

Abstract

THE EMERGENCE OF CULTURAL POLICY IN ZIMBABWE 1984-1997

With Particular Reference to Case Studies of
Cultural Action in Bulawayo

by Sheila G. Cameron

The thesis re-presents the lived experience of cultural animation and policy production in postcolonial Zimbabwe, seeking to place these observations and theories in the domain of Cultural Policy Studies. The nation was in transition from oracy to literacy and from colonial control to socialist independence.

Cultural workers in Bulawayo were very productive after Independence without apparently being aware of any policies. How, then, did things get done? The initial premise was that people living in oral cultures were always able to discuss plans and implement decisions, and that endogenous and exogenous influences (theorised as memes) were incorporated experimentally in a cultural bricolage.

Part One introduces the pre-policy context of cultural change in precolonial and postcolonial situations, theorises cultural change at a micro level in terms of memetics and explains the methodology of multiple case studies.

Part Two looks for origins of cultural concepts in 19th century white-authored journals and 20th century revolutionary texts and presents a critical analysis of formal documents controlling cultural policy since Independence. The importance of plurilingualism, translation and literacy in interactions between social actors is examined.

Part Three provides empirical evidence to refine the original proposition in a detailed synchronic study of local cultural praxis. Discourse analysis of conflict and consensus operating at grassroots level is followed by accounts of the increasing management capacity of some groups as they become professional performers in international arenas. Contrasting instances of individual and communal animation are found in the development of institutions.

Part Four discusses the role of dynamic oral policies in cultural action both in a pre-policy situation and in the implementation of documented policy in a democratising polity.

The thesis also has potential for its theoretical findings to be applied in different national contexts of development and beyond cultural policy to other spheres where an increasing volume of policy initiatives challenges the people charged with their implementation.

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GLOSSARY

| | |
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| | |
| Acculturation | The concept: when 2 cultures meet three operations may take place: (a) the dominant culture completely absorbs the weaker; (b) the latter may adopt and integrate elements of the former in its own structures; (c) or, more generally, a transculturation takes place, actualising a new mixed cultural order, that is, an ' <i>espace métisse</i> '. |
| Aesthetic(s) | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Branch of philosophy concerned with such concepts as beauty, taste, etc. 2. The study of the rules and principles of art. From Gr. <i>aisthetikos</i>, perceptible by the senses. <i>Aisthesthai</i> to perceive (Collins Millennium) 3. Relating to pure beauty rather than other considerations; artistic or to do with taste. 4. A principle of taste or style adopted by a particular person, group or culture. |
| <i>Analphabet</i> | An illiterate person; one who does not know the alphabet. <u>English</u> translation implies that illiteracy 'damages' cognitive functions. Others allow that only from the position of literacy can they be regarded as deficient, marginal to a 'reality' that is structured by physical, historical, social, cultural and economic dimensions. Paul .V. Taylor, Paolo Freire. |
| Arena | <p>Sociology: any domain of discourse and competition, or of conflict, or struggle for political power.</p> <p>Memetics: the place where external s-interaction takes place at a certain time, possibly according to specific rules set by the institutions</p> |
| Artefact | In memetics: an extended phenotype (or memotype) that originates in the human mind as a mental object (perhaps equivalent to genotype) which is turned into a physical object (a phenotype/memotype) by a person using environmental materials. Artefacts are the focus of selection pressures but what evolves is the idea behind it. R. Aunger, p.281. Any artefact (eg waggon) that functions as an interactor allows signals to reflect off it which can lead to memes being reproduced: and so becomes a memetic interactor. This class of memetic interactor may be explicitly designed to serve as signal-templates the better to disseminate memes. Hence communicative artefacts such as books, images, etc. book, p.290. |
| Authentic self | Potentiality for action, orientation towards the future (becoming) which involves possibilities and requires choice. Heidegger <i>Being and Time</i> (1929) |
| Bilinguality | The psychological state of an individual who has the benefit of access to more than one linguistic code as a means of social communication; associated with this are affective, cognitive, and identity issues. |
| <i>Bricolage</i> | A <i>construction</i> made of whatever materials or objects are at hand, without regard to their previous use or design; something created from a variety of available things |
| <i>Bricolage</i> | The <i>practice</i> of creating things from whatever materials come to hand as ' <i>bricoleurs</i> ' do, the structure and outcome being more important than the constituent parts which are themselves changed through the act of creation. (Levi-Strauss) the meaning of bricolage is derived from the <i>bricoleur</i> - someone who does odd jobs, making and mending things from bits and pieces which have been left over from previous jobs. |
| BSAC | British South Africa Company also called 'The Chartered Company' |
| Cognition | Perception, memory, intuition, reasoning and judgements; these are necessarily bound up in people's social activities. |

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| Commodification | The process by which goods, services and cultural performances are increasingly produced for the market; become articles of commerce. |
| Conscientization | The process in which men, not as recipients, but as knowing subjects, achieve a deepening awareness both of the socio-cultural reality which shapes their lives and of their capacity to transform that reality.(Freire 1970, Part III note 1, pp. 222 , 452). |
| Cultural policy | In this context, 'cultural policy' is taken to mean a body of operational principles, administrative and budgetary practices and procedures which provide a basis for cultural action by the State. UNESCO 1970 (Preface) |
| <i>Écriture</i> | Written language. (Saussure) |
| Éspace métisse | A hybrid or mongrel space. 'colonial practice in tropical Africa tends to actualise the project of rational conversion.... one of the most systematic historical experiences of social engineering that invented and organised a transcultural <i>espace métisse</i> in order to duplicate the history of the West according to the Enlightenment prescriptions.' (Mudimbe, 1997a, p. 147) |
| False consciousness | An inability to see things especially social relations and relations of power as they really are. It appears in the late work of Engels. A state of false consciousness may be the inevitable result of a way of living... generic and chronic kind of servitude; this cannot be perceived as such by people, co-exists with illusory contentment. (Simon Blackburn, Oxford Dictionary of Philosophy) |
| Historicity | Historical authenticity. Smith adopts Garfinkel's conception of <u>local</u> historicity; it expresses the localised and irreversible movement of the social process <u>as it is lived</u> . |
| Ideology | Ideologies are defined as all social (in distinction to psychological) phenomena of a discursive nature. They include 'both everyday notions and "experience" and elaborate intellectual doctrines, both the "consciousness" of social actors and the institutionalised thought systems and discourses of a given society. |
| Institution | The unit of human organisation in which individuals come together with agreement on a set of values; with rules according to which specific actors or individuals behave providing stable patterns of behaviour. (Malinowsky) |
| <i>Langue</i> | The communal language resource with established rules. Saussure. |
| Lineages | Lines of replicators (memes) connected by heritage. |
| Meme | A unit of cultural information; an element of culture that can be copied or imitated. |
| Memes | Pieces of data that are a) copied from individual to individual without too much alteration, or b) interactors in an arena where this action results in differential perpetuation of memes into a retention system. Ideas; information content defines a replicator, not its material embodiment p. 156. (Aunger 2002) |
| Multicultural | Used of an <i>espace métisse</i> or 'hybrid social arena' (or activity therein) where people of many different cultural origins live, though the extent of mixing of their cultural elements (memes) is variable. |
| Naïve thinking | Having innocence, credulity, lacking critical reasoning. Perceiving external objects as having the properties they appear to have, without understanding them as products of the brain. |
| <i>Parole</i> | Actually-produced speech. Saussure. |
| Phenomenological | Of conscious subjective experience through the senses, that can be described without explanation, metaphysical assumptions, and traditional philosophical questions. |

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| Pioneer column | Adult male foreigners who entered the territory 1836-1890 and shared a hard, often dangerous, life. Mercenaries that entered Matabeleland under F.C. Selous, for the Chartered Company, March-Sept.1890. 1000 settlers were promised 3000 acres each by Rhodes and Selous got 20000 acres. |
| Pioneers | Biologically, first surviving plant species in a previously uncolonised habitat. If the first animal, the assumption is that plants are there. If the first human, other species not important. If the first white man, no other humans are seen, even if they are there. |
| Plurilingual | (Of an individual) Able to use several languages |
| Policies | The general term is here taken to include short-term and long-term plans, whether written or oral, that represent the agreed, shared intentions of institutions, either concerning their own internal organisation or how they relate to, or regulate, external individuals or organisations, or both. This specifically excludes the ambitions, plans and creative production processes of a solitary individual, but includes preparation of group activities and performances to audiences. |
| Postcoloniality | 1. The coming of 3 rd world identities & spokesmen into the 1 st world, reaching out, connecting with minority voices, incorporating hybridity: the cultural condition of 3 rd world intellectuals in the west is asserted to be the condition of all contemporary society and old European identities are undermined by the ludic play of ethnicity. (Ranger 1996) 2. Privileging particular methods and problematics so as to subvert the self-confident rationality of imperial science. (Arnfed 1995) 3. Contemporary state of ex-imperial societies & attempts to describe them in ways which have meaning and are recognisable. |
| Retention systems | Animate – brains, collectives Inanimate – documents, artefacts, computers, |
| Retention levels (Speel) | 1) to have knowledge of a meme 2) to judge a meme to be relevant for a discussion (There can be widespread discussion without endorsement.) 3) to endorse, interpret or defend a meme against opposition 4) to translate a meme into action. (only applies to prescriptive memes) |
| Revolutionary socialists | Rejected root and branch the society in which they lived, denied that it could be reformed or made better in any meaningful fashion, insisted that it must be overthrown in a great upheaval and replaced by a totally new society, such as V. Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg. (Bertram Wolfe 1961, p.7) |
| Technical rationality | A model of instrumental problem-solving made rigorous by the application of scientific theory and technique that is embedded in the institutional context of professional life. Finding the technical means to fulfil given ends. See D. Schön & M. Polanyi |
| Transculturation | The introduction of foreign elements into an established culture. |
| Utterance | A stretch of speech produced by a single speaker on one occasion, in one context. It may incorporate words or grammatical constructions from many different languages or no language at all. |

ACRONYMS

| | | |
|----------|-------|---|
| ACGB | ----- | Arts Council of Great Britain |
| BADG | ----- | Bulawayo Association of Drama Groups |
| BCC | ----- | Bulawayo City Council |
| BDAC | ----- | Bulawayo District Arts Council |
| BTC | ----- | Bulawayo Theatre Club |
| CCJP | ----- | Church Council on Justice and Corrections (Canada) |
| DAC | ----- | District Arts Council |
| NACZ | ----- | National Arts Council of Zimbabwe |
| NAF | ----- | National Arts Foundation |
| RGS | ----- | Royal Geographic Society |
| SADC | ----- | Southern Africa Development Community (1992, restructured 2001) |
| SADCC | ----- | Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (from 1980) |
| SRANC | ----- | Southern Rhodesia African National Congress |
| WDCD | ----- | World Decade for Cultural Development |
| ZACT | ----- | Zimbabwe Association of Community Theatre |
| ZANU(PF) | ----- | Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front) |
| ZAPU | ----- | Zimbabwe African Peoples Union |
| ZIMFEP | ----- | Zimbabwe Foundation for Education with Production |
| ZUM | ----- | Zimbabwe Union of Musicians |

CHAPTER ONE

Research dynamic and aims

The most that an original figure can hope to do is to recontextualise his or her predecessors. He or she cannot aspire to produce works that are themselves uncontextualisable, any more than a commentator like myself can aspire to find the one "right" context into which to fit those works. *Richard Rorty*

Introduction

This thesis explores endogenous and exogenous influences on cultural practices in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe during the transition from revolutionary socialism to global capitalism between 1984 and 1997. Cultural Policy was chosen because within this relatively recent discipline it was possible to examine how forms of cultural organisation developed in Zimbabwe after independence and to recognise the seminal influence of UNESCO in that process. The starting point reflects the gulf between global conceptualisations of cultural policy and the lived experience of cultural praxis in an urban community: Thus the intentions of the research did not sit easily in the frame of British academic study. The initial proposition to be examined is defiant:

The development of intensive creative activity in the arts and the regeneration of traditional culture in Bulawayo resulted mainly from the work of self-motivated cultural workers at grassroots level, not from the implementation of institutional cultural policies. Initially they learned – individually and corporately – from experience, reformulating their rules as they went along and thus constructing their own unwritten and often ‘naïve’¹ policies as they saw the need.

The work’s originality lies in the fact that it is not a study of typical ‘cultural policy’ but explores the dynamics of a ‘pre-policy situation’ and the emergence of cultural policies in a post-colonial nation that was still in transition to literacy. As the thesis will show, this involved revolutionary changes in the power relations, values and procedures that determined formal and informal cultural policies following the overthrow of the colonial regime. The study, as it uncovers the existence of policy-making processes from a limited corpus of resource materials, emphasises the perceptions and voices of the participants. It is also original in its synthesis of an uncommon range of social interactions available to a

¹ Freire (1972, p. 64-5) contrasts naïve thinking with critical thinking which is able to perceive the possibility of transforming reality...’for the sake of the continuing humanisation of men.’

white expatriate who chose not to identify with the settler culture and stayed working in Bulawayo for twelve years. Throughout the thesis this is supplemented by an assumption that was surprisingly identified by the poet T. S. Eliot among the often vexatious contradictions of his attempts to find a definition of culture:

We must remind ourselves of the danger of identifying culture with the sum of distinct cultural activities... it is not merely by observing in detail all of these manifestations that the anthropologist will approach to an understanding of the culture. For to understand the culture is to understand the people and this means an imaginative understanding ... which can never be complete ... My contention is that culture is a way of life (Eliot 1948, p. 41).

Here I come closer than usual to sharing his view, with its hint at what Gadamer (1960) called 'the hermeneutic circle'. Because culture is not merely manifested in observable action and artefacts but is individually and communally owned by its creators and transmitters² who know it as a secret inner strength that may cautiously resist change or dangerously explore innovation, it is only by contributing creatively to communal cultural action that an outsider can gradually acquire some knowledge but not full ownership. At this point Eliot's thesis was that the culture of the individual is dependent upon the culture of a group or class that is, in turn, dependent on the fundamental culture of the whole society (Eliot 1948, p. 21). 'The primary channel of transmission of culture is the family: no man wholly escapes from the [...] culture which he acquired from his early environment' (ibid. p. 43).

Eliot's essay, coming in the aftermath of the Second World War, is now notable for his hostile reaction to the use of 'culture' in the draft constitution for UNESCO 1945 (ibid. p. 14) which is consistent with his representation of a refined culture that in many ways models the stultified Rhodesian idea of British cultural values. That metropolitan connection formed part of the élite construction of values that underpinned their racism and welcomed a new wave of post-war British immigrants who made little concession to the African cultural environment. But since then a discourse has developed within UNESCO exploring the many facets of what people think of as their culture. While many see it as a heritage, an accumulation of received ideas and artefacts, Argan (1970 p. 89) argues a non-hierarchical alternative - that culture is 'the method adopted by each social

group to organise its own experiences by relating it to the experience of others.’ He argues that acculturation is not the material transfer of cultural products from one group or class to another but ‘the inner movement, the vital dynamism, the process by which culture is created.’

Important sources for this thesis include insights from V. Y. Mudimbe, Raymond Williams, Edward Tylor, Jack Goody, Bronislaw Malinowsky, Paolo Freire, Terry Eagleton, Pierre Bourdieu, Perti Alasuutari, Fay Chung, E. A. Ngara, Ngugi wa Thiongo, Okot p’Bitek and Chinweizu. Culture has so many connotations that it is scarcely surprising that this wide range of analytic minds use the word with a variety of extended characterizations rather than definitions: one might as well try to define ‘frog’ yet we all know one when we see one. It is not possible for a pragmatist to disagree with someone who says sincerely of some notion or activity ‘That is part of my culture’. Thus only an inclusive ‘definition’ is acceptable. ‘Culture’ is used in this research to mean, broadly, the institutions, beliefs, values, knowledge and practices of a more or less homogeneous group of people at a particular time in a particular place. This formulation allows that culture is dynamic, changing if the people, place or time change independently or together. This meaning is, of course, an incomplete description and my own rule of thumb has been to accept as ‘culture’ anything that a collocutor speaks of as ‘culture’. Culture is not a definable or bounded entity though it can be endlessly instantiated. The thesis offers new instances rather than definitions, in the belief that ‘progress is marked less by perfection of consensus than by a refinement of debate’ (Geertz 1973, p. 29).

At a time when C. P. Snow was anxiously arguing that the academic world was split into ‘the two cultures’ (for him, science and the arts) and Zimbabwean nationalism was confronting colonialism, Bronislaw Malinowsky (1961) produced his scientific theory of culture that allowed anthropology to inform sociology. ‘The cultural process, looked at in any of its concrete manifestations, always involves human beings who stand in definite relations to each other, that is, they are organised, and handle artefacts, and communicate with each other by speech or some other type of symbolism. Artefacts, organised groups, and symbolism are three dimensions of the cultural process’ (ibid. p. 150). A narrower

² Culture is collectively produced but, as presented in any individual, culture is like ‘health’ in being

pragmatic view that is useful when considering the individual's contribution to cultural action is: 'Culture influences actions not by providing the ultimate values... but by shaping a repertoire or 'tool kit' of habits, skills and styles from which people construct strategies of action' (Swidler 1986, p. 273). This is complemented by recognition of beliefs, ritual practices, art forms and ceremonies as symbolic vehicles of meaning for the wider community and informal practices such as language, gossip and stories as means of constructing the more intimate rituals of daily life. Modern approaches to social analysis have not needed to emphasise, as this thesis will, that these symbols and practices do not automatically require literacy. This thesis posits that, while documented policies are only available to (or through) people who have acquired power through literacy, people who own a culture or sub-culture grounded in oracy have alphabetic strategies for conveying information and implementing cooperative action. Such oral processes – expressing people's cognition in utterance, performance and behaviour, not documents – are represented here as ephemeral, dialogic, adaptive and unrepeatable events in Bulawayo's post-colonial development. Although individually they are local not universal, their processual characteristics are pertinent to policy development in other countries in transition to literacy and facing exogenous interventions in their indigenous cultures.³

Background to the research

In Bulawayo I was employed as a science teacher 1984-96 but spent nearly all my spare time working in cultural projects, keeping press cuttings and other records of events fairly systematically but with no plans to do research. At the time it would have been unjustifiable to use my privileged position to represent cultural workers as objects of curiosity in an alien world, a work ethic in animation learned in East Africa. There were many similarities between Zimbabwe's experience after Independence and that of East Africa twenty years before. The dilemma of white socialists in a postcolonial situation is described by Colin Leys (1975):

achieved by continual practice of a multitude of beneficial habits.

³ Shirin Zubair (2001, p. 190) observes that in modern Pakistan 'silence, antonym of speech, stands for illiteracy or lack of literate abilities to enable people to participate and function fully in society' Elsewhere silence need not be equated with illiteracy: here, examples show silence can be a positive political choice either of '*les analphabets*' or literate freedom fighters.

Of course, few westerners could literally establish themselves within the ranks of the working class of any third world country. But unless they (we) spell out very clearly our standpoint vis-à-vis the organisations and struggles of such classes, and consciously adopt a political practice which is reasonably clearly related to those struggles, I think that the findings of any research we undertake are likely to be at best useless and quite likely to be contrary to the interests of the workers and peasants whom we propose to study.

Cultural politics of liberation in the terms established by Freire (1972) continued to be a defining interest for me while teaching in Botswana and in London:

I cannot think for others or without others, nor can others think for me. Even if people's thinking is superstitious or naïve, it is only as they re-think their assumptions in action that they can change. Producing and acting upon their own ideas – not absorbing those of others – must constitute that process (ibid. p. 80).

A problem for many white Rhodesians was simply having a conversation with black people; Chris Hurst said 'I was educated to give orders!' With few exceptions their utterances were critical of African habitus and, coming from an assumed position of authority, were prescriptive or mocking. Despite the policy of non-discrimination and reconciliation between Zimbabweans of all races, it was difficult for them to accept being mere equals of non-whites. It was therefore not difficult to establish my political difference from Rhodesians by talking with people on equal terms as commonly practised in schools from 1966-72 in an increasingly multi-ethnic Inner London Education Authority, and under the Labour-controlled Greater London Council between 1981 and 1984 in the cultural climate that saw the emergence of African Dawn and Wazalendo, as described by Kwesi Owusu (1986). This experience enabled me, in Bulawayo, to act as a go-between, someone who is trusted not to misrepresent the message. When I mediated between theatre practitioners on the east and west side of town each might say things to me that could not be said to the other without damaging relationships so, in effect, my role was as a 'cultural interpreter' though I had only one language to work in. There was no doubt where my allegiance lay, and the white practitioners only tolerated my position for the short period in which they continued trying to prescribe standards for new theatre practice in the city. Now I find resonance in what Tomaselli (1998) says about the need to recover praxis following the South African struggle and recognise that the outcomes of research and writing about this period could be useful to a new generation of cultural practitioners in Zimbabwe.

The approach chosen is to use a pragmatic, multiple-case-study logic of design with mixed methods (Yin 1994; Tashakokori & Teddlie 1998). 'Pragmatic' is taken simply to signify that the overall intended meaning (or ultimately the truth) of the proposition merely relates to its practical effects (Jary and Jary 1995). This term is preferred where the application of value judgements and aesthetics from a western academic point of view might skew evaluation to privilege the more familiar Rhodesian-British culture over the 'exotic' indigenous. The management and significance of several cultural projects have been researched as case studies. The use of multiple case studies requires the use of different theory and methods in each case study, linked by cross-case reviews. The logic of design then requires modification of the initial proposition in the light of new findings. All cultural elements, which I find it helpful to treat as memes, are assumed to be co-operating or competing in this geographically small arena whatever their origins. These dynamic interactions may result in the retention of new memes – or 'transculturation' – which is experienced as cultural change.

Different disciplines are invoked to analyse a complex cultural arena where interaction between three established cultures generated many different social representations of the shared reality. Ethnographic methods were not suitable for interpreting the experience and materials retrospectively, for although a participant I was not making planned observations. The dominating perspective of academic western conceptualisations – institutionalised as the 'field' or the 'discipline' (Bates, Mudimbe, O'Barr 1993) and tolerated in third world arenas as an inevitable function of 'globalisation' – cannot be directly confronted with a personal source of experience because 'to do so is to step outside the discipline' (Dorothy Smith 1987, p. 60). Ethnomethodology was also considered as an approach because Garfinkel's work (1967, 1981) gives weight to the assumptions and commonsense of how people live their daily lives, but it too was rejected as unsuited to a retrospective study. It was therefore recognised that in such an emotional, politically contested arena it would be more effective to attempt to discover rational but so far unrecognised planning and policy processes in the informal documentation related to cultural production. Analysis based only on technical rationality (Sandercock 2003) is, however, inadequate to understand cultural meanings grounded in the discourses of a preliterate or preprint society. Africans have been mis-represented by a century of white

colonial rule which habitually denied black people's capacity for learning, while fearing that, given the opportunity, they might indeed learn too much. New understanding and capacity was now developing through what Schön calls 'reflection-in-action' and 'experiment which serves to generate both a new understanding of the phenomenon and a change in the situation' (Schön 1983, p. 68).

Guba and Lincoln (1997, p. 203) emphasise the need to involve stakeholders in an empowering evaluation and ... 'not [to] exclude them if they seem to have insufficient knowledge or sophistication'.⁴ In using case studies the aim is not to develop any particular theoretical perspective but to be pragmatic and useful; they warn that methods in themselves do not *ensure* that the stakeholder constructions have been collected and faithfully represented. This thesis uses many texts that report the authentic voices of social actors because the spoken word, as much as the written, can be interpreted as specimen or factist texts (Alasuutari 1995). Discourse analysis places the inquiry within critical social theory. (Johnstone 2002)

The arena of research, the city of Bulawayo, is the second city of Zimbabwe. It was the home of Joshua Nkomo's party, ZAPU, the official opposition until the Unity Agreement with ZANU (PF) in December 1997. Until then the enjoyment of liberation had been qualified by political tensions, dissident activities in the rural hinterland, and by technological difficulties of travel and communication with the capital city, Harare. The Bulawayo City Council, established since 1894 on a British model, continued to provide a stable local environment with effective links between an impressive City Hall and the suburban offices. A good infrastructure of tarmac roads, railways, buses, airports, shops and housing remained from colonial times. Much of the original rural African cultural tradition was already severely deformed in the high-density townships of Bulawayo by nearly a century of colonial rule and urbanisation. The oldest inner suburbs were built for male workers whose extended families were still living in rural homes. Later, the outer suburbs were built to accommodate more affluent urbanised families.

⁴ 'Fourth generation evaluation' couches liberal capitalist principles in a discourse of 'professional' management where managers do not own the companies they control. Despite inclusive values their approach is only distantly related to that of Freire.

From the start of the second Chimurenga⁵ Bulawayo was becoming a tripartite cultural arena comprising a) an endogenous culture - an complex of oral African traditions from several indigenous peoples more or less assimilated into Ndebele culture; b) white Rhodesian habitus, an exogenous, static, century-old imperial version of British tradition; and c) Zimbabwean revolutionary socialism, recently introduced by a transformative polity grounded in Marxist-Leninism. These local 'ways of being' were increasingly interpenetrated and subverted by the more diffuse, economic 'culture' of globalisation.⁶ Their interplay shapes policies and processes. All three cultures had been present before Independence in 1980, but the balance of their expression and power was changed symbolically and dramatically at the instant when the Zimbabwean flag was raised and, in the ensuing years, by a torrent of experimental creativity.

