



"NARRATIVES OF IDENTITY AND NATION IN ZIMBABWEAN THEATRE"

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Summary

In this thesis I analyse representations of identity and nation in two plays. The plays are satires in the "community theatre genre" from Zimbabwe. The background for this work is the understanding of cultural expressions and popular culture as a form of mass media; as such they are utterances which take part in hegemonic battles. The context is the political situation in Zimbabwe in 1999, when the opposition was gaining a foothold and there was a certain silent optimism concerning future development of democracy and strengthening of human rights. The plays I analyse criticise the regime. "The Members" (Amakhosi) criticises corrupt MPs and "Ivhu versus the State" (Rooftop) recounts the intervention in the Democratic Republic of Congo. I am interested in how resistance in the plays is expressed and the differences in strategies between the plays which are from different geographical settings.

My theoretical position and concepts derive from cultural studies, discourse theory and post-colonial studies. These theories and conceptual framework emphasise how the public sphere consists of conflicting discourses, and that political struggle is also a politics of discourse. A post-colonial reading strategy focuses on hybrid representations which avoid narratives told in polarisations and essential conceptions of identity. These theories are the background for my reading strategies. I analyse the plays in relation to how they recount/narrate actual conflicts in Zimbabwe - which lines of conflicts do they comment on? How is identity represented in the narratives of gender, class and race? How are the powerful/leaders recounted? How do they talk about inequality and the relationship between white and black? Do the plays offer multiple or stereotypical representations of identity? I analyse how they experience and narrate their nation - do they provide space for a multiplicity of national identities? How do they narrate strategies for political change? I demonstrate that both plays anticipate the political and socio-economic crisis which been developing in Zimbabwe since 2000. I also show that the plays' strategies of resistance are the basis for the present opposition.

Front page photo:

Photo from video of "The Members" (MP Mjaji). Cont Mhlanga 1995.

From video of the performance June 1999. TSCC.

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Foreword

I would like to express my thanks to everyone who lent me their precious time in Zimbabwe in 1999, see appendix 3 for all; Cont Mhlanga, Daves Guzha and the other representatives from Amakhosi and Rooftop especially. Thanks to Fortune, Similo, Ntando and Melirn for a home in Zimbabwe. Norad at the embassy in Harare have been supportive generous with information and provided good working conditions. My supervisor, professor Lars Mjøset at University of Oslo, and co-supervisor, Mai Palmberg, coordinator of the researchproject "Cultural images in and of Africa" at the Nordic Africa Institute Sweden, have given me inspiration. Thanks to family and friends for support, especially Hanne and Eldrid. My employers have also been helpful.

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EPILOGUE; The Cultural support	
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ABBREVIATIONS

AIPPA- Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act
 ASSITEJ- Association for Theatre for Children and Young People
 CC - Constitutional Commission. The governmental commission for constitutional change, in preparation for the referendum on constitution in February 2000
 CCJP- Catholic Commission of Justice and Peace
 Chipawo -Children performing art workshop
 CIO- Central Intelligence Organisation
 CPN - Conflict Prevention Network
 CSO - Civil Society Organisation
 DTA - Department of Theatre Arts. University of Zimbabwe
 DRC- Democratic Republic of Congo
 EIU- The Economist Intelligence Unit, see E in the literature
 ESAP- Economic and Structural Adjustment Program
 HDR- Human Development Report Zimbabwe, see H in the literature
 HIFA- Harare International Festival of the Arts
 LOMA- Law and Order Maintenance Act
 LRF - Legal Resource Foundation- human rights organisation.
 MDC - Movement for Democratic Change
 MESCC- Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture
 MP- Member of Parliament
 NAC - National Arts Council
 NCA- National Constitution Assembly; coalition of civic society organisations
 NGO - Nongovernmental Organisations
 NORAD -Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
 NTO -National Theatre Organisation
 POSA- Public Order and Security Act
 Tfd - Theatre for Development
 TIP - Theatre in the Park. Harare (Rooftop)
 TSCC- Township Square Cultural Centre. Bulawayo (Amakhosi)
 UZ - University of Zimbabwe
 ZACT - Zimbabwe Association of Community Theatre
 ZANU pf - Zimbabwe African National Union. Patriotic Front
 ZAPU- Zimbabwe African Peoples Union
 ZBC-Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation
 ZBCTV- Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation Television
 ZCTU- Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions
 ZIBF- Zimbabwe International Bookfair
 ZIMFEP- Zimbabwe Federation for Education in Production
 ZIFF- Zimbabwe International Film Festival

CHARACTERS:

"The Members":

Mjaji (Mackey Tickeys): Older member of parliament (MP) for Mbomanzi constituency.
Nkosenhle, shortened to Nkosi (Alois Moyo): Young member of parliament (MP) for Viriviri constituency.
Gloria (Tembekile Ngwenya): MP Mjaji's secretary.
Nkomazana (Mandla Moyo): Old man from Mbomanzi; leader of the water project.
Mrs Jamila (Offstagecharacter): Independent candidate (MP) for Mbomanzi.
Tholoman (Alois Moyo): Villager who was shot in the leg in the liberation war.
Ngangezwe (hand puppet): The President, Mr Robert Mugabe – Zanupf's first secretary.

"Ivu versus the State":

Reward (Walter Muparotsa): Black man from the township
Stuart (Adam Neill): White man, farmer or man from the affluent northern suburbs.
Troy (Dylan Wilson- Max): Coloured man from Arcadia, an affluent suburb
The Judge, Susan (Eyahra Mathazia, Hapiness Pgmnoch [my spelling may be incorrect]): Black girl, student

¹ PART 1 OPENING

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION - THEATRE AND RESISTANCE

Difficult living conditions and polarised narratives of the nation

In the 1990s the majority of Zimbabweans witnessed deterioration in their standard of living (Human Development Report Zimbabwe (HDR) 1998:40), whilst political and social criticism of the ZANUPF-government increased. This criticism concerned the inadequate handling of economic and social problems and the government's misuse of power, corruption and violation of human rights. One result of this was increased support for the opposition; the opposition parties were strengthened and organisations mobilised at a grassroots level. The government responded with more control, struggling to win over the citizens' consciousness. Issues such as African authenticity, patriotic identity and national unity arrived on the agenda and frontiers between friends and enemies developed. The opposition argued for pluralism both as far as the understanding of identity and political representation was concerned. In this way the population became participants in a very polarised struggle over representations. Since 2000 the situation has developed into an explicit economic and political crisis; repressive legislation was brought into force to be used against the people and political opponents have been murdered. An intense struggle over definitions of national identity and unity flew into full swing and resistance is now about extending and offering other narratives of identity and nation, in addition to surviving under difficult conditions.

I was in Zimbabwe in 1999. My aim was to try and understand how some of these struggles over representations unfold in the theatre then. *Representation* is a central concept in this thesis. I use it in a "sociology of culture" and discursive understanding. "Between the world and our grasping of it are the representations of the world" (Neuman 2001:33, Hall 1997b:17). Representations are patterns of meaning created through language, images and discourses, patterns of meaning which again produce discourses and culture in a wider understanding. Since independence, the community theatre has taken a critical role upon itself as a form of mass media. In this thesis I describe the differences and solutions in the representation of nation and identity in two political satires: the plays "The Members" and "Ivhu versus the State", respectively from Bulawayo southeast in Zimbabwe and the capital Harare.

1.1. Resistance in theatre

Since the 1980s, Preben Kaarsholm has written on culture and political resistance in Zimbabwe. His articles inspired me to look closer at how cultural expressions may be related to political resistance and processes of democratization. My overarching theoretical framework is a combination of sociology of culture and development-sociology. I relate to the cultural studies tradition in which Stuart Hall is one of the main sociologists. This discipline has sociological perspective on subculture and cultural resistance, often combined with the poststructuralist theoretical tradition (During 1993:7). Cultural expressions may be viewed as a formulation of preferences in a political /democratic development (Sørensen 1993:12, 1991:103). Such expressions become media for the creation of identity, political control and subversion. Cultural expressions are defined as:

(...) a certain level within social life where experience is articulated, communicated and manipulated. The level, in other words where the circumstances, events and conflicts of everyday, private, political and economic life are appropriated by consciousness, given form and made available for social dialogue and initiative (Kaarsholm 1990b:38).

Cultural expressions and cultural institutions are able to restrain or encourage articulations of needs and interests (International Development Studies 1992:8). In this way they are also conditions for sustaining and challenging power and control (Kaarsholm 1988:94). Kaarsholm also understands the actual art forms as institutions; "the very genres of cultural discourse which are available to peoples as vehicles for expression and communication are institutions in their own right. The *mode of articulation* they offer are in themselves indicators of the possible direction of development" (op.cit 1990c:15, my italics).

Early in the 1980s Kaarsholm was surprised to find silence in the cultural expressions in Zimbabwe. He would have expected the independence war and the new nation to have produced an outspoken cultural life. Instead, the cultural life was characterised by what Kaarsholm terms "romantic anti-capitalism". The goal seemed to be to liberate an oppressed and authentic culture from the grip of colonialism. This was combined with an orthodox socialist government and led to censorship and self-censorship. However, Kaarsholm also saw an indication of a democratic understanding of culture - "critical-modernist" – in which it is emphasised that culture and tradition have also been utilized in colonial hegemonic strategies. The need here is defined as being able to give space to a free and untraditional cultural life - to create spaces for debate and differences (Kaarsholm 1990a:254-258, Kaarsholm 2004, 2005).

Cultural expressions as legitimization and criticism

A large theatre movement developed after independence, with its roots in the Rhodesian subculture and the liberation camps which existed during the independence war. It took various forms, from simple propaganda tableaux to theatre used as a forum for articulation, criticism and reconciliation. The theatre groups who were most explicit in their criticism met government resistance. This led to many of the theatre groups trying to play it safe, presenting plays about pollution or the apartheid regime in South Africa (Kaarsholm 1988:116). However, some did challenge the parameters for criticism in their struggle.

Such cultural expressions and their institutions can be viewed as parts of a dynamic hegemony within which subcultures try to challenge a dominant order (Kaarsholm 1990b:38 with ref.to Gramsci 1971, Hall 1975, Williams 1981). Kaarsholm argues that analysing cultural expressions according to how they preserve or challenge the hegemony could be fruitful. One can explain how "certain forms of culture serve the legitimating and manipulation interest of state power, while other forms articulate criticism of those interests and different forms of needs" (Kaarsholm 1990b:37). One can also look into how cultural expressions from different social groups comment on society. Which differences are seen in relation to race, gender and class, and how do particularly vulnerable groups experience development and society? People's expressions may function as visions which in turn create new positions for influence.

Popular culture and the development of a democratic culture.

Popular culture as an arena within which values and practices can be developed may be related to the building of a democratic culture.

It has also been recognized that establishing democracy requires more than a change in constitution and the holding of elections. Thus while donors have successfully supported elections and democratic transitions, they now tend to acknowledge that the new democracies will still need to be developed and consolidated (...). Consolidation of these (democratic) gains, in Latin America, Asia, Africa, will *require both a stabilizing of democratic institutions and procedures and cultural change and the emergence of a "democratic culture"* (Kelly 1998:214 in Kaarsholm & James 2000:195 mine italics.)

Kaarsholm refers to poor countries in the south which often have violent histories and are marked by inequality and political structures which make it difficult to build democratic cultures using ordinary means. People do not experience "ordinary politics" as relevant because it is associated with corruption or representatives who have lost contact with the grassroots. Because of this, expressions such as theatre have been important in communication processes. Kaarsholm argues that "a real articulation of needs and values appears possible only within *cultural realms* which do not, at first sight appear to be really political" (Kaarsholm & James 2000:195).

1.2. Culture; development studies and constructivist theory

I relate to the tradition of development studies which emphasise alternative development and development of democracy (Martinussen 1994, Sørensen 1991 and 1993, Escobar 1992, 1995 and 2000, Shet 1987, Crush 1995, Bhabha 94:173). The variable "political and social mobilisation" is at the centre (Mjøset 1996:162). Cultural studies as part of development studies focus on institutions, and in these studies politics and culture are not only included as phenomena derived from social and political structures (Martinussen 1990, Kaarsholm 1990c, Lauridsen & Frederiksen 1994:5, Fagan 1999). Approaches from the humanities and practical life are related to "grounded theory (...) a theoretisation which rests on an inductive research method and which generalisations are drawn out of observations on the basis of criteria selected to allow some measures of comparisons between different cases or examples of phenomena" (Wilson 1990:10). The focus of the interrogation is "how people negotiate physical and cultural spaces and actively resist being defined or dominated by forces over which they have little control". Frederiksen argues that development studies which operate between social science and the humanities can benefit from concepts such as identity, discourse, artistic practice and cultural forms (Frederiksen 1990:19,27).

This research tradition also emphasizes the discursive connections within which institutions find themselves. The concept of discourse originates from the language sciences and is elaborated in theories of literature, culture theory and social science (Foucault). In social science it has been afforded significance as replacing the concept of ideology, when ideology is understood as a system of representations which hides our true relations to each other (Lauridsen & Frederiksen 1994:7, Winther Jørgensen & Philips 1999:24,27).

"Reading" (Neuman 2001:23,51) cultural institutions and practices within a perspective from discourses may also be related to what Tôrnquist terms the extending of political space. Post-Marxists' perspectives on political development are described as moving "beyond the fashionable preoccupation with the middle-class, rational elite and good governance, and to focus instead on the problems of democratisation from below; in terms of political space, inclusion and politicisation" (1999:3). Tôrnquist shows how the post-Marxist alternative argues for:

(...) the analysis of people's interest and perceptions, and of actors like social and political movements and organisations (...) This calls for research into inequalities and conflicts, and into the dynamics of dominance and hegemony (...) How do people interpret reality? How are they governed by the so-called dominant discourses (interpretative patterns composed of identities, expressions, assertions and conceptions). How do they affect these discourses in turn? (1999:111).

In chapter 4, which is the theoretical part of this thesis, I extend Kaarsholm's perspectives (cultural studies and institutions) by using the concept of discourse and postcolonial theory as an additional tool to analyse the content of the plays. These perspectives offer me the

opportunity to read specific and productive representations of identity and resistance. As far as the sociological context is concerned, I work within the sociological synthesis Ritzer describes as being between postmodernism and post-Marxist theory (Ritzer 1992:368, 492-498, 502-504, Calhoun 1995:107). However, I would like to point out that that grounded theory, critical theory and post-structural theory are distinct traditions, and there are variants of grounded theory which cannot be immediately connected to post-structural theory (Mjøset 2005). But, in studying cultural expressions, I choose to build on the similarities.

I base my work on the social commitment and values of critical theory (Best & Kellner 1991:227-228) and choose a constructivist perspective to gain a wider analytic radius. The key premises in a constructivist perspective are, as Winther Jørgensen and Philips put it:

1) (...) our knowledge are products of the way we categorize the world (...) 2) the way we understand and represent the world is historic and cultural specific and contingent.(...) Discursive acting are a way of acting which constitutes the world (...). This view is anti-essential. That the social world are constructed socially and discursive means that the character not are determined of outside circumstances or given in advance, and that people do not have internal essences – a set of true and stable and authentic characterizations.(...) 3) our way of understanding the world are created and sustained in social processes (...) 4) Different social worldviews leads to different social acts and the social construction of knowledge and truth are therefore having concrete social consequences (...) Even though knowledge and identities principally are contingent; in specific situation they are always relative locked. The specific situations are framing up very limited frames for which identities an individual can take and which statements are accepted as meaningful (...) The language (...) is a machine which constitutes the social world; this works also for the constitutions of social identities and social relations. With that a change in discourse is one of the ways the social are changed (Winther Jørgensen & Philips 1999:13-14,18, my translation, number parenthesis and italics).

Resistance as signifying practices

The discursive criticism of development theory and practice focus on the kind of strategies that Kaarsholm emphasizes - to elucidate new cultural forms which show people's own representations and practices as solutions. Escobar analyses development practice with his point of departure in Foucault's theories of discourse which point out how "a certain order of discourse produce permissible modes of being and thinking while disqualifying and even making other impossible" (Escobar 1995:5). The production of programmes for different development areas are adopted on a national level and may contribute to construct specific representations of "the clients", marked often by the fact that the programmes are developed from the top.

Escobar is concerned with how resistance takes form at "the other end", via those people who have the needs. He tries to find how "people resist development interventions and how they struggle to create alternative ways of being and doing" (1995:11, Shet 1987). Studying resistance can be performed by studying people's own statements concerning which alternatives they want and in this way one can help support reconstructions of representations which may lead to new practices. People use signs and discourses, they transform them and *resignify* them to make them expressions of their own experiences (Neuman 2001:38, Hall 1997b:36). Escobar argues that the task is to look for cultural expressions as articulations - in this way one may contribute to a new type of visualization and audibility. "Cultural differences embody – for better or for worse (...) possibilities for transforming the politics of representation, that is for transforming social life itself (...) and the opening of spaces for destabilizing dominant modes of knowing" (1995:225,223). Cultural expressions which are enunciated in relation to newer discourses of democracy and cultural differences may become the basis for constructing subject-positions and lead to social movements which again can lead to a new institutionalising of the social (Escobar 1992:429).

Support for culture

National and donor perspectives on culture and cultural support also take part in processes of constructing social identity. Development institutions (broadly understood) can be explored by looking at which identities they produce and offer. Via their planning procedures, a kind of institutional production of reality takes place. I also discuss Norad's local grant to culture. Both the theatre groups I examine have been supported by Norad. In 1999 local grants to culture were phased out as the support for cultural activities was to be allocated through an agreement with the Ministry of Education Sport and Culture. I have also examined how the local grants gave crucial support to cultural productions and examine this in light of the Zimbabwean cultural authorities own opportunities to provide such support. I conclude with the question; do Norad facilitate or actually restrain the conditions for critical cultural expressions? This research question is too extensive for inclusion in this thesis so I have included it in appendix 8.

1.3. Postcolonial theory; reading of resistance in definitions of identity and nations

Postcolonial theory provides a conceptual framework which can usefully be used to analyse cultural practices as representations and resistance. The conceptual framework describes how cultural expressions take part in re-arrangements of "the reality"; as re-significations.

Postcolonial theory was developed in relation to the analysis of literature written in the south and former colonies. Edward Said's "Orientalism" (1979) – western conceptions of the Orient - was a forerunner to postcolonial studies with a social science approach. Mongia describes the growth of it in Europe via The Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies' publishing of "The Empire Strikes Back" and history-narratives from "below" (CCCS 1982, Barker et al 1985, Guha & Spivak 1988). Postcolonial studies arise in a social-historical setting marked by the new social movements around issues such as race, gender and ethnicity. These movements question concepts and theories related to democracy, "community", nation and individuality. The debate on multiculturalism, "black studies" and "women's studies" in the 1960s and 1970s provided the basis, together with "the turn to language" (post-structuralism), which challenged traditional disciplines. Postcolonial theory has been formed by these movements and also offers a conceptual framework within which to analyse them (Mongia 1996:5).

In this thesis, "postcolonial" is not usually used in the way it often is in political science, i.e. in the way it is employed to describe African states after the end of colonial power (in a chronological understanding of the postcolonial state). I use postcolonial theory (studies, analysis) as a characterization of new ways of studying and analysing the cultural, social and political, and reading expressions and utterances as resistance. The analytical tradition has developed from understanding the relationship between north and south within a binary encoding (critique of imperialism), to now including analysis of hegemonic relations in the postcolonial state. This approach also coincides with a radical tradition of criticism in the west and globally (Ashcroft, Griffith and Tiffin 1998:2, Mongia 1996:2, Bhabha 1994:173, Watts 1993:261-262).

Interrogating the borders of the nation

Newer postcolonial theory, as in Homi Bhabha (1994) and Gayatri C. Spivak's works (1990), have a post-structural approach and critically examines earlier anti-colonial criticism which had laid the basis for a binary construction of coloniser and colonised. Struggles of resistance ended up being in an inverted structure, with the binary oppositions turned on their heads.

Bhabha shows that postcolonial utterances also create new spaces for resistance outside binary constructions (Ashcroft et. al. 1995:9). Cultural expressions as resistance can be viewed as representations which construct "*us as new types of subjects*" thereby makes "it possible to discover new places to talk from" (Hall 1990:222 in Williams, Chrisman 1993:402 mine italics).

Cultural expressions are now interrogated as counter-narratives about antagonism and differences in the postcolonial state, for instance how identity is narrated in movies, literature and theatre. The expressions explore the discursive borders of the nation, actual and conceptual, and they do "not so much reject the nation as interrogate its repression and limits, passing nationalist discourses through and (...) calls attention to the fault lines of gender, class, ethnicity, region, partition" (Shohat 1997:10,8, Gilbert & Tompkins 1996, Gilbert 1998).

1.4. Delimitation of case and research questions

1.4.1. The plays: "The Members" and "Ivhu versus the State"

Using the above approaches, I wanted to interrogate resistance in the way it challenges hegemonic positions by examining how the plays narrate identity-positions and the nation (see 4.2). To examine the strategies of representations thoroughly, I have restricted myself to discussing two plays, both of which are political satires in the "popular theatre" genre and semi-professional "community theatre". One of the reasons I wanted to look at theatre is the central role black theatre has played in debates on society after independence in 1980.

Amakhosi Theatre Production and Rooftop Promotion

One of the theatrical groups I have based my work on is Amakhosi Theatre Production, located in Matabeleland and Bulawayo, the "capital" of southeast Zimbabwe (approx. 800,000 inhabitants). Cont Mhlanga has been writing social commentary and political satires since 1985 and has had a central role in the development of Zimbabwean drama. I shall be analysing a political satire called "The Members" (1995), which describes daily life whilst approaching the parliamentary elections of a corrupt member of parliament. He is made a laughing stock through the medium of comedy. He is portrayed in relation to three other characters: the villager, the secretary and a younger fellow MP. The play sheds light on an extreme personalization of politics, nepotism, shady business, misuse of donor funds etc.

Rooftop Promotion is based in Harare; the capital of Zimbabwe located in the north of the country (approx. 2 mill. inhabitants) and is led by Daves Guzha. "Ivhu versus the State" was their main production in 1999 and the aim of the play was to stimulate citizens, especially in relation to taking part in elections. Another key aim was also to get the three "colours" (black, white and coloured) to talk to each other. A representative of each of the "colours" in traditional clothes meets up for a party. Together with a host, the party develops into a "discussion party" with different tableaux representing the history of Zimbabwe and current debates, such as the government's involvement in the war in the Democratic Republic of Congo and the land question (Ivhu means land in the Shona language).

I have chosen Amakhosi and Rooftop because they represent different approaches to theatre and cultural representations. Amakhosi is based in the southeastern part of Zimbabwe with a population mainly consisting of Ndebele, the second largest ethnic group (ca 18%, Shona 80 %). Their geographical location thus has political and socio-economic implications. Amakhosi is also located in a township. Rooftop is based in the administrative capital and seat of government in a more affluent area and it might be said to have a middle-class profile.

"The Members" was performed on 29 April 1999 at the Harare International Festival of the Arts (HIFA). Even though Amakhosis' play had first been performed in 1995, they won the public's prize for best local play at HIFA in 1999. This I take to signify that the play is still of the outmost topicality. "Ivhu" was performed between 18-30 May 1999 at the Theatre in the Park in Harare. Both productions focus on inequality, power and resistance and in general they can be described as representing a postcolonial way of writing. However, I intend to demonstrate that they show different histories of the nation and identity, and in this way they are practicing different levels of resistance.

1.4.2. Main questions regarding the plays

I perform an "internal" analysis and explore how the plays express the "postcolonial situation". The problems addressed are how essential discourses are contested; a baseline description of the dominant discourses is my point of departure (see 1.4.4. below). In the narratives of identity and nation in the plays I shall be looking for binary oppositions and criticism of these and eventually arguments for differences. Binary oppositions could express a dominant discourse; if the plays counter these binaries through references to multiplicity and differences, this may represent a deconstructive approach which offers new representations (see chap 4.8). In my approach I concentrate on three research questions.

1. How is the nation related?

- a) Which lines of conflicts are the plays inscribing themselves in? Are they challenging actual hegemonic discourses on politics, land etc.?
- b) Will I find essential nationalism or "liberal multiculturalism" (see 4.1.)? Is the history of Zimbabwe related as restricted and narrow with only official approved versions? (MacLaren 1994)
- c) Or will I find criticism of the manner in which national history is related to tradition, identity and ethnicity, or will omissions in the history writing be demonstrated? (see 4.2 and Hall 1992c)
- d) Possibly, are there other stories emanating; is new (local) history produced? (Maingard 1997)

2. How is social identity told?

- a) Will I find essentialism in notions of identity, articulated in meta-narratives or standard stories about authenticity?
- b) Or will I find representation and production of multiple, complex positions for subjects, related to gender, race or class. Are the subject positions specific and connected to actual local settings? (see 4.3 and Shohat 1997)
- c) Or will I find use of strategic essentialism, as class struggle or a universal identity for woman? (see 4.4, Spivak 1990)

3. What does the resistance consist of, thematically and textually? (see 4.8)

What are the differences and similarities in the strategies of representations? (Childs & Williams 1997)

In the theoretical chapter (my part 4.10 p.39), I elaborate on the theoretical concepts I have introduced here and the sub-questions. The specific questions have been developed by dividing question 1 and 2 into sub-questions concerning how the plays represent political incidents, gender, class, race (4.4.) identity and nation generally. In the closing chapter (12) I summarize the strategies of resistance (question 3) in a discussion based on the following question: how may the representations in the plays be connected to the challenge of dominant discourses and hegemony? (Kaarsholm 2005)

1.4.3. Delimitations - analysis of representations, not reception

I have restricted the work to analysing two plays so I am unable to extend what I find in my case studies to making generalizations about strategies of representations in Zimbabwe or the third or the first world generally. However, since I have chosen plays which have been written from different socio-economic, political, geographic and ethnic positions, I do have the opportunity to grasp some of the contradictions in society as they are represented in the plays. In the final chapter I shall draw connections between the strategies of representation and where the groups are located.

My second delimitation is related to the fact that I am exploring a textual and possibly discursive effect, and have not analysed reception in an ordinary understanding. I say something about the plays' effects on theatre folk and audience, but I am not performing an ordinary reception study which could have followed the utterances systematically as they become apparent in people's conceptions (Palmberg 2005). Both Bhabha and Escobar argue that the differences presented in the plays may have political effects. Such representations may create new arguments and change and lead to a working out of "cultural difference as a social and political fact" (Escobar 1995:220). Kaarsholm also shows how Amakhosi put actual issues on the political agenda.

There can hardly be any doubt that the tradition of a grassroots-based democratic theatre of discussion going back to the liberation war, and the activities of Zimbabwean drama groups have helped considerably to bring about the new political climate. Not only were the issues of corruption and nepotism that were at the centre of the campaigns by students and the press in 1988 first articulated openly by drama, but also the confrontations between drama groups like Amakhosi and the authorities in early 1987 helped to clarify and increase understanding of the impact of different political philosophies of culture (Kaarsholm 1990a:274).

But I shall not be drawing empirical lines between changes in self-perception or attitudes because my aim here is to study what it is about the cultural expressions and what they represent which may have wider repercussions. *What is it about how the plays narrates and talks about actual issues that eventually makes it possible to talk of a connection between cultural expressions and contributions to a public debate?* I have taken the understanding of the plays as a self-contained field of analysis as my point of departure, and analyse narratives of nation and identity as they are represented in the plays, and use interviews to get to know more about how the producers and actors experience the representations. The audience at the performances, and reviews of the plays have also given me an image of the reception the plays were given. Against this background, I interrogate differences in the plays.

1.4.4. Strategies in dominant discourses

My baseline is a description of central elements in dominant discourses, characterised as the essentialising and polarising of positions and the narrowing of political space both for identity and nation. I describe this more thoroughly in chapter 2 and find this sufficient for my aims, instead of using a systematic discourse-analysis of dominant discourses. I show how the counterstatements in the plays are positioned in contrast to the basic strategies of the dominant discourses.

Premises for new statements

I will also show that the plays lay down certain premises, on the basis of which identity and nation can be discussed in the population at large. The premise is related to how the plays produce new views on the nation and new ways of representing social identity positions, which eventually extends the space dominant discourses provide. For instance, will I see

marginal voices being given space? Representations of differences are the first step towards providing room for them in the public sphere, because they provide place for different identities which the audience can bring with them (Kaarsholm 1988-2005, Hall 1997b). These are the more broad effects of the plays which are central to further developing a critical public sphere.

1.5. Method; fieldwork, analysis and interviews

The question concerning how representations in the plays are carried out, and how these again can be related to hegemonic and counterhegemonic discourses, has caused me to choose a qualitative approach as my question is about a specific production of new knowledge in a cultural form. Using a qualitative method makes it possible to describe the complexity in different ways of comprehending the world in relation to context (Kalleberg 1982:24-25). Signe Arnfred points out that the relation between epistemology and research methods in postcolonial studies involves the importance of awareness of history and power relations, which is thus different from what she terms "mainstream development studies". The post-structural approach implies a deconstruction of hierarchical systems and understanding research as dialogue. Production of knowledge is power, and the attention is concentrated on creating spaces for differences. "Qualitative research opens possibilities for taking into account the interconnections and dialogue between (researcher) subject and researched object, proceeding by way of interpretation" (Arnfred 1995:13).

Fieldwork was an absolutely essential part of my study as it gave me the opportunity to be with the people whose statements I was interested in knowing more about. My local experience and using interviews were strategies designed to achieve information on the context necessary for reading the texts. I use three sources of data; theatre manuscripts and performances, participating observation, interviews and reading more bureaucratic documents.

1.5.1. The analysis of the plays and participating observation

The main source of data in this thesis is the plays; text analysis is the methodological approach. The way I read strategies of representations in the plays follows from my theoretical framework which I present in chapter 4 "postcolonial theory"; what are the representation of identity like and how are the nations written and how is resistance described? The manuscripts are a central source for the analysis of the plays. I saw the performance of the plays several times. Rohmer (1999:14, 19) argues that one should also look at the performative aspects of the plays, i.e. dance, music, mime. He argues that an analysis of these aspects of a play is undervalued, and that such an analysis will do the plays justice. But I have chosen to delimit the focus to the dialog as it appears in the written script. This is because of my strategies for delimitation and the wish to go in depth on the dialog as representations. My reading in a tradition of sociology of culture intends to look into how and what the plays tell about actual issues. The dialogue, as a self-contained expression, is rich in meanings; "All the performances are based on plays, and in turn plays are essential based on dialogue. Therefore it is impossible and undesirable to exclude verbal signs from the analysis" (op. cit.1999:19).

To achieve an understanding of the life and working conditions of the theatre groups, I joined Rooftop whilst on tour with Ivhu to Victoria Falls, and also witnessed Rooftop's other activities. Amakhosis' character, being as they were a cultural centre, made it easier to take part in their daily activities, i.e rehearsals on the stage, work in the audio and video studio,

relaxing in the bar or joining their different jobs. I also had the pleasure of living with Amakhosis' secretary, Fortune Ruzungunde and his family, in Makokoba, which is the township which is the basis for Amakhosi. This was a very important contribution to my understanding.

1.5.2. Choosing and conducting interviews

Interviews are used as contextual source for the plays. How much I use the interviews in this thesis varies, but all of them have been central in helping me understand the field. My choice of interviewees is based on the desire to know the viewpoints of the authors and actors. Other interviews are chosen on the basis of people's roles as leaders or resource persons, representing divergent views as far as possible. I have also talked with up and coming artists, students and others to get views on the ground (see appendix 3 interviews).

Thematically I have divided the interviews into the following areas: interviews with leaders and actors in the theatre groups, other theatre workers, theatre organisations in Harare and Bulawayo, central people in the cultural life, officers in the National Arts Council and Ministry of Education Sport and Culture, politicians and human rights activists, university employees from political science, sociology, English and theatre, as well as people at the Norwegian, Swedish and Danish embassy. Whilst conversing with the leaders of the theatre groups, I hoped to try to understand the issues in the plays in more depth, regarding how they understood and talked about identity and nation through the characters in the plays. I also took the opportunity to get background information and views on current debates (see appendix 4).

1.5.3. The fieldwork

I have tried to get different positions by talking to different persons. Working in a different culture with another language may have limited my understanding; the fact that I am a white woman from a prosperous country, although I do not regard myself in this way, should also be taken into consideration. I am operating inside a discourse within the frames mentioned above, but I also have a political stance, which is a desire to clarify oppression and processes of resistance. I have tried to balance cultural differences by delimiting the research questions and thus make my positions transparent or clear.² I already had some experience of Africa and was in Zimbabwe for a relatively long period of time (see appendix 3). People were often better at English than me, so I had good communication conditions. Despite the fact that I had excellent translators, not understanding Shona and Ndebele was may be an obstacle as far as understanding the culture was concerned. However, by living with a family in the township and sharing rooms in boarding houses have given me the opportunity to meet many people and get a sort of understanding of the daily life. In addition to this I conducted the fieldwork on a low budget (no cell phone or car, having to use public pay phones, transport and only one night in a hotel) which probably helped me understand daily life better.

1.6. The structure of the thesis

In Chapter 2 I present the political context and how the theatre has taken part in public debates previously. Here I underline how dominant discourses define the nation and identity with essential traits and suppress critical viewpoints. In chapter 3 I present the theatre groups and their productions in short, and show how they have written themselves into contemporary debates. Against the background presented in chapter 2 and 3 I then develop in chapter 4 the theories and concepts I see as necessary to analysing the strategies of representations in the plays. Here I introduce postcolonial theory and theory of discourse, and I specify my research

question. In the following chapters (5 and 6) I discuss representation of conflict-lines in "Members" and "Ivhu". In chapter 7 – 9 I analyse representations of gender, class and race. In chapter 10 and 11 I summarize the analysis and come to some conclusions concerning the representation of identity and nation. In chapter 12 I discuss strategies of resistance and how the plays contribute to challenging hegemonic positions. I also refer to appendix 1 which relates the resistance I see in the plays to the situation in Zimbabwe today. Appendix 2 is an epilogue.

PART 2. BACKGROUND

CHAPTER 2. CONTEXT. POLITICS AND THEATRE

2.1. Politics and Society

2.1.1. History up to 1999

The independence

Zimbabwe gained its independence in 1980 after nearly 10 years of armed liberation war. The nationalist movement took form at the end of the 1950s with Joshua Nkomos as the first leader of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU). The party was banned in 1961, and attempts to avoid the white regime's ban, different strategies for survival in the resistance struggle and also internal disagreements resulted in the establishing of Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) in 1963, which later came under the leadership of Robert Mugabe. Different international supporters, respectively Soviet Union and China and different camps in exile, led to a power struggle between the two parties and armies. In this struggle ethnicity was politicized. The Ndebele population in the southwest affiliates itself with ZAPU whilst the Shona majority in the north affiliates itself with ZANU. However, in 1976 ZAPU and ZANU formed a political alliance, known as The Patriotic Front (PF), which worked as a unified force during the liberation war. In 1978 the white minority finally accepted negotiations on the constitution. In the first free election in 1980 Mugabe's ZANU won 57 of the 80 African seats in the parliament. Nkomos' ZAPU won 20 seats and the remaining 20 seats were reserved for the white minority. Since then ZANU(pf) has governed the country through victories in parliamentary elections in 1985, 1990, 1995, 2000 and 2005 (Blair 2002, Meredith 2002).

Gukurahundi

In 1980 reconciliation was on the agenda and both Nkomo and Rhodesian Front members participated in the government, though this would not last long for Nkomo. Disturbances in Matabeleland southwest in Zimbabwe gave Mugabe an excuse to deploy a special trained army, the fifth brigade. The disturbance consisted of plundering by common-or-garden bandits and skirmishes in shared demilitarisation camps between disillusioned people from ZAPU's military wing and demilitarised ZANU soldiers. The fifth brigade led Operation "Gukurahundi"; a Shona phrase which means "the rain that washes away the chaff before the spring comes". This expression is used by peasants about devastating storms, implying that "after Gukurahundi usually nature brings a new ecological/environmental order" (The Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP) 1997:45, Sithole 1993:37). In a figurative sense it is the opposition which is cleaned away so that the new one-party government can establish itself. Under the façade of bringing peace and order, many thousands were killed and even more tortured, the targets being civilian ZAPU sympathizers. Nkomo and other ZAPU

parliamentary members were imprisoned. In 1997 the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace published the report "Breaking the Silence – Building True Peace" which was the first in-depth description of the atrocities.

The attacks on ZAPU and increased international attention led to negotiations and the establishment of a reconciliation agreement, known as "The Unity Accord" in 1987 in which the ZAPU politicians were included in ZANU. Once ZANUpf had been established in 1989 with Mugabe as a leader and Nkomo as one of two vicepresidents, the political opposition was eliminated. Because of the cruel character of the atrocities and the way they were used to establish Mugabe's and ZANU's hegemony, the years of suppression in Matabeleland have left wounds in the memory of the population.

2.1.2. The system of government

Zimbabwe is described as formal multiparty system but a "de facto one-party system of governance since independence" (EIU 1999a:4, Ncube interview 1.10.1999, Makumbe interview 6.9.1999)³. ZANU has dominated the executive and legislative assembly since independence in 1980. The constitution allows for a multi-party system, but opposition parties have been controlled both by financial restrictions, utilization of vagueness in electoral laws, and by attacks from ZANU and the security forces CIO (Central Intelligence Organisation) (US Department of State. Country Report on Human Rights Practices. Zimbabwe 1999:1-2). The result of these constraints is that the elections are not considered to be free and fair (Makumbe & Compagnon 2000:16). The judiciary has long been considered independent, but there are increasing tendencies for the government to refuse to respect high court decisions (Meredith 2002:207). The constitution has been amended 14 times since independence, leading to more power for "the executive president".

After the fall of the communist regimes in the east and the official endorsement of Marxism faded out, the aim of having a formal one-party government was also withdrawn. The government now describes itself as a multiparty-system with a market liberal attitude to the economy (<http://www.zanupfpub.co.zw/>). However, analysis shows a state-power model with strong authoritarian traits (Makumbe & Compagnon 2000, White 2003, Campell 2003, Hammar 2003).

2.1.3. Economic and social problems

In the first decade Zimbabwe witnessed good results in the health and education sectors, new jobs were created and the administration developed. Mugabe was seen as a promising state leader. At the beginning of the 1990s the situation in the economy deteriorated with huge budget deficits, and a five-year economic reform program started up (Economic and Structural Adjustment Programme, ESAP) with restrictive economic policy in the public sector and privatization. The drought in 1992 created more economic problems. This, combined with half-hearted reforms, high expenses and corruption has caused even more problems. Accordingly, living standards have decreased below the level of 1990 (Human Development Report (HDR) 1998:79, 40, Makumbe & Compagnon 2000:7).

In 1999 unemployment in the formal sector stood at 55 %, and 61 % of the Zimbabwean population lived below the poverty line. Zimbabwe is characterised by an extremely unequal distribution of wealth, and is ranked as number five in the world concerning income inequality (HDR 1998:12). The richest twenty percent of the population receives sixty percent of income, whilst only ten percent reaches the poorest forty percent of the population.

The human rights situation worsened in the run up to 1999. US Human Rights Report 1999 refer to incidents of police brutality and killings, with the security forces arresting and torturing people arbitrarily. There were more restrictions on the freedom of the press, including restrictive laws on journalists and the monopolisation of domestic broadcasting. A new Public Order and Security Bill was being drafted which would further delimit the possibility of coming with critical utterances, freedom of assembly and press freedom. The political process favours the governing party and electoral procedures are manipulated. Freedom of assembly was reduced, especially for the meetings of a broad civil society based organisation (National Constitutional Assembly, NCA) which works to reduce the power of the president through constitutional reforms. The security forces used teargas to spread NCA's peaceful demonstrations and public meetings. From a human rights' angle, the rights of women and minorities are also discussed, and I shall return to this.

Increased problems and lines of propaganda

In the 1990s Mugabe experienced increased pressure from the war veterans who claimed a pension for their role in the independence -war. Attempts were to be made to fund the pension through new taxes, which led to a general strike in 1997 under the leadership of the biggest trade-union, ZCTU (Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions). Increased dissatisfaction in the townships (high-density suburbs in which the majority of inhabitants are poor and black) around Harare lead to food riots in 1998. The army was deployed, at least ten were killed and over a hundred injured. At times, the university has been closed because of student unrest (African Rights 1999:5-10, EIU 1999b).

The government tried to control the situation by focusing on land redistribution and the expropriation of white farms. Mugabe used the rhetoric which had been useful during the liberation war and promised land to all. As Blair (2002:40) writes; "If people no longer remember the liberation struggle, he would remind them. Its rallying cries would be revived and used to unite the nation behind Mugabe once more". The intervention in the Democratic Republic of Congo in 1998 is also seen as an attempt to strengthen the nation and the position of the President.

In addition to referring to the liberation war and using the land question as a unifying element, the government developed a line of propaganda which explained why the people were criticising Mugabe. According to the government's conspiracy theories, the British and "the whites" were behind all the problems. To remove Mugabe, the British needed to turn the people against him. The British were accused of financing different critical organisations and the opposition-party, MDC (Movement for Democratic Change) (Blair 2002:43).

2.1.4. The opposition

At the same time the opposition increased. In 1990 a new generation arrived, "the born-free", who not had any personal experience of the liberation war. Mugabe had no special claims on their feelings. The outside world has also changed. The breakdown of the communist regimes led to ZANUpf changing its concept of itself: "Mugabe found himself in a changed Zimbabwe, where he no longer had an automatic claim on his peoples loyalty, and a changed world where his ideology had been routed" (Blair 2002:39).

Since 1997 an independent group of nearly 40 civil society-based organisations, independent press, trade unions and political parties has gathered in National Constitution Assembly (NCA). They work for changes to the constitution to reduce the power of the president and give better protection of civil rights (NCA 1998). In the run-up to a referendum on the

constitution in February 2000 they initiated a huge information campaign through workshops and meetings all over the country (Sibanda A. interview 8.7.1999, see epilogue appendix 2). Many of the organisations which are included in NCA represent a new generation of intellectual, academics and activists trying to influence politics. Theatre, film and musical organizations also take part and lend their criticism (Lindgren 2003a:9).

In April 1999 a new independent daily newspaper appeared - "The Daily News". The paper became an important channel for debate in addition to the weekly independent newspapers. MDC (Movement for Democratic Change), the first party which could pose a real challenge to ZANUf, was formed in September 1999. MDC was founded based on the trade unions and other civil society based organisations. In 1999 a silent and careful optimism prevailed, related to the positive forces which were in progress (Ncube interview 1.10.1999, Daily News 8.6.1999 "Exciting political winds blow across Zimbabwe").

2.1.5. Lines of conflicts

The opposition and the government could be said to be operating along four lines of conflict; one socio-economic, one political, one regional and one racial (Conflict Prevention Network, CPN, 1998:9-10). The *social and economic conflict* exists between different social groups and the governing elite connected to the government. The issues are worries about social conditions worsening and increased economic problems and inequality (HDR 1998, Zhuwarara interview 13.8.1999). CPN describes the stratified society as follows:

- A rather narrow economical, political and professional elite controls the assets and means of production; this elite is, however, split between those closely affiliated to the Government and the productive oriented business elite.
- A numerically decreasing mostly urban middle class consisting of middle level Government and private sector employees, as well as some small scale entrepreneurs, is worried about its position in society and the economy.
- A growing impoverished group of unskilled or semiskilled workers both from the formal and the informal sector in urban areas and on farms is finding it difficult to make a living.
- The majority of the population living in poverty are still predominantly in the rural areas, but urban poverty is increasing without regular incomes and /or means of support (CPN 1998:32).

The *political* conflict unfolds between the openly critical civil society and the autocratic regime (Makumbe & Compagnon 2000:307). The conflict concerns the view on the democratization of society and politics, strengthening the judiciary and respect for human rights. The problems in the country are attributed to lack of competence, transparency and responsibility.

The *regional* conflict concerns the fraudulent preferences of the northern /eastern regions of Zimbabwe at the expense of Matabeleland, Midland and the Ndebele population. A significant amount of development aid has not reached this area. There is still ethnic/cultural and economic discrimination against Matabeleland (Ncube interview 1.10.1999)⁴. It is not expected that the relations between the groups of the population will develop into ethnic antagonism and conflict. The Ndebele population would not dare to do this or indeed want this - instead they argue for minority rights (Daily News 28.5.1999 "Matabeleland makes effort to save culture").

In 1999 there were, especially in the government press, suggestions of a *racial* conflict between parts of the ruling black elite and the economically strong white society. The conflict is related to the social and political conflict. The whites are made enemies and scapegoats for the problems in Zimbabwe. CPN argues that this conflict lacks substance, and that racial

tensions are made to cover the socio-economic conflict to distract criticism from the government (CPN 1998:9).

CPN argues that the political conflicts must be solved if the social and economic problems are to be worked out. "The potential conflict regarding the democratisation of the Zimbabwean political system is probably the most critical of the political conflicts that Mugabe is facing right now. The demands for constitutional and legal reforms are growing in intensity, including from such quarters as the ruling party itself and parliament" (CPN 1998:52).

Zimbabwe Human Development Report concludes that political renewal would demand the following: "(...) the state will need to provide more political space for democratic debate and popular empowerment and participation" (HDR1998:80).

Summarizing

The political public sphere in Zimbabwe has increasingly become more controlled and confined. Political spaces are being sealed off in different areas, via electoral procedures, the opposition's opportunities to protest and bring influence to bear and human rights. However, these restrictions are also present at a conceptual level, in definitions of essential identities and polarised differences as they appear in what Blair describes as lines of propaganda (Lindgren 2003, 2004, Chiumbu 2004, Muponde 2004). How have then these formal and conceptual confinements been expressed in the theatre?

2. 2. The Theatre

2.2.1. The counterculture

Parts of Zimbabwe's cultural life have had a political countercultural role even before the independence war. Kaarsholm summarizes the countercultural power in the townships and camps as follows:

As the expressions was faced with the censorship and repression of authorities, (it) took on a more and more countercultural colouring. For instance, new types of novel and short story emerged that could be either realist, like Charles Mungoshi's "Coming of the Dry Season" (1972), "Waiting for the rain" (1975) and "Some Kinds of Wounds and Other Short Stories" (1980), or move close to a grotesque surrealism, like Dambudzo Marecheras "The House of Hunger" (1978)(...) Also, the popular culture of the sprawling townships was radicalised at the end of the 1970 (...) new types of music and songs emerged with amalgamated modern Western youth culture with traditional mbira music and rhythms. New genres of texts came about that often cryptically articulated political messages and evoked lyrical and demonic images of life among the guerrillas of the forest as in the songs of Thomas Mapfumo or Oliver Mutukudzi. (...) In the guerrilla and refugees camp outside the borders of Rhodesia, in Botswana, Zambia and Mosambique, where in the late 1970 tens of thousands of young Zimbabweans got together, other countercultural forms developed in more direct interaction with the political training of the nationalist movements (...). But experiments were also carried out in the camps with other forms of mobilising culture, not least community theatre, which would often take the form of propagandist tableaux, but could also be more elaborated, be part of school teaching or be used as a forum for the articulation and reconciliation of conflicts within the camps (Kaarsholm 1989:183-184).

The black theatre was founded on dance, song, different ceremonies and a storytelling tradition (Kaarsholm 1990a:252, Plastow 1996). In the 1970s and 1980s the theatre developed partly as a branch of the community-based theatre movement which is characteristic of many parts in Africa. In Zimbabwe, Kenyan community theatre was an inspiration, and a number of figures took part in the establishment of the community theatre movement, including Ngugi

wa Mirii and Kimani Gecau. This was officially launched in 1982 when the organisation "The Zimbabwe Foundation for Education with Production" (ZIMFEP) with support from the government started up "The community-based theatre project". The organisation used theatre in democratic education and to promote local participation (Gecau and Zhuwarara interview 13.8.1999, 8.10.1999, Kaarsholm 1989:196, Gecau et. al. 1991:2 in Rohmer 1999:60).

Theatre for Development

The theatre developed especially in the "Theatre for Development" (TfD) tradition, in which social and developmental aims were central. The original version of this theatre was project-oriented and was used as a tool for local community development. Mlamba (1991) and Zakes Mda (1993) let the inhabitants "research" a problem and solve it through dramatization. The method was based on Augusto Boal's "Theatre for the Oppressed" and Paulo Freire's "Pedagogy of the Oppressed" (Rohmer 1999:34-35). A specific political theatre also developed from TfD. Here a popular culture which was built on radical elements in "people's tradition" and syncretic strategies from western metropolis culture was argued for (Steadman 1991:83 in Rohmer 1999:37).

In the 1980s and 1990s radical groups continued the tradition of discussion theatre from the camps and the concept was the opposite of propaganda theatre. The aim was not to get the audience to identify with a certain ideological line, but to inspire people to debate. Cont Mhlanga and Amakhosis productions are an example on this tradition. The political tradition originating from TfD is a forerunner of the postcolonial theatre in Zimbabwe.

A type of theatre also exists which does not aim to raise people's consciousness to the same level or go too much into depth, labelled as "campaign theatre". It is not concerned with specific political criticism, but aims to change attitudes in target groups in areas such as health, education and the environment. The aim is to deliver a message, "educate" instead of research. Many community theatre groups in Zimbabwe have agreements with organisations, including foreign aid-organisations, which order productions with certain purposes in mind: "commissioned productions". These productions have a central role in the theatre market. The majority of black urban theatre is community-based with the low-income population in the townships as its audience. They have commissioned productions on the programme and some of their own productions, but struggle to find funds for independent productions (Kubekha interview 28.6.1999, Styx Mhlanga interview 26.7.1999, Chifunyise 1993:361, Chifunyise 1994 in Gunner 1994, Gunner ed. 1994, Rohmer 1999:44).

Middle-class productions

In the last decade groups, often of mixed colours, have begun to tread the boards and perform plays as a combination of community theatre and more modern theatre. They are commercial, and attract the urban middle-class to their small stages in Harare. These stages are often located in café or restaurant premises, such as at Gallery Delta or the British Council, Alliance France or Theatre in the Park. The tickets cost more than they do in the townships (Chifunyise in Herald 26.3.1999.) They have often expatriates and the Zimbabwean middle-class or upper-class in the audience. The production house Rooftop in Harare, my second case study, produces this kind of theatre. The productions are often about social and political issues relevant to contemporary Zimbabwe, and they have also a black audience (Bagorro interview 21.5.1999).⁵

2.2.2. The institutionalisation and ideology of the early theatre

After independence, the National Theatre Organisation (NTO- led by Susan Haines, who is also a producer), which previously had explicitly been for the white population opened up to the black theatre. Ngugi wa Mirii started the Zimbabwe Association of Community Theatre (ZACT) as a black alternative for the whole community theatre movement. Chifunyise worked in the Ministry of Education and Culture and Robert MacLaren (Kavanagh; a central theatre capacity from South Africa, headed the Department of Theatre Art at the University. MacLaren later became the leader (together with Chifunyise) of a theatre organisation for children and young people - Chipawo (Children Performing Arts Workshop). In Bulawayo, the Bulawayo Association of Drama Groups was important for groups there (Mhlanga Cont interview 29.6.1999).

The earlier official ideology saw theatre as a participant in a cultural and political struggle, based on a negative definition - in opposition to Eurocentric "mainstream" and "its archaic conventions marked by bourgeois aesthetics". The struggle was defined as a dualism between a neo-colonial and revolutionary or socialist path; and this dichotomy was also a conviction widespread in the ZANUpf government (Chifunyise /Kavanagh 1988:2 in Rohmer 1999:62). The second tendency in official theatre was to focus on Zimbabwe's own tradition, the authentic African theatre. Dialogue, song and dance were used to bring up suppressed elements to create identities and pride for the people's own traditions and values. This theatre played an explicit part in the political process of nation-building with references to the difference between a "socialist or neo-colonial road".

2.2.3. Themes in radical criticism

Building a socialist culture by offering identities for a homogenous black population was deemed important. However, this approach was questioned after only a short time; the concept of "community" as a metaphor for the unity of the black population was challenged in that one could see economic inequalities and unequal distribution of power and privileges. It was shown that concepts such as "people, the masses, majority, workers and peasants" are communities and identities with differences, separations and antagonism (Rohmer 1999:56)⁶.

Several theatre productions talked about the disillusion after the "the euphoria of independence" in terms of what they experienced as "the betrayal of the liberation war". People saw that the government, which was afforded the confidence of the people based on representing the will of the people, began distancing itself from the people. They governed in a top-down manner which seemed not to leave room for participation and power-sharing (Plastow 1996:179). Theatre productions explored the social conditions under which people lived, often taking the form of satirical interpretations of a Zimbabwe lacking social progress. The plays debated indirectly those lines of conflicts which I described earlier, i.e. the political, social, economic, ethnic and partly racial lines of conflict (CPN 1998).

The correct line and censorship

The government protested when the criticism went too far (Mhlanga interview 6.7.1999). This became evident when Amakhosis "Workshop Negative" (Cont Mhlanga 1986) was performed at the university. The play was about a workshop with a black boss (Mkhize) and a white and black worker who had struggled against each other during the liberation war. The plays turn race relations upside down and criticize black misuse of power. Mkhize (the black boss) as "leader of this nation", wants "reconciliation, - and it must start right here in this workshop". As Kaarsholm cites from the play;

(...) and at the same time he himself is emerging as a profit maker and an exploiter of workers who is not essentially different from the people who used to call the tune in pre-independence times. Only he wants to be addressed as "Comrade" instead of "Sir" (Mhlanga 1986:8, 5 in Kaarsholm 1990a:271).

When the play was performed at the university Stephen Chifunyise, representative of the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture, but also a writer and leader of Chipawo, argued that the play, despite its artistic qualities, misrepresented the history of Zimbabwe. The play lacked realism and described untypical events.

