	Titles	Authors
1	Male ya pepa/Paper money	Eugénio Mucavele
2	A memória de um combatente/The memory of a combatant	Flash Ency
3	Minha geração/My generation	Azagaia
4	Ano da fome/The year of hunger	Azagaia
5	Andando pela rua/Walking on the street	Olho Vivo
6	As mentiras da verdade/Lies in truth	Azagaia
7	Regalias/Perks	Rosália Mboa
8	Bichas de sobrevivência/Queues for survival	Flash Ency e Azagaia
9	Bilibiza	Salimo Muhamed
10	Chamboco/Baton	André Cardoso
11	Combatentes da fortuna/Fighters for fortune	Azagaia
12	Comida pra os cães/Dog food	Flash Ency
13	Declaração de paz (Vampiros)/Declaration of Peace (Vampires)	Azagaia
14	Dinheiro do povo/The people's money	Izlo H
15	Frelimo 2018	Refila Boy
16	Frente a frente/Face to face	Izlo H
17	Fumo wa Armandinho/The governance of Armandinho	Refila Boy
18	Gomate wa Zaurinha/Zaurinha's shortie	Refila Boy
19	Guebas e Chang/Guebas and Chang	Slim
20	Homem bomba/Suicide bomber	Azagaia (feat. Macross Maguguana and Miguel Cherba)
21	La famba bicha?/Is the queue moving?	Jeremias Nguenha
22	Maquinag	Hernani and Slim feat. Blaze
23	Marapoi/Cabbages	H2O
24	Massotcha/Soldiers	Ghorwane
25	Meu povo chora/My people are crying	Ubakka
26	Moçambique sempre a subir/Mozambique always on the way up	MC Roger
27	My love	Ta Basilly

Songs (cont'd.)

No.	Titles	Authors
28	Música de Intervenção Rápida/Rapid Intervention Music	Azagaia
29	Não há mola/There is no cash	Duas Caras feat. Kasszula
30	O outro lado da lei/The other side of the law	Dama do Bling
31	País da marrabenta/The land of <i>marrabenta</i>	Gpro-Fam
32	País do pandza/The land of <i>pandza</i>	Slim
33	Patrão é patrão/The boss is the boss	MC Roger (feat. Ziqo)
34	Paz/Peace	Vários Artistas
35	Paz/Peace	Artistas pela paz
36	Pobreza absoluta/Absolute poverty	Micro 2 (feat. Muzila)
37	Povo no poder/Power to the People	Azagaia
38	Queremos a paz/We want peace	Mr. Bow and Liloca
39	Rap-face	André Cardoso
40	Sempre a mesma merda/Always the same shit	Olho Vivo
41	Será que tu não vês?/Can it be that you can't see?	Micro 2
42	Smith está maluco/Smith is crazy	Alexandre Langa
43	Timaka ta chapa/The problems of <i>chapas</i>	N'Star
44	Tipoliça/Uncle policeman	Xtaka Zero
45	Tseke	Ziqo
46	Vadhla voche/They eat alone	Jeremias Nguenha

Interviews

André Cardozo, Interview, Maputo city, 13 March 2018.

Azagaia, Flash Ency, Interview, Maputo province, 1 February 2018.

Denny Ripanga, Interview, Maputo city, 6 March 2018.

Dingiswayo, Interview, Maputo city, 7 March 2018.

Flash Ency, Interview, Maputo province, 18 March 2018.

Hélder Leonel, Interview, Maputo city, 9 March 2018.

Jay Pee, Interview, Maputo city, 2 March 2018.

K9, Interview, Maputo city, 3 March 2018.

Legacy, Interview, Maputo city, 5 March 2018.

Mundulai, Interview, Maputo city.

N'Star, Interview, Maputo city, 1 March 2018.

SG (Xitiku Ni Mbawula), Interview, Maputo city, 11 March 2018.

Nykel, Interview, Maputo city.

Billy Ray, Interview, Maputo city.

Sidney, Interview, Maputo city, 12 March 2018.

Votar Moçambique Coordination Team, Interview, 12 June 2018.

Workshops

Workshop A. Culture and Popular Politics in Mozambique: Research Program – Action for Empowerment and Accountability, Maputo, 11 October 2017.

Workshop B. Action for Empowerment and Social Accountability: Launch of research program in Mozambique, Maputo, 5 December 2017.

Workshop C. Alternative Expressions of Citizen Voice: Culture and Social Commentary – Reference Group Workshop, Maputo, 22 June 2018.

Workshop D. Alternative Expressions of Citizen Voice: Music and Popular Politics in Mozambique, Maputo, 4 December 2018.

Field observations

Field Observation A. Festival Moçambique, Maputo city, 1 October 2017.

Field Observation B. Vigília contra ataques ao exercício de direitos e liberdades fundamentais, Maputo city, 6 April 2018.

Field Observation C. Só Moçambique, só nós, Maputo city, 24 June 2018.

Field Observation D. Festival Hip-Hop: Pelo meu futuro, eu vou votar, 8 September 2018.

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Institute of Development Studies
Library Road
Brighton, BN1 9RE
United Kingdom
+44 (0)1273 606261
ids.ac.uk

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