Karl Popper (1974) catches the excitement of liberated minds – for him, scientific minds, for us, Bulawayo's African population – when he says that 'creative thinking' is characterised by 'the intensity of interest in the problem' combined with 'the ability to break through the limits of the range from which a lower thinker selects his trials'. He sees that '...critical imagination ... is often the result of a culture clash, that is, a clash between ideas or frameworks of ideas that may help us break through the ordinary bounds of our imagination.' Unlike Huntington (1996), Popper was not theorising 'culture clash' or transforming development theory; he used 'culture clash' to convey, from a positivist position, a context that is conducive to creative intellectual ferment. In the earlier years of struggle Zimbabwe's independence movements had merely demanded that everyone should have the vote, imagining out of their narrow experience that this democratic advance would be inclusive, and so enough to ensure an equitable society. In later years, Marxist-Leninism offered rational ideas to leaders who – having been denied the vote but by now having travelled widely – wanted to take control of their nation. Neither the traditional African nor the colonial paradigms had imagined such a change. The indigenous people had been allowed very limited 'enlightenment' – they were offered Christian spirituality, but not technological empowerment, and their education in literacy

⁵ The Liberation War of 1960s and 1970s leading to Independence in 1980. Political reasons are contested; Stoneman and Cliffe (1989) represent Zimbabwe as a marginal case of Marxist-Leninism.

was designed to serve white masters and pay taxes, not to express their own values, loyalties and capacities.

Popper adds that *successful* thinking – leading in his terms to scientific discovery, in ours to new expressive creativity – has to be theorised differently because it depends on other contingencies such as luck, not being anticipated, and keeping up-to-date; I argue that these are also relevant to the dynamics of cultural policy – its formulation, interpretation and implementation – in Zimbabwe. This perspective provides a starting point for the analysis of experiments in cultural production and their relation to policy. In this work ‘**policy**’ is used to mean short- and long-term plans, whether written or oral, that represent the agreed intentions of **institutions**,⁷ either concerning their own internal organisation or how they relate to, or regulate, external individuals or organisations. The existence of norms and roles as basic defining properties of organisations assumes also that they have personnel with specific interests, authority and some shared concept of the future. They can therefore not only make plans but also strategise resistance to enemies with alternative or hostile policies.

The special power and authority of researchers over their subjects is often rooted in their superior literacy in one dominant language. Monolingual English-speakers cannot, however, control language events with bilingual speakers without their consent, so their position as researcher or animateur is liminal and the ownership of the work is shared. Despite understanding this dependence on the bilingual participants, the researcher or animateur is vulnerable to accusations of ‘trying to speak for other people... who can speak for themselves’ and must remain vigilant and reflexive in order to counteract such tendencies. Visiting researchers tended to reject - or fail to see - the complexity of the complicity that arises when the illiterate participant trusts the animateur to interpret or write on her/his behalf. This is a long-standing problem of the region, with documented

⁶ A trope that is often treated rhetorically as a composite ‘world culture’ rather than an economic system, and constructs a ‘new world order’ in order to oust resentful notions of neo-colonialism or Americanisation. (Kwame Nkrumah 1965, p. xi; Mia Palmberg 1983, p. 50).

⁷ Malinowsky’s (1962, p. 39) definition of ‘institution’ is adopted here: the unit of human organisation in which human beings come together with agreement on a set of traditional values; they stand in definite relation to one another and to a specific physical part of the environment, natural or artificial. Under the charter of the purpose or traditional mandate, obeying specific norms of the association, working through

examples of treachery dating back to deceptions practised by trusted settlers and missionaries in the granting of concessions to the earliest prospectors and entrepreneurs in Matabeleland.⁸

One assumption I rejected vehemently (Cameron 1995) was that academic authority gave research workers an inalienable right to use strangers as objects of study without paying a significant fee. People often had nothing to sell except their arcane knowledge but visiting researchers asserted (without any evidence) that if fees were paid the responses would be unreliable. They ignored all the other reasons why people might hide the truth and did not recognise the need to break the colonial habit of paying servants with half a loaf and a mug of tea. In animating projects I budgeted to pay subjects for formal interviews and performances, describing them as ‘consultants’ because, recognising their moral rights to intellectual property, I felt royalties were due. It was also a strategy to educate them on the possibility that future researchers or entrepreneurs might benefit secretly from having accessed their information or music.

In summary, the aims of the research are:

- ☒ To record and reflect on development in cultural performance and conceptualisation of culture in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe after Independence in 1980.
- ☒ To identify indigenous and exogenous forces motivating creativity and influencing cultural production and to compare the effectiveness of local styles of cultural animation and management with globalising influences.
- ☒ To contribute to the further understanding of cultural policies, not only in Zimbabwe and southern Africa but also in other multilingual countries facing a largely English-constructed globalisation of their indigenous cultures.
- ☒ To evaluate the influence of cultural policies on production by cultural workers.
- ☒ To consider who needs policies, and who makes them.

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the material apparatus which they manipulate, they act together and thus satisfy some of their desires, while also producing an impression on the environment.

☐ To examine the role of agency and social constructions in the cultural discourse of the time.

☐ To begin to fill a gap in the literature of cultural policy studies where Africa is very under-represented.

The research phase began at a time when UNESCO was positively encouraging cultural policy research. Apart from the academic work of T. O. Ranger and Pathisa Nyathi's accounts of traditional practices, little has been published about the culture of this arena since T.M.Thomas (1873) so it is intended to contribute to the literature on the foundations of policy process in this under-researched locality. The outcome of the research should primarily be useful to a new generation of cultural practitioners in southern Africa (Leys 1975; Guba & Lincoln 1997) and secondarily to people in wider fields of cultural policy. This objective results in tensions between the standard practices of the western academic world and the existential aims of the work that arise as a result of responsibilities accepted and choices made prior to the research.

An important feature of the thesis is that it documents the work of leading social actors who were capable of inspiring a generation of creative endeavour that was unique; and it records how new ideas of cultural production were embraced by a community that had previously seen their own culture despised and eroded. They now dispossessed the Rhodesian 'pioneers'⁹ and re-occupied mental space and emotional that had been forbidden them for nearly a century, selecting and copying whatever memes seemed useful or beautiful or meaningful from the diversity of cultures now available.¹⁰

The study is of not one art form or occupation but a mosaic of activities, together with a strong contextual setting that is in unstable equilibrium as a result of the impact of political, racial and economic forces. It is process oriented, observing interactions and

⁸ The missionary Charles D. Helm translated the Rudd Concession in 1887 for Lobengula but a later missionary, Bowen Rees, was sure he had lied (Family papers, Caernarfon Archives).

⁹ Samia Mehrez (1992, p. 121) 'In using the language of the ex-coloniser it was important for postcolonial bilingual writers to go beyond a passive form of contestation... Indeed, the ultimate goal [is] to subvert hierarchies by bringing together the 'dominant' and the 'underdeveloped', by exploding and confounding different symbolic worlds ... in order to create a mutual interdependence and intersignification.'

discourse between newly independent blacks and newly disempowered whites, spanning a spectrum of possible relationships from hostility to co-operation. My personal question throughout has been ‘What was *really* going on?’ Therefore the thesis records the emergence of official and unofficial cultural policies and their relationship to what was actually happening at grassroots level; it is interested in the gulf between planned policy and policy in practice, especially in terms of how they move between literate and oral discourses. It is also important because, despite recent difficulties, many of the groups of social actors and individual amateurs whose earlier work in Zimbabwe is described continue to pursue their vision of the peaceful power of cultural production in their home communities and abroad.

Cultural policy studies

Cultural policy has, until recently, been little documented or studied compared with social essentials like education, transport and housing, perhaps because it has been associated principally with aesthetic arts, ceremonies and performances – until recently identified with the ruling classes. Furthermore, in its 19th century idealisation in Britain, civilised cultural action as ‘the arts’ was often perceived as apolitical and ‘culture’ as an anthropological concept relevant only to indigenous (autochthonous) people in the colonies,¹¹ not those in the metropolis. As a result arts administration has used many non-governmental, voluntary and even amateur networks. Hugoson (1997, p.327) writes that ‘Cultural Policy implementation is often carried out largely by intermediary agencies, and networks of actors whose participation remains unspecified in central policy documents whose goals are difficult to assess.’

People in many other countries apparently managed very well without formal cultural policies. If indeed policies are superfluous there is arguably little academic interest in their informal existence: a position that was argued by DiMaggio (1999). Enquiring whether ‘cultural policy studies’ were needed in the US, he quoted from an earlier paper.

¹⁰ ‘A clever thief does not take everything in the house; he looks around and takes just what he wants’. Cont Mhlanga, personal communication, conversation (1986).

¹¹ Susan Wright (1998). ‘British functionalists were criticized for having treated a ‘culture’ as a small scale, bounded entity organized through economic, social and political institutions which interacted as a self-contained ‘whole’ sustained in a static equilibrium.’

Cultural policy is useful when decisions about cultural goods [are] in some way contested. If there is a broad public consensus about the value of a cultural good, then policy is principally about how to distribute or allocate a good in question. This is social policy, not cultural policy. Perhaps cultural policy requires conflict over the value of the good in itself. (1983, quoted in 1999)

Katz responded by referring to his own 1984 criticism of the idea that because America lacks a centrally administered culture, as compared to Europe, they had no cultural policy. 'A variety of government policies (such as immigration, urban renewal) create environments that affect which cultural goods and practices are carried forward ... in this regard the US does not have a single cultural policy – it has cultural policies.' The use of 16-year old views as a basis for this seminar discussion in 1999 suggests how little interest the US academy had shown in the ferment of cultural policy development in UNESCO's discourses. Noting that in the 1950s there had been some 'unintended consequences' of using culture for propaganda purposes to the Soviet Union – such as more cross-cultural dialogue, understanding and appreciation instead of selling American capitalism abroad – participants preferred to define 'culture' and question the relevance of 'cultural policy' and the role of government in regulating culture.

Much the same was true in Britain no doubt at least partly because of their withdrawal from UNESCO for political reasons in 1985. By February 1993 the Secretary of State was asked in parliament to consider re-joining at the earliest opportunity to avoid the embarrassment of having it decided by the new administration in the United States. (Hansard, 22 Feb 1993). Hewison (1996, p. 3) suggests that in Britain 'the lack of institutional clarity – and the absence of a coherent cultural policy that this state of affairs helps to ensure – is very much part of our culture' but then more surprisingly he claims that this 'has its virtues. It is gradualist, pragmatic, empirical, founded on tradition and precedent, and above all pluralist. It is, indeed, organic in that as a system it just grew'. Although elitist principles were enshrined in the Charter of the Arts Council of Great Britain providing a doctrine of 'arms length control' it was not until 1992 that a Government Department of National Heritage was imagined in the Conservative manifesto and began generating policies. This politicisation marks a major shift because in the western institutional context 'to portray something as a policy is to endow it with a certain coherence and unity. When something is declared to be a policy, we expect effective action to follow' (Hugoson 1997, p. 327).

Those approaches are far removed from what is needed in Zimbabwe. At Independence in 1980, the government's revolutionary commitment to establishing a socialist culture resulted in the immediate formation of a Ministry of Youth, Sport and Culture. The country also inherited a colonial tradition of arts administration by the National Arts Foundation that was governed by an Act modelled on the Charter of the Arts Council of Great Britain which had served the interests of the white Rhodesian community but now urgently needed revision. In Part II this process will be evaluated as providing a quasi-policy document that failed to provide an effective framework for post-colonial action and frustrated much of the socialist cultural agenda of the Ministry.

Yet many ordinary people in many countries now feel that their cultural values and practices are threatened by insidious or implacable forces: they are therefore persuaded that their creative-expressive needs must be addressed by their governments, which in turn means that cultural policy is now a basic necessity of governance and becomes academically acceptable, following UNESCO's persistent advocacy. What form should it take? A paradigm assumption is that the production of policies of all sorts is the way things are done in the developed or technologically 'first' world and is, moreover, an important indicator of democracy in action not least because political parties vie for power through the persuasiveness of the imagined policies they offer to the electorate in manifesto documents. In the Western world there is a driving tendency to assume that a 'policy culture' already exists within governments and institutions: if there is doubt over the administration of affairs, authorities in the relevant sector can be expected to produce policy documents about processes or issues of the moment, such as foreign affairs, or bullying in schools.

UNESCO sought to normalise the use of transparent policy processes for national governance in all domains, including science and technology in the 1960s and culture in the 1970s. There is recognition of two types of agency concerning cultural action. On the one hand it is 'necessary and appropriate' for *governments* to take action that will create and sustain a climate encouraging freedom of artistic expression and the material and moral conditions to enable the creative talents of its people to be released. (UNESCO, 1980, III 1-8). On the other hand is the *right of individual members of society* to free

agency when they are being creative or when they participate in the cultural life of the community. (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 27). This might imply that cultural activity is universally beneficial, or alternatively that it has no political importance. Since both of these notions are untenable in reality, cultural policies may at least reassure governments that, if they are implemented, nothing untoward is likely to happen and, more positively, provide an agreed programme for planned action. They have their uses where development needs have been identified, by defining goals and priorities, establishing decisions about resources for culture such as finance, time, human capital, infrastructures, and strategies for implementation. Nevertheless, a policy has the potential to be divisive - for example in its specificity concerning aims and deployment of resources - or dangerous in what it is designed to control. Although it remains for politicians to decide who actually makes and administers any national policy, Hewison asserts (1996 p. 2), on behalf of those governed, that 'to have a cultural policy means having a vision that encompasses ideas, images, values, that encompasses both artists and audiences and which has a long-term goal of improving opportunities for creativity, and of giving as much access as possible to the production of that creativity.'¹² But no policy is possible without the structures to deliver it, and the money to make things happen.'

In regions where power is exerted without fairly extensive *civic institutions* and *documentation*, policy implementation in the western sense is not possible. In some countries such a relationship between people with power and those subject to them may be considered a luxury – or an irrelevance. This does not, however, immediately imply that chaos rules cultural manifestations there. People living in an oral culture were always able to discuss plans, make decisions and get things done, although their procedures, reasons and values might be veiled from outsiders by the use of indigenous languages and apparently esoteric behaviour. Within such a context, culture is unlikely to be conceived as predominantly aesthetic or as a 'leisure' activity. And herein lies another difference between the African and European cultural paradigms.

Anthropologists following the functionalist view of culture recognise it is 'essentially an instrumental apparatus by which man is put in a position the better to cope with the

¹² Recognition of UNESCO's role in establishing these norms is still not often acknowledged in Britain.

concrete specific problems that face him in his environment in the course of the satisfaction of his needs. It is a system of objects, activities, and attitudes in which every part exists as a means to an end' (Malinowski 1961, p. 150). Swidler (1986) takes an extreme position when she dismisses the conceptualisation of culture as providing ultimate values, and argues that culture is causal, since it influences life 'by shaping a repertoire or 'tool kit' of habits, skills and styles from which people construct 'strategies of action'. An alternative perspective places the study of culture in 'the province of the humanities, whose aim is to interpret and transmit to future generations the system of values in terms of which participants in a form of life find meaning and purpose' (Jaegwon Kim, in Hondreich 1995, p. 172). Kim argues that, in either of its senses, culture may be thought of as a causal agent that affects the evolutionary process by uniquely human means, for it permits the self-conscious evaluation of human capabilities in the light of a system of values that reflect prevailing ideals about what human life ought to be. 'Culture is thus an indispensable device for increasing human control over the direction in which our species changes.' Although it sounds odd to speak of the complexity of culture as 'a device', he presents it as another 'tool-kit' that moves theory towards 'culture as mechanisms of social change through human agency and intentionality', a description that is consistent with memetic theory. Any analytical conceptualisation of culture is initially much affected by whether the analyst is positioned inside or outside the culture under investigation. But this would presuppose the existence of cultural boundaries, hence a multiplicity of cultures, which in turn implies variation and the possibility, indeed the necessity, of cultural mixing, competition and selection. Mudimbe explains how, in his fragmented Africa, this results in *métissage*:

... living, acting and believing in the world in which there is always history -- and there are already other people preceding me -- whatever I do... I accomplish it in relation to others.... in a world where I am not alone: *métis*, because of my very identity, which can only be a continuous project towards a transcendence; *métis*, also, by being there and evolving in a space already circumscribed and colonised by others' history. (op. cit. 1997, p. 199)

Choosing to explore such a varied but relatively untheorised field of study as cultural policy studies, this research takes what Alasuutari (1999) has called 'a constructionist angle based on the theory that descriptions and definitions of a given object (especially such an abstract object as 'cultural studies') will in themselves serve to transform and

shape that object.’ Although ‘cultural policy studies’ may seem more concrete, to see this field principally as a study of management of resources is to neglect the importance of the language used by practitioners in the field, expressing their growing experience and recognition of values, methods and effects of their work. These linguistic and social constructions are the subject matter of the empirical part these case studies, and should contribute to a less Eurocentric academic field.

Cultural Identity

Myths about ascribed and achieved status – involving relations ranging between fear, friction, tolerance and respect – develop in arenas of cultural contact (Figure 1, p. 18). The thesis develops accounts of influences that were operating on identity myths and newly constructed identities in terms of ‘endogenous discourses’ which derive entirely from within a culture as it is lived by the people at a particular time and place, and ‘exogenous discourses’ (Figure 2) which derive from foreign experience imported into the arena of study by visitors, or by residents returning home from their travels, or via mass media communications. The liminal status of the exogenous culture – imported memes – during the colonial period must be recognised but its importance should not be exaggerated, since acculturation (particularly in urban and suburban locations) and administration (Figure 3) produced new identities and behaviours specific to ‘Rhodesia’. This thesis is not about colonialism but about the revolutionary discourse and social action that replaced it. I suggest that the endogenous organisational frameworks that cultural workers were constructing shortly after Independence, and within which they proceeded to manage their creative cultural production, were locally effective but, being based in oracy not literacy, were different from documented policies that were being formulated at different levels in response to demands of ‘globalising’ influences. These exogenous influences demanded the writing, usually in English, of regulatory documents such as project proposals, group constitutions and national legislation. Not surprisingly, therefore, they often frustrated or distorted the creative development of cultural practitioners rather than helping them as ostensibly intended.

Figure 1 Discourses about Identity - Others in the *espace métisse*

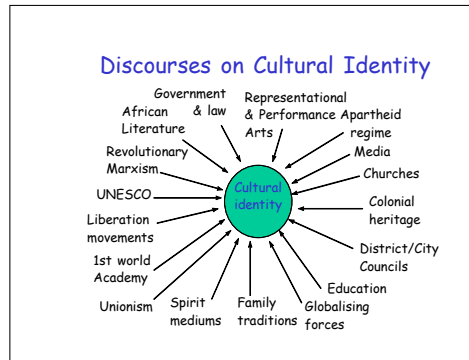


Figure 2 Exogenous influences

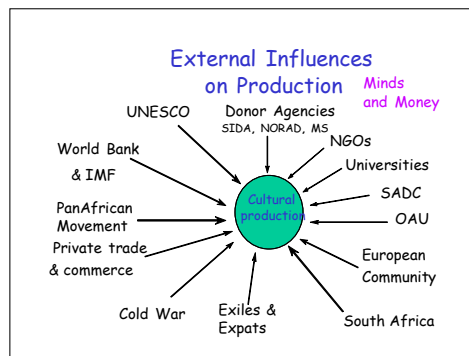


Figure 3 Endogenous administrative players



One reason for producing a National Cultural Policy, as advocated by UNESCO, would be to assist in the creation, definition or reinforcement of an authentic national identity - one that 'does not retreat into anonymity' (Heidegger 1929 in Jary and Jary 1995). It could also assist post-colonial politicians and administrators in selecting priorities for development, while in international fora it could help to determine new types of relationships. In particular, it will define the characteristics of the new national identity in comparison with former colonially-determined identities, whose obsolescence and mythical qualities might not otherwise be adequately recognised by outsiders. Zimbabwe's new nationalism had emerged from a successful liberation struggle but this was not a homogeneous influence: each individual had been exposed to a variety of other influences, which had contributed to their personal sense of identity.

After many encounters with the white Rhodesian settlers' identity and its apparently fossilised attitudes, it was hypothesised for this study that documents and visual images from the 19th century would retain memes about the origins of Rhodesian characteristics and it seemed most useful to examine power relations between the African and European peoples *before* Rhodes's pioneer column occupied Matabeleland. White men then were subject to the rule of the king; they had to negotiate, coax, take risks, give gifts and create their own informal networks of information and influence because, as relatively isolated individuals, they had little institutional power. Such memes would be revealed by revisiting these sources as evidence of former inter-cultural interaction, thus contributing to an understanding of cultural evolution in this arena (see Chapter 4).

UNESCO

UNESCO was initially concerned with culture as a human right – based on an underlying assumption of its vital role in nation-building and identity – and still continues to advocate the use of cultural policies in the administration of both developed and developing countries. Eliot (1948, p. 14) reveals how his concepts of culture as western civilisation are being challenged by the emergence of international constructions of culture with a global political dimension. Condescendingly he claims that the use of 'culture' in August 1945, in the text of the draft constitution [*sic*] for a 'United Nations Educational

Scientific and Cultural Organisation'¹³ is 'only one of innumerable instances of the misuse of a word which nobody bothers to examine'; he particularly deplores usages by politicians where the meaning is, he thinks, uncertain or figurative. 'In general [...] these represent either a kind of synecdoche, when the speaker has in mind one of the elements or evidences of culture, such as 'art'; or a kind of emotional stimulant – or anaesthetic.' The first of these usages Eliot sees as unnecessary, the second as contemptible. He concedes ironically that 'the pursuit of politics is incompatible with a strict attention to exact meanings on all occasions', and urges his readers 'not to deride' the Prime Minister, Mr Attlee, or the Minister of Education for their contributions to the debate because of the experience of war. (*Times Educational Supplement* 3 Nov. 1945, p. 522)

Lastly, we have culture. Some may argue that all the creative workers in the humanities and the arts cannot be organised either nationally or internationally. The artist, it has been said, works to please himself. But those of us who remember the struggle... know how much the fight against Fascism depended upon the determination of writers and artists to keep their international contacts that they might reach across the rapidly rising frontier barriers. (Eliot op. cit. p. 15)

For thus we slip into the assumption that culture can be planned. Culture can never be wholly conscious – there is always more to it than we are conscious of; and it cannot be planned because it is also the unconscious background of all our planning. (ibid. p. 94)

His final point cannot be refuted for it insists upon a mystery, an unknown motivation. But in denying – twice – the possibility of *planning* culture and *organising* cultural workers Eliot shows intimations of a meta-theory of cultural policy!

Whereas the new wave of British immigrants to Rhodesia after the second World War upheld views like Eliot's as the inflexible metropolitan standard until Independence, UNESCO's advisory and consultation documents produced an enabling paradigm especially helpful to post-colonial governments who, seeking non-aligned mentors, often found the organisation's inclusive mode less intimidating than expert consultants from the West. One of the most important for Zimbabwe's Ministers of Culture and activists was

¹³ Article I. 1) To develop and maintain mutual understanding and appreciation of the life and culture, the arts, the humanities, and the sciences of the peoples of the world, as the basis for effective international organisation and world peace. 2) To co-operate in extending and in making available to all peoples for the service of common human needs the world's full body of knowledge and culture, and in assuring its contribution to the economic stability, political security and general well-being of the peoples of the world (cited by Eliot 1948, p. 14).

'Recommendations concerning the status of Artists' from Belgrade 1980. For example, unlike the British approach to arts policy and administration, it offers a 'representative democratic' perspective on cultural policy when it urges:

Member States should endeavour ... to take appropriate measures to have the opinions of artists and the professional and trade union organisations representing them ... taken carefully into account in the formulation and execution of their cultural policies... (s. VII, UNESCO, 1980)

These attitudes continued to inform ideological discussions about Zimbabwe's cultural development during the World Decade for Culture and Development 1987-96. This discourse was, however, mediated through several administrative levels of bureaucrats and so grassroots cultural workers, especially outside the capital city, were hardly aware of the 'critical' thinking existing in those policy discourses and for some time tended to remain 'naïve' in Freire's (1972) terms. Those working in community drama had access to liberatory ideas and methods through the Zimbabwe Association for Community Theatre, and those who had been active in the liberation struggle had a utopian vision but often lacked effective processes to realise it.

Faith in man is an a priori requirement for dialogue; the 'dialogical man' believes in other men even before he meets them face to face. His faith, however, is not naïve. The 'dialogical man' is critical and knows that, although it is within the power of men to create and transform, in a concrete situation of alienation men may be impaired in the use of that power. Far from destroying his faith in man, however, this possibility strikes him as a challenge to which he must respond. He is convinced that the power to create and transform, even when thwarted ... tends to be reborn. (ibid. p. 63)

Freire derives his ideas of the contrast between naïve and critical thinking from Pierre Furter (1966) 'The universe is revealed to me not as space imposing a massive presence to which I can only adapt, but as a scope, a domain which takes shape as I act upon it ' (quoted in translation by Freire 1972, p. 65). This enabling vision appealed particularly to those who would become educators in the new Zimbabwe.

Theoretical development

In theorising the policy context of my research my starting point has been the hypothesis that, during this transitional period, the processes at work in creative cultural production were an expression of the adaptive initiatives of social actors operating at grassroots level, who constructed their own 'policies' as they saw the need.