(...) Secondly, the indigenous people of Zimbabwe, seeing this ex-combatant being presented as example of the class that is exploiting others in this workshop, is this symbol talking about Zimbabwe? (*noisy interruption*). When you take an element in society and dramatize it, you look at it as the most exemplary item, and I do not believe that there is in Zimbabwe a factory owned by an excombatant.... (*long noisy interruption*).

In later interviews, Chifunyise said: "the effect of this premature criticism was to sensitize the masses against socialism, because it was saying to people – see how evil this system is! Where nobody even had the chance of trying it" (Kaarsholm 1990a: 272,273).

This criticism shows how the government received critical expressions. An essential and dogmatic understanding of oppressor and oppressed are used as an argument against criticizing the government. Criticism was only allowed at a certain level "(...) The official idea is that through self-criticism of a community, limited realistic change can be effected, while exploring national political issues may be impractical and disruptive" (Kaarsholm 1990a:269).

The theatre had to balance their expressions in relation to what was acceptable, e.g. how political they could be. Some productions such as "Workshop Negative" were explicitly found unacceptable by the government. In other situations, the dramatist experienced harassment and surveillance.⁷ Sometimes one needed a Certificate C as approval from the censorship board. However, up to 1999 censorship in Zimbabwe was not controlled strongly by the state (Plastow 1996). Instead, threats of censorship have been made or there has been a climate leading to self-censorship (Susan Haines & Bright Mbiri interview 8.9.1999, MacLaren 13.5.1999, Zimnoya 24.8.1999, wa Mirii 2.6.1999). Plastow shows how control of funding has been central: "Governments have (...) poured money into the activities of those they approve of, while choking off dissidents by denying them facilities, publicity and funds. Or more simply by ignoring them" (Plastow 1996:180, 236).

2.2.4. Supporting Structures

The cultural politics in Zimbabwe is formed by the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture, Department of Culture (MESOC). The National Arts Council (NAC) has an executive role. They have a lot of activities in different fields, but budgets and staff have been reduced both centrally and locally (NAC 1999a, Baro interview 18.10.1999). NAC distributes the resources they have through umbrella organisations in different fields of culture as dance, theatre and music. Regarding theatre, a small amount is distributed to groups and individuals as scholarships or as support for productions made to celebrate different national days (Rohmer 1999:69, Plastow 1996:237).

In the absence of state support it is the "white theatre scenes" such as "Reps", "7Arts" and "Gallery Delta" in Harare, and a few professional groups which have had a reasonable income from audiences. Amateur and semi-professional theatre groups have difficulties becoming a self-sustaining industry and have survived on income from "commissioned plays" (Sithole

18.6.1999, Mkaronda 26.5.1999, Phiri 2.7.1999, Mhlanga Styx 26.7.1999, Mabene 27.7.1999). The most important source of income has been national and international organisations which commission theatre productions for educational purposes (Plastow 1996: 242, Rohmer 1999:72). Most of the aid agencies state that the reason they support theatrical groups is that they represent civil society's expression which is an important part of democratisation and education. Children's and woman's rights, health, education and voter – education are often in focus. Though support from foreign and domestic organisations, such as the Ministry of Health is positive, it has also be pointed out that commissioning plays has sometimes led to the theatre groups' own fields of interest being sidelined. Had they not been sidelined, writing about questions of development could have been taken into a political realm (Mhlanga interview 29.6.1999).⁸ Owen Seda at the Department of Theatre Arts in the University argues that social comments are decisive if theatre wants to continue to be a mirror of society (Seda in Rohmer 1999:72, Seda interview 14.10.1999, Dlamini interview 13.10.1999).

CHAPTER 3. PRESENTATION OF AMAKHOSI COMMUNITY THEATRE GROUP AND ROOFTOP PROMOTION

3.1. Amakhosi - "the kings"

3.1.1. Background – production and distribution of own culture

Amakhosi was originally founded as a karate club for young people as the "Dragon Karate Club" of Cont Mhlanga in 1982. They were based in the oldest township in Bulawayo, Makokoba. One day when they were going to training they found the premises occupied by a theatre workshop led by the National Theatre Organisation. Mhlanga entered and since then theatre have been the main activity. Later the productions developed towards discussion theatre. Mhlanga has written the majority of the productions (Mhlanga interview 29.6.1999 TSCC, Bratteli 1987, Nomdlalo Township Theater news. Vol 1 1993- Vol 4.1998, Rohmer 1999: 148).

Mhlanga wanted to contribute to local community development. He wanted children and young people to take part in the production of their own culture. During the liberation war, people were promised that the party and the government would solve the citizens' problems in the aftermath of the war. Mhlanga felt that the people were no longer interested in taking part in the creation of their own culture, but only to consume. He saw the citizens slowly dropping out of "the main economic and social strata". When independence came, most of the culture and sports activities which have been organised by the Smith government through the city administration in Bulawayo stopped or "deteriorated in standards so that they became uninteresting to the majority of our citizens (e.g. youth clubs, community halls, concerts and films, city festivals etc) or completely closed down (e.g. sports sections, regional radio and TV stations, TV and Radio Mthwakaz, primary schools' music programmes etc.)" (Mhlanga 1992:2).

Amakhosi wanted to be "an organisation that would invest in human development through mass performance and sporting arts whereby it would create in citizens a new process, that of participating in the producing of its own culture and sharing it with the rest of the world and vice versa" (Mhlanga 1992:2).

A social program

Drama was used to discuss and involve people in important social and political issues, such as corruption, alcoholism, drugs, gender relations, traditional structures and the relationship between ethnic groups. Besides drama, they had different programmes related to theatre and music education of own amateurs and in schools located nearby and sport and "outreach" activities in rural areas. They also have film/video and sound education in the well-equipped Township Square Cultural Centre (TSCC- built by donor-funding), which also serves as a stage for festivals in the area (Ruzungunde 27.7.1999, Sithole 21.7.1999). The cultural centre was so attractive that the government wanted to nationalise it (Nomdlalo; June- August 1996. Vol 3). The art newsletter "Nomdlalo" was published by Amakhosi for many years (editor Godfrey Moyo - interview 7.7.1999). Amakhosi has had a faithful audience in Makokoba and the surrounding townships (Kaarsholm 1990a: 274, MacLean 1998); in recent years Amakhosi has developed more into an "arts management house" than a group.

3.1.2. Productions; from "Nansi" to "Attitudes"

As well as their main productions, they have also produced "social theatre" or commissioned productions for different employers, such as for Zimbabwe National Family Planning, the Ministry of Local Government with a radio programme about local participating structures, the International Labour Organisation with a play on the rights of handicapped people, the Ciba Geigy Foundation about the safe use of agrochemicals, the Women's Action Group (WAG) about domestic violence and the Research Triangle Institute (US) with a play on the community's role in "post abortion care" (Mhlanga, 1999b). Amakhosi have also created many of Zimbabwe best actors; as Mackey Tickey's which have won the best actor prize several years.

The plays are often written in Ndenglish, a mix of Ndebele and English, in which the sentence can start in Ndebele and end in English or vice versa. A word which consists of both English and Ndebele can also be used. Mhlanga says that the language is representative of the people - "povo" (Rohmer 1999:63); "the method he was using to reach a range of audiences even before Robert MacLaren's initiative in the same direction" (Plastow 1996:176).

Of the main social and political plays, the following should be mentioned:

"*Nansi Le Ndoda*" (Here comes the man) (1985) which won the National Theatre Organisation's prize for best production over many local, white productions. The play is about the difficult social and economic situation which leads to many young Zimbabweans risking their life when they illegally try to cross the border to South- Africa or Botswana looking for work, described as "Border Jumping". "*Workshop Negative*" (1987) which I described in the previous chapter, gave Amakhosi national attention and put political satire on the agenda. "*Cry Isolo*" (1988) is about the need for trade unions which also emphasize social and political issues besides negotiations for better salaries. "*Citizen Mind*" (1989) is a satire based on the Matabeleland Zambezi water project. The play shows how conflicts between and the special interests of the organisations, politicians and officials involved destroyed the work. "*Stitscha*" (1990) is about a girl who wants to be an actress and how she has to fight against her family's opposition to her goal (Mhlanga interview 6.7.1999, Ruzungunde 27.7.1999, Tickey's 19.7.1999, Mhlanga 1991, Ndlela 1997, Stokland 1997).

In 1995 "*Members*" had its premier and this coincided with the parliamentary elections in 1995 (see chapter 5 and appendix 5). *Members* has toured in the biggest cities and in neighbouring countries - Mhlanga estimates that about 48 performances have been given (interview 9.7.1999). "*Attitudes*" (1997) tells the story of a man who wants to construct a

helicopter, but who comes into conflict with CIO which sees his work as a political threat. The title of the play also refers to black people's (perhaps mostly leaders') attitudes to other blacks - they are not allowed to be creative. The play features also a theme on the political situation, i.e. the suppression in Matabeleland and the fight against "The Culture of Fear" (See part 5.1.1 and appendix 5 for review). In 1998 Amakhosi produced "*Sinjalo*" for ZBCTV. This is a comedy about the relationship between different ethnic groups in Zimbabwe: Shona and Ndebele, and about how ethnic differences can be solved. "*Sinjalo*" was also popular in the Shona-speaking areas. However, the play was taken off air after four episodes because they mentioned Gukurahundi (see chapter 2, *Nomdlalo* vol. 3 no.1 June-August 1996, p.6).

At the same time Mhlanga was aware that that he was under surveillance which Chifunye later indirectly confirmed (31.7.1999, see appendix 8). Haines (NTO) also heard that CIO was at the performance of "*Members*" in Harare 29.4.1999, and this performance is my point of departure (Haines interview 8.9.1999).

The productions have been afforded respect internationally. Mhlanga's plays are also on the curriculum in the university. Kaarsholm describes Amakhosis' plays as "ironic, parody and self confident discourse which are also modernistic, very Zimbabwean and with an immediately popular appeal because they succeed in focusing on issues which feel urgent for social debate" (Kaarsholm 1990b:51).

3.2. Rooftop Promotion

3.2.1. Background – building bridges

Rooftop Promotion is a Harare-based "arts management house". The production house was started in 1986 by Daves Guzha. Guzha arranged plays to be shown on different stages in Harare, often African productions with themes such as anti-apartheid politics. When the struggle against apartheid was over they prioritised building bridges between the black theatre in the townships and white theatre in the northern suburbs. They build a small stage inside the Harare Gardens, the city park in Harare's northern business centre. The park was used for many different cultural events, e.g. the Harare International Festival of the Arts. They thought that the city park was a suitable place in the middle between the northern rich suburbs and the poor high-density suburbs in the south. The rationale with "*Theatre in the Park*" (TIP) was, in addition, to try to create a multicultural audience and establish a centre for people who worked with theatre (Guzha interview 2.6.1999, Rooftop Promotion 1997a-1998a).

Rooftop wanted to commission playwrights to write plays for Theatre in the Park "which are entertaining and provocative without causing offence" (Norad 1997). In recent years, feeling that a bridge between white and black theatre has indeed been created, the aim is now to establish "a pool of professionals"; a meeting-place with a multiplying effect for African theatre and international activity (Rooftop 1998a). Rooftop Promotion stages its own productions, which are often donor funded, and which often have educational purpose. They let well-known theatre folk write for them, as was the case with "*Ivhu versus the State*", written by Andrew Whaley, Dylan Wilson Max and Elton Mujanana. The year before, "*Citizen Chi*", a play about the constitution by Andrew Whaley, had been performed. Rooftop also produces cooperation-projects, including several with Burkina Faso and Sweden, and also has its own film production unit.

Rooftop is not a community theatre group in Amakhosis' understanding, but produces "community-oriented" performances to communicate understanding of hiv/aids, international

days such as international women's day, human rights day and "civic education" generally. Rooftop also offers workshops in different theatre skills, often with guest directors. In 1998 Rooftop thus described its activity as being that of "a visual and performing arts project management specializing in theatre, film, video and ethnic shows. With special emphasis on contemporary issues in society and cultural exchange" (Guzha interview 2.6, 14.9 1999, Rooftop Promotion 1998b, Daily News 30.10.2000)

Rooftop often uses the same freelance actors, so that they work as an ensemble and many of the actors are central in film and theatre. The audiences at TIP have mainly come from the middle-class (black and white), often expatriates and people from the embassy scene, but of course others who work with theatre also come. Their workshops also reach Amakhosi's target group, the people from the townships. In general, however, the TIP theatre is far from most of the townships which also have their own cultural centres and theatre groups. Nevertheless Rooftop is considered significant for their often hybrid productions, and a middle-class audience are also considered important in developing a theatre industry in Zimbabwe (Seda interview 14.10.1999, Bagorro 21.5.1999 Harare).

3.2.2. Productions - from "Waiters" and "Citizen Chi" to "Ivhu versus the State"

A great variety of productions is staged at TIP, from "community" theatre and campaign theatre to more artistic performances from Amakhosi, dance groups, regional groups and international co-productions. The plays have often a social and political commitment, such as an everyday satire based on a bus ride: "*Ganyau Express*" (Marerwa 1997) and in African classics. Rooftop also stages its own productions, such as "*The Waiters*" (1998) and "*Strange Bedfellows*" (1996), written by Stephen Chifunyise. Both are about the relations between the races in a comedic style. "Waiters" tells the story about the working day of and relations between three waiters. "*Citizen Chi*" (1998) recounts the story of a young girl who challenges the nation's constitutional weaknesses via a TV talk-show; a performance with a young, urban style (see appendix 5). The aim of "Citizen Chi" was to stimulate discussion on the need for constitutional changes, as did Ivhu. This is now described as Rooftop's own "protest theatre" on their web page (Rooftop 1997b, <http://www.rooftop.co.zw/>, www.rooftopaudio.co.zw).

The project-proposal for "Ivhu" stated that "the idea behind "Ivhu vs. the State" was born out of a need to encourage debate/discussions amongst Zimbabwe's populace. People have a right to demand accountability and need to be consulted on issues of national concern. "With an ailing economy, is not the President supposed to come with a state of the nation address to make everyone feel safe and secure and know that we are in this mess together" (Guzha interview 2.6.1999, Rooftop Promotion 1998a).

It is also stated that "Ivhu" not was meant to be "a scratching attack on government". But the aim of the play was to sum up Zimbabwe's problems and discuss strategies for solutions through the character Ivhu (Shona-soil) and a judge. The first version was in fact different from the project proposal and the final version. There three characters discuss with a judge their own problems related to the regime's weakness in solving current problems (see part 9.3.3.)⁹. They wanted to extend the target group by performing in 40 "growth points" (business/ development cities in rural areas) to contribute to the debate among marginalised groups from the Zimbabwean population.

"Ivhu" has toured in 12 growth-points. Guzha has also said that the government criticized him, which Chifunyise confirmed (Guzha interview 2.6.1999, Chifunyise 31.7.1999). Chifunyise was critical of Amakhosi because they showed "tribal sentiment", and of Rooftop

because they only wanted to survive on an "anti-government stance". The reviewers appreciated Ivhu because it discussed race-relations, but the critics were divided. Some criticised the play for the political positions it showed and the relations of the theatre group to the donor community and other cultural groups (see appendix 5.5 "The Ivhu-debate").

CHAPTER 4. CONCEPTS AND THEORY; NATION, IDENTITY, RESISTANCE AND POSTCOLONIAL THEORY

4.1. Introduction – antagonisms in theatre and politics

As I have shown in the sketch I have provided of the political development in chapter 2, the official rhetoric in Zimbabwe was marked by a simplification of the history-writing and static representations of social identity and nation. Only one version of the liberation war prevailed, and the atrocities in Matabeleland have only in recent years been debated openly.

Antagonism between white and blacks is used to divert attention from internal problems and an increasing opposition. The concept of nation is given a limited understanding, and those who oppose the restriction are termed traitors and shut out. The citizens are being positioned in a struggle over representations, and asked to choose a national identity and patriotism which many experience as imposed unity from above.

Such antagonism also existed in the theatre. In early discourses about community theatre and politics, the reality was constructed in a dualism between the "colonial masters" and the colonised, white and black, north and south, capitalist and worker/peasant, rich and poor. This polarisation of the reality goes hand in hand with an essentialising of different identity positions. The "people", "masses and majority" are described as having one common will. "The black" or African "workers" and "peasants", once oppressed but now heroes are depicted as the subjects of the liberation. The "north-coloniser-white-capitalist" is used as a depiction of the oppressor.

Binaries and essentialism

Signs gain their meanings from their relation to other signs. Concepts are often organised in binary differences and essential categories as a way of establishing hegemony via cultural representations. A *binary* opposition (dualism) is an extreme form of difference (man/woman, black/white), which is central in the cultural construction of reality. The problem is that they suppress ambiguousness and interstices between categories; they render overlaps impossible. Binaries can be a violent means of hierarchy when they are being used for domination. The use of binaries in a hegemonic struggle is often combined with *essentialism*; the assumption that groups, categories or classes of objects have one or more defining features exclusive to the members of this category. In the construction of the modern postcolonial states it was obvious to focus on the black population as equal to the whites. But a strong promotion of African authenticity has been criticized because it uses essential discourses about nationalism and race; the construction of the whites as masters have now been turned upside-down, and some - the leaders - are still more equal than others. Postcolonial theory illuminates how it is inappropriate for the "well-being" of the population as a whole to operate in this kind of binaries. The theory represents an area which, by way of an ethical basis, analyses and disturbs the structural relations of the binaries. I will return to this in part 4.5. (Ashcroft, Griffiths, Tiffin 1998:77-80, 23-26, Ashcroft, Griffiths, Tiffin 1995:17, Huyssen 1993:375, Torfing 1999:274-292).

One has witnessed questioning of these binaries and essentialisms, such as in Mhlanga's "Workshop Negative", which shows that blacks are as manifold and un-heroic as whites. This is a necessary argument if one wants to be able to criticise black misuse of power in Zimbabwe (Glørstad 1997). We also see, in the most critical plays (and in opposition generally) how the struggle has moved from national liberation to the question of what constitutes the nation's unity. In 1999 the Zimbabwean nation was in a critical transitional phase towards a more balanced parliamentarism and "considered multiculturalism". A *reflected multiculturalism* argues for pluralism not only as a superficial strategy, as in liberal multiculturalism, but as a deeper social arrangement. MacLaren uses the concept "critical or resistance multiculturalism" (MacLaren 1994:53, Harding 1992) and I shall be returning to this.

The instability of signification

In the introduction I pointed out that representation of nation and social identity are central areas both for sustaining power and criticising power (Kaarsholm 1990b:38, Werbner ed 2002, Werbner 1996, Ranger 1996, Mamdani 1996). The forming of these representations is used in political struggles and has concrete effects on individuals. The shaping and *filling with content* of the concepts is in itself a struggle. My premise is that the language itself is open and can be used for different purposes. As I mentioned in chapter 1, one can understand signs as consisting of signifier (that which names) and signified (that which is named), and that the sign does not directly represent the "reality", but is instead socially constructed and constructs the reality. The same sign can be used to narrate the reality differently. People use signs; they *re-signify* to express their own experiences. "The language or system of signification is the system of the constitution of objects and events that emerge in speech as language is actualised" (Shapiro 1981:130 in Neumann 2001:38). Bhabha has also this kind of signification theory (The Third Space 1994: 36). The departure for both is the post-structural idea that signifiers are "open", as is described in Derrida's concept of "différance" (in Hall 1997b: 36). The language constructs the reality and can be moved, because of the signifiers' unfixed relation to what is signified. In Hall's popularised version, the possibility of the language is described as follows;

...despite his/her best efforts the individual speaker can never finally fix meaning – including the meaning of his or her identity. Words are "multi-accentual". They always carry echoes of other meaning which they trigger off, despite ones best efforts to close meaning down. Our statements are underpinned by propositions and premises of which we are not aware, but which are, so to speak, carried along in the bloodstream of our language. Everything we say has a "before" and "an after"- a "margin" in which others may write. Meaning is inherently unstable; it aims for closure (identity), but is constantly disrupted (by difference). It is constantly sliding away from us. There are always supplementary meanings over which we have no control, which will arise and subverts our attempts to create fixed and stable worlds (Hall 1992c:288, with ref to Derrida 1981).

Meaning and identity are therefore dependent on contingent, strategic or casual stops or a cut in the flow of signification. This also facilitates other narratives of identity and nation. To be able to discuss strategies of representations in "Ivhu" and "Members" I look for strategies which can sustain power through their use of concepts which are round and flexible and can be given different meanings; these concepts are termed "*floating signifiers*". This especially concerns signs for categories such as gender, race and nation (Winther Jørgensen & Philips 1999:39). I also show how it is possible to exercise resistance when such concepts are used in an essential way.

4.2. Nation as cultural power

National culture is described as a main source of people's cultural identity; regional and ethnic differences are put under one political roof and a common language creates national cultures. The nation is seen as a necessary "machine" for development and modernity; the national state becomes "imagined communities", a community without necessary physical nearness. (Hall 1992c: 292 -293 with reference to Anderson 1983). To make political national states work, a common culture is constructed as "lifeblood and minimal shared atmosphere". In the early development of national states one thought that this must be "the same culture within which all members of the society can breathe and survive and produce" (Gellner 1983: 37-8 in Hall 1992c: 296). Despite differences related to gender, ethnicity, language or class people are pulled together under this common roof and they are expected to participate in a "synchronic breath". In this way humans are made inhabitants and citizens.

A national culture is cultural institutions. But it is also strategies and symbols for representation; symbolic power which constructs meanings which again influence our understanding of ourselves and our acting. National identities are constructed by producing meanings of the nation with which we can identify, and the meanings are woven together in specific patterns which make national culture work as discourses. Discourses are narratives which construct the nation's past and future as a common culture (Hall 1992c:292- 296, Bhabha 1990a:3). The narratives can be found in history books, literature, media and popular culture, and also as accepted statements on current debates, as they appear in media as newspapers, radio and TV (Lindgren 2003b:60). The narratives are about how to relate to common experiences, difficulties, sorrows and victories. And as I have shown, theatre also contributes to these narratives about common experience, or else it wishes to discuss what these common experiences are.

Discourse

Understanding national culture as discourse implies seeing national cultures as structures of power as well. Discourse is defined as determination of meaning inside a specific domain. Laclau and Mouffe define the concept in this way:

(...) we will call *articulation* any practice establishing a relation among elements such that their identity is modified as a result of the articulatory practice. The structured totality resulting from the articulatory practice, we will call *discourse*. The differential positions, insofar as they appear articulated within a discourse, we will call *moments*. By contrast, we will call *elements* any difference that is not discursively articulated (Laclau & Mouffe 1985:105, italics in original).

I am interested in how articulation of social identity appears in the plays, and how *elements* outside dominant discourses try to establish themselves as *moments* in the plays. In this way, a certain resistance is being practiced. It is emphasized that if the social is understood as discourse, this does not imply that the reality does not exist. What this means is that our access to the reality is always mediated through discourses; the physical reality is *social and linguistic overwritten* or covered. "Between the world and our perceptions of it there is always a re-presenting link. (...) when we express ourselves the language will always be a re-presenting link, because it can't be empty, but will structure what is being said" (Neumann 2001:41, mine translation). Social phenomena are organised according to the same principles as language. Social acts gain their meaning from the relation to other social acts. The acts can be interpreted as social signs, and *social practices can be viewed as articulations*. A discourse is a narrowing of the possible spaces of meanings; an attempt to stop the signs sliding in relation to each other and in this way a discourse is an attempt to create an

unambiguous, only one, meaning (Laclau & Mouffe 1985:113,111, Winther Jørgensen & Philips 1999:37,46)

Dislocation of national identity and new identities

On the margins of the main narratives of the nation one will find *counter-narratives*, dissonances (Bhabha 1990a:3), for instance in the theatre which recounts the disillusion of post-independence. As counter-narratives, the theatre asks whether identities and cultures constructed in the narratives of the nation are as uniform as is purported. Those who are not able to identify with the offered identities argue for the value of their own experiences and other *identity positions*, and these differences in experiences weaken *one* national culture as a source of identifications.

At the same time, great changes in society are going on which also weaken the nation; for simplicity's sake, these changes are called globalisation. Communication and interactions cross national borders and connect society and organisations in new time-space combinations - the world is experienced more tied together. These processes also challenge the centred and closed national identities. Hall, with reference to Laclau, describes these as *processes of dislocation*:

A dislocate structure is one which centre are displaced and not replaced by others, but a plurality of powercentres. (...) If these societies are being kept together, its not because they are unified. But because their different elements and identities can, under certain circumstances be articulated together. But these articulations are always partial; the structure of identity remains open. Without this; Laclau argues, there will be no history (...) But this dislocation has positive features. It unhinges the stable identities of the past, but opens the possibility of *new articulations* – *the forging of new identities, the producing of new subjects* and what he calls recompositions of the structure around particular *nodalpoints* of articulations (Hall 1992c:278 with ref to Laclau 1990:40, my italics).

4.3. Identity as subject positions in discourses

The notion of uniform and original identities is challenged, individuals are now seen as constantly interpellated or "called into" specific discourses. Identity, and I am referring to social identity here in particular, is *subject positions* in discourses. We become subjects or take an identity (I use these concepts more or less synonymously in this thesis) when we locate ourselves in discursive positions which are most meaningful for us (Best & Kellner 1991:205-206). The construction of subjects becomes a political act, because they are the results of discursive struggles. Foucault describes this as subjectification (Foucault 1982:212). But the structuring of identity in discourse is never complete. We experience possibilities and conflicts because discourses are always contingent; there is no objective or neutral logic which decides one's subject position (Laclau & Mouffe 1985:115, Winther Jørgensen & Philips 1999:52-53, Hall 1992c:276-277, 287-288). Lacan describes how the individual in processes of socialisation searches for a sense of becoming whole and unified through identifications which take varied forms. The attempts towards wholeness - to become unified - are a process which never ends (op. cit. 1977 in Hall 1992c). Laclau and Mouffe make these attempts the "motor" of the subject - the identity one is seeking, the roads one takes towards identifying oneself with "something" may also be sources of change in society (Winther Jørgensen & Philips 1999:55, Torfing 1999:119,149-150).

Lacan illustrates how the identity woman (or black or white) is constructed as a position. Different discourses offer different content of the *floating signifier* woman. When the signifier woman is attached to a chain of equivalents (characteristics), she is associated as "passive, knitting, caring" - these equivalents establish the identity woman as a relation to other

signifiers and equivalents. In a dominant discourse, woman is placed as an opposition to man; he is associated with "strength, football-player, active". Gender-identity becomes relational; the discursive construction of woman selects what woman is similar to and different from. In this way, discourse provides instructions of acting for people, which one more or less needs to live up to if one wants to be seen as a "real woman" or "real man". When one in this way lets oneself be represented as a cluster of signifiers with a certain discursive centre called *nodal point*, one takes an identity; which is partly negotiated in discourse. In power-struggles, the fights are over definition of identities, therefore identity is also power (Winther Jørgensen & Philips 1999:55, Mouffe 1995:264).

The concepts of identity and subject positions go beyond a definition of social roles, defined as socially decided expectations and prevailing norms towards a person in a specific position (Giddens 2004:29). Identity politics is about challenging roles as a formal and normative position. Identity positions are understood as a complex relationship between the subject and different discourses which the individual negotiates and/or identifies and articulates oneself from.

Articulation of new identities – more political

National identities are still strong when it comes to legal rights of citizens, but local and specific articulation of identity is becoming more important. New positions of identity are being more positionally defined, more *multiple and more political* (Hall 1992c, Burawoy 2000:347, 334, Mouffe 1995:260,264). Identity cannot once and for all be won or lost, identity is strategic and positional, not essential. Despite this, the place from which one speaks, the place for the identity one articulates oneself in, the specific experience one has as woman, black etc, is also important, without arguing for an essential "politics of location". The experience and articulation are connected to material and symbolic resources which maintain the identity. Hall: "actually, identities are about questions of using the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being; not who we are or where we came from, so much as what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves" (Hall 1996c:3,4).

4.4. Subject recognizers as discursive positions; race, ethnicity, gender, class

Categories such as "race", "gender", "sexuality" and "class" are described as social determinants and organizers of subject positions. They are lines which oppression follows dependent on where you are positioned in their hierarchical construction of reality (Alarcón, Kaplan, Moallem 1999:3). Representations of race, gender and class are results of struggles over signs and meanings. *Subject positions are floating signifiers and nodal points for identity* which are filled with content in specific power-struggles; these subject recognizers should therefore be analysed from where they are situated; as they are used in specific situations as constructed signifiers with a specific purpose, only then one may be able to see what kind of power struggle they are a part of.

These identity categories are used in different ways:

- (1) One can use an essential notion of gender, class and race in a strategy for mobilisation or *unity*, within which the most important thing is that one is white as opposed to black or vice-versa (re. research question 2a) p.14).
- (2) Another use *deconstructs* the essential notion of these categories, to free oneself from an incomplete or narrowing articulation of own experience, or perceived dominance, such as

"Workshop Negative" (Amakhosi) showing a plural picture of blacks (see 4.8 below, Hall 1997c: 274 and research question 2b) page 14)

(3) A third way uses an essential identity *strategically*, as the "political use of categories rooted in the natural and the universal (...) You pick up the universal that will give you the power to fight against the other side, and what you are throwing away is your theoretical purity" (Spivak 1990:12, Childs & Williams 1997:160 and research question 2c) page 14).

Race

Race is often an integrating mechanism for a nation. However, this is a problematic discursive strategy because race is an empty category; race is not a biological or genetic category with scientific validity. "There are different genetic strains and pools, but they are as widely dispersed within what are called races, as they are between one race and another". Therefore race can be defined as "an organizing category for those ways of talking about; systems of representations and social practices (discourses) which uses a loose, often unspecific, set of differences in physical characteristics; skin-colour, hair and bodily features as symbolic markers to distinguish a group from another" (Hall 1992c: 298).¹⁰

Biological notions are now often replaced with a cultural definition of race. However, within these, race still plays an important role in discourses of national identity. One sees a racism which avoids being perceived as it, because race is connected to the nation, patriotism and notions of a homogeneous national culture. "The racism" works by referring to a past national glory, and this is often offered as a response when political and social crises in the nation are broached. But this simple patriotism is provisional and vulnerable to attack from within and outside. As Hall argues: even if race is used in this broad discursive way, modern nations refuse to be caught in it, people protest (Hall 1992c:298).

Ethnicity

Ethnicity is also used to represent the underlying culture of a people. Ethnicity can be defined as: cultural traits, language, religion, customs and feelings for a place which are shared by a people. In defining the nation, attempts are often made to base the nation on an idea of a single ethnicity, but neither Africa nor Europe consists of nations which are made up of only one people, one culture or one ethnicity - modern nations are cultural hybrids (Hall 1992c:297, Palmberg 1999:13, Eriksen 1993). However, as mentioned, this does not prevent ethnicity (or race) also being a place from which one can argue; "If we acknowledge that there is no enunciation without a positionality; a place, a past, a language, a culture – then it is ethnicity and its differences from other ethnicities that is the crux of identity`. None of these is fixed, all have been constructed, but they are components in identity and the ways in which it is represented" (Childs & Williams 1997:230 with ref to Hall).

One can distinguish between soft and hard ethnicity. *Soft* ethnicity represents a constructive argument to be seen and participate, within which one not is only one's own ethnicity and within which minority-rights are argued for. *Hard* ethnicity is an essential use of ethnicity which articulates all experiences inside one ethnic category at the expense of other categories of identity. Based on the hard ethnicity politics in South Africa (then represented by the Inkhata) Kaarsholm argues that only if structures for dialogue and negotiations exist can one hope for "a resoftening of ethnicity (...) a new distancing and relativisation of notions of ethnicity that will allow them to interact constructively with other backgrounds to mobilisation" (Kaarsholm 1994:38-41).

Gender

Gender is also a cultural signifier which constructs rather than reflects definitions of gender (Childs & Williams 1997:189). Gender is not a symbolic image or representation of a given, fixed female or male identity; gender is a discursively constructed category and subject position. But hegemonic strategies place the sexes in a binary opposition within which woman is often given a subordinate role through the characteristics which are attributed her, though they do not belong specifically to women. The category woman needs to be differentiated, as indeed it also does with ethnicity and race. Firstly, gender is associated with other social identities through the practice of daily life; as employee, student and taxpayer. Secondly, being a woman is experienced differently depending on where you are positioned when it concerns class, ethnicity, sexual orientation etc. (Gilbert 1996:118-119). In this way the binary opposition in which gender is placed, is deconstructed; and in this way it is demonstrated that such oppositions are constructions and by showing them as being constructions manifold ways of being a woman are produced. By this the space given for women's actions is extended: legally, economically, relationally, socially, politically and individually (Sylvester 2003:177).

Class

Earlier one thought that one's class position was organised from one's relation to the means of production; as an essential, teleological and deterministic understanding. But historical conditions have changed and the concept of class struggle is now insufficient to explain social conflicts and changes (Laclau & Mouffe 1985:32, 29). The discourse theory argues that class/socio-economic status is a discursive position, produced through power relations other than just one's relation to the means of production (Laclau & Mouffe 1985:29, Torfing 1999:42, 293, Best & Kellner 1991:194). The working class is formed by the articulation of different subject positions both at the level of production and consumption, housing and education. And because hegemonic practice is constitutive for all identity, including class-identity, social classes can no longer be seen as the only historical subjects - they are not the primary terrain for political struggle. But class struggle continues to play a role when it comes to distribution of allocative and authoritative resources in the society (Torfing 1999:41,42).

"Class", or socio-economic status as I use the concept here, is also constructed as a binary social identity and becomes a position from which one can marginalise people in low-incomes groups. There are evident divisions between socio-economic strata, and one sees increasing differences between the rich and poor. The ordering of society in different strata depending on differences in admission to material or cultural capital is used as a mechanism of allocation. The ordering into strata also works through cultural representations, as in narratives of class or socio-economic differences. This is also Bourdieu's argument (1984). MacLaren puts it this way; "Socio-economic relations of power require distinctions to be made among groups through forms of signification in order to organize subjects according to the unequal distributions of privilege and power" (1994:56 with ref. to Teresa Ebert 1991:117).

4.5. Postcolonial theory and politics of representation

A central theme in postcolonial criticism is how different subject positions are used in the maintenance of power and challenges to power - postcolonial theory studies the politics of representation (Childs & Williams 1997, Ashcroft, Griffiths, Tiffin 1995, Bhabha 1994). The theory has strategies and bases which it shares with other critical traditions, such as "cultural studies" and feminist theory (Childs & Williams 1997:198, 202, Young 1990). For Young the differences in allocation are so prominent that he defines postcolonial theory from this fact:

"Postcolonial criticism is focusing on oppressive and dominating forces; race, gender, nationalism, class and ethnicity define the terrain for the criticism. Postcolonial studies (...) articulate different forms of emancipatory politics". The aims are described as creating admission to resources and "contestation of forms of domination (...) and the articulation and assertion of collective forms of political and cultural identities" (Young 2001:11). It is about *strategies for the politics of representations* (see 4.7), how one can interfere in discourses which try to justify differences (Bhabha 1994:171). As a reading-strategy, postcolonial theory provides possibilities to "find" resistance and new identities.

"Renaming of experience"

Boehmer argues for instances in her analysis of postcolonial literature that women in postcolonial societies are triple-marginalised through the positions they have been given in terms of gender, race and class. The national liberation struggle was not necessarily about women's liberation; women were instead marginalised through national political activity and also through the rhetoric when addressed as national citizens; "They were regarded as icons of national values, or idealised custodians of tradition" (Boehmer 1995:224). But the tendency to construct one simple "third-world woman", building on an idea about universal subordination is criticised (Mohanty 1991:53-54). Much of the work in the new nation-states has been about a feminist "renaming of experience" which is locally and specifically related (Shohat 1997, Hodges 1991, Maingard 1997). Boehmer refers to authors and activists who emphasize how female (and male) experience is manifold and "layered". She argues that social determinants such as class, race and national belonging cut across and make it difficult with one identity-politics, only based on gender. Many postcolonial female authors are concerned about bringing "to the fore the specific textures of their own existence". Minh-ha argues for looking at *distinct actualities*; "Often this signifies a political commitment, a way of noting the validity of the buried, apparently humble lives of the women who have gone before them" (Minh-ha 1989 in Boehmer 1995:227).

4.6. Postcolonial theatre and "politics of location"

Also in postcolonial theatre gender, race, ethnicity and class are themes in the analysis (Olaogun 2001, Kruger 1995a and b, Jeyifo 2002, Gainor 1995, Gilbert 2001). Gilbert uses the concept "postcolonial" to indicate discursive resistance which she sees in the theatre productions; but she talks about an imperial European discourse which not is my point of departure. In Australian theatre she looks at resistance along identity markers and shows that a rewriting of history appears in the plays, which makes it possible for groups which have been left out of the official history record to find new positions (Gilbert 1996:120).

Because race and gender are categories which are constructed through visual recognition, they have a central role in the theatre. But, as mentioned, these categories are historical and discursively decided, and as so unstable, complex markers of differences. One of the problems with describing race and gender differences is how to avoid an essential construction of race and gender and at the same time recognize that they are expressions from a specific localisation and experience. One can see race and gender experienced as a provisional and partly formed identity, depending of those discourses by which they are surrounded, as identitycategories which are continually being *(re)-invented and (re)-negotiated* (Gilbert 1996:205, 206, 1998:18 with reference to Ang 1993:48).

With the possibilities theatre has to manipulate codes through dialogue, costume, movements and make-up, it takes part in identity formations and identity negotiations. As a resistance

representation, the "signifying devices" of the theatre can be used to show that race and gender categories are constructed. It is here "mimicry, masquerade, hybridity, cross-dressing" and other subversive activities enter as ways of deconstructing essential understandings (Gilbert 1998:18 with reference to Spivak 1988:205, Gilbert 1998:3). To be able to connect this kind of subversive activity to larger social and political processes, the concept of the politics of discourse and the politics of representation are useful.

4.7. Theories of discourse and politics of representation

Discourse theory comprehends "society", the "political" and democracy in a non-essential way (Laclau & Mouffe 1985, Laclau 1990, 1994, 1996). Political change is discussed as discourse politics; "discourse is power because the rules determining discourse enforce norms on what is rational, sane, or true, and to speak from outside these rules is to risk marginalization and exclusion. All discourses is produced by power, but they are not wholly subservient to it and can be used as a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy" (Best & Kellner 1991:57-58, with reference to Foucault 1980b:101). Discourse politics can be seen as attempts from groups to challenge hegemonic discourses and representations which position individuals in delimiting identity positions which are experienced as too narrow (Best & Kellner 1991: 205-206, Ross 1988).

The open and contingent character of political identity and struggle is central to the discourse theory. Contingency is a concept that shows that identity is possible, but not logically necessary (deterministic); "A social identity is contingent insofar as its conditions of possibility are also its conditions of finitude" (Torfing 1999:293). Cultural and political identities are not given in advance, but arise, are articulated and are being changed from different discursive elements (Laclau & Mouffe 1985:174).

4.8. Resistance as widening of democracy through re-articulation of identity

Antagonisms as basic position for resistance

"Resistance against the reality is always a possibility", as Neumann formulates it (2001:95). Texts and language can short-circuit "the closed feedback loop between reality, values and institutions". Antagonism ⇔ conflict/resistance ⇔ social mobilisation is a map for thinking resistance. Antagonism can be the starting point for resistance. To be in a conflict, e.g. to protest against exclusions of rights and inequality in distribution may be the starting point for re-articulation and change of meaning. This *re-articulation can appear at the individual level, but also at the collective* and develop movements towards common aims, for instance connected to the discourses of democracy (Escobar 1992:430). As we have seen in Zimbabwe, the opposition comes together under common goals of constitutional changes and respect for human rights. These new social struggles create "the multiplication of sites of political struggles and the construction of, and *articulations of new identities*, and open up the possibility for a more emancipatory vision of democracy" (Laclau 1990:82 in Slater 1992:304).

Extension of democratic struggles is described as the occupation of new rooms "towards transfer of democracy from the political sphere to the social sphere where the individual is regarded as multifaceted. Consequently, current forms of democratic development should be understood as the *occupation of new spaces*" (Slater 1992:307 with ref to Bobbio 1989:156). This means that one can talk about *emancipations* in plural rather than *one* emancipation. A struggle is by definition partial, it cannot include the meaning of all struggles, but the

struggles tend to concern more and more subject positions, which would imply that the articulation of these projects is becoming more open and complex (Slater 1992:308 with reference to Laclau 1990:225–226).

Resistance at the level of representations

Many of the struggles against being placed in narrowing subject positions such as gender, sexuality, race and class are now waged in terms of the politics of discourse. This takes into consideration that the positions one is given to struggle in (or inside) are also representations, discursive constructions decided in a complex interaction between language and materiality. Cornel West has summarized what the new resistance activities are now about, here on black practice:

The main aim now is not simply *access* to representation in order to produce positive images of homogenous communities - through broader access remains a practical and political problem. Nor is the primary goal here that of *contesting stereotypes* - though contestation remains a significant though limited venture.(...) (but to) *Constitute and sustain discursive and institutional networks that deconstruct* earlier modern Black strategies for identity formation, demystify power relations that incorporate class, patriarchal, and homophobic biases, and construct more multivalent and multidimensional responses that articulate the complexity and diversity of Black practices.(...). Also to grasp the way in which *representational strategies are creative responses to novel circumstances and conditions* (West 1993:212-213, mine italics)

Resistance as disidentification

Postcolonial theory focuses on a number of facets, including internal antagonisms and resistance in postcolonial states. This theory of understanding resistance is common with theorising resistance in other "modern" or "non-post-colonial" states. The struggles are about identity and social changes. Oppositional discourses are investigated, and resistance is questioned when it is being thought of in terms of binary oppositions and notions of "the pure and authentic".

In studies of these struggles, which are often related to the new social movements, an implicit resistance is pointed out - not a direct negation, but a subversion which is described as a hybrid. These are seen more as displacements and described as the most common and effective forms of subversion. Hybrid expressions are articulations of differences which it is not possible to talk about or explain in essential terms. They may take the form of unusual juxtapositions of words and using language deconstructively (see below) (Ashcroft, Griffiths, Tiffin 1995:9,183-184, Hall 1997c:270-277, Slemon 1995b:109).

One resistance strategy is *disidentification*. The point of departure here is that the dominant discourses cannot be avoided - they are always there. Disidentification is about *working on and through* the existing language and discourses; one has the existing discourse as a starting point and concepts are taken into use for a different purpose (*appropriated*). This means "retrospectively to construct the concepts first principles, while one is engaged in the struggle for their meaning" (Pecheux 1982 in Childs & Williams 1997:194-195). Disidentification often takes a hybrid form; one sees "unruly" or unmanageable identities, social acts and language against dominant discourses.

Resistance as deconstruction of hegemony

Challenging the concepts one is given to talk in can also be performed via a deconstruction. One reverses the position, but the positions must also be displaced to avoid them remaining locked in the dualism. To "write in" heterogeneity is performed through textual practices, such as in a play, but in acts and general discursive struggles as well, these kinds of

expressions can then be seen as analytical practices. Tactics can be, as Young puts it; "to displace the opposition (...) to subvert it by repeating it, dislocating it fractionally through parody, dissimulation, simulacrum, mime, a mimicry that mocks the binary structure, travestying it" – a mocking that disappoints the binary structure, ridicules it and in this way challenging hegemonic constellations (Young 1990:209, 145-151 with reference to Derrida 1979 and 1981, Bhabha 1994:86).

Analyses of discourses are well-suited to studying situations in which cultural (gramscian) *hegemony* exists; a situation in which a given power constellation is maintained by means of cultural power which only in modest forms are challenged (...). Politics are struggles to establish a stabilization of discourses, in which a bit of everything is rooted in seemingly stable order. However, the hegemony needs to be upheld constantly, not to dissolve. The movement in the social which makes the hegemony possible is at the same time the one that makes sure that the hegemony cannot be stable over time (Neumann 2001:60, 65 my translation).

Established discourses are defined as *social* objectivity, a naturalised/ locked arrangement of social circumstances. But hegemony is a *contingent connection of elements in an articulation* in an undecideable terrain. Hegemonic strategies try to maintain unity and unambiguity in the construction of identity and social relations, to keep disturbing elements outside dominant discourses moments (Ref part 4.2.). *Deconstruction is the operation* that shows that the *hegemonic intervention is contingent*, that the elements could have been connected in other ways. Deconstruction is the description for dissolution of hegemonic discourses in new political field of struggles - deconstruction is the opposite of hegemony. Deconstruction shows the undecideability, in which the hegemonic intervention naturalises a certain decision (Winther Jørgensen & Philips 1999:60 with reference to Laclau 1993b: 281f). When discourses challenge hegemonic constellations these processes are described as "*political*". *Discourse analysis* deconstructs hegemonic structures which are our natural surroundings, and shows that the given arrangement of the world is a result of political processes with social consequences (Winther Jørgensen & Philips 1999:47-48, 60-61, Torfing 1999:102-103, Åkerstøm Andersen 1999:100-101).

4.9. My strategies of analysis. Mapping struggles over the fixing of meaning.

Discourses construct meanings of the social world, and social meaning can never be completely fixed because language is always expressed from a specific place (see 4.1.). This means that social phenomena are never completely finished or total, different discourses represent different ways of talking and understanding the social world. They struggle all the time against each other to achieve hegemony, to fix the language's meaning in their specific way (Winther Jørgensen & Philips 1999:15). Therefore there are always struggles over definition of society and, for instance, nation and identity. In Zimbabwe I find an explicit polarisation between a government discourse and an opposition discourse, but there are also many other discourses on the nation cutting across these polarisations, and all these struggles have social consequences.

A discourse analysis may follow the struggles over establishing meaning as single and *clear - unambiguous*. The discourse analyst can map the struggles of how the meaning of the signs should be established, and show how some fixing of meaning becomes so conventional that it is seen as natural, but also how they are opposed and can be changed (Winther Jørgensen & Philips 1999:34). Discursive *change* contains different strategies; one element is production of new statements (as representations) through visualizing differences (Scott 1988: 37-38, Escobar 1995:222-226). With the background in the polarised discourses in Zimbabwe I want

explore in my analysis how theatre plays challenge and open political spaces for differences (Winther Jørgensen & Philips 1999:40, 59, 63-64).¹¹

4.10. The research questions

In chapter 1 page 14 I formulated 3 main research questions; 1. How are the nation narrated? 2. How is identity narrated? 3. How is the resistance performed? Below I formulate more specific questions for each of the main research questions.

I start with question 1a) on the "nation"; how are daily hegemonic discourses challenged; and I answer this via three questions

- 1) *Which* conflicts and statements on the current political situation do the plays present? (I answer this question in chapter 5 and 6)
- 2) *How* are the conflicts presented? Are they open narratives, with space for differences or are they "closed" interpretations in simple and short presentations. How are the conflicts represented in relation to what could be described as dominant propaganda lines? (in chapter 12)
- 3) Are *solutions* suggested? Which? (in chapter 12)

In chapter 7-9 I answer the research question 2 a)-c) on "identity" (see page 14). I have specified the question on identity in different categories for identity.

- 4) How are *women* narrated? Are they stereotypes, icons or multi-faceted and multiple? How are the men narrated? How are the leaders and power figures represented? (I answer this in chapter 7)
- 5) Is *class* and fair distribution an issue? In which way? (chapter 8)
- 6) Are *race* and *ethnicity* an issue? How are these categories narrated - essentially or deconstructively? (chapter 9)

In part three I summarize and draw conclusions on the representation of identity and nation generally based on the answers to the question above. First, I look at research question 2 and the a-c) questions of *identity* which I have formulated on page 14

- 7) In the stories of race, gender and class, something is also said about which subject positions are offered. Will I find essential notions of identity articulated in metanarratives of authenticity? Or will I find representation and productions of plural, complex subject positions? Do I see a displeasure which is connected with the identities on offer being too narrow, or arguments of extensions, and how are new positions told? I summarize the identity strategies I find (chapter 10).

In chapter 11 I am again back to research-question 1 on the *nation*; and now questions b)-d)

- 8) How is the *nation* narrated generally. Which experiences or identifications with the nation do I find? Do I see an essential nationalism or a questioning of official history writing, e.g. a questioning of definitions of tradition, identity and ethnicity? In other words a questioning of arguments for unity and pointing out exclusions in the history writing? (chapter 11)

In chapter 12 I focus on research question 3; how do I see *resistance thematic and textual* - how is it narrated; what does it tell? On the level of issues, subject positions, language and discourses? Here I discuss sub-questions 2) and 3) above. How can the representation in the plays be connected to the challenging of dominant discourses and hegemony?

PART 3. ANALYSIS OF IDENTITY AND NATION IN THE PLAYS

CHAPTER 5. THEMES AND CONFLICTS IN "THE MEMBERS"

Synopsis

The story takes place over a couple of weeks and opens in the office of an elderly MP (Mjaji) in Bulawayo. A critic describes him as "one of many corrupt, alcoholic, complacent veteran politicians" (Herald 5.5.1995, see appendix 5). He is working on his election campaign and issues for his rural constituency of Mbomanzi. In the beginning he is visited by a younger, ambitious party colleague (Nkosenhle) who is interested in changing the politics and the older MP's relation to his voters. After a while they find themselves in disagreement, and the veteran MP's loyal secretary, Gloria, tries to negotiate. The older MP is also visited by a villager, Nkomazana. This is a highly committed citizen who wants the MP to help him establish a water project in the village, but Mjaji tries to avoid him. After a while the pressure from the younger colleague and the villager becomes so great that he must go to a rally in Mbomanzi, which ends up in disaster - the villagers ridicule him. At the same time the secretary starts a small revolt and the veteran MP thinks a female MP, Mrs Jamila, is competing with him for the villagers' votes. The old MP tries to get some money from donors for the water project, bribe the villagers and use his last card - to get the President to attend a rally. The play, however, ends with his losing the election.

5.1. Struggles of representations in "The Members"

5.1.1 The younger MP's criticism: "Personality politics must go and must go now"

The younger MP's (Nkosenhle) concern when meeting the older MP is to bring about political change. "As we are going for this party congress next month, I am lobbying for support from your senior guys within the party. I feel that party politics must change, especially policies that protect the top brass of the party (...) its not good to maintain within party policies that turn the leadership stale". The younger MP wants to remove the right of repeated re-election from the First Secretary of the party, President Mugabe. "I feel we should remove all mechanism that makes us retain the first secretary of the party at every congress. A two-year term of five years each must be the maximum. We cannot have the same first secretary for 20 years. It's ridiculous, it's nonsense. A party is not like a private shareholding company, a party is a public institution (...) we made the present leader, we can make another one. Anyway we have got bright people around here. Just take for instance Mrs. Jamila from the Women's league. A brilliant woman".

The Constitution

The younger MP describes the need to limit the number of times the president can be re-elected and outlines the need for transparency in political processes, and is thus anticipating the National Constitution Assembly's suggestions for constitutional changes (ref. my part 2.1.4). NCA sum up people's desire for change; a limited number of years in power for the president, "a total rejection of the Executive Presidency", greater real political influence for parliament, the removing of hindrances to the opposition, changes in electoral laws, securing human rights and "a system in which political leaders are held fully accountable and in which there is direct and active involvement of civic society in process of governance" (National Constitution Assembly 1998).

You're a sell out – "The culture of fear"

The older MP accuses the younger one of treachery; "You're a sell out... I'm not your friend, angisi size yakho mina (I am not of your age) Get out!" He interprets political disagreements as personal attacks and refers implicitly to a political culture in which opponents are met with draconian countermeasures, which the younger one refers in conversation with the secretary; "One of these days Gloria I will crash into a military truck or I will see a black dog". He is referring to political murders or attempted murder, and seeing black dogs is a warning sign.

Zimbabwe has throughout its history witnessed torture, imprisoning and killings of political opponents. This culture of violence is described as being a part of "Mugabe's balancing skills"; "Potential rivals was either kicked out of the party (...) Other potentially dangerous politicians died in mysterious car accidents such as the former Minister of Commerce and Industry Chris Ushewokunze" (CPN 1998:45). A culture of fear creates a symbolic form of violence: "without the many forms of physical as well as *symbolic* violence, (...) challenges to Zanu-pf rule would not be defeated as easily as they have been until now. Recent historiography on Zimbabwe's liberation war indicates that coercion was important and decisive in many parts of Zimbabwe's rural areas, as a resource to obtain political support from the ordinary people. This has created the background of the continuing culture of fear, which is an essential component of political regulation in today's Zimbabwe. When coercion become the norm, even the threat of coercion is sufficient for obedience to speedily follow" (Makumbe & Compagnon 2000:302 with ref to Kriger 1992).

"I am sorry old man, but the time is now"

But the younger MP continues his criticism; "Look Mjaji, the people you represent have got eyes and ears, they know what is happening around them (...) And you old madalas (men) of the party act like mini-gods and in very isolation, you need to take long political holidays and spend most of your time learning to become normal persons again".

The younger MP also criticises personal protection; "Sorry mdala wami (my old man), us members of the party are going to stop you, it is our responsibility, personality protection policies must go and must go now. Mjaji: You are mad, what deal, what is your agenda, why do you want us out of power? I will make sure the state security deals with you seriously (...) from today on you don't just step your foot in my constituency no more". The old MP threatens him with bringing in the Central Intelligence Organisation which uses violence and arbitrary arrest, but the younger MP insists that change is on its way: "I am sorry old man, but change is coming and is coming for full force (...) the time is now".

5.1.2. The secretary's perspective; "You use the parliament to enrich yourself ..."

The secretary, Gloria, is loyal at the beginning of the play, but after a while starts shedding light on the older MP's incompetence. The older one has arranged for the first secretary to attend the opening of his water project, and the secretary is ordered to write the speech. She asks whether she has to write propaganda: "Should I write that the money was sourced by Mrs Jamila? Mjaji: (*Jumps from his chair*) Wena mntwana ngithi ungabidlala unghlokoz' entansingeni (you child, don't poke on my ass) (pointing to his behind) write that the money was raised by myself, I uFuquthile Ndabezitha Mjaji".

When the elderly MP later gets angry with his secretary because she let the villager into his office, she answers: "Mr. Mjaji, is it my fault that you never visit your constituency and talk to your people, is it my fault that you spend 90% of your time running your safari business and dozing in parliament (...) is it not true that you have never been quoted in parliament

saying a thing about the problems of the people of Mbomanzi. (...) I know who I'm talking at, I'm talking to an ungrateful, irresponsible (...) and corrupt member of the central committee and parliament. (...) you use the parliament to enrich yourself and forget about the people from Mbomanzi (*calmly and seated*). And this time Mr. Mjaji, if you don't play your cards right the people of Mbomanzi are throwing you out of parliament". (*Mjaji goes to his cabinet for "that drink"*).

5.1.3. The villager's perspective; "We asked you to come to the people"

The villager (Nkomazana) is also leader of the water project, and he criticises the old MP's absence. At the beginning of the play he visits the MP's office to talk to him about the water project in the village, Mbomanzi, but he only finds the MP's then loyal secretary; (*Nkomazana tastes Mjaji's whiskey*): "Even the illegal brew can not be this hot Mtanomtani. uMP wthu lo wako Mbomanzi, uMjaji usapila kumbe sowafa (My daughter, is our MP still alive or is he long dead?) Gloria: He is alive father. Nkomazana: Real alive? Gloria; He is alive, since I am telling you (*looking upset and fed up*), baba Nkomazana, as I said u Mjjai is in Harare. Nkomazana: (*Upset, he tries to attack her*) He has been in Harare for the past eight months. Eight months!! What for? I am very upset. I will never step my foot in this office uyangizwa bhoyi (You hear me!) The people of Mbomanzi will remove this MP from parliament. We will fire him!"

"We will one day meet. Face to Face, members only!"

The secretary tries to protest, but the villager will not give up; "We didn't know my daughter, if these MP are campaigning and wants votes, they promise us food, good health everything. They even promise us tickets to go to heaven. They will be lying. Tell Mjaji when he comes here that if his asshole is shaking he must follow me to Mbomanzi. I will make sure he will no longer be the MP of Mbomanzi again (*Angrily and throwing his bag down*). After all he doesn't live in Mbomanzi, he doesn't feel what we feel (...). The central committee will never be more powerful than the grass root members of the party. Unless if it is an ignorant grass root. But we at Mbomanzi are the grassroots, we are not ignorant. We will one day meet. Face to Face, Members only!"

Electoral malpractice

The villager shows how voters are bought with food supposed to go to drought-relief. Combined with the weaknesses of the electoral laws and corruption this is "electoral malpractice" which results in elections which not can be declared "free and fair". "Electoral malpractice" also influenced the results of the 1995 election, in which ZANUPf again won the majority of the seats in parliament (Makumbe & Compagnon 2000:16, 18-19). The Members also shows how the older MP's use of "electoral malpractice" could have resulted in an election result in favour of himself.

Perhaps the incidents surrounding the 1995 election inspired Mhlanga to describe how a corrupt MP could be criticised and challenged. Mrs Jamila may be based on the critical MP, Margaret Dongo in Harare South, who was outmanoeuvred by electoral fraud. However, she took her case to court and regained her seat (Meredith 2002:104-107).

"Povo, or not Povo"

On Election day the veteran MP is sitting with the younger MP, drinking whisky, when the villager arrives. He is in town to meet his son, arriving from South Africa, and wanted to listen to the results of the election. He is quite sure that Mjaji will lose his seat in parliament; "If all this time you were planning like this for our unemployment problem, ngabe (men) we

would have voted you back into power. Manje (but) you did not plan for us, instead wena uysivala ngotshwala lenyama (You bribe us with cigarettes and sugar)". The younger MP also bets that the older MP will not be re-elected, "You see boy; parliament is not like old chiefdoms". But Mjaji seems still to want to cling to power, with or without the people whom he should represent; "Manje ulamanga (You are lying), I am going back to parliament povo (people) or no povo".

"We asked you to come to the people"

The secretary is asked to turn on the radio; "Good day. Here are the results of parliamentary elections held nation wide, beginning with Shurugwi. Mhofu of the ruling party 3.000 votes and Gomba of the opposition 179 votes. So Mhofu is duly elected MP for Shurugwi. Viriviri: Nkosenhle of the people's party 2 000 votes and Sigodo of the opposition 47 votes.

(Nkosenhle and Mjaji joyously jump and hug each other). Nkosenhle is duly elected MP for Viriviri. Mbomanzi: Mrs. Jamila who stood as an independent after a conflict with the people's party 3 000 votes and Mr. Mjaji of the people's party 3 votes". *(Mjaji falls down after hearing the results. Gloria and Nkosenhle rush in to attend to him)*

Nkomazana, the villager says: "Woza ebantwini Mjaji ukhulume labantu ukuzebakuvotele (We asked you to come to the people so that we can vote for you. But you did not. That's why you lost)". Nkomazana ends the scene; *(He opens Mjaji's chest of drawers and takes out Mjaji's beer and pours into two glasses, and they do cheers)* *(To the audience)* Bakwethu, asitshayeleni uNkosenhle zandla (People, I want to say cheers to Nkosenhle) for doing a good job in his constituency. Let's also clap hands for Mrs. Jamila for the good work done and finally lets clap hands for ourselves for removing isigelekeqe (corrupt person)".

5.1.4. Veteran MP's perspective; "...it's going to be dirty politics"

The elderly MP displays the strategies he uses to sustain power, and shows how he thinks politics should be practised. This we hear when he is talking to the younger MP on the phone; "Mjaji: No, I am not busy. I am just expecting these chaps from my constituency. But they are not important. You are important mfana wami. Nkosenhle: Mjaji they are also important. You have got to talk to your people and share ideas. Mjaji: No, no, Nkosenhle, you are very important, just come".

Indigenisation

They know they belong to the ruling class; "We are the black indigenous capitalist". The younger MP refers here to the governments "indigenisation program", an economic policy which aimed at giving the black population opportunities to run businesses and even out the unequal distribution of economic resources. It was widely known that people who got subsidies and opportunities to buy companies and parastatals were often those who were already privileged, and that resources were corruptly misused. Though more ownership fell into black Zimbabweans hands, this did not lead to more equal distribution of wealth (Zimbabwe Human Development Report 1998:7, 17, CPN 1998:23,25).

"I can massacre the whole lot koMbomanzi"

The veteran politician thinks Mrs Jamila, the younger MP and the villager have ganged up against him, but he feels secure as long as he has the President's support: "They can never take me out of power. No one can. There is only one person who can, and he is the only man I respect *(Goes to the picture frame)[we see a picture of a hand puppet which looks like the partys first secretary, Mr. Mugabe]*. The only man who can do anything to me and he is the First Secretary of the Party, as from today Gloria, it's going to be war. I can massacre the whole lot koMbomanzi, ngiythumela amasotsha bathintithe azake ukuzwe (I can send a car

and kill all those people). Just keep my positions of power. As from today its going to be fire, fire, its going to be dirty politics ntanami until elections are over, it's going to be politics".

Here I suppose that Cont Mhlanga is referring to the massacres in Matabeleland (ref 2.1.1), which is the most terrible case of political violence since independence. Mjaji knows that electoral campaigning is "dirty politics" and perhaps this is what he really associates with politics.

The water project – "The money gets through the Ministry and then they come to me"

The description of the veteran MP's "political work" to realize the water project shows how he uses his power to manipulate resources and people to secure votes. He rings the leader of the donor organisation which started a water project in Mbomanzi, Mr. Cornard: "ah Mr. Cornard, you are talking to the Honourable M.P. for Mbomanzi. Yes now, tell me what is your organisation doing in Mbomanzi without officially telling me or the government (*listens*) O.K. Mr. Cornard, do you want to be deported aha, ah, I said do you want to be deported. No. (*listens*) Mr. Cornard if you don't want to go back to Canada by the end of today, correct this - you know what I'm talking about. (...). The money you donated gets through and gets the blessing of the Ministry of Water and Energy, and from the Ministry of Water and Energy, the money comes to me and I take it to the people. Ya! That's the right procedure. You know, don't ask me why? Ya, if you don't want to go back to Canada correct it" (*hangs up and pours a drink*).

Donor organisations which act independently have been seen as threats to the regime – it is therefore desirable the funds go directly to the ministries. Attempts are made to control voluntary organisations through legislation which gives the government the right to check the organisation. A new act (the NGO bill) is now passed which prevents local "civil society organisations" receiving support from foreign organisations, especially those who work with human rights and democracy (Kubatana 25.11.2004).

"I love you shef"

The older MP gets the president on the phone to ask him to come to the inauguration of the water project, and Mjaji is worried about the opposition; "Ah, hallo shef ngu comrade Mjaji - Yes shef kuma (in the) polls we are winning, going to the polls is just a formality shef - Yes, our party is an elephant - Yindlovu - Yes shef, that's wonderful. Forward with you shef. The reason why I'm calling you shef, is that iOpposition sihluphisile (is a problem), they have grown rude. (...). And shef, you can donate money I sourced from the donors for the Mbomanzi water project - Yes I sourced it personally. Konke lomumnbu wedrought (together with maize for drought relief). What shef we launch it! Wonderful. I love you shef - wonderful. I will prepare the speech myself, personally. Ya if you are coming for sure shef. (...) shef bye (*hangs up*). Heyi Nkomazana face to face, members only koMbomanzi watsha wena (yes Nkomazana, face to face, members only at Mbomanzi). I love you shef (*kisses portrait*). Gloria, Gloria, Gloria!"

The rally in Mbomanzi is a description of a ritual political practice, in which one allows the people meet the leaders. Mhlanga does not show Mugabe's presence physically; he appears on Mjaji's right hand as a little puppet, a brown sock with a face that looks like Mugabe's. His name is Ngangezwe (which means "as big as the country") and he greets the people: "Ladies and gentlemen, you are very lucky to have a hardworking MP like Mjaji in your constituency. A very gallant hardworking MP ucomrade Mjaji. Mjaji: Thank you chef. Ngangezwe: I have been with Mjaji all over the world. In Tanzania, Mozambique, Zambia

and Botswana. Mjaji is a hardworking member of the party, hayikhona laba abafuna kwehlukana iparty (not these who want to destroy the party). These small parties are just puppies compared to the people's party. At the moment uMjaji has donated umumbu (maize) for draught relief. (...) And money for Mbomanzi water project. So vote for the people's party, Vote for Mjaji. Mjaji: Thank you shef".

5.2. Lines of conflicts represented in "The Members"

Focus on factors which maintain an undemocratic culture

"The Members" comments on the problems associated with the one party state and weakness in the democratic procedures. The play shows how the system of government produces difficulties, such as the problems the local community has in trying to get their concerns about water supply heard. The focus on the relationship between a representative and those he should represent is the building block in democratic processes. It is the premise for formulating preferences which is debated in "The Members". Democracy is about "the responsiveness of the government to the preferences of its citizens considered as political equals". Such responsibility demands citizens have the opportunity to formulate their preferences (Sørensen 1991:103 and 1993:12). "The Members" can be seen as this kind of preference formulation.

Political conflictlines

The way "The Members" presents the relation between representative –represented, refers to the political line of conflict. This is related to the view on democratisation of the political system and society, strengthening the judicial system and respect for human rights. The conflict between the outspoken sections of civil society and the autocratic system of government, is fronted in the "Members" by the criticism of the political culture of ZANUPF, the constitution, "electoral malpractice" and "the culture of fear". The play directly comments on how the political system works. It was brave of "The Members" to suggest limiting the number of times the President can be re-elected. This the play did in 1995. At that time political adversaries were treated harshly (US Country report on Human Rights Practices Zimbabwe 1996:1), and it was also only ten years since the atrocities in Matabeleland, to which the play indirectly refers.

Via the younger MP, the secretary and the villager, "the Members" touches on the processes which maintain a culture of fear. Threats as a part of the daily language, knowing about the CIO's assaults and the atrocities in Matabeleland have created fear which leads to self-censorship and low involvement in the society and politics at that time. People who oppose official political viewpoints are considered, quite literally, to be enemies. There are but few independent people who dare challenge the prevailing political culture. The political language is generally hateful as far as disagreements with political "enemies" are concerned. The report on the Matabeleland atrocities refers to this in particular and points to the need to use another kind of language for peace and reconciliation (Catholic Commission 1997:60).

"The Members" criticises undemocratic strategies during the elections, violence, threats and buying votes, e.g. exchanging maize for votes when the maize in fact was intended for drought relief. In this way the play is participating in the debate on the democratization of the politics. The CPN report's causal explanation is close to the "The Members" conclusion in which the problems are attributed to a lack of competence and transparency and the irresponsibility to the ageing leadership who do not understand "the workings of a modern state" (CPN 1998:28). As the actor who played MP Mjaji puts it:

With "the Members"; now, the one we have, the one we have (Mugabe – my parenthesis) are too old; we can't compete in a rat race. I am 35 year old and I am runned by people who are 83 years old. So we need new ideas. That's what's all about (in)"Members Only". This guys who have been grabbing that power, they do not want to leave. They have taken enough; they should leave (...). The older you get, the more your brain rust. (...) The third generation is now fighting them and while the medium generation is not fighting them – we are keeping quiet. And when we starts reacting they says it is politics,.. aha.. (*laughs*). They are very dumb. *They should open space. They should be grooming us so that when we grow up, we groom the other generation.* Then you find that life become easier. If they had been grooming our generation, they would not have been talking like this. The generation would have been busy fixing things (...). So that when you go further you find that it is prepared; unlike grabbing every thing" (Mackey Tickeys. Interview 30.6.1999 TSCC, my emphasise)

Mhlanga shows how changes in the political culture will allow economic and social problems to be solved. "The Members" questions the political culture and comes with counterstrategies.

Social and economic lines of conflict

Social and economic conflicts, worries about deteriorating social conditions, increasing economic problems and inequalities all appear in the Members in the play's description of indigenisation politics, corruption, attempts to control donor money and the regional water conflict as it is manifested in Mbomanzi. The play personifies the participants in this landscape of conflict, depicted as a conflict between the governing elite who controls values and an increasing group of poor people (see 2.1.5). "The Members" ridicules the way Mjaji dictates aid be channelled through a corrupt ministry and the play shows the problems this has led to as far as establishing the water project is concerned.

Mhlanga comments on the "indigenisation" politics, whilst pointing to the need for citizens to participate in a normally-functioning public sector.

Indigenisation is based on those who are closest to those in power. (...) I want to go to an office; not see a person. It's necessary with a community structure which all can access. (...) I can write a whole fiasco about indigenisation. And I wanted to visualize all this at once. The importance of 'the self'. The point is not to come to me, but to an office (Mhlanga 9.7.1999. TSCC).

Through Mjaji and Nkosis' business activities and their "cross-border connections", the play shows how corruption creates differences: "Every available measure of corruption is inversely related to per capita income, while every measure of bureaucratic efficiency, rule of law and enforceability of contrast is directly related to per capita income" (Maouro 1995, Barro 1997 and Alesina 1997 in Human Development Report Zimbabwe 1998:5). Corruption is an increasing problem, several cases have been for the court, and Transparency Zimbabwe shows that Zimbabwe falls on the corruption index (TIZ-magazine Vol 1.Issue 2.October- December 2002:1).

A regional conflict – "Zambezi pipeline"

"The Members" also implicitly points to what the CPN terms a regional conflict. Mhlanga lets the older MP say that he can massacre the whole lot, the language is Ndebele and Mbomanzi's water problems may be because of the lack of a Zambezi Pipeline, Mjaji has one of his filing cabinet drawers marked "water project". The Zambezi Pipeline is a project, much delayed, which aims at providing better water supply for the region from the Zambezi. Nkomazana (the villager) also refers to his son in South Africa. Many people in the south-western part of Zimbabwe try to find a living in South Africa as opportunities at home are lacking. This also strengthens cultural relations to South Africa. I will later show that the "Members" does not present the regional conflict in a hard, ethnic way.

Summing up

It is clear that *Members* is not written in the dominant discourse, but wants to challenge hegemonic positions. Through the positions the play takes on political and socio-economic issues and regional conflict, the play is countering how the nation is managed. Dominant discourses are challenged by offering other elements to the discourses, the issues are made "political" again (Ref. my part 4.8). I will return to this in the following chapters. I cannot immediately see any reference to the racial conflict, and I shall return to this in chapter 9. In chapter 12, after having discussed representations of identity and nation generally (in chapter 10 and 11), I will discuss in more detail how hegemonic challenges are made and the plays suggestions for solutions.

CHAPTER 6. THEMES AND CONFLICTLINES IN "IVHU VERSUS THE STATE"

Synopsis

In "Ivhu versus the State" the story takes place on one evening. Three men meet up, perhaps on steps outside a shop or in a beer garden. Through different tableaux, a discussion on Zimbabwe takes place. The men represent each of the "races"; black (Reward), white (Stuart) and coloured ("mulatto"-Troy). They have received party invitations from an anonymous state, and are asked to come in their traditional clothes "and bring a suitable bottle". Ivhu means land or soil in Shona, and on their webpage Rooftop says that "Ivhu" is a fictitious country. The men cannot find any host and reflect on their pasts as black, white and coloured men. After a while they start discussing the current problems the nation is combating. Their views are coloured by which position they have in society. To their surprise, a teenage girl suddenly appears, and she says she is their host. The guys get scared because they do not know who she is, and she may be from the security services? They start torturing her, but after a while they come back to their senses. The girl then introduces herself as a judge with a message on cooperation and dialogue. In their debate on the land –question, she lets the men perform the colonising process up to today. She tries to make them see that the relation between the races, and the lack of unity are the source of Zimbabwe's problems.

6.1. Struggles of representations in "Ivhu"

6.1.1. Identities that meet; Reward, Stuart and Troy

Reward

Each of the characters wonders about the party invitation, mostly as a dialogue with themselves. This wondering also serves as an introduction. We meet the "black" first, Reward:

(grumbling) I haven't got time for parties. How am I supposed to dance? What the hell, I will show them. You invite Reward, Reward Mubairo John, to a fancy dressparty -what is fancy? I will show them fancy. *(He does a couple of fancy dance steps)* There!! You can't put me down. Reward Mubairo John. Double Reward. Shona and English. I am there, in, both worlds. Diploma in Business English, 1963, Ranche House College, Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia. Do you know that my great great, grandfather could talk to anyone - in any language - swahili, Lingala, Chichewa, any African language, even Portuguese. He spoke Arabic with Arabs. So they mustn't try to confuse me with funny language. *(takes out a large brown envelope and ceremoniously pulls from it an official 'invitation' on white cardboard)* "Personal Invitation to a Fancy Dress Party. Ivhu versus the State. Come in Traditional costume". Do these people even know the meaning of traditional? *(He begins to get changed)*.

Reward takes along some Scud with him, a local sorghum-based beer, drunk by the povo in beer gardens; our associations go to a man from one of the townships. After a while Stuart arrives, "the white" guy;

Stuart

Traditional costume. And bring a suitable bottle. Suitable For what? Bungee jumping? If you want suitable, have it at my place. I got deck chairs, a pool, one of those Brazilian braais with a long silver sword for skewering the nyama. And that's not the end of it, hey? There's a pool table, the kids can watch satellite. What a pleasure! now this - (*looks at invite*) Doesn't say "Bring a partner" - nothing! I'm not a moffie! (*pull out a kilt from his bag*) this is not a skirt, eh. This is a family heirloom, 160 years old, Clan Maclean. You don't mess with us. We have been kicking arse for a few centuries. Eh? It's not a fancy dress, we went to war in this item. Never mind Brazilian braai skewers, my great grandfather, Robert Maclean had a sword that could even take off a few of these shefs skops (hats) (*he does the swinging action*). But he lost it, somewhere between Southampton and Cape Town in 1888. Bloody Fortnum and Tossler Shipping Agents lost the bloody thing. Now that is fancy dress! (*he start preparing to dress*) Ah, look, I'll check it out. Don't look. Next time you check me, I'll be looking like Prince Charles at Balmoral.

Troy

When Stuart has finished his introduction, Troy arrives; a coloured man in his thirties:

Five hundred kites (dollars) for a bottle of Teachers (whiskey label). I am going to make sure I dop (empty) this thing. I am not sharing. Ouns (guys) tune "suitable" and this suits me just fine. Other ouns can take what suits them. That's half my entertainment allowance for the month gone. (*pulls out his invitation from the brown envelope*) This is not an invitation, it is more like a placard for a protest march. I am being set up. And who is this Ivhu V.S? Why can't he be normal and put his initials on the front side like everybody else? V.S. Ivhu. "The State". Is that an invitation? It's more like a summons, a trap. Ouns are crafty. Skates (now/urgent). I already told the ouns at graft (work), if I am not back on Monday, this is where I am, ekse.(akse?-sir). So that mense that you check out on CNN holding up one of those protests poster things, hey it's not me; I am going to a gig. That's all. Check it out. (*shows off his traditional things*) I got my assegaai (short spear) here. That covers the traditional aspect of this item - Jah, it's true, this flippin ("just common but meaningless") assegaai belonged to my great great grandfather who was a Zulu warrior, married to Nguboyenja's auntie. But my great grandfather messed it up, he was dwas! (shonglish -a mix of English and shona- for love, it is; di-wa -z) by shovelling local on the first steam trains to Bulawayo. But it's history. Tradition. That's the way it goes (*pulls out a pipe*). Now this is another story this. You can imagine what happened after that, because now there is some Irish comes into the whole story and we not talking leprechauns, ain't no pot of gold at the end of this rainbow. Just some lonely corporal in the British South African chartered Company and a Zulu bullet, Nobuhle. And these ouns want me to dress up in traditional costume. Lekker!! (slang for good/like) (*starts to get dressed*).

Worries over the invitation

The men speculate over the reason for the invitation. Stuart feels he is a target because he is white, "You take my situation, right? My home is my castle. But outside, I am a target, I am white. They think just because I am white I am against, I am versus the state. Of course I am versus the state, everyone is versus the state". Reward remembers that blacks were also tortured; he has also written a letter to the editor which he fears was too critical, "Then twelve days later I get invited to a party *against* the state. Which paper gave my name and details to the state?" Troy believes this a recruitment to a political party; "TUPAC. Trade Union Party Against Corruption. I'm all for it, as a worker. But I'll join silently".

Zimbabwe's intervention in The Democratic Republic of Congo

Stuart introduces Congo as a theme, "Congo is a war of economic interests". As mentioned in chapter 2, the Zimbabwean army supported President Kabila in the civil war in DRC from the autumn 1998. This decision had not been debated in parliament, and both the costs and

casualty figures made participation in the war unpopular in Zimbabwe. Stuart, Reward and Troy also see the intervention in Congo as an attempt to earn money for those involved. A UN report after the war documented highly illegal exploitation of natural resources and illegal business transactions, in which Zimbabwean politicians, military personnel and businessmen were involved (EIU 1999a: 9, UN Security Council S/2001/357 12 April 2001). The costs of the DRC intervention reduced the public health service, which at the same time needed a great deal of resources because of the hiv/aids crisis (Daily News 30.9.1999).

6.1.2. "We the same ...this must be the place"

They see they have similar invitations: "Troy: So how come we all got one like that? Stuart: I don't know. Maybe we all got invited to the same event. Reward: Ivhu versus the State (*Stuart goes and gets his invitation from his 'position'*) Stuart: It's the same. (*TROY fetches his invitation.*) Troy: And check out mine (*They pass their invitations around to each other*). Reward: They are the same. Stuart: We the same. Troy: It's the same. .. Why are we here? Stuart: Do I know? Reward: Is this the party? Stuart: Where is this place we are supposed to be? (*They check each other's invitations again*) Troy: I don't know. This must be the place". The men end up reflecting meta-philosophically on being "the same", i.e: "on the place we are supposed to be". A theme is introduced here which is about the men and their different racial backgrounds as a "we", as "the same". But their differences are also referred to, as well as the need for a sort of unity and dialogue between these positions which have been so polarised in Zimbabwe. The premise is then that there is a certain amount of difficulty in the relations between the races, and this also serves as a comment on the politics of reconciliation which have been practiced since 1980. I shall return to this.

At the same time, they seem to be arguing for a place for themselves in a figurative sense, to be seen from their position and their identity. They refer to their specific socio-economic and socio-cultural localisation, all three have their own worlds within which they operate. The theme thus also touches on the balancing between the need for one's own identity and to be heard and seen with this identity. But the theme also concerns the necessity of giving of oneself, if some kind of "useful" unity is to be created. I use the word "useful" here preliminarily and will later discuss forms of unity.

"I have a dream...that one day"

The men refer to Billy Rautenbach, a Zimbabwean businessman, who has done shady business in Congo, with other Zimbabwean military personnel, politicians and businessmen. They see that protecting him and his peers is the reason for the intervention. "Reward: And bodyguarding the chefs who are using Billy's trucks to ship out the minerals". Troy provides a satirical description of the exploitation of resources in DRC;

TROY: (*In the mock-voice of Martin Luther King*) I have a dream. I have dream that one day all the gold and diamonds in the Congo will be ours to share around. I have a dream that one day all those little starving, poor suffering Congolese children will be little, poor starving suffering Zimbabweans. I HAVE A DREAM! I have a dream that one day the national fences that separate the Congo from Zimbabwe, that poor suffering nation called Zambia, will simply fall down and rot away and it will all be called Zimbabwe. Dee R Zee. And our leader will go forth with his musical troupes and lead us in kwasa kwasa over the Zambezi into the land of milk and honey where we can all sing together: Free At Last! It took us decades, but we are free at last. I have a dream that we can trade our dollar for their zairos and there will be no exchange regulations. There will be no Transparency needed. We have nothing to loose and everything to gain. Oh yes, I have a dream, that one day Laurent Kabila receiving the keys to the Sunshine City of Harare will walk hand in hand with Robert Mugabe down Samora Machel Avenue and turn to Thabo Mbeki and say: I TOLD YOU SO! Oh, I have a dream (*he passes out*).

The intervention in DRC can be seen as an allegory of the Zimbabwean government's exploitation of its own and other people. Troy, Reward and Stuart are some of many who experience distaste over the injustices. Being overlooked or ignored under the government's self-enrichment in what I interpret as being ZANUpf's struggle for power and resources.

6.1.3. "What is his name?" The coloured

While the "coloured" (Troy) is still lying having fainted on the ground in front of them, black Reward is curious about who Troy is; "He must have an identity". This may be a straightforward question, but it may also be an allegorical one concerning the coloured man's identity; a reflection over identity in line with their earlier reflections concerning why they had gathered at the same place. The coloured have had a special position in Zimbabwean society, and were ranked directly after the whites on the social ladder in the colony; their living and working –conditions and salaries were better than the blacks' (Dispatch Online (SA), September 8, 2001, Daily News 15.06.2002). It is argued that inclusion of the coloureds as a minority group is an expression of a real democracy; "Whites remain the most economically powerful people in the country since the colonial era and blacks are now coming up, especially after independence when the government made a deliberate affirmative action policy to empower them economically (...). We have not benefited from these policies since we are in the middle" (leader in The National Association for the Advancement of Mixed Race Coloureds, in Dispatch Online (SA), 8.9. 2001).

Emergency powers and the Standard case

With Troy still prostrate, they continue talking about current events. The Zimbabwean state is compared to the "army", a regime which uses emergency powers to control the opposition. "Use emergency powers to deal with a harmless hobo". The men seem to be referring to the use of emergency power to show how weak the legitimacy of the government is amongst the population at large so they have to be ruled through emergency powers. Perhaps the reference to emergency power also indicates a feeling of being overlooked; critical voices will be suppressed more or less immediately.

The use of emergency power was laid down by "The Emergency Presidential Powers Act" and "The Law and Order Maintenance Act" (1960). The law was used to persecute nationalists. Because of an uncertain security situation after independence, the law was retained and used in 1983-1984 to declare curfews in areas of Matabeleland, when the army was sent in to control dissidents, operation Gukurahundi. After the Unity Accord in 1987 the situation was stabilised and emergency powers ceased in 1990. But by controlling the media, the parastatals, economic sector and the security forces, the government has managed to keep opposition to a minimum. In 1999 a new Public and Order Security Bill (POSA) was under debate which would give the government extensive authority to handle critical voices.

The men then talk about the security police's (CIO) use of torture with "crocodile clips" on two journalists from the independent newspaper, the Standard. The newspaper had written an article in February 1999 about a planned military coup because of dissatisfaction in the army over the intervention in DRC. Both journalists were arrested (Blair 2002:41). Stuart points to the government's wish to control journalists better, including the issuing of licences. A law was in the making in 2000 - the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Bill (AIPPA) - and was accepted in 2002. It gives the government increased control over the work of journalists and prohibits foreign journalists (Kubatana.net 18.01.2002).

6.1.4. "But talk together. TO each other" –the torture

A young girl arrives who looks like a student. Stuart asks the men to get their gasmasks. Several demonstrations have taken place at the University of Harare and Harare Polytechnic against the government (HDR 1998:6), at which the police have used teargas against students. Troy, Stuart and Reward ask her why they are invited to a party; "Girl: But talk together. TO each other". The girl's main argument is that they have gathered together to talk to each other and this is related to how they bear their identity in terms of clothes and traditions. However, the hostess' unclear aims and identity threatens the men; they start wondering whether she is a "state operative". After a long and threatening piece of dialogue, they get angry; "Troy: Who the fuck are you, lady? Girl: I am Zimbabwean. Reward: Don't give me that shit. (...) Troy: We fixed the fucking journalists. And we'll fix you". Reward, Stuart and Troy have transformed into police interrogators, the same as the one which tortured the Standard journalists with electric "crocodile clips". "Stuart: Turn it up. Reward: How much? Troy: Twenty volt!"

After a while they finish, and she speaks to the audience: "I was asked to undress, sit on the floor and not move. Fifteen minutes later three guys came in and started interrogating me. I refused to disclose my sources and they said: We are going to torture you until you tell us. The first torture was electric shock applied to each of my toes, one by one, and to my genitals (...) They would make me put my feet in water and apply an electricity charge (...) They had my address book and would ask me about people in it. If I said I did not know them, they would torture me (...). One of my ears is now damaged. My genitals which were severely electrocuted still hurt".

The girl says that this was Ray Choto's testimony, the journalist from The Standard who was tortured. The hostess uses this testimony as a memorial or reminder for what can happen to people who dare to ask questions about conditions which need to be criticized. But it also shows what little it takes to use violence when the regime or people feel threatened. It is not direct threats the men react against, but more the girl's unclear agenda. Indirectly it may also show how the individuals live in a "culture of fear", and themselves use violence when they feel threatened.

The judge; "you began to talk – a kind of unity"

At last she tells them who she is: "Let me call myself a judge", her name is Susan. She points to the need of having someone (like her) who can call for unity because the lives of the three men are so different. The differences are described in terms of different socio-economic and cultural milieux. "Why is it that all you three unite in your complaints? You even get together and attempt to torture an innocent stranger. Yet you cannot unite and make something good".

6.1.5. Our home. This land business

The men, however, feel that there is some kind of force involved behind her encouraging them to cooperate. The "white", Stuart, says: "If there's one thing that unites us, it's that we are all in the same boat - and it's sinking". The judge gives up and wants to go home. But then both Reward and Troy protest; "Hang on. ..Eh? If you are the host, this is your home. No. In fact, I have got something to talk about. Our home. This land business".

Land is put on an equal footing with the home. The country and people's future is discussed in dominant discourses in terms of access to land and soil. The judge has brought a box with clothes with her from different historical Zimbabwean epochs; she wants the men to play out their history. The first chimurenga (resistance), at the end of the 1800s, is performed. The beginning of the nationalist movement at the end of the 1950s is then performed, and in an

interlude we see how Troy is born, and how the coloured becomes a part of the history in Zimbabwe. "White" Stuart is mortally injured by "black" Reward, and Stuart has a last wish; "I have always wanted some of the maidens, bring her undercover of darkness".

The armed liberation war (the second chimurenga from 1964 into the 1970s) is performed: "Reward (*to Stuart*): You will pay for this. You took our land! You did not ask for it. Our men work in our mines and on your new farms" (*Reward comes with a spear now in attacking position. Hurls the imaginary spear. Stuart recoils, injured, screaming. He lies down*). The men then perform the freedom and reconciliation (1980) and the later land crises and finally the current land problem and occupation of farms, which ZANUpf terms "the third chimurenga".

The land question

The land question played a central role during the liberation war, and the goal was fairer distribution. Better allocation has been attempted since 1980, but the unfair distribution of resources under the colonial government makes the task difficult. In 1969, 50 % of the land was reserved for white farmers, and this was the most fertile land in the north and east. The majority of the country's black farmers therefore live in less fertile areas, and this is seen as the main source of the poverty (HDR 1998:14). The government's "resettling" programme has been too slow and demands huge resources because other facilities and infrastructure are also needed in the resettling process. The need for land in "communal areas" because of an increasing population makes land allocation a pressing issue. In 1999, about 30 % of the most fertile land was still owned by 4000 white, commercial farmers. Many of these farm owners wanted real compensation and transparent allocation if they were to sell. Since then, land allocation has been an issue in the parliamentary and presidential elections, farms have been occupied and farmers deported. The coloured Troy argues the most vehemently for a solution; "We have to sit down - the chiefs with the settlers, the businessmen with the politicians, the peasants with the commercial growers. And make a plan. I thought that was what Zimbabwe was all about".

6.1.6. Political problems being summarized; "Mugabe is a kind of fucked-up visionary"

Stuart blames Mugabe's political choices for the problems; "You know, when you look at it, Mugabe is a kind of fucked-up visionary. He's got this idea that we have to be great". They move to another of Zimbabwe's problems; "Troy: (...) We are losing millions right here at home. (...) Reward: But now affirmative action affirms the chosen few. Indigenous business is business for a few who are more indigenous than others. Troy: It's like rats in a cage - as the food keeps coming, they get fatter and fatter and then you turn off the food and they start eating each other". They refer to different corruption scandals: "Stuart: United Merchant Bank, Noczim (National Oil Company), Cottco (cotton industry), ZBC, ZTA (Zimbabwe Tourism Authority), Air Zimbabwe...."

Whilst discussing "The Members", I have shown how corruption leads to disillusionment amongst the people; it confirms a discourse of getting rich any which way. People feel corruption functions as a kind of "no -thank you very much" on behalf of the corrupt to any discourse on community and responsibility. The characters in *Ivhu* also refers to this experience.

"Paraplegic cabinets". "The nation needs a straitjacket"

Susan, Troy, Reward and Stuart criticize the parliamentary politics which was also a central theme in "Members". They point to people in power positions which have the necessary

authority to change the difficult conditions in Zimbabwe. Black Reward refers to how the fund for compensation of injured war veterans was looted by politicians who argued they were more handicapped. "... Our cabinet, according to official reports, is made up of paraplegics and spastics and mentally deficient". Stuart: "And they deliver speeches like that (*Troy and Stuart make like mad things.*) Reward; the nation needs a strait jacket". Troy describes the money-grabbing culture: "It's no longer a war against colonialism and oppression. It is a war to oppress and make money", and the judge summarizes the "civic education" point of the play; "And as civilians, we must remember that fact. That we also have power".

"Put it in the community chest"

They continue the party, the judge has made them see that they no longer need to fight and they can take off their traditional clothes. But they protest: "Reward: But this is history. Troy: Tradition. Judge: Great. So put it away. Lay it to rest. It won't go away. Stuart: But then you make us naked. Judge: No, put it in the community chest".

6.2. Central conflict lines represented in "Ivhu versus the State"

The political conflict line; the parliamentarians and the "state of emergency"

"Ivhu versus the State" refers to the problems present in Zimbabwe in 1999, and this was a general criticism which also appeared in the independent newspapers and in civil society's opposition. Ivhu points to conflicts between leaders and people, here portrayed as the different races which feel neglected and partly misused.

The political conflict lines are represented in "Ivhu" via the criticism of the parliamentarians and the way "civilians" are ignored. The play shows how the politician approves of corruption. Referring to the emergency powers shows what little legitimacy the regime had in the population at large and that there was a feeling of powerlessness. It also articulates a desire for a democratisation of society. The story about the Standard case can also be interpreted as being a desire for democratization and criticism of the violation of human rights. It refers to the government's reducing freedom of speech to avoid political criticism.

The political conflict is ascribed to the lack of competence and accountability of the ageing leadership. They don't understand the "the working of a modern state" (CPN 1998:28). "Ivhu versus the State" supports this definition of the problem by ironically describing the parliamentarians as handicapped. The parliament's weak critical role toward the executive president is made explicit. The use of a judge as a host may also indicate a wish for a more effective and responsible judiciary.

Socio-economic conflicts

Worries over deteriorating social conditions, economical problems and increased inequality are the themes in this conflict line. Ivhu represents this conflict first by referring to the intervention in DRC, and the enrichment, which many assumed the rest of the world was not aware of before the UN report came out (UN Security Council 2001, paragraph 22-35). Secondly, the land question is presented, and the importance of access to resources such as arable land and more equal distribution. Troy argues for a plan which had already been made at an "International Donors Conference on Land Reform and Resettlement". The meeting was held between the government and donors in September 1998, and plans for resettling and finances were approved (HDR 1998:18).

Ivhu's presentation of the corruption problems shows how money and property which belongs to the community is mere loot with which the powerful can fill their pockets. Ivhu refers to actual cases, see part 6.1.7 (TIZ magazin 2000: Vol 1, Issue 1 July- September 2002). Troy also tells about "mysterious accidents" - suspicion of political killings in struggles for political and commercial positions. Ivhu refers to a culture of self-enrichment; the lack of interest in sharing with the community. I will return to this in chapter 8.

A regional conflict and a racial conflict

The CPN report outlines a regional conflict on unequal distribution, in which the northern and eastern parts are favoured (Mashonaland, including Mugabe's home area, and Harare). I cannot find any specific references to the problems in Matabeleland in "Ivhu", e.g. concerns over a lack of development. I shall be returning to this later.

A central message in "Ivhu versus the State" is that the lack of dialogue between the races is the reason for many of the country's problems. The race conflict (the assumed race conflict) appears in the performance of the history, in which white Stuart feels as a target. But Reward also questions this by saying "they tortured blacks, that what worries me". The arguments about their not being able to unite for the common good and the conclusion that they need to talk to each other and perhaps give up their erstwhile identities imply that the race conflict is at least in part seen as a reason for Zimbabwe's problems. The problems could be solved by giving up the prevailing identities and trying someone else's.

However, this antagonism between white and black was not very widespread in 1999, and this is then may be a surprising angle of emphasising in Ivhu. At that time, race was not seen as an everyday conflict among most of the ordinary, poor Zimbabweans. It was a mere line of propaganda developed to stir up trouble in race relations (Blair 2002:42-43, CPN 1998:27-30). The race conflict was not on the agenda in the independent newspapers, only in government ones. I will continue this discussion in chapter 9.

Summing up – the need for dialogue.

Ivhu is obviously critical of the government; it comments on the current conflicts in the nation and counters hegemonic positions in most of the conflict lines in the nation, though perhaps with the exception of the race conflict. As in *Members*, it offers the discourses new elements. The fixed and naturalised "social" is opened and becomes political processes in the play (Winther Jørgensen & Philips 1999:60, ref p 39 above). Further, Ivhu points out some important solutions, such as the need for dialogue and how to relate to one's identity. A closer discussion of the presentation of the conflict lines and suggestions for solutions is included in chapter 12. Firstly, I will look more closely at narratives of gender, class, race, identity and nation.

CHAPTER 7. REPRESENTATIONS OF GENDER AND PEOPLE WITH POLITICAL POWER IN "THE MEMBERS" AND "IVHU VERSUS THE STATE"

7.1. Women's situation in Zimbabwe

The situation for women can be described from a number of aspects. Country Report on Human Rights Practices (1999) refers to violence against women and that this violence cut across racial and economic lines. According to Women in Law and Development in Africa (WILDAF) "domestic violence" is the reason for more than 60 percent of murders which were brought to Harare High Court in 1998. There has been an increase in reported rapes. It is also pointed out that women have met obstacles when they want to report rapes. The Musasa Project, a women's rights organisation established the country's first women's refuge in Harare in 1997. At work, sexual harassment takes place. The Training and Research Support Centre (a Harare-based NGO) showed that one third of women at all levels of employment experienced this. Even though discrimination based on gender is prohibited by law, women are concentrated at the lower end of the employment market (US Country Report on Human Rights 1999).

Education and legal rights

The situation for women is described as being difficult because of economic dependency and illiteracy. Social norms prevent rural women in particular from resisting discrimination. Literacy rates for women over 15 years of age is expected to be around 80 percent, while for men the figure is more than 90 percent. Human Development Report (1998:58-64) shows that in most of the regions fewer girls than boys go to secondary school. Since independence, the government has enacted laws which advance women's rights and prevent traditional practices which are discriminatory. But women are still exposed to traditional customs such as marrying a partner they have not chosen and the tradition of a widow marrying her late husband's brother. New laws also aim to protect women's property rights, The Legal Age of Majority Act and The Matrimonial Causes Act acknowledge women's right to property independent of their husband or fathers. But women are still fighting for greater land property rights.

In politics and counter organisations

Women are also underrepresented in the government and politics and only twenty of the 150 MPs are women. They may participate in politics without any legal restriction, but according to local women's groups the husband, especially in rural areas, decides whom the wife should vote for. However, many women's groups such as; WILDAF, the Musasa Project, The Zimbabwean Women Lawyers' Association, The Women's Action Group and Zimbabwe Women Resource Centre and Network work to improve knowledge about legal rights, increase economic power and prevent domestic violence (US Country Report on Human Rights 1999:13-15, HDR 1998:59).

7.2. The women in "The Members"; Gloria

"The Members" represents a traditional female role at the beginning; the secretary, Gloria, is told in no uncertain terms what her position is when she protests about MP Mjaji's decision not to see the villager Nkomazana. She cannot involve herself in his business - she can't be the voice of the electorate. "Gloria: (*from off stage*) But Mr. Mjaji, you have an appointment with these people. These people have been trying to meet you for the past seven months and you can't keep postponing the appointment. Mjaji: Gloria, do you know that I am your boss? Gloria: Yes, Mr. Mjaji".

"Beautiful body..."

Gloria's more conventional "womanly" features then come into focus. The younger MP Nkosenhle (shortened to Nkosi) and MP Mjaji have exchanged news on their business:

MJAJI: Party time. Gloria will dance for us. NKOSI: Here in your office? MJAJI: Just wait and see. NKOSI: Ah uMjaji! MJAJI: *(On the phone)* Gloria ele self raising, mntanami! (my child) Come and dance for us. Yes in the office. UNKosenhle would like to see you. Yeah put on your best costume. O.K. Ntanami, bye. *(to Nkosenhle)* She won't be long. NKOSI: But Mjaji, it's not a good idea using other people like that. MJAJI: Kuvele kwakunjalo lasendulo (It was like this in past times/long time ago) The ruling class would invite amaPerforming artists to all sorts of places, all sorts of occasions and all sorts of events. NKOSI: Yikho ukubusa (is that what you call ruling)? MJAJI: Yikubusa (yes that is ruling). NKOSI: Kodwa kumele sibuse kuhle (but we are supposed to rule nicely/properly). MJAJI: Let me refill your glass. *(Goes to his cabinet and pours them some more whisky. He is timing the content and making sure he fills his glass and pours little for Nkosi)* MJAJI: Ende imngcwa leyontokazi, imngcwa! (this girl is beautiful-sexual connotation) *(Gloria enters dressed as a dancer in traditional beautiful costume, and does a beautiful song and equal effort dance routine. Mjaji and Nkosi cannot resist the attempt to join, sing and dance with Gloria. Gloria finished her dance and runs out of stage. The excitement between the two is high).* NKOSI: She's got a beautiful voice, beautiful dance, beautiful body I telling you.

Gloria is given a role which is perhaps not part of her secretarial duties, and that is to dance; she is also spoken of as a sexual object. But MP Nkosenhle's comment – "it's not a good idea using other people like that" - shows that Mhlanga is making a political comment here on how Mjaji combines the private and the public spheres.

A caring person

As his secretary, MP Mjaji's feels Gloria should defend his opinions, such as when Nkomazana comes to see Mjaji. Nkomazana wonders whether Mjaji is alive since he is never able to get hold on him. Gloria: "But baba Nkomazana, he is a powerful member of the central committee" *(Handing Nkomazana the bag)*. "The Members" shows Gloria's dilemma; it may well be that it is a secretary's task to be loyal, but her traditional, womanly tasks of being caring and protecting is also exploited. I have earlier shown that she becomes the bearer of others' worries, e.g. Nkomazana's despair over the situation in Mbomanzi, Nkosi's fear of attempts at assassination and Mjaji's breakdown after the rally in Mbomanzi. This listening role is also a caring role.

Critic; "A cowardly old man like you..."

After a while, Gloria takes on a critical role as a political individual. She starts protesting against her working conditions and threatens to resign if she is not given better pay for the working conditions she has. MP Nkosenhle has offered her a job. Whilst negotiating with Mjaji, Gloria thinks; *(laughing)* Igwala lexhegu leli, umuntu uyabesenzani ekwazi ukuthi ligwala futhi. (A coward like you, ...A coward old man like you) Manje today I want him to jump around. I want to show him that I also have power". A bit later she says; "I have nothing to talk over Mr. Mjaji I'm just selling my skills to the employer who pays the highest and that's all".

Mjaji does not scrimp when he realizes it is Nkosi who is competing with him. The privileges Gloria has achieved may be interpreted as being a humourisation and satirisation of women's struggle against a traditionally subordinate economic position. Mjaji offers her a car and house in the best part of the town; "This is not business, this is about power, (...) but I will show him (Nkosi) that I have more power than his power. Tell him I'm offering you 72 000 a year, tell him I'm buying you a house eMatsheumhlophe khonangale (there), I'm offering \$1 000 a month, education allowance for umntanakho omncane lowana (your young child) also

tell him I'm buying you a Hyundai S Coupe, also Gloria, I'm offering \$800 a month, itelephone allowance kuphela (only) and Gloria mtshela ukuthi (tell him) I'm offering 2 000 a month iEntertainment allowance, mtshela (tell him)" (*almost losing his voice*). Gloria accepts Mjaji's offer and he sighs: "I have never lost and I will never lose".

Gloria rejoices over the position she has: "Mjaji: Honestly what is your problem, let's talk it over. Gloria: You are my problem Mr. Mjaji, and I can't talk it over can I? I can't! Mjaji: Zwana mnatanami (listen my child) I can meet any conditions, whatever you want". And she is aware of her advantages, and not even her sympathy for Nkosenhle will she let get in the way of her arguing for a better salary; "Aha no, no, Mr Nkosenhle if you can't spend that much on a skilled person like me then you lose and he wins. No negotiations. Ya, you lose and he wins – simple". Gloria also fights back; "Mjaji: Gloria do you know that you are biting a hand that feeds you. Gloria: And do you know that you knocking a wall that protects you".

Mhlanga is recounting how the secretary becomes the MP's private property and not a part of the MP's belonging to a community:

... the power doesn't need to come from outside, but from within. If all the secretaries met people from constituencies which are not satisfied; the whole country would have been changed over the night (Mhlanga 9.7.1999.TSCC).

MP Mrs. Jamila

How is the second female character, "offstage" MP Mrs Jamila, created? She shows the possibilities women have to be politicians. From the point of view of identity, she is a role model: a potential presidential candidate and one who takes responsibility for her local community, a person in a position of power who really cares for the inhabitants of her community and works honestly. Jamila is both a vision and an illustration of the problematic electoral procedures in the way she decides to stand as an independent. Gloria defends Jamila, but is met by Mjaji's rude remarks: "Gloria: (...) Mrs. Jamila has done a wonderful job for the villagers of Mbomanzi and you should congratulate her. Mjaji: What? Me congratulate a woman who is after my back with an assegai".

7.2.1. Summing up -absence of stereotypes

The female characters are not described as stereotypes or in subordinate roles in "The Members". Mrs Jamila, by virtue of her absence as a stage figure, may be close to a idealised icon-position, but this works more as a productive utopia (Frederiksen 1990:38, see also part 1.3) rather than as a way of making her invisible. I can see that the older MP is attempting to construct Gloria into a chain of equivalence consisting of; obedience, loyalty and renouncement of own views, and in this way she is constructed as a subordinate passive figure (ref part 4.3). Mjaji "rages" against Gloria too ("I am your boss, do as I say") and uses sexual insinuations when the women go against him. But we also see Gloria and Jamila's resistance to adopting those subject positions Mjaji puts forward. The male characters also support the women. Nkosi reacts to Mjaji's proposed use of Gloria as a dancing girl, and Nkomazana is serious when he approaches Gloria with his problems. Together they all contribute to building up plural, many-centered subject positions for women.

Gloria's revolt against her working conditions and the womanly role she is given move her beyond the chain of equivalence she is put into, she has made a disidentification. She moves beyond lines of suppression, and this also dissolves or disintegrates the essentializing of the secretary role and gender. The chain of equivalence Gloria is gradually inscribed with or articulated in can be described as consisting of "active" and "politically conscious" with

respect for her own knowledge and rights. This is a chain of equivalence which has connotations of positive power and plurality. The concept of power does not need to be limited to suppression. Power can be seen as *positive* in the understanding of it as a resource through which social improvement can be implemented (Torfing 1999:162-163 with reference to Laclau 1993b:293-4, Foucault 1986c [76]:93).

Gloria's struggle results in new knowledge and a small-scale emancipation on a personal and conceptual level (ref part 4.8). Emancipation is not a "transfer to a land of freedom in which the essential human nature is fully liberated", but can be defined as pragmatic experiments to undermine and/or transform "the prevailing power relations so as to make them more acceptable and less oppressive" (May 1994:112-19 in Torfing 1999). For Foucault, power is "the way in which certain actions modify other actions by means of shaping the identities of the acting subjectivities" (in Torfing 1999:163-165).

Gloria is inscribed with new knowledge and can thus be associated with having been made equal thanks to getting equal pay and recognition for her qualifications. Her negotiations for a higher salary help give other women a model for economic and political struggle. Gloria is given different positions: secretary in different versions, Nkosi's friend and "politician", and through this she is written out of academic discourses about triple marginalisation and universal subordination (Boehmer 1995, Mohanty 1991). "The Members" shows a local struggle with the point of departure in Gloria's distinct actuality. Even though we not see much of her private life, her struggle is described as a specific task, which makes it possible to show new and plural subject positions. In this way, I would say that new spaces for women are being constructed within discourses of women's rights and empowerment though the dominant discourses are also present. Identity positions extend roles and possibilities, whilst the discourses, which produce the subject –positions, expand because new elements are articulated into the discourse.

7.2.2. What about the males' positions in The Members?

The old MP, Mjaji, represents the old-fashioned role of men, who comment on women in a sexist manner, abuse their caring capacity and demand protection and loyalty. The younger Nkosi is more sympathetic than Mjaji: he has a better political judgement and sees the abuse of the people (including Gloria), despite the fact that he also takes advantage of his position as an MP. Nkosi is ready to work for political changes - in this way he also shows a caring capacity. What we see of the villager, Nkomazana's male identity is similar to the way Nkosi takes up his identity. Nkomazana sees the injustices and addresses Gloria, in contrast to Mjaji, as a human being rather than as a sexual object. Nkomazana cares for his homeplace and also lets other inhabitants have their say at the meeting in Mbomanzi; he appears as an ideal villager, but at the same time he is given a specific capacity of actions. Nkomazana in particular shows a subject position which is specific and political.

7.2.3. Genealogy over a power position: Mjaji and Ngangezwe

But neither Nkomazana nor Nkosi is so specifically represented as Mjaji. Mjaji is displayed in close-ups, in specific tasks, from confidence in success to loss. This makes it possible to say that "The Members" is a genealogy over a certain way of performing a representative task, a way of being in one's power, which may be usual among many MPs. The portrayal of Mjaji can be seen as an interrogation of those conditions which lead to his incompetent job as a representative (Winther Jørgensen & Philips 1999:21). Mhlanga's interests in Mjaji's identity practice gives at the same time an image of those discourses of power, lines of propaganda and the political situation (chapt. 2.5.2.) which let Mjaji unfold like this. In this way "The

Members" is a deconstruction of those hegemonic discourses which make Mjaji behave in this way (see part 4.8.). When the play shows Mjaji's fall, it also displays Mjaji's behaviour as contingent, as specifically produced and because of this his behaviour could also have been different. I will return to this in chapter 12.

The fact that the President, the first-secretary - Ngangezwe ("as big as the country") - figures as a puppet means of course that we are not provided with a detailed picture of a male identity. However, the way Mjaji talks to him and relies on him ("I love you shef") does provide an image of a nigh mechanical power person behind the scenes. A power person more as an idea, an icon and unreal figure, and who therefore can be challenged for his "hollowness". Ngangezwe is created via what Mjaji says about him, as if the actual rhetoric itself and the discourses surrounding the President are what keep him "as big as the country". So if the discourses which build his power position (the constitution, the executive president, "patriotism") are challenged, and thereby also Mjaji's position, the figure and the subject position will disappear. Implicitly, those discourses which make this form of exercising one's identity possible, no longer exist in the play.

"Body politics"

Most people can see through the President's (Ngangezwe) flowery tribute to Mjaji (5.1.4). Portraying the President as a hand puppet also quite literarily provides an image of someone absent; he is not embodied. This may be because of the need to exercise caution, but it also produces an image of the president as bodiless and soulless. This is also a continuation of Nkosis' criticism of Mjaji and other top-politicians, saying that they need to take a long political holiday and re-learn to be normal people. Power persons are depicted as seriously lacking cognitive capacity and physiological presence. This is a "body political" strategy which is common to postcolonial theatre, in which deformed bodies cause identities and subject positions which uphold an oppressive power to disintegrate (Gilbert and Tompkins 1996:203 ff, Gilbert 1998:67), see also chapter 12.