Cultural workers developed institutions, learned from experience and reformulated their rules when contingencies so demanded. Some modified their modes of production through experimentation with traditional elements of performance, others by the appropriation of more or less carefully selected colonial elements. Where, as often happened, the elements were paradigmatically different the creative process was highly experimental. In any such case, young practitioners risked strong disapproval and criticism from the older custodians of those root cultures. An example of this deep cultural difference is seen in attitudes to 'creativity'. British-Rhodesian tradition prioritised it as a special quality of gifted individual creators, a 19th century Romantic ideology derived from models of ancient Greek civilisation (Bernal 1997, Chaplin 1996). For Zimbabwean mbira musicians and praise poets, their performance comes through an intense personal experience of ancestral intervention, (Elizabeth Ncube 1986; Chartwell Dutiro 1998; Stella Chiweshe 2008) while for township musicians their creative process is perceived to be only possible by working together as a group.¹⁴ These interactions altered the balance between African and European cultural discourses in the arts, bringing indigenous practices and values closer to the centre and pushing colonial 'enlightenment' to the periphery.

Policy as practice

In looking for the origins of 'cultural policies' in Zimbabwe in a period of transition to literacy, three aspects of praxis are found to be distinct enough to merit naming and defining – as documented, proto- and tacit policies – and without them the intentions of cultural workers may remain unrecognised. This argument ultimately contests the changing of lived experience (culturalism) into textuality (structuralism) and has potential to subvert neo-colonial patterns of power because it takes a positive view of the strategies of *les analphabetes*¹⁵ who, though often characterised as powerless and lacking

¹⁴ At the start of the Isavutha Kwela Revival Project, a leading member said emphatically that it was not possible to create new tunes, it had all been done already, and all they did was decorate them. When, later, they recorded some singles with 'original' themes, they insisted on naming two or three composers for each number, thereby confusing the rules of copyright (administered by ZIMRA on the British model) to their own disadvantage.

¹⁵ Taylor, Paul V. (1993, p. 136.) The use of the English 'illiterate' to describe people in oral culture may indeed be a form of intellectual colonisation. In French and Spanish one can speak of those non-literates who have had no direct exposure to literacy, whose discourse and patterns of communication are founded in modes of orality: these are '*les analphabetes, los analphetos*' who have *never* been 'alphabeticized'.

refinement, fought to realise their vision of autonomous nationhood and now have undertaken 'the truly revolutionary project in which the people assume the role of subject in the precarious adventure of transforming and recreating the world'. (Freire 1972)

CHAPTER TWO

Theoretical basis, methods and materials

Messages from the past exist, are real, and yet not continuously accessible to the senses. For fleeting moments they can be heard, but most of the time they dwell only in the minds of people. *Jan Vansina.*

Introduction

The work began with a number of case studies from which the dissertation has been constructed with the incorporation of insights discovered in cross-case reviews. In attempting to situate this research in the western academy many disciplines have been illuminating, including ethnography, linguistics, visual sociology, and cultural theory. I have found, however, that academic literature in more applied fields such as international relations, policy implementation, political analysis, and development published before 1995 is frequently difficult to apply to Africa because of seriously biased assumptions framed by colonialism and the cold war. The issue of misrepresentation and partiality in academic representations must be addressed in an age when the grand narrative of progress from barbarism to civilisation has given way to more local accounts and historicity.

Cultural difference

Change can be treated as phenomenological, a daily individual experience of all people from the traumatic moment of their birth. Its significance originates in the neurological mechanism by which the sense organs of vertebrate animals quickly adapt to a steady stimulus such as the position an object, the pitch of a note, or the temperature of the skin that can then be safely ignored; but receptor cells remain highly sensitive to any change in the stimulus because staying alive depends on detecting changes that may mark either imminent danger or improved security, particularly in stimuli associated with food and predators. In the more complex social world of human beings, individual minds have an imaginative, predictive foresight, so that change (even if perceived below the conscious threshold) remains potentially threatening but can also presage satisfaction. Thus change from the norms of childhood is, on the one hand, often associated with a sense of lost

security in later life while, on the other hand re-birth is used as a metaphor for major beneficial changes (usually of a religious or spiritual nature) in individual lives. That metaphor is extended to spaces or communities in the notion of 'regeneration' in contemporary cultural planning where a city is characterised as a living organism.

At cultural boundaries encounters between strangers lead to surprised recognition of cultural difference: some feel threatened, others find this meeting with Otherness stimulating. Undoubtedly, as strangers adapt to continuing contact with each other, there are elements of unplanned copying of successful behaviours. Any theory of cultural change needs eventually to connect the individual with the social and recognise the importance of mimicry in survival.¹⁶ The production of documented national cultural policies is the end result of many such encounters.

The existence of early cultural strategies in Matabeleland can be inferred from the reported behaviour of the kings Mzilikazi and Lobengula.¹⁷ It was never written down as a policy, but was tacit knowledge (Polanyi 1962, 1967) among the Ndebele people, whose oral culture included obedience to the will of the ruler.

In the king's person, culture, religion and politics were inseparable... The king is the first citizen of the state and, ipso facto, the closest to God; during Ukuchisa he must be the first to partake of the new crops before anyone else (Nyathi 2001, p. 43).

The same power and obligations were, in my view, generalised to the testing of any new cultural memes as well as agricultural produce.¹⁸ It can be argued that the principle was protective – that exogenous influences (theorised here as memes) must first be experienced and tested by the king himself and only he could authorise their dissemination among his subjects. Full plate illustrations in Thomas (1873) (images that can be interpreted as inanimate retention systems containing memes – information - concerning power relations) provide visual evidence of Lobengula's freedom to test foreign notions. In Figure 2-1 the king's legs bear traditional Ndebele ceremonial decoration of white

¹⁶ Mimesis has many meanings with significance in aesthetics or imitation but not as yet in memetics; its perceptions, I suggest, have significance for cultural theory: 'While modern rational thought refers to the single isolated cognitive subject, mimesis is always concerned with a relational network of more than one person; the mimetic production of a symbolic world refers to other worlds and to their creators and draws other persons into one's own world' (Gebauer and Wulf 1992, p. 3).

¹⁷ Among the most reliable sources are Thomas (1873) and Rasmussen (1978). Thomas recognised Lobengula's rationality where many settlers reported capritiousness and barbarism.

pigment while he is smoking a (probably) German pipe. Godby (2002) thinks that in early South African photographs the wearing of European dress was an indicator of Christian identity but that is not so here where only one convert was baptised before the Occupation (Goodall 1954). In wearing the European shirt and the hat the king is adopting gendered signifiers of status that demand respect from the white settlers sitting as guests below him, even though in their journals they mock the dirtiness of his attire. He wins the last laugh by taking partial possession of their habitus, performing a burlesque role in their costume while reaffirming his symbolic power in every other aspect. (Bourdieu 1992)



Figure 2-1 King Ulobengula oversees the spearing of the bulls
Woodcut (1872) by publisher's artist, full page plate

From the original water colour sketch (Baines 1870b) by Thomas Baines, FRGS¹⁹

It is fair to say that the prescient comment published by the British Association for the Advancement of Science (1874, p. iv) was still apt a century later – anthropologists' methods had changed less than had the norms of behaviour of their subjects of study:

Travellers have usually recorded only those customs of modern savages which they have chanced to observe and as a rule, they have observed chiefly those which their experience of civilised institutions has led them to look for. The information thus obtained has been lamentably distorted in order to render it in harmony with preconceived ideas; ...false theories are often built upon imperfect bases of induction... The rapid extermination of savages at the present time and the rapidity with which they are being reduced to the standard of European manners renders it of urgent importance to correct these sources of errors as soon as possible.

¹⁸ Agricultural and social meanings of 'cultivation' and 'culture' are implicitly linked here, as in Europe.

¹⁹ The artist includes himself in the image to validate the observations by asserting 'I was there!' and notes the names of the guests as Mrs Thompson, Mr Thompson, Mr Lee and his boys..

This advice from the metropolis connected field workers at great distances with the new discipline of Anthropology that could have been compromised by researchers adapting to difficult local conditions. These *Notes* indicate the professional standards of the time only three years after Tylor (1871) published *Primitive Culture*. The scientific paradigm embodied in institutions such as the BAAS and the Royal Geographic Society, structured the early collection of information about similarities and diversities of mankind, but its grounding in universalising assumptions hindered interpretation of the values and cognitive aspects of the subjects' lives. Ruth Benedict (1934) also recognises bias: 'This world-wide cultural diffusion has protected us ... from having to take seriously the cultures of other peoples. It has given to our culture a massive universality that we read as necessary and inevitable.' Much the same can be said of missionaries in a Christian paradigm. Mudimbe (1988, p. 67) discusses the disparate interpretations of Africa by Christian missionaries and anthropologists in terms of interaction between African gnosis and European academic disciplines. He emphasises that their accounts witness to the same *episteme*, explicitly discussing European processes of domesticating Africa, but both discourses are identified with European intellectual signs and not with African cultures.' However, he defends the missionaries' discourse because their writings include plenty of objective evidence that their existential understanding comes from spending most of their lives with Africans, unlike most anthropologists' brief visits. The anthropologist is not bilingual so 'his intellectual construction may well be just a questionable invention' (ibid. p. 65).

Thomas's book (1873) remains the best contemporaneous account of AmaNdebele culture in pre-colonial Matabeleland, with chapters on language, literature, superstitions, law and customs, and government. His enjoyment of Welsh culture enables him to appreciate that of the AmaNdebele – recognising parallel institutions and practices with unusual respect and without the 'lamentable distortion' he deplored in much writing of the period. Being an excellent linguist (he could preach in five languages) Thomas gives examples of how difficulties and disagreements between foreigners and chiefs arise from verbal misunderstandings.²⁰ Early information about translation in Matabeleland is found in Celt

²⁰ Thomas admired Livingstone, who had cut himself off from Europeans for six months in order to 'obtain an accurate knowledge of the language of the Bakwains' (Livingstone 1857, p. 1) and explained

Thomas's unpublished biography of his father, summarised in 1950 from family anecdotes and his father's book:

They [the missionaries at Inyathi] had some books in Zulu, which was originally the same as siNdebele. Unwritten languages alter considerably in that time, so the Zulu textbooks were only a makeshift. At first all addresses were delivered in Sichuan and translated sentence by sentence by an interpreter. This was by no means a satisfactory method as the interpreters themselves were simple heathens and quite incapable of addressing the exact meanings of the ideas intended by the preachers. The king himself was quite conversant with Sechuana and often put in a word to assist or correct the interpreter' (Celt Thomas 1950, unpublished; quoting from Thomas 1873, pp. 311-3).

This passage provides evidence (my emphasis) that Mzilikazi could speak at least one other language in addition to siNdebele. One of the great mysteries about him and Lobengula is why they apparently both resisted the learning of English. Probably they understood more of what they heard than they allowed people to know, but much of their eventual dynastic failure must be attributed to their willingness to trust unreliable translators in negotiating and producing written documents.²¹

Cultural diplomacy

Valerie Hudson (1997, p. 1) has drawn attention to the extreme political bias of foreign policy research during the Cold War: 'the constraints of the bipolar rivalry dwarfed, in a large part, the domestic idiosyncrasies of nations.' She welcomes 'the appearance of a small interface between culture research and foreign policy research....that may improve upon or replace standard behaviouralist techniques.'

A fascinating example of that rivalry and contingent bias from the early years of the Cold War (when Southern Africa had some importance to both sides as a source of mineral resources) is Barghoorn (1960) an American who defines 'cultural diplomacy' as 'the manipulation of cultural materials and personnel for propaganda purposes'. He likens Soviet citizens to parrots (ibid. p. 13) and derides the purpose of their cultural diplomacy in befriending under-developed countries while conceding that even when the USSR was poor and weak its rulers made effective use of 'guided cultural contact'. 'Judged by liberal

the 'real meaning' of what Africans were saying to Europeans who, having confused the spoken words for 'wander', 'water', and 'to be pleased' in Setswana, regarded their guide as an imbecile. (ibid p. 48-9). Okot p'Bitek (1970, p. 62) recounts how misunderstandings of the more abstract but central concept of 'creation' arose between Acholi elders and Italian Catholic priests using the Luo language.

standards of cultural freedom, their program seems a perversion of good means for dubious ends' (ibid. p. 336). Aware that the USA had few foreign experts compared with the USSR²² Barghoorn somewhat anxiously advises America to expand academic institutions for foreign area research and training programs in the languages, politics and cultures of the underdeveloped nations. The development of Soviet Oriental and African studies in the 1950s had shifted their emphasis to contemporary political problems. Local informants from the target countries were employed and conferences of specialists were held; in 1958 there were four periodicals in the field of Oriental studies, and 109 titles were scheduled for early publication by the State Publishing House (ibid. p. 188). Just after Zimbabwe's independence a visiting professor from Moscow University (Davidson 1984) reconstructed the myths of Rhodes' life to provide an alternative post-colonial critique using an extensive range of scholarly sources including some rarities such as pre-revolutionary Russian sources as well as reinterpreting more familiar colonial documents. In a similar mood the Zimbabwe government, well aware of US interests in the material and strategic resources of the region, only allowed Americans to enter the country during the first decade in exceptional circumstances.

In the sixties America, the UK and other European countries invested their efforts into exporting and prescribing their own best practice in education, cultural artefacts, technology, agriculture, and so on, rather than learning how other nations saw themselves, and what solutions they were trying to find to their problems. American development researchers took up the older term '**cultural diffusion**', enquiring why it took so long for new ideas in agriculture and education to be accepted in developing areas. Rogers (1962, p. 57) defines diffusion as 'the process by which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time among members of a social system'. This concept was neither explained nor operationalised, beyond familiar terms of education and training, but is much used in development studies. 'Innovations' (the imported ideas) are contrasted with local 'norms' but beyond informal observations of frequency and novelty there is no attempt to theorise domestic social constructions in the recipient culture or measure

²¹ A notorious example is the Rudd Concession used by Rhodes to steal the land that became Rhodesia.

²² For example, in the language and history of Iran Russia had scores of specialists in four major centres and dozens of graduate students, while America had only three individual scholars and a handful of students working in the area. (Barghoorn 1960)

possible cognitive and affective differences between the indigenous people and exogenous development workers. Her neo-colonising paradigm ensures that a negative view of the Other's habitus supervenes: 'a system's norms can be a barrier to change' (ibid. p. 57) and so in her view they should be replaced. It seems she has little regard for their tacit knowledge. Rogers et. al. (1994) still see no need to offer any critique of the 'diffusion' metaphor which is in my view scientifically invalid and an inappropriate figure for complex cognitive, behavioural and cultural phenomena.²³ One might argue that, if Rogers's 'innovation' is taken to be a unit of information or meme, and her 'channels' as human brains, her 'diffusion' theory resembles memetic theory but lacks its theoretical potential.

Norbert Elias chooses the term 'cultural fusion', another unsatisfactory metaphor, in his exhaustive exposition of a superior, class-based, universalising Western 'civilisation'. He does, however, imply that memes (that he calls 'standards') from different sources might interact, 'fusing to form new unique entities, new varieties of civilised conduct. As contrasts in conduct between upper and lower classes are reduced, the varieties or nuances of civilised conduct are increased' (Elias 1982, p. 463). Many Rhodesians would have agreed with him because he prioritises 'standards' but, illuminating though his analyses may have been before independence, and allowing that he imagines new varieties of civilised conduct, he fuels a culture-bound hypothesis that is strangely untouched by emerging postcolonial theory (Said 1979, 1993; Webner and Ranger 1996; Bhabha 1994).

A related concept that gained popular status in the developed world was '**culture shock**' (Bock 1970; Toffler 1970), a name for the confusion commonly experienced by people working away from home and finding themselves unable to make sense of the behaviour of others, or to predict what they will say or do. Culture was negatively conceptualised as 'what makes you a stranger when you are away from home.' (Bock 1970, p. x). The British had long-established protocols for preparing recruits to the colonial service and

²³ Benedict's 1934 usage (see p. 27) of 'cultural diffusion' was acceptable in an untheorised discourse used by non-scientists in the early decades of the 20th century. However, since then influential theories around the 'diffusion of innovations' in development studies are based on false analogies between cultural innovations spreading unpredictably through social groups of *sentient* beings, and the process by which material particles using their kinetic energy move through spaces between the *inert* molecules of a gaseous, solid or liquid medium until equally dispersed, when no concentration gradient remains.

supporting newcomers, and these strategies needed (or rather, received) only slight modernisation when the ideology changed. In the USA, however, this new perception was quickly commodified, with extensive provision of preliminary training in the USA or in the field designed to prepare adventurous young workers to cope with the isolation they were expected to feel. The west was beginning tentatively to be aware that their own habitus constituted a culture that was not (as yet) universal but had implications for diplomacy and development.

Policies in development

At UNESCO's Lagos Conference (1964) it was noted that African countries were handicapped by the absence of adequate national science policies that was linked to a general lack of national machinery for policy production. The Yaounde Symposium (1967) reported encouragingly that many nations had now started working towards the production of policies for science and research administration (UNESCO 1974b, p. 85, para. 16, 17). During the 1970s, however, UNESCO recognised many challenges to establishing scientific and technological innovation and turned for solutions to the concept of culture that had been enshrined in the Constitution in 1948 and elaborated at the first Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies at Venice (1970). Report No 31 on National Science Policies in Africa notes that 'the cultural sequels of colonisation included the splitting asunder of indigenous linguistic and cultural entities' and that 'the phenomenon of cultural penetration was more pervasive in the science and technology context than in any other since it is mainly controlled by the élite'. Progress in development is now seen to need cultural integration through the definition of national cultural policies and their close co-ordination with educational, scientific and technological policies (UNESCO 1974a, p. 24, para. 92-94). Consultation with local experts (23 from Africa and 38 international) identifies 25 technical, economic and socio-cultural 'barriers to science policy implementation' in Africa (ibid. p. 138, Table II). Socio-cultural barriers included: 'lack of basic education of the masses, illiteracy, and lack of public awareness of possible benefits'. However, another level of difficulty was noted – taboos and mores exist that resist change, producing a condition that the writers of the report termed '**cultural inertia**' (ibid. p. 138-9). . In sum, the foreseeable barriers are

described as universal and deep-seated obstacles, and are mainly attributed to lack of knowledge and technology. The report also noted 'an awareness that human progress does not necessarily result from improvement of technologies': in other words, maybe, the target population were thinking for themselves and significant numbers were evidently not convinced by the arguments they had heard. Proposals that would produce *unimaginable* change were particularly unwelcome. A memetic analysis rather than a diffusionist perspective could consider the agency of recipients more seriously by suggesting that if related memes were previously retained – where new ideas or technology had been introduced in stages and discussed – further innovations might be more readily retained. As a result of development in science and technology UNESCO's conceptualisation of culture became significantly more inclusive.²⁴

However, as economic liberalism became the driving force behind donor-funded development, a global management culture was primarily concerned with the 'success' or 'failure' of policy implementation by the beneficiaries. Liberal management experts (Mitroff & Emshoff, 1979) writing for early 'global' audiences tried with heavy tact to blame not people but problems that were described as 'ill-structured, ill-defined, messy, where people were unable to agree on the solution, or on the strategies by which a solution might be found or even on what the problem is.' They suggest the need for a different methodology from what is used in what they judge to be 'well-structured problems'. Much of the academic world offered similar judgements that seemed to endorse neo-colonial power relations rather than critically interrogate them. One English professor who undertook a brief consultancy to deliver management training to administrators in an unnamed African country entitled his resulting paper '*Training for Public Sector Management: A study in non-implementation.*' (A. Livingstone 1990). He seems to have been oblivious of the fact that the African administrators he was supposed to be training

²⁴ 'The concept of a comprehensive cultural policy integrated with the country's overall development plan and/or strategy is of *fairly recent origin*. It is opposed to and replaces the notion of 'cultural affairs', which is limited almost exclusively to art, and which usually represents a series of sectoral activities of marginal value for major national functions. Nowadays, the more significant concept defines cultural policy as the sum of efforts mobilising the most profound aspirations of the nation in order to improve the quality of life. Any truly cultural policy will be pluralistic in principle as well as in its various practical fields of activity. Culture in these terms is no longer exclusively limited to art but is also applicable to other forms of invention such as pure science, sports, handicraft, and industrial arts, and the conservation of nature.' (UNESCO 1979a p.21 para. 7b).

were already competent to evaluate the consultant's performance. A similar understanding was present in a group of experienced Zimbabwean development workers attending a British Council course in Bulawayo 1995 on how to set up a company. When asked why they had not followed up a question that the trainer had answered ineffectually one participant smiled ironically: "Oh, she doesn't like being disagreed with, so... we don't disagree!" It was clear that she had not seen a copy of the Zimbabwean Companies Act yet several participants (who *had* read it) had been hoping for detailed guidance on how to facilitate the process not for themselves but for the people they were working with, such as refugees, women's groups and traders at rural growth points.

Theorising cultural change

Having worked at grassroots level in Bulawayo 1984-96 with many pioneering groups my intention is to ask what was really driving cultural production in that period of massive social change. This thesis hypothesises (as I did even when working there, before researching the situation) that applying external criteria of success and failure hides the fact that the cultural workers concerned were trying primarily to implement their own *different policies*, in their own context, with their own criteria of success as well as – or instead of – those being advocated and evaluated by outsiders. Their interest in taking democratic control of their cultural production has much in common with the dynamic of participatory community-based arts projects in Britain.

It is unethical to seek to produce change without the informed consent of those involved. The needs and aspirations of individuals or communities are best identified by them, often in partnership with others, such as local authorities, public agencies and arts bodies. Partnership requires the agreement of common objectives and commitments. [...] Those who have identified a goal are best placed to ascertain when it has been met (Matarasso 1996, p. 24).

Although in Zimbabwe the social meaning of traditional cultural practice was differently understood, and resources were very limited, and institutions were not generally reliable, the wish of participants to be involved in decision-making processes was paramount in planning any project. Matarasso's understanding of the ethical dimension of that dynamic expresses the position favoured by most funding agencies in Zimbabwe, and is consistent with the Freirian principles that informed much revolutionary social action. Obtaining

informed consent from participants was normal practice in our workshop projects on group management (1995) and kwela music (1991) funded by Danish and Swedish NGOs.

A theoretical framework will be constructed²⁵ in terms of tacit policies, proto-policies and documented policies to analyse **adaptive processes of change** that cultural workers devised in trying to implement plans and policies. Since most of the resource materials can be regarded as texts, a variety of methods derived from linguistics and discourse analysis will be used; where their content concerns cultural change, memetic theory is preferred to mis-applied and untheorised metaphors like ‘diffusion of innovation’; the present work does not presume to advance mimetic theory, but accepts it as a useful tool and scientifically preferable.

Since the research is multi-disciplinary and follows advocates of pragmatism (Rorty 1991; Tashakorri and Teddlie 1998) **memetic theory** is regarded as a useful tool in interpreting the dynamics of cultural change as represented in the primary and secondary resource materials. In order to understand the interaction of endogenous and exogenous influences in the ecology of the changing cultural environment of Bulawayo it is proposed that documents, images and artefacts can be treated as verbal and visual texts and theorised as meme retention systems (Speel 1997). At present cultural studies, politics and even anthropology generally avoid developing modern scientific theories about the mechanism of cultural change in ways that might improve on the general axioms of functionalism that Malinowsky (1961, p. 150) used to theorise the nature of cultural phenomena.²⁶ He imagines that – for a ‘pre-cultural’ individual with drives – tools, weapons, shelters, courtship behaviours, and so on could be discovered, invented and transformed into individual habits. As an example of a scientific theory embodied in traditional pragmatic performance, he describes the transmission of fire-making:

...it was kept alive not in books nor yet in explicit physical theories. But it implied two pedagogical and theoretical elements. First ... it was embodied in the manual

²⁵ Dorothy Smith (1987 p. 60). The perspective of white western disciplines cannot be confronted with a personal source of experience because that is stepping outside the discipline – we begin from outside ourselves to locate problematics organised by the disciplines’ discourse.

²⁶ Malinowsky (1961, p. 214) quotes ‘the crude, somewhat superficial definition by the diffusionists’ - the concept of cultural diffusion as ‘the conveyance of a cultural reality from one culture to another; it is not an act but a process closely akin in its working to any evolutionary process.’ He notes that ‘the new institution, whether invented or merely copied produces the same historical i.e. evolutionary effects’. It could be argued that his word *reality* signifies the same as ‘meme’.

skills of each generation, which, by example and precept, were handed over to the new growing members. Secondly whether the primitive symbolism was accomplished by verbal statement, by significant gesture, or by substantial performance, such as instructions where to find and how to store the materials and produce the forms, such symbolism must have been at work (ibid. p. 9).

Such skills and symbolism encode information and are copied by one person from another in this process; they therefore provide instances of memes. The term 'meme' is a neologism invented by Dawkins (1975, p. 192) to name the idea of a *unit of cultural transmission, or of imitation* and so wisely avoids metaphorical approximations and irrelevant connotations. Theories are developing in several disciplines (Aunger 2002; Blackmore 1999, 2002; Dennet 1995). This thesis adopts the general usage explained by Susan Blackmore:

In the evolutionary process of human culture, memes are the information that is copied and we humans are the copying machinery. [...] We are not 'passive'. Indeed our intelligence, capacity for making choices, and active social life are all part of the copying environment in which memes compete – and they really do compete – this is not a metaphor (Blackmore, 2002, p. 69-71).

Speel's view offers a memetic framework for the analysis of policy making, where draft descriptions of actions are treated as memes; people endorsing them in discussion compete to get these action proposals into policy plans. He sees four 'levels of retention' in the status a meme can have in a retention system: theorising these levels allows recognition that mental processes such as reasoning, deliberation, choice, and irrational feelings may act selectively upon specific memes over time in the process of competition or 's-interaction' either in the internal arena of one person's brain or in the external arena of a social group. Important for this thesis is the perception that where cultures meet, the theory allows us to explore cognitive processes in colonisation, identifying steps leading to observable behavioural change.

Translation

The determination of concepts is different in every language. Levi Strauss (1962, p. 2) admits the anthropological view that the use of many or few abstract terms is not a function of greater or lesser intellectual capacity but of differences in the interests of particular social groups within the notional society. The technology, religion, psycho-sociology, and so on which have organised their concept formation are not necessarily equivalent, so neither should their sign systems be expected to be so. At linguistic

boundaries, therefore, translators have considerable manipulative power. On behalf of others they must find useful language structures and reliable meanings to enable speakers and listeners to communicate (Chesterman 1997, p. 39). In doing so, they need to devise interpretive or pragmatic strategies for dealing with the partial or non-equivalence of terms (and of the memes they signify) in different languages, and to work in the context of either *langue, parole* (Saussure 1960), or *écriture* (Goody 1977) as required.²⁷

For the newcomer, such as Thomas or this writer, life in Matabeleland exemplifies what Mounce (1997, p. 193) describes as ‘the hermeneutic circle’: ‘in understanding a strange culture we cannot understand parts until we get some sense of the whole; nor get a sense of the whole until we have some understanding of the parts.’ But that understanding will never be complete. Vansina (1984, p. 109) argues that, in order for an outsider to reach a valid interpretation, the ideal would be to know the total sum of local interpretations, which vary from person to person but revolve around a common intellectual and emotional core – the ‘collective representation’. At best, he suggests, ‘we have hermeneutic exegesis by an insider’. Western translation theory can no longer insist on absolute and invariant meanings or significations of ‘equivalent words’. The translator²⁸ develops a facility in deconstructing the original linguistic structure and uses the *meanings* to build a *new structure*. It is frustrating that the influence of translators (and even their presence) is rarely mentioned in texts from the 19th and 20th centuries: there is an unwarranted assumption that they worked entirely honourably and effectively to produce reliable information though no trace remains to validate that belief, apart from subsequent events and *post hoc* reports. Hence trust is a major component of cross-cultural interactions and oral contracts. (Goody 1977, p. 144; Samkange 1968, p. 26-31). In the ordinary world people achieve ‘good enough’ understanding of one another’s speech without making claims to universal truth (Barker and Galasinski, 2001) and, unconcerned

²⁷ Goody (1977) argues that as language evolves the formalisation of writing flouts the flexibility of speech and that it does so in a manner that is both distorting and generative; that the shift from utterance to text led to significant developments of thought (even to a change in consciousness) which in part arose from the great extension of all operations of a graphic kind, shifting language from the aural to the visual domain. (p. 37).

²⁸ Chesterman (1997, p. 20) calls him/her *Homo transferens*.

by criticisms of glossing,²⁹ habitually make creative linguistic adjustments in order to communicate with each other.

Choice of academic discipline

The selection of Cultural Policy Studies rather than Cultural Studies rested first on personal recommendations of three potential of this approach for the development of effective cultural action internationally and reinforced my tangential knowledge of the difficulty of producing a national cultural policy document in Zimbabwe.

Our thinking about cultural policy development in Zimbabwe after Independence was grounded in the 1970s conceptualisations of 'culture' and 'cultural policy' in UNESCO though this was not made obvious in most public statements. An early reference comes in January 1987 when one of the key actors, Stephen Chifunyise, then Director of Arts and Crafts, was reported as saying that the most important role of the Ministry of Youth, Sport and Culture was: 'to define the cultural policy of Zimbabwe and to see to it that the nation's cultural development is guided by that policy' (SJC 1987, A69). At the same seminar Dr Emmanuel Ngara, Pro Vice-Chancellor of the University of Zimbabwe, gave a socialist perspective: 'Culture is directly related to the economic and social life of a people.' The Harare City Council had, he said, a role in promoting socialist culture and socialist consciousness through the study of socialism among employees. The following decade saw cultural policy in practice focussed on the needs of cultural workers: as Nomadlosi Kubheka, a festival organiser, said: 'I am not interested in Cultural Policy – unless it could ever help me to organise my work!' (Kubheka 1998, personal communication)

On returning to Britain in 1996 with a copy of *Our Creative Diversity*, the Report on the World Decade for Culture and Development, (1995) it seemed that, like other UNESCO publications on culture, it was regarded by academics as somewhat polemical and possibly marked by political compromise. Early UNESCO publications unquestionably had to be central to my thesis, however, since they provided models for good practice and gave a voice to many small, non-aligned nations. More recently the proceedings of the

²⁹ A deceptively simple form of translation that anticipates the parsing of the destination language in

Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development in 1998 and the resulting ‘Stockholm Action Plan’ were soon available on the internet. The action plan presented principles and policy objectives for national governments in cooperation with local and regional actors, and stressed the need for communicating ‘best theories and best practices’ and the need for basic and applied research in the field. Cultural Policy became a field combining elements of cultural theory, management theory, political change, and policy theory and achieved a European journal in 1995 which became International in 1998 on the initiative of the editor Oliver Bennett.

My early reading had pointed in the direction of Cultural Studies. Alasuutari (1995) suggests that this discipline has been formed from ‘corners of sociology, anthropology and literary criticism’, and thus can be said to be cross-disciplinary or even anti-disciplinary, but Policy is not referred to in his useful account of methodology in Cultural Studies. While Cultural Policy Studies has common ground with Cultural Studies in the assumption that ‘culture’ (however defined or understood) is significant in the life of every society and each of its individual members, the Cultural Policy approach does not yet have one distinctive method or perspective. It addresses a diversity of topics that differ in context, level and practice but broadly share a focus on cultural practice in order to explore how all aspects of culture are managed at every level – local, national, regional, continental and global. Rather than considering Cultural Policy to be a subdivision within Cultural Studies (like gender or ethnicity, for example) it can be regarded as a field of study functioning at a meta-level that reflects on the role and practice of any aspect of cultural production though probably with more concern for management and socio-political purposes than for aesthetics or semiotics. In 1970 one of the earliest UNESCO studies, *Cultural rights as human rights*, says: ‘In this context, ‘cultural policy’ is taken to mean a body of operational principles, administrative and budgetary practices and procedures which provide a basis for cultural action by the State’. After twenty-five years, however, and despite the proviso that ‘each State determines its own cultural policy according to the cultural values, aims and choices it sets for itself,’ a corollary has followed – that the very discourse of this new process of policy-development-with-

providing labels and explanations for terms in the starting text. (Fowler 1996, p. 333)

analysis creates boundaries, taxonomies and definitions of what culture is – a discourse by which it can be comprehensively represented and potentially controlled.

An intellectual alternative might lie in Culturology which was presented as a section in the Crossroads Cultural Conference 2000. Intriguing voices from Eastern Europe reflect a resistance to the apparent dominance of Cultural Studies. Their recent emergence from Soviet imperialism led to a turn in the discourse of culturology in which a sense of exploration and reconstruction resonated with my own post-colonial African experience.

The key problem here is the issue of self-identification in spatial categories. ...despite the growing process of globalisation, cultural studies – which has become the dominant mode of analysis in English-speaking countries – is not a universal discourse. There still exist some exotic or simply different ways of studying culture that do not confirm or easily match to the paradigm of cultural studies. In post-Soviet universities this space is occupied by 'culturology' (Ousmanova 2000).

According to an earlier source, Cheng Che-yu (1943, p. 1), 'culturology' is a coined term for a science of culture 'with the sense of a systematic study and comparison of the more advanced civilisations of the world. It encompasses all sciences, the arts, religion and philosophy and has potential to become a metascience.' The culture of backward or primitive people is excluded as 'uncivilised'; but 'pseudo-civilised' people who wage war as aggressors and destroy the priceless achievements of civilisation are far from the savage – their militarism may be called 'non-civilised culture'.³⁰ From another perspective Mikhail Epstein explains that Culturology in post-Stalinist Russia offered an alternative to Marxist and structuralist theories of society. In this discipline

Culture embraces various kinds of cognitive and creative activity, including politics, economics, science, the arts, literature, philosophy, and religion. All of these fields find their roots in the primordial intuition, the "para-phenomenon" of a given culture, which varies with specific historical and ethnic formations. [...] Culturology, the science of culture, a systematic study and comparison of the more advanced civilizations of the world, is careful to emphasize the specificity of cultural phenomena as inaccessible to rigorous analysis and calculation (Epstein and Berry 1999, p. 35)

Much of this was attractive, particularly when researching the ambiguous socialist influences that informed the revolutionary movements in Zimbabwe. The discipline is,

³⁰ The rarely-examined distinction between the terms civilization and culture reflects the pain of the period in which Chen Che-Yu was writing: Japan's invasions of China during 1931 and 1945 wreaked havoc on the Chinese people, causing great casualties, economic and cultural losses [which] retarded China's social modernization process for 50 years (Bian Xiuyue 2005).

however, so little represented in the English language that, regrettably, it was not sufficiently accessible to provide the theoretical basis for this research.

A contrasting paradigm is presented by Colin Mercer (2002). Grounding his report firmly on the Stockholm Action Plan and writing for professionals in cultural policy, he consolidates core issues of 'knowledge management for the cultural sector'. He advocates the 'stripping of the category "culture" of all natural and common-sense assumptions' in order to 'summon it into a new existence and then invest it with a strategic meaning and potential that it never had before' (ibid. p13). This re-alignment weights the discourse towards the communication of best theories and best practices through what he calls a 'New Conceptual Framework' of indicator clusters, value production, stakeholders, quantification of indicators, and so on.³¹ He calls this a 'linguistic metaphor' linking culture, development and human rights (ibid. p. 113) in a policy dialogue that he intends should be 'more inductive than statistical' (ibid. p. 152). As he extends the paradigm of 'cultural planning' his paradoxical purposes seem to be both a project of linguistic construction rather than metaphor and an ontological inquiry to realise 'culture' as consisting of Durkheim's category of 'social facts', phenomena that are external to individuals and should be treated as things. Cultural Policy is presented as the province of professional policy makers who, almost alone, would understand his 'lexicon for a plausibly common language' (a graceless version of English) and would

manage the outcomes. One fears that in this contentious programme neo-liberal ideologues controlling production and measuring outcomes could be more influential than artists performing their work or the masses celebrating their joy. Furthermore, measuring the significance of 'clusters of indicators' would probably not seem a priority to most cultural producers in Zimbabwe and other countries where few statistical records are kept. Disciplining the developing world with Cultural Policies like that may result in prioritising the commodification of cultural practice above its immeasurable, intangible, aesthetic and spiritual attributes.

³¹ This recalls the earlier attempt to standardise the use of terminology in a thesaurus for science and technology that included words from discourses on culture and creativity (UNESCO 1988)

My critical concern is that in the developed world many assumptions are deeply embedded in the practice of producing and implementing *any sort of policy* and that, even before the Stockholm Action Plan, these assumptions were becoming normative in the guidance given to governments concerning the production of cultural (and other) policies in underdeveloped nations.³² The recipients – governments and citizens reconstructed as stakeholders – are further assumed to ‘benefit’ from precisely copying the expertise and adopting the structural models offered by international experts. It can be argued, however, that, while adopting these organisational models may, in Europe, lead to economic success and stronger mediated national images in the domain of international cultural production, in peripheral nations foreign constructions might lead to the denial of cultural idiosyncrasies and modes of self-identification. Then may follow the depletion of the cultural reservoir of memes in the minds, memories and futures of the reconstructed recipients. This is not to argue against all intervention, but against passive imitation and uncritical acceptance of exogenous assumptions. This thesis argues for Freirean principles of conscientisation and empowerment of the people now called stakeholders.

My experience in cultural animation convinces me that human beings are not at all passive about their culture, even if they seem to take it for granted: if they perceive that it is threatened they usually want to defend it passionately. My position is, therefore, that to ‘consult stakeholders’ is not enough, having seen how the power relationship in such consultations can readily, and silently, enter a bullying mode where the rules of engagement are prescribed by the expert foreign consultant. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 22, (1948) recognises the ‘right to culture’: ‘Everyone is entitled to ... the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.’ This principle should be built into the foundations of academic research as much as into the animation of projects in cultural practice and the production policies. ‘We’ must learn to tolerate difference and even *non-compliance*, for the cultural ecology of a people is as vulnerable as the biological ecology of a river.

³² Woddis (1954) concluded that workers in British Colonies in the fifties were actually being held back and exploited by Trade Union Advisers who encouraged them to collaborate with their bosses in the imperialist system rather than fight to improve their terms and conditions of employment.

UNESCO's publications have provided a constructive non-aligned discourse around 'cultural policy' from the 1970s (Girard 1972; Green 1977; Shore 1981). It offered small nations a trusted humanitarian resource where those tasked with establishing a national programme for cultural action could find ideas and meet people who had walked that road before. The choice of the field of Cultural Policy Studies for this research was resolved at the Round Table of Ministers of Culture in 1999 in conversation with Lourdes Arizpe, Assistant Director-General for Culture, UNESCO, 1994-98: she made it seem important to contribute to that discourse of development.

There are very different discourses in UNESCO discussion [i.e. as compared with academic discourse] about cultural policy, so I brought in both academics and people with practical experience to discuss together. There were many disconnected activities in the World Decade for Culture and Development but it raised debate about the issues.... To describe the Decade as a failure is to fail to recognise the achievement of that debate; with the broadening awareness of culture and its importance as something more than the earlier polarised concepts of anthropological accounts and the 'high' critiques of fine arts in the developed world.... Cultural Policy as an academic study has been able to build on the results of that debate. (Arizpe 1999).

THE DATABASE

Collection

Items used as evidence in this study were not originally collected for a planned research project but as a personal archive of twelve years in Bulawayo; when the research phase began this was therefore a finite resource. Preliminary sorting separated the research material into sets based on authorship and genre. The data include paper evidence that varies from robust documents such as Acts of Parliament, regulations, transcripts of speeches and interviews, and constitutions of organisations, to ephemeral minutes, media items, project reports, diary entries and letters. Audio recordings, visual texts, photographs, and artefacts are rich sources of complementary evidence, triggering affective memories of their context of production.

That urge to collect data has proved to be reasonably effective even though academic analysis was not intended. Cultural animation took priority because participation as a researcher would have had an alienating effect on relationships. The length of time over which the collection occurred gives a particular advantage over short-term projects by vacation researchers insofar as it enables both engaged insight and the benefits of

hindsight in analysis, especially with respect to the changes that were occurring. The need for reflection is linked with the gradual revelation of outcomes – Garfinkel (1967, p. 76) allows that ‘for the investigator to decide what he is now looking at he must wait for future developments, only to find that these futures in turn are informed by their history and future. By waiting to see what will have happened he learns what it was that he previously saw. Of course, Bulawayo does not entirely represent Zimbabwe but as in any bounded arena, its cultural practices are characterised by – and valued for – their local historicity. It is, however, hoped that without over-generalising policy processes observed in this one context, they may provoke some useful comparisons for workers in other contexts of policy development.

Treatment

The evidence offered is taken mainly from a range of written, visual and audio texts collected as a personal archive between 1984 and 1997. Texts not only supply evidence of the past, but as soon as they were produced they had a role in altering the context in which other texts were produced; furthermore, when read they may alter the agreed meaning that may be ascribed to them (Bourdieu 1992). From a memetic perspective the texts are theorised as containing memes that (though remaining unchanged within the text itself) can produce change in the cognitive environment of a reader; there, processes of selective interaction with previously-retained memes occur so that, more or less changed memes are recognised, evaluated and shared. This is a cultural meta-process. In a post-revolutionary situation social actors face new relations of ruling and need to be constantly furnished with alternative modes of interpretation and problem solving (Smith 1990). To approach what were primarily subjective experiences in the light of memetic theory can provide some objectivity for a retrospective analysis.

At times a ‘factist perspective’ (Alasuutari 1995, p. 63-69) is taken on the texts, which are ‘treated as more or less honest and truthful statements about an outside reality from which the materials are separate’; thus content analysis can provide historical elements necessary for the thesis. On the other hand, in order to discover affective aspects and values of the discourse of cultural development, a ‘specimen perspective’ is used whereby ‘the research material is seen as *part of the reality* being studied. It is not representative of the whole

and is not regarded as evidence of truth and honesty – but it cannot ‘lie’. The text itself and the opinions it contains (as distinct from *facts*) are subject to analysis and comment; each text has a biography that can reveal cultural distinctions, idiosyncrasies of individual reasoning, the negotiation of meaning with other social actors, and the possibility of multiple social constructions. The specimen approach is equally important where spoken or written texts are derived from the vernacular, which may be rich in figurative language such as ideophones that are not readily translated into a dominant language (Pongweni 1996); for example in the rhetoric of AmaNdebele the definition of terms is oblique; they are attentive listeners and so admire the skills of an orator ‘who builds, in words, a kraal³³ of thorns around an idea to capture it, rather than impale it with a single blow’ (M. Sekerani 1990, in conversation).

³³ A temporary circular structure of branches from thorn trees to retain cattle and exclude predators.

| 1. Primary Sources | Components/Items |
|--|---|
| Media Corpus A July 1986-87 B 1988-89 C 1990-96 | Includes 30+ items by S. J. Chifunyise Total >500 media and other items |
| Zimbabwe Government papers | National Acts Council Act 1985 and other Acts, Amendments, & Regulations National Cultural Policy 1993 National Arts Council 5 year plan 1995 |
| UNESCO & SADC, Regional, including cultural policies | Arts Council GB Charter 1969 SADC OAU Botswana Uganda |
| 2. Animated or written by SGC | |
| Recorded Interviews 1995-97 | Mabhena, Nomadlozi, Felix Moyo, Cont Mhlanga, Takawira, Maliki, Chartwell, Bosco, Maruzwa, Lucky Moyo, |
| Questionnaires | M-S Pilot project 1995 |
| | Linkfest 97 Bulawayo |
| | Botswana 97 |
| Project planning, administration & reportages | World Dance Day seminar 1995 UNESCO-ZUM seminar 1993 MS-Basic Arts Management 1995 Isavutha Kwela Revival 1991 ZUM Youth Music Competition 1988 |
| Booklets | What happened in theatre '85 Labour relations in music industry Contracts for musicians Bulawayo Music Revival Show |
| Video recordings | Isavutha workshop 1997 Jacaranda Jazz Cats 1995 |
| Audio recordings | Jazz Impacto Jacaranda Jazz Cats Bulawayo Music Revival Show Folk tales – SJC |
| Photographs | Personalities, events, projects |
| Minutes | ZIMFEP workshop committee UNESCO Extended Committee Bulawayo Artists Action Committee Zimbabwe Union of Musicians (Bulawayo) |
| 3. Produced by others in Bulawayo | |
| Umzabalazo | Intunja (theatre newsletter) |
| Linkfest | Festival reports 1993, 1995, 1997 |
| Amakhosi Theatre Workshop | Nomdlalo, Vox Pop |
| Drama groups | Publicity materials |
| Writers on traditional practices | Pathisa Nyathi, Chavunduka, |
| Events Programmes | Bulawayo Music Society Amakhosi Heroes' Day ZOK (Ministry – Soviet Union exchange) |

Table 2-1 Research Archive

Secondary collection: selection from archive

Neither the extent nor mode of collection of these items was determined by a research plan as Yin and others advise, so my approach to planning the research after returning to Britain was adapted to a process of 'secondary collection' that required a retrospective review and selection of evidence from the extensive but often incomplete material in the database. Sorting, classifying, and cataloguing all the available data was time-consuming but refreshed memories and began the process of reflection, when many potential research questions began to arise, leading to preliminary theorising and identification of possible case studies. (Appendix 2-2) It was then necessary to compare parameters of production and creative perspectives (Appendix 2-3) to assess the relevance and usefulness of units of evidence before deciding which to use to test theories, narrate stories, depict events, or identify themes.

1) *Primary sources*

In the media corpus items are listed in chronological order that reflects changes in the focus of the researcher's activity and interests. The first section, A, consists of 143 items collected in Bulawayo in 1986-1987 and relate largely to theatre while working with Amakhosi Theatre Workshop, and as secretary of Bulawayo Association of Drama Groups under the chairmanship of Mutandazo Ndema Ngwenya.³⁴ Section B, collected in 1988-1989, contains 144 items relating mainly to issues around music.³⁵ Section C, from 1990-96, is more varied; the 188 items relate to involvement in project animation and committee experience closer to national policy development.

a) Media items were sourced from daily and weekly newspapers, monthly magazines and occasional publications (Appendix 2-1). Only four persisted throughout the research period. All use the dominant language, English, and reflect journalists' professional training in reportage: some older journalists learned their trade in exile and after independence training was provided by via the Ministry of Information and the Zimbabwe

³⁴ While working with Amakhosi Theatre Workshop, and secretary of Bulawayo Association of Drama Groups under the chairmanship of Mutandazo Ndema Ngwenya.

³⁵ Animation for Jazz Impacto, and Youth Officer in the Bulawayo Branch of ZUM. The shift of activity was politically expedient following (totally incorrect) rumours emanating from high places that I was the author of Cont Mhlanga's troublesome play *Workshop Negative*.

Union of Journalists. Expatriates and white settlers are the only readers who do not habitually use other languages to discuss the same issues.

b) The 34 items written by S. J. Chifunyise (Appendix 2-6) were among those published in a variety of public media or made available as handouts at meetings. Many of his oral presentations were not printed or preserved but were very important for his audiences as vehicles for the emergence of cultural policy in practice. His radio programmes on culture were ephemeral because the audio tapes at ZBC had to be wiped for re-use. A biographical summary (Appendix 2-4) indicates the importance and scope of his work in culture, first as an academic in Zambia and then as a cultural officer in Zimbabwe.

c) Further evidence is found in papers originating in government ministries include policy position papers, press releases, workshop handouts, papers for the extended committee for the World Decade for Cultural Development, circulars to schools and arts organisations, transcripts of conference addresses, and papers from officers of national arts organisations. (Appendix 2-5 shows the structure of the Ministry).

Media

The participating voices include a wide variety such as revolutionary activists, cultural workers, political theorists, white arts practitioners, and professional journalists. They may be heard directly as authors; indirectly by quotation, or objectified by report or reference. Also present are silent voices, unreferenced but significantly involved, including newspaper editors, politicians, administrators and cultural practitioners who provide information and context 'off the record'; readers who may be conducting different but equally animated discourses in the vernacular; and foreign diplomats, spies, aid workers and others who keep their knowledge and views more or less secret.

The varieties of media items include a range of standard types of journalism in English - indigenous languages were rarely used and there was no reason to invent new genres. But the analyst is free to move between factist and specimen interpretations.

- a) News reports of recent events or statements, press releases from government or institutions, brief and formulaic
- b) Editorial comment
- c) 'Showpage' stories – previews, reviews and show-business gossip;

- d) Letters to the editor
- e) Opinion columns ('As I see it', 'In my view', 'Talking Point'): regular personality feature or by invitation, or upgraded from a letter; usually provocative.
- f) Features reviewing a long-standing or complex issue, usually researched and written with fair balance by experienced journalists or experts in a particular field. The only genre with paragraphs longer than a couple of sentences.
- g) Cartoons – in the Chronicle, Maliki's daily thought was the most popular item of all.

2) *Projects – planning, administration, reports; Visual and Audio-Recordings etc.*

Documentation was selected as appropriate for use in each case study. For the non-paper items there is little that can be referenced about the processes leading directly or indirectly to the end products: in itself that is an indication (albeit quite a persuasive one) of the fact that cultural production and animation do not need much in the way of documentation when dynamic oral policies are operating effectively. The stories can still be narrated of course, but only the tangible objects produced retain any memes in a form that could qualify as 'evidence', while those retained in memory by the few participants are inaccessible. Documentation becomes more necessary to deal with matters that entail increasing scale in numerical, spatial, temporal and economic dimensions of performance, such as frequency, size, distance, duration, and quality.

- h) Photographs of cultural performances, black and white prints, colour prints (some now digitalised) 1985-96.
- i) Master tape of recording from the Bulawayo Music Revival Show, December 1987.
- j) *Zimbabwe Jive* LP recording by Jazz Impacto 1990
- k) Singles, audiotape cassette and video of Isavutha Kwela Revival Project, 1991-92.
- l) Video recording of Jacaranda Jazz Cats, Harare gig, 1993
- m) Bulawayo Centenary Compilation, audiotapes of music from the city's past and present musicians, 1994
- n) Traditional stories read by Stephen Chifunyise, music by Kenny Marozwa.

Paradigms

In their seductive guide Lofland and Lofland (1995, p. 21) make ethnographic or naturalistic research seem accessible, and not very constrained:

Because analysis [in qualitative field studies] is the product of an interactive and emergent process in which the analyst is the central agent, achieving this ordering of data is not simply a mechanical process of assembly-line steps. [...] The process remains, and is intended to be, significantly open-ended in character. In this way, analysis is also very much a creative act.