Cont Mhlanga says he will not mention Mugabe's name or directly address issues because one then becomes an opposition politician instead of artist. Of Mugabe's name he says:

...there is no power in it (...) it has to be a satire (...) I do it silent. All through the play it's made silent. And even because of that it is being talked about. When the first secretary arrives; I am letting him be a puppet. But what I also say; when people read speeches, then they don't say what they understand; they are manipulating. Everyone who has written this is afraid. And all the speeches are like that; and all the news are examples of these speeches. Not the issue on the ground, that's why I wanted a puppet here. Wait until he speaks from his head; then you will hear an animal dictator (Mhlanga 16.7.1999. TSCC).

At the same time, depicting the President as a puppet could be a political argument (in addition to a strategy for playing it safe). By depicting the President as a puppet, Mhlanga avoids personalizing power even more. By using a doll, he demonstrates that it is the discourses surrounding the regime and upon which the regime is based which uphold the power Mugabe exercises.

7.3. "Ivhu versus the States" woman

7.3.1. Susan

The men meet Susan for the first time in the following way: "Reward: This is trouble coming. The UZ students have arrived. (...) Stuart: Casper the Friendly Sociologist. Reward: Gentlemen. Who is this?" Susan is immediately presented as a student, then her identity; who

she is the theme. Only after this question Troy comment that she is a women; "Why! A lady!"; Susan is addressed as the one who can provide them with an answer as to why they are there. Susan says that the most important thing is that they came and dressed the way they wanted, but the men do not feel secure about her identity.

Susan; "I am Zimbabwean" and "born-free"

"Troy; who the fuck are you, lady? Susan: I am Zimbabwean". She takes a kind of national identity, an overarching identity. And she is young, a "born-free", those who were born after independence. There have been few gender-specific references up to now; instead, Susan is given a connecting role as a catalyst, one possible answer to their presence. The men also seem to feel somewhat inferior; "Stuart: You think you are better than us". Reward's question: "Why are we here?" shows the unrest she has caused in them and perhaps this is the question she wants them to answer - to talk about why they "are here" in the nation of Zimbabwe.

The tortured

The men put her under pressure; "Troy: who are your sources, speak talk!", and she becomes the tortured Standard journalist. Is she tortured because she, in all her mysteriousness, does not give them an answer? The play allows her to change her role and refer to the way a real person was brutally tortured and not just her own subjection to torture in fiction. This may be because referring to her own torture might have produced strong associations with the oppression of women. After the torture –scene, she continues her critical and pedagogical project: "The same system you deplore is the one you use against me. I think you are human. You had the power to do whatever you wanted". The men want an answer to why they are there. However, the fact that an answer is lacking may also refer to an experience, or feeling, the play's producer, Guzha, the authors and others have that they have not received an answer to the question of why they are in Zimbabwe in that no narratives (national discourses) exist on which they can agree on and feel included in. They want Susan as a woman and a "born-free" to give them this answer. She then introduces herself as a judge.

The pedagogue and caring person

Then, we have a "born-free", student, a woman, a Zimbabwean with a pedagogical project which is being tortured, and who also is a judge. Up to now there have been few references to gender. Stuart says: "Listen, I am going to give you the benefit of the doubt, because maybe you are a nice girl. So tell me quickly, cause I am getting a little cheesed off here, what's the point?" Susan: "This is the point. You here. From different walks of life. Different experiences. Different viewpoints. We all came together". She has introduced her project; to come together despite differences, she wants them unite on good issues, and not only complain about the state. At the same time she becomes a listener, hearing the men's protests. In this way she is given the same listening role Gloria had. Susan hears the mens frustrations, and is even tortured. These frustrations she gathers and articulates by revealing who she is and getting them to act out their histories, so that they can experience being united in common crises. But even here she must support the men and bear their often unarticulated frustration "Troy: What can we do. This is not talking, this is pushing".

At the same time they push her further on her project, when she threatens to leave: "Reward: You can't do that. You invited us. We have to see this business through to the bitter end. Troy; Hang on. You said you are the host. So where are you going to go? Eh? If you are the host, this is your home". So despite the fact that Susan is not addressed gender-specifically and instead in a more androgynous way, she is given a caring role, a responsibility which conventionally belongs to the identity of woman.

"Take off your clothes. Make up, make the scene, make the story"

Troy wants to discuss the land question so as to find an answer to what actually constitutes their homeland. They change their clothes so that they appear in their earlier historical clothes according to their racial identity. In this process we see some play on gender roles both for women-men, and men-men, "Judge: Strip! Troy: Hey, sister, not on a first date (...) Reward: Are you crazy? I'm old enough to be your father. Judge: I won't look. I only want to get down to basics (....) Troy: You asked for it. Three drunk men strip".

However, the men's comments are not directly degrading Susan. Susan appears more as a liberated woman with something quite different in her mind than body and sexuality. Susan tells them that they all need to retell their history, and now their task is to narrate and "make the story. Your story. Let us begin at the beginning. We are with the chief". In this way she makes them grasp history. Instead of letting them feel that they are in a sinking ship, they are allowed to play out history again, as a way of taking care of them.

Catalyst?

The re-performance of history clarifies the positions, but perhaps the men have not united on a new common project - they perform their traditional historical roles. Even as a catalyst, Susan has not helped construct a new project. Stuart, Troy and Reward are still only united in their criticism and in that they agree that they as civilians also have power. We are then given the final "warmer" as opposed to directly gender-humiliating comment. "Reward. I bags the kilt. *(They start fighting and arguing. Judge intervenes)* Judge: Haven't we had enough fighting for one day? Reward: Well, this is what happens when there's not enough women to go round. Judge: Boys will be boys (ends)".

The statement "boys will be boys" may de-emphasize her argument - is she resigned to the notion that the men lack the capacity to change, both as citizens and in terms of their gender identity? Or is this only an attempt to end the whole on a conciliatory note?

The women in a positive chain of equivalence; "knowledge, plan, judge"

Susan is not depicted in a traditional role as a secretary, housewife or other woman-specific "occupations". She is a student and a judge. In this way her repertoire is extended; she is articulated in a chain of equivalence, comprising knowledge, an underlying idea and the ability to direct and organise the men. There are connotations of her being strong. The men listen to her; this is a productive articulation of a woman. In this way, the tasks and situations with which she can be associated or equivalent to are expanded. This is similar to Gloria's role, though Susan may have other perhaps more private tasks as women which are not visualized here.

Susan being a "born-free" and student are subject positions which enable her role as a catalyst. And perhaps only a "born-free" can lead men of an older generation through political history and back to the present, so that they can start "from scratch". She articulates this experience for a new generation of well-educated Zimbabweans. Nevertheless, Guzha thinks she is a woman with whom the rural population also can identify:

(...) especially the rural societies, they are not clear to accept the fact that a women can be outspoken. So it is going to be interesting to find out how they react to this. In another way; it is a very good thing that this part is being played by a woman; because this is the only way;(....) to show that this production is for today. So that they could say; oh- she is talking something. She is making sense. Then actually they can start clearing the other problem that are associated with women in a rural context (....)

She is a bornfree. But most important of all (...) Those are the future (...) good leadership, new leadership; meaningfully leadership is actually got to come in for that particular age (Guzha 2.6.1999 Margolis Plaza. Harare).

7.3.2. Summing up - icon?

Susan is articulated in a positive chain of equivalence consisting of knowledge. Her historical gender is emphasized little; perhaps only in the way it is absent. Instead she may be representing a step further on the road to extending women's subject positions. Nevertheless, she does have characteristics which are traditionally associated with being a woman, such as being a caring person and one who sees. At the same time she also has the role of a neutral judge and the role within which she takes responsibility - we may associate Susan with the role of a visionary. But the absence of traditional, gender-specific connotations and her pedagogical project and visions give her a mysterious, absent and unifying status. This is similar to the positions women got in the early liberation movements; as mothers of the nation and messengers or heralds, as icons around which to gather, and now as a catalyst for Stuart, Troy and Reward's journeys of realization or acknowledgement. As I have mentioned earlier, women who were represented in this way were often overlooked or neglected after independence (see part 4.5). A more multi-faceted and versatile representation of women is argued for, as opposed to representing her merely as an idea (Boehmer 1995:225, Shohat 1997:5).

Susan's task in this play give her the icon-status; she is not displayed in other roles in her daily life. The plural and multi-faceted elements which a woman's daily life consists of and the gender-specific relations and roles of subordination are not on the agenda in *Ivhu*. However, "*Ivhu versus the State*" does use a woman in an argument concerning giving the nation another content. Susan is tasked with giving the nation a new meaning, Susan has the space to articulate "I am a Zimbabwean". She seems to be pointing to different content for a new national identity, and comes close to a national identity based on the concept of "citizen". Gloria also displays this in "*The Members*", and I shall return to this in chapter 10.

7.3.3. The men in "*Ivhu versus the State*" – surprisingly willing to learn

Reward, Stuart and Troy belong to the older generation; and they are very willing to learn. They are visualized in a more multi-faceted way than Susan; we see history, clothes, drinking-habits and viewpoints from their socio-economical and racial positions. They are also direct and honest, if somewhat naïve in their struggle to understand, and they are brutal. At the same time Reward, Stuart and Troy are also concerned with each other, possibly in a caring way as we see them comment on each other's clothes (see 8.2.1) and we also see a tendency to care for the weak; "Poor Zimbabwean dying we are losing millions right here at home". Stuart knows about Reward's daily life through those Stuart employs. He also attributes opinions to them: "even the guys who work for me, from Mbare, from Highfields, Seke, Budiriro, Epworth, Hatcliffe, they are all versus. I am not on my own".

In this way the men are represented as more multi-faceted as individuals and from the point of view of gender than Susan and this despite the fact that their subject-positions from their daily life are not shown, for instance in their relations with women. Susan is someone who they see more as a mystic than as a woman; they listen to her.

7.3.4. The leader

The powerful people (Mugabe, the parliamentarians and business people who are referred to) are portrayed more one-dimensionally, which could be expected in a political satire. Mugabe

is mentioned by name (6.1.6) and this personifies the power further. But by personifying power they also risk to hiding the system's weaknesses which allow this power to unfold. Reference to the constitutional weaknesses which allow this "executive power" is avoided. Guzha justifies using Mugabe's name as he is the one who may be blamed:

Well; it is unfortunate that it looks like as we are actually criticizing him. But anyway (...), we could have build the production as an workshop and said, Mr. X is a fucked up visionary, and called Mugabe MR X or something. But why hide it when its actually, its a well-known fact that you have got a president that whether by choice or design; his foreign policy works; but his domestic policy does not work. He is more interested with his rumours in neighbouring countries or countries which is far away. But in terms of his own people (...) he is weird at home. The Prophet is more known abroad. What happens with these? They don't care what is happening around them. Statement from him expressing his worries (Guzha 6.9.1999 Margolis Plaza. Harare).

"The Members" portrays Mugabe as a puppet and uses a strategy of ridicule, while "Ivhu versus the State" presents the President naturally as he is. This play may not therefore be questioning his subject –position in the same way. Despite this, there is a "body-politics" in "Ivhu" in that the president is described as having a "distorted vision (...) Mugabe is a kind of fucked-up visionary". The same occurs when the parliamentarians are described as handicapped. I will return to this in chapter 12.

CHAPTER 8. REPRESENTATIONS OF CLASS AND DISCOURSES ON DISTRIBUTION AND EQUALITY

8.1. "The Members": is class an issue and how is inequality represented?

I have described Zimbabwe as a society in which resources are very unequally distributed (2.1.3). How are economic differences and differences in status represented in "The Members"? And of what significance is an unequal society to the engagement of the characters? The play portrays characters at each end of the income scale; the veteran MP Mjaji who has both political and economic resources and the villager and organizer of the water- project, Nkomazana, who is the "classic, poor villager". "The Members" describes symbols of differences explicitly, as with the status symbols in the first scene; *The two have cellphones. Nkosenhle rings Mjaji on his cellphone. The call finds Mjaji still fiddling with his briefcase.*

8.1.1. "Flashy" –the black indigenous capitalist

The cell phones and briefcases depict the prosperous. MP Nkosi also calls from Sun Hotel, a prestigious hotel for the political and business elite in Bulawayo. MP Mjaji also "flashes" some foreign whisky, a symbol of the elite, as goods smuggled via "cross-border connections", which has resulted in several cases of corruption: "Ah mfanami (oh my boy) iChivas Regal, 12 years old. Established 1801. Imported whisky. (*He pulls-out two glasses from his drawer marked Zambezi pipeline water project and pours two whisky*) (...) the ruling class gets the best and we are the ruling class".

Mhlanga is thus contrasting the MPs Mjaji and Nkosi with people's wish for a Zambezi pipeline. This water pipeline has been promised since 1980 to supply water to the dry areas of Matabeleland but it has always been delayed, sometimes due to political reasons. When ZANUf lost to the MDC in Bulawayo in the parliamentary election in 2000, the water pipe

was put back onto the agenda so that people would not have a reason to vote for the MDC (Financial Gazette 15.10.2000). The building of the Zambezi pipeline is closely connected to other political issues in Matabeleland, and some people want the pipeline more than they want compensation for Gukurahundi (2.1.1). This is demonstrated by a newspaper article which referred to the President's meeting with a congregation in Bulawayo at which he told them that the fifth brigade's massacres were "regrettable and that victims would be compensated. This is the closest our President has yet to come to an apology, but it is seen as a lip service by most commentators, who think that the President is simply pre-electioneering. 'Giving out cash will take forever. If they are sincere, they should just allow for a bit of development in Matabeleland' said one critic. 'Give us the Zambezi pipeline and the dams and everyone will be grateful'" (ZimBizMagazine 08.11.1999-Happenings).

The MPs Mjaji and Nkosi explain in a naive way who they are: "Nkosi; We are the black indigenous capitalists". They show how they take advantage of the economic aspect of the indigenisation politics. The economic programme for increased ownership in business enterprises for the black population has been criticised because it lacks transparency in processes of tendering and privatisation of state companies, and "has tended to favour government friends and ruling party's allies at the expense of the independent black entrepreneurs" (US Trade analyses government 1998-99, CPN 1998:23).

Business possibilities

We also see that the political class has other advantages as good opportunities to do business. Such business opportunities are often reached via doubtful detours and political links. Controlling enrichment processes is one of several ways Mugabe manages to balance power between his leaders.

Another instrument to keep ethnic figure-heads such as the Manyika Kumbirai Kangai (Minister of land and agriculture), the Ndebele Joshua Nkomo (vicepresident) or the Karanga Joshua Hungwe (Governor of Masvingo Province) in line is to control their ability to enrich themselves illegally. President Mugabe tolerates corruption, bribery and worse as long as the local leaders are loyal to him and able to mobilise votes for him and the party. Stepping out of line can lead to the blocking of lucrative deals or a public prosecution on terms of corruption (CPN 1998:45).

At the beginning, the younger MP Nkosi, has the party as his theme, but is also curious about the older MP's business; "How is your Safari business going on mdala wami. Mjaji: Ok, good, good, good, at least I am not affected by this ESAP business (see part 2.1.3) (...) Mjaji: (...) And how is your clothing business mfanami? Nkosi: Still trying mdala wami. (my man) Akula (there is no) business in our days. (...) Mjaji: (...) You know, I think I now need a cabinet post, like iMinistry of Tourism. Nkosi: LeSafari business yakho (with your safari business), they go hand in hand".

One of the principle industries in Matabeleland is tourism. The southern and western part of the country is not fertile enough for agriculture and growing maize or tobacco as it is in the north of the country, but safaris and game parks offer the chance to earn income. After independence, everyone could obtain the necessary licenses. Mjaji's safari business may also refer to a corruption scandal in which ministers acquired illegal licenses for hunting in game parks, and, as Minister of Tourism, Mjaji could in fact have influenced the conditions for his own business. Nkosi's clothing business may refer to how it was possible to obtain grants for such businesses under ESAP, though making a profit was difficult and few jobs were created. Those who earned money from these grant programmes were those who received the subsidies. The links between being a politician and businessman is explicitly shown when

Mjaji is conducting wage negotiations with Gloria; "You know Gloria I'm not only a politician. I'm also a business tycoon".

"These ignorant masses sinking in poverty"

The way MP Nkosi is prioritised over the people is also a way of "being in one's own privileges", and shows how it is possible to distance oneself from people's poverty and suffering. We see early on in the play that Nkosi challenges this: "You have got to talk to your people and share ideas". But Nkosi also knows where his power comes from and is an ambiguous character; "You know I love The People's Party. I am in the politburo I am not complaining. *(They all laugh)* Uyabona, when the food is ready we should learn to eat quietly". The way they neglect the poorer section of the population is explicit displayed when they talk about a seminar in Denmark which Nkosi is soon to attend. "Mjaji: Wow Fantastic! You know I love these seminars, drinking and dining on behalf of the poor. Nkosi: You know, sometimes I wonder how some people would do without these ignorant masses sinking in poverty? Mjaji: Just keep them that way ngoba lingabavusa (because if you wake them up) they will be problem, let me refill your glass!" *(He is timing the content and making sure he fills his glass and pours little for Nkosi).*

Nkosi seems uncomfortable and ambiguous and does not identifying completely with the leadership, such as when he satirically wonders how *some leaders* could get by without the ignorant masses sinking in poverty. Mjaji may also feel insecure; it is important not to rouse the masses, and cause problems for the elite.

Mjaji versus Nkomazana

The way Mjaji sees the villager Nkomazana indicates how he plans to treat these ignorant masses; "They see but don't think, they only do as us politicians tell". The way Nkomazana is dressed in a woollen hat, long coat and with a walking stick contrasts strongly to Mjaji. When Mjaji arrives in the village, his position is emphasized with status symbols; *(Enter Mjaji on stage waving to the audience and the villagers. He is in a suit and carrying a briefcase)*. The suit and the briefcase contrast strongly with Nkomazana's statement; "Su right bhoyi, izikhalazo zethu mfana kaMjaji lapha koMbomanzi zinengi (Are you ready, our grievance are too many, Mjaji's son) but I will bring them in order of priority". Tholoman's limping arrival is also a strong contrast; "Look at him people. I am now limping, is this not because of the liberation war. What was I dying for? (...) We voted for you, for the 1st, 2nd time, and you never came back. We vote on him again, and he disappears. Now he is here again. What do you want? Money? You want our votes so that you can go and sleep in Parliament. I can even beat you up. People, we no longer want to vote for Mjaji. He is playing us in the dust like football. We are grown ups, get out of here, we don't want you" *(Threatens to slap him)*. Nkomazana turns the differences in wealth against each other; "When I got to his office there was English whiskey. This man is a drunkard. You can see from the size of his stomach, full of the voter's money".

Mjaji's comments to Gloria when he arrives from the rally in Mbomanzi also show the way he ignores and distaste for people's poverty and criticism; "Tholoman comes barefooted. Am I the one who sent him to war? They should have aimed for the head not the foot".

"You enjoy yourself?"

Nkomazana later meets Mjaji in his office, but Mjaji does not even remember who he is: Which Nkomazana? *(He hides his whiskey in a chest of drawers and pretends to be busy working)*. Nkomazana is being satirical when he comments on Mjaji's swingchair;

(Nkomazana sits down and almost falls in the process) Nkomazana: "Izithulo zenu yimjingco (rocking chair) mfana kaMjaji. (Your chairs are a problem/are like swings) Mjaji: They are good and comfortable to work on. Nkomazana: Hayi, liyakholisa bafana (You are enjoying yourself)". Nkomazana also refers to the son who arrives from South Africa, a comment on the high level of unemployment and lack of opportunities for young people which leads to "border jumping" - illegal immigration to South Africa. I have earlier referred to these kinds of subtle hints in the play which refer to inadequate solutions to social problems, such as the sign on the drawer of the filing- cabinet marked "water project".

8.1.2. Summing up – A post-Marxist struggle and border identities

"The Members" shows how economic differences and differences in status are used to maintain political power relations. Economic differences and a lack of water prevent economic and political development and helps maintain inequality in distribution patterns. Despite this, Nkomazana is portrayed as a subject position who will not let himself be stopped by this; he shows he can challenge political processes, despite his lowly hierarchical position.

Nkomazana does not argue based on traditional class struggle theory, as a hierarchical relation between capitalist and workers/peasants. Mhlanga has chosen not to use this binary opposition, an opposition with essential traits and a teleological understanding which can also create new relations of oppression. To me it seems that Mhlanga is instead connecting to a post-Marxist perspective on political and social struggle. This perspective emphasises an accumulation of economic and political power through governing discourses which again favourise some and construct classes in a non-essential understanding (4.4). These governing political discourses also become the starting point for Nkomazana's re-articulation. He goes to the very core of the problem in the way he criticizes the fact that Mjaji is often absent from his office and points out other specific weaknesses in Mjaji's way of practising his profession. In a discourse-theoretical understanding of society, this is a central mechanism which can help lead to change in society and discourses. By operating through the hegemonic discourses (and not postulating a quite different place as a starting point) they show that dominant discourses are constructions which can also then be changed.

Nkomazana gets his self-confidence from identification with other discourses. Mhlanga does not refer directly to these, but I assume that these discourses could concern democratic development and respect for human rights, which are central nodal points in the discourses about the new Zimbabwe. Nkomazana argues based on what he lacks in his life as a villager. But when Nkomazana opposes (using disidentification) the identity position he is given as poor and politically passive, he creates a border identity which gives new possibilities for identification, which again can become a source for new knowledge and political change (Escobar 1995:225, Bhabha 1994:179,219). "Border identities experience a de-territorialization of signification in a post nationalistic space – that is in a postcolonial post national space. It requires a new form of agency, a border identity is also utopian (...) its an identity that transform the burden of knowledge into a scandal of hope" (MacLaren 1994:64-67).

8.2. "Ivhu versus the State" – "It is a war to oppress and make money"

8.2.1. Reward, Troy and Stuart's allocation of socio-economic status

Reward, Stuart and Troy are portrayed through their clothes, drinking habits, home and statements, which produces a picture of different socio-economic strata. Reward (the "black")

is described as a man of the people. He is dressed in jeans and a shirt, drinks Scud (a sorghum-based beer) and talks about his history as a black man. Stuart refers to Reward's place of residence, the townships. " (...) his shack or pondok or numbered kaya somewhere in the location". A kind of "class" position is also shown through Reward's statements; he is proud of his tradition and it is important for him to tell the others that he is well-educated in language. It is difficult to decide whether a tendency to portray him in a subordinate position is related to his racial or class position. Reward also asks central meta-questions such as "gentlemen who is our host". He is ambiguous about identifying with the government; he experiences himself as a "we" with the state; "We are protecting Kanda Bongoman", but in the next sentence he shows his discomfort in supporting Billy Rautenbach's business (6.1.1).

Troy (the "coloured") is described as an urban, middle-class guy; he is dressed in a t-shirt and jeans, drinks whisky and is up-to-date on union activism and the opposition. Troy refers proudly to his black and white forefathers and we later see he lives in Arcadia, a suburb of the coloured middle-class. He positions himself outside the polarization of black and white. Troy is interested in black popular culture, refers to Don King (a black boxing promoter who made a great deal of money in Kinshasa, as an analogy to the Zimbabwean exploitation) and thinks in filmic terms about the war between Africans; "It's a fucking movie. It's always been a movie. The leading actors change but the studio is the same". In this way he refers to cultural identifications which stretch beyond a national identity, to trans-national discourses on popular culture.

Stuart is dressed as an upper-class man, in shorts and knee-high socks, drinks gin and tonic and refers to his life in "the northern suburbs". It is he, as a white character, who is shown as possessing the status symbols of the upper-class. He refers to his material goods or well-being as providing him with a secure identity; "If you want it suitable, have it at my place" and he feels lost without his bits and pieces such as his cell phone. Stuart experiences the differences between the races as " (...) Oil and water. Fire and paraffin". Politically he appears ambiguous: he takes pro-government standpoints, doing business in the DRC is good, but he also criticizes Mugabe as a "fucked up visionary". In the land question his position is close to that of a conservative, white farmer.

A strong connection between race and socio-economic status

Socio-economic positions are ascribed to Reward, Stuart and Troy, in combining race and "outer" signs such as standard of living and consumption - there is a strong equivalence between race and socio-economic status. Stuart and Reward are described in their "classical", essential and also partly stereotyped positions. As I have mentioned, this is a pattern of distribution which is now partly being blurred by more education and a more extensive middle-class. At the same time, Ivhu also implicitly refers to a rich, black upper-class who are part of a new socio-economic pattern of distribution in Zimbabwe.

"Black indigenous" as "off-stage characters"

A rich, black upper-class is present as "off-stage characters", referred to by the term "black indigenous". Stuart thinks "black empowerment" is good, but Reward is critical; "Indigenous business is business for a few who are more indigenous than others". Troy; "... they get fatter and fatter and then you turn off the food and they start eating each other". Troy and Reward describe how people involved in "indigenous business" implicate themselves in corruption. New (black) farm owners are also criticised because they cannot tackle running the economic side of the farms; Stuart: "...and in two years you have an arid desert where fifty peasant families are trying to eke a living or some fat shef doesn't pay his workers for three months".

Stuart and Reward's socio-economic positions are then connected to their position on the racial hierarchy and Stuart confirms this attitude especially when he says that the differences are like oil and water. But "Ivhu" remains ambiguous as the black upper-class are not brought in as an actor, either literarily and principally. This would have explicitly broken the chains of equivalence; white-rich-, black-poor. However, only including "black indigenous" as a reference breaks this chain of equivalence implicit in the play.

The men's expressions of class between themselves - and Susan's.

At the beginning of the play, Reward, Stuart and Troy demonstrate pride in their own traditions. They also comment on each other's clothes and implicit socio-economic position. Troy: "What's that now? (*looks at Reward's head dress*) Hey, but you must switch on, that look is from last year. Reward: (*agitated*) this is not last year. It is the last of last before last. (...) Reward: Well, I know what I am doing. I am invited to a state function. Stuart: What are you? The entertainment? Troy (to Stuart): That's rich coming from you".

This dialogue seems to be a confirmation of the class positions they are supposed to represent in the play. These socio-economic differences are then expressed explicitly later in the play, when Troy summarizes their localisation: "Because old Reward here comes from his shack or pondok or numbered kaya somewhere in the location and old Stu here has his northern suburbs, villa or farm or both, and me? Flatland Arcadia".

Susan is dressed like a college girl in jeans and a nice t-shirt. She talks in a language of dialogue and fellow citizens, a language of unity and co-operation, but not explicitly of human-rights. In this way she refers to a growing middle-class; she is not someone we connect to the classical Povo and we also see how the men feel a bit subordinate. Despite this, Susan also shows authority which partly comes from her role as a young female student, possibly with a certain "middle-class attitude". It may also strengthen her power that she is not explicitly inscribed into a racial discourse, though they implicitly do take into consideration the fact she is black.

8.2.2. Summing up – no equalizing of differences between the socio-economic positions?

Reward, Stuart and Troy seem confident and secure in each other's company, and their different economic positions do not seem to cause much tension between them; it is as if they have accepted the differences. But Reward refers to the differences in their drinking habits: "You see they drink their \$500 bucks – a bottle booze. And me? I am left with (*Goes for his Scud and sips sadly*) I get the dregs". But then Troy says: "You chose it". Stuart: "Bring Your OWN bottle, china. Hey, no one's dictating here". As I see it, it seems that they have not really accepted structural causes for poverty. Reward has chosen his Scud, not whisky or a gin-tonic and this is not because Reward has not found a job which gives him sufficient income.

In "Ivhu versus the State" changes in distribution patterns is not an explicit issue between the characters. In the end they are asked to put away their identity, but this could be said to be more a metaphorical step towards change rather than a real comment on the politics of income distribution. Troy and Susan are tasked with portraying "transitional identities" or new identities and "the upcoming middleclass", but they are not directly connected to a discussion on distribution of income. Guzha as a producer says he wants to emphasise the lack of dialogue between the races but he also refers to economic differences:

The economic differences; (...) it is sure that the majority of the black population in this country is poor, it is very true. But the majority of now black (rich) Zimbabweans and rich white Zimbabweans are more or less the same - they communicate together, they are on the same level (...); They don't really talk together. They do business together. I am saying that the amount of money they have; in terms of richness (...) If there are 20% rich of black, white, coloured, but still they don't talk to each other (...) The problem is that the country has a very small middle class (Guzha interview 2.6.1999 Margolis Plaza. Harare).

If race differences and a lack of dialogue are central to the play, perhaps they could have given a black character a role to show the way class positions are changing, so as to portray an "up and coming middle-class" and/or initiate dialogue (The student is in one way a non-person in this relation). When this not happens, is this because the authors want to make common cause with the main parts of the populations who live under conditions which gives them the signifier "povo"? I will return to this. The use of a classical dichotomy "black-poor", "white-rich" suggest that the play essentializes class/race positions and gives them a static image. "Ivhu" shows to a lesser extent that socio-economical positions also are results of articulation of common interests and hegemonic struggle; and as such also could be changed.

8.2.3. A discourse on "make money" and "get rich"

Another discourse about resources is central and consists of two "narratives" on the same issue. The first is represented in how the characters see the state/ government as having an agenda "to oppress and make money". The focus on unlawful money income and misuse of other's money appears in the discussion on the Congo and later on the corruption in Zimbabwe.

The other narrative refers to a culture which is about striking it rich, a "get rich" discourse. Of course, a central goal is to generate income for the development of the country, but this is not related to fair distribution here but to the enrichment of individuals by any means. "Ivhu" shows how the characters see a culture in which "making money" is a main theme to which killing is no obstacle, with reference to Don King, who also was in jail for murder. Reward; "Ah, sure, you kill and you become a king. Don't kill and you suffer like us". This is criticised, but it is with some ambiguousness. One can say that there is greater focus on legal or illegal means of earning money than on changing mechanisms of distribution.

8.2.4. The land question as a discourse on distribution

In its presentation of the land question, Ivhu is showing interest in distribution and relates this to land ownership. Troy: "We need a policy to satisfy land hunger". Susan: "there is a real land hunger - people who are starving because they are not part of the economy". Stuart concludes that land distribution does not include peasants in the "communal area" (Daily News 4.8, 20.5, 25.9-1999). In the resettlement plans of 1998 tasks were to be divided between donors and the government, but "Ivhu" does not refer to these on-going plans concerning solutions to the land question. But "Ivhu" does partly show that the delay in tackling the land questions is also due to a political desire to maintain access to resources and this was in fact expressed in public: "Rather land reform were generally perceived to be an individual "political balancing act" played by the Zimbabwean State under Mugabe, in an attempt to address what tended to be received as "irrational" political demands, which was thought were subsidiary to the need to promote development" (Moyo 1996 in HDR 1998:24-25).

During the constitutional debate in 1999, and also later, it was argued that more just allocation of land was not enough in itself to solve urban poverty. A public welfare structure and focus on job-creation were also needed.

In the replaying of history which Susan asks the men to take part in, it is shown how land is bought up by whites for farming or gold mining; we see how Stuart hands out land; "7000 acres, for you Mr McDonald. Next! Maclean! 2346 acres. Next. McArthur. Next. MacAlistair. Next". Perhaps the audience found it slightly ridiculous to see land being handed out in this insulting way to colonizers 40-80 years ago? This kind of historical narrative today may also suit a new line of propaganda which bases itself on tension between white farmers and the black poor, thereby reinforcing this polarisation. However, the audience will most likely just think of a narration of a historical scene and separate this from the current situation and hopefully be more interested in the injustices committed at that time.

8.2.5. The corruption; "Where our own people are fighting over own resources".

When they discuss problems other than the economy such as "black empowerment" and corruption they also have a feeling of hopelessness; Reward: "Indigenous business is business for a few who are more indigenous than others". Troy: "Every day there is a new investigation that never gets investigated". The all seem resigned to the fact that not even the anti-corruption works produces results. They seem to feel that this is an approach which is too limited in relation to the problem it is trying to tackle and within which and inside which they are trying to struggle; the discourses seems rather to be about getting rich and becoming a landowner. They see the limitations of having this as a national discourse; a discourse which has come into being because the government itself acts within this "get rich" discourse (as did their former colonial masters), and also uses the land question to get support.

8.2.6. Summing up – visualising, but what about mechanisms for change?

Ivhu addresses the problems of distribution of resources; the poor farmer's needs and a "get-rich" discourse are presented, but this works more as a premise rather than as an act of opposition. Honest and/or unlawful means of earning money is in focus, rather than changing the structures of resource distribution. The land question is addressed as a possible mechanism of redistribution and as part of a poverty alleviation plan, but it is not discussed whether access to land only offers opportunities to the few (Daily News 20.5.1999). The ties between race and economic status are not dissolved between the characters. Reward could have been placed within a different chain of equivalence which could have associated him with the possibility of social climbing and he could have been given historical positions other than those he, Troy and Stuart are offered the opportunity to take part in by Susan.

"If we all share"

In the final scene, the men wonder if Susan is joining in when she says they should lay their identities to rest "Troy: You talk the talk but do you walk the walk? Judge; I will join in, if we all share". Susan shows that it is difficult to stop a spiral of self-enrichment unless everyone agrees on it, "if we all share". The alternative would be to develop more transparency and accountability in political and administrative systems.¹² If one wants changes, someone has to start them up and as many people as possible have to take part. Here, in this play altruism in participation is made dependent on the certainty that everyone will join in, otherwise one will lose in the race for wealth and power (or at least fair distribution). They refer to their fear of losing prosperity and privileges, which also will be an obstacle to broader participation and sharing. But what this statement says may be more about

a lack of structures which can control corruption and make the use of money in national budgets more open to broader political discussion.

The play describes an important trait in the society (which is also a global phenomenon); self-enrichment; a discourse which must be dissolved if internal distribution is to be placed on the agenda to a greater extent. But political ways out of unequal distribution, beyond the idea that everyone should be sharing, is not an issue into which they go in depth. I assume that the work involved in dissolving socio-economic and racial patterns of distribution would be more laborious mobilization work (see part 4.4.).

CHAPTER 9. REPRESENTATION OF RACE AND ETHNICITY

9.1. Race relations

Zimbabwe's population of 12 mill. in 1999 composed of about 80 % Shona, 18% Ndebele, 1% European and about 1% Asian and coloured (CPN 1998:44). Historically, the black population has been in conflict with the white population. The struggle for the right to own land was and still is an obvious claim, and white society feared its fate when Mugabe came to power in 1980, but he was quick with stretching out a reconciliatory hand to the whites (Blair 2002:13). This policy of reconciliation has led to the white population keeping many of its privileges, property and a fixed number of seats in parliament up to 1988. This has led to a skewed distribution of land and economic power. The whites owned the majority of the land until 2002, when they were forced to leave. But many of the farmers have been open to negotiation with the government on the resettlement question. The whites have taken various political roles; many struggled on the side of the blacks during the liberation war, but some are more business-oriented. Economically, a black and Asian business-class and international companies also play an important role. In 1999 the whites amounted to approx. 60,000 of the Zimbabwean population.

My observation in 1999 was that the mixing of groups of the population did not occur to the same extent as in other big, multicultural cities. Association between races varied from community to community; there were few whites who lived in the townships, but in culture, organisational and university life there is more mixing. Socioeconomic status decides to a great extent one's living place and the interaction between the races. Though society or significant parts of it are segregated, most people said racism as an idea had no basis in society. I have shown that in 1999 the government was beginning to make relations between the white population and the black majority antagonistic, to be able to legitimize an African authenticity and the occupation of the farms. Whites are again portrayed as enemies, but many argue that this is a mere smokescreen behind which to oppress the opposition.

9.2. "The Members"; how are race and ethnicity narrated - essentially or deconstructively?

9. 2.1. The signifier race is absent

In "The Members" race, perhaps somewhat surprisingly, is absent. The words black, white, race or the name of the different ethnicities such as Ndebele or Shona are not mentioned. "The Members" is cleansed of these signifiers or categories. This is also the case as far as references to colonial times, neo-colonialism or other elements from the liberation-war are concerned. In late 1999, such concepts made themselves even more evident in the

government's line of propaganda. They may well have been less obvious in 1995, though the dichotomy has been present ever since independence.

Why is not race mentioned; why is it absent as a signifier? Could it be related to the themes in the play and the criticism they want to perform? As I see it, "The Members" portrays a political system which no longer takes the needs of citizens into consideration, but exists more for the representatives. "Members" shows the consequences of this undemocratic practice. The village must provide itself with its own water project, people must travel abroad to find work and a big section is poor. At the same time, the play goes into details on the wealth of the upper-class, their disdainful attitudes to the people and childish relation to their own power. But how the system can be changed is also shown through people such as Nkosi, Gloria, Nkomazana and Mrs Jamila. In one way, "Members" provides a recipe/pattern or strategy in the form of discourses and subject positions for further democratic development. The issue is political representation; The "Members" does not have the relationship between the blacks or white as a theme, or the relationship between Ndebele or Shona explicitly.

Contra-indicated?

Because of the issues at stake in the play, i.e "representational politics" in a formal political sense, the play seems to avoid mentioning the oppression during the colonial time and the current relation between white and blacks. This would not have served the argument for power-sharing and criticism of the abuse of power in Zimbabwe.

Political democratisation is connected to more than equality between the races; it is also about relations in the political system, between an MP and his people /electorate. Not mentioning the relationship between the races or groups of the population and the absence of these signifiers from the play also indirectly comments on the fact that these signifiers are indeed present in public debate, e.g. in antagonism between blacks and whites. "The Members" can then be interpreted as arguing that race relations, the whites' oppression (and the domination of the Shona) are not the real reasons for the lack of the democratic development; if this was the case I would assume this would have been mentioned when they talk about the issue of respect for the needs of the people. "Members" states implicitly that saying that racial antagonism is the primary source of antagonism is merely a cover, so that suppressive political practices, such as those pursued by Mjaji with his bribing, threatening and manipulation of the electorate can continue.

Continuing to stay in a narrative of being colonised, oppressed by neo-colonial forces and in a revolution similar to the liberation war as an excuse for the current difficulties almost seems contra-indicated, it would have had the opposite effect, if one wants to grasp the problems "The Members" wants to discuss. The way I see it, the play wants to discuss a different kind of dynamic between oppressors and oppressed, in which the ZANUPf government also oppresses its own.

Emptying signifiers and hegemonic categories

Race as an issue has been treated and perhaps been finally dealt with in Mhlanga's play, "Workshop Negative"; in this play the racial antagonism and categories were emptied of their original connotations. Despite massive oppression for a hundred years, in "Workshop Negative" Mhlanga dares to displace this traditional antagonism; blacks are visualized as complex as the whites and the audience can see they can also behave as oppressors as well. Mhlanga solves the problem termed mirror-response: "Mirror response (...) The manner in which rejection of European or American racism falls into an alternate essentialism; that of

African or race essentialism (...) As long as the antiracism follows the logic of binary oppositions, the current is the same; only the polarity changes". An essential use of race was in the longer run problematic as a "mirror response". As in new South Africa, which may be seen as a metacase for race relations, citizenship must be connected to identity positions other than race (Pieterse 1996:32 in Mare 1999:248).

"The governmental power and the continuing problems with political representation" is a prime problem in Zimbabwe. Therefore, Mjaji's antagonism "neocolonialist/whites" vs. "Zanupf / the liberated people" must be emptied of substance. This is necessary to be able to solve the current problems with the abuse of power and the lack of political participation which occur at each end of the antagonism's poles, as within the supposed unity of ZANUPf and its liberated people.

9.2.2. Summing up – displaying political processes which utilize floating signifiers

"Members" directs its focus on the specific practice which establishes formal political systems of representation and the place for the people inside it. The plays display some of the weaknesses of this system as the reason for a lack of democratic and social development. As the play does not mention race relations, whilst depicting blacks as not unreservedly heroic, then the race relation is being deconstructed. In this way a dichotomy between white and black thought of in binary (and colonial) terms is dissolved. In this way race as an argument is de-essentialised.

The same is done with the relation governor – governed, conceptualized in the relation "ZANU-pf and the liberated people" or "the leaders of the nation (national heroes) and the masses (povo)". The characters' exposing Mjaji's political practice shows the practise is constructed and can therefore be executed in different ways. "Members" refers to the political processes which use these floating signifiers (4.1) such as race and now "governor-governed", and it is shown that the "new" relation between oppressor and oppressed has not so much to do with race. The new relation of "oppressor and oppressed", "the elite and the people" is not imaged as a fixed essential dichotomy. The oppressor, such as an essential "evil state power" is not present in the play. MP Mjaji as a representative of the governing party (ZANU-pf) is in fact portrayed as rather silly and deceived by status symbols and power, and is a man it is easy to challenge, even for a citizen such as Nkomazana. Also, because Nkomazana works *on* the discourses, he is challenging the parliamentary concept of representation by trying to root out what the actual premises for the term "representation" is, questions Mjaji's practice in relation to them (4.8). Nkomazana is not proposing another transcendental place or standpoint. And, at the same time, the positive possibilities which exist in giving the power to Mrs Jamila are referred to. "The Members" shows that the prevailing hierarchical order, i.e. elite vs. poor is constructed and can thus be changed

9.2.3. Ethnicity argued for: soft ethnicity

"Members" does not operate with (as far as I can see) signifiers for ethnic groups, but in its treatment of the issue of political representation it is implicitly referring to a concept of soft ethnicity, as it lays out an agenda on which minorities can be seen to be included (Kaarsholm 1994:38, part 4.4). As mentioned in part 5.2. Mhlanga focuses on discrimination of the Ndebele people; the language is Ndebele, a "water project" is referred to which one may associate with the Zambezi pipeline, and Mjaji says he can massacre everyone, which produces associations to the 5th Brigade (part 2.1.1). But it is not a reversed strategy here; the aim is to make a group visible, display misuse of power which disallows parts of the

population and at the same time argues for fairer distribution of resources.¹³ Mhlanga says that the government then accuses him of being tribalist, but:

They are complaining that all the work that comes from me or Matabeleland is tribalistic. Then they shall understand that it is themselves they are seeing; results of how they are governing. That's the result. Because if they had governed effectively they would not have been seeing a tribal face. I told you earlier that theatre is about how people are developed and governed. It will always show you the level of development, because we have been such and such ruled and controlled tribalistically; That's why the work comes out (...) What makes me suffocated is to go into Lupane district for birth registration with my grandfather who not speaks English, nor Shona. And somebody addresses him in Shona and when I ask why (...) They say oh this is Zimbabwe; this is national unity (...) I ask what kind of national unity is this (...) And we see this affects us. We are going to talk back. And the only way is putting it there (in the theatre) (Mhlanga 30.6.1999.TSCC).

In this way the unfair treatment regionally which I discussed in 5.2 is being referred to. I think that the way this issue is treated in "The Members" supports the assessment (of among others CPN 1998:30 and the local commentator they used, Makumbe) that this not is a tension which will develop into a conflict. Mhlanga argues for fair distribution and development nationally:

The real planning is excellent but no one is developing it. Get in some more radio stations (...) The villages are ready for development; light, water. Therefore are we crying for the Zambezi water; how the water can be distributed. (...) And the people is not involved in anything now, – waiting for development (Mhlanga 27.6.1999. Lupane).

Critics of Mhlanga have (in his early productions) said that he lets those who carry out injustice, such as the CIO, be Shona-speaking and in this way he reinforces a conflict. His argument is he was merely doing this to reflect what he saw as the truth. As far as I can see, there is no essential use of ethnicity in "The Members"; Mhlanga has also made "Sinjalo", who humoristically tries to strengthen the dialogue between ethnic positions (see part 3.1.2). And at the same time Mhlanga also seems to have a national concern about respect for human rights and the legitimate management of the MPs' tasks. Mhlanga himself writes in a national discourse to a greater extent than an ethnic one. I shall return to this.

I would hereby like to conclude that "The Members" does not base itself on the racial line of conflict which the CPN reports as being a scapegoat for economic and social problems, acting a camouflage for attacks on the opposition. Neither does the play refer to any fear of ethnic conflict. Instead "The Members" offers solutions in forms of identities and discursive challenges which make it possible to change the political culture; it provides a contribution to what is necessary to carry out political reforms. Another issue concerning future development is whether people will have the resources to be able to relate to these new discourses and identity positions, or if they, because of the economic situation, will be dependent on supporting the current ZANU-pf. As Mkaronda, a theatre scientist and practitioner in Harare said; "Remember you are talking with a hungry people" (Mkaronda interview 25.6.1999).

9.3. Race and ethnicity in "Ivhu versus the State"

9.3.1. "Talking in clusters"

As shown in chapter 6 it is said in "Ivhu versus the State" that an absence of dialogue between the races could be the cause of the problems in Zimbabwe. They cannot seem to unite to work together on something positive. The conclusion that they need to talk together and perhaps lay aside their identities may be showing that race relations and a lack of co-existence are, at least in part, partly responsible for Zimbabwe's problems. As Guzha says:

An interesting thing about this country. People talk. But they are talking in clusters. If you are white, you talk to your fellow white. That's the problem in this country. If you are black you talk to your fellow black and if you are coloured you talk to the coloured which is not helping the situation. (...) you actually hear mostly the white population in this country, they do not say "our president" or even "our soldiers". They will say "your soldiers and your president". But we are saying; "What is that – that is nonsense". If you are Zimbabwean, you should be able to sort of say; this is our president; this is our soldiers in the Congo. So we are just advocating for concerted effort. Instead of speaking in clusters or in terms of racial barriers; remove all that, lets communicate; because your problems; or our problems are all the same (...). They say you see only up to here - but you have the view and power to see further - without losing your territory (Guzha 2.6.1999 Margolis Plaza Harare).

In an article about segregation in the Daily News (1.7.1999 "Are Zimbabwean race relations skin deep?"), it is pointed out that people frequent separate clubs, and in the farming community assimilation on a social level does not exist. The issue is the feeling that the whites do not identify themselves with the country. Raftopolous describes this as a national ambivalence with its roots in the reconciliation politics which did not really bring about a wide-ranging process of reform;

We fought the war and beat the whites politically. Nationalism had triumphed. Now the language of nationalism has been broken and questioned. Terms set in the 80s no longer apply. Race is not only the issue. There are divisions of class, wealth, ethnicity and tribe. It's not just inequality between black and white. Indigenisation is being seen as a lobby for the black elite. It's a fast track of accumulation for a small portion of the black population (...) Part of the idea of racism comes from the fact that whites are only seen addressing issues pertaining to the economy. It is felt that they are only interested in securing their own economic development. For people to belong to the nation they must also be allowed their differences. Nationalism should not mean a small national elite dictating what national identity should be. There must be that understanding that becoming national is a broad plural and open process which necessary tolerance of different ideas (Daily News 1.7.1999).

Raftopolous is not then as such making the racial differences the cause of the problems in Zimbabwe (even though he does argue for a better sharing of resources); but he believes the whites do not want or do not have the space to identify themselves with the nation; to include themselves or be included as a part of a broader, national identity. This is also the point Guzha wants to make.

Antiapartheid ideology

In the analysis of "Members" I have argued that it avoids referring to race as a category to be able to discuss the problem of political representation. Offering race as an explanation would have diverted the focus from circumstances in the political system which should be blamed. In "Ivhu", Rooftop is concerned about segregation and have chosen race as the central subject recognizer, nodal point and an explanatory factor in part of the country's problem.

"Ivhu" represents race relations along the lines of anti-apartheid ideology's arguments on the equality of and cooperation between the races. The play seems especially to emphasise cooperation. Anti-apartheid productions were central in Rooftop Promotions earlier activities (3.2, Guzha interview 2.6.199). In "Ivhu" dialogue between the races is a vision that may be able to unite Zimbabwe and solve the country's problems. This is a valuable multicultural starting point.

The race signifier is not used as a negative argument between the characters, or by Susan. But the CFU-leaders, who are afraid of sharing, are criticised along racial arguments by Reward. Stuart: "they have always adopted the idea that you give an inch and they take a bloody mile. Reward: and that is racist! Because the CFU thinks blacks do not deserve land".

Essentializing and stereotyping?

The way "Ivhu" use the signifier race implies that race to a certain extent is being used essentially. The category is not used to imply that a certain skin-colour or hair-type produces specific traits, but in the sense that the races' historical roles have given the human being different socio-economic positions - fixed roles in the society. During the colonial period the blacks were suppressed in poverty and educated for jobs in the service sector, while the whites had access to higher positions. This has produced a certain structure of stratification. This division of labour still prevails from the colonial period, but I have shown that this structure is under transformation. There are few whites left (though in 1999 they owned the majority of fertile land) and a black upper-class also existed.

"Ivhu" represents the traditional division of labour. The black is an older, poor character from the townships, not one of the new "upcoming indigenous" or a young student. Stuart is one of the wealthy whites, not a retired white man or a young, radical student. Reward and Stuart are placed in a chain of equivalence (4.3.) which refers to an old power and subordination strategy. The use of the antagonism black-poor and white-rich, in which "class positions" are also connected to the different character may be a stereotyping of racial identities. Stereotyping is about giving a person only a few and essential features, in a strategy to simplify and polarise identity. Often this is used to construct and offer identity positions in a struggle for positions and power by excluding someone.

A stereotype is a one sided description which results from the collapsing of complex differences into a simple "cardboard cut-out" (...) Different characteristics are run together or condensed into one. This exaggerated simplification is then attached to a subject or place. Its characteristics become the signs, the evidence, by which the subject is known. They define its being, its essence (Hall 1992a:308).

Transcoding?

Ivhu relates less to the newer strategies for transcoding (Hall 1997c:270). Race has, as mentioned, been a signifier which has been imbued with certain connotations ever since the very first voyage of discovery; through many different stereotyping strategies, a reductionist image of the black has developed as a part of a power constellation. But Hall also shows that the countering of such stereotyping strategies has passed through different phases since the 1960s, and has now ended up as a "transcending" encoding; transcoding, which is like the resistance strategies described in postcolonial practice. First it was shown that "black is beautiful", then showing diversity among the blacks became important, and finally the signifier was emptied as an essential category via deconstruction and dis-identification so that skin-colours not defines character (Hall 1997c:270-277, part 4.8 above). Guzha has chosen to work out the analysis as a binary opposition, but this may limits the way problems can be solved since a full multiplicity of perspectives isnt present.

9.3.2. Summing up

The main antagonism black-poor and rich-white are used in "Ivhu" as an entrance to talk about lack of dialogue and unsolved problems. To portray rich whites against poor blacks is also, as mentioned, the government propaganda line as Blair and others have expressed it (Blair 2002:43, CPN 1998:9).

In 1998-1999 a strong political opposition was at its beginning; white and black academics and workers, together with NGOs and other organisations criticised the regime (see part 2.1.4.). This dialogue about the more fertile possibilities in political and identity positions

which are already in use is less referred to in *Ivhu*. "*Ivhu*" is critical of the regime, but in this way, "*Ivhu*" excludes other discourses for identification with the nation, which can offer subject recognisers with space for differences and multiplicity. This might have encouraged even the "arrogant" whites to join in. *Ivhu* has not seen as its task to go in depth on the binary relation "black/poor", "white/rich" antagonism.

Partly dissolving; change clothes- trying others identity

The ambiguity is expressed, for example, in the way the play refers the need for dialogue and assuming new identities, whilst it to a lesser degree displays these. The judge asks the men to take off their identity, share it and try someone else. This indicates that the identifications are questioned, they are not comfortable with the subject positions that are offered, as Stuart explicitly states: "Because I am white I am a target". We see here a partial revolt. "*Ivhu*" tries to get away from the "mirror response" (ref part 9.2.2) by letting the characters take off their identity. However, as I shall discuss in chapter 10 (Identity), one can ask whether identity is only to be found in the clothes or roles one takes on or off.

The coloured

"*Ivhu*" also makes a group of coloureds visible, who experience being in a middle position: "Although the majority of them continue to live in exclusive suburbs built during colonial times, many do not have professional training and are not formally employed. Most are self-employed and their suburbs, such as Arcadia in Harare and Baharm Green and Thorngrove in the country's second city Bulawayo, have a dilapidated look about them" (Dispatch Online (SA), 8.9.2001).

Troy is in himself a challenge of racial identities. He is coloured, a mixture who is the offspring of a "free born" judge; which has connotations of justice. "I am neither black nor white (...) So where do we belong (John Marsh NAAC, Dispatch Online (SA) 8.9.2001) (...) "I think it's been made very clear that we are not the 'right kind of indigenous" (ZimBiz magazine 07.07 2000); such statements are common in the coloureds' description of their situation. Who is the real indigenous population? Is it people other than the black Zimbabweans? Troy is a disturbing element in this picture, in that he is coloured and coloureds lie somewhere between the dichotomy whites/blacks, oppressor/oppressed.

9.3.3. De-composing the racial signifier. The third space.

Troy has a laidback attitude. He refers to another standpoint in the discourses about the nation. He satirizes leaders of Zimbabwe by paraphrasing Martin Luther King's speech: "one day all should have their rights independent of colour ". Troy represents a third subject position which is more open, flexible and manifold in its perspectives. He represents "The Third Space", Bhabha's concept for social change, which refers to, in the language itself, the inherent possibilities for changes to cultural representation. In the fixing of meaning, there are in-between spaces which can be used to pull the concept in different directions and fill it with another content (4.1). "The third space" can also be used as a metaphor; as an image for a place where changes are possible, the place where minority utterances and struggles of representations are. Bhabha shows how minority-discourses are operating *on* dominant discourses and uses their images, they displace the content of the meaning and in this way the meaning is re-articulated (Bhabha 1994:37, my part 4.8). What limits *Ivhu*'s strategy of representation is that only Troy can say what he does because he is coloured, mixed, "unclean" - as if The Third Space only can be found in the coloured character. In this way *Ivhu* shows not that The Third Space is a concept which is a universal description of processes of meaning, constitution and resistance. If a white character had been given Troy's

words, the performance (in both understandings) would have been more deconstructive regarding fixed oppositions and essential identities.