This naturalistic paradigm reflects how the original work and participation was effected and in broad terms the way that such work needs to be reported and analysed in this thesis, with one important caveat: the researcher was not central in the control of events. Apart from a few animations the events described would have occurred without my participation. Because the majority of people in Bulawayo had been reared in a society where racial segregation was legitimised by the heinous 'dual policy' they were accustomed to negative attitudes from white people. Paradoxically, an undefined potential for almost magical good was still attributed to them, so interest in participating in cultural activities was welcomed and harnessed by other social actors in 'opening the doors of perception' (as the ANC Charter said). This was quickly made apparent by an invitation from the District Cultural Officer, Henry Thodlana, within two months of arriving, to adjudicate a school drama festival. The problems were compounded by the multiple value systems operating in the arena and speaking only English, needing to rely on the goodwill of bilingual people to explain what was being said at any moment; while reading the paralanguage, gestures, facial expressions, and movements provided the information common to visual texts, to understand subtleties of the social context demanded spoken language.

In re-examining the lived experience as a research project I do reluctantly become 'central' as the sole collector and interpreter of the materials and evidence in them, though they are capable of other interpretations. It was frustrating to realise that the need to deal with this unplanned archive retrospectively excluded an ethnographic methodology. When Webner and Ranger (1996, p. 245) discuss the meanings of 'postcoloniality' they see a paradox in 'the distorting of identities through the power of colonial social science and...the privileging of categories of western thought even while denouncing them' and quote Arnfred (1995) that concepts of existing social sciences are vastly inadequate for grasping contemporary African and Asian realities'. Describing a related paradox in translation theory Robinson (1997, p. 108) speaks of a positive or utopian hermeneutic in which non-translation is 'the older, more mystical willingness to immerse oneself in a foreign culture without colonising it, to stop translating and start listening, to open yourself up to the 'ministries' of alien culture without necessarily trying to render what you learn into English, the tainted language of the colonisers.'

Guba and Lincoln (1989, p. 158) offer a forward-looking discussion of paradigm differences and the effects of confusing the meaning of ‘paradigms’ as *methods* (tools and techniques) with its meaning as *methodologies* (overall guiding strategies). They conclude, citing Biklen and Bogdan (1986), that naturalistic *methods* can be used while thinking in a positivist paradigm, but that naturalistic *thinking* – that views reality as a multi-layered, interactive, shared social experience – ‘requires a paradigm shift of revolutionary proportions’. More recently, Tashakokori and Teddlie (1998) recognise that pragmatism takes an intermediate position, agreeing with post-positivism that an external world exists independent of our minds, but taking truth as a normative concept; and allowing that causal relationships may exist but they cannot be pinned down. It presents a practical and applied research philosophy that can bring positive consequences within one’s value system.

These authors are the main influences in paradigm selection for this research. Naturalistic thinking not scientific training had made the work possible from the start. The collaborative, dialectical praxis that generated all the materials now called ‘the archive’ was not undertaken in order to generate a research report but with a larger socio-political purpose. The items in the archive merely provide oral, written and visual texts from which it is now possible to review what was happening in those exciting years, and ask why it happened that way and not some other way. The context in which this material is now read is, however, different: no longer contemporary and not part of the on-going social action, the archive becomes material for historical research, a reservoir of memes. In trying to be authentic and consistent I initially imagined that it was possible still to take the same position, use the same paradigm, but that cannot be so. This realisation comes about through attempting a process that Guba and Lincoln (ibid. p. 238) describe as ‘progressive subjectivity’ – the process of monitoring one’s own developing construction. Their view is that to be truly constructivist what eventually emerges must be a *joint construction*; too much privilege should not be given to the inquirer’s constructions. This was certainly the approach taken when using research instruments – questionnaires and interviews – and while immersed in the political paradigm of praxis there was constant interaction with many others. The research process has been quite isolated. Having engaged in a multiple-case study strategy with each case using different methods, including naturalistic,

linguistic, and historical foci, the research is justified pragmatically as being *useful* in obtaining a variety of insights but not ‘truly constructivist’. Although my earliest intention was – and remains – that ownership of the research should remain with the social actors, the construction that emerges from my solitary enquiry is only *to some extent* a ‘joint’ one resulting from an attempted dialectic between the researcher’s present self and the voices emerging from the texts. Although sometimes my construction is prioritised, it is mediated by a continuing commitment to the objectives of liberatory education, and reflected on with an intensity that no longer results in action but perchance in a deeper understanding of what was happening. I continue to discover: for example, from Garfinkel (1967) that the researcher must cease to universalise her own common sense in order to recognise others’ reservoir of cultural values and practice; and that waiting to interpret subsequent events may increase understanding of what was really happening.

Case Study approach

In view of the diversity of the materials and the complexity of significant themes that were arising, the use of Case Studies was initially chosen as the research methodology. Cohen and Manion (1994, p. 181) advise that case studies ‘investigate and report the complex, dynamic and unfolding interactions of events, human relationships and other factors in a unique instance’, qualities that seem appropriate but fail to distinguish research from a good novel. More relevant is their observation that, since the selection of information in a case study does not have to be typical or representative, it may deal with critical incidents or turning points – the ‘significant few’ rather than the ‘insignificant many’. Bulawayo was certainly experiencing, yet again, significant changes in every aspect of daily life and in possible futures.

Since there was a unique dynamic to be explored from many angles rather than a research question built on pre-existing theory to be answered, a multiple-case-study logic of design (Yin 1994) was employed. A different proposition can be tested in each case study, and then critiqued and modified in cross-case reviews. The findings of each case study either refined the proposition, or provided supporting examples. Thus a theoretical framework has been developed for the presentation of the research findings in this final form.

Guba and Lincoln (1989) present 'fourth generation evaluation' as a process for doing evaluation that it is 'organised by the claims, concerns and issues of stakeholding audiences' and 'utilises the methodology of the constructivist paradigm'. They see sponsors, researchers and stakeholders are bound in a relationship where their roles are defined by a more or less benign capitalism whereas for this thesis the Zimbabwean context of Marxist-Leninism and the western academic context of post-colonial research combine to define the discourses of another *espace métisse*. Their respect for 'stakeholders' is reflected in my own work where the voice of the social actors is prioritised over that of policy makers and researcher. This emphasis has been adopted because the purpose of this research has always been to provide a reflection of a critical period in the cultural revolution of Zimbabwe that might be useful and interesting to a new generation.

What positivistic authorities do not mention is that the researcher's procedures and discourse in documenting a case study are themselves part of the evidence, and need not considered more 'biased' than any ethnographic observations. This material has to be taken from a pragmatic perspective, that allows that causal relationships may exist but cannot be pinned down, and using mixed methodologies that shift from priority of 'the discipline' to priority of 'the insights'. (Tashakori and Teddie 1998, p. 27)

Logic of design: multiple case study

In 1984 Yin succeeded in dissociating the strategy from a limited fieldwork perspective when he identified it as beginning with a 'logic of design'. (Platt 1992, p. 42). This design is more suitable than the use of a single embedded case study with several units of analysis since the research is not a critical test of existing theory, nor an account of a unique event but part of a development process with many events and people bound together by time, place and discourse in a complex cultural arena. The contradictions between 'lived experience' and 'objective data' had previously been difficult to resolve using ethnographic or ethnomethodological approaches – which were not satisfactory for use retrospectively with data that had not been collected in a research framework. Modification of the strategy described by Yin was needed to cope with the constraints of the data available (see diagram below).

When the research phase was undertaken retrospectively progress was initially slow due to uncertainty as to how to deal with the mass of materials in files, boxes and on tapes which had been collected somewhat randomly and opportunistically as a personal archive. Following a long period of multidisciplinary review it was decided that a secondary process of selection of items from this material could replace Yin's data collection phase.

It is necessary to allow that affective memories of participation in those events and discourses, though not recorded formally as history data or ethnographic observation, may be incorporated as the linking matrix in analysis and interpretation (Tashakori 1998). A wider range of case studies has been considered than are included in order to discover where they converged; some are conflated into a single chapter, others had too many aspects to form a single unit, some were not directly relevant. Although this process of review was time consuming it produced an awareness of recurring themes that connected the disparate actors and characterise the *espace métisse* (Mudimbe 1997) produced by the interaction of memes from contributing cultures. The case studies finally selected reveal the dynamic of the period but are not expected to show much 'literal replication' because of the rapid processes of change; rather, it is expected that the cases will cumulatively reveal patterns that support the thesis.

The chosen strategy – of testing one proposition with one case study, modifying the proposition in the light of the findings, then repeating the process using either the modified proposition or a new but connected one with different material, and following this with cross case reviews - has been a useful process that does not aim to satisfy scientific parameters. An unexpected but important advantage of the *incompleteness* of the archival record of activities has been that it demanded explanation of how so much was achieved without documentation, and thus the material deficit became a major stimulus to theorising the processes at work, and recognising the significance of boundaries between oracy and literacy.

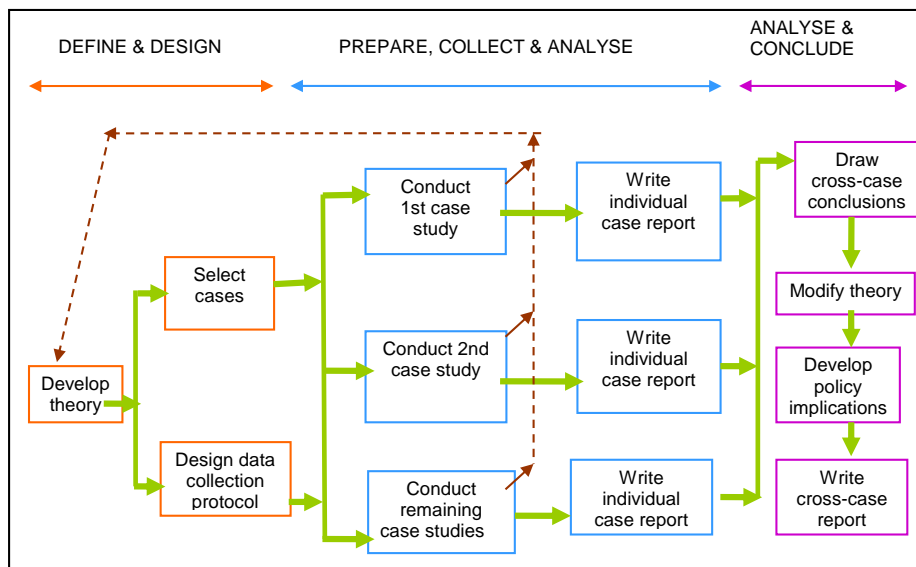


Figure 2-2 Summary of multiple case study method (from Yin 1994, p. 49)

The use of multiple sources of evidence with a variety of materials and origins, gives an opportunity to address a broad array of issues and social actors whose difference in Bulawayo could be subsumed into a sense of comradeship that united cultural workers and their audiences in processes of regeneration and creativity affirming a hard-won freedom. The difficulty that remains is to address only those issues that are most important for the thesis when there are so many intriguing side issues. Classifying case studies was helpful in the selection process, focusing attention on the insights that each provided and the methods needed to tease out the evidence when using a mixed-method, cross-disciplinary methodology. Three broad categories were identified:

Reports of projects in which the researcher was a participant or animator (narration).

Studies of other local voices – based on written texts, interviews, questionnaires (discourse and content study, linguistic analyses).

Analysis of official documents (historical, hermeneutic and/or memetic approaches).

Each raised particular themes, but not all of them contained enough evidence to go theoretically beyond narrative or descriptive accounts. Nevertheless nearly all do

contribute, if only briefly, to the final thesis. The most important form the basis of chapters but as Yin emphasises (ibid. p. 12) the work is not defined by citing the major focus or disciplinary methodologies but by the logic of design.

In summary, the research strategy has been to generate case studies that illustrate specific moments or processes in the period, or relationships that are linked in the research dynamic though occupying different functional, creative or ideological spaces in the arena. These are not equivalent to European distinctions between different cultural artefacts, art forms, class practices and work or leisure which, in Africa, tend to be subsumed into a more unified, holistic, four-dimensional episteme. This situation will, no doubt, change as increasing numbers of people turn to cultural production as an income-generating occupation and training in specialist skills produces more professional, audience-pleasing artists than *izimbongi* and *izinyanga*. Such changes need to be anticipated in the process of policy development.

CHAPTER THREE

Contexts

Introduction

This chapter establishes the policy context prior to the research period, and outlines resources of language, memory and cultural performance that were available for those *bricoleurs* whose cultural work is the subject of this thesis. The content is not presented with the disciplinary aims of history, education and politics, which are available elsewhere, but with a wish to enter the hermeneutic circle by which an outsider can gradually accumulate information and interpretations of the ever-relevant common knowledge that informs indigenous cultural productions. This approach aims to develop a framework for understanding what drove social action and aims to clarify issues of discourse and creativity in discovering ‘what was really going on’.

Language

Of first importance was their facility in languages: a monolingual outsider could not recognise all the allusions in a conversation because, for the others, there were multiple meanings in every speech event and many possible responses. Common knowledge of both history and language indicates the significant role of policy-making in relations between the government and the governed. Despite having been denied a voice for so long, familial habitus of social organisation and cultural expression, though deformed, were not completely lost and underpinned their survival.

Nineteen languages are spoken of which three are officially recognised. The first language of about eight million is chiShona, which has several ‘dialects’³⁶ while siNdebele is the first language of about one million Zimbabweans in Matabeleland and nearly as many citizens of South Africa. The dominant colonial language is English, though Portuguese and Afrikaans are used by some migrant workers or traders.

The railway from the Cape to Mafeking reached Bulawayo in 1897 and opened up the whole region. When mines and other industries were set up in South Africa, North and South Rhodesia and Nyasaland, there was much informal migration of male workers between their rural homes, cities and mines. As a result, language groups and families now form regional networks of plurilingual individuals whose cultural loyalties provide them with a secure identity that is signalled by family name, *mutupa* (totem) and language rather than passport and voting rights. The colonial national boundaries still apply though they are not co-terminous with the imprecisely defined boundaries of pre-colonial territories and language groups, so there is often a non-national commonality of heritage between people in adjacent countries, upon which a modern national identity has to be grafted.

The Ndebele language evolved quickly from Zulu³⁷ borrowing lexical items from language groups encountered and captured during their migration north. Contemporary youths talk with some regret of losing the 'deep' language that their grandparents speak, which has a large vocabulary of Zulu words with powerful cultural significance. Until Independence an 'O' level syllabus was offered only in Zulu, not Ndebele. An inter-language jokingly called Ndenglish is much spoken in the townships of Bulawayo. Many English words have been assimilated into siNdebele and code-switching is common, even in rural areas. Since Independence secondary education delivered in English has been universally available and adult literacy classes are offered in rural areas. There is, therefore, a large and varied language resource available to young people involved in cultural production in Bulawayo.

Although Bulawayo has a majority of Ndebele citizens, there is a significant population of Shona-speakers and there has been a fair amount of inter-marriage so children are often plurilingual. When returning freedom fighters were decommissioned civil unrest led to gun fights in the western suburbs: Shona-speakers kept their language secret to avoid attack. Less evidently, up to 1987, it was not wise for an Ndebele student at the university in Harare to speak aloud in Ndebele for fear of insults and discrimination. The situation began to improve after the Unity Agreement of December 1987. Ngara (1982) proposed a

³⁶ Doke (1931) conducted a nation-wide study of language use and attitudes, and recommended language unification leading to the concept of Standard Shona. Dictionaries compiled by missionaries helped to define Zezuru as the dominant form of Shona; M. Hannan (1959).

³⁷ J. S. Moffat letter of 3 January 1861 to Robert Moffat, senior, 'Setebele is a detestable jargon, a patois of Zulu.' (Wallis 1945b, p. 133)

language policy (prepared for his doctoral thesis in 1977) that included recommendations for use of the mother tongue in the first two years of primary schooling, with English being introduced in the third year and becoming the language of instruction in secondary schools. He recommended developing basic intellectual concepts in the mother tongue, followed by the gradual introduction of English to give ‘balanced, complementary bilingualism’- a utopian revolutionary view compared with the previous Rhodesian situation.

Education should extend to the wider scope of character-building the development of personalities and the inculcation of what may be called ‘humanistic attitudes’, in other words, the awareness on the part of the learner of the existence of his community and of his responsibility to that community, as opposed to ambitions for purely materialistic and personal gains. Education should, lastly, create in the learner an awareness of the importance of national culture (ibid. p. 123).

Assumptions about ‘the bilingual personality’ underpin the model used in this thesis for the social actors in the research arena. Grosjean (1982, p. 54) emphasises that ‘the bilingual person is NOT the sum of two complete or incomplete monolinguals but has a unique and specific linguistic configuration of the brain.’ Speech acts of bilinguals can include not only the ‘pure’ use of either language but also more or less fluent code-switching involving lexis, grammatical constructions and semantics. It was often observed in Bulawayo that creative and original thought used input from all available languages in cognitive functions such as re-organisation of ideas and problem-solving behaviour as described by Hamers and Blanc (1989).

Historical Context

Long before the colonial powers arrived there were large-scale movements of peoples in the region, evidenced in artefacts such as cave paintings and tools from Iron Age sites dating from AD200. Current research in oral traditions about early kingdoms seeks to establish correlations with archaeological evidence of civilisations culminating in Great Zimbabwe (Appendix 3-1). The earliest European penetration was by Portuguese traders from Moçambique between AD 1505 and 1690.

The AmaNdebele have experienced continuous inter-cultural contact and change since at least 1820 when, after irreconcilable conflict with the Zulu king, Chaka, Mzilikazi led

them northwards, assimilating other Africans in the region and founding the new nation in the northern Transvaal. Convinced that the gun was superior to the assegai Mzilikazi developed a policy of friendly contact with white men, initially in order to obtain firearms. He sent an ambassador to the Governor of the Cape where, in 1836, a Treaty of Agreement to be 'a faithful friend and ally of the Cape Colony' was made with representatives of the British Government (Samkange 1968, p. 26-7). This peaceful intention was, however, frustrated by attacks by Afrikaners and Sothos; the Boers' rose against British rule and made their Great Trek northwards. They came into conflict with Mzilikazi's people who again moved further north and in 1837-9 settled in the territory now called Matabeleland. That first treaty was a great disappointment to the king because the English rulers of the Cape did nothing to support him against the Boers. Samkange (1968) argues that this sense of betrayal results from differing expectations of the meaning of a treaty or document. Subsequently, white men were welcomed into Matabeleland if they treated the king and his people with respect. Lobengula, his equally shrewd successor, maintained good relations with European settlers for over twenty years from 1869, but the lust for gold and land brought more white opportunists and imperialists whose demands and machinations destabilised the kingdom.

The London Missionary Society founded the first Mission at Inyathi in 1859 on David Livingstone's advice and their children were the first whites born in Matabeleland.³⁸ The later 19th century saw the arrival of European hunters, missionaries, traders, prospectors, and mining companies. Rhodes became a major player after setting up the Gold Fields of South Africa Company in partnership with Rudd in 1886, and gaining power as Premier of the Cape Colony in 1890. The British South Africa Company, having obtained a Royal Charter of Incorporation dated October 29th 1889, administered Rhodesia from 1890 to 1923. With Cecil Rhodes as its first managing director, the Chartered Company was empowered to make treaties with African rulers, form banks, own and distribute land and

³⁸ Anna Johnston 2003, p. 135 refers to Canadian immigrants: 'White children, because of their burial in colonial ground, were capable of settler identifications with and against the colonial environment in ways inaccessible to their parents, except through their grief and subsequent memorialisation of land in which white history has been interred.' This recalls Thomas's eventual return to Matabeleland: 'There, the dust of his loved ones is sleeping, and there, we believe, his heart is at present. And in the face of this, we should not strive to take every legal action to help him to return to the old field of his labour.' (*Y Dywygiwr* 1874)

create its own police. In turn it promised to develop the territory economically, respect existing African law, allow free trade and tolerate all religions. The British Secretary of State for the colonies retained Supervisory Powers over the administration and the Charter was to run for 25 years (Rasmussen 1978, p. 35). When Frederick Selous led Rhodes's mercenary army, the Pioneer Column, north from Mafeking they passed to the east of the Matabele and so met relatively little physical resistance in occupying Mashonaland in 1890. The occupation of Bulawayo and the theft of Lobengula's land in 1893 was only achieved after armed conflict with Amandebele fighters which resulted in a white, masculine, campaign-based bonding that was consolidated in a self-conscious Pioneer mythology that came to be associated with the city of Bulawayo rather than with Rhodesia as a whole. From the start, Zimbabweans objected to foreign rule and their memories of the First Chimurenga honour the black heroes who resisted the administrative abuses that led to the Ndebele Revolt 1896 (Central African Archives 1953, p. 95; Rasmussen 1990, p. 252; D.S. Moore 1996, p. 129). In London a Select Committee in 1897 found Cecil Rhodes guilty of breaches of duty as acting Manager of the BSAC and also as Prime Minister of the Cape Colony³⁹ but he remained a hero to most Rhodesians.

The Chartered Company began to levy taxes, the first being the hut tax of 10 shillings per household, introduced in 1894, thus forcing Africans into waged labour to meet the demands. Thus they had to pay 'for their own brutal colonisation that entailed land encroachments, livestock seizures, forced labour and violent native police' (J. L. Moore 2003, pp. 14-15). In London the Aborigines Protection Society campaigned on behalf of the indigenous Africans from as early as 1889, revealing a liberal Quaker discourse that was rarely mentioned in local Rhodesian histories but remains a major alternative source for modern historians. The First Chimurenga uprisings of 1893 and 1896-7 were put down brutally by the BSAC and myths of black barbarity were established at the same time, on the basis of fears of civil and domestic violence against white settler families rather than military resistance; at the same time oppressive white rule that destroyed the civil and domestic lives of the Africans was approved in the discourse of imperialism that

³⁹ The descriptive souvenir and catalogue of Rhodes Centenary Central African Exhibition (Central African Archives 1953, p. 104) refers to a report in *Illustrated London News* and a cartoon in *Vanity Fair*.

silenced more humanitarian views.⁴⁰ While the ‘rebels’ were being punished by the indiscriminate and merciless slaughter of thousands, the Society vainly urged the adoption of a more humane policy by the BSAC:

... its neglect and violation, throughout seven years, of the obligations imposed upon it by its charter, and by subsequent provisions of the government, warranted the objections raised to its being allowed to retain the powers it had grossly abused (Fox Bourne 1899, p. 46).

Thereafter Bulawayo rapidly became established as a colonial city a few kilometres from the Ndebele royal site despite liberal opposition in London⁴¹ (Wills and Collingridge 1894). The first hundred plots were sold by auction⁴² to *bona fide* purchasers who were allowed only three months to erect a substantial building in iron or stone (Knight 1895, p 46-7). Supporting the liberation struggle, the Secretary of the International Department of the British Communist Party argues that these types of land title dispossessed the indigenous people of their traditional communal land-holdings and furthered imperialist policies by which Africans could only advance, under tight control, through capitalism (Woddis 1963, p. 29). One of several popular novels based on military experiences during the Matabele ‘insurrection’, *Fighting the Matabele*, describes Bulawayo just before the arrival of the railway in 1897; it reveals the appeal of the lives of mercenaries and settlers for British readers whose romanticised view of the exotic adventure became part of the Rhodesian mythology:

Bulawayo, as everyone knows, was the “capital” of Lobengula, from which that obese and bloodthirsty potentate was permanently kicked out in 1893, and now forms a centre of operations for the rough-and-ready work of pioneering and civilising in general. ... none of the buildings boasting more than a single storey (though everyone has a veranda) and being composed of such unpretentious materials as brick, tin, and

⁴⁰ Fox Bourne (1897), in a more detailed Tract *Matabeleland and the Chartered Company*, quotes the *Matabele Times* 11 April 1896: ‘The Chartered Company has undoubtedly forfeited its right to have a controlling voice in the affairs of Matabeleland: it has failed to act up to its obligations in every matter, and no longer deserves to be regarded as entrusted with the administration of the country. In not one single department concerned with the welfare of the community has the Chartered Company acted as if it recognised the responsibilities of its control.’

⁴¹ Labouchere’s view in *Truth* Nov. 1893 was that the Chartered Company had forced the war on Lobengula. Selous (1895, p. 3) reacted angrily: ‘He [*Labouchere*] has, by his constant attacks upon the dead and living alike, won for himself the reputation of being the most unscrupulous, dishonest, and virulent enemy of the colonists in Mashonaland, and his lead has been followed by some of the press in Britain who, curiously enough, seem to believe that they are serving the political ends they have in view by calumniating indiscriminately many of their fellow-countrymen in South Africa.’

⁴² This evidence signals the introduction of individual land ownership following the Chartered Company’s Occupation of the territory of Amandebele.

what is called “paper”, a wire-wove stuff, sent out from England. [...] The inhabitants generally are much too busy as yet to be neat or orderly, [...] the only things which they deposit on the vacant ground are broken bottles, rags, empty tinned-provisions cans, and every other variety of refuse [...] Mining offices, stores, and public-houses form the bulk of the buildings in town (Chalmers 1898, p. 2).

Among the new arrivals that flooded in once the railway was running, were several estate agents, a piano teacher, and tourists. Alexander Davis published a weekly paper and an annual Directory (1898) helping newcomers to settle in. The land was poorer in minerals than expected but it provided good farming and so the indigenous people were now largely confined to the poorest land and further from the railway line. By 1915 settlers began to tire of Company rule and in 1923 administration was turned over to the settlers and Southern Rhodesia became a British crown colony (Rasmussen 1978, 1990). By 1923 the European population was 35,000 and further white immigration mainly from Britain occurred after the Second World War (Appendix 3-2). The Central African Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland only lasted from 1953 to 1963. Civil unrest was mounting and this period saw the founding and banning of a number of Zimbabwean nationalist organisations. In 1965 the white Rhodesian Front government rejected their British connection by their Unilateral Declaration of Independence, but the resulting government was not recognised by any other state. The black struggle for liberation finally achieved its ends in 1980 with elections & Independence, after which Zimbabwe could be represented in international fora.

The identity attributed to indigenous people by settlers had a few very distinctive dispositional components, such as their savage nature, insolence, and laziness that were often attributed to low intelligence rather than to a will to resist conquest. An eminent English tourist observed: ‘The Matabele seem absolutely quiet and to have no sense of the ignominy of defeat. But their insolence before the war is almost beyond belief’ (Alice Balfour 1895, p.115). Again an alternative opinion comes from the Aborigines Protection Society whose scathing condemnation of the actions of the Chartered Company estimated that 3000 natives were shot or starved as a result of the 1893 conquest and 8000 more were victims in the suppression of the ‘rebellion’ of 1896. But even after that violent punishment ‘the people are still unconquered. They are only cowed and starved into a show of submission’ (Fox Bourne 1897, p. 5).

Newly arrived Europeans rarely needed to modify the ideas they received from previous settlers', whose simplicity suited them very well. After Rhodesia was established they wanted to identify themselves as more English than the neighbouring white South African population. They felt no need to distinguish themselves from the indigenous people – ethnic differences were clear enough – but then, as in the 1980s, they wanted a dual white identity, British and Rhodesian.

Although oral histories may not be verifiable by the criteria of standard academic history, Vansina (1985, p. 176) argues that they contain significant information and are culturally accessible to the inheritors or owners. His idea that 'memory reorganises the data that it contains' has an intriguing parallel in memetic theory. Minor variations in oral testimony from one generation to another may produce anachronisms that perturb historical research seeking specific data of historic events, but in studying the evolution of cultures the potential to introduce useful adaptations of values or 'cultural wisdom' stored in the message is important. The individual who re-tells the story might choose to change it for a particular reason; but even if a variation occurs unintentionally it may just as well participate in s-interaction⁴³ when discussed by the listeners; thus they can adapt some aspect of the culture to altered contexts and different temporalities. Memetic theory thus suggests mechanisms that may lead to understanding the unreliability of minor Rhodesian histories that grew out of hearsay, and explain the importance of well-documented, impartial observations in letters, memoirs and journals.⁴⁴ Adventurers' biographies and novels, decorating their personal narratives with settlers' oral traditions that reiterate early myths and stereotypes, gave spurious credibility to misinformation and misconceptions. An urgent need to re-establish white pride led to the reprinting in the 1960s and 1970s of some twenty 'Pioneering Classics' by Books of Rhodesia, and several detailed compilations of biographical anecdotes were published by Tabler (1955, 1966). Contemporary and near-contemporary documentary evidence about the origins of the Ndebele people has been rigorously examined by Rasmussen (1978, 1990) who has thereby demolished many of the myths. They are relevant here mainly insofar as Ndebele

⁴³ Selective interaction – a process (usually competitive) in an arena that results in the weeding out of memes/replicators, be it directly or not; internal s-interaction: is where the arena is the mind of one individual, external s-interaction: where the arena consists of one mind communicating with others.

⁴⁴ 19th century missionaries' and scientists' letters and journals were written up at the earliest opportunity.

people have for a long time seen them as examples of the unreliability of documentation and translation by Europeans, while still respecting well-founded research such as the works of T. O. Ranger, and their own oral heritage and traditional practices.

Economic context

In the first ten years of Independence the Lancaster House agreement guaranteed non-interference in Zimbabwe's governance but the World Bank and International Monetary Fund soon required the government to adopt economic structural adjustment policies. By the end of the research period Zimbabwe seemed to be emerging from some of the most profound effects of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme and the severe drought of the early nineties. It was noted by the UNDP that government policy on transformation issues such as the increasing role of the private sector and public sector reform (which overturned previous Marxist-Leninist approaches) had begun to be 'more resolute and followed by positive action' although there were some 'lapses' (UNDP Microfinance Assessment Report, July 1997, p. 7). The result was substantial and growing donor involvement in micro enterprise and microfinance sectors; development of the Micro-Finance Industry became a key tool in UNDP and national strategies for poverty alleviation. After a few years the economic and political principles of globalising agencies including SIDA, NORAD, HIVOS, CUSO and others displaced indigenous socialist or collectivist motivation in cultural production with contracts, and substituted neo-liberal concepts of 'theatre for development' as a tool for community development, often with fiscal advantage to the sponsors of, for example, insecticides, a methodology that is now widely practised and documented. Thus western criteria of management flooded in, framed by project proposals that, when adequately (not necessarily perfectly) implemented, rewarded the performers with money, status and experience of professionalism through international networks. During this period the development agencies as institutions and their officers personally modified their demands on clients to improve their own performance in project management.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ It is difficult to describe the pragmatic self-interested behaviour pattern that became possible as a result of donor agency funding: a sort of opportunism characterised by negotiated friendship, fluid

Small Enterprise Development

SEDCO, a government agency set up in 1986, provided start-up loans for clients who attended their short training courses about the management of small enterprises. Some foreign donors for example a Canadian organisation, SEQUUS, found this a politically attractive arena for quietly supporting the liberal economic revolution. The Bulawayo office of SEDCO became an established focus of development in the early nineties, supporting numerous small businesses in Matabeleland. In 1996 the World Bank provided assistance to SEDCO for 'urgently needed financial assistance, training and management counselling to small-scale entrepreneurs and an Enterprise Development project for Small- and Medium-sized enterprises. Despite this record, by 1997 UNDP Microfinance consultants note that a key constraint to the long-term growth and viability of the MFI sector (microfinance institutions) is 'lack of institutional capacity to meet market demand and effectively absorb funds available for on-lending' (UNDP Microfinance Assessment Report, July 1997, p. 7). Thus effort and funding were diverted before reaching the intended beneficiaries at the lowest level where poverty alleviation strategies can actually alter lives.

Evidence in this research shows that musicians and other artists did not benefit from these major projects to provide funding and management training; they were generally regarded as economically insignificant and wayward by nature and their representative organisations were ineffectual.⁴⁶ The musicians' union (ZUM) had sent a few officers on ZCTU courses on Unionism but that had not changed their long-established, unchallenged and unconstitutional ways of operating. Impressed by the content and quality of the teaching SEDCO provided, I sent the leader of Jacaranda Jazz Cats – one of the most competent and principled members of the Bulawayo committee of Zimbabwe Union of Musicians – on the 3-day management course. He was subsequently able to make positive use of these new social constructions which sharply contrasted with the resentful and proto-corrupt unionism that had disappointed many members. In the early eighties a class-based unionism had seemed preferable to the earlier 'owner-manager' style of

dependencies and protected power that is not corrupt from all points of view (Audiotape of ZUM inquiry, 1994).

⁴⁶ The Minister of Finance refused an invitation to the ZUM conference on the status of artists in 1991 (animated with the UNESCO National Commission). He referred us back to the Ministry of Culture.

management but it had easily been corrupted by band leaders to their own advantage. The SEDCO model was rooted in economic neo-liberalism relying on apparently mutual benefit to employers, managers and workers, institutionalised only by SEDCO (as a micro-finance institution for development) which was presented as an apolitical channel for funding and training.

In all three modes (unionism, employers, industry) the practices available to Africans mirrored the current management behaviour of those foreigners who chose to involve themselves in Africa for their own reasons. Nkrumah (1965) had provided a powerful analysis of neo-colonialism which Marxist-Leninist politicians of ZANU knew well, hence their preference for a socialist conception of workers' committees representing their interests in the workplace. This was not an option for musicians who were never on permanent full-time contracts.

Constraints

The UNDP report (1997) identified factors (mostly associated with the policy environment or the economic environment) that hindered the growth of the informal sector generally. They can be recognised as relevant for most cultural workers during the eighties although little evidence exists in national records or statistics. Responses to the M-S and LINKFEST questionnaires (see Chapter 8) in 1997 do support several of these points.

Lack of entrepreneurial culture, capital, access to credit and adequate premises.

Limited demand for goods,

restrictive policy environment and poor support from apex organisations that should facilitate consultations among the informal sector operators and between government and the operators.

Problems of literacy, lack of opportunities for skills training, bookkeeping, etc

Although he had himself used financial support to establish and develop Amakhosi's professionalism, Cont Mhlanga saw the fundamental constraints on individual cultural workers in groups as cultural and cognitive, rather than material:

They think they have no chairs. They have the materials all around them but they do not make a chair.... They have no clue what they should do in these roles - as secretary, as co-ordinator, as group leader. Those elementary human skills, they are not there in those people so you have no human resources to manage. Bodies are not human resources. (1995 M-S Project Interview)

Political aspects of recent history

Dualism

Now regarded as a major shortcoming of colonial economic systems, dualism means the exclusion of a large part of the population (the non-Europeans) from the benefits of growth, and their increasing unemployment or under-employment in the subsistence sector. The excluded people describe the experience as discrimination, oppression, racism and even cultural genocide. The concept of dualism became widely established through the work of Lugard (1922) on the responsibilities of colonial administration; he proposed that the exploitation of Africa's natural wealth should reciprocally benefit the industrial classes of Europe and the native population of Africa.

Lugard and his peers were confident of their ability to remodel Africa in the ways they saw best without fear of ramifications. Irrespective of the reality we see in retrospect, they felt that they were genuinely offering up coherent plans for change. For Lugard, the African community may 'without much difficulty, and practically without any radical upsetting of the tribal code of discipline' adopt 'standards and methods more in accord with our ideas of justice and of efficiency' (Lugard, *Problems of Equatorial Africa*, p. 219, quoted by C. Prior 2006)

Such confidence and benevolence were characteristic of the Rhodesian regime only as long as the black population remained grateful and uncritical. Clay's report (1930) advised the ruling whites not to fear the development of native capacity⁴⁷ but they opposed any increase in the economic power potential of the black population and maintained a policy position that kept them out of the skilled labour market (Windram 1937). In economic analysis Boeke (1953) coined the term 'dualism' to describe the situation in colonial countries with co-existing capitalist & non-capitalist sectors that operate according to separate social and economic logics, and later it was applied to third world

⁴⁷ 'The economic capacity of the native is expanding, ... If the natives all lived on a European standard the population of the country would no longer be 45,000 Europeans and 850,000 natives, with an aggregate spending power equivalent to perhaps 80,000 Europeans, but 900,000 persons with a combined spending power perhaps ten times that of the present population' (Clay 1930, p. 42, para. 122-123).

countries with disparate modern and traditional sectors. Dependency theorists question the polarised emphasis and offer a counter-argument that the sectors are closely interdependent, with the large-scale capitalist sector dominating and shaping the other. In Rhodesia a relatively small but technologically developed white urban sphere existed side by side with a vast under-developed black rural subsistence sector' (Stoneman 1981, p. 46). The concept was not merely of a racial division, because there was also an economic gap between urban black workers and rural Africans.

Between 1950 and 1980 colonial Zimbabwe was passing through a capitalist industrial revolution set in motion by the massive foreign investment after the Second World War. The African population, 96.5% of the total, grew fast after 1945 but their rate of employment rose proportionately less because the structural incapacity of the modern sector failed to absorb the potential labour force in the peasant sector. This led to the exclusion and impoverishment of the vast majority of the African population (S.I.A.S. 1979). Dualism produced social divisions in every phase of Zimbabwe's history and affected policy-making in every sector, of which education and culture are most relevant to this thesis. The divided social climate it had produced before Independence persisted afterwards. The settler community's default value was that on meeting a white stranger they would naturally share a complex contempt for and distrust of blacks. Visitors often found this innate racism surprising and ugly, and rejected such complicity.

The 'development of underdevelopment' is not an accidental result of mistaken policies. As nationalist leaders came to understand, in Rhodesia oppressive policies were consciously applied, though not often stated. Unusually, in 1968 the Minister of Finance frankly disclaimed any altruistic motives: 'The aim of stimulating economic growth for the greatest benefit could possibly be interpreted as an advance towards an egalitarian society, and I should perhaps make it clear that an artificial redistribution of income is not one of the government's objectives' (Wrathall 1968, quoted by Stoneman 1981, p.128). A Scandinavian analysis of the economy undertaken to guide development strategies that the radical regime would need in re-orienting development towards peasant socialism emphasised the causes and intentionality of dualism. They described the political structure of the colony and class forces behind industrialisation as an exceptionally 'pure' capitalist

system in which the ruling class (Europeans) only concerned themselves about raising their own consumption level through an open economy. Even during the period of UDI, government intervention was intended merely to guarantee white living standards (S.I.A.S. 1979, para. 5.1- 5.2).

The liberal discourse exemplified in Lugard's work had undoubtedly influenced the inclusion of the 'Special Reserved Powers' in the 1923 Rhodesian Constitution and the nationalist leaders were dismayed when the removal of British interest closed down that liberal ideal. Even though they knew well the hypocrisy of the Rhodesian Front government, the nationalist leaders initially trusted the British government to honour 'the grand design for partnership between Great Britain and the subject peoples for whose welfare she had assumed responsibility' (Atkinson 1972). That trust seemed justified by Harold Wilson's saying in September 1964 that the British government must be satisfied that any basis on which independence was proposed and granted was acceptable to the people of the country as a whole. Ian Smith's misleading paraphrase was that Wilson accepted that independence must be based on general consent and was convinced that the majority population supported his, Smith's, request for independence on the basis of the present (1961) proposed constitution. ZAPU'S memorandum on the subject insisted that the majority of the population should be consulted in conditions and circumstances which would permit freedom of expression and freedom of communication and of movement (Nyangoni and Nyandoro 1979, p. 86).

Although Section 108 of the proposed constitution specifically provided for the participation of Africans in a referendum, the government later said that only those who were enrolled on the A and B Rolls would be entitled to vote in this referendum and then raised the minimum income qualifications for the franchise by more than 10% so that, although the average European wage was still above the required level, the average African wage would not qualify to vote on either roll (ibid. p. 93). ZAPU pointed out that this amounted to a constitutional fraud which would not necessarily be visible to observers of the referendum. Ian Smith then declared that he would test African opinion through the 'chiefs' though they were not regarded as representatives by the majority: ZAPU speaks of it as corruption: 'a vast sinister system to deprive four million people permanently of

attaining majority rule' (ibid. p. 95). When Smith said he would seek the opinions of anthropologists, the anthropologists and sociologists of the University College of Salisbury, headed by Professor J. C. Mitchell, showed the presence of a few white liberals able to resist Smith by issuing an uncompromising statement:

In their professional opinion the only way to test the African viewpoint is to give every man the opportunity to express his own views by vote. In African society -- of the past as well as the present -- decisions have been, and are made by processes which involve all adult members of the community. Africans are no longer organised on the basis of a tribal system. And therefore African opinion cannot be tested within the framework of this system. Approximately half the adult men in the population live and work outside tribal areas at any one time. Most of these do not qualify for the B Roll vote and it appears that the full expression of their opinion is to be ignored. No one individual can pretend to speak for all members of his community as he may be mistaken, misguided or self-interested. It is therefore our professional opinion that the only way to test the African viewpoint on the issue is to give at least every man the opportunity to express his view by vote. We are utterly opposed to the idea that there is something peculiar to Africans which makes it impossible to test their opinions by other than normal procedures (ibid. 1978, p. 95, quoting Northern News 22 Sept 1964).

The broadcast by radio of this statement was banned by the chairman of the broadcasting station although it had already been published, and as a result the station's news department resigned in September 1964. A few other Christian liberals were imprisoned, including Richard Knottenbelt for refusing conscription and Judith Todd for a political demonstration. Despite the opposition, UDI was declared on 11th November 1965.

In 1971 the British government concluded an agreement with the Smith regime aimed at settling the constitutional crisis (Nyangoni and Nyandoro 1979, p. 186-201) and the Pearce Commission was sent out to test the acceptability of the proposals to the people of Rhodesia as a whole. In January 1972 Sithole (who remained leader of ZANU till 1974 when Mugabe replaced him while still in prison) wrote from Salisbury prison to Edward Heath pointing out that it was naïve and unrealistic to see an agreement between the Conservative government and the Rhodesia Front government as solving the problems between black and white. The offer to finance black education was not a substitute for majority rule: the British government, so boastful of democracy, must concede the legitimate demands of the majority in Rhodesia, who would not be bought off with £5 million (ibid. p. 203). He also wrote to the British Foreign Secretary reporting complaints that the commissioners' were not neutral. Sithole strongly objected: 'This is wrong; they

have come here to get our opinion, not for us to get theirs' (ibid. p. 205). He finally accused the Conservative government of kith and kin values and creating in the people of Zimbabwe a deep sense of being 'British-cheated and white-cheated of their rights.'

Education

In 1935 – forty years after 'the occupation' – the Christian Principal of Domboshawa School wrote: 'the civilised community in contact with the barbarian community must either raise the latter to its own level or it will ultimately itself sink into barbarism' (Atkinson 1972, p. 14). The persistence of such cultural polarities goes far beyond the racism of skin colour, and reflects the original missionary experience when religious faith provided a rationale against their extreme physical fear of wild animals, disease, pagans and eventually the rebels - 'warriors' of the First Chimurenga resistance. Few missionaries were able, as Thomas was, to recognise the alternative indigenous forms of governance, performance and social values. They did, however, try to convert Africans to Christianity believing that, as human beings loved by God, they could learn. That desire to deliver refined enlightenment values was, however, not shared by the majority of secular settlers after Rhodesia was founded. They were motivated by a philosophy of acquisition and autonomy which, strangely, did not conflict with their titular 'civilisation'. They only needed a cheap, obedient labour force and freedom from fear. Education for acquiescence was all they offered.

Mungazi has shown that the colonial government used reports of commissions 'as a strategy to enhance its legislative and political power to control the development of Africans and their access to education, employment and voting rights' and is in no doubt that education policies were subject to 'the same basic discriminatory assumptions which informed every part of the thinking process among government officials.' (Mungazi 1989, p. 267)

The Kerr Report (1951) laid no stress on race distinctions and their implications, but the Judges Commission felt 'a sense of destiny [...] strengthened by the degree of anxiety now at large concerning the obstinate failure of the African and non-African systems of schooling to grow together' (Judges Report 1963, para. 97). Several times his report

indicates that, coming as he did from a Britain where state education policies were pushing forward with egalitarian and inclusive principles, he had difficulty in understanding the devious intransigence of Rhodesian policy makers who insincerely claimed that they would ‘grow together’.

The doctrine of economic support of the weaker by the stronger would seem to be on the way in. Thus it could be held to be a curious anomaly of administrative practice caused by the Federal Constitution, rather than a confession of rigid social principles, that has stood in the way of the acceptance of something approaching equal opportunity for all where school provision is in question (ibid. para. 101).

The education system was clearly unsatisfactory for African pupils⁴⁸ but Judges admitted that ‘despite the present wave of defiance of both tradition and authority we did not see any indiscipline or wilful idleness in the schoolroom’ (ibid. para. 94). He suggested that social custom and authority at large had been losing respect because ‘transitional situations gave no opportunity for alternatives to tribal custom to grow up’; uncertain of his audience, he again struggled to find a polite form of words to analyse the situation:

Neither the realities of an inward-looking subsistence culture nor the principles of a cash economy ... help to create values. We find conditions of no-society, within which neither the much debated community development ideas nor the better defined lessons of an accomplished local government order have yet been present in a tangible in a form to offer substitutes for the old regulated ways of life. ...Labour is mobile, self-concerned and restless. Behaviour patterns are blurred within local groups wherein the vernacular speech is strangely mixed, where mission influence is attenuated, and only a remotely controlled police force stands for authority (ibid. para. 95).

Nowadays the coding (my emphasis above) could be read either as ill-informed verbosity or as inspired euphemisms; it is possible that forty five years ago Professor Judges was aware of his dilemma as an expert consultant to the Rhodesian government. Even though an outsider, he was white and so the Rhodesians would genuinely and vigorously expect him to sympathise with their unspoken fears.⁴⁹ To an extent, he did so: his finding of ‘conditions of no-society’ reflects the sadness of ‘a people with no history’ (Eliot 1935, *Little Giddings IV*) and the comatose state of indigenous African culture that provoked

⁴⁸ Only 29% of those who passed out of primary schooling with the Standard 6 certificate in 1962 went on to secondary schools and the drop-out rate was high so only about 10% of them would enter the Cambridge exams (ibid. para. 396). Failure was apparently met with a polite fatalism, ‘a common coping strategy among peoples faced with insurmountable problems’ (Wildavsky 1992) until African socialists and nationalists began to legitimise a discourse of anger and protest.

anger in the negritude movement (Diop 1956). Judges met influential opposition among white Rhodesians favouring the perpetuation of the *status quo* who were unwilling to testify⁵⁰ though the opinions they expressed privately indicated a ‘disturbing strength of Conservative resistance to change’ (Judges op. cit. paras. 92-93). The apparently low – and unpoliticised – status of ‘culture’ was reflected in the finding that African opinion asked for change ‘in respect of inequalities of provision and costs rather than of cultural destitution’ (ibid. para. 127)⁵¹. The Commission did admit to feeling ‘a heavy responsibility for allowing the newer patterns of a ‘common life’ to come into being’ and observed that the African public and some Europeans supported the liberal desire that ‘all young citizens could claim a common heritage and a future of equal citizenship’ (ibid. para. 96). Their concern for the development of mutual understanding was swept away by the political tensions leading to UDI. There was no sympathy among school authorities for rational objections to the dualism that continued: A large group of pupils went on strike at their prestigious mission school around 1963 when they realised that they would never earn as much as white teachers with the same qualifications. They were expelled from the school forthwith (Mkhithika 1989, personal communication).

Accounts of Rhodesian education policy by expatriate researchers (Parker 1960; Atkinson 1972) and settlers before and after UDI (Rayner 1962; Raynsford 1968) give a broadly similar picture to the Judges Commission Report of a ruling elite who viewed themselves as significantly different from other colonial regimes. The government’s poor provision for African education that resulted from the settlers’ apprehensions continued to surprise visiting educators:

The ruling class permanently felt driven to extreme precautions in defence of its position, and was reluctant to allow any advance by the African towards claiming equal rights and privileges with themselves. Often they took refuge in a prejudice ...which derided his innate capacity to achieve the standards of western civilisation. The feeling of insecurity among the European community has often proved decisive in the development of educational policy in Rhodesia.... plans for education must always receive careful scrutiny... with reference to their possible impact on the balance

⁴⁹ The ability of the Rhodesian settlers to dissemble before eminent British visitors was also recognised by John Gielgud in a letter to his mother on 24 July 1953 (Mangan 2005, p. 168).

⁵⁰ Silence is often represented as a response of oppressed people but here, as a strategy of the powerful, it signifies their determination not to risk losing any power, hence their reluctant sense of possible change.

⁵¹ The Commission also doubted the Africans’ wish for ‘multi-racial experiments in schools before the word ‘non-racial’ became a better one for use in this context.’ Zimbabwe’s policies were all non-racial.

between the races. The emergence of a class of educated Africans... must have far greater implications in Rhodesia than in other British colonies (Atkinson 1972, p. 17).

Rhodesians claimed that they were not as extreme as South Africans in their discriminatory legislation and attitudes, but common characteristics of the settler discourse in British colonies are legion; their self-righteousness and racism combine to attribute their success to their years of hard agricultural work and high-principled governance. A Rhodesian politician said: 'What we look for is not the white supremacist government but a government of *responsible people*' (1965) and the pioneer still asks, incredulously: "Can they learn?" (Conversation with a South African farmer, 1979). One of the paradoxes of the Rhodesian mentality lay in their desire to give equal status to those fear-driven, racist policies and at the same time to pay lip-service to Lord Lugard's liberal principles. Settlers in Kenya showed a similar conviction that only they understood the African and his fundamental inferiority. McCulloch (1995) observes that although some were sensitive to outside criticism and self-conscious about the hypocrisy, the most strident voices emerged in sciences such as 'ethnopsychiatry' and social anthropology despite claiming empathy with the subjects. This discourse, grounded in social evolutionist theories, occurs in a Rhodesian contribution to a planning conference at the Rand Afrikaans University in March 1972.⁵² D.A.Stewart, the Secretary for African Education – without mentioning the current 'emergency regulations' or the civil war – presents Rhodesian governance as progressive and concerned. He gives extensive statistics for 1970–71 and attributes problems reorienting and modernising teacher training to the basic incompetence of the African in functioning in a civilised environment, a deeply ingrained assumption that was constantly reinforced by the innuendoes of institutional discourse. A further category comprised not 'problems' but 'traditional impediments' which others would consider to be the consequences of poverty and other social factors in the control of the white government. Clearly they had been reluctant to spend money on improving Africans' quality of life but there is no acknowledgement that the problems are consequences of their own policies.

⁵² Stewart, D. W. (1972) 'Rhodesia: African education' in Hirschman & Rose, 1974, *Education for Development in Southern Africa* Rand Afrikaans University.