Susan's dissolving of the racial signifier

Susan shows how the fixed identities of the men influence them, and represents a deconstruction and opening of possible racial subject positions. She is not a woman as dominant male discourses would represent her, but a human who tends towards being an icon rather than a progressive androgyn with modern political viewpoints. She is young, a bornfree, which gives her the possibility to keep out of the classical antagonism. It is after all a political fact that this age group is the most threatening to Mugabe, in that they represent new political possibilities. Susan is portrayed as colourless, not gender-specific and has grown out of race as an important subject recogniser in discourses about Zimbabwe.

Ivhu versus the States first version

A third way of dissolving a stereotypical racial signifier is to attach it to a local and specific task or issue, for which also other identifications are important. Rooftops first draft of "Ivhu" portrayed such specific positions, though the subject recogniser was used traditionally. The play was about three characters who struggled with issues relating to their daily life and the government's lack of follow-up. The actual struggle from their standpoint was more important than the colour. A black character from the township, Reward, wants a plot in the city and is promised one. But another rich businessman has bought the site regardless of the government's promise to Reward. A white character, Stuart, goes through private qualms of conscience on how he has treated his servant. Stuart has also loved a black woman but does not dare to acknowledge it, and he has existential worries about whether he as a Zimbabwean citizen is "indigenous" or not. Troy, a coloured character has not got any response on a business idea which he gave a company a long time ago. Troy thinks the reason is that he is not black, and because of this he cannot utilise the possibilities "black empowerment" offers. The idea is then stolen by another rich businessman. They all take their cases to a judge, Susan, who reasons with the guys about right and wrong. Zimbabwe as a nation is described as a thin line on the floor which Stuart is almost not able to balance on. For everyone, the nation seems to be defined too narrowly.

This version of Ivhu refers to specific, local cases, and could have been a logical continuation of "Citizen Chi" (part 3.2.3.) which was about weaknesses in the constitution, by referring to specific characters' struggles from the socio-economic and political positions one is given. This first version was also about rights to a greater extent than the final draft, and could have been a step further along the road to forming the basis of citizens' identity.

9.3.4. Is ethnicity represented?

I cannot find any mention of regional conflict being a theme in "Ivhu" and ethnical differences are not mentioned. Where English or "coloured" slang are not used, some Shonglish is used by Troy, and some Shona. Ndebele as language or culture is not represented, as far as I can see. Economic inequality between Mashonaland and Matabeleland is not talked about; neither is the atrocity in Matabeleland in the 1980s. Ivhu has not as an issue this story and those of other sub-cultures in discussion of Zimbabwe's problems. Dialogue and unity are argued for but this is not related to, for instance, the need to change ethnic discrimination. From Harare, or the dominant Shona position (only ZANUpf?) this is a natural argument, but Guzha underlies that the play cannot possibly manage to discuss everything, and that the history has to continue. In response to an audience members' remarks

on this during a performance in Victoria Falls, Dave Guzha says: "we cant include all issues", but it could also reflect a need for self-censorship.

I thought it would have lost direction. (...) It would have been used as an agenda. My personal view; what I wanted to do in Ivhu; I was not focusing on Gukurahundi; it was not my main focus. I was focusing on a range of things – It was this three; the black, white, coloured; I wanted to bring out their viewpoint; their problems. I would show that you all share a common problem - you see things from the same perspective (...) (Guzha 2.6.1999 Harare).

Summing up

Guzha is concerned with a real multicultural society and the lack thereof in Zimbabwe and the consequent problems this leads to, i.e. that separate groups do not talk to each other or identify with the nation. He wants dialogue and common social commitment. But Reward and Stuart are relatively stereotypically described in terms of their race positions and this can reduce the possibilities for dialogue. However, Troy's position can be said to be an identity politics for the coloured people, which implies a broadening or opening up of identity and race.

PART 4. CONCLUSIONS – REPRESENTATION OF IDENTITY AND NATION

CHAPTER 10. REPRESENTATION OF IDENTITY GENERALLY

10.1. "The Members". Identity and discourses in motion

10.1.1. Which identities are available?

I have referred to the production of new identity positions which are often locally articulated, manifold and connected to political struggle (part 4.3, Hall 1992c). Occupying new identity positions depends on which discourses are available, or to which extent one dares to and is able to open fixed discourses (Escobar 1992:429 with reference to Laclau & Mouffe 1985). I have now discussed representations of identity related to gender, power, class, race and ethnicity in the plays. The differences in strategies can be summarized as follows:

Figure 1. Variables of analysis; dominant discourses and the resistance in the plays

Variables of analysis -lines of conflicts -subject-recognizers – the nation	Representation – strategies in hegemonic discourses	Representations in "The Members"	Representations in "Ivhu versus the State"
Conflict lines 1. Political 2. Socio-economic 3. Race 4. Ethnicity	1. Opposition between the people's party (Zanupf) and traitors (MDC) (Closing of political space). 2. International society (former colonies) has created great problems for the economy (polarisation). 3. The whites/ British are the enemy. The African race stands together (essentialism). 4. Co-optation.	1. Refers to constitutional weakness for a real democracy, and an MPs who do not take their task seriously. Listening to the people is described as a solution. 2. Refers to unequal distribution and corruption. 3. Race is not mentioned as a factor 4. Argues "softly" for a improvement in the Ndebeles' living conditions. Argues for inclusion of new elements in dominant discourses.	1. Refers to a weak parliament which does not take the people seriously. 2. Refers to exploitation, corruption and inequalities land distribution as a part of the solution. 3. Race as an explanatory factor. Refers to the need for dialogue between the races as a solution. 4. Refers only to Shona ethnicity. Argues for including some new elements in dominant discourses, especially related to point 1 and 2.
Gender	Discrimination of women on the basis of social structures and values. Dominance of a patriarchal male role.	Visualises workplace discrimination. Refers to Gloria who challenges value-oriented discrimination. Shows plural gender positions under development. Disidentification. Nkosi and Nkomazana as positive male positions, Mjaji as an old-fashioned, discriminating male role	Gives a woman a seer's position. Susan becomes a catalyst, organiser, the one who knows. Little specific gender-role challenges. Icon more than essential. The men are willing to learn, but in terms of gender positions they display traditional characteristics
Class/discourses on distribution.	Unequal distribution of land has created the differences in the society. Unfavourable conditions from the world bank.	Refers to exploitation and a culture of self enrichment as reasons for the unequal distribution. Mjaji's business-possibilities are contrasted with Nkomazana's poverty. But Nkomazana is the one who challenges this explicitly and does the local development job. Post-Marxist understanding of economic struggle. Deconstructs the relation governing - governed	Refers to a culture of self-enrichment and a "get rich" discourse. Does not refer to a specific/individual opposition against this, such as Reward's wish for better distribution. Equivalence of class and race.
Race	Argues for a patriotic racism; authenticity as solution to Zimbabwe's problems.	Does not mention the signifier race. Shows that racial antagonism is a smokescreen to hide other difficulties. Empties the race category.	Argues for a real multicultural society. Sees lack of dialogue between the races (white, black, coloured) as reason for Zimbabwe's problems. Essential use of race in part.
Identity strategies generally	Essentialism; reduction of rights.	Shows that identity is constructed, refers to non-essential positions, flexible and plural, locally articulated, especially by Gloria and Nkomazana.	Refers to essential race positions (Reward and Stuart). But also openings from the characters Troy and Susan. Less specific articulation.

In this chapter I will draw some more lines concerning representation of identity, and shall take my point of departure from research question 2 a)-c) and question 7, see part 4.10. Will I find essential notions of identity, such as authenticity, articulated in meta-narratives? Or will I find representation of multiple, complex subject positions? Are the subject positions specific or connected to different, actual local settings? (Shohat 1997:10, 8). Or will I find the use of strategic essentialism for a specific purpose? (Spivak 1990:12, part 4.4. above)

10.1.2. A deconstructive strategy and a constructive criticism.

I see "The Members" as focusing the specific way the parliamentary system is practiced and the place of the people in it. The play shows how the political culture produces members of parliament who fail to perform their political duties as representatives. I have shown how the characters and subject positions visualized in "The Members", such as in the secretary Gloria, the villager Nkomazana and the younger MP Nkosi, challenge dominant essential representations of women, men, class, race and ethnicity. They articulate themselves in contrast to meta-narratives of authenticity and identity positions are also specifically challenged. To show this, I have outlined how they loosen gender and class hierarchies, as well as dichotomies such as white and black, oppressor and oppressed.

Mjaji can only be challenged if Gloria, as secretary and woman, is able to have other subject positions from which to work, such as being politically critically and moving away from a dominant discourse which subjectifies women into a male/female dichotomy. Mjaji wishes to place her in a certain discourse, thereby limiting her opportunities to criticise. Gloria's new discourse contributes to his dissolution and political fall.

For an "orthodox", autocratic relationship such as governor/governed can be dissolved and opened up for other ways of practicing political power, Nkomazana must be given the right to express himself despite the fact he is only a lowly villager, at the bottom of the social structure. Nkomazana is written out of hierarchical subordination. His identity as poor = silent is dissolved and he takes on new identity positions with the right to express himself and build a democratic society.

Mjaji is also challenged by the fact that Mhlanga has not made his criticism go along the lines of a black/white opposition. Race relations as a primary form of antagonism are thus deconstructed in that these signifiers are explicitly ignored as a theme. All the characters in the play are black. This makes it possible to show that they have the same potential for good and bad as whites. Mhlanga shows that the category of race is an empty signifier which is being exploited for different political purposes. In this way he distances himself from the view that race is/should be a prime form of antagonism in Zimbabwe.

By de-essentialising race and hard ethnicity, these signifiers are rejected as fixed arguments. However, he does refer to unequal distribution of resources in terms of ethnicity. He then opens up for a soft politics of ethnicity, and shows that ethnicity is also produced from a specific context (Kaarsholm 1994:33, 41).

Signifiers of identity become partly flexible, partly eligible identities in a local struggle

The way the characters in "The Members" challenge restrictive spaces for race, gender, class and power makes it possible to refer to the political processes which utilize these floating signifiers in a strategy which aims at sustaining power and limiting the space and place for the

political. Mhlanga is not offering ready-made, new subject positions; he shows subject positions as manifold, flexible and with possibilities for change, produced in a local struggle.

"The Members" offers the characters different ways of being in their subject-position; different black ways of solving societal tasks are referred to, "blacks" are given a choice between identity positions and ways of letting themselves be interpellated in different discourses. This deconstructive use produces a multifaceted image with contrasting representations of the signifier "race". Mhlanga also brings in another character, Mr Cornard. He is the donor and we assume he is white. Being a donor indirectly produces a positive image in that he works with the water project. In this way, Mhlanga is implicitly giving content to the signifier "white", as he also does with the signifier "black". Here he is giving us a positive image of the relation between the races. European supporters have been important to Mhlanga and Rooftop, and perhaps this is why he wants to depict whites in this positive way, though the character here borders on being a positive stereotype.

As a "politician", it is possible to choose between the discursive positions of MP Mjaji or MP Nkosi. They are contrasted, but Nkosi's role in relation to his privileges is ambiguous; he also wants to use them (for his own benefit). This could perhaps be one of the conclusions in the Members, and it is a somewhat sad conclusion. Mhlanga does not know how people will relate to the wealth they acquire thanks to their positions of power even if a democratic road were chosen; the question of political (parliamentary) representation will always be one which is debated.

As a "woman", one may stay in the docile role of a secretary, or, if other discourses are available, one can claim a just salary which reflects one's skills and exercise one's right to tell on "unfair practices". Gloria breaks out of the traditional way of using the signifier "gender". We also witness her other positions as a voter with political opinions and as a citizen. This lets her transgress the traditional structures of gender. In this way she gives the signifier "gender" complex content in a specific articulation.

"Villagers" might find it natural to accept that their MP is "above" them and does not have the time to listen to villagers' needs. Nkomazana narrates himself, or is being narrated out of the dominant discourse. He appears as the typical little villager in his coat and with his walking – stick and he dislikes Mjaji's whiskey and makes fun of his swing chair. Nkomazana shows he is "uncivilized" in that he does not treat such status symbols nonchalantly or as a given. Indirectly, however, he empties these status symbols of their value by ridiculing the way Mjaji tries to "dress himself up" in them, or relate them to his way of exercising power. He ridicules the way Mjaji "is" in his power. Further, when he starts criticising Mjaji, a conscious citizen appears. The signifier "villager" is pushed aside, to the advantage of the signifier "citizen", a resident, and a citizen who knows his rights and dares to express his needs.

10.1.3. On the way to a new identity of "citizen"

The signifier "citizen" is not used in "The Members", the actual word is not used in the play, but indirectly this identity position is developed as a way of relating to political life. This is a feature one can see in political culture generally - "citizenship" may also be an identity. The following has been said on the subject of creating a national identity:

It's only necessary that they accept and take pride in membership in their territory represented by the states. Thus it is not at all clear that the legitimacy and the stability of the democratic political community depend on collective social identities being coterminous with the identity of that

community. Under certain circumstances, social identity might not be crucial to questions of national political community. It is possible to have a consensual agreement on the nation and one's place amidst a plurality of social identities. Rather it would seem that the legitimacy of a democratic political community would depend more on people's values about citizenship. *Citizenship is not only a certain status. It is also an identity*, an expression of one's membership in a political community. In this sense citizenship becomes South Africa's key measure of nation-building. (Mattes 1999:274 mine italics).

The concept "citizen", is central in a newer analysis of different identity positions and their influence on the nation and politics. Mhlanga writes himself into this discourse. In South Africa researchers ask which identity concepts create a community. Robert Mattes argues that "there is little direct relationship between having a secular versus sectarian identity on one hand and a national identity on the other. People's propensity to select groups versus national identity is hardly related to their pride in citizenship" (Mattes 1999:276). In this way specific identity positions, as they are represented in "The Members" are being used in political struggles to extend the possibilities of the signifier "citizen".

Nkomazana as "citizen" knows the democratic political road, has organisational skills in his capacity as leader of the water project in Mbomanzi, and he wins through at last. This success is reflected in the finishing of the water project with Mrs Jamila, and in the fact that Mjaji loses his seat. Nkomazana has also functioned as catalyst in Nkosi's and Gloria's development and helped move them towards new identities as "citizens". It was Nkomazana who came to Mjaji's office in the first place to talk to him about the water project, and it was Nkomazana who gave him an ultimatum: "we vote you out if you not come and listen to us". It is Nkomazana who is the principle character of political change, and not Jamila. Nkomazana is the one who does the ground work:

Members; it was about; the relationship between the electorate and the elected; and what kind of relation there should be. As we read in the newspapers in Nkayi; they don't know who their MP are; they say who are you, get out of here. (...) this (Nkomazana) is a well informed villager, and they can't beat him. (...) You can't call a big rally and then scare them. If they are arguing that you are not captive as an MP, they can separate that it is not the president that is ineffective, it is you. So you can bring ten other people, but you; we deal with you. He (Mjaji) is not regarding them as members of the party and therefore they can't be coopted and changed (Mhlanga 30.6.1999. TSCC).

Catharsis

"The Members" displays characters in action, subject positions which people can take. People can enjoy Nkomazana and Tholoman's criticism of Mjaji, and I heard from the laughter that the audience felt that their own frustrations were being expressed in an enjoyable way.

The notion of catharsis comes from Aristotle's poetics and means cleaning/purification, and may refer to an effect on the audience. Rhomer argues that catharsis has a positive function and describes a more extended movement in the audience. "The passivity of the spectators during the production context and the performance is a physical, not an intellectual one, and there is no proof that empathy or the sharing of emotions with the actors prevents audiences from participation in social action generally. (...) The chimurenga songs in Zimbabwe war of liberation clearly functioned both as cathartic outlet and political resistance" (Berliner 81:134, in Martin Rohmer 1999:40-41, Kaarsholm 1990a: 246).

The concept of catharsis can be related to Laclau and Mouffe's understandings of identification (4.3) as a term for seeing oneself in other identity positions, the need to identify oneself with something and become whole, and move towards a terrain which is perceived as being more liberating. With the fact that the new identity positions in Members can work like this; shows that a reconstruction of representations has been performed, which makes people

see themselves differently. "Deconstruction and other types of critiques do not lead automatically to an unproblematic reading of other cultural and discursive systems (...) they cannot, of themselves, unreconstructed represent that otherness" (Bhabha 1990:75 in Escobar 1995:16-17). "The Members" offers new representations itself, as a result of a process of disarticulation and re-articulation of identity. The play offers ways of being, which are manifold and in motion. "Members" displays those mechanisms of power and discourses which produce the subject positions and which try to keep people in one place, in one space. However, "The Members" also shows that one can change and shift identity positions, and refers to those local, specific experiences which form the basis of the movements between positions.

However, these processes also refer to the need for further "movement", i.e. articulations from catharsis to more broader changes (Slack 1996:112), systematically working on the democratisation of society and politics and a new institutionalisation of the social (Escobar 1992:429).

Summing up – Supplying new understandings of the concept of citizen and politics.

Fixed identity positions are not offered in "The Members", such as they would be in campaign theatre or didactic plays. The villager is not satisfied by focusing only on his local conditions, which in the introduction Chifunyise thought community-theatre should represent. "The Members" multiple, specific and de-essentialized subject positions, included the identity of citizen, must necessarily also argue beyond a local level, and this gives the play a dynamic.

10.2. "Ivhu versus the State" and suggestions for identity positions

10.2.1. Race and "class"

Race and socio-economic status are the main subject positions in "Ivhu". Race could be said to be used partly essentially, associated with socio-economic position. A black character, Reward and a white character Stuart, are mainly shown as The black and The white. Though we do finally see the men accepting putting their identity aside and trying others, we do not see how this works out. "Ivhu" shows us other black corrupt businessmen, parliamentarians and Don King, and Troy also refers to black workers in TUPAC. Indirectly, "Ivhu" shows that there are many ways of being black, but these different identitypositions are not a part of the play.

Is presenting Reward partly stereotypically, a use of strategic essentialism so as to argue for better living conditions for black residents in the townships? (Spivak 90:12, part 4.4) Strategic essentialism is about using essential positions to clarify injustice and struggles against sex. poverty. But the portrayal of Reward does not seem to have this in mind. The criticism in the play is on a national level, it is not about conditions in the immediate vicinity of the characters, though they do refer to living conditions generally. Reward could for instance have said more about what he wrote to the newspaper, and then say something about being ignored when he tried to come with criticism.

Uncomfortable; but few other identity positions to rest on?

Reward, Stuart and Troy appreciate their identity-categories at first and worry about whether they have a place (6.1.2). Their respective categories are then made problematic, and one might say that this is particularly so in Stuart's case: "is this my identity, tradition"? Nevertheless, the characters protest when the judge asks them to take off their identity; "it is

personal (...) you make me naked ". The fact that they worry about losing their identity indicates that they have few other subject positions to rest on and live in. They lack new discourses which could give them the feeling of being "whole" and have political force for change. An argument from a specific, local situation would have given the men greater political force. But then they would have had to write themselves out of fixed representations of race and "class", and to do this they would have to depend on there being other discourses on nation and identity available.

A lack of new discourses and thereby new subject positions?

For the actors to have been able to discuss and develop a new politics of identity specifically, new discourses and subject positions would have had to be offered in the play which went beyond the general description of the problem. As in the first version of "Ivhu", Reward could have been a man looking for a plot of land, Stuart someone with an identity crisis and Troy a businessman. Reward could also been shown as a critical township resident, union member, academic or businessman. But in "Ivhu" they are constructed mainly so that they can articulate their everyday life in terms of a identity of black, white and coloured respectively. The dominant meta- narrative which organise race in this "black/white/coloured" way have emerged from colonisation and the systematisation of the population into different socio-economic strata.

As discourses which articulate their needs are not offered; asking the characters - as Susan does - to lay aside their white/black/coloured identity is a way of asking the characters/identity positions to "die". The dominant identity discourses on offer does not give them strategies of seeking out signifying positions which they could have felt more whole or comfortable with (Winther Jørgensen & Philips 1999:55, Torfing 1999: 149ff, 4.3). But I have also argued that another discourse does appear in Ivhu which is the "get rich" by any means discourse. If it is this discourse from which the characters are arguing, then it would seem logical to share identities and try each other's "poor/rich" identities. This may also refer to the fact that the antagonism in 1999 manifested itself more in terms of class (including the political class) and political power, than race. The implication is that if Stuart used Reward's shoes for a while, he would, if he had been a politician, have taken different decisions concerning the distribution of wealth and resources. This may be what "Ivhu versus the State" is trying to say, but not so explicitly.

10.2.2. Troy and Susan - new identities? Attempts to write oneself out of an essential race category.

I have shown that Troy and Susan do not operate in the classical, antagonistic identity positions of black and white and that they at least in part dissolve the signifier "race". The characters are less essentially described, but similar to Reward and Stuart, their positions are somewhat static. Susan lacks some colour and gender-specifications and this makes it possible for her to work out the changes in the men and argue for unity so her pedagogical project comes across. But this is more by virtue of her identification with discourses on political change, rather than her putting aside her identity as black. Gender differences are not explicitly an issue, but indirectly "Ivhu" argues for a first step on the road to equality, from a position as an icon, a non-real subject position, and as a student and judge. But in these positions she is represented by a strategic form of essentialism; she has been given a pedagogical task, which only can be solved if she is constructed simply as educator alone.

Susan could have represented a new identity position as a young radical from a middle-class home, but her job is to take the men "out of time" to let them see who and what and where

they are: this is why she must lack "race". Indirectly, this is referring to the author's notion that racial categories are limiting. Either unconsciously or intentionally, a position is constructed outside of the race category. The characters (and audience) might be able to write themselves out of the race discourse, by using the ideas of "generation", "education", "gender" and discourses about dialogue which also is offered.

Via Troy, a coloured, discourse on antagonism between the races is also denied implicitly. He defines himself as someone between black and white; in other words, he is external to the primary form of antagonism. He says he is in fact two persons, or: "to halves that's makes five of us here". The fifth person is not shown, but in a figurative sense we are seeing an opening up of another way through which identity can be formed and practiced. Susan and Troy can be sources of more specific, flexible and trans-national identities. But most of the Zimbabweans, the "Rewards" also take part in such movements of identity and identity politics.

Multiple, complex subject positions - or specific articulated?

There are fewer representations of multiple, complex subject positions, which are produced in specific, local articulations in "Ivhu". The movement in the play comes from the psychological education the men get via Susan to put emphasis on dialogue and removing or sharing identities. But in this representational strategy, which has racial antagonism as a basis, the characters are not given any specific task to articulate themselves in other than general criticism against the government. Finally, however, they do end up close to the political authorities; the government and parliament who are the responsible, in their description of the problems in Zimbabwe (see part 6.1.6.)

The need to see the colours together

For the discourse on racial antagonism to work, it depends on essential and static characters, and does not therefore provide any space for other multi-layered and manifold positions. Race is in Zimbabwe used as an antagonism which is a scapegoat and a form of camouflage, in which the real antagonism is between the oppressors and oppressed, especially along the dimensions of rich and poor and those with political power and those without. Because "Ivhu" partly writes itself in a binary opposition, this may limit people's possibilities to take other and more effective subject positions for dialogue. The discursive landscape Ivhu offers lacks some possibilities. However, studying how the play is received in different social strata might make me draw other conclusions than the one I have drawn.

This is because Ivhu does also refer to a need to see everyone as participants in the nation, with everyone "on the same scene", and the play does put the characters there on that stage. The audience also seemed satisfied only to hear arguments about dialogue, as a letter to the editor; "Ivhu had moments of brilliance", indicates (Daily News 5.6.1999 see appendix 5.5). The coloured character in particular was appreciated.

And I wished many coloured was there. The coloured was quite an interesting character (...) And as they says in the plays; we can do something with problems if we starts to talk (...) You can take something for granted, but when someone shows it; they starts thinking (...) and in theatre as an industry; there are very few instances where we work with black, white and coloured. If we had been working in that way we get different views on it (Memory Kambota 8.7. and 28.7.1999. TSCC).

10.2.3. The political space

"Ivhu" gives the characters the national, partly racial dominant discourses to unfold in which do not offer other subject positions. By not offering more identity positions, "Ivhu" may risk

restricting the political space. As mentioned, Laclau and Mouffe argue for understanding the political as a dimension, not merely a level. "The political" refers to those processes which start when discourses are challenged and borders start to float and become blurred (part 4.8 above). Protest can lead to constituting political subjects with new preferences; establish a political identity and another political standpoint. In such processes a new political space comes into being, outside the pre-determinate, fixed and closed – "the social" in the terminology of Laclau and Mouffe.

I see less signs of these new political spaces in *Ivhu*, and this may be because the themes are more a discussion of than a struggle with dominant discourses. Dominant discourses use different strategies to make the political space as small as possible to prevent antagonism forming – so as to chain the political space to only one anchor-point in society, and, as I have shown, this is being done via legal and symbolic means. For *Ivhu* to have challenged dominant discourses even more effectively, the characters would have had to argue from specific, local struggles, and arguing *on* the dominant discourses (see part 4.8. above *Disidentification*, Bæk, et. al 1992: 32-33, with reference to Laclau & Mouffe and Dyrberg 1988, 83-84).

Summing up – Conventional, not creative discursive strategies

Many new identity positions are now blossoming in Zimbabwe and these may be sources for further democratic development. They may take their form as political identities, such as the supporters of the MDC or *Zwakwana*, an underground movement (see appendix 2), or identities as citizen in other areas, such as township residents working with community organisations or people who assume new subject positions by work in women's, social and health, environmental or cultural organisations. At the same time there are many new discourses which define cultural and national identity anew and as more manifold (Hammar & Raftopolous 2003, Campell 2003, Muponde & Primorac 2005, Palmberg 2004). If "*Ivhu*" had referred more to those new identities, the play would have taken the step straight out and loosened the essential and socio-economic chain of equivalence into which race is placed. If this had occurred, the subject positions could have been used in very forward-looking, political and effective way, which could have helped solve the situation which is described in terms of segregation and "talking in clusters".

CHAPTER 11. REPRESENTATIONS OF THE NATION

Institutionalising heterogeneity?

In chapter 5 and 6 I presented the themes in *Ivhu* and *Members* and showed that both express themselves along political, socio-economic and racial lines of conflict, and this they did from a perspective of resistance to hegemonic positions. Here I intend to look more closely at sub-questions 1b)-d) and question 8) in part 4.10. I shall be examining how the nation is represented along the following dimensions: b) Can I see an essential nationalism or "liberal multiculturalism"? c) Is the history of Zimbabwe narrated in a narrow way, only with officially accepted narratives of ethnicity, or will I find that the way the nation tells its history is questioned, in terms of definitions of traditions, identity, ethnicity, omissions or a narrow unity? d) Is a new, alternative history told?

The nation can, as mentioned, be described as a cultural system of power which puts differences under one roof. The degree of acceptance or the ignoring of those differences

indicates how different social identities survive and contribute to the community - in other words, the degree to which the nation may be said to be practicing a radical multiculturalism, building on people's differences to the advantage for the whole community. "Light" versions of multiculturalism are problematised by Goldberg (1994): conservative multiculturalism, liberal multiculturalism and left-liberal multiculturalism have features of assimilation and the exoticising of differences. MacLaren's forming of radical or critical multiculturalism argues for institutionalising of heterogeneity as it appears in new knowledge-production, in new identity positions and social movements (MacLaren 1994:53, Bhabha 1997:34). An "inclusive" nation in other words gives meaning to the signifier "citizen" through the spaces that are provided for people's performance of different "citizen" identities. I have shown that the characters in both plays are concerned with how the nation should be played out. I have summarized the representation of the nation in the figure below and this provides a map for this discussion.

Figure 2. Representations of the nation

Analyses - variables	Representation-strategies in hegemonic discourses	Representation-strategies in "The Members"	Representations in " Ivhu versus the State"
The Nation	The nation as a "cultural umbrella" is defined by Zanupf, including defining what being a "real and proper" Zimbabwean is. No space for diverging views. A narrow patriotism and essential history telling. Conservative multiculturalism?	Mjaji argues for the nation like Zanupf. Gloria, Nkosi and Nkomazana reject the unity and argue for space for their differences in creating their Zimbabwe. Challenges a national identity, and offers different ways of being national. Towards a radical multiculturalism?	The nation is described as sick. The state no longer takes the people seriously. The characters refer to real discomfort with this, and suggest dialogue as a solution, that civilians also have power. But the struggles are not shown in any specific way. Refers to few new ways of being national. Liberal multiculturalism?

11.1. "The Members" - How is the nation narrated?

11.1.1. "One Nation"

The word "nation" and "Zimbabwe" are used in a rally at Mbomanzi which the President attends (see part 5.1.4.). Besides this, these signifiers are not used

MJAJI: Forward with people's party
 AUDIENCE: Forward!
 MJAJI: Forward with people' party
 AUDIENCE: Forward!
 MJAJI: One party state!
 AUDIENCE: One Zimbabwe!
 MJAJI: One Zimbabwe.
 AUDIENCE: One nation!

Mjaji, the audience and the President use the word "one" in front of "nation" and "Zimbabwe", and they also add "one party state". One unity of the people is argued for, represented as one nation, one-party state and one Zimbabwe. It seems necessary to symbolically draw people into this unity, and let the people be reminded of it. We have seen that the unity MP Mjaji argues for rejects the villager Nkomazana, limits the secretary Gloria, and threatens the younger MP Nkosi with murder; in other words a unity which actually excludes. Therefore, this emphasise on unity can be seen as a necessary ritual practice of

inclusion, because the nation, as the government is governing it, is under pressure from differences and the existing leadership lacks support.

Which unity?

I see this as a unity which implies that the people are not important and that MP Mjaji should be in parliament with or without the support of his voters. It is a unity without the people, a unity which ignores the need for water in Mbomanzi and treats the opposition and women oppressively. It is the unity Mjaji signalizes by way of his comments such as "Members Only" and "Members of Power". This "Members only" is referred to in the title by Mhlanga.¹⁴ Mjaji is signalizing a community, a MPs' club and is setting this up in opposition to the "povo". The people are a unity if they remain asleep, until the masses are awoken; "if you waken them up". In Mjaji's and the first secretary's opinion it seems that there is no room for different ways of being national and a Zimbabwean, other than being a member of the "povo". This is the way Mjaji sees it. The official national identity on offer consists of a vast yet vague mass of obedient and loyal women and men and this is a nation and national identity which lack a multiplicity of identity signifiers, because they first appear in a specific articulation. In a local struggle over various antagonisms, which would naturally have challenged the unity Mjaji is so keen on maintaining, he seeks to delimit the political space even more (see part 4.8).

"What the country needs" - resistance to national identities decided from above

Gloria, Nkosi, Jamila and Nkomazana do not use the concepts "one nation", "one Zimbabwe", or "one-party state". Instead these characters challenge the understanding of one nation through their specific struggles and seek to extend the political space and argue implicitly for a different content for and understanding of the nation. MP Nkosi challenges MP Mjaji's idea of national identity being a sleeping mass; "(...) They have eyes and ears, they see and hear". He seems to think the meaning of "nation" is to be found in "closer contacts with the people" and that this is included in his job as an MP; "You have to talk to your people and share ideas". The people are thus participating in a different way than they do in the President and Mjaji's statements, in which the people are considered to be a "football played in the dust" as Tholoman puts it, or as Mjaji sees it: "they see but they don't think".

The nation is present in two forms, firstly in Mjaji's and the President's interpretation as an idea of a one-party state, in which one would prefer people not to be too awake. This is the national identity, which also implies that Mjaji must try to get Nkosi back on the right track. It is also seen in how Gloria is forced into a discriminating secretarial role and how Nkomazana is ignored when he wants to talk about the water project. More specific national identities in "fixed versions" are not envisaged here. This may be because such identities cannot exist outside of Mjaji's wishes and indeed he shows surprise when he learns of Nkomazana, Nkosi, Gloria and Jamila's unwillingness to follow the track he has determined; in other words national identities are only present as an absence; only as an idea.

11.1.2. Another version of national identity

These are not forms of a superior national identity which satisfies the people. The second version of the nation is represented by the other characters in the play. For Tholoman, the Zimbabwe of today is not the one for which he struggled and lost a leg. Nkosi, Gloria and Nkomazana's arguments also seem to be saying this when they argue for their identity positions. All the characters challenge how one should be an MP, woman, secretary or villager, and expand or enlarge on these possibilities within national identities. They are concerned about their nation, though they prefer to use the "country" as a signifier, as Nkosi say: "What I'm talking about is what the country needs and the party needs". They try to talk

and act themselves out of limiting versions of patriotism and nationalism; in this way, they are also taking the needs of the country into consideration, displayed as specific individual right and the need to be heard and work to improve their everyday life.

11.1.3. Summing up: questioning exclusions and narratives for a new history.

The characters are especially interested in their nation, not merely as obedient inhabitants, but as people prepared to fight for specific local and national political issues. They are creating a new identity as citizens whom can rest on other national discourses; on trans-national discourses about human rights and democracy. I have referred to "citizenship" as an identity; "Citizenship is not just a certain status. It is also an identity, an expression of ones membership in a political community" (Mattes 1999:274, Lindgren 2003b: 61, 63). Mjaji's resistance displays itself in the way he defends older subject positions which are now disintegrating and crumbling; being challenged more by processes of dislocation (4.2). Mjaji's reference to the liberation war in which he says it was them who carried out and were the victors in the revolution; refers to a national discourse about the past which could be said to represent a notion of essential nationalism. Here history and the contemporary situation are narrated in an officially accepted and valued way. Mjaji does not refer to any inclusion of differences, and can hardly be said to be a critical multiculturalist.

Tradition has also been an important element in national Zimbabwean discourses and this is often referred to as being a set of shared customs, values and authentic cultural expressions. This is indirectly thematized in *Members*, as in Gloria's dancing and Mjaji's statement that he can invite the entertainers he wants to rallies; "and also Gloria, phone the cultural office. I want one of the best theatre groups, best cultural groups. Ya angifuni Amakhosi don't put Amakhosi balemilomo emide (I dont want Amakhosi, they talk too much) I don't want them". Here we see traditional dance and theatre used to celebrate national events organised by MPs. The fact that this was also utilized during the colonial period is referred to and nowadays this is sometimes called "airport culture". Mhlanga is especially concerned about the use of cultural tradition and history, but I would interpret this as being an expression of his criticism of the way it is used as a mere embellishment; it is as if he is saying: "doesn't the government take cultural traditions more seriously than this"? (Mhlanga interview 27.6.1999 Lupane). Hobsbawm and Ranger in "The invention of Tradition" say that cultural practices which one may think of as being old, in fact may have a relatively new point of origination and this idea is used to "calculate certain values and norms of behaviours by repetition which automatically implies continuity with a suitable historical past" (1983:1 in Hall 1992:294).

Nkomazana and Tholoman (5.1.3., 8.1.1.) criticise Mjaji's hiding behind a false historical narrative, i.e. the idea that Mjaji and his fellow revolutionaries led the country to the freedom. Tholoman ask what they were fighting for and why everybody is not appreciated for this. In this way, they are referring to exclusions from the historical narrative. They also criticise unequal distribution and a lack of political representation and refer to exclusions in actual discourses. Nkomazana accuses them of: "representing us when you don't consult", and Nkosi sees the party's "policy of protection" as something which is distant from the people. The daily hegemonizing discourses about the party's excellence and the country's progress are challenged specifically and from different angles. Discourses about the party's right to decide and fix interpretations of reality, "people's unity" and "top-down ideas" about the relationship between the governors and the governed, rich and poor, past and future are challenged. The arguments for unity are questioned, as indeed they are in other newer postcolonial expressions which question the borders of the nation (my part 1.3, Shohat 1997:10, 8).

Alternative history

At the same time an alternative history is told which concerns the way in which the people experience the gap between the official rhetoric and daily life (Dawes 1997:9). New history is also produced such as when Nkomazana actually makes progress in Mbomanzi, how Gloria gains better payment and offers more subject positions for women and secretaries. Another central element is the way in which Nkosi argues for changes to the structure of the party and Nomazana's decision not to vote for Mjaji. All these events are local histories which make new history. In addition, this indirect argument for a kind of soft ethnicity may be regarded as arguing for the inclusion of the history of the Ndebele minority (see 9.2.4.).

Conceptual and actual borders concerning politics and representations, race, gender, ethnicity and class are displaced. Bhabha refers to how the margins existing within societies currently experience may represent counter-narratives which continuously "wake and split the totalising borders of the nation – both actual and conceptually, and by this disturbing the ideological manoeuvres which gives imagined communities essential ideas" (Bhabha 1990b:300). Space is provided for marginal experience which adds new voices to the narratives of the nation. Mhlanga does not want a nationalism which is a limiting "sameness" and one which refers to different ethnicities as tribalistic (see part 9.2.4):

"and we are saying to hell with that kind of nationalism. It is not applicable to 2000. All of us are getting proud of who we are, all of us is going to see something different each day. I don't want to eat the same Ndebele food everyday. I want to be able to go out and eat that Tonga food and have a Shona dish. That's how we are brought up. Because of so much information from all of the world, that prepares you mentally to see many different things. So the age of information has rubbed out the age of nationalism were everybody is the same. Talks the same language; have the same political parties, painting the houses in the same colours, that is out, out" (Mhlanga 30.6.1999 TSCC).

This, combined with the statements below are, what I would argue, ideas for a radical multiculturalism.

"Who we are"

I see "The Members" as Mhlanga's attempt to get the people back on a track; indirectly he is tapping them on the shoulder and offering new identities, to "fill out" (give content to) the nation in a different way.

We believe that it needs to be ethnic diversity, and we need to bring that diversity to create national identity. So you have all of it. There is a blanket with many colours, that's all we want. We didn't want one red blanket or one black blanket. There is so much that the world can learn from each people (...) Nationalism is gone. Now we are talking about a different interpretation of society and community. I don't have a word for it, but it is ethnic diversity. So when I can watch television everyday I must know who we are in Zimbabwe, not who I am. *Now I don't even know who we are.* I know who I am; vs the other person who says who they are (...) And yet we have more similarities than differences. All we need to do is to let the similarities find each other (...) That's what I believe in.(...) In 62 it was not just about nationality, it was about *who we are - Immediately it got lost when people were in power.* The basic principle is power to the people; *the governing of the people, by the people; that's the definition of democracy. Do we have it; no we don't. So why are we so scared to have it?* (Mhlanga 30.6.1999 TSCC).

But, the positions the Members offers are almost imperceptible, perhaps because indirectly Mhlanga has touched the very "motor" of the audience's identities, i.e. the need to identify with something and become whole. He has offered possibilities which I have experienced as acceptable to the audience, and these possibilities are roads out of and alternatives to the difficult situation. Another issue is whether these new ideas on the possibilities for new identities and new political practice are actually possible in daily life - whether there are

structures and channels which can mediate this self-understanding and engagement so that the people can build the nation they want to live in (see 10.1.3).

11.2. "Ivhu versus the state"; how is the nation recounted?

11.2.1. Worries

"Ivhu" is critically concerned about the nation in a broad understanding. The men and Susan have the feeling of being inscribed in a national discourse which is about: "It's no longer a war against colonialism and oppression. It's a war to oppress and make money". It is obvious that the characters do not represent an essential nationalism which defends the government's positions in current debates. Reward says the nation needs a straightjacket, he describes political managers as being members of a "paraplegic cabinet" and that the situation needs to be governed by others. "The Members" says the politicians need to take a long holiday so as to become normal persons again. "Ivhu's" suggested solution is more robust than Members - putting the politicians and the nation in a straightjacket.

"Us civilians"

Susan says: "You've got Zimbabwe down your throat. A bad case of it". Reward: "You talk like it is a disease", as if the nation as it appears to them is an illness. Susan wants to empty the signifier nation of its current significance, and as a floating signifier, giving it another content. They refer to their importance during the liberation war as national inhabitants; Reward; "... they (the guerrillas) were the fish, we civilians were the water. They needed us to swim". Susan reminds them of a strategy; "As civilians we must remember that fact. That we also have power". They are approaching a concept of resistance, a discourse from which they can articulate opposition; the focus on "citizen", and the power of the civilian, which I have referred to in "Members".

11.2.2. National identities and the nation as another place...as absence

Susan invites the people to a place in which can symbolize another nation and assume the national identity they want, defined outside what I see as the national identity offered in this play; the racial positions and their socio-economic belonging. In "Ivhu", national identity is an obedient mass, they are "the people" the government wants them to be. The judge makes them say: "maybe we all got invited to the same event", the event it is to participate in a nation as co-citizens, in the defining of new national identities: "This must be the place", "we the same" as they say (part 6.1.2).

But they also ask: "why are we here, who is our host"? The "nation" and "Zimbabwe" are sometimes depicted as being synonymous with the regime, which the characters are fed up with, but the "nation" and "Zimbabwe" are also portrayed in another way, as something they would like to seek out without exactly knowing what it is, something they would like to find. Through the play they try to define another place, another discourse and other ways of being national. The judge is a catalyst, and tries to show the men ways to other discourses which could help unite people, to fill the signifier "nation" and their national identity as Zimbabweans constructively. When they ask who she is she answers "I am a Zimbabwean", the people are more than synonymous with the different races. But do they show how one could be a Zimbabwean in different ways?

The hostess – a "bornfree" –to be able to define the nation anew

They need a bornfree to take them out of the existing discourses of the nation, to be able to find specific discourses or nodal points about the nation to which they can connect

themselves. But do they know what a common, positive, national project can be? Perhaps they have Martin Luther King's speech in mind: "one day all men will be free". The judge give Reward, Stuart and Troy some psychological education so that they can be in a new nation. She shows them how "the culture of fear" appears when they get scared, and how they use strategies they have seen the CIO using. The way it is presented, it seems that the men need to experience this individual weakness which we can see in the way they are so easily led to commit torture. It is as if they must sink to the bottom before they can build up something new.

"Sameness" vs. specificity

The characters agree on a "baseline"; they are in the same sinking ship, and the judge argues for unity despite the differences. At the beginning they hesitatingly state "we - the same", but what kind of unity is this? "Sameness" may refer to a concept for unity and similarity which does not articulate differences in a positive, inclusive way. Instead it implies there being a need for people to be similar to one another to work in a community. "Sameness" has traces of liberal multiculturalism, a general (reductive) humanism, "the universality of man". At the same time, however, a common national project presupposes a kind of "sameness", which needs to include differences. This is a discussion of particular topical importance in South Africa, where the apartheid regime was based on differences in a negative way.

Two competing processes have emerged: The evolution of a broad, non-racial, national identity on the one hand; and the emergence of racial and ethnic identities in new forms, on the other. "Exactly how these two processes are to be reconciled is what constitutes perhaps the most important challenge for the new South Africa" (....) For in a context where difference—multiplied, reified, extended, extrapolated and systematically insinuated—has been the basis of domination and oppression, talk of its liberating possibilities has seemed alien and alienating. And so it is not "difference," but the struggle to be "the same," to establish a state on the basis of constitutionally secured legal equality, that has been the basis of the fight against apartheid and for the construction of a new nation (Petersen 2000:3).

Petersen refers to an opposition between "sameness" and "difference". But this need not manifest itself in the form of an opposition - "sameness" may be defined as a constitutionally secured legal equality built on the basis of agreement on differences ("contingent nationalism" Brown 2001). And differences can signify differences in experience and knowledge - not just race. Mouffe describes a radicalisation of democracy as follows:

At the heart of these multiple projects of resistance and revisioning must surely be a project of radical democracy in which "multiplicity and otherness" are recognized and accepted, and "diversity" and dissensus valorised, recognizing in them the very condition of possibility of a striving democratic life (Mouffe 1995: 265).

Ivhu's "sameness" may be unclear, in that it refers less to the use of positive differences, new subject positions and projects for a new, multicultural nation. The play shows to a lesser degree complex strategies to reveal the racial categories as constructions. This could have provided space for differences and a "progressive sameness". I shall go into more depth on this.

The men are asked to take off what apparently makes them different, i.e. the race positions. But they are not offered the opportunity to articulate their own specific experiences in other discourses. The men are also uncomfortable with her academic invitation, Troy: "You think you are someone special?" Do Reward, Troy and Stuart see her as a symbol of the academic elite and someone who is trying to force new premises on them from above, i.e. that new, national discourses are not being articulated from their standpoint? The fact that the point of departure is not founded on specific experiences and identities weakens the basis for building

common popular movements and new national identities. But the actors also criticise the "sameness"/unity which is offered in Zimbabwe:

Adam; (...) The system is more and more perverse; we are still laughing of it (...) but if it may continue it will eat everything (...) V: Whats the difference between your unity, patriotism and Mugabes?
 Dylan; His is false. Adam: He says it but does not believe in it. The unity he talks about is false. The unity he talks about is the unity behind him (...) total devotion, that's his unity (...) Adam: What is important is that we recognize that we are significant; that we does not need to agree; that we can agree about that we can disagree. We doesn't blindly need to unite behind that man because he says we should. This is complex; it does not serve his purpose to have an healthy unity, he is pulverizing the people; putting them against each other. Its micro and macrounity. He does not want microunity – individual – individual; but fractions where people fight each other. Dylan: yes Adam is right (Walter Muparotsa, Adam Neill, Dylan Wilson- Max, Hapiness P. 11.7.1999. On the road to Victoria Falls)

11.2.3. Unclear borders between the regime, state and the nation

What also makes it difficult to construct new, multiple, national identities is that the play presents unclear border demarcations between the regime, the government and the state. In the title the question "the state vs. the people" appears. Susan has said that "Ivhu" stands for Reward, Stuart and Troy, the inhabitants - "the povo". They imagine that "the people, the soil, you and me" is set up in opposition to the state. Guzha says the characters see the state and governments as the enemy: "the characters themselves identified one enemy; that's the state itself; it is the government" (Guzha 16.9.1999).

It may be a problematic simplification to make the regime synonymous with the state. The regime could control the state, i.e. the one-party state, but the state is also a necessary instrument to secure distribution of wealth and justice. However, the use of the state and not the government may also be some sort of "camouflage" so that Rooftop does not appear too critical and thereby risk losing the possibility to perform the play. Nevertheless, to my mind the word "state" is used here to describe the problem associated with the "African one-party state", which binds together the notions of party/regime/state. But it is difficult to articulate alternatives when the state is synonymous with the regime; a concept of positive power is lacking (see part 7.2.1). With this, a forum within which the identity of "citizen" could be discussed in relation to is also lacking, as are specific discourses within which they could articulate themselves in relation to a one-party state.

11.2.4. Nation and national identity as patriotism and tradition?

Guzha wants a kind of patriotism which prevents people speaking in clusters, re: part 9.3.1;

We are supposed to advocate a whole new movement of; nothing other than, patriotism. Yes, we can act common, we are Zimbabwean. That's the most important. (...) As this is our country, we can still go back and wear your (...) Scottish outfit, (...) Shonaoutfit; or your colour outfit attitude. That whats make you you. That is something bigger; that is basically patriotism (...) We get them talking to each other; which is good, which is an interesting thing about this country; people talk. But they are talking in clusters (...). Once /the moment you say I am Zimbabwean, I am patriot of this country. The there is no way you are going to turn an blind eye on someone, who is lesser than you. Because the problem will be staring you straight in your face (Guzha 2.6.1999 Margolis Plaza.Harare).

In this way common engagement and a new national identity for patriotism are argued for. But will it give space for differences? Which new discourses and subject positions are supposed to articulate Ivhu's patriotism?

The starting point is that people must lay aside their identities and start a dialogue. By asking the characters to come in traditional clothes, and then later letting them comment on each

other and change clothes, national identity as tradition is thematicised. The men join in unwillingly. Stuart: "Is this my tradition"? At the same time they are afraid of loosening their identity. Troy refers to the possibilities to expand the identity position in his doubling: "So there are five of us here". In part they manage to ask questions about the "traditional" national identity; they try to approach the past and tradition in a way which does not produce essential definitions of the present but may in fact lead to parts of the past being used positively in the present; "There is no necessary symmetry between communal past/collective resistance. What is the basis of bonding in collective action - past or future, memory or project? While communal symbolism may be important, collective symbolism and discourse merging a heterogeneous collectivity in a common project may be more important" (Shohat 1992:109 in Pieterse 1995:57). The characters agree to put their identities in the "community chest", perhaps then to use them in the present without essential, national ideas.

Exclusions in the history writing

Attempts are made to establish the nation anew, as another place, another representation, by playing out its history. But this national story only gives us characters essentially defined as blacks and whites, and the whole story is not told, e.g. the massacres in Matabeleland are left out. Positive differences, such political and ethnic differences on which a new nation could be built, are not referred to. The characters, Reward, Stuart and Troy, are more illustrations of the people, corresponding to national identities. But in addition, positively, a new history is produced as seen in the "get rich" discourse - they dare to express themselves and comment on this materialistic, individualistic culture, and are uncomfortable with the discourses they are given.

Summing up - "Wife's and kids do not know where to run"

The characters feel ignored and insufficient in their present identity positions, though these are the only ones they have. Perhaps Troy's statement: "Wife's and kids do not know where to run" shows their feeling of powerlessness. This may refer to a lack of new discourses which offer alternative ways of belonging to the nation and not the "belonging" which ZANU pf makes dependent on land. Other experiences and categories might also be used in defining the nation.

Identity politics and politics generally are not only about taking on or off one's identity. Identity is also a place from which they live, the men could articulate a unity related to the struggle for better distribution or against the war in DR Congo. But this new articulation does not appear because they do not have discourses to articulate themselves in. The judge does not say less about how a unity can be articulated via differences and how differences can be accepted by the community and be included in more expansive discourses on radical multiculturalism.

The nation is established again; but with which identities and discourses?

Ivhu argues strongly for another nation, but the creation of this is made difficult because "Ivhu" display less indirect resistance, understood as offers of new subject positions. Ivhu's audience are not been shown that politics can be "performed" in other ways, more "democratic ways". The characters in "Ivhu" also criticise parliamentarians, but "Ivhu" says less about how a representative system can work and how Stuart, Reward, Troy and Susan want to be represented.

Ivhu gathers characters and subject positions in Zimbabwe as a starting point for reconciliation. But though gathered, they have not many specific discourses which their

meanings could be articulated into. They lack new nodal points; debatescentres e.g. on democracy, human rights and the equal distribution of welfare, which could have given the nation a new or different content. Those could have provided language for a more pluralistic community in which differences may contribute to expanding the discourses of nation. The nation as inclusive without assimilating everyone into one, single discourse: "add to without adding up" which is Bhabha's description of these processes (Bhabha 1990:306,302,312). The hostess lets them see a common condition for articulation regarding Zimbabwe's current problems, and shows them the necessity of freeing up current identities. The next steps on the road to building the new Zimbabwe could have been a way of arguing for their differences without giving up the idea of common articulation. We see more an insistence on similarity, not a re-articulation related to the advanced movements about identity and politics going on. "Ivhu versus the State" does not seem to want to give the audience more of this. Instead they let the men be boys: "boys will be boys".

Nevertheless, the argument for dialogue and identities is the starting point for a further re-articulation - Ivhu has provided a "baseline" on which the future could be built.

CHAPTER 12. RESISTANCE AND THE CONTRIBUTION TO THE PUBLIC SPHERE

12.1. "What is it about how the play narrates"?

How then can the representative strategies I have described in the plays be related to the broader effects of the plays? Here I shall show how I believe the plays may have an effect on the public debate, first by summarising how resistance manifests itself in the plays and the similarities and differences between the representative strategies which I have referred to in chapters 10 and 11. Secondly, I describe the plays' contribution to the public debate through the ways they represent contingency.

Here I then offer answers to research question 3: what does the resistance consist of thematically and textually? Finally, I shall discuss in brief how the groups' background may have influenced the strategies of representation. All these questions are in the diagram below.

Figure 3. Analysis variables; representations in dominant discourses and the resistance in the plays

Analysis-variables -Lines of conflict -Subject-recognizers -- Resistance	Representation strategies in hegemonic discourses	Representation in "The Members"	Representation in "Ivhu versus the State"
Resistance on 1. Theme 2. Subject 3. The language 4. On the discourse	Advanced form of rhetoric to avoid resistance (liberation rhetoric, effective enemy image). Resistance is also expressed by violent means.	1. The resistance is visualized in arguments for constitutional changes; 2. creates new subject positions 3. deconstruction of Mjaji and use of Ndebele, and 4. a discursive challenge of what politicians' tasks are supposed to be .	1. The resistance is visualized in the characters' verbal indignation over dispositions of the state which are to be criticized. 2. Still a certain essential description of identity positions. 3. Opening in the language of Troy and the criticisms of Mugabe. 4. Challenges of the "get rich" discourse.
Hegemonic challenges and contributions to the public sphere	Media is to a great extent controlled by the state. Attempts are made to suppress a critical public sphere via media -legislation and restrictions on freedom of expression	Members points to the loss of a community culture. And refers to a representational struggle on two levels: cultural and political. The play deconstructs the concept of politics, and contributes with a rearticulation of identity positions which can give places for new utterances. It also refers to contingency.	Ivhu points to the loss of a common culture, but has to a lesser degree given new identity positions and constructive descriptions of the political field. Lacks a clear display of contingency.
Conclusion; resignifying practices ?		Made on all the dimensions of resistance	Made partly on all the dimensions of resistance

"What's in it for me" - "Loss of communal values"

Both of the plays broach the loss of community values. In the plays and interviews it becomes apparent that people seem to think the idea of community is no longer a value. People experience that "what's in it for me" has become a main issue¹⁵. They feel "community values" are lacking, may be another kind of "patriotism"? (see 11.1.3 and 11.2.4). In this way, the plays, as a manifestation of popular culture, become arenas within which alternative values may be expressed. But the plays do more than just this.