Democracy

One of the few Zimbabwean writers published in English during the three decades before Independence was Ndabaningi Sithole (1959) whose early attempt to argue politically against European rule defines democracy as ‘the will of the majority’ and from his own experience draws a parallel between communism and dictatorship. ‘While in Europe they have Russian communism which threatens Western democracy, in Africa we are confronted with European dictatorship which threatens African *kuzwitonga* or *ukuzibusa* (self-determination.)’ (ibid. pp. 98, 116). Supported by his former Head teacher, Garfield Todd,⁵³ Sithole’s book anticipated an audience that included both apprehensive white settlers and potentially revolutionary non-white university students (Chung 2006). He therefore tried to deconstruct the mass of myths whites told themselves about African practices and muted his own nationalist sentiments with an appeal to the whole Christian church to respect equal rights, not a ‘multiracialism’ of unequal groups (ibid. p. 124) that merely entrenched ‘civilisation’ and white dominance (ibid. p. 66). Boldly for the period, he warned that if Africa was denied both Western democracy and communism, then ‘Africa carries in her womb not democracy but dictatorship’. They would not be loyal to white supremacy and ‘hideous alternatives’ would ensue: ‘The still backward and unsophisticated African mass could otherwise be swayed by demagogues, and political control would fall into unscrupulous hands with disastrous results’ (ibid. p. 167).

Stanlake Samkange was the first black university graduate from Rhodesia, and his historical novel *On trial for my country* (1966) was the first Zimbabwean work in the African Writers Series. As an academic in America he avoided postcolonial Zimbabwean politics but later felt that a responsibility lay on African intellectuals to reinterpret their own history: ‘Whose fault is it if no one knows about the philosophy of your grandfather and mine? It is our business to distil this philosophy and set it out for the whole world to see’ (Samkange 1980, p. 9).

A growing fear of violent resistance was in the air breathed by settlers. An American educationist (Parker 1960) pointed out that the purpose of the qualified franchise was to

⁵³ A liberal Christian, the Hon R. S. Garfield Todd was Prime Minister 1953-1958. His daughter Judith was charged and convicted under the Law and Order Maintenance Act on 14/10/64.

keep the country in civilised hands as expressed in income and education. The voting qualifications required were increased whenever necessary to keep the ratio of black to white voters to 1:5, a policy that curtailed black initiative and the development of 'positive, constructive leadership'. In colonies where Europeans were relatively fewer, such as Northern Rhodesia, they had to entrust more to Africans.

Following the banning of the SRANC in February 1959 a new political party – the National Democratic Party – was launched and in 1960 submitted a memorandum to the British Government viewing 'with the greatest alarm and perturbation recent moves by the European-controlled Government of Southern Rhodesia to secure the removal of the special reserved powers in the 1923 Constitution' by which the non-European majority felt their interests were protected from their own racist government. If Her Majesty's Government were to allow that to happen while the majority of the people of the colony did not have the power to elect and control the government of their country it would be a breach of faith. The NDP wanted a system of government based on majority rule and popular consent, recognising that under the existing restricted franchise system democratic rule was impossible. They submitted detailed proposals for a new constitution in 1960 (Nyangoni and Nyandoro 1979, pp. 34-43) and sent a delegation to the constitutional conference in London, 9 March 1961.

Surprisingly, in view of those proposals, the NDP's proposed Bill of Rights was unwritten but it was discussed first at the conference and apparently accepted. Later, the African leaders admitted that, flattered, they compromised on the crucial issues of franchise and representation – 'they did not accept them but said nothing thus giving tacit approval to the two iniquitous measures'. Too late they understood the fraudulent scheme by which Sir Edgar Whitehead had secured complete independence for a minority white regime – even the reserved powers were removed. The NDP leaders now realised that 'basic to any democratic constitution is the franchise system and not a Bill of Rights. A Bill of Rights based on an undemocratic constitution is valueless.' To obtain 'one man, one vote' they would have to organise and, despite their military disadvantage, assert their moral right to govern (ibid. pp. 21-45). There were setbacks when the NDP was banned in December 1961. Other political parties were formed and banned, but the basic concept of democracy

based on an agreed constitution and universal franchise remained the goal of the nationalists' struggle.

Different memes linked with 'democracy' entered the revolutionary discourse of freedom fighters and academics from sources such as Lenin and Mao Tse Tong, whose connotations therefore inform the revolutionary and postcolonial cultural discourses of Zimbabwe during the seventies and early Eighties. It must be emphasised that whatever foreign concepts of democracy might have come their way, Zimbabwean freedom fighters and academics in the revolutionary period were predisposed to seek anti-colonial interpretations of ideas. Memes used in understanding *democracy* and *culture* as they encountered them were closely associated with behaviours they already knew from experience, both in traditional practices and revolutionary praxis, so these terms were readily retained in the ideological meme pool which they brought to the task of governing the new country.

Democracy was often referred to as a key political aspiration in revolutionary writings. The editors of *Learn and Work* reprinted a 1979 lecture from a ZANU teachers' training course on transforming the inherited administrative structures in schools:

Administration should first of all be democratic yet proceed along clearly defined ideological lines. Democracy without ideological orientation will bring about confusion, contradictions and frustration.⁵⁴ But if our ideological grounding is sound then we will be able to reach a large measure of agreement on all important decisions. (Learn and Work 1985)

For them, democracy included 'facilitating people's participation which is one of the hallmarks of socialism.' Participation, having been denied so long, was a major goal of the liberation struggle. In the camps freedom fighters had prioritised present equality in practice over an elected representation of the future, possibly touched by Qadafy (1976): 'Representation is fraud!... the mere existence of a parliament means the absence of the people, but true democracy exists only through the participation of the people, not through the activities of their representatives'. Carbon copies were passed around and discussed at

⁵⁴ A similar perception to Hamilton (1777) quoted by Raymond Williams (1976), that giving power to the masses would be likely to bring 'error, confusion and instability'

street level in Bulawayo (I received it from Mackey Tickeys in 1986).⁵⁵ Raymond Williams was known to academics – Ngara (1985) grappled with his unravelling of various meanings of culture, democracy, ideology and consciousness (Williams 1977) but his *Keywords* references to early American democracy (1976)⁵⁶ would not have seemed relevant compared with the discourse of revolutionaries from Britain, Moscow and Beijing.

Cultural performance

During the colonial regime, UDI and the liberation war there were several distinct genres of creative and performance arts in Zimbabwe with characteristic performers, venues and audiences. They were almost always racially segregated (Appendix 3-3).

Matabeleland, and particularly Bulawayo, had experienced ‘cultural contact’ and ‘political change’ for over a century.⁵⁷ All rural traditional practices were deformed in varying degrees in the modern urban environment, while new subversive practices were elaborated on long-standing knowledge of, for example, spying⁵⁸ and mendacity. (T.M.Thomas 1873, p. 209.) The result was that the townships had acquired a distinct subculture (Kaarsholm 1990; Raftopoulos and Yoshikuni 1999) that generated characteristic adaptive forms of ‘common sense’ in the community which are, arguably, the basis of ‘tacit policies’ and marked by what Garfinkel (1967, p. 53) describes as ‘the enforceable character of actions in compliance with the expectancies of everyday life as a morality.’

In the 1950s the colonial regime was comfortably established and attracting massive immigration from Britain. Whites enjoyed local and imported acts of international cabaret

⁵⁵ Qadafy (1976) continues: ‘But the existence of many parties escalates the struggle for power and this results in the destruction of any achievements of the people and of any socially beneficial plans. Such destruction is seized upon by the opposition party as a justification to undermine the position of the ruling party so that it may take over from them.’ Thus Westminster was not the only available model.

⁵⁶ Williams (1976) discusses changes in the usage of ‘democracy’. Bentham 1641, says it is in the power of the body of free men orderly assembled to make just laws) and representative democracy. Williams recognises that mid-twentieth century usage could be described as ‘anti-democratic’ because it is now taken to mean ‘rule by elected representatives’, c.f. Muamur Qadafy (1976).

⁵⁷ Zizek (2007) points to the conversion (by analysts, administrators and politicians) of politics into culture in the process of advocating ‘tolerance’ instead of granting political demands for rights.

⁵⁸ Baden Powell (1915) ‘Nobody could say that my native spy in South Africa, Jan Grootboom, was neither a contemptible or mean kind of man. He was described by one who knew him as a "white man in a black skin"... He had taken to wearing ordinary clothes and could speak English well, but within him he had all the pluck and cunning of his race.’

with new visiting artists every couple of weeks. Black audiences supported a lively music scene in the townships and mining communities. Self-employed black musicians made a living from popular concerts; others were employed by mine owners as part of their 'social welfare provision' for the workers living in hostels. Those who could play jazz and 'international' were employed to back visiting artists in hotels.

"Music died in 1964" said Paul Lunga, General Secretary of ZUM. During the sixties political tensions were increasing and many musicians left Rhodesia to find work in other countries or join the struggle; some spent years in prison. After the Unilateral Declaration of Independence in 1965 gatherings of more than ten people were banned under Emergency Regulations. Youths were no longer being trained. Instruments and spare parts could not be imported.. The cultural activities of the white community continued much as before, but in the rural and township communities African activity was severely repressed by legislation. Throughout the seventies the war intensified. Night curfews were commonplace. In the rural areas, freedom fighters told the people to give up traditional social activities involving music and dancing while instead they attended all-night *pungwes* and sang politically oriented songs of liberation. Trade sanctions prevented the importation of musical instruments and parts to repair them, so instruments in the townships gradually became almost unplayable and youth clubs no longer could teach music. New instruments remained prohibitively expensive and the only people able to repair them were members of the National Army and the Salvation Army.⁵⁹

During the liberation struggle drama played a major role in the ideological development of the Zimbabwean freedom fighters by clarifying the aims and issues of the struggle and strengthening morale in the freedom camps over the border in Zambia and Moçambique. (Kidd 1983). The ZANU Secretary for Education and Culture, later Minister with the same portfolio, said:

Our young people make their own drama. It's about the struggle between progressives and collaborators in Zimbabwe, or about the Selous Scouts, or the internal settlement. It shows the level of their awareness. The reality of the struggle produces this. After one Rhodesian attack when [everything was destroyed] I remember it was raining non-stop and these kids were lying under the trees, drenched, but they were singing, and they kept on singing. They laughed the whole night, and they said we shall conquer.

⁵⁹ From interviews with members of the Zimbabwe Union of Musicians (Bulawayo Branch).

That kind of spirit could only have been produced by the struggle (Mutumbuka, quoted by Martin & Johnson 1982, p. 278).

Some of these young people later harnessed this experience in group development and cultural production to generate income. Chifunyise (1990) regrets that ‘many of the pioneers of this radical and innovative work, on returning home, were appointed to senior government positions or absorbed into the newly integrated national army.’

After prolonged negotiations, the armed struggle ended and Independence was celebrated in 1980. The new Bulawayo City Council retained most of the former infrastructure, buildings and practices but the African peoples’ sense of ownership of their lives, allied with relative freedom from racist abuse, began to re-define relations between black and white. Musicians were returning from the struggle or from working elsewhere but little employment was available except in the beer halls in the high-density suburbs and in hotels and bars in the city centre. White and Coloured (mixed race) musicians generally stayed apart, playing only for their own affluent communities.

This chapter has given a selection of instances of injustice and subjugation that are not forgotten, though rarely mentioned. Self-determination brought hope for the future and cultural workers devised opportunities to express their full and free humanity – as later chapters will reveal.

CHAPTER FOUR

Origins of discourses

As process, the 'before' of the revolution is located within the oppressor society and is apparent only to the revolutionary consciousness. Paolo Freire.

Introduction

The documented history of black-white relations in Matabeleland is only about 160 years but analysis of oral, visual and written discourses in the 1980s cannot be plucked out of the present moment: it must be grounded in discourses occurring during the earliest decades of cross-cultural contact between the races. In this chapter it is argued that past and present discourses⁶⁰ contain memes of cultural practice retained in 19th century visual and written texts. Although produced by British incomers, this information represents pre-colonial habitus of Amandebele, providing indirect evidence about their culture and governance. Indicators of the nature of power relations between people of different cultural origins under the rule of a black king can be interpreted in relation to early concepts of 'policy'. Rhodesian attachment to theatre and anniversary celebrations is considered as further background to the cultural discourse of the 20th century. This leads to consideration of how political concepts of 'culture' contributed to the discourse of the liberation struggle.

Cross-cultural encounters in the 19th Century

Whereas white settlers habitually retained their most important memes in documents, many of which are still accessible to us in their original written form, the Amandebele of the pre-colonial period retained memes only in the brains of living people who passed them from one to another in story-telling, poetry, spirit-mediated prophecy, social practices and other genres of communication. Unwritten memories are not stable but they

⁶⁰ Discourse is used here to mean 'recurrent phrases and conventional ways of talking, which circulate in the social world and which form a constellation of repeated meanings' (Stubbs 1996).

are still evidence about the past only, in Vansina's view, they should be interpreted differently from written historiography.

The utterance is transitory, but the memories are not... Whether memory changes or not, culture is reproduced by remembrance put into words and deeds. The mind through memory carries culture from generation to generation (Vansina 1985, p. xi).

Vansina's idea that 'memory reorganises the data that it contains' (ibid. p. 176) introduces parallels with memetic theory. Minor variations in oral testimony, whether accidental or intentional, may produce anachronisms that can perturb standard historical researchers seeking specific data of historic events. In studying the evolution of cultures, however, the potential to adapt the 'cultural information' stored in memes is probably more important than chronological detail. It is argued that memes of the endogenous oral culture, retained in Amandebele brains, have been altered by internal and external s-interaction as they pass horizontally through a population or vertically between generations and then can be selected to work in changed contexts Ndebele memes have, moreover, remained generally inaccessible to outsiders, while memes of European culture selected by the settlers were repeatedly passed to the conquered people through processes of segregated education and colonisation expressly in order to control and limit any transculturation that might occur. In the rare instances when Ndebele actions and intentions were transliterated, they were often mistranslated and misrepresented in white men's documents, producing an alternative, skewed 'cultural history'.

It is ironic that, while European documents, which contain unmodified memes, enable modern critical studies of past records to proceed, they have also contributed their stabilising power to the retention of what would otherwise be less stable memories. As a result, generations of Rhodesians have uncritically believed anecdotal accounts that were not verbatim recordings of events and conversations but were written down from memory by participants or partisan intermediaries in a variety of genres, often years afterwards, and thereafter much copied. These written narratives did, however, ensure the reproduction of Victorian assumptions that reassured white Rhodesians while angering black readers.

We were taught that the white man had found us naked savages, wallowing in poverty and squalor. We were taught to despise our heritage and everything African. Consequently when the men in our class detected some inaccuracies in the missionary's accounts... there was dissent. In 1950 I spoke in the Stanley Hall,

Bulawayo, on certain aspects of Rhodesian history. "Write and tell them," an Ndebele gentleman commanded me in a voice charged with emotion "Write and tell them the truth ... (Samkange 1968, p. viii).

Samkange (ibid. pp. 111-121), has shown how a deep knowledge of the orally transmitted 'constitutional usages of the Matabele nation', when combined with detailed documentary research, can contest the partial accounts and conflicting interests in white versions of historical events – such as why Lobengula rejected the Rudd Concession. He suggests that most treaties where literate white men negotiated with an illiterate black man should be considered suspect. Even if it is authentic by the usual methods of testing documents (Rasmussen 1978, p. 5) the question remains whether it reflects accurately what *both* parties believed and understood; Samkange proposes four additional questions⁶¹ that will help to indicate the credibility of these treaties and concessions, which frequently structured the power relations of this era. In examining these early encounters between oracy and literacy it is important to understand that translators have great manipulative power in oral communication and even more impact on history when they write documents on behalf of unlettered rulers.

Ndebele performances and cross-cultural interaction

Written accounts

The first 19th century texts quoted here – descriptions by white men of Ndebele behaviour – are examined from a factist point of view for evidence of only two cultural elements: (a) trust in cross-cultural interaction (b) endogenous cultural productions or festivals. Texts are selected from four authors whose observations show less bias than many later settlers: the key feature that makes their accounts seem more reliable is that they seem to *like* the people they are writing about and enjoy time spent in their company.⁶² Elsewhere they may have encountered what other whites call 'barbarism' or 'savagery' but these authors

⁶¹ 1. Were the circumstances such as would have produced a treaty like this? 2. How did the white man benefit by this treaty? 3. How did the Africans benefit by agreeing to such a treaty? 4. Did what the treaty claimed to be the agreement in fact become the practice for any length of time? (ibid. p. 31).

⁶² In selecting evidence this is admittedly a persuasive bias, not strictly history. Rasmussen notes that of all the first-hand documents about the Ndebele *none* contains a true eye-witness description of either an Ndebele migration or an Ndebele battle with non-Europeans; they are better regarded merely as 'near-contemporary' evidence for historical events. He cites Thomas (1972 *sic*) as a very important source of oral Ndebele accounts, much of which 'was first published in *Missionary Magazine and Chronicle* London, LMS, October 1864' (Rasmussen 1978, pp. 167, 179).

include information that reflects their affable curiosity⁶³ about indigenous people's cultural values and harmonious patterns of behaviour.

a) The missionary Robert Moffat's first encounter with king Mzilikazi in 1829 is described in his journal (Wallis 1945a, p. 13-14) and is of particular interest as an account of an elaborate cultural production, given below in a slightly edited version by his son. This text is therefore not an entirely authentic, contemporary eye-witness account. Nevertheless it contains units of information that could be used as an adequate draft for a modern theatrical representation of that historic encounter and so it can be deemed a meme retention system. The ceremony had clearly been carefully prepared in advance to greet the expected visitor: but neither side really knows what outcome will be negotiated. In this it is significantly different in its social purpose from the annual celebration of *Inxwala* that has often been described by white guests (see p. 87 below).

We entered the large public cattle-fold, where were ranged in a semicircle about eight hundred warriors in full dress. (i) About three hundred more sat concealed in ambush, perhaps for precautions or to try our courage. We proceeded to the centre of the fold, when they beckoned us to dismount. We had scarcely reached the ground when (ii) those who were secreted at the entrance rushed in, shouting and leaping with the most fantastic gestures. A profound silence followed for some ten minutes; then all commenced a war-song,⁶⁴ stamping their feet in time with the music. Then all was silent, and Mzilikazi marched out from behind the lines with an interpreter, and with attendants following bearing meat, beer, and other food. He ... seemed overjoyed. (iii) We left the fold, the warriors maintaining their positions in perfect silence. As the waggons drew near he seemed awestruck, (iv) moving backward and dragging me along with him. When they had halted and the oxen were unyoked, he approached with caution, grasping me with one hand and holding the other on his mouth. He spoke little at first, but examined all minutely, (v) especially the wheels, and when told of how many parts each wheel was composed his surprise seemed to reach its climax. He then returned to the fold, where he was received by his warriors with immense bursts of applause (J.S. Moffat 1885, p. 111).

From the perspective of cultural production this event is a unique example of Amandebele capacity to organise a major entertainment event involving (i) a cast of over one thousand actors. In modern terms, there must have been a considerable team of managers and a plan of action for what was an *unusual* event. (ii) Both performers and non-performers knew

⁶³ T.M.Thomas 1866, letter to Tidman of LMS: 'The scene was new to me and therefore interesting.' (Wallis 1945b p. 241)

⁶⁴ A common misinterpretation – this was not war but celebration. An account of military ceremonial ritual leading to Lobengula's inauguration as observed by Baines in April 1870 details the warriors' and

their roles but only the leading actors – the king and the visitor – could improvise. (iii) The event has particularly engaging aspects of ‘community drama’ in the behaviour of Mzilikazi who performs for two audiences – for his visitors, he demonstrates the role of gracious and friendly host, and for his subjects, as their cultural mediator, (iv) he models behaviour suitable for responding with dignity to the introduction of surprising new memes across cultural boundaries. (v) The king is in control throughout but apparently explains nothing.

Turning briefly to analysing the text as a specimen (*part* of the extended event rather than *fact*), the reader experiences a frisson of anxiety about Mzilikazi’s possible decisions; this removes everyone else’s performance out of the genre of theatre into a delicately negotiated reality (Turner 1982).⁶⁵ The warriors’ perceived reality as the kings’ military force is thus interpreted as being in elision with their performance as his applauding audience, while we can imagine that Moffat similarly slips between his reality as a vulnerable visitor and his performance as the invincible Christian.

b) On his second visit to Mzilikazi in 1835 Moffat was accompanied by Dr Andrew Smith, a scientist,⁶⁶ and some military men. The missionary gives his justification for trying to establish a *mutual trust* with the Ndebele people that was grounded in his Christian faith and rationalised by experience:

After halting, the doctor proposed to make a kraal for the oxen. This I did not approve of, as there was a comparatively empty kraal capable of holding 2000 cattle quite continuous, and the Matabele would most cheerfully give the lodging for a few nights. The doctor said that sending the oxen to the kraal was placing ourselves too much in the power of the natives. I argued that it was in the power of the natives to take our oxen almost all the hours of the day and that giving over our cattle to their care and placing almost unbounded confidence in their friendship would of itself disarm them of any evil intentions; I never once contemplated danger from that quarter (J.S. Moffat 1885, p. 131; Wallis 1945a, p.72).

king’s performances (Baines in Wallis 1946, pp. 329-333); further details of the king’s six weeks of preparation are recorded by Thomas (1873, p.239).

⁶⁵ Victor Turner (1982 p. 9) ‘No one could fail to note the analogy, indeed the homology, between those sequences of supposedly ‘spontaneous’ events which made fully evident the tensions existing in those [African] villages, and the characteristic form of western drama.... No one could fail to recognise, moreover, when "dramatic time" has replaced routinised social living.’

⁶⁶ Andrew Smith’s own diary of 1834-36 (1939 p. 226-233) includes detailed scientific records and observations of behaviour, particularly that of the king and the interpreter, during their visit.

Although the encounter described was a diplomatic cultural event of the utmost seriousness and clearly not for mere entertainment, the real-life interactions do have aspects of theatrical performance, including both values and production skills. After an interval of six years since their last meeting and witnessed by their followers who form the participating audience, Mzilikazi and Moffat do need to perform a renewal of trust. They ‘seek to bring about reconciliation ... finding the apt occasion for the performance of a major ritual celebrating the values, common interests, and moral order’ (Turner 1982, p. 9). But again until friendship is successfully re-established the real-life outcome is *uncertain*, danger or death is possible for any of the participants. As a retrospective written account the text has generic elements of both history and theatre – but for a secondary audience of modern readers the outcome is known in advance so the theatre concept has become central as a result of textualisation. Although many settlers found him unpredictable or capricious (not recognizing his strategy to gain time to consider how best to deal with them), in Ndebele reality everyone was a participant; the only uncertainty concerned the King’s behaviour and his own people knew tacitly what they must do in response. Moffat’s own behaviour was appropriate and mutual trust was successfully re-established.⁶⁷

c) Around the time of Lobengula’s succession in 1869, Thomas Baines’s journal records a similar view of the *basis for trust* between the new king and his own mining company in applying for a mining concession. Identifying steps (1-16) in the negotiation makes it clearer how much depends on a competent and honest translator but does not distinguish between the influences on the text of Mr Lee as translator, Baines as diarist and various editors. There are questions about the assumptions that underpin the accuracy of the text. Reported speech highlights the fact that in this situation oral and written translations often reproduce the *illocutionary* acts (what the speaker intends to accomplish) rather than the exact meaning of every word spoken. Such ‘glossing’ is a deceptively simple form of translation, that anticipates using English categories (Johnstone 2002) and so is a political process that privileges English assumptions, making both of the monolingual interlocutors

⁶⁷ J. S. Moffat (1885 p.133) adds the comment that they were accorded full liberty to come and go and ‘it speaks well for their conduct and discipline that during the long stay of this party of between twenty and 30 white men ... not a single serious misunderstanding or act of injury seems to have occurred’.

dependent on the interpreter.⁶⁸ The journal entry was written soon after the event, in the habit of Victorian travellers; but this is an *editor's* version, produced after Baines's death. It narrates another cross-cultural performance where trust is negotiated through an interpreter.

(1) He invited me to make my request. I then said that (2) I had entered the country by permission of Um Nombata; had explored it; (3) according to my promise, had reported what I found to him; and (4) had also sent Mr Nelson to report to our governor. Now, (5) if he were disposed to grant me a portion of the country on any terms, (6) I was prepared to treat with him. (7) He asked me to state my boundaries, and (8) Mr Lee added a hint not to make them too small. (9) I therefore requested him to grant me from the Gwailo to the Ganyona rivers. He answered, that (10) being but newly seated in his father's throne he could not at once sell land, or define boundaries; but that (11) he would give me leave to go in and seek for gold anywhere within those limits... He answered that (12) all these things were included in his permission ... But (13) he also expected I would not exceed his permission, or do anything which would cause him to regret having made such a concession in my favour. I requested Mr Lee to say (14) that when Um Nombata [the Regent] had given me permission to explore, I had pledged my word to comply with the terms on which it was granted, and had duly returned to report to him; and now I would also give my word to him not to exceed his permission... He said (15) the feelings of his heart were most friendly towards me, and would remain so, (16) unless I should do anything to forfeit his friendship 69 (Baines 1877, p. 36).