12.2. The resistance in the plays

The resistance appears in the theme, subject positions, language and the level of discourse.

The theme

In chapter 4.10 I formulated two sub questions in addition to the main research question 1a) about the challenge of hegemonic discourses in the nation (chapters 5 and 6); *How* are the conflicts presented ? In open narratives, with space for differences or in closed interpretations? And are *solutions* suggested? I showed that both of the plays articulated new elements as counter discourses, into the conflict-lines (see part 4.2 and chapters 5 and 6). Because Members does do this to a great degree I consider the presentation of conflicts in Members to be open. The constitution and the representative's relation to the people are

central arenas for change; the "Members" shows how the political development starts from below. The problem is presented through different characters, which produces several perspectives on the issues. "Ivhu versus the State's" narrations of the conflicts in Zimbabwe may be less open. The story of the DRC war and the Standard case produce images of a regime which have given up on the people, or an image of the people who feel ignored and rejected. Ivhu recounts this feeling of powerlessness. It tells stories about national discourses which "narrow the space for possibilities of meaning" (see p 32 above). But Ivhu refers less the way blacks and whites and coloureds did in fact cooperate. Nevertheless Ivhu does show solutions in the form of images of the three colours together on the scene and encourages dialogue.

The subjects

Gloria, Nkomazana and Nkosi resist by producing themselves as other subjects. This resistance is accentuated when Mhlanga shows that the subject positions are plural and under transformation. The narratives recounting Nkomazana and Gloria's development express this (see part 10.1.2.) and Troy and Susan also help deconstruct the discourse on racial antagonism and "correct" essential national identities. They show that race/gender categories are specific and historically influenced and crossed with other identifications. But in the stories about Stuart and Reward it is shown that Ivhu displays the categories less as "unstable and complex markers of differences which always need to be re-invented and re-negotiated" (ref. part 10.2.1, Gilbert 1998:18).¹⁶

The language

The plays make use of the instability of signification, the possibilities that exist in the language and the social acts to change meaning. Mhlanga has made Mjaji blind in relation to his own role and task: "The Honourable MP". Such expressions (5.1.4), together with his injured vulnerability are satirical strategies which "flout the binary structure". The ridiculous way he talks about himself in relation to the people also acts in a destabilising way (see 4.8.). Nkomazana's comments on Mjaji's chair, his whisky, his stomach, and that Nkomazana will tackle the problems in "order of priority"; in an ordered form, is seemingly naïve, but also satirical and empties the opposition "governor/governed". Members also use a great deal of Ndebele and Ndenglish. The untranslated words refer to a specific experience; "*Untranslated words* (...) force the reader into an active engagement with the horizons of the culture in which this terms have a meaning" (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 1989:45ff). Choosing to let something remain untranslated is a political act; Mhlanga is giving credit to local experience (op cit 1989: 59, 66). When I saw the play in Harare with a black audience, the scene in which Nkomazana, Tholoman and the others criticised Mjaji in Ndebele caused much mirth in the audience.

The slang Troy uses, such as neologisms and the use of untranslated words including Shonglish, is subversive and a part of identity politics for coloureds. (6.1.1). "Ivhu versus the State", like "Members", also uses "body politics" (7.2.2, 7.3.3). "Mugabe hasn't got his vision straight" shows a president with skewed visions. The portrait of the parliamentarians as "paraplegics and spastics and mentally deficient" is a similar strategy aimed at ridiculing the people in power by referring to their bodily defects. Deformed bodies dissolve "the oppressors" as positions. The use of clothes as signifying devices is also central in Ivhu. In postcolonial theatre it is used to indicate discomfort with an identity position and to occupy new subject positions symbolically. In Ivhu's re-playing of history, the men change clothes in relation to their own historical identities, but they do not change clothes between race positions, which could have signaled a break with a dominant ordering of identity positions (8.2.1, Gilbert 1998:20, 22).

Discursive challenges

In "Ivhu", a "get rich" discourse is referred to which is challenged and partly deconstructed. Here the characters show that there are some common mechanisms for the sake of transparency which need to be in place politically and administratively if everyone is to have their share. But resistance to the discourse is less referred to; by systematically going through the premises for the "race" category so as then to dissolve them and thereby provide the opportunity to discuss other ways of being white or black (disidentification). (4.8). This would also have provided more ways of talking about the lack of commitment, segregation and "talking in clusters". In Ivhu, therefore, I would say that the tendency to use postcolonial counterstrategies is only performed in part.¹⁷

Members, to a greater extent, forms resistance to and *on* the discourses. Nkomazana's resistance moves beyond a negation. The resistance therefore challenges discourses on political representation (8.1.2). Identity positions and concepts such as "political representation", "the people" and "local development" are challenged by appropriation; the characters occupy the concepts anew to put new content into them (4.8.). I see subversion in this appropriation, which also concerns the surrounding discourses on identity and nation (Ashcroft et. al. 1989:48). The discourse "Members" challenges is especially the current discourse on political representation.

12.3. Hegemonic challenges and contributions to the public sphere

Deconstructing the concept of politics

The concept of political representation is given meaning via how the relation between the one who represents and the represented works. In "The Members" the fixing of this relation as it was present then in Zimbabwe, is dissolved. Nkomazana is an important challenger in that he provides the concept of politicians and representation with new content, which results in Nkosenhle and Jamila having the opportunity to move ahead with people's needs. This is politics of discourse in practice. The characters refer to their own individual experiences as "politics of difference" and the struggles going on also as "politics of identity" - they refer and articulate common interest (my part 4.7.8, Best & Kellner 1991:205-206). Gloria, Nkomazana and Nkosi assume those subject positions which they feel are in tune with their own way (of being). Such processes may in a transferred sense be said to have resulted in the political opposition Zimbabwe has today; the antagonism has caused social movements to develop as well as the common articulation of central goals (2.1.4, appendix 1 and 2). In these struggles to fix meaning, the Members in particular displays a contingency.

The primacy of politics and narratives of contingency

Politics, as a broad concept, refers to the fact that we always constitute the social in certain ways, which excludes other possible ways. Politics is to create the society (such as identity and nation) in a certain way and exclude other ways. The actual social organising is a result of political processes (see 4.7, 10.2.3, Mouffe 1995:262, Winther Jørgensen & Philips 1999:47). When the political is understood as a dimension, it refers to the fact that it is always contingency in the social. Structures, objects and the meaning of concepts are given from the situation in which they are made.

When the Members re-articulates the understanding of politics and representation, it refers to the fact that all definitions are contingent, possible but not necessary and this is because they are filled with content/meaning from a specific standpoint, and can be given another meaning

from a different standing point. The Members' challenging of power lies in the re-articulation, by indirectly referring to contingency in the narratives of political representation and identity. The play shows that hegemonic interventions are contingent, and "deconstructs – dissolves hegemonic discourses into new fields of power-struggle" (see page 39 and 4.8 above). In this way, the play refers to the possibilities for further changes in society. Ivhu's narratives of contingency are somewhat lesser clear, but Troy as "Third Space" is an opening, and also the idea of taking off one's identity.

I see it in the way that referring to contingency is a decisive part of developing public discussion or discourse and the possibilities for further democratisation, because contingency refers to the new possibilities for fixing meaning differently. This can influence how the audience thinks and acts. The play's representations create new identifications and positions from which one can contribute to change. In this way the plays as popular culture contribute to encouraging social and political debate.

The Member's discourse analysis can create a different Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe and all other concepts for society as a whole are floating signifiers, signs which can be invested with different content (4.1). Members is also a discourse -analysis; the play deconstructs the dominant discourses on politics and identity in Zimbabwe. The play tries to show that the current organisation of the nation Zimbabwe is a result of political processes with social consequences. The play shows that the political processes can be articulated differently with other identity positions. By offering others elements in dominant discourses, both on thematic and subject position level, the space of possibilities for meaning is expanded.

Is it problematic that "The Members" does not take its criticism further and display political alternatives and not only change within a party? Mhlanga thought somewhat differently.

In Members; I take the whole political situation and puts it in one party. The diversity becomes a window for the whole society in the one party state (...) And this issue of self vs. the country/community is the entry window in "Members" and I think it is the biggest problem now (...) They only wants to be there to their own private business; the whole idea of community is different (Mhlanga 9.7.1999.TSCC).

But besides this Members could have referred to more complex antagonisms, for instance within the village or between ethnicities, but as political satire perhaps it could not have afforded to be too complex.

Though Ivhu does also explicitly relate to the political line of conflict. Ivhu wants dialogue between the races, but do we see this in practice? Kaarsholm refers to an ambivalence in the public sphere which can also be expressed at the level of the cultural expression; "Indeed the contradictions between ruling culture, subcultural and countercultural forms that characterise the external sides of the hegemony and the cultural system are often also among the most striking features of the individual text or cultural manifestation" (Kaarsholm 1989:178). But despite the ambivalence, Ivhu also tells about indignation amongst the people, which I assume can be inspiring and can contribute to a debate. This also the actor's puts emphasis on: "It is necessary to reinvent the situation continuously in order to keep them fresh; and keep people interested" (Adam Neil 11.7.1999). In addition, seeing all the characters of different colours on the same scene can be healing.

12.4. Differences in representational strategies: personal and theatre context

Rooftops and Amakhosis' background as an explanatory factor

Differences in representational strategies are a result of choices made whilst writing and producing. The choices can also be related to the localisation of the groups. I would argue that the standpoint and individual experiences colour the expressions of the play-writers; "one must be willing to examine personal experience and ones speaking voice in terms of the ideological and discursive complexity of its formation" (MacLaren 1994:52). Kaarsholm argues for bringing in surrounding discourses to understand a cultural expression such as the theatre: "(this) interpretation from "within" is not going far, if it not is supplemented by an analysis –of those relations of power and institutional frames, the cultural appear in. Because also these, which is the subject for the cultural articulation and therefore a substantial part of its content" (Kaarsholm 1988:95 my translation).

Amakhosi and Cont Mhlanga

The plays different "localisations" offer an explanation in part for their different representational strategies. "The Members" critical position may be related to Mhlanga's own experiences of the atrocities in Matabeleland in the middle of the eighties (2.1.1) and the life he now sees in the townships (Mhlanga 27.6.1999). His identity position as a Ndebele has given him an engagement in his criticism, but this is not an identity position performed essentially; he uses ethnicity specifically to express a certain situation of oppression and the underdevelopment of Matabeleland. Mhlanga uses the suppression in Matabeleland as a sign for the woeful condition of the regime; he has a national agenda which relates to better welfare for everyone. His permanent and driving state of political commitment may be important to him as a writer (See chapter 3 and appendix 2).¹⁸ That "Members" was not specifically commissioned, but that Amakhosi has had a general, administrative support from donors, may also have given Mhlanga room to develop more freely, even though he does also see the limitations of donor support (Mhlanga 27.6 1999).

Rooftop and Daves Guzha

"Ivhu versus the State" is a step further thematically and creatively in critical productions for Rooftop (Seda interview 14.10.1999). Rooftop's localisation does not directly relate them to "the Povo"; as mentioned they are localised centrally in the business-area and have partly middle-class backgrounds themselves. They also had an international ambitions for the play (Guzha 16.9. 1999¹⁹), and therefore the play may have been a bit stylized, and not been so close to the rural population, though I may be wrong as I have not studied the way the play is received in enough depth. But a rural audience has also been a target group for them, and they criticise on behalf of the people. Ivhu was also a "brave critical step" taking into consideration Rooftop's belonging in Harare, with the government "right beside" them and that they, having a Shona connection, criticised the regime. Rooftop may have lost their opportunities to cooperate with the dramatist Stephen Chifunyise who then was Primary Secretary in Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture in addition to being a playwright. Rooftop has put on several of his plays (3.2.2).²⁰ But the fact that the play was commissioned and that Rooftop is located close to the "the donor politics of Harare" (Gecau interview 8.10.1999, Gecau 2003) has had consequence for the expression of political criticism (Mkaronda 26.5.1999).²¹ The actors thought the first version was perhaps a more direct expression of their idea (10.7.1999, note 28). They understand that Guzha had to allow for the donors wishes, and Guzha also referred to this (2.6.1999). Guzha also said that he did not want to take any political standpoint as he is "non-partisan".

Discussion theatre and agitation drama

"Members" builds on the tradition from the theatre of discussion, in which the goal is not only to produce finished arguments with which the audience should then identify. The audiences are invited into a dialogue about a MP's lack of skills as the representative of the people. In contrast to Members, the final version of "Ivhu" looks like a ideological plateau which maintains a specific stance to a specific issue (previously socialism, now the unity of the people). In Ivhu this is expressed by showing a regime which should be blamed, and it shows the importance of the people agreeing to support this criticism: "to unite for something good". I may be oversimplifying here; Rooftops performances deserve analysis in relation to its audience.

Forms of postcolonial theory

The postcolonial theory which represents a reading strategy (Slemon 1995b:45, Gilbert & Tompkins 1996:11), such as I have used here, and the critical practice which I see the Members uses in particular, consist of different "strands". Some (Dirlik 1994, Aidoo 1991, see Childs & Williams 1997:17,204. Mongia 1996:2) also argues for criticising and reading without an engaged post- structuralist approach (4.1.) This tradition is problematic because it does not provide enough space for articulating differences and new positions (Childs & Williams 1997:204, Gecau interview 8.10.1999). I would also say that differences I can see between Ivhu and Members may partly be explained by the fact that Ivhu is more "naturalistic" and as such the two plays utilize different writing traditions. Both of the plays debate the public sphere, but Members' strategies of representation may provide newer representations and in this way provide new places and space for meaning which can lead to positive developments in public culture²². As Kaarsholm puts it: "a learning-process has been going on in local public spheres, (...) and has resulted in the growth of forms of opposition, which is qualitatively different from what it was twenty years ago" (2004a:310, my translation).

12.5. Ending; "The Members" and "Ivhu versus the state" creates new spaces

"The Members" and "Ivhu versus the state" anticipated the development

Both of the plays display a certain pessimism about the future development of Zimbabwe. They point out misuse of power which has increased in extent (see epilogue and Hammar & Raftopolous 2003, Campell 2003, Muponde & Primorac 2005, Palmberg 2004). The plays have in one way "been right"; the inhabitants have got even more narrow categories of identity within which to operate, and the dominant discourses are to an even greater extent closing the political spaces. Nevertheless, the Members has already in 1995 told about resistance and shown new flexible and non-essential identity positions which now are flourishing in Zimbabwe.²³

Analyses of the events in Zimbabwe in 1999 and later have also been performed using the conceptual framework I have used. Hammar & Raftopolous refers that the crises have deepened dichotomies and polarisations which stop political dialogue (2003:17). They describe polarisations in the history narratives which turn into a narrowed patriotic history (Ranger 2004); the inhabitants are defined either as "non-citizens" or "super-citizens". Subject recognizers are used to a greater extent in an essential form; race and the land question has been particularly dominant in the discourses about distribution. The state and the party are even more tightly connected. The lines of conflict (see part 2.1.5) I had as a starting point is still areas of analysis and resistance (Hammar & Raftopolous 2003:3, Britain Zimbabwe Society 2004)

The plays as new spaces

The themes in *Ivhu* and *Members*, e.g. identity, difference and democracy relate to main counter-hegemonic strategies in 2005 (Hammar & Raftopolous 2003:38). Resistance which disturbs polarisations and essentialism in the construction of the citizens is still in focus. The need to rethink truths about the subject is pointed to: "a re-examination of previous categories, boundaries and relationship, not least those defining citizens and subjects" (op.cit 2003:37). "*Members*" and "*Ivhu*" take part in the opening of identity and nation categories in different ways; they anticipated the political resistance.

A new Zimbabwe needs more places for different ways "to be in their nations": "(...) to build a new Zimbabwe will not only be about reconstructing economic and political structures, but also about creating new spaces to rethink issues around national identity and belonging" (Chiumbu 2004: 34). Other histories and versions of nation and identity are being formulated all the time as answers to oppression. "*The Members*" and "*Ivhu*" participate in this struggle to enlarge political spaces and give alternative voices voice. With different strategies the plays disarticulate and rearticulate dominant discourses on identity and nation, because they take the liberty to talk about differences and thereby give new spaces from which to talk. They become, together with other counter-hegemonic projects, visions, and they can again be a basis on which to exert influence.²⁴ Continuing to make visible representational struggles and resistance in the theatre and other cultural expressions, also in forms of specific reception studies and discourse analysis, will be important.

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FOOTNOTES

¹ This thesis has a clause i.e permission from me is needed to see it in the university library at the University of Oslo. This is because I want to make sure that those who are interviewed are comfortable with their statements, so that I not make problems for any one. When permissions are obtained from the involved I will consider remove the clause.

² Kimani Gecau at the Department of English at UZ points to the need for a certain humble attitude when one criticizes:

Gecau; "Can you criticize the government? Jethro (Mpfomo with a master about a critical Ndebele singer, Gecau was his supervisor) writes as an Ndebele; and has the history of the 1980s in mind, who believes that the injustices and atrocities that were committed then have not been addressed properly. You, - if you want to be critical of the government; who's positions are you talking about, is it from the Norwegian, Zimbabwean? If it is Zimbabweans, who's Zimbabwe? (...) You can understand post-colonialism in many ways; as domination. You are a woman; you can understand the domination from that point. You can understand post-colonialism from those who are dominated, were under domination and from those who dominated. *You can undertake the postcolonial from the need to understand the other.* (Or the) specific way that modernity expresses itself in the colonial situation, where the production of knowledge and ideas is unequal (...) all of them are relevant. But you can't apply post-colonialism unless you say this is the way I understand it. If you are going to criticise the government, and it should be criticised, it can only be criticised to improve it (...) not in order to rewind back to Rhodesia.(...) (Gecau;) What is your interest; is it to improve, or to say that the black people have failed. V; .. I want to show how much good strength that is around, oppositional voices that cannot be heard in the present government. Gecau; But opposition; is it from the right or the left. When/where is the left? We need opposition, one that is clear and analytic, one that understands global positions; but also are critical of the elite leadership. I don't like the personalization (...) So the *question of post-colonialism is also a quest for justice and dignity. All the need that people has been aspiring to it is not an abstract theoretical problem.* (8.10.1999).

³ Welshman Ncube (general secretary in MDC, former leader NCA, lawyer and lecturer at UZ.) defines the regime like this in 1999.

Let's put it this way; the present government is legal; the present government is the lawful authority in the country. But its legitimacy in the sense of having a popular mandate to govern is very doubtful. And it's doubtful because, over the last eighteen years they have manipulated the political and electoral system so heavy – that even if they have been elected with very little opposition; and one doubts that, really they have been there genuinely reflects the will of the majority in this country in the first instance. Because – once you have a perverted electoral system, even if your candidate is elected ..(inaudible) It is very doubtful to say you are legitimate and to that extent *one must hesitate to give them the stamp of legitimacy in the sense that* they have come to power through a political system which is not open, which is not fair. Having said that; apart from the manner in which they came to power; the problem in respect to the manners in the way they have actually governed. And where you govern arbitrarily; the sending of troops to the DRC, the paying of billion of dollars to ex-combatants on an ad hoc basis. The country is literally on its knees in the economic sense and; hence all this problems about IMF funding, the world bank funding; the Dutch government cancelling aid, and many others (...) That calls into question the legitimacy of the government; if the manner in which it has been governed is unsatisfactory both nationally and internationally you have a problem (1.10.1999).

⁴ Welshman Ncube describes the cultural discrimination like this:

(...). Whereas people in Matabeleland feel they have been culturally not neglected really, but more than neglected. It's cultural oppression and repression. And that in terms of local content of TV, you will find Shona-based plays; most things are communicated in the Shona cultural way through radio and TV; and particularly through TV. You then have this sense of Shona cultural hegemony manifested in the public and media.(...) Because of this uneven development both in the economic and cultural sense you have a situation where we are in fact two nations in one. (...) At the moment there are no signs of any progress. It is the rhetoric which exists in all frames; the rhetoric of equality, the rhetoric of respect of all minority groups, whereas the reality, the state practice is quite different. (1.10.1999)

⁵ Owen Seda at Department of Theatre Art and theatre critic describes it like this;

But when you look at Amakhosi, it started out as a community theatre; and was so successful albeit for the assistance of a certain NGO from the north. They were able to establish a venue, even there, they were able to do their work and people knew where to find them. They were able to build a patronage – a forum. Because people knew where to go when Amakhosi had something to share. Which unfortunately is not the case of the others so called community theatre groups, they don't have central venues, were

one can see their work. They (...) move around a great deal – so people really put them down in terms of performance audience. (...) But anyway, when you look at development groups like Rooftop; there were some people among the Zimbabwean theatre practitioners; both in the NTO movement and ZACT; who were not satisfied with this business of cultural straight-jacketing. Whereby if you are into community theatre you are just into that; and if you are into so-called former white NTO; you are just into that. The two theatre traditions could enrich each other very well if there was some kind coming together. But you will find that this kind of collaboration tended to be initiated by visiting northernners and westerners who work together with certain NTOs (and groups in) the ZACT tradition; and the two would cross-fertilize with each other and their ways of doing theatre (14.10.1999).

⁶ This is also related to the fact that people see the thin lines between the social and the political, as the leader of ZACT in Bulawayo describes it:

The situation in Zimbabwe - all the social hardship is based on political decisions. If you want to create a play, if you failure to get maize and cook sadza, it will become political. Because the maize is being exported and so on. So you challenge political decisions. Therefore there is a thin line that separates political and social aspects in the Zimbabwean context. (Nicolas Moyo 2.6.1999)

⁷ Robert MacLaren, theatre scientist and leader of Chipawo, shows how he and persons close to the government argue when plays criticise them But these views can also reflect a struggle for donor money. (Chipawo was also supported by Norad);

Robert MacLaren; (...) The government has never supported much artistic activity with money. But I have never known it interfere. There have been a few anti-government plays, where the authors have had some problems from the CIO, ex harassment. Vibeke (V): As with Amakhosi? Robert MacLaren: We are more thinking of him who wrote Doctor Government; Denford Magura, and The Honourable MP Hawardcok(?) Masinge. Earlier published as "I will be a socialist when I want". (...) The only problem with Amakhosi is that they made "Workshop Negative". I think it is an unfair and incomplete analysis of the Zimbabwean situation. And we talked with Cont Mhlanga then and wanted to get a dialogue with them on it, because we are all together artists. But he rejected that dialogue, and it was never banned. They wanted the blessing of the government to take it to Botswana or something, no one stopped them, they didn't need to have that blessing. (...) The government turned that down and said; well; this play is very, very anti-governmental and anti our political party, and we can't give you our blessing (...). It was performed all over the place. And they could actually taken it outside the country whenever they wanted (...). *Yes there has been some harassment, in one or two instances of authors who written insolent, anti –government material.* But (...) if you look at what they put in the Theatre in the Park; Guzha will tell you. I think the quality of the material they present there is terrible; is badly acted, hardly directed; the scripts themselves. The only thing they get by is that they say controversial things that are anti-government and people feel that this is a place when they can go listen to things.(...). What I am trying to say is that they don't have any artistic merit. What they survive on is their anti-government stance. But the government just let it go (...) I think that interference by government; and I will be quite frank, is something I think a lot of people are exaggerating (...) I think you can say that in (...) in Zimbabwe this (critical plays – my bracket) are accepted. They, the government will say their point of view, but in terms of actually banning or taking any kind of actions to suppress art which they disagree with... (no). *Apart from some harassment here and there, I think the record is not what people say.* (13.5.1999).

⁸ A theatre consultant, Styx Mhlanga, says about commissioned plays:

Yes that's the problem; short coming of new work. (...) But without commissioned I couldn't work (and produce more creative plays, my comment); this office couldn't exist. But it's not as challenging as own work (...) I see Bulawayo as a place for vibrant art; but doesn't see much new now, but that doesn't mean that theatre workers are not busy. Social theatre has grown tremendously. It's not much money in traditional theatre performances. Many organisations put money in social theatre to dismiss information, as a tool of advocacy and research (...) People can't come up with the new own dreams, new creative stuff; have no money for that (...) Community theatre isn't challenging enough, you doesn't measure growth in your commissioned work (...) you use the energy to get the message out. *My client wants to articulate something; or what he wants to say is not so challenging.* (...); To me the depression fell over the entire creative activity (...). We only perform old plays (...). We want to see plays (like Members and Attitudes was; my comment) These are plays we want to see because they challenge the society; are artistic voices. (26.7.1999)

⁹ Daves Guzha says the following about the first version of Ivhu;

Think I disapproved with the approach – I needed something, proper, there were a lot of plots / ideas. Let's have all of Ivhu in a courtroom drama. And the more we looked at the courtroom drama; it became a problem. Then the party idea come (...). ..(the last version) this is just small talk or bar talk. They are

all invited to this party, dressed in their tradition clothing; they are all drinking. It was also good, because I didn't want anyone to get arrested. (...) (The first draft) paid more attention to Reward; to the black guy; more of his story, his anger and I, he used to complain about the land; that he didn't have enough land. I said we have already travelled this part before. I am not interested in the black sentiment, his feelings because I have seen it before, I am more interested in what the others around him think (...) What do you think about my voice. What do the other people think about my voice. That's what the concern should be about, and I felt that Zimbabwe is not just about black. *We have extended - we use the word or we have extended reconciliation and so forth. But I also wanted to accommodate, to bring out the sentiment of the white population itself. How do they look at this situation. What does the coloured, who never has been asked before, what does he think about the land situation, Congo, because they are all Zimbabweans.* (14.9.1999)

¹⁰ Kimani Gecau is questioning naturalistic representations of race.

.. they are social constructions, the meaning of being white in a colonial context, for instance is very different from what it means were all people are white. The meaning of being black in Zimbabwe is different from being black in Europe. And what I don't like about making it appear as if it is biologically made, that's what leads to fascist ideas about people as if it is fixed, it can't change; (...) and there is no meeting point – no common human ground. And I believe people are humanist in the social construction of race and gender. I am more humanist in my visions, I don't like exclusions of race, class, gender and so on (...) Because the moment you say that it is biological, then there is nothing you can do, people can never come together (...) *They are social, historical in influence. Because they are invisible, the influence continues a long time. And I think it's good to continue talking about these things.* (13.8.1999)

¹¹ Kimani Gecau argues for making the experience shed light on the theory in line with "extended case methods" (Burawoy 2000).

If there is no local theory – there is local experience. Revise the theory – postcolonial theory. (I am) worried about theory if its remains abstracted from where people are. It's a matter of *theory and experience coming together. I appreciate very much theorizing from outside*, but like now, you came with a theory, you have come against certain practices. *I don't know whether you are going to revise your theory or to reformulate it.* V; I would revise it if it is not good enough. Kimani Gecau; It's good to come up to local practice to see how theory forms that. If the theory is good enough to help us understand our practice its ok, if it is not good enough it might need a little bit of modification here and there to illuminate what we are doing. I am more worried about theory if its remains abstracted from where people are. V; So you are arguing for a kind of *mixing of experience – theory, independent of where the theory comes from?* Kimani Gecau; Yes. (8.10.1999).

¹² Daves Guzha and Walter Muparotsa are touching on the problem of transparency in relation to donor money for cultural activity vs for instance a Zimbabwean fund for artists - which is their own. They refer a feeling that the money not are theirs.

Daves Guzha; So what's lacking within the arts fraternity at the moment, is that there is no sense of belonging. It is not yours. Walter Muparotsa; You know you are investing – but it is not yours. Daves; (...) You know you are going to put in money – so you put in money, but its someone else money – its theirs money. If you are lucky you get the money (...) Many times you are not using that money for projects – you are going to use that money to go and build your hut (...) Or building your mansion or whatever; starting a chicken production. There is no sense of (inaudible fex. "that it is the community's money")... it is not your money. Walter; If you feel it was your money and that it belonged to you; collectively, you all make sure that you are safeguarding that money. (...). Daves; *Vibeke- you cant talk about accountability and transparency – only when it comes to democracy – when you are leaving behind developmental issue* (Daves Guzha and Walter Muparotsa. Wa Kiki Harare 14.9.99).

¹³ Welshman Ncube:

... there is a strong feeling in Matabeleland for instance systematic discriminated against and in respect of practically everything. Development projects find their way in Mashonaland, Zambesiwaterproject is neglected for years and years. On end there is no growth in Bulawayo. In Harare for instance, the city grows all the time. In Bulawayo; if you were there in 1930 - it is still exactly as it was and; - in terms of employment opportunities; the majority of people are being employed specially by the government and companies based in Harare; they came from that part of the country. This have generated the strong feeling of "do not belong". That is to say the people of Matabeleland are not regarded as being part of this country (1.10.1999).

¹⁴ The title of the play was from the beginning "Members Only", but "Only" was removed because they were afraid the audience should believe that the performance was only for members (Mackey Tickeys 19.7.1999. Tandai Shebeen. Makokoba.)

¹⁵ "Ivhu" criticises the parliamentarians which ignores the civilians in their fight for own wealth. In "The Members" the politicians thrives with "eat and dine on behalf of the poor". Guzha feels as if Mugabe not addresses them and calm his people in the current crisis; and inspire them for a patriotism and common struggle. Mhlanga talks about the "loss of communal values....loss of political values – being servant to your community" (Cont Mhlanga 9.7.1999). "One needs to sit in indaba (a traditional meeting for common problem solution –my parenthesis) with all. But his can only be accepted if one had the political culture from the independence war, versus the "money culture" now. This can only be corrected with political education; not parties. It is not any longer about doing something for the country, only to get out so much money you can get in shortest time". (Cont Mhlanga 16.7.1999 TSCC). Nomadlozi Kubehka talks about the GGJP culture; Greedy -Grappy -Jelaously -Personal (Interview 28.6.1999). And John M Makumbe (6.9.1999); "they will always say; what's in it for me (this refers to) the failure of the elite to forge a meaningful national unity".

¹⁶ This perspective was clearer in the first version, see part 9.3.3. Dylan Wilson Max described this as a play which was more about personal relation than politics. But because of this it was may be more political than the last version. I am referring a dialogue between the actors:

Dylan; I am borned as politically naive. Walter; what he was going to say is that he is not writing political plays. Dylan: When we were writing this, I approached it in a practical manner. Only last year I learned the differences between republicans and democrats. It is layman politic I have (...) And this is practical and this is my contribution; I do not read about politics (...) Dylan; *The first draft of the script was rejected. I hade proposed a character who ask; why cost a loaf now 9 dollars; before it was one dollar; does this loaf of bread makes you fly now?* Walter; (...) layman, me political. Layman are concerned about everyday life (...). We had three persons; let's talk instead of being satisfied with our small world. The white is there, the coloured, Asian. Everyone is keeping on their straight way of being. Dylan; *Sorry Walter; with me politics is systems; and I am not interested in systems. I believe in people. In people, rather than a system – I wants to write about relations.* (...)Walter; its people who votes in human; politicians (...) Dylan; this is a more personal play; thats why I wanted it to be included. If its politics or individual. The first version were strongly personal.(...) Adam: *In a line in the first draft I asked who is indigenous; It was really really; should have been funny (humorous) as well .* (...)Walter; When Dylan says he wants to write personal; not political; this means that he doesn't want preaching. (...) Adam; *Do you think that rejecting of the first draft is an attitude of thinking that they are imposing; or treat the audience as lesser intelligent than they are? A play which simply is about humanity; but has depth indirectly deal with the system ...; vs this play, a piece of humanity with morality on top. Do you think they think; we must give them something straightforward. Don't you think the audience would be able to gather from the humanity of the play. And that makes it strong you see"* (10.7.1999: Walter Muparotsa, Adam Neill, Dylan Wilson-Max, Hapiness. At Holiday Inn Hotell, Bulawayo).

¹⁷ Welshman Ncube is emphasising the importance of volunteer organisations (and cultural groups) "advocacy" role, in light of the lack of political opposition. This is therefore also an actual reminder for the theatre groups, the way they criticise is important:

But when you are in a country, or in countries were the political system does not have the political capacity to check itself. You have the situation were one political party is selected into power with 100 % of parliament this year; next year ...Even though formally you have multi-partysystem. What then happens is that those who are repeatedly elected creates roles which end up, makes itself (...) it is impossible for fair competition for political office to take place. And that weakens the political players. And with weak political players who are ineffectual (?) the political system becomes literally undemocratic. *You then have a greater need; in the absence of a functional political system; for a strong civil society to have those areas of independent authority from the central control of the party and the state.* Take this country (...) where the opposition has one-two people in parliament (in 1999, mine remark) effectively is unable to check the tendency towards authoritarianism of the ruling party. And the ruling party has perverted the political system; gives itself millions of taxpayer's money, control the media, uses it from day one to day hundred to support its programs and to denigrate any other alternative view. *It is then an imperative in that situation that civil society plays more than the professional, spiritual role.* And ensures that it intervenes in the political process to stand as a watchdog against what is effectively a one-party political system. So it is in that sense that it is very important that you strengthen civil society institutions – in weak political systems (1.10.1999).

¹⁸ Gecau means Mhlanga not uses "national arts form"; he uses the townships language. Gecau describes Mhlangas agenda as postmodern versus for instance Chifunyises realistic representations. (Chifunyise as playwright, se chap 2.2.) (Kimani Gecau interview without tape 13.8.1999).

¹⁹ Daves Guzha;

.... The majority of the Zimbabweans, that's the target group. But also to a certain extent to the visitor – the foreigners. We know what the problem is. But with development aid, you are made to not know what your problems are. "Let me identify your problem for you". But I think we are quite aware of our problems - and what are our shortcomings. Although you as a people may not accept our shortcomings quite easily. (16.9.1999).

²⁰ Susan Haines and Bright Mbiri in National Theatre Organisation (NTO) says it could be difficult to have Harare as a production place for plays as "The Members", and that this was the reason why "Ivhu" was what they called "a bit dry"

Susan Haines: "Members" – with the puppet that came up here.. oh it was shocked faces on the opening night (of Members at HIFA, my remark). I gathered CIO was there. I wasn't in there but (...) CIO keeps an eye. One thing; Harare *groups are not very couraged, this is the central government*, and they are very rough in following ... And certainly there is that thing. The black dog runs across the road and you suddenly find yourself very dead. People just fear ,...its dazy(...) Bright Mbiri; People here would like to stage those plays, they got more appeal to the public. But because of this invisible threat, people just rather wait for the kind of time. May be when it comes to just push through their plays and get people to join them, that would deacease (...).(8.9.1999).

²¹ Ethel Dlamini which teaches at Department of Theatre Art points to that Rooftop has another target group which makes the manuscript more based on dialogue and "dryer" with lesser song and dance etc:

Rooftop; the organisation first access a script, (...) which means that your play caters for a specific type of audience; the elite. *The money that is paid to get in –also screens the type of people that would go to watch the play, 50-60 dollars.* For Amakhosi; as more community-friendly, they make sure that the community are their target audience. And also for plays; *general here in Harare, because this is were the donor agencies are based, they come up with this project, they want perhaps plays on aids, environment, child abuse. Then its the groups in Harare that got to hear about that first. They go and make plays that will satisfy the donor-requirement;* (...) because you are asked specific to talk about aids (...) environment. Then when you write the script you concentrate on the dialogs. So that the script has to conquer the theme, to the extent that most of them becomes dry in terms of presentation. If you not have a special requirement, your play become more flexible. (...) One writes for a certain type of people and aims. And people from the community would certainly not feel comfortable in a performance in TIP. First of all the language - all the plays there has been in English. (I am not sure if the last remark is correct. Mine comment) (13.10.1999.)

²² The principle of showing behaviour and reactions instead of "telling them" gives an effect of participation with the characters.

But when you should write a play you mustn't put the word in the mouth of the actors. The way you think; you must feel what they think, or else it sounds like opposition politics, which only uses the characters at the stage (Cont Mhlanga 16.7.1999 (...)) taking somebody's life and putting it inside you; this is the power to satire; its power in doing the good (17.6.1999).

²³ Such as Maingard describes identity-representations in a documentary about black resistance history in South Africa; "Identity in this series, is neither defined nor represented predominantly on basis of gender, but is rather a mix of identities based on race, gender, age, ethnicity, place, employment, position and political activism. Its textured and complex in its presentation" (Maingard 1997:268, Shohat 1994:49, 1997:10 Gilbert 1998:19)

²⁴ Nicholas Mkaronda expresses it this way;

I believe in differences. I have been working with Cont, Guzha, NTO, Maposa. There is so much Zimbabwe can build up on its own, by accepting that differences is necessary; that we are not the same. We can celebrate ourselves until a certain point. Then we need to come over the hangover (over the celebration). Arrive at the reality as it is. I am me and you are you; how do we coexist with these differences. How do you let me articulate myself and trying to understand and open up your mind to you understand me. So to accept what I have said (26.5.1999.)

²⁵ Several of my literature references in the main text refer to other authors. In the main text I have included them with year of production so that they can be tracked. But I have not included them in the literaturelist, because I haven't worked with this literature explicit. A complete list of literature can be given.

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APPENDIX 1.**RESISTANCE IN "THE MEMBERS" AND "IVHU" SEEN IN THE LIGHT OF LATER DEVELOPMENTS**

Since Zanupf lost the referendum on the constitution in February 2000 and MDC won 57 seats in parliament in June 2000, the government has increasingly used racial antagonism, the land question and repressive legislation to retain power. The elections were marked by

occupations of farms and political violence against the opposition; many persons have been tortured and killed. In the Presidential elections in 2002 Mugabe retained his power by a small margin against Morgan Tsvangerai (MDC), though the election was not considered free and fair. In the parliamentary elections in March 2005 ZanuPF again won the majority of seats, though again the elections were not considered free and fair.¹

"The Zimbabwean Crisis"

The changes have been dramatic and affected the "(...) country's political, economic, social, cultural and spatial landscape", and the situation has in fact been dubbed the "The Zimbabwean crisis" (Hammar & Raftopolous 2003:1). The crisis is connected to three analytical and empirical areas: distribution of land and resource allocation, reconstruction of the nation and citizenship and the transformation of the state and governing bodies. The regime is using these areas to intensify hegemonic control. But it is also within these arenas that much of the resistance is taking place. These three arenas coincide partly with the conflict lines (Conflict Prevention Network 1998) I have taken as a point of departure: the socio-economic, political, regional and racial conflict lines. But in 1998 when the CPN report was written, it could not be foreseen how the land –distribution question and the racial signifier would be utilized to this extent as a political instrument.

The land allocation as arena for struggle

The signifier "land" as a historical trope and metaphor for colonial suppression and conflict has been strongly utilized in the struggle for power. "Thus the seeming naturalness of a certain version of the land question is presented as the basis for its singular status, as the sole authentic signifier of national identity" (Hammar & Raftopolous 2003:18-19). Mugabe has tried to unite all economic and political questions around the land question. In this way a historical, cultural, moral and political unity is constructed through the idea of reconquering of land and not as a question of more fair distribution for or defence for the weakest "classes", but "on a universal plane as a national and panafrikan problem" (op.cit.2003: 9). Roofroofs' "Ivhu versus the State" asks questions on the linking of the trope "land" to the authentic, national identity. Susan says that the solution does not lie in the past. But "Ivhu", struggles with loosening the question of identity as tied to the question of land; "Our Home – this land business" as Troy says. The Members are not discussing the land question, though it does criticise the politics of distribution and implicitly show how a constructive national identity can be connected to the identity of citizen.

Nationalism and citizenship as arenas for struggle: exclusive nationalism and "noncitizens"

In 1980 nationalism was described as being about "national development". It was not about land; "(...) but about modernisation and productivity, delivered through a centralised bureaucracy for the benefit of a disciplined citizenry". On the surface at least, this corresponded to "civic" nationalism; the nation is seen as a community for all, irrespective of race, colour, creed, language, gender or ethnicity; the people are viewed as similar inhabitants imbued with rights. This nationalism implied the possibility for developing a radical multiculturalism, unfortunately it instead developed exclusively; power and privilege came into the hands of a few. But after a while this was challenged by civil society and workers' movements which became more independent and left-wing. In defence, this nationalism started to define new essentialised categories of authenticity, belonging and loyalty and

¹See MDC "List of Honour " <http://www.mdczimbabwe.org/> and Human Rights reports <http://www.hrforumzim.com>.

created what is called "ethnic nationalism" (Igantieff ²1994; 3-4 in Hammar & Raftopolous 2003: 25).

Ethnic nationalism

Ethnic nationalism does not refer to an ethnicity in the ordinary understanding of the word, but to a fictive ethnicity, through which the population is "ethnicised (or essentialised)" into the politics of nation building (Balibar 1991³ in Hammar & Raftopolous 2003: 26). Narrow identity categories are constructed, defined according to political loyalty and credit for participation in the war of liberation, rather than in the usual ethnic definitions of Shona and Ndebele. Though all subjects have multiple identities, the nation gives them "their primary form of belonging", and there are strong discursive ties between nationalism and the legitimisation of violence (Igantieff 1994:9 Hammar & Raftopolous 2003:26). The increasing culture of violence is a result of this. But the author's show that Zanupf's narrowing of nationalism could not work through the ordinary ethnic categories as it did in the middle of the 1980s, and this is related to the opposition's positive awareness within a non-ethnic politics (op.cit. 2003:26).

Citizen as "supercitizen" and "non-citizen"

The party leadership, loyal war veterans and the youth militia are the legitimate defenders of freedom and thereby "super citizens". The regime constructs internal enemies who are accused of allying themselves with colonial and imperial interests. They are seen as a threat to the final phase of "the antinationalist land revolution" ("Third Chimurenga"). Tough security legislation is legitimised in this way. Anyone who opposes the regime becomes a "non-citizen"; a target of violence and without protection. In this way, one sees a "strategic narrowing of national identity and belonging", Hammar and Raftopolous argue (2003:28).

Both "The Members" and "Ivhu versus the State" recount what they regard as a limiting, exclusive idea of the "ethnic" in the above broad understanding of defining the nation. They refer to the ongoing hegemonic struggle against constructing some inhabitants as more legitimate than others. Mjaji is criticised for ignoring the people and in "Ivhu" the "indigenous capitalist" is criticised for being more national than others and not respecting the others. The characters in the play protest against being put into limiting discursive pigeon holes. "The Members" explicitly visualized those who are excluded, "non-citizens" and shows counterreactions.

Patriotic history

The strategies for constructing some citizens as better than others are based on a "patriotic history writing" (Ranger 2004), but this is a selective reading of national history. It focuses on simplified versions of the three "revolutions": the revolt against the first colonisation in 1896; the guerrilla war between 1972-1980 (the first and second chimurenga respectively) and "The Third Chimurenga" which manifested itself in the land distribution struggle (2000-2005). Patriotic history does not include the killing of political opponents or the massacre in the 1980s in Matabeleland (White 2003, Chiumbu 2004). Patriotic history is controlled by "destroying independent media and making silent all other alternative versions of history and the present; expressed in the school, churches, sports arenas, food queues, trade unions and tax payers' meetings, in the opposition party's offices and foreign embassies. The youth

² Ignatieff, Michael (1994): Blood and Belonging. Journeys into the New Nationalism. Vintage. London

³ Balibar; Etienne (1991): "The Nation Form: History and Ideology ". In Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein: Race, Nation and Class. Ambiguous Identities. Verso. London and New York

militia produces a new generation of patriots, trained to kill and torture for the nation" (Hammar & Raftopolous 2003:28)

In contrast, the "Members" takes an alternative history as theme. Indirectly it talks about the atrocities in Matabeleland and directly it discusses the local community's need for water. "Ivhu" protests against harassment and the way the exploitation of the Congo has come into the open. But, as mentioned, Ivhu re-tells in more traditional ways the history of colonisation and the war of liberation.

Media's role in building a patriotic history and national identity

The state as it is organised monopolizes the national media and develops a cultural strategy connected to patriotic history writing, which bombards the people constantly with messages about racial unity and historical triumphs. This then becomes the standard for a hegemonically stable and uniform national identity, which is used against all other forms of identification and it decides what a good Zimbabwean is; "in listening to the radio, watching television and reading the daily newspapers, all controlled by the ruling party, they are being 'informed' about what it means to be a 'good Zimbabwean', and a 'genuine African'. (....)" This political tactic has seriously closed down the spaces for alternative debate concerning citizenship and national belonging" (Raftopolous 2004:2).

The above analysis of the state makes "Ivhu's" use of the concept "state" reasonable. But in 1995 and 1998 (when Members and Ivhu respectively came into being) the media strategy had not been so finely honed as it was by the time Jonathan Moyo as Minister of Information, became so influential in 2000 and later. Nevertheless both of the plays anticipated what they regard as being the degradation of undesirable citizens. Nkomazana: "You didn't listen to us". Susan: "We civilians used to be the water".

Consequences for identity categories; women, class and race

Patriotic history writing has reinforced an essentialised use of subject recognizers such as gender, sexuality and race. Patriotic history is described as more militaristic and masculinist than in earlier nationalist history. Horace Campell writes that the leadership contained the worst forms of "leaderism and masculinistic violence, with a strident dose of traditionalism clothed in homophobic rhetoric to buttress a general culture of oppression and intolerance" (in British Zimbabwe Society Historyworkshop 2004:6, 5). Violent ties between gender, sexuality and nation have been established (Muzengezi and MacCartney 2000, Hammar & Raftopolous 2003:29⁴). At the same time attempts have been made to promote a panafrikan femininity through "Miss Malalika", a beauty contest covering southern Africa. Zanupf women also promote a specific, nationalist version of "womanly virtue" (Hammar & Raftopolous 2003: 29). This may be in line with what Mjaji wanted for Gloria.

Zanupf's control over state institutions has led to a reduction in economic and social rights. A new regime of self-enrichment has also come to the fore, taking new routes such as land distribution, mining, financing and telecommunications. For those close to Zanupf, the crisis in Zimbabwe has been an "a kind of clearing operation making way for a renewed modernisation project around an emerging anchor class". Anti-imperialism is used to gain more space for local capitalists in national and international markets (Hammar & Raftopolous

⁴ Muzengezi, Chiedza and Irene Maccartney (ed) (2000): Women of Resilience. The Voices of Women Excombatants. Harare: Zimbabwe womens writers. Mayer, Tamar (2000): "Gender Ironies of Nationalism. Setting the Stage. In Tamar Mayer (ed): Gender and Ironies of Nationalism. Sexing the Nation. Routledge London

2003: 40). "Ivhu versus the State" was quite accurate in its description of this new regime of self-enrichment in the way it pointed out a "get rich discourse by any means". "Members" made visible the relationship between politics and the world of business.

Race has been a central turning point. Mugabe uses an intense and violently racist political discourse to attack whites and the opposition. His ideal voter is a "unified black subject at a regional panafrican level" (Raftopolous 2003: 231). As I have shown, "The Members" answers this tendency towards an essentialisation of race by refuting race as a turning point or nodal point. "Ivhu versus the State" is also uncomfortable with the distances between the races.

The resistance

However, as Lindgren shows, there is always resistance. Parts of the cultural life take on roles as critics and educator. People are engaged in theatre, film and musical organisations and there are people who work in or are in contact with independent media inside and outside Zimbabwe, such as the Daily News, SWRadio⁵ Africa and Kubatana – a network of voluntary organisations (Lindgren 2003a:9). Lindgren sees these organisations' work in both regional and international fora as important to the future development of Zimbabwe.

If EU and US sanctions have partially isolated President Mugabe and his ministers from the world, the new Zimbabwean elite is reconnected to the world through diverse activities, and in particular through the NGOs. (...) Many of these organisations have an informal agenda of fostering human rights, and effectively help counter Mugabe and Zanupf excesses in establishing political hegemony. Increasingly, "such flows of culture" and transnational connections (Hannerz 1992, 1996) are difficult for the President and Zanupf to control. The Zanupf government may enforce new restrictive laws, as it did in 2002, with the Public Order and Security Act and the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act. It may crack down on individual NGOs, as it did on the Amani Trust last year. But the resistance is larger than that, as new association and trust will emerge to replace the ones that have been repressed (Lindgren 2003a: 9-10).

APPENDIX 2. EPILOGUE - "Our future hangs in the balance" ⁶

Repressive legislation such as the POSA (Public Order and Security Bill) AIPPA (Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act) and a law which limits voluntary organisations' work (NGO bill) make it difficult to engage in oppositional work. In September 2005, constitutional amendments were passed which make it possible to withdraw the passports of people who are deemed too critical. The paper version of the Daily News was also withdrawn in 2003. Despite this, the resistance continues from groups such as the MDC in parliament, different ngos and underground movements such as Zwakawana, which has an unconventional approach. They also allow themselves to criticise the MDC for their lack of action.⁷

After the introduction of the POSA, people may be punished if Mugabe is criticised. Mai Palmberg found that Zimbabwean artists thought it difficult to express themselves critically towards the regime when she interviewed them; "with only a few exceptions, (they) were understandably quite unwilling to dwell on the general question of how they understood the

⁵ <http://www.swradioafrica.com/>

⁶ C.Mhlanga to BBC 2004; see below

⁷ www.zwakawana, Zimbabwe Human Rights Forum <http://www.hrforumzim.com>, network for civil society organisations Kubatana (www.kubatana.net) and International Crisis Group <http://www.conflict-prevention.org> (<http://www.icg.org/home/index.cfm?id=1233&l=1>)

crisis in Zimbabwe and its causes. My idea to gather comparative statements on the crisis therefore had to be abandoned" (Palmberg 2004⁸).

Zimnews reported from the Harare International Festival of The Arts (HIFA) in 2004 that the director Manuel Bagorro was asked to hand in manuscripts for the plays. They also got a letter from the Boards of Censors. The one in charge of theatre was asked why he allowed a political play, "Two Hungry Men", to be put on. At the same time the government press attacked the festival for not being African enough. It is not European productions which irritate them, but "when African artist speak to the hearts and minds of a black public that the security operatives get suspicious". The government press felt that the plays not were "indigenous" enough. "The arguments about indigenous performance reflected a significant fact; in the arts as in other spheres of Zimbabwean life, the smokescreen of indigenisation is used as a cover for an assault on private initiative and independent thought" says Zimnews (5.5.2004)⁹

Amakhosi National Theatre

Township Square Cultural Centre has finished constructing an indoor stage and the theatre performances have been expanded¹⁰. Mhlanga has also built up his own production foundation (the MCM Foundation) and is looking for new producers of film, music and theatre. Mhlanga wants others to write and produce for Amakhosi. They put on "Witness and Victims" by Raisedon Baya (directed and produced respectively by Sihlangu Dlodlo and Bhekuzulu Masuka). The play is about the political atmosphere before the parliamentary elections of 2000. The play looks at the life of two squatters who take part in a farm occupation, Two Boys and his wife Ma Mxzizi. Two Boys is an ex-freedom fighter who feels betrayed by the government, which he helped into power¹¹. Amakhosi has later chosen to de-emphasise criticism against the regime and has been able to show an edited version of "Sinjalo" as a TV series on ZBCTV¹². They have also screened a show that has been performed at the scene at TSCC (Friday Live). Amakhosi has co-productions with Rooftop "Dare/Enkundleni" written by Mhlanga; the production was put on before elections and encourages tolerance and dialogue among Zimbabweans who have different political views¹³. In 2004 Amakhosi screened a soapserie on ZTV, "Makorokoza", about the life of poor goldminers compared to others on the social ladder¹⁴. Mhlanga defined the tv-series as more than a mere "domestic" drama - it is a history that just has to be told (Mirror 22.8.2004)¹⁵.

They have also produced national culture programs and and have been criticised for being "sellouts" since they have had support from the Ministry of Information. ¹⁶ Praise Zenenga comments on this (Palmberg 2004); he sees the Ministry of Information's support for

⁸ "The States of the Arts in Zimbabwe: some notes from 2002-2004" page 3. Nordiska Afrikainstitutet. The researchproject Cultural Images of Africa <http://www.nai.uu.se/forsk/current/culture/stateofthearts/introsvr.html>

⁹ <http://www.zwnews.com/print.cfm?ArticleID=9216> Date:5.5.2004

¹⁰ Intunja vol.17 dec -jan 2000 page 4. Newsletter for theatre in Matabeleland provinces. Published by Umzabalazo Theatre Resource Team Project (UTRT) Bulawayo.

¹¹ "Victim ad Witness" reviews; Mirror Online 6.10.2000, The Daily News 13 November 2000

¹² "Sinjalo" Chronicle Monday 15 July 2002

¹³ <http://www.rooftop.co.zw/>
<http://www.rooftopaudio.co.zw/>

¹⁴ "Makorokoza". The Daily News (Harare,) 3 February 2004

<http://www.africafilmstv.com/pages/newsflash/2004/english/nf218.htm> 12.3.05

¹⁵ Makorokoza in the Mirror; <http://www.africaonline.co.zw/mirror/stage/archive/040822/weekend2111.html>. In Daily News http://www.daily-news.co.za/category_pages/article_pull.asp?cat=entertainment&link 3.2.2004

¹⁶ Defencearticle. <http://www.thestandard.co.zw/standard/2002/July/July28/561.html>

Amakhosi as a result of the government's strategy of cooptation. But Mhlanga says, as far as his theatre productions are concerned, that he must write and be critical in a way that is different from the way he has done it before. IPS describes it like this:

(Mhlanga) has lately been accused of working with the ruling party, while agreeing to water down some of his productions for airing on ZBC. He maintains however, that the lack of an independent outlet is what gives audience the impression that his group is not speaking out against the many ills and hardships in Zimbabwean society. "We are always protesting, weve always protesting, the difference is just the form of media, says Mhlanga. Until people come to the theatre, only then will they get access to our work. Every other avenue; TV, radio, everything is closed.(...) He says he is presently not working on any new plays but is waiting for a new political order before he can pick up his pen again "Everything that is happening I spoke about 15 years ago in my plays, Ive written it", he says "so what is that I am going to write now?" (IPS 30.8.2004)¹⁷

In 2004 Mhlanga received the National Arts Council's prize (National Arts Merits Awards) for "service to the arts". According to Herald, Amakhosi now appears to be defining itself as Amakhosi National Theatre (Herald 17.6.2004)¹⁸. Government support has made this possible; and they have also initiated The National Amateur Programme to foster new talent. Mhlanga explains to the BBC in August 2004:

After the 1980 we needed to move on from protest theatre (...) we needed to give people tools and skills to make action for change. No longer was it "whose fault is it"? Now it was;"it is your fault of electing this man and heres how you can get rid of him". Mhlanga has pioneered a system where he takes theatre workshops out to the rural areas, separates young talents, teaches them theatrical methods and content. Then he gives them specific guidelines about how to take a show into their areas (...) "We have been banned he said, we have been beaten we are under surveillance 24 hours a day. But things must be said. We don't say it because we are foolish or because we don't like our government or our country. We say it because our future hangs in the balance" (BBC 10.8.2004).¹⁹

Rooftop Promotion: "more than an arts management house"

Rooftop has expanded its activities after 1999. They produce more for TV, including a continuation of "Waiters" and "Supermodel" by S. Chifunyise. They had success with their own and other's productions on TIP (Walter Muparotsa in Palmberg 2004) and with an Amakhosis production "Witness and Victims" and especially "Rags and Garbage" (2002 Raisedon Baya, directed by Dylan Wilson Max), produced by Rooftop. A one-man show with Walter Muparotsa was a satire that becomes very popular. There has also been a coproduction with Amakhosi, "Dare/Enkundleni", written by Mhlanga and produced by Guzha.

In 2003 they produced a co-production with Sweden, "Superpatriots and Marons", by Raisedon Baya, which toured for one year and was performed by local theatre groups.²⁰ The play was put on with success during HIFA 2004 and was the first play which was banned and censored by the government. The play is described as "a political satire which mirrors the government's political party. The play is set in a country suffering from severe food shortages and queues for food, coupled with a repressive government infamous for using the state to silence dissenting voices" (Times of Zambia, BBC 11.5.2004)²¹.

¹⁷ <http://www.ipsnews.net/print.asp?idnews=19821>

¹⁸ Amakhosi in Herald; allafrica.com/stories/printable/200406170268.html

¹⁹ Mhlanga: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/3937883.stm> Date 10.8.2004

²⁰ <http://www.times.co.zm/news/viewnews.cgi?category=20&id=1099625372>

Times of Zambia www.times.co.zm/news/archives.cgi?category=20&view=9.18.04-12.03.04 - 23k

²¹ <http://www.rooftopaudio.co.zw/>

APPENDIX 3. OVERVIEW OF INTERVIEWS AND SELECTED PERFORMANCES AND ACTIVITIES

28 April to 2 May 1999; Harare International festival of Arts (HIFA). Performances

28.4; Daves Guzha: "On the corner of Julius Nyerere", Savanha Arts: "Passage",
 29.4: ZACT: "Destitute Heroes", *Amakhosi: "The Members"* Girls High School,
 Tumbuka Dance Company,
 30.4. ZACT: "Permanent Scar", Third World Bunfights: South Africa: "Ipi Zombie",

4 May to 10 May 1999; Inxusa Festival. Amakhosi Township Square Cultural Center. Bulawayo. Performances:

4.5: "Missing Piece";
 5.5: Berina Theatre: "Harvest";
 9.5: Amakhosi: "Attitudes"

10 May to 17 June 1999; Harare.

11.5, 12.5: *Lisbeth Dore*. Program-officer. The Norwegian Embassy in Harare.
 13.5: *Robert MacLaren* (Robert M. Kavanagh). Marlborough. Harare. Former leader of "Department of Theatre Arts (DTA) University of Zimbabwe (UZ). Dramatist, daily leader Children Performing Arts Workshop (CHIPAWO).
 18.5: *Premier on Rooftop Promotions: "Ivu versus the State", Theatre in the Park. Harare.*
 19.5, 20.5: *Henrik Maposa*. Officer National Arts Council (NAC)

Praise Zenenega (Zimbabwean Phd student in US with a thesis on theatre, mine comment) describes new theatre productions like this to Mai Palmberg (Palmberg 2004) "There has also been a production by Rooftop, called "Dare/Ekundleni/Forum" about political tolerance and voter education where the actors, actresses and producers have been called and questioned about their objectives, The state has indicated and sent warnings that such productions risk being banned. The relevant ministry of information has vowed to censure all NGOs that are seen to be working against the government. Also with Walter Mapurutsa's recent production, "Rags and Garbage", there was a lot of surveillance from government agencies, and so on. They just come to observe and question producers and artists, a lot about their objectives.

Producers always try to balance, to seem to be balancing what the opposition party stands for and what the ruling party stands for. They are ridiculing all parties almost to the same extent so that the play appears to be neutral. But what has not gone down well with some of these productions has been the mention of real names of actual government officials, and also some of the songs that are chanted by opposition parties in some productions. I should also mention that the other way out for the government has been to assimilate those seemingly threatening community theatre groups like Amakhosi theatre in Bulawayo. They have all of a sudden shown an interest in funding Amakhosi's productions on national television and also sponsoring Amakhosi to do certain productions for the Unity Day Cultural Gala, the ZANU (PF) mayoral campaign, and then some by-election campaigns. The Amakhosi people just would respond saying: "We are business people, we take money from anybody who gives us business".

I think there is a very subtle way in which the government is assimilating and funding those groups that they see as threats. They are trying to replace the NGO efforts in funding and using those same groups to send out their own propaganda. It is similar to what is happening to musicians. Government is sponsoring productions of certain musicians and of certain songs that they see as furthering their own interests and their own ideologies. There is also another play that coming up, called "Madame Speaker Sir". From my understanding, the Minister of Information had a certain interest in the play, it's all about the functions and dysfunctions of the Zimbabwean parliament. The cast consists of some ex-Rooftop theatre artists working under the name Sunset productions. The state is embarking on a whole process in terms of assimilating and also showing an interest in community theatre groups that have no funding from anywhere else, and who with sponsorship would want to talk about government's land reform activities and all the activities that they are doing.

[Interview in Harare on 4th November 2002]

Praise Zenenega in Palmberg Mai; "The State of the Arts in Zimbabwe: Some Notes from 2002–2004", in <http://www.nai.uu.se/forsk/current/culture/stateofthearts/indexeng.html>

- 21.5: *Manuel Bagorro*. Executive Director. Harare International Festival of Arts DNA. Harare.
- 21.5: *Lumen Mubaiwa*. Secretary. The Zimbabwe Union of Upcoming Musicians Association. Jobs Nite Club.
- 24.5: *Pepeukayi Mudzingwa*. Lecturer at College of Music, responsible for HIFAs musicprogram.
- 26.5: *Nicholas Mkaronda*, Lecturer at DTA, leader of Alternativ Savahna Arts Theatre (ASATT). Public Servant Assocation House (PSA).
- 28.5: Pressconference for ASATT at PSA House, new Theatre in Education productions. With Robert MacLaren and Susan Haines (thetarecritics and former leader of National Theatre Organisation (NTO)
- 29.5: "Ivhu versus the State" at Theatre in the Park
- 31.5: Meeting in Zimbabwe Association of Arts Critcs (ZAC). At The BookCafe. Leader Barbra Murray
- 2.6: *Ngugi wa Mirii*. Leader for Zimbabwe Associaton of Community Theatre (ZACT). At National Sports Stadium. *Nicolas Moyo*, leader of ZACT in Bulawayo
- 2.6: *Daves Guzha*, Producer. Leader of Rooftop Promotion. Margolis Plaza.
- 3.6: Pressconference for Artist Against Poverty Awareness Campaign (AAPAC). Crown Plaza Hotel. Contributions from Doreen Sibanda leader, Titus Chipangura (NAC), Carlos Lopes- Resident representative UNDP.
- 5.6: Stephen J. Chifunyises play: "What did the Supermodel do Next", with Actors Theatre, director Susan Haines, at Alliance France.
- 12.6: Pressconference UZ. Launching of prof. Masipula Sitholes book "Public Eye" and "Struggles within the Struggle"
- Georgina Chikasa, Head of Department of Culture in Ministry
- 16.6: *Arild Eik*. Ambassador. The Norwegian Embassy in Harare

17 June to 29 July 1999: Bulawayo.

- 18.6: *Priscilla Sithole*, daily leader of Amakhosi and Township Square Cultural Center. TSCC,
- 18.6: Meeting in Bulawayo Artist Forum. Leader Godfrey Ncube. Umzalabazo (theatreconsultant organization), Fife Street.
- 19.6: "Dreams to Fame", TSCC. Monthly talent show for children in different cultural activities
- 23.6: Faircut Production (Memory Kambota, Doubt Dube, Taurayi Miswere, Michael Sikhosana, Ganizan Phiri, Mackey Tickeys, Alois Moyo);
- 24.6: With Amakhosi (directing and videoresponsible) on the opening of Hutton and Knight`s multimediaexhibition in the National Art Gallery, Bulawayo.
- 25.6: Meeting in Bulawayo Artist Forum, Umzalabazo. Simon Phirii: "Marketing of Arts"
- 26.6: Joining Amakhosi (photo, video-responsible) at a funeral in Luveve.
- 26.6: Founding meeting of ZAPU 2000, Stanley Hall. Makokoba.
- 27.6: *Cont Mhlanga*. Dramatist. Former daily leader, then Special Project Manager Amakhosi/ TSCC. Mqoqi Village, Lupane.
- 28.6: *Nomadlozhi Kubekha*. Leader for Umzabalazo Theatre Resource Consultancy Team and Linkfest theatrefestival.
- 29.6: *Cont Mhlanga*. TSCC.
- 30.6: *Mackey Tickeys*. Actor. TSSC
- 1.7: Joshua Nkomo dies.

- 1.7: Joining Amakhosi (entertainment and sound responsible) to Matopos Agricultural Research Institute. Matopos (earlier Cecil Rhodes farm). Official launch of a new grain.
- 2.7: *Saimon M. Phiri*. Director Nostalgic Actors and Singers (NASA), Stanley Hall. Makokoba.
- 4.7: Lewis Phiri, Loveness..... .Kgotso African Dance and Drumming project (KKDP).
- 6.7: *Cont Mhlanga*. TSCC.
- 6.7: *Godfrey D.L. Ncube*. Editor INTUNJA- arts letter, published by Umzabalazo; TSCC.
- 7.7: *Godfrey Moyo*. Reporter DISPATCH weekly independent Bulawayobased newspaper. Earlier editor of NOMDLAO. Tea garden, Bulawayo.
- 8.7: *Allen Sibanda*. Assist coordinator field officer for The Church, Ngos Civic Education Project. Training facilitators for NCA outreach program. In CCJP office, Bulawayo
- 8.7: *Memory Kambota*. Writer, visual artist, theatrepractioner. TSCC.
- 9.7: *Cont Mhlanga*. TSCC.
- 10.7: "Ivhu versus the State" at TSCC.
- 10.7: *Walter Muparotsa, Adam Neill, Dylan Wilson-Max and Hapiness Pgnoch (I am not sure if I have written the name correct)*. Actors in Ivhu, at Holiday Inn Hotell, Bulawayo
- 11.7: *Walter Muparotsa, Adam Neil, Dylan Wilson Max, Hapiness Pgnoch*. In the car on the way to Victoria Falls.
- 11.7: "Ivhu versu the state" at Victoria Falls Primary Scool.
- 11.7: *Daves Guzha*. Victoria Falls
- 11.7: *Walter Muparotsa*, as member in Zimbabwe Actors Guild
- 14.7: *Adam Madebe*. Sculptor. At National Gallery of Bulawayo; about the sculptor "Looking into the Future". Referred in "Attitudes" (Mhlanga 1997)
- 15.7: *Mrs. Siluzile Nyathi*. Provincial Arts Administrator, Matabeleland North. The Government building. Bulawayo.
- 16.7: *Cont Mhlanga*. TSCC.
- 16.7: *Taurayi Miswererai, Alois Moyo, Mackey Tickey*s. Actors. At Tandais Shebeen, Makokoba.
- 17.7: Joining Amakhosi (video-responsible) to Nkayi. Rural Libraries Development Resource Program. Launching of suncell driven electronic library on a wagon carried by a donkey.
- 18.7: NASAS "Zweluthu" and tribute to the late Mike Sebeko in Stanley Hall, Makokoba.
- 19.7: *Mackey Tickey*. Actor. Tandais Shebeen. Makokoba.
- 21.7- To.22.7: *Cont Mhlanga*. TSCC.
- 21.7: *Priscilla Sithole*. Leader Amakhosi. TSCC.
- 22.7: AAPAC regional contest in Bulawayo Theatre, plus Dreams to Fame. TSCC
- 26.7: *Styx Nkandi Mhlanga*. Theatre Consultan, Umzalabazo. Bulawayo National Gallery.
- 26.7: *Sabelo Sibanda*. Lawyer. Leader of School of African Awareness. In the car on the way to Mzingwane High School.
- 27.7: *Patrick Mabene* Dramatist, leader Iluba Elimnyama Theatre Works. Njube.
- 27.7: *Fortune Ruzungunde*. Secreteray Amakhosi. Madlela Flats. Makokoba.
- 28.7: *Memory Kambota*. National Gallery. Bulawayo.

30 Juli to 19 October 1999 Harare.

- 31.7: *Stephen J. Chifunyise*. Permanent Secretary. Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture. Department of Culture. At Chipawo - Dariobord conference. Girls High School, Harare.
- 31.7: National Dance Company; Dance Foundation Tumbuka,
- 3.8: *Titus Chipangura*. Director National Arts Council. NAC office, BB House Harare
- 4.8 to 15.8: Zimbabwe International Bookfair (ZIBF).
- 4.8: *Cont Mhlanga* ,at ZIBFS NCA meeting, Harare Golfclub, Harare Gardens
- 5.8: *John Makumbe, Chenherai Hove and Helge Rønning*. ZIBF –" Censorship".At Bookcafe

6. 8: ZIBF; Ngugi wa Miriis (ZACT): "Our Soil". Alliance France.
- 13.8: *Rino Zhuwarara*, Head of Media and Communication Department of English, UZ
- 13.8: *Kimani Gecau*, Senior lecturer at Department of English, UZ
- 21.8: Rooftop: "Siswe Banzi is Dead". TIP
- 24.8: *Musaemura Zimnoya*. Lecturer Department of English, UZ.
- 25.8: Meeting "Artists Voices", NAC. Promoting and Marketing the Arts. BB house.
- 26.8. to Sun 29.8.: Artist Againts Poverty Awareness Campaign UNDP. Symposium: "The Environment needs to prosper the Arts". Contributions from among others *Chifunyise*, *Chipangura*, *wa Mirii*, *MacLaren*, *Kåre Stormark* (The Norwegian Embassy in Harare). At Girls High School. Harare
- 31.8. Claude Mararike. Prof. Department of Sociology. UZ.
- 2.9: *Lifati Harimed*. Leader Savanna Arts. Livingstone House, Mbare.
- 3.9: *Lisbeth Dore*. Projectofficer. The Norwegian Embassy in Harare
- 6.9: *John M Makumbe*, Senior Lecturer Department of Political Science and Administration studies, UZ. Chairman of Zimbabwe Chapter of Transparency International.
- 6.9 - Zimbabwe International Film Festival
- 7.9: *Kare Stormark*, Charge de affaires. The Norwegian Embassy in Harare.
- 8.9: *Tom Eriksen*, The Norwegian Embassy in Harare
- 8.9: *Susan Haines and Bright Mbirimi*. Former and then daily leader in National Theatre Organisation at NTO office, Mugabe Road.
- 8.9: At official meeting with CC about the landquestion. Jameson Hotel.
- 9.9: Simon Bright. Filmproducer and director Zimmedia. Belgravia
- 9.9: Secretary in the national UNESCOcommittee, Ministry`s office
- 9.9: Meeting, launching of a film about the history of the tradeunionmovement in Zimbabwe. Bookcafe, Fife Avenue
- 11.9: Launching of the political party Movement for Democratic Change (MDC)
- 14.9: *Daves Guzha*, *Walter Maporotsa*. Wa Kiki. Harare
- 16.9: At Media For Development Vidoelibrary, watching "Citizen Chi", Rooftop
- 16.9: *Daves Guzha*. At Rooftop office, Margolis Plaza
- 29.9: *Gunilla Selerud*: Consultant, culture affairs SIDA. SIDAS office, Pegasus House.
- .. 9. Public meeting NCA and CC. At Syncod House; "Convergence in the Costitutional work"?. With W. Ncube, B. Hlatswayo
- 30.9: *Jette Ramløse*. Projectofficer, cultural responsible DANIDA. DANIDAS office, Union Avenue.
- 1.10: *Welshman Ncube*. Prof in Law, Faculty of Law UZ. Former spokesperson for NCA, then general secretary in MDC.
- 4.10: Mrs. Moyo Unesco subregional Office, Newlands. Harare
- 7.10: Rooftops summerproduction: "Hocus Pocus", TIP.
- 8.10: *Rino Zhuwarara og Kimani Gecau*. DE, UZ
- 13.10: *Ethel Dlamini*. Lecturer at UZ, Faculty of Arts, Department of Theatre
- 14.10: *Owen Seda*. Lecturere (and theatre critic) at UZ, Faculty of Arts, Department of Theatre
- 18.10: *Fundira Baro*. Deputy Director Sports and Culture. Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture, Pax house.

Other interviews; 1997: Tore Hem, in charge of the office for cultural support Norad.Oslo
 November 1998: Cont Mhlanga when visiting Oslo.
 February 1999. Lena Plau, Anne Lise Awahd, Kari Thorsen. Officers working with cultural support in Norad. Oslo. 2000: Helge Rønning, Nkosi Ndlela. At Institute for Media and Communication. University of Oslo

APPENDIX 4. INTERVIEW GUIDE

Approach and forms of interviews

Different appointments were made before I left with Amakhosi, Rooftop and the embassy. First I participated in two festivals: the Inxhosa festival at Amakhosi Township Cultural Center in Bulawayo and Harare International Festival of the Arts. These gave me the opportunity to see and hear cultural expressions and meet artists and other cultural workers. The interviews were semi-structured in the main. I had brought an interview guide with me which contained the main questions, and let the interviewees go into depth on the issues they wanted to talk about. This gave me insight into what they wanted to emphasise. The majority of the interviews were recorded with a dictaphone. The taping of the interviews did limit what people wanted to say to a certain extent, especially if they had government connections or were associated with the government. This was also the case for people who felt that they needed to play it safe for political or economic reasons. But those who felt they could speak freely, seemed to appreciate taping of the interviews.

Themes of the interviews – interview guides

The aim of the interviews was to get different views on the issues treated in "The Members" and "Ivhu versus the State". In my conversations with the dramatists, leaders of the theatre groups and the actors, I wanted them to elaborate on the issues in the plays, how they understood and talked about identity and nation through the themes of the plays and the characters. I had also a set of questions concerning the economic and political conditions necessary to produce these plays. Here I focused on the role of the National Arts Council and Norad. These questions were meant to help me answer the second part of my research questions about the conditions for support.

The second group of interviews - theatre groups in both Bulawayo and Harare had the same approach as above (see chapter 1.5). There were differences between the groups related to resources (partly related to whether they were professional or amateur groups) and whether they had connections to "governmental groups/persons", and the organisations ZACT and NTO and Chipawo (see 2.2.2). The groups' strategies and possibilities to write and produce could be related to whether they want to play it safe or not and who they want to cooperate with. For me, this was important contextual information concerning what was regarded as critical art, and how critical it was possible to be. The representatives from the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture were asked for their views on the political satire in the plays I analyse. Further, they elaborated on views concerning (economic) support for these plays and what the general conditions for support were like. People at UZ, politicians and human rights activists gave me background information on art, theatre, cultural politics, history and the current political situation. I tried to get their views on the issues in the plays and solutions to the current political crisis, eventually, which role cultural expressions could play was also looked into. Their views often contrasted, depending on whether they supported the government's politics or not. Some also tried to be neutral.

Employees at the embassy were also asked about the issues in the plays and whether they agreed with the statements in the plays on the political crisis. An important set of questions was about their policy and strategies for support.

Reading of documents

Secondary sources were used in different forms, including the library at the University, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP Library) and Southern Africa Research Institute (SARIPS). I also received manuscripts and other information from the different theatre groups which proved to be fruitful. I received policy documents from the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture and the National Arts Council as well as from the Norwegian Embassy. From Norad in Oslo I had received consent to study the documents related to the local cultural grants. As my work in the field developed, it became important to know more about the sectoral cultural agreement. Several of these documents had already been made official and gave me an adequate introduction to this agreement.

Reading newspapers was important for information on the current events in politics and art. The first daily independent newspaper, "Daily News", was launched the month before I arrived, together with the other independent weeklies; another new, local, independent weekly in Bulawayo "The Dispatch" was also informative.

APPENDIX 5. REVIEWS OF "THE MEMBERS" & "IVHU VERSUS THE STATE"

- 5.1. Reviews of "The Members", (Cont Mhlanga)
- 5.2. Reviews of "Ivhu Versus The State" (Rooftop Promotion)
- 5.3. Reviews of "Attitudes" (Cont Mhlanga)
- 5.4. Reviews of "Citizen Chi" (Rooftop)
- 5.5. The "Ivhu"-debate in Daily News winter 1999

5.1. Reviews of "The Members"

Reviews of "Members" by Cont Mhlanga at the staging in 1995:

ZIANA LIBRARY. THE HERALD 15.5. 1995: HOW THEY ALL LOVED THIS LATEST FROM THE "WATCHDOG"

MEMBERS ONLY, BY CONT MHLANGA. REVIEWED BY SHEILA CAMERON.

When Cont Mhlanga's new play *Members Only* opened last week, Stanley Hall in Makokoba was packed full with a township audience. They have grown up with Amakhosi Theatre Production barking in their backyard and now their reliable, battle scarred, loudmouthed watchdog is growing and snarling again. Ten years ago he gave us the karate drama, *Nansi le Doda*, which won the National Theatre festival at Mutare. In 1986 came *Workshop Negative* which raised unprecedented political storms. *Members Only*, is even more openly political, and inevitably, one wonders whether our politicians have matured as much as Amakhosi. The audience loved this play. They recognised and responded vigorously to the characters who are "typically" in the socialist aesthetic sense; their significance lies in their embodiment the general humanistic principles of life of a group, be it nation, class, profession or gender.

Gloria, the private secretary, speaks for many women who know the weakness of the men they work for, women with minds of their own who will not be bullied into silence. This part was bewitchingly played by Thembekile Ncube, who is currently attending the Africa 95 Dance workshop in Victoria Falls as one of six Zimbabwean representatives. On a purely technical level, her body talk and facial expressions are eloquent and her diction is superb. She interprets Gloria as a woman who is growing in awareness of her power, whose courage, humour and self-respect make her a worthy role model for a new generation of women in employment. She compels attention and respect for every word and gesture is targeted like an assegai.

Mr Mjaji is one of many corrupt, alcoholic, complacent veteran politicians. Mackey Tickey's exaggerated almost burlesque performance shows his usual perfect timing and sense of comedy. Maxim Gorky once said that genuine art has a right to exaggerate things; in realist art, exaggeration brings out the substance of facts and lends them a larger meaning. Just so, Tickey distils the generalities we know and creates a typical character having universal significance. But he is also able to bring elements of pathos to this arrogant man as he falls and at last knows he is falling. The ambitious younger MP Nkosenhle is an ambivalent character. As a rather dull, self-righteous idealist he is genuinely concerned to serve the people but intends to enjoy extending his power. Alois Moyo gives him a smooth sophistication that disguises the humourless hypocrisy. It is a difficult part since Nkosenhle is held up as a good example in conflict with Mjaji. His personal destiny is still open. A stunning performance from Mandla Moyo brings the old man Nkomazana, vividly to life from his first angry entrance in search for the absent MP. For such a young actor to have mastered the trembling movements and toothless speech of an old man is remarkable, and his performance is well sustained. Nkomazana is the political leader of the peasants in Mbomanzi. He is their spokesman, and though briefly tempted by bribes he remains the voice of their conscience and their consciousness. Although Gloria herself is not a politician, the gender issue is taken further by an off-stage character Mrs Jamila, who could become the next first secretary of the party. By frequent reference to her, the three men create a subplot that is entwined with their own conflict.

There is an unusually straight narrative line that starts with pre-election policy conflicts, and moves to a humiliating rally where the constituency members throw Mjaji out. In the scenes in Mbomanzi we are given excellent chaos of a wooden-legged ex-combatant (Alois Moyo) and a peasant mother (Thembekile Ngwenya). They press home the message that an MP who never visits his constituency and never is found in his office cannot hope for their support for yet another five years. Later we see Mjaji visiting Nkomazana in the middle of the night, trying to bribe him with food and promises. The action moves on to crises over donor funds, and then to a second rally where Mjaji thinks he has won the day by introducing the first secretary to speak on his behalf. The use of a hand puppet to represent the first secretary is hilarious; a theatrical trick to introduce a character who could not tactfully be presented in the flesh. Finally we see them all reacting to the election results announced over the radio. The plays end with the old man, Nkomazana, telling the audience to open their eyes when they vote and vote for a person they can trust; urging us to applaud Mrs Jamila and Nkosenhle who have proved themselves by working hard for their constituent's welfare.

Maybe the conclusion is too simple, but it is tightly constructed and unequivocal in its message. This contrast with the uncertainty of the ending of *Workshop Negative* which was re-worked several times around the idea that "it's not easy" to oppose corruption, the lesson in *Members Only* are even more clearly spelled out than in *Dapulap 1992* where personal dilemmas were shown with much less humour and much more anguish. *Members Only* is consistently funny; whenever a lesson is preached, it is done with such witty observation that it is easy to swallow the medicine. Mhlangas heroes always come from the common people and stand for principles of progressive, but not subversive thought and action. His dialogue is authentic. A wise politician will listen to this collective voice captured by a writer who hears everything they are saying on the street. It could have ended differently, Mjaji could have retained his seat, Jamila could have been thrown out of the party for standing as an independent, bribery could have won the day. Good triumphs and the MP who was never there for his constituency gets his due reward. Ironically, in the old days Mhlanga was criticised for not being socialist enough; now he may be seen to be too much of a socialist for everybody's comfort!

Reviews of "Members" by Cont Mhlanga at the performance in Harare 1996.

ZIANA LIBRARY. THE HERALD 3 MAY 1996: NEW VENUE GETS FULL HOUSE.

Members, the political satire by Cont Mhlanga who also directed the production for Bulawayos Amakhosi Company, made its Harare debut at TIP on Wednesday before the first full house I have seen at this new venue. Laughter has sometimes been described as an excellent political safety valve, both for politicians and those who elected them. Members is exactly this, an often quite hilarious send-up of an MP who translated his title into meaning "Members of Power" and who uses his positions on the Central Committee to further his own nest while neglecting his constituents. Mujaji, a whisky swilling MP who has held office for 15 years and knows every crooked trick in the book, is superbly played by Mackey Tickeyes. With an election looming in the offing, he ignores all of the warning signals from Gloria his secretary, Thembekile Ngwenya. Who has seen him build his corrupt empire and does her best to control him. A visit to his constituency on an election crusade ends in disaster. "We dont have an MP" he is told. With the supporting roles brilliantly characterised by Alois Moyo as a young rising MP and by Mandla Moyo as Nkomazana, an elder, who Mujaji later attempts to bribe. Played at commendable pace, sometimes using Ndebele for certain passages, but otherwise in English, the style borders on farce.

*Members was also performed and reviewed at HIFA 1999, together with other productions
The reviewer is considering the festival, Ivhu versus the State and Members.*

About the festival and Members he say;

THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE MAY 13 1999: A MILESTONE IN CULTURAL LIFE...

THEATRE REVIEW WITH PETER VAN ASWEGEN

Overall, I was most impressed with the standards of entertainment offered at the festival; I am sure that if local participants made their full use of their opportunities to see other performers, they would have learnt a great deal, particularly in the thrust of their performances. Perhaps one of the best plays of the agit prop genre was Amakhosis Members, performed to shocking acoustics in the Girls High School Gym. The play was a hoot from beginning to end and Mackey Tickeyes as Mjaji, the absentee politician, was a scream. He was well supported and of course the play was a re-run which lent smoothness and cohesion to the performance. Here practices of inept and corrupt politicians were sent up in merciless satire and I can assume however that from the reception accorded to the cast the satire struck home. The play deserved and got a standing ovation

In the main our local theatre suffered from a rather stylistic method of production and I would have been much happier to have seen less lecturing to the audience; and more actual portrayal. Having said that, I must admit that I was impressed by their overall enthusiasm. I wish however, that companies presenting plays would have dished out flyers with relevant facts such as the names of the cast and perhaps a synopsis of the plot or story. I would very much have liked, for example, to single out the schoolgirl in Permanent Scar; In a word, her performance was telling and powerful. In the name production, I found the schoolboy unimpressive; at one stage he appeared to be older than his uncle; he was definitively taller and this was a casting mistake.... While we got and expected a tremendous performance from Lenarts Svensson as Strindberg, we received interesting performances particularly from the legend of Tapiwa, the rain myth of the Shona people, tellingly portrayed with dialog, dancing and music. Destitute Heroes also exemplified the faults of over eagerness – which was also a characteristic of Permanent Scar. In both these plays the cast lectured the audience which may be all right when you are bringing home a lesson to a collection of schoolchildren (especially in community theatre), but it was rather out of place in something of a festival. All in all

however, I unhesitant regarded the Harare International Festival of The arts as a milestone in our cultural life and applauded all those who took part. Transmitté me sursum, Caledoni.

THE STANDARD, 9-15 MAY 1999: HIFA; A JOY TO BEHOLD

Alan Tempest

The local theatrical input.(...)The winner of the best Local Production in Hifa went to Amakhosi of Bulawayo with Members, a political satire by Cont Mhlanga, that exposed corruption in high places, in comedy fashion (...)

5.2. Reviews of "Ivhu Versus The State"

Reviewers saw Ivhu like this in 1999;

THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE MAY 13 1999 A milestone in cultural life; COMIC SCRUTINY OF ZIM. THEATRE REVIEW WITH PETER VAN ASWEGEN

Coming up at TIP is Ivhu versus the State. It's a journey into the unknown by four people, across a land called "Ivhu". Three men on a mission, Reward; Stuart and Troy (White, Black, and coloured) find themselves in the same place at the same time for a party. They dont know each other. They dont understand one another and they dont know why they have been brought together. Their histories are different and they have diverse views and opinions. Their only common denominator is a shared destiny in Zimbabwe. (...) but who has invited them to this party? As the three discuss their existence they find that they agree but disagree because of their bigotry regarding ownership of Ivhu". They each cling fervently to their separate communities, cultural identities and selfishly defend their positions and interpretations of their histories. Do they want to create bantustans and separate states for their various communities? A judge in the form of a young woman saves the situation. She wants change, not by imposition. She demands the three engage in a debate that leads, not to a deadlock – but to a way forward. Remove all prejudices, narrow – mindedness, inaction and bigotry. For here, the old world of colonialism, conqueror and conquered, is dead and a new "Ivhu" is struggling to be borned and ushered into the new millennium.

Current issues like war in Congo, inflation, hunger for land, poverty and corruption have to be dealt with outside the bureaucratic state machinery as a nation and not individuals, how do we react? How does the state react? The judge wants the three men to address these issues sincerely for the benefit of all and come up with solutions for the survival of the nation. The cast, comprising veteran actor Walter Muparutsa, dynamic Adam Neil, remembered for his onehander performance in Easy Come Easy Go, Dylan Wilson Max of Positive and Waiters series fame, rounded up by vivacious Eyahra Mathazia of Citizen Chi fame, has been put together to handle this intrinsically sensitive subject. Ivhu versus the State, a whimsical and comic scrutiny of contemporary Zimbabwe, represented by Reward , Stuart, Troy and the young judge, is directed and produced by Daves Guzha for Rooftop Promotion and is their official production of the year. The play will run at TIP from May 19 to May 30 1999

DAILY NEWS 22 MAY 1999: CAPTURING INTERRACIAL TENSIONS THROUGH THEATRE. IVHU VS THE STATE, DAVES GUZHA. BY WALLACE CHUMA

If the value of theatre is measured by the extent to which it articulates social concerns and struggle through the medium of drama, then Rooftop Promotions latest official production, Ivhu versus (...) is arguably a milestone in the history of Zimbabwean Theatre.

Written by Dylan Wilson, Max, Elton Mujanana and Andrew Whaley, and directed by Daves Guzha the play is an attempt at critiquing the racial tensions that have, since colonialism, been part of the implicit social agenda. Further to that, the play also brings into serious interrogations a whole range of topical socioeconomic and political issues like corruption, state violence, the DRC war and the land issue. The cast consist of Reward (Walter Muparutsa) Stewart (Adam Neill), Troy (Dylan Wilson- max) and the young judge (Eyahra Mathazia) and is a bold, fluent and very appealing team which brings very live the general mood of the day. Ivhu (...) in simple terms – is about three old men Reward, Stewart and Troy, black, white and colorized who all receive invitations to a party by an anonymous "State". They meet at the arrangement venue but there is no host. The platform becomes a site for critical discussions of current problems bedevilling the nation by the three. Much to their wonder, a young teenage girl appears almost from nowhere, claiming she was their host, the state. Initially this cause a stir. The three men beat her up and torture her. Later on they get to their senses and accept her plea for interracial unity and cooperation to repair the bleeding nation.

What could appear a straightforward plot becomes a complex and loaded affair, raising serious issues in a subtle manner. The re-enactments, in the play of the colonisation process right to the post colonial era serves to highlight the extent to which a colonial legacy of racism, oppression and inequitable distribution of resources has survived to this day. The land issue, a current hot potato; is given a comprehensive discussion in the play, with the young judge calling for cooperation from both the white and black communities. What the play makes apparent, as the young judge confirms, is that "something has gone drastically wrong here". This is followed, almost logically, by the reaffirmation of the power of civil society to decide their fate through the ballot. Placed within the present context where Zimbabwe is going to the polls next year, the message of Ivhu could never been clearer. However, while this unique creative product is undoubtedly a cultural asset, it seems to gloss over some potentially controversial issues without taking note. A good example is the class issue in contemporary society. It is probably folly to assume that Zimbabwe will ne morning wake up a classless society, with Northern suburban –based Stewart living under the roof with the Mbabre –based Rewards. There are many socio –historical issues at play here, which are difficult to dislodge overnight.

One could also argue that a play of fundamental national concern like Ivhu cannot just be confined to TIP, at an elitist \$50 per head. Moreso in the English language. However, this fear is quickly allayed by Rooftops ambitions project of touring the provinces, with 40 performances, scheduled for growth points. The play, according to Guzha, will also be translated into Shona and Ndebele. With Ivhu, theatre in Zimbabwe can be said to have reached new heights in its search of national appeal.

*SUNDAY MAIL 23/5 -1999: COMEDY ATTRACTS GOOD TURNOUT
BY PIKIRAYI DEKETEKE*

Roftops Promotins political comedy Ivhu versus the State opened at TIP on Tuesday night to a relatively good turnout which braved the cold winternight to watch this potential controversial production. Despite the misleading title, which most people thought was solely about the land issue, the play has bits of this and that as well as a cursory treatment of the land issue. For those of us who were looking for an intellectual debate on the land issue on stage, the result was disappointing for the play proffered nothing more but a theatrical representation of some of the things being said about the DRC war, land reform, Zimbabwes racial composition, the torture of journalists and so on. Directed by Daves Guzha, the roughly hour long play features a well chosen cast of Waalter Muparutsa, Dylan Wilson Max, Andrew Whaley, Eyahra Mathazia who managed to bring this issues in a manner that I sometimes

found infuriating because I did not personally agree with some of the assumptions made. The three of me of black, white and coloured origin are invited to a party by an anonymous host by virtue of their being Zimbabwean despite their different ancestral backgrounds to talk about their differences. Somewhere along the lines as each one presents a case of his own people, the situation spills over to the Congo as the actors take a swipe at Presidents Mugabes involvement in the DRC. Dylan gives an outstanding rendition of Martin Luther King Jr famous "I have A Dream" speech fine-tuned, however to ridicule the Presidents intervention in the Congo. Although totally misguided in content, the performance was magnificent. The Congo apparently brings the three supposedly protagonist together as everyone lets down their racial and class prejudices against a perceived common enemy. Enters the girl host, Eyahara, who fails to explain who she is and why she invited the three to her party. (...) The play takes a dramatic twist and the three men are transformed into secret service agents who torture her to reveal her identity and mission. The torture session and her subsequent oratory are so convincing and touching but left me so baffled as to its relevance. I suppose the scene could have been included to create the desired controversy without much regard to the overall direction and thrust of the play. After the torture session, she then transforms herself into a judge. In a land scene chricling? the colonial settler history and the coming of independence as well as the current arguments on landreforms. Although there is some emphasis on working out an equitable landreform plan, the play has a deliberately bias towards the donors and commercial farmers attitude.

THE STANDARD 23 –29 MAY 1999: HIGHLY SATIRICAL PLAY LAUNCHED

RAY CHOTO (Ray Choto was one of the journalists in Standard who were tortured)

Rooftop Promotions (RP), an arts managements organisation that brings current social issues to the forefront, launched on Tuesday a play that exposes Zimbabwe's shortcomings in addressing the current problems it is facing. It is the eight and last play for RP theatre season. The next season begins in August. Written by three authors, Andrew Whaley, Elton Mujanjan and Dylan Wilson Max, the play *Ivhu versus the State*, is expected to draw large crowds to the Harare Gardens where it is currently being performed. The political play, which features veteran actor Walter Muparotsi, Adam Neill rising star Eyahra Mathazia and Dylan Wilson Max, puts to the fore the states limitations in addressing the land problem, the background to the land crisis and the need to redress and provide a lasting solution to the national crisis. Full of flashbacks that date back to the initial stages of the colonisation and the struggle for independence, *Ivhu* exposes Zimbabwe's post independent shortcomings, the ill-treatment of the country's citizens, and the violation of human rights by the state agents. One of the saddening and horrifying experiences reflected in the play is the treatment of Zimbabwean journalist who were illegally detained and tortured by agents of the state. Speaking at the launch of the play in Harare, The Danish ambassador to Zimbabwe, Erik Fill said the country had a wide cultural heritage of great diversity from various ethnic groups and that one important tradition was that of acting "Therefore, theatre is the perfect media for acting out serious social and political issues" said Fill, adding that in African theatre was an important asset. "In Zimbabwe it as fought for during the Chimurenga; its still being fought for. In the on-going debate, we mainly hear about the black and white issue, but in fact when it comes to the right of its citizens, there are more groups involved" said Fill. The diplomat said theatre was not meant to show exactly right from wrong, but rather to show the nation a variety of options to the same story. "I am therefore happy to learn this performance after the usual two weeks in Harare will go on a national tour which will go, not only to the provincial capitals, but also to about 40 growth points. After all, the debate on the landissue is far too important be confined to the capital" said Fill. Rooftop Promotions producer Daves Guzha said the play was written by three people from three different racial backgrounds, white, black and

coloured. He said it was not an easy task for three scriptwriters to blend together their skills and come up with an acceptable version. "Despite the different writing styles, racial upbringing and backgrounds, the three managed to share ideas to create a solid harmonious script which is a joy to both the director and the artists. This collaboration should be encouraged for future productions" said Guzha. Well known actor and dub poet Albert Nyathi said the whole production was a good one although he felt the role of the king needed to be more aggressive "This is an good production. It is an emotional play that blends comic and serious elements of the play" explained Nyathi.

5.3. Review of "Attitudes"

"Attitudes" (Cont Mhlanga) was reviewed like this;

HERALD? HARARE, Thursday October 2 1997. CLEVERLY CONSTRUCTED PLAY CONTAINS NUMEROUS LAUGHS. THEATRE; IAN HOSKINS

ATTITUDES, a new play by Cont Mhlanga for Amakhosi Theatre of Bulawayo, opened at TIP on Tuesday (...) It proves to be a well-acted twohander featuring Mackey Tickeys and Pedzizayi Sithole. Both actors play a multitude of roles and Tickeys opens as a provincial intelligence "chef" who gets wind of a Bulawayo black who has invented his own helicopter. Convinced he must be financed by a white settler who is bent on making military "choppers" he send his agent Eyes to investigate. When confronted, the inventor (played by Tickeys) denies he has been funded by anyone (...). (the play) makes out a fine case for black recognition of black ingenuity. The "chef" later rejects this when Eyes reports back and says there is no conspiracy to be found. Mhlangas play is cleverly constructed in that the characters from time to time step out of their roles to ask members of the audience if they are afraid, and if so, of whom? A vote is taken. This device however does not always succeed and tends to blur the action. Act two deals with the confiscation of the helicopter by the state and the arrest of its inventor, the entire affair being discussed before the Security Council. The play is more of a "safety valve" to release ideas than to tell a story, the helicopter being returned later to its owner. There are numerous laughs to be found and the acting of Mackey Tickeys is superb, with excellent support from Sithole. If the plight of Matabeleland is upper most in the theme, with the suppression of attitudes arising from fear, there is enough thought provoking input to entertain the audience until October 4.

5.4 Review of "Citizen Chi"

Rooftops play from 1998; CITIZEN CHI was reviewed like this

A new play by Andrew Whaley (...) best described as a daring up-to- date parody that pulls no punches in examining the Constitution of Zimbabwe and its relevance in todays society, particularly in regard to womens rights. Using six actors to play 15 characters, the girl Ellen Magoge, is used as a test case to explore the Constitution and its ability to defend a womens right not to be raped, among other things such as her freedom to speak her mind. Daves Guzha (who codirected with Whaley) is excellent as a bawdy and clownish TV talk show host who interviews Chi on the Constitution Show were she quickly learns what she can and cannot discuss. A sexy hostess named Cynthia (Eyahra Mathazia) ironically (...repeats) "Its A Free Country". The police inspector of Walter Muparutsa, returning to theatre after an eight year break in film, is likewise very good and reveals the repressive attitude of the police to assault on women general. Andrew Whaley as an english idiot named Lancaster, enters the

Talk Show on a wheelbarrow and represents the Constitution. He admits to 14 amendments and says he would agree to 114 more just as long as he remained in power (THE HERALD 23.05.98 ?unclear)

.....Good product this from Andrew Whaley, (...)Citizen Chi is a strong-minded young woman who tries to take on what she perceives to be the injustice of life in modern Zimbabwe. To this end she appears as a contestant on a game show, Its A Free Country, which pitches her into battle with the various tenets () of her countrys constitution. The result; a heroic battle of wills, and the constant moving of the constitutional goalposts. Whaleys style is very much Brecht from the textbook in its use of alienation techniques and shameless agitprop. But there are echoes too, of Barney Simon and the Market Theatre of Johannesburg, most evident in the nature of the strong ensemble performance from a multiracial cast (The Stage 13.08 98 – Assembly)

5.5. "Ivhu" Debate in Daily News Winter 1999

DAILY NEWS May/June 1999 (lacks date): *A MESS OF POTAGE IVHU VERSUS THE STATE, A MIND GRIPPING PLAY AT TIP.* Arts dare (Robert M.Kavangh, MacLaren.)

The Theatre in the Park has become a very interesting theatre phenomenon. As most of the plays are very similar it is more the theatre itself as a phenomenon, which fascinates than any particularly play it produces. The plays produced at the theatre itself, as opposed to those coming from outside, have a similar structure. There is rarely a plot. Similarly in Ivhu the three male characters are at a party, but apart from drinking there is nothing to suggest where they are. They merely sit around on a bare platform in which they act out the taking of the land by the whites in Zimbabwe. Except of course, talk. Basically Ivhu is a chat show. Three actors, each representing a race in Zimbabwe have been invited to a party. The ostensible reason is to get them talking – in the belief that the problems facing Zimbabwe at the present are an aspect of racerelations. Quite often, the actors have not learnt their words. Mapurutsa is particularly guilty of this. Yet such plays are sponsored invariably by ambassadors from the North. At the first night of Ivhu it was the ambassador of Denmark who gave a speech. He spoke of his opinion as to how Zimbabwe should approach the land question. I could not help feeling that this was a little curious. However, how about the play? Some time back in the days of revolutionary workers, socialist, political and agitprop theatre there was a form called living newspaper. It was developed out of the church liturgy, from a situation where soldiers on the front, most of whom could not read but where thirsty for news, demanded to have the few available newspapers read to them. Ultimately the readers decided the easiest way was simply to act the newspapers out for larger audience. Surely given the lack of any theatrical quality, the only possible appeal that such a play would have is hearing the President, the government and Zimbabwe in general being (...lacks the words?) insulted. Obviously it is a receipt that attracts suport from some, including the ambassadors of other countries. One can see that for some of them, in whose countries there is a theatre tradition of sending up politicians of scurrilous satire, and free and unlicensed speech, where this is felt to be a healthy and essential safety valve and evidence that their society is democratic; they would love to see a similar tradition in Zimbabwe. It is to the credit of the Zimbabwean government, that they have (not?-check the newspaper) been true to the African stereotype and tried to clamp down on the plays that make up the staple fare of Theatre in the Park. However perhaps those countries who support such plays Ivhu might benefit from taking a much closer look at the differences between their own societies and those of Africa and ask themselves whether their policy of supporting anything in theatre as long as it express virulent opposition to the state is yielding quite the results they hope for. They might ask for a more creative analysis

which emphasis accurate scrutiny of the issues in contemporary Zimbabwe. Some of us might wonder at the opportunities of a theatre that derives profit from slander and would seem to be trading in its birthright for a mess of potage

*DAILY NEWS 4 JUNE 1999: ARTS COLUMN GRAPPLING UNDER A MISNOMER
DAVES GUSZHA. PRODUCER/DIRECTOR IVHU VERSUS THE STATE. HARARE*

If "dare" is the Shona word for a meeting place or a court, then the arts section in The Daily News is grappling under a misnomer. It is no meeting place and resembles more a kangaroo-type for nameless critics and faceless prosecutors. I am responding to the attack on a recent production of Ivhu versus the State which appeared in your newspaper (Saturday 29 May). More baffling than a critique of the play is the writers apparently overwhelming desire to discredit the theatre which housed the play, TIP. Is this the equivalent of killing the messenger who brings the bad news? Sorry "Arts Dare", whoever you are, that you did not like the show or the place where it was performed. And sorry for you that you think the Danes are to blame. And sorry from us that we cannot follow your line of logic. Perhaps the reason for your bile is quite simple. You would like to see TIP die the death. Perhaps you would like alternative voices of hope, rage and desire to simply shut up. Perhaps you only want your own voice – in "Arts Dare" or wherever else you hide without a name. In your view, criticism of a government is slander. In your view foreign aid money to the arts contaminates the artists and make them monkeys of the west. Does "Art Dare" count inquiry and curiosity as slanders against the state? Would "Arts dare" declare that the water drunk from a Scandinavian sponsored borehole poisons the villager? Does foreign money always taint the source? Is it not churlish to wish that artistic endeavour and creativity be cut off at the source? Why do you have a particular (st..intention of?) undermining the livelihood of TIP when you have every reason to criticise a performance of Ivhu versus the State? Perhaps you might also ask why our theatre is not subsidised by our government. We long for the day our government starts regarding the arts as a foundation stone of development as in other countries.

Editor, unlike your writer, we put our names to the work we do. We are not ashamed of our views. We are not afraid to show new work or engender political debate. We are not ashamed to encourage a climate of critique and openness. We are not ashamed to take money from Scandinavian to develop the arts. And we have no shame in asking Zimbabwean writers, actors, directors and producers to come forward and exhibit works of imagination and pertinence to our changing society. It is true that Ivhu is a completely political piece. Deliberately so. And as Zimbabweans continue to struggle to make sense of their destiny, as individuals and, collectively as a nation, we believe the needs to ask questions in a public sphere has seldom been greater. We will continue to provoke, entertain, argue and inspire with a repertoire of plays we put on at TIP. If we fail, we will try again, because we are artist and because we believe that no government, here in Zimbabwe or somewhere else for that matter, can dictate the political correctness of our work. It would be interesting to know who wrote your article for "Arts Dare". We understand that Dr Robert MacLaren contributes to this section. Dr McLaren, who is renowned in Zimbabwe as the driving force behind Chipawo, The Children performing Arts Workshop, has also been a recipient of substantial Scandinavian funding. Perhaps it was in spirit of openness that he selected this piece. But perhaps also, we shall never know. TIP is the first only and – let us hope – not the last independent theatre venue in the Zimbabwean capital. The artists who perform there keep going against many adversities to create a tiny window of culture in this city of a million people. We have to work hard for our survival; to fill up our little theatre with light and sound

and audience. And if Ivhu does anything to shift consciousness or awaken political awareness, then it will have done a reasonable job. Perhaps this is what "Arts Dare" fear. Daves Guzha

*DAILY NEWS 5 JUNE 1999 – LETTERS TO THE EDITOR: IVHU VERSUS THE STATE
HAD MOMENTS OF BRILLIANCE*

I turned out on a cold winter night and made tracks for TIP latest offering, Ivhu versus the State. Because my cultured friend, Trudy Stevenson was prepared to see it twice, I knew the effort of finding pathetically small change for both car – minders, the well dressed official one, and the tattered, hungry and dejected youth shouldering his way forward, would be worth the risk. And so it was. Far from "The mess of potage" cited by our learned critics, I thought the play had moments of brilliance. Certainly the country can be proud of the quality of its actors, all four; Eyahra Mathazia, Adam Neill, Dylan Wilson Max, Walter Muparotsa, have a talent of a rare kind. Andrew Whaleys unflagging input into the writing, with the latter two actors of this painful reflecting of our society is nothing short but heroic. Hilarious at the start, the script move into the terrifying realms of torture by arrogant state officials and through to the didactic, declaratory mode of address which Zimbabweans daily endure from the mouths of *officiandados* of all kinds. The difference, however was in the content. Here, on the stage is reflected real anguish for all Zimbabweans, apparently more fatally stricken by political decay than by a pandemic disease (This last image is my own). Dylan Wilsons superb imitation of Marthin Luther Kings evangelical "I have a dream..." speech, reworked by the scriptwriters as the nightmare of Zimbabwe, would be almost blasphemous, had Wilsons performance been less convincing. Congratulations to producer/director Guzha. Negative criticism can be a great spur to greater efforts. This is our greatest hope.

Diana Mitchell, Highlands Harare

The debate continued, and is worth a study in itself, see;

THE DAILY NEWS 26 JUNE 1999, THE DAILY NEWS 17 JULY 1999

APPENDIX 6 PHOTOS

"The Members"

Photos from video of "The Members" Cont Mhlanga 1995. From the performance June 1999 at TSCC.

Copyright Cont Mhlanga, Amakhosi. Township Square Cultural Center
Address

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P.O. Box 2370, Bulawayo, Zimbabwe

Tel./Fax: + 263-9-62 652

E-mail: contmhlanga@amakhosi.org

Webpage: www.amakhosi.org



MP Mjaji



MP Nkosenhle (Nkosi) on the phone with MP Mjaji



Secretary Gloria



The villager Nkomazana



MP Mjaji in talks with the donor Mr Cornard



Gloria in salary negotiations with MP Mjaji and MP Nkosi



The President and MP Mjaji on the rally in Mbomanzi



Nkomazana; "Your chairs...."



"Here are the results; MP Mjaji; three votes....."



About Mackey Tickey (Mjaji) see Mirror
<http://www.africaonline.co.zw/mirror/stage/archive/000225/weekend12660.html>

"Ivhu Versus The State"



Troy, Susan and Stuart (photo from Rooftops webpage)



Stuart, Troy and Reward
(own photo from the performance in Victoria Falls 11.7.1999)

Rooftop has not any video of Ivhu available. Hear sound on <http://www.rooftopaudio.co.zw/>

Rooftop Promotion <http://www.rooftop.co.zw>

Address; Margolis Plaza cnr. Speke Avenue/ Harare St . Harare. Zimbabwe

Or; The co-ordinator. Theatre in the Park. P.O. Box UA 547. Harare. Zimbabwe

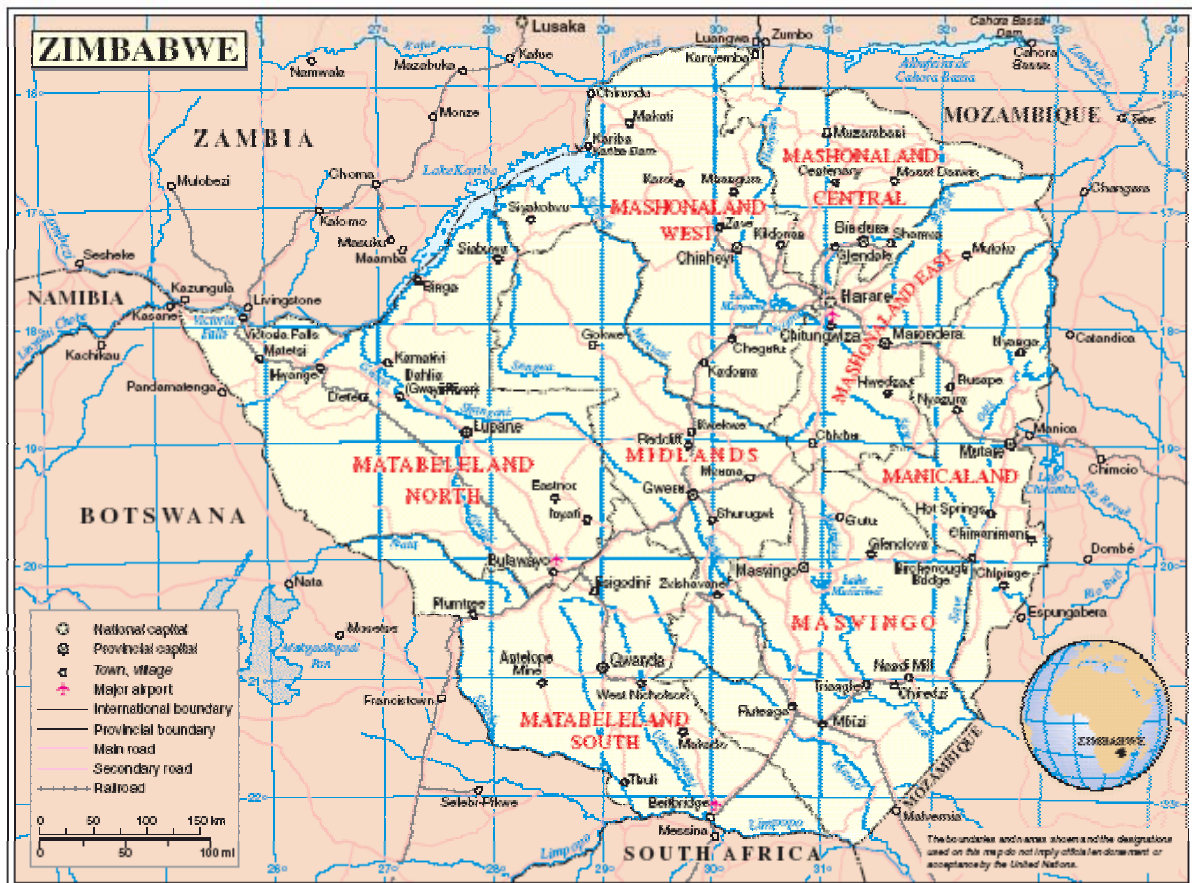
Tel: + 774945/ 750738

Email: rooftop@ mango.zw

APPENDIX 7. HISTORY AND MAP

APPENDIX A

MAP OF ZIMBABWE



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Some historical points

The Shona people, the largest ethnic group, settled in the area now designated as Zimbabwe over a 1000 years ago. The kingdom of Monomotapa was established in the area in which one may now find an important stone castle. The Shona people were primarily farmers and hunters. The Ndebele people, the second largest ethnic group, have their roots from the Zulus and came from the area, which is now South Africa in the middle of the eighteenth century. The Ndebele established a kingdom in the Bulawayo area under king Mzilikazi. In contrast to the Shonas, the Ndebeles were mainly hunters and the groups co-existed, although with some difficult periods. Terence Ranger has written much about this history of Zimbabwe, and

²² International Crisis Group: Zimbabwe: Another Election Chance. Africa Report N°86 .30 November 2004. <http://www.crisisweb.org/home/index.cfm?l=1> 12.3.2005
http://www.icg.org/library/documents/africa/southern_africa/086_zimbabwe_another_election_chance.pdf

describes a complex and mutual relationship in which the two ethnic groups are interdependent.²³

The whites arrived Zimbabwe in 1890 with "The Pioneer Column", a movement organised by Cecil Rhodes, which searched for minerals. Southern Rhodesia never came under direct colonial rule, but was governed by Rhodes' British South Africa Company. In 1923 the whites voted no to being included in the Union of South Africa. South Rhodesia chooses the status of a "self-governing colony". In 1953 Southern Rhodesia merged with Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) and Nyasaland (now Malawi) in The Central African Federation. Salisbury (now Harare) became the capital. Increasing opposition from the African population and the independence of Zambia and Malawi lead to the unravelling of the federation in 1963. White voters from Southern Rhodesia elected the Rhodesian Front (RF) to power in Zimbabwe in 1962. The British wanted the RF to moderate its dominance, which they did not accept. The RF wanted to avoid black rule and under Ian Smith in 1965 they decided on a unilateral declaration of independence (UDI). The country got its name Rhodesia. The United Kingdom reacted by bringing in sanctions in 1966, but other countries ignored these. ZAPU and ZANPF started the armed liberation war in 1970 (see chapter 2).

²³ Ranger: *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia 1896-1897. A study in African Resistance* (London HEB 1967), *The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia 1893-1930* (London HEB 1970). *Voices from the Rocks Natur Culture and History in the Matopos Hills of Zimbabwe* (Oxford James Curry 1999), with Alexander og MacGregor, *Violence and Memory One Hundred years in the Dark Forests of Matabeleland* (Oxford James Curry 2000)

APPENDIX 8. CULTURAL SUPPORT

MJAJI: Shut up! These donors should be reminded that any donation cash or in kind, especially these crucial ones like the water ones should come through me, through us, through the government. ("The Members" C.Mhlanga 1995)

CHAPTER 13. THE CULTURAL SUPPORT; NORAD AND NATIONAL ARTS COUNCIL /MESC

13.1. Culture and politics

The cultural expressions and the organisations and institutions which are attached to them are central arenas in developing a nation (Kaarsholm 1990b:36²⁴). The plays and the institutions behind them (e.g. the National Arts Council or Norad) are also arenas for struggle "where some expressions contribute to a statepower legitimising and manipulation, while others gives new possibilities for understanding and acting" (Kaarsholm 1988:91, Karlsten 1991, Rosenlund 1991, Mangset 1992²⁵). The hegemony consists of different cultural institutions:

The cultural system may therefore most adequately be described as a dynamic hegemony, as an attempted but continually disputed hierarchy of relations between ruling or dominant cultures, subcultures that are not part of the ruling cultures, but on the other hand do not question their right of dominance, and finally countercultures which rebellious challenge and dispute the authority and legitimacy of the ruling cultures and articulate the rights and aspirations of an alternative cultural order. To all these three groups of part cultures are attached sets of "institutions" with extremely varied powers of organisation and practical influence (Kaarsholm 1989:177).

In chapter 2 I have shown how the organisation of the theatre has depended on relations to the government and its policy, and the theatre has at times been given directions on how it should perform representations: "culture analysis is therefore closely linked to the investigation of politics and power relations, and there will be several instances where the two forms of approach overlap" (Kaarsholm 1989:178 cf Anderson1976-7: 22ff; Bocoock 1986: 28ff).

Changes in the cultural field can be investigated by looking at the form and content of the different cultural expressions (as I have done with "Ivhu versus the State" and "The Members") and the relations between different institutional groupings.

The investigation of its transformation and development should focus 1) on both the changes in influences between the different part cultures and 2) on the possible transformations in the make –out and the mode of functioning of the hegemony as such as well as on 3) the changing form and contents of the individual cultural utterances. In the process of development, the latter constitute a "polyphony of voices" which challenge and answer each other back, and whose significance can only be adequately

²⁴ Kaarsholm understands institutions broadly. In addition to formal organisations such as state institutions and social movements he also argues that cultural forms can be seen as institutions. "A set of more self-consciously cultural organisational forms may also be usefully studied as institutions. They include media or publishing enterprises, libraries, museums, galleries, writers associations, theatres and popular drama groups, which serve to form and regulate the possibilities of articulating, communicating and debating understandings of development". (Kaarsholm 1990c:)

²⁵ Karlsten, T. 91: "Dilemmaer i Kulturformidlingen" (Dilemmaes in Cultural Promotion). In Bø-Rygg , Sørby: Kunst og Kulturformidling (Art and Culture-promotion) . Universitetsforlaget. Oslo. Rosenlund, L. 91: "Kulturpolitikk og Kulturforskjeller"(Cultural politics and Cultural Differences). I Bø-Rygg, Sørby: Kunst og Kulturformidling. Universitetsforlaget. Oslo. Mangset Per (1992): Kulturliv og forvaltning: innføring i kulturpolitikk. (Cultural Sector and Cultural administration. An introduction to Cultural Politics).Universitetsforlaget Oslo

understood within the context of this dialogue (Bakhtin 1968:474;cf Williams 1981:29). The analysis of cultural expressions as texts and of their intertextuality therefore constitutes an importance element in the procedure of investigation (Kaarsholm 1989:39 my numbers).

In the content analysis of "The Members" and "Ivhu versus the State" I have shown how they are political to different degrees in the sense that they try to give concepts a new meaning, while they also performing political criticism in a traditional sense. In this section, I would like to look at how the institutions which support cultural groups such as those which produced the critical statements in the "Members" and "Ivhu" thinks about this kind of critical expression.²⁶

Deconstruction of institutional practice

I have shown that development practice as in cultural institutions can be investigated in relation to which identity they indirectly produce and offer (for instance essential or multilayered). Escobar uses the concept of deconstruction as a term, which refers to "open" and deconstruct the practice; those discursive patterns under which institutions work. (Escobar 1995:116-113, 223, Fergusson 1990, Smith 1986). By charting and categorising the institutions produce narratives about the reality. By studying insitutions' textual practice it is possible to see how power works through "documentary processes". The analysis could be related to how local events and experiences are expressed in an institutional representation. In this way spaces could be opened inside the planning and development of cultural support. With this one makes sure that individuals' experience and localisations are also taken into consideration.

Norad's cultural support as a contributor to articulations

Norad's cultural support operates as a mediating institution in the hegemonic cultural landscape which Kaarsholm has described. Norads support to different actors moves "in discourses which are formulated and used in a dynamic struggle between different institutions and needs", the support is related to different expressions of "developmental needs". Such as in the way the institution contributes to other discourses and institutions (e.g. the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture, Amakhosi, Rooftop) and cultural genres; Norads support offers different forms of articulation. According to Kaarsholm, the type of articulation is an indicator for possible directions of the development.²⁷ Therefore I have looked into the different articulations Norad supports and how they relate to political counter-institutionalising, discourses that emphasise differences and articulation of a new type of self-understanding, as Kaarsholm puts it (1989).

The research questions concerning the cultural support system

The politics of the Ministry of Eduation, Sport and Culture (MESC) is one setting for Norad's activity. Norad is a cooperating partner, but partly also an alternative as expressed in Norad's strategies on their cultural policies (MESC 1994, 1995a, 1995b, Norad 1998, 1999a). My main research questions to Norad and MESC are:

1. How are the issues in "The Members" and "Ivhu versus the States" expressed in the policy/project documents and in statements?

²⁶ I am not going into the specific support to Amakhosi and Rooftop, it's a complex task to follow administrative support, production support and results. This chapter aims to display the general discursive climate (understood as attitudes and frameworks for critical support); as an introduction to a more specific discourse analysis.

²⁷ "Donors may make mistakes by not problematizing messages appearing in the lines ". Notes from conversation with Kimani Gecau (not taped) -13.8.1999; Senior Lecturer at Department of English. University of Zimbabwe. Harare

2. Am I able to see whether the organising of grants (the transition from a local grant to culture, to a state-to-state sectorial agreement on culture with the Ministry) limits or facilitates the production of critical expression? And thereby the production of specific knowledge, power and subjectivity?

I have chosen to answer these questions by asking the following specific questions to MESC and Norad

1. Does the formulation of goals and aims in documents (and interviews) facilitate support for critical expressions? Critical expressions here are understood as extending representations of identity and narratives of the nation.
2. Which means are available to MESC and NAC, e.g. budgets and number of posts?
3. What are MESC and NORAD's employees' views on supporting critical expressions? What do they say about Rooftop and Amakhosi in interviews? What do they define as critical expression; is there any difference in views related to which positions they have in the organisation?

13.2. Zimbabwe's cultural politics

*Ministry of Education Sport and Culture and National Arts Council*²⁸

After independence, the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture, Division of Culture was charged with developing cultural politics and institutions at a national, provincial and district level. Other important cultural bodies are the National Arts Council (NAC), the National Arts Gallery (NAG) which also has a visual arts education programme and the National Library and Documentation Service (NLDS). The democratisation and decentralisation of cultural services was a key way of strengthening Zimbabwe's culture and identity (First Five Year Development Plan 1986: 40 in Elofson 1995:6ff). From the start, MESC was responsible for policy development and implementing cultural politics. At a provincial and district level, many cultural officers were educated. Because of cuts at a state level (ESAP), the number of posts has been drastically reduced. In 1999 a new cultural sector model was developed. To reduce expenses and improve coordination, the cultural division in MESC was cut down on, their responsibility is limited to research and policy development and NAC is supposed to do the implementation. At the same time, NAC is supposed to raise their own funds²⁹ (MESC 1985, NAC 1999a, 1999b, 1999c, Chipangura 1999, Chifunye 1999).

NAC is financed by an annual grant from MESC. The budget covers administrative costs and support to national umbrella organisations within the cultural sector registered under NAC; a small amount have been distributed to these. NAC is responsible for raising grants to artists itself (Baro interview 18.10.1999, Chipangura interview 3.8.1999, NAC 1998b). In 1999 The National Arts Council had a grant amounting to 25,000 ZD in 1999 (The amount should be verified. Exchange rate 31.12.1999; 0,227 NKR). NAC also receives international campaign funds, such as in 1999 for the Artist Against Poverty Awareness Campaign (AAPAC) managed by UNDP.

²⁸ This is a rather tentative sketch and does not display the different work going on at different levels and within organisations inside the cultural field. Zimbabwe has a flourishing cultural life, music and literature receive international awards and the music industry in particular is well developed. I refer to Mai Palmberg's (Nordiska Afrikainstitutet) interviews with different artists as an image of the activity www.nai.uu.se/cultural images of Africa. The email distribution list "Dandemutande.org" gives a view on the country's musical life. See also Ngoma – the magazine to NAC.

²⁹ <http://www.natartszim.co.zw/>. This relates especially to performing arts (scenart). The National Gallery also plays a important role in promoting visual art.

Cultural politics, as it appears in the documents, do aim to certain degree to facilitate diversity, but the formulations are careful, and are characterized by their adoption of the ideological framework in place. In the foreword of the first National Cultural Policy it is stated that "a people without a culture is a people without identity. A people's culture gives them reason to live as it guides them to make correct and beneficial choices in life ". It is further stated:

Culture is of crucial importance in the development of a nation, (...) Culture must be seen as integral to development, and since development cannot take place without the full support and participation of the people, it is essential that all Zimbabweans participate actively in the creation and promotion of a culture that is responsive to their needs and aspirations. 1.4. In our country, colonisation brought with it cultural conflict between the two cultures of Africa and Europe. 1.5. The need to protect and nurture Zimbabwean indigenous culture which lays claim to the cultural identity and authenticity of our nations are paramount (MESC1994?).

The aims also include promoting "Zimbabwean culture in a multicultural society" and taking "into account the different ethnic, linguistic and religious groups", as well as promoting "the evolution of a dynamic national culture that reflects the historic realities and experiences of Zimbabwe's past, the changes that have taken place" (in Elofson 1995:5). NAC's five-year plan (1995-2000) had the following goals:

- creation of employment opportunities in theatre productions, dance and drama, stone and woodsculpture,
- raising the quality of performing and visual arts,
- coordination of institutions involved in the promotion of the arts in order to improve the working conditions of the artist
- provision of training for both art administration and artist (NAC Five Year Development Plan 1995-2000 p 2. in Elofson.1995:3)

In 1994 Elofson observed that confidence in ³⁰ NAC was low among cultural workers and cultural organisations. I also observed criticism concerning if the boardmembers and employees in NAC were neutral when it comes to allocation of funds, many had also their own groups. NAC itself argued that restrictions on funds limited their possibilities and that the forthcoming structural changes in 1999 would secure more transparency. However, I would emphasise that there was a number of interesting and important activities going on in 1999.

Division of Culture and National Arts Council's cultural support in Zimbabwe as a condition for support to critical expressions.

In the National Cultural Politics (1994), culture is given an important role as an educational instrument and as an independent form of expression. The five-year plan emphasises creating "a climate in which diverse arts of quality flourish". But explicit focus on diversity and culture as expressions of experience is less emphasised. At the same time, the cultural sector has been under heavy pressures to cut their budgets and have had few resources for research, policy development and cultural promotion. It could therefore be said that there are narrow frames for support to critical expressions, as far as budgetary restraints are concerned. To change this, a Zimbabwean cultural fund, supported by donors, was under development,

³⁰ I use Elofson (1995) as a starting point. Even if it was written some years ago this was the only summarizing of the organisation of the cultural life I had at that time. In the description of the cultural institutions I am then building on secondary sources. They can also be seen as a part of Norads discourse on cultural politics, even if I not use the documents explicit as this. Elofson's sceptical assessments in certain places must be seen against background of his mandate.

which could supplement specific donor support to culture. Because Zimbabwe has many other pressing tasks to solve, for a long time foreign donors have supported the cultural sector. Mhlanga says "donors today run 70 percent of the cultural activities in Zimbabwe; the remaining 30 percent is divided into commercial activities 20%, governmental activities 5 % and grassroot activities five percent." (Norad 1999c: ³¹)

13.3. NORAD on culture and development in 1999

Local grants to culture

In 1999 Norwegian cultural support was channelled through different budgets

1. Directly from the Norad Oslo office at which the focus was on cultural cooperation with a Norwegian partner
2. In state-to-state cooperation, through sectorial agreements
3. Through local grants (special grants), administrated from the embassies in the different countries. The regional grant is also used on support to culture.

The budget for local grants to culture at the embassy in Harare 1999 amounted to 2.5 mill NKR. One post, with a large portfolio covering several areas, was responsible for cultural support; which is considered to amount to about 25% of the post. The aim is to promote "pride and consiousness of own culture and to support initiatives which are considered central for the development and democratisation process". The embassies were responsible for developing plans on the use of the local grant (Dore interview 11-12.5, 3.9.1999, Hem 1997). The main aim of supporting theatre was to facilitate "local drama as an art form by enhancing the quality of performance and professionalism of local drama groups" (Norad 1999b, Norad 1998).

In 1994 the Zimbabwean government said it wanted to make support available via the national budget as well, i.e. direct support to the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture and the other main bodies in the cultural sector (MESC 1994b). This was the background for the sectoral or budget –support from Norad for culture that were agreed in 1996 and which, from the Norwegian point of view, were meant to replace the local grant to culture.

In the Norwegian parliament's budget proposal of 1999 it is stated that the local (special) grant should be done away with (Norad 1999b). The special allocations have been used within areas such as culture, the environment and women to ensure these areas were taken into consideration in development planning as well. It is argued that there is now greater emphasis on culture - it is incorporated into all aid projects and the cutting of the special grant is expected "to make the conditions better for a more complete political governing of the areas of engagement and give administrative effectivity gains" (Parliamentary approved budget for the Foreign Ministry (Stortingsprop nr.)1 1998-1999 page 51). The critics of budgetary support claim that the conditions concerning transparency, accountability and accounting are not yet present to the extent necessary (Bistandsaktuelt 9/2002 page 4)

The sectorial agreement

The aims of the sectorial agreement were to support institutional competence and capacity in the cultural sector, within the Divison of Culture at the Minstry of Education, Sport and Culture as the cooperating partner. The programme's total budget was 18 mill NKr with a four year period of implementation. Support institutional development in MESC; NAC; NAG

³¹ Some of the documents are unfortunately in another town, and therefore lacks pagenumbers. They will be made available.

and NLD was the aim, as well as to strengthen administrative facilities for national cultural organisations, cultural education programs and cooperate with NGOs (MESC 1995b, Samset 1998:2). There were plans to develop a credit facility within NAC in the form of grants for which individual groups could apply, instead of applying directly to the embassies. The sectorial agreement was related to principle of recipient responsibility. The cultural sector agreement was supposed to help the Zimbabwean authorities manage themselves in the long run and support their own groups and cultural life. But the sectorial agreement encountered problems. The budget was not used to directly and systematically build up the cultural sector, but instead was channelled directly from the Division of Culture, to local cultural groups (Samset 1998:5).

The goals

Helge Rønning conducted a study in 1987 for Norad of the cultural life in Zimbabwe. The aim was to find areas that could benefit from Norwegian support. Norad's point of departure was to try to help facilitate cultural expression by setting up cultural activities in which people could participate (Rønning 1987:). Norad also refers to culture as facilitating democratic expression; "through the cultural expressions the human articulates how they are today and how they want tomorrow to be. Visions are created; about freedom, prosperity and love, (...) and the visions becomes common property" (Norad, Hem 93:). Culture is also explicitly related to processes of democratisation:

The development has also a political dimension. This is related to the development of democratic and social structures and forms of cooperation and the rights of the people to participate in the development of activities which influences their own living-conditions (...) Local independent organisations, press-freedom and cultural activity are important parts of the processes that lead to popular participation and more democratic structures of society. Independently and together they strengthen the plurality in the civil society (Norad 1990a:)

The strategy of 20.02.1996 describes the task as being "to contribute to a broader popular participation in the development-processes through the cultural expressions". Cultural identity is referred to as being important to nation building processes: "preserving and development of the national cultural heritage is therefore considered to be a decisive component of cultural cooperation. On the other hand it is emphasised that cultural diversity is important to secure people's participation and further developing of democratic values in the development process" (Elofson 1995:6). Aid to "living" culture such as music, theatre etc. (as opposed to heritage, for example) is seen as important to facilitate participation in developmental and democratisation processes. The results could be indicated by "broader engagement in society and a more open debate in the societies in the programme countries" (Parliament approved budget for The Foreign Ministry (Stprop 1 budsjett UD) 96:)

Norad's cultural support as a condition for critical expression

The different policy documents thus encourage supporting critical expression in relation to social and political issues. The focus on open public debate as an indicator of results is in line with Kaarsholm's (1989, 1990) and Escobar's (1995) thinking about the role of critical cultural expression. However, the local grant, which is the primary source of finance for this type of cultural support only amounted to 2.5 mill Nkr. This is a small amount of money in this post's total budget, charged as it is, with tasks additional to culture (Dore interview 3.9.1999). The Ambassador, Arild Eik, also said that the administration of the local grant depends on personal interest: "An embassy which does not have spokespersons for the cultural sector, to be realistic, often loses out to other sectors. Other areas, such as energy and health, get most focus". Policy also limits the possibilities to follow up the groups supported

"(we) don't want to go directly in and take part in the framing and take over the administration in the groups" (Eik, interview 16.6.1999). A small budget; interests which depends on personal engagement, capacity and closeness to cultural life influence which activities can take place or be funded from the local grant.³² The ending of this grant means that only the regional budget and the sectorial agreement can be used as alternatives for supporting living culture but these alternatives are as yet unclarified. Many people thought that the government would not be able to support Amakhosi and Rooftop or similar critical expressions. What kinds of views did the employees at the embassy have on this?

13.4. Support to Amakosi and Rooftop - the local grants

Both of the projects are referred to positively in Norad-documents: "Amakhosi has grown steadily and developed into one of the most well-known cultural-centres in Zimbabwe. The organisation's local and national influence is significant by all accounts" (Norad 1999d). "Norad's experience with Rooftop so far is satisfying. At this moment with elections in 2000, a project which contributes to civic education, is especially important. Community theatre has a great potential to stimulate to debate and increase awareness of political representation and principles for democracy and humanrights" (Norad 1998b). But in other documents on Amakhosi and Rooftop there is little discussion about the specific utterances in the theatre plays, such as a discussion of *Members* when it was staged, the project documents tell us little about the content of the productions or about points of discussion. Norad's primary focus as far as Amakhosi was concerned was to get a self-sustaining cultural centre. The discussions in the project documents concerns administration of the centre. In the documents Mhlanga tries to discuss the relation between having enough cultural productions going on, making sure there is a certain amount of income available to produce new productions, before the income generating activities from TSCC provide enough income (Amakhosi 1998a). The fact that Bulawayo is rather a long way away from Norad's central office, may also have influenced the possibility to follow up projects closely.

Rooftop hands in project applications using the "correct" language on "civic education" and relates this to the main target groups for democratic development (women, people in the rural areas). They provide representative half-year and yearly reports, which include press cuttings etc. (see Rooftop 1997-1998). Yet here too, there is little debate within Norad concerning the content, except for simple "politics of representational language", such as "the poor in the rural areas" and "women's rights". As far as *Ivhu* is concerned, the appraisal document mainly repeats the language of the project proposal (Norad 1998b).

The views of the cultural officer

Few of the employees at the embassy had seen the plays. Dore is positive about the issues in *The Members* and *Ivhu vs the State*. She thinks *Members* may have been too provocative,

³² The choosing of projects is also related to fact that the group needs to have certain standards within administration and budgeting. "This makes it easier to support already established organisations which are professional". Dore also points out that it's easier to support people one sees and meets in town; "One is human, talks with people, is being recommended plays which are available. It's a greater chance to support them than groups in the district. We don't have capacity to travel out and assess plays no one else have heard about (...). And the way we thinks is that we support those we have supported over time and which works well (...). Those who reports and uses money, and which we see does a good job, and then much of the money are used". But she is well aware that they don't have the complete overview; "It's a lot going on which we not knows about. We only know those who are good in writing project proposals". Already at HIFA and own travels she sees a lot of activity which she not is "in touch with". She says also that the groups which Norads supports not necessary are the most important, gives the best results or create the biggest debate (Dore 3.9.1999).

but acknowledges that the local audience enjoyed the play. "When one sees the audience, the local audience likes the play very much. So we could have supported this, yes (this kind of play on later occasions)". I mention that Norad has support structures (such as TSCC) and no productions". Dore; "We thought it was a good idea to invest in something which could be self-sustaining over time, the bar/restaurant would give income to the productions. But "at the same time we can't impose the same aims of self-sustainment on cultural groups as we can with other aid projects. Establishing self-sustaining cultural projects is difficult. (...) We can't expect them to have a penchant for business and a high level of artistic quality when the actors have to sell tickets as well". Concerning "Ivhu versus the State" she feels that it did not end up being quite the play they had intended. "In relation to the script we got the impression that the play should be educational. They should tour in the rural areas and inform people about elections, democracy and how to choose which candidate to select. How one votes, which interests you have; who represents your interests" (Dore 3.9.1999).

I refer that Rooftop argues that whites, coloured and blacks need to talk together. To this Dore says: "The big task now is to get the economy back into shape, better government, create jobs, get a better health and social system, get rid of corruption. To use the money in a useful way and plan. The whole black/white problem is made prominent, but is really not that important (...)". I mention Guzha's statement that he is apolitical. Dore: "To what extent can culture be independent politically? With a play like "Ivhu versus the State" it is difficult to say that one is not talking about politics (...) If one works with children's theatre, fairytales, myths, Zimbabwean culture and just making pure entertainment, then it's ok to say this. (...) (Dore 3.9.1999).

Summing up

Dore's statements fall within a "progressive" view on the role of culture in processes of democratization. But there is a certain "distance" in her assessment, which perhaps is related to having the time to follow up the projects. To gain more insight, I asked the employees what they think about the cultural agreement with MESC and the possibilities this agreement provides to take care of some of the local grant's functions. Could the grants to human rights and democracy-promoting work also be used to support culture?

13.5. What do Norad's employees say about the local grants versus the sectorial agreement and support for critical expression?³³

Lisbeth Dore. 3.9.1999

Dore is, as mentioned, a programme officer responsible for local grants and cooperation on research. She states that the local grant gives Norad the opportunity to support groups which the government could not have supported.

Especially as far as the political situation in Zimbabwe is concerned today, the grant has given us great flexibility, it has given us possibilities to go in and support groups and organisations which it would hardly have been possible to support via the ministry (...) The cultural groups have an important role to play, as a source of resistance to Zanu pf and the political administration. Before the elections, several of the groups have come up with political plays and educate voters. This is direct, democratization work for which they would never have received money from the state.

³³ The interviews were extensive. Many of the interviewed, and especially in MESC/NAC, gave a historical background and referred to many good, cultural activities. But in my selection I have emphasised those utterances that are most controversial, because of my research questions. The interview excerpts do not thus provide a complete picture of the interviews.

Dore sees the local grant as complementing the sectorial agreement:

Even if the officer or "permanent secretary" personal wanted to do it (support critical expressions), one is a part of the state system which means that one can't just go on and support people who work against oneself (...). Culture has a special role as a mouthpiece for people. (...) Also for the opposition. To leave this to the state is like asking a cat to look after your pet mice. It is not one thing or the other. It's ok that Norway has state- to state cooperation which can concentrate on apolitical issues such as the preservation of cave paintings, the national gallery, which is lesser political expressions.³⁴ But that we also could have had a local grant which gave space for supporting what we want; when we wants.

Even though the cultural agreement includes a credit facility, the political situation is a big problem:

In the political situation as it is now, with ZANU tightening its grip. Stephen Chifunye is Permanent Secretary in Ministry of Sport, Education and Culture. He is connected to the ZANU party, and feels his hands are tied. He couldn't support Amakhosi even if he wanted to, as Amakhosi is part of the opposition. The same goes for Rural Libraries (an independent library organisation) (...) even if he had wanted to, he could not have given money to part of the opposition.

If a regime change occurred, the cultural agreement would be more fruitful, Dore claims. She also refers to the problem of Zimbabwean state administrating private organisations. Most of the organisations do not want anything to do with the government, because they would then be allowing the state to control them as voluntary organisations. "They just don't want anything to do with the government". Dore wants the grants for human rights and democracy also to be used for cultural support. However, according to Dore, the embassy wants to give more support to "ordinary" work to promote democracy, such as the National Constitutional Assembly.

Tom Eriksen 8.9.1999

Eriksen also administrates the grants for promoting human rights and democracy. He acknowledges that the ministry does not have the necessary resources to make the sectorial agreement run well. He touches on the problem of "recipient responsibility". "(...) they need a totally different capacity and competence, we must build this up. Plus the institutional co-operation". He hesitates when I ask him how the grants to cultural support can promote human rights and democracy.

Of course culture has a democratic element, but you do also have culture "for its own sake", to preserve. (...) You mean if we could use the democracy component within the cultural field; I don't know if we should do that. Of course we can do that and we are willing to do it. (...) If one should support human rights –and especially human rights in the political area, one needs to take into consideration which country one is working with. But in Zimbabwe, I think it is important. (...) where one has a state which partly has passed a limit for what could be acceptable on the human rights' side.

Eriksen says they could have supported "Ivhu versus the State" via the democracy grant. "But now we had this cultural agreement. And it is obvious that Ivhu is "civil education", which we

³⁴ This is no longer considered unpolitical. In Britain, the Zimbabwe Society History Workshop (2004) refers to how different traditions are being used politically; as oral history, the use of the national monument (the Zimbabwean castle from Monomotapa kingdom 800 years ago), and the return from Germany of "the blue bird" a stone sculpture from the castle; the UNESCO- verification of the cultural landscape and other historical places; all this are now being written into a narrow historical discourse about patriotic history.

support through human rights and democracy ". I refer to the lack of freedom of expression in the theatre.

You mean it will be problematic for cultural organisations to get money from NAC. (...) But most of the festivals, film productions and concerts get support from some countries which like to market themselves through culture. I assume that they will be supported by others (when our local grants ends, my explanation). As far as theatre productions are concerned, (I have also seen) the programmes always acknowledge and express thanks to some embassy in the programme (...). To what extent NAC can support this is an open question, this is what we should build up, their capacity. But this may mean in the long run that certain forms of expressions may meet resistance, I don't deny that. On the other hand I think this country will go through big changes in this period. We have these discussions about the cultural agreement. There's going to be elections next year and presidential elections a bit later. The country is in a transitional phase. A post-Mugabe phase. And one can imagine that the scope will be wider in the long run, it is not entirely static here, although it may not seem that way (...). I see your point, that there is a struggle over resources, and it's not certain that this is necessarily political. There are so many factors which play a role here. Regions, people; you see how much personal relations mean in this country.

May be the aspect on how independent productions that want to be critical can be supported when the local grant ends, have not been thought through. Eriksen, indirectly, makes this depend on a change of government, while he also refers to other embassies and budgets as far as support for critical expression is concerned. There's a kind of self-contradiction here, because they also expect that the sectorial agreement on culture should prepare NAC to take care of cultural support. But "when you have a party which dominates and where you have little political pluralism, it is important that the aid we have contributes to the furthering of pluralism in all areas in society. Within this political structure, I think culture could be a important contribution".

Kåre Stormark, charge de affairs 17.9.1999

Stormark sees the same difficulties with the cultural agreement as with the others. How will they promote critical expression?

We reduce the local grant, there we had flexibility. But the problem is that it's administratively demanding. A 40,000 kr project takes as much time as a 50 million kr project, because Norad's routines must be followed. But this one needs to think over in the new agreement. Now there is a lot of administration and education. But we have concluded our relationship with Amakhosi. Our ideal situation in relation to such an organisation is to buy performances that then go on tour out to poor people who can't afford to pay. (...) But, in principle, a local grant should not be needed when we have a sectorial agreement (...). In principle everything which is done via the ministry should benefit everyone,... independent of political standpoint.. (...). It is time-consuming, but that's the direction we should push for. ... (But) I don't think we'll end it (the local grant) immediately. We will still have it in the time to come, it's ok for the small things that come up. It is difficult to handle (the project) via the government system, and new things can come up which were not planned and then it's ok to have money for that, we don't get rid of it in the first couple of years.

I ask him more about the criteria for allocations from NAC, and whether the government and those who administrate the money have shown signs of "favouring" their own groups (whether they act neutrally). "(...) but the day Stephen Chifunyise uses money from the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture and gets attention like "look! that group has got money from the state, see what they say about us ", then one can risk a backlash. But so far this has not been politicized in this way. (...). V; Some people have mentioned that they do not apply for money because they then feel obliged to exercise caution in the statements they make". Stormark: "Yes, in a one-party state I don't deny that. (...) (But) The future of the local grants is decided at home. The local grant was set up as a sort of starter pack (...). And now when you have this sectorial agreement, so this is the mainstream, and then the need for

the local grant will not come up (...). The exception is if we see that civil society does not get any money, then the question needs to be asked again. But then the question is if we at all should have had the sector agreement if it not does that (...) (we) needs to make sure that the agreement of course should include the civil society".

Arild Eik, ambassador 16.6.1999

Eik is problematizing the sectorial agreement in the same way as the others: "...the agreement was to loose. And also because we have to deal with a fairly weak partner, without the necessary rules and policies in place". I asked whether an operative ministry was the result of the cultural agreement because the government wanted to control the money themselves. But Eik says Stephen Chifunyise seems quite professional, though he not can totally ignore the possibility that aid money is used for private purposes; "Chifunyise is a cultural personality, he has a genuine interest in culture and a wide range of interests, so I think that the ministry's desire to take a more operational role (...) stems from genuine interest from his side (...). At the same time it obvious for all (...) that aid money which goes into the state would to a certain extent be used to present oneself positively from a political angle".

I refer to the local grant to culture, for instance that direct support to the theatre groups could function as support for people's experiences. Eik says supporting critical expressions is possible via the regional grant. "We should not overpolitize the cultural sector, but it is obvious that it has political aspects which can be related to specific support for democracy-promoting projects. (...); we should do both. It is clear that cultural activity is a method in the other sector. Besides that political engagement also can strengthen cultural activity".

I ask whether political content in different types of cultural utterances is discussed when giving aid; "We don't support party politics, if that's what you mean. What we want to do is support activity by organised groups, which is not biased, such as "civic education" and human rights, so that they become a forum for debate. But we do not want to take a stance in the debates (...). What we do has political traits; that are unavoidable. Even a crossroad is political; there's not so much you can do with that. But you must be aware of the fact that you are participating in political processes when you put so much money into projects as we do".

13.6. How do key figures in MESC and NAC see the possibility to support critical expression?³⁵

I have interviewed Henry Maposa, an officer at the National Arts Council; the leader of the National Arts Council, Titus Chipangura and First Secretary at MESC, Stephen Chifunyise.³⁶

Henry Maposa, cultural promotion officer NAC 19.5.1999

Maposa refers to the fact that when the support goes directly to the ministry, there were some employees who gave the money to their own organisations. Maposa is concerned about the NAC getting the opportunity to administrate the funds from Norad (the cultural sector

³⁵ See footnote 33.

³⁶ Henry Maposa is an Arts and Culture promotional officer. He has been to Norway with a cultural delegation. Titus Chipangura was relatively new in his post as leader of NAC; only been 8 months in office. His task was to implement "The New Look NAC". I do not know his background. Stephen Chifunyise was Primary Secretary in MESC. He is also a well-known playwright and leader of Chipawo /ASSITEJ. <http://www.chipawo.co.zw/>. A children's and young people's theatre which also is supported from Norad. In 1999 Mrs Chikasa was the leader of the cultural division. I also tried to talk with her, but she gave me an appointment with Baro because she was busy

agreement). This gives NAC the possibility to inform all organisations and regions in a fair way and avoid disagreement and biased allocations. However, NAC does have some problems in that some artists lack confidence in it. Certain groups do not want to use the NAC; either because they do not want to give away their ideas, or just because they want to be independent.

... Well, that's the politics of art. There are certain groups that do not want (...) their affairs to be known by the NAC. Because they fear that we can give information to another group so that the other group can do what they are doing, which I agree.(....) It is up to the donor agencies now; that's up to them, if they want to fund them, that's fine.

Maposa also thinks that they could have supported Amakhosi artistically as an expression of people's political experiences; "They always come up with productions that people say oh...(.) They will say those things which other people are afraid to say". He also says that he knows the Norwegian government is concerned about this.

So this are some of the things I didn't want to talk about in the office (*we are in an outdoor café*). Because people can hear when we talk. But that is the arts situation in the country. The arts' politics and the country's politic. You cannot divorce country politics from the arts' politics, because culture is the people's way of life. The politics and culture interrelate. (...) So that (people) in Matabeleland think that everything are being done here in Harare and not giving them enough share. To some extent I agree with that. And so that's why, when we were in Norway, MR Hem said; the Norwegian government was also going to look into the question of minority arts group in Zimbabwe, and I knew he was referring to Cont Mhlanga, and he said that in front of Stephen Chifunyise (*laughs quietly*).

Maposa says the government does not like Mhlanga because he talks about his roots and "he thinks even political power comes from culture". They (NAC) accept that creativity may be controversial. But

There are certain plays we not welcome. (...); not that play is bad, but for their own reason. (...) Well, the lesson, I am sorry to say, is that we – NAC, is an arm of government and has to be careful with what we advise. Because we represent the government. So we must find out the government thinking before we advise; when it comes to other other countries and donor agencies.

I wonder whether it is easier for Norad to support critical plays: "It is difficult that one. For sometime when the donors support a controversial play, and then the government would turn around and say, how did the donor support this, criticizing us. It will happen (...) it is discrediting the government". Maposa argues that the donor agencies need to take their relations to the government into consideration both in Zimbabwe and in their own country and consult NAC before they come with support:

..But otherwise. Today in Zimbabwe things have changed. People are more tolerant; you can tell me something, I would not be angry. I would not say. "You hurt me or this and that". Because people are speaking friendly, reasoning. So that's the situation here to support a controversial group. It is not strong anymore.

Titus Chipangura - Director, National Arts Council. 3.8.1999

Chipangura refers to the new tasks and aims of NAC, but says that the budget has not been increased accordingly. They had 25,000 ZD for grants (this amount should be verified) to artists last year. He wants to increase this amount and they have asked the business community and donors for support and have also arranged fundraising parties. He hopes next year's budget will be better, "but the artist are impatient, they want money now". Chipangura thinks the Norwegian program would benefit the current situation a great deal. The criteria for

support from the credit facility must be discussed with Norad. Chipangura expects the embassies to continue to support individual groups such as Amakhosi, though perhaps only offering moral support at the very least. "What we want to encourage is that the artist themselves develop relations to the organisations they can cooperate with". Chipangura says that critical productions will continue to get support from SIDA, for instance.

We discuss the fact that Norad has ended local support to organisations such as Amakhosi and Rooftop. He says he considers these organisations to be self-sustaining and completed, but would support them if they needed for instance moral support. The aim of NAC's financial support is to aid "community-based groups. The focus should be the poor parts of the society, ...school leavers". But he is also open for supporting the development of new producers: "we don't want monopoly, therefore we encourage new groups; which for instance can come from the director's workshop together with Theatre in the Park (Rooftop) and Helge Skog. They become the future directors".

I ask if he wants to support political satires. Chipangura says that their focus is on programmes, not on single plays but on organisations. "It is the Provincial Arts Committee which makes the recommendations, not the board of NAC". He says that neither "The Members" nor "Ivhu versus the State" were problematic for the government. It is not NAC's task to censor: "we have had "Workshop Negative" and you saw them (Amakhosi) on HIFA (with Members), they are allowed. And now Rooftop has "Ivhu", no one has arrested Guzha". He says that Ivhu and similar plays would not be used on official occasions:

If we have a state function, obviously not. With state visits and national days we don't want them to perform. But it is not NAC's task to censor; we have a censor law and board. But this does not belong to our department; they have criteria on this, if the production "is going to insult or is pornography". If not, there will be no censorship. Our job is to to promote excellent art or raise money. But the censorship can say, we will not allow your book because it is too political, the same with film. We can assess whether the content is bad technically, not politically.

*Stephen Chifunyise. First Secretary at the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture
31.7.1999*

Chifunyise says the cultural agreement with Norad is an attempt to gain control over the cultural sector in relation to foreign donors. The Norad agreement leads to support for infrastructure, and it will support cultural programs in the educational system."Now they (NAC) receive the whole of their "staff development programme" from the Norwegian government. This is ½ mill ZD (should be verified) each year and all the computer programs are from Norad. We would not have managed this, from the government it only comes salaries and support for "promotional activities", not for "capacity building".

I am concerned with how independent groups will be able to get support (from the sectorial cultural agreement) for their own productions when Norad stops supporting cultural groups directly. Chifunyise refers to the development of the credit facility, which should allow local groups and artists to apply for cheap loans. They will not need to pay back these loans, he says. Chifunyise feels that Norad has been biased in its support of certain groups but that now other groups will be able to get support, and this will lead to more balance.

I ask about the possibilities to develop local producers so that artists are not always dependent on national grants or donor support. But Chifunyise says there is still a need for donors. The business community only offers support to own "heart groups", and established groups such

as Amakhosi manage on their own. But donor support must be there as start-up money for future groups. He sees he could have had a role as producer, but "I should, but I have an extended family and work in the government". Workshop in NTO has been supported by the Dutch; this money could have been used to support independent producers which could write for TVSo the resources are there". I asked about productions which do not merely celebrate Zimbabwe, which are not commissioned, but provide the opportunity to express new experiences, new voices from the ordinary people? Chifunyise refers to his own children's theatre, Chipawo, which could have given support to such productions if they had been given a grant. He also refers to the possibility of groups using established authors to write for them, for instance himself.

Amakhosi and Rooftop

Chifunyise is critical of the support to Amakhosi and Rooftop, in that the donors may have an unwelcome political agenda, as the money does not go via the ministry or NAC. He does not want NORAD to avoid supporting national activities. "We wanted the support to pass through our national organisations (...) which then can criticise NAC democratically". Chifunyise rejects political productions, because they draw too much attention. And this is why such plays should not be supported by donors "... if you only support groups which produce political plays, debating material as in Theatre in the Park (Rooftop) we kills the other groups which is engaged of the art or just producing". He uses "Ivhu" and Amakhosi as examples of productions and groups he thinks should not be supported; "Ivhu" because it criticises the leadership, Amakhosi (indirectly here) because they have a hidden ethnic agenda.

Norads support to critical groups

When Norad gives to only one group, and that group produces only one type of theatre, then we are worried. Then it becomes an agenda which looks like a friendly country is supporting a group that has got a political agenda. If the Zimbabweans went to Norway and took a play and talked about the queen and the king and supported it through our embassy, what's the implication about that? I am not against criticism but I am against criticising leadership, against undemocratic structures of insulting people. (...) If you want to change your government – really – you use culture to change government you must be aware very well that that same culture, that people in the same culture should be challenging their democracy in their same level. (...) We don't want to see parochial, partisan politics...of insinuating ethnicism through an agenda; ethnic fanaticism.

I refer to the fact that Amakhosi is appreciated for its productions.

No, that's an misconception, they have been given resources to promote (...) the group has been given resources to travel; (...) We considered Workshop Negative (...) but because you are very critical to the socialist system we are trying to (inaudible ...fund) we will not fund you to go to London with it, because the British will be very happy to see you, our own people fighting ourselves.(...) They took that to say "censorship" (...) that sold the play. (...) if someone from the government make a wrong comments about it; then you have marketed the play.

I ask whether he is critical of "Ivhu", "Members" and "Attitudes" because he thinks they are too critical.

No, if the support is only because they are too critical, then it's not a cultural consideration. Because culture is not only to be critical, culture is appreciations as well. (...) Culture is not simply to show disharmony, culture in the beginning is sheer beauty (...) it's the harmonious relationship.

Ivhu - "It stinks"

Chifunyise is also very sceptical of "Ivhu" and the support they have received. But they avoided censoring it, because then it would have got even more attention.

It stinks. I will go for a positive play, not a play that insults my president as a human being. I can disagree with his politics but not say that Ian Smith was better?! I can't. And some, who does that, are short of historical perspective, and insulting those who died for liberating us. Though if "it's a play (that) stinks", but he has the right to write this. Because no one in this country banned this play. We in the culture division were asked, but they said just leave them alone. CIO, the intelligence said; come look, they are insulting our first lady, but we said no, just leave them alone, it would fade out.

Summing -up

The interviews indicate that there is little scope for supporting critical productions from MESC or NAC, re Chifunyise's (necessary) viewpoints. Even if NAC got a credit facility from Norad, it seems unclear whether this would be used for critical expressions. It also seems that NAC and MESC still take into consideration the continued support through the local grant from NORAD in addition to the cultural agreement.

13.7. Conclusion: supporting resignifying practices

My questions on Norad's cultural politics as discourse was;

First, how are "The Members" and "Ivhu vs the State's" issues and narratives visible in the project documents and interviews?

Secondly, on the basis of the above does the grant structure facilitate or limit productions of critical expression?

Third, which production of knowledge, power and subjectivity is going on?

The Zimbabwean cultural authorities and Norad

I have via my very limited analysis indicated that the Zimbabwean cultural authorities have small resources and discourses to support critical expressions. And I have shown that opposition to criticism is increasing, the higher in the system one gets. Chifunyise could not, even if he really wanted, as Dore says, support expressions such as are found in the "Members" and "Ivhu". It is obvious that the discourses on nation and identity the government are given to operate within make it impossible for them to use theatre as critical expression, because their positions of power are then threatened. This is why donors are important. Norad, backed up by the Norwegian parliament, approve support for critical expression. In this way, cultural support is also a developmental practice (Escobar) and also a part of the cultural and political system in Zimbabwe (Kaarsholm). I have analysed the expressions Norad supports in the plays "Members" og "Ivhu". Both productions, in different ways, open new spaces for discourses about identity and nation.

New knowledge, power and subjectivity

Norad participates in this way in the reconstruction of representations that can lead to alternative practices, influencing social and political conditions. An important act for discursive change is to visualize new representations and strategies; this contributes to "the opening of spaces that destabilish dominant mode of knowing" (Escobar 1995:220). The production of new positions of knowledge, power and subjectivity are the result. In Members and Ivhu new knowledge is referred to in the form of local historiography; processes related to establishing a water project (Members). In Ivhu three persons that may at last want dialogue are shown. I have also shown that Members tells a new history about positive power, via the characters Nkomanza, Jamila and Gloria who use their power to work for a community. Ivhu has fewer references to new and positive power relations. As far as subjectivity is concerned, Mhlanga creates subject positions for the people and gives them places to talk from which

could be effective in improving society. Ivhu is a bit ambivalent in relation to constructing new positions, but it says that something "needs to be done" with the identities.

But do the cultural support lack a language to talk about representations?

Norad is thus supporting resignifying practices in relation to a dominant discourse in Zimbabwe. In this way, Norad in Harare partly functions as an institution that facilitates vulnerable people's viewpoints and formulations of preference (Kaarsholm 1989). But I have also shown that there are differences in the way "The Members" and "Ivhu vs. the State" represent. Norad partly comments on this, but is more concerned the way the plays was used and the organisations (re.Dore interview). Further generally; the statements in the manuscripts are not by Norad related to other strategies concerning the work on human rights and democracy. It could perhaps be said that Norad may not have a specific line on which political expressions it wants to support. However, this could be related to a lack of resources and time for these, in the broader context "insignificant" projects.

There are few resources at the embassy to follow up such projects. There are also political limitations placed on Norad. And though Norad has a cultural agenda and a cultural officer who is engaged, there is less ideas for the role of the cultural expressions as an arena for debate higher up in the embassy. Further, though they assume the credit facility via the NAC may provide support to local groups, they hesitate. It seemed to become clear to them that leaving all cultural support to the Zimbabwean state might lead to Norad losing the chance to support some specific projects. The transition from the local grant to the sectoral agreement seemed at this early stage to limit the possibilities for supporting critical expressions.³⁷

I would then conclude that the policy statements necessary for supporting critical expressions do exist, but that other conditions, e.g.resources, relations to the Zimbabwean government and coordination, which should work in tandem limit the embassy's opportunities to support critical expressions.

I would say that conceptual and theoretical positions which could have discussed the statements I have analysed in terms of knowledge, power and subjectivity, identity and nation; may be could have been more present at all levels . The discourses on cultural support, e.g. policy documents and what was said in the interviews, could have had more use of the "language of political representation". This could have contributed to a better understanding of cultural expression's contribution to the public sphere and democratization.The language in the policy statements is mainly about the development of institutions and capacity, not so much about the content of the cultural representations, or what supporting democratic expressions would imply beyond mere support to living culture. Seen in the light of the recent struggle in Zimbabwe within the definitions of "nation" and "identity", this would seem even more important. My analysis of "Members" and "Ivhu" in discourse-theoretical and postcolonial terms may perhaps help bring in the language of a "politics of representation"

³⁷ Elofsons concluded that institutional support is important but that the sector agreement not should replace the support over the local grant."(It is recommended that Norad..) continues to provide support over its special allocation for cultural activities. This supportscheme is flexible and gives possibilities to support projects both on short or longtermbasis". He also refers support to productions as a kind of institutionbuilding. "It would therefore be desirable if a more production-oriented support would gain ground, which will have the potential to be income generating. Production-oriented support can be looked upon as a component of institutional development. Various resources, persons could e.g. be brought into the production of a piece of drama. The outcome of such an approach would not only be the product itself, ie the play, but also result in exchange experience, artistic and technical skills" (Elofson 1995: 25,22).

into the discourses on cultural aid. A more detailed study would have produced clearer answers (Dorman 2004:18, Törnquist 1999:168).

EPILOGUE; THE CULTURAL SUPPORT

National Arts Council and MESC

The National Arts Council continues to work on developing cultural organisations and supporting cultural expressions at different levels. They arrange the National Arts Merits Awards which promote different genres. Ngugi wa Mirii wrote about the situation in the theatre on International Theatre day 27 March 2004. He refers to the establishment of a cultural fund by SIDA:

I urge the government through the Department of Culture in the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Department of Information in the Office of the President to refocus on the role of theatre in building our nation this coming year. The role of the arts and culture in political and social and economic development cannot be overemphasised (...). However I am delighted to share with you the fact that while government has been found wanting in recognising the role of the performing arts in terms of providing moral, material and funding, the donors, particularly SIDA, should be hailed for assisting arts and cultural workers in Zimbabwe with the establishment of the Zimbabwe Cultural Fund Trust and donating over \$10 billion. I am told that this is an annual contribution for the next three years. Artists are expected to apply for grants to this through their national Arts Council provincial offices or directly to the trust."³⁸

Ngugi wa Mirii has himself established a theatre college, and Amakhosi has started a National Amateur Training Centre. Stephen Chifunyis left his post of First Secretary at MESC in 2001(?), and is now devoting more time to cultural work.

Norad

The special allocations were planned to be finished in 2000. But finally it was decided to keep them (ref ...). This is from Norad Oslo seen as an advantage because it is then possible to make visible support to culture. The sector agreement with MESC (the cultural agreement) was first revised in 1999 (Parliamentary approved budget (Stortingsproposisjon) 1 2000-2001). But the agreement was stopped before the revised version had been implemented. The reason for this was the Norwegians withdrew state support from several fields after the worsening of the political situation in Zimbabwe from 2000.

The incomplete governance and heavily war involvement in DRC has made the Norwegian aid less effective concerning poverty reduction. (...) On the background of the development in the country (...), it was in May this year decided to freeze parts of the state-to-state aid to Zimbabwe (...). Limited aid will continue via the regional grant (Stortingsproposisjon 1 2000-2001:).³⁹

There have also been organisational changes at The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Norad. The ministry is now managing the state to state support directly, while Norad has got an advisory role.⁴⁰ New guidelines for cultural support have been developed, but the aims of the

³⁸ 27 March 2004. "Zimbabwean theatre artist lack resources to enhance creativity" in Herald <http://www.herald.co.zw/index.php?id=30366&pubdate=2004-03-27>

³⁹ Webpage Stortingsproposisjon 1 1999-2000

<http://www.odin.dep.no/ud/norsk/dok/regpubl/stprp/006005-990450/dok-bn.html>

1 2000-2001 <http://www.odin.dep.no/ud/norsk/dok/regpubl/stprp/032001-030022/dok-bn.html>

⁴⁰ About the foreign ministry's cultural support: <http://www.odin.dep.no/ud/norsk/kultur/index-b-n-a.html>
Norad : http://www.norad.no/default.asp?V_ITEM_ID=1566

strategy for 2005 are almost the same as in the previous version of the strategy. Norad shall "contribute to the strengthening of people's belief in their own identity, creativity and values, stimulate popular participation in development processes, promote cross cultural understanding". Culture is described as an investment area and the emphasis is on helping "strengthen people's awareness of their own culture (...) providing support for institutions and organizations that promote the development of contemporary art and culture and make them available to the public" (Norad 2000). They refer to Zimbabwe for examples of cultural support for strengthening participation in the social life "(...), e.g; libraries and theatre groups in Zimbabwe campaigning for participation in general elections (...) the establishment of the Zimbabwean Association of Music Educators (ZAME)" (Norad 2000).

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