The king combines generous terms in the concession and a promise of friendship with a serious warning. Once again the dramatic tension of a *real life* encounter lies in *uncertainty* about the outcome. There is no explicit threat but there is a power differential: if Baines were to deviate from his promise, an endogenous military intelligence system would ensure that it would be reported quickly to the king.⁷⁰ The establishment of a diplomatic basis of trust gradually reduced uncertainty, producing what seemed at the time to be a more stable social environment. Once the concession was agreed orally and both

⁶⁸ The king is accustomed to giving orders, confident that his speech acts (in English, often imperatives) will result in compliance. They would only be ambiguous if he *wanted* to hide his intentions and motives. Baines will understand his meaning through Lee's restricted translation and additional comments, and his own observation of the speaker's intonation, gesture, posture, paralanguage, etc.

⁶⁹ Lobengula probably had the exceptional aural memory of any political leader, especially in an oral culture. The interpreter, Mr Lee, the first settler who was not a missionary, became the king's agent and confidential adviser (Tabler 1966, p. 94) but also had covert interests through his extensive involvement with hunters, prospectors and other European visitors.

⁷⁰ Anderson (1878, p. 206) explains Baines's success: "What has made him [Lobengula] severe on some [Englishmen] is his having lost confidence in many who have gone into his country and abused the privileges granted to them which naturally has shaken his good faith in all who visit Matabeleland. When he knows he can depend on any he is exceedingly friendly and will do much for them as in the case of the late Mr Thomas Baines, the traveller, who from his honourable, upright, and straightforward conduct,

parties apparently understood the terms of the agreement (their roles in a planned performance) everyone was a participant.

Although that trust was supposedly made more reliable by documentation, it was repeatedly betrayed by a growing population of literate white immigrants (about 1,500 in 1891) – greedy entrepreneurs, unreliable translators, manipulative administrators and devious military messengers; all of whom were playing to a white audience back home rather than honouring contracts with the Africans. Waller tried to alert British readers to their reputation for untrustworthiness, quoting Sir Donald Currie, ‘a reliable man’:

Everywhere in South Africa one met utter distrust in the value of Imperial promises and British good faith. Our enemies have much evidence of this and tell the native people so. The Portuguese influence the Matabele as the Boers influenced the Zulus. We have told these new friends [the Matabele] that they will benefit when traders come to them along the Zambesi, but Portugal can prevent this trade, despite what is said here (Waller 1888, p. 5).

These competitive cultural and political tensions were established several years before Rhodes’s mercenaries occupied Lobengula’s territory, and their combined effects did eventually confound Lobengula’s oral systems of governance.

d) Anderson, who settled to farm near Maritzberg in the 1850s, travelled extensively as a trader, surveyor and artist, publishing occasionally in the Proceedings of the Royal Geographic Society. He clearly enjoyed Amandebele behaviour that other whites rejected as insolent. ‘Of all people these are most alive to the ridiculous and fun; full of banter, very observant, witty and clever’ (Anderson 1887, p. 139). In 1878 with several white couples he watched the soldiers’ review by Lo-Bengula.⁷¹ The dances he describes are recognisable as those that Bulawayo groups such as Black Umfolosi had in repertoire in the 1980s, having learned them by copying memes from cultural experts of their grandparents’ generation. Regarding the ‘production details’ of the performance, Anderson’s eye-witness account records a spacious central venue, a sense of special occasion, a mass of participants, colourful costumes, elaborate dance movements and elements of arcane ritual:

gained the King’s confidence.” This view of Baines had become a Rhodesian myth within 5 years of his death, for it is here reported by someone who never met him.

⁷¹ This annual ritual event contrasts with the unusual first meeting between Moffat and Mzilikazi in 1834 described above (this chapter, p.83).

When they sing their war-songs in their deep bass voices, keeping time with stamping on the ground with their right and then left foot, striking their shields with their assegais, the effect is grand – the earth appears to tremble. Occasionally, one or two come out into the centre of the circle and go through the performance of fighting the enemy, advancing, retreating, then in close combat, striking out with their assegai in imitation of stabbing his foe and making as many stabs as he has killed victims; others come out when these retire and this performance goes on during the war song. It is considered a great feat if a warrior can jump high in the air, and strike his shield several times with both ends of his short stabbing assegai, before touching the ground and knocking his knees and feet together. All this time the King is not seen, he is in the cattle kraal with his medicine-man, examining the intestines of two bullocks that have been killed for that purpose (ibid. p.174-5).

That first day was a prelude to several more days of the annual festival of *Inxwala* (First Fruits) that provided entertainment for participants and observers alike. It was, however, primarily the occasion for powerful reinforcement of the bonds of trust and obedience between the king and his subjects. Here, in a well-established rule-governed context, the risk of death was only in the interactions between men and bulls, not between men and men, and hence is more ‘theatrical’ than any of the previous examples. However, it cannot be undertaken simply for the spectacular performance: it could only be animated by the king and so has not been celebrated since 1894 (Posselt 1945 p. 24). Anderson also provides evidence of *tacit policies* operating in the control of the audiences for their own protection and according to their status: ‘The English ...at the station are allowed to be present but they must keep out of the way not to be mixed up with the troops, but they can take up any position they like to have a good view of the proceedings’ (Anderson op. cit. p. 186). The persistence of this meme is confirmed by *visual* evidence retained in the drawing made by Baines in 1869 (see Figure 2-1 and footnote 4, p.26). Despite reproduction of the image by different technologies that may confuse details, information remains clear that the white people (Thompson and Lee families) sat safely close to (and below) the king. These amiable relational observations were selected by Baines and then again by Thomas to transmit information about orderly behaviour to their distant audiences.

Visual texts

This section treats some of the illustrations in Thomas (1873) as visual texts. Houfe (1978) comments that publishers of that period would spend a lot of money on providing

illustrations in their books.⁷² Even though Thomas was relatively poor, he wanted his book to contain 32 black and white illustrative full page plates. Why? His Preface says that ‘the classification of objects and thorough elucidation of the subjects referred to has been lacking in the works of African missionaries and travellers’ so his aim was to provide more ‘useful’ information. Thomas’s own aptitude was for cultural analysis, presenting affective memories with unsentimental compassion. He was no doubt impressed by Baines’s scientific skills, but above all he respected his honest portrayal of Amandebele life and after their last meeting he wrote from Cape Town on 15 August 1871 asking to be allowed to make photographs from his sketches in order to ‘*show the people at home what Matabeleland is really like*’ (Wallis 1946, p. 680). Thomas was at the start of the worst period of his life when he met Baines at his most optimistic: despite minor conflicts they were both more interested in what makes people, objects and events unique than in typification (Pieterse 1992, p. 226). Above all he knew that, while the book would be read aloud in chapels and homes, many of his audience in South Wales could not read and needed pictures as honest as Baines’s to draw them into the stories he had to tell and perceive African life as he did. He would have understood Elkins’s (1996) conclusion that seeing alters the thing seen and transforms the seer.

Again, this analysis focuses on (a) harmonious cross-cultural interaction and/or (b) cultural production and performances. The interest of the images for the thesis lies in their presence, visual grammar, information content, and cultural meanings – their semiosis – rather than their execution, iconography and aesthetic qualities. Pieterse asks ‘what interests of whites are being served by these representations of Africa?’ (op. cit. p. 10) an approach that views the cultural significance of the artist and writer as cultural interpreters of what is depicted for their British audience, and more objectively as vehicles effecting the spatial and temporal movement of memes. Although bookplates can be called ‘illustrations’ when associated with particular passages of writing, they do not merely repeat the information in the text:⁷³ they speak to the unlettered. Gattegno (1969, quoted in Dondis 1973, p.1) reminds us that sight is swift, comprehensive and simultaneously

⁷² ‘Walter Scott got £500 for *The Keepsake* text, whereas the publisher paid 1200 guineas for pictures to embellish *The Amulet* including 150 guineas just for the loan of a painting to be engraved’ (Houfe 1978, p. 41).

analytic and synthetic; hence ‘our minds receive and hold an infinite number of items of information in a fraction of a second’. This ability seems detached, efficient, and rational - as if the eyes are machines telling us everything about the world without distorting it in any way. But, Elkins argues, those ideas are just illusions. He suggests that seeing is undependable, inconsistent, troubled and ‘caught up in the threads of the unconscious’; he uses drawings, paintings, diagrams, and photographs to illustrate his metaphysical points (op. cit. p.1).

To connect the individual with the social, we must conflate the ‘illusions’ or perceptions of solitary observers and the social discourse that arises in conversation: we thus come to recognise social constructions – what Dondis (1973) calls the ‘shared assigned meanings’ of the community. The British audience’s ‘Africa’ was largely based on popular secondary verbal sources – sermons, letters, newspapers⁷⁴ and books of travel and adventure. Missionaries on home leave would preach to congregations who had supported their work, and explorers gave lectures with lantern slides at the RGS and museums. Outside London the public might occasionally see artefacts brought by returning travellers or, more often, pictures in magazines like *The Illustrated London News* and religious magazines such as *Y Dywyrgiwr (The Reformer)* and in books. The RGS funded expeditions and in return wanted reliable information recorded in maps, journals and drawings, and the collection of specimens, geological and astronomical measurements, serious explorers were particular about the objective ‘truth’ of their official reports, and of their independent publications.⁷⁵

Thomas intended that the facts of his version of the ‘reality’ of Africa should be read in the reports he had sent to the London Missionary Society and recognised with appreciation that Baines’s images rejected the aggressive popular constructions (Elkins 1996) that most reporters and publishers of works on Africa thought acceptable. Sadly the opposition of the LMS effectively silenced him so his book has not been noticed even by specialists

⁷³ With text the eyes must travel along a straight line bound into the given sequence of words, but reading a picture they can shift at will anywhere across the two dimensions.

⁷⁴ The *Swansea and Glamorgan Herald* included syndicated accounts of Stanley’s finding Livingstone.

⁷⁵ After seeing the woodcuts in proof, Livingstone wrote to his editor, Horace Waller: ‘Tell the artist I shall be much obliged if he makes the faces less prognathous otherwise I shall put it in the text in spite of begging entreating imploring beseeching Mr. W with tears in my eyes he would make them like baboons, also the fish basket put to rights please’ (Waller 1865, MSS AFR.s.16/1 ff121-123. Unpublished letter).

according to Hywel T. Edwards (personal communication, January 2002) even in a period when Welsh writing was in a parlous state because ‘our far-reaching, censorious and overpowering religious system is keeping our literary life in a low and impoverished state’ (Edward Foulkes, quoted by Edwards 2000, p. 219).

To explain their shared cultural awareness three illustrations relating to a relatively short passage of written text (Thomas 1873, pp. 95-96) are here analysed because they offer unconventional angles on the ‘savage Africa’ trope, often signified in Britain by the heraldic lion *salient*. Thus *Surrounded by Lions* (Plate 5, p. 95) depicts Thomas coming upon a pride of lions. It shows only the external aspects of the hazard.⁷⁶ The reader is not threatened because the lions are not looking outward at the observer: the line of their gently questing gaze is toward the missionary. The observer is given almost a lion’s-eye view, seeing the vulnerability of the man. The function of the picture may be superficially illustrative, needing a close link with the narrative to find the full meaning. In view of the peaceful outcome, however, Thomas may have hoped that his Christian readers would find a compassionate ‘God’s-eye view’ and the message that his humble faith enabled God to overcome ‘the king of the jungle’. In ‘*Lion hunting*’ (Plate 6, p. 96) he represents the hunt as rational, albeit dangerous, problem-solving. Here lion and hunters are based on Baines’s sketches 88 and 89 (Baines 1870c). The written text calls it pest control, necessary to protect the cattle as much as to satisfy human machismo. Thus Thomas again aims to offset popular notions of African savagery by subverting this icon.⁷⁷ Thomas wants to reveal the courage and discipline of the hunters, whose feelings are temporarily subsumed in purposeful action, but afterwards emotions are acknowledged in the text: ‘The conquerors then, seated under a shady tree, review the hunt, each one lauding himself; but the greatest authority is now in the voice of the leader of the attack’ (ibid. p. 96).

The third plate in this lion set shows an aspect of royal Ndebele life that few adventurers would have seen. The social importance of the illustration lies in its record of relations of dependency between the king and his people, whereby the king is only able to perform his

⁷⁶ For the manner of his deliverance we need written text: ‘As one after the other presented his fiery eyes and shaggy head above the intervening bushes, I gazed at him steadily, and commanded him to be gone’ (ibid. p. 95).

⁷⁷ Similar lions appear in novels and adventures such as Ballantyne 1887, Rider Haggard and in biographies of Livingstone (1857, p. 4) see Tywysydd y Plant 1913, Chwefron Rhif 2 Cyf lxxvi p. 50-51.

acclamative role if the hunters have first performed their hunt courageously and effectively. Through Thomas's agency, all of this information was carried in several thousand books to people in Britain, and the memes remain unchanged 150 years later, available for new s-interaction and re-interpretation.

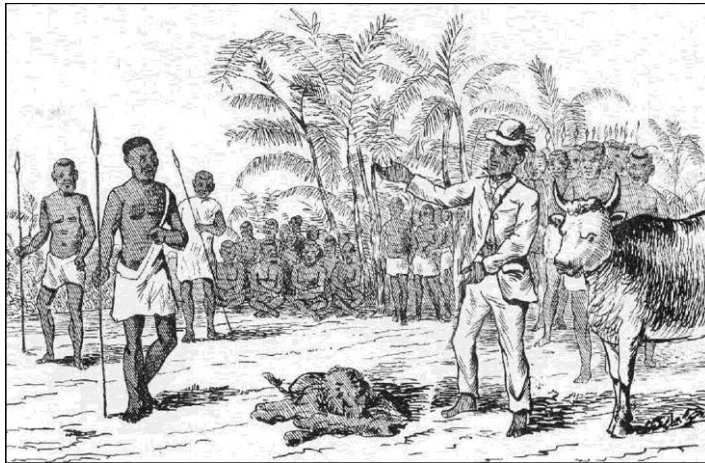


Figure 4-1 The King presenting an Ox to the Lion killer
Thomas 1873 Plate 7, p. 97

Reading the picture as a text from left to right we first see the group of three hunters, shown as dressed in cloth not their normal skins, their posture somewhat relaxed, maybe a little tired after their struggle, approaching a dominant figure (identified only in the written text as king) who is again unexpectedly dressed in European clothes (by a different artist, who is probably not familiar with the cattle of the region).

We become aware of a formless object on the ground, and an audience watching and listening, then of the king standing with his feet apart; his right hand raised gracefully to shoulder height in a gesture of invitation while his left points downwards at the trophy lying between them. The foremost of the three hunters is walking forward, looking at the king with a steady gaze: eye contact is acceptable; there is no submissive deflected gaze. The king's gestures are caught almost as a snapshot (he seems to be speaking) and finally we notice the ox, their reward. For people who cannot read, the giving of a cow will take longer to recognise as a great prize. The sight of European clothes in an event that

otherwise has *no* aspect of European culture jolts the reader more than Fig. 2-1 p.26 did. It raises questions about the king's freedom to make his own rules for his performance. In England the clothes alone might suggest that the king is not savage, not a barbarian, but why does he choose to wear them? A postmodern view of mimicry (Bhabha 1994) may clarify what could be happening in the king's mind⁷⁸ reinforced by the fact that he later abandoned this joke. On this occasion he carries no other insignia of rank; but absence does not affect his authority. Nevertheless, the clothes are important for they are the only indication in the image of any interaction with European culture, and it is complex. The illustration again places the readers with the depicted audience to observe the ceremony; Thomas invites them to share and interpret his experiences without fear.

The text adds information about narrative and temporality that cannot be seen in the illustration alone; but the 'sense of occasion' in this third plate shows the play of cultural values and respectful behaviour that Thomas wanted to communicate to his readers. It conveys enough to enable readers to add to the scene through active imagination, conflating the written text with the quiet drama of the visual text. For many readers the gaps in information in a line-drawing will stimulate the imagination, providing a different perception from photographs or precise draughtsmanship. In most plates Thomas's message about Africa is subtly different from other missionaries' representations. The dignity of the occasion shown in Plate 7 is in marked contrast to many depictions of the African condition in other books of the period when zealous anti-slavery activists, scientific ethnographers and novelists believed in and generally perpetuated a Christian construction of a debased society, depicting pagans as 'poor souls' that had fallen 'from the population on the banks of the Nile, before Abraham, 4,000 years ago [whose dogs] have similarly lost their original characteristics and become a slinking, cringing, timid race' (Bullock 1880, p.43).⁷⁹

Baines diarised early encounters that reveal a transition among the Amandebele from fear of witchcraft to the enjoyment of his drawings of familiar animals and people as images on

⁷⁸ 'What emerges between mimesis and mimicry where the reforming, civilizing mission is threatened by the displacing gaze of its disciplinary double...a mode of representation that marginalises the monumentality of history, quite simply mocks its power to be a model' (Bhabha 1994, pp. 86-8).

⁷⁹ Paradoxes in the Afrocentric myth of the Black Athena and Egypt continue to animate research on modern African American identity and early cultural paradigms (Bernal 1997, 2008).

paper. Despite the fact that writing was known, some people at first showed hostility so he explained to the king what he was doing and why. The king's lively curiosity ensured his approval was well considered: by October 31st 1869 his subjects were also allowed to enjoy the drawings. Baines records an increase in their interpretive skills when, on 9 April 1870, they were faced with a water colour portrait as well as pencil sketches, a unique encounter at a cultural boundary.

Bengulu immediately asked me to show him the portrait I had made by his express desire of Kapaes, the court jester: he recognised the likeness at once and, after admiring it, turned the picture to the circle of indunas sitting in front and a general shout of surprise and admiration testified to their appreciation of my performance [...] when Kapaes himself, blowing into the big end of his ox-horn, appeared, and Mr Lee suddenly confronted him with his picture. He was in no wise disconcerted or frightened, although for a moment surprised, but, pointing out his hat-feathers and other accessories he said, "Now I too shall go, like the other great people, to be seen by Kuruman and the great white men (Baines in Wallis 1946, p.316)

Kapaes's sophisticated appreciation of the power of his image to travel where he himself could not go suggests the intelligence which must have grounded his own performances. He seems to belong generically with Shakespeare's motley fools, hence the caption: '*Kapaes, the court Jester and Flatterer-in-Ordinary to King Nobengula*' (Baines 1870).⁸⁰ The statement by Kress and Van Leuwen (1996, p. 3) that 'visual language is not transparent and universally understood but is culturally specific' seems not to apply here, where the creation of the sketch was a phenomenon the Amandebele could experience directly.

Rhodesian identity myths and aesthetic

To distinguish between cultural and political implications of colonialism, some evidence of a universalising Rhodesian model or 'ideology of the aesthetic' (Eagleton 2000 p. 54) is presented here. From the start 'the arts' had been the leisure activity that linked white settlers to metropolitan values that they embraced to sustain their British identity and unconsciously 'used to legitimate power – that is to say, used as ideology' (ibid. p. 36). Civilisation meant the behavioural antithesis of 'barbarism' while to be 'cultured' was merely a category of competence and education in the arts, with connotations of class (here transposed into an ethnic equivalent). Its relevance to this thesis is that the long-

⁸⁰ See Appendix 4-1.

standing assumption that 'Civilisation' is universal became a *conscious* and *conflicted* ideology for white settlers when it encountered the vigorous, bawling infant Zimbabwean creativity. Their attachment to English arts and manners was a secular antidote to 'homesickness' which missionaries admitted from the start but countered with their religious practices and calling. Several letters to her father by Emily Moffat are an early source of evidence for this conflict 1859-64, as is the memoir of Thomas's daughter about the Occupation 1893-4 (Thomas 1940). Services for Christian worship institutionalised their contacts with Amandebele and initiated genres of English performance – preaching and hymn singing – that were grafted onto pre-existing Ndebele social practice and very slowly opened the way to schooling, literacy and eventually Christian conversion.⁸¹ Their need for 'the arts' was perhaps satisfied by devout performances of singing and preaching whereby they avoided the boisterousness of secular entertainment as related by Baines (1845). His diary records how he gave puppet theatre performances to entertain the traders and prospectors staying with Dr Coverley at Christmas in 1869 (Tabler 1955). Occasionally he received copies of the *Illustrated London News* which had published some of his drawings and annotations. They also included modish reviews⁸² which helped him to decorate his shows with a comic sophistication that flattered his bucolic audience (Theatre critic 1869). It seems the roots of later enthusiasm for amateur dramatics were already present: on 22 Dec. 1869 he wrote: 'I found the community desirous of getting up some Christmas festivities and offered my little puppet company to play burlesques of Hamlet and Othello on two successive nights' (Wallis 1946, p. 242). A jovial mood prevailed: 'Dr Coverley lent us his house for a theatre; a stage with curtains was rigged up, a very well managed flute formed the orchestra and the puppets performed Hamlet in a style never before attempted in these diggings' (ibid. 24 Dec. p. 244) More seriously, Baines provided expressive channels for their dormant aesthetic urges – his commissioned paintings represent the beauty they recognised in their adopted landscapes while even his puppets remind them of 'the poetical spirit' without making aesthetic demands.

⁸¹ Goodall (1954 p. 243) says there was only one baptised convert by 1895, and about 100 'inquirers'.

⁸² Saturday April 2nd 1870, The mail had reached Tati (with) several numbers of *Illustrated News*.

Once the BSAC received its Charter, concession hunters hoped for wealth from gold and diamonds. In 1891 a visitor, Marie Lippert⁸³ writes to her mother in terms that were becoming familiar tropes on Africa but includes an unusual perspective on missionaries:

...a most extraordinary mixture of savagery and civilisation. Just imagine that yesterday we had a regular race meeting, and our carriage was standing under the shade of a tree on which last year a woman was hanged, and some bones are still lying around. The races were really quite amusing ..., Colonials are all good riders... rather a rough set, these Border Police and traders and hunters, mostly gentlemen, but very little left in them of gentle ways.... Our trip to the Mission Station was delightful. The Mission is not doing much ... Quite apart from religion the Matabele cannot even be taught to labour. These missionaries don't let their hair turn grey over that, but occupy their land, trade with natives, interfere in politics and try to make money. Besides they produce crowds of children (quoted by Posselt 1945, p. 75).

A secular-religious boundary is also observed by Jeannie Boggie in her account of the nuns who travelled north in 1890 with the mercenaries enrolled to realise Rhodes's dream. Using clichés that echo Victorian fine writing, she connects piety with militarism, and contrasts civilised travellers with barbarous indigenes then draws another contrast, with an affectation of giggling innocence, between pious nuns and the licentiousness of a barely civilised mercenary rabble, but all are united in theatre.

The sisters greatly endeared themselves to the men in camp by helping them to make costumes for some amateur theatricals...as an amusement for the troops. Necessity has ever been "the mother of invention", and amid much fun and laughter, most fearful and wonderful costumes – made out of next to nothing at all – appeared from the hands of these clever ladies but the sisters did not go to the entertainment (Boggie 1938, pp. 6-7).

During their trek in 1890 RSM William King applied for permission to establish a theatre with drinks licence in the main settlement when they arrived and within two weeks of their hoisting the Union Jack in Salisbury he gave them a knock-about farce. By 1892 hotels were made available to use as 'theatres' for occasional entertainment. (Taylor 1968) The enjoyment of theatre as a social activity is described in loving detail and shows that this trope of civilised leisure was established early and survived almost unchanged. As early as 1898 professional dancers, singers and actors toured from South Africa with comedy and burlesque; a musical company of some twenty performers came by wagon and the principals 'were greatly pleased by their reception'. Less than a year after the end of the First Chimurenga these entertainments lifted the 'dullness of the time reflected in their

⁸³ Wife of Edward A. Lippert, who was competing with Rhodes' agents for land concessions.

spirits' (*Bulawayo Chronicle* 18 June 1898). These tours provoked the settlers to provide well-equipped venues and to put on their own productions between visits (ibid. pp. 42-47).

Interviews about women's pioneer experience Boggie (1938) give a contrasting perspective on the more familiar male militarism of soldiers, administrators and missionaries. Their stories continue the process by which Rhodesian nationalism constructed an identity that differed from South African (though the English could hardly tell the difference). Rhodesians owned the pioneer heritage and were a significantly more homogeneous, less cosmopolitan population, than their southern neighbours. To describe the first Aryan soldiers as 'pioneers' indicates that they saw the environment as culturally naked: the indigenous people, and their impact on the environment, were in effect invisible. The word also suggests that the first wave of settlers identified themselves and their own interests with those more genuinely pioneering missionaries and traders⁸⁴ who had come first and then, above all, with Cecil Rhodes who rewarded them with land stolen by force of arms. Descendants of that raw bunch of amateur soldiers appropriated the word 'pioneer' and its connotations as their model – the hero of popular literature in England.⁸⁵ Despite Cecil Rhodes's oratorical policy of equal rights for all civilised men, Hailey (1938, p.59) the policy of the Administration persisted in 'protecting the European people of this country from a majority of Natives getting on the roll'.⁸⁶ Parry (1999) describes Rhodesians of the colonial period as 'pragmatic and less than reflective', distrustful of any search for 'broader solutions' to urban dilemmas and unimpressed by the relative sophistication of employers and policy-makers south of the Limpopo.

By the early 20th century well established white communities in central southern Africa consisted of farmers, soldiers, missionaries, civil servants, medical staff, government extension workers, entrepreneurial traders, teachers, and even a white artisan or proletarian class (Kerr 1995). A majority of them were living in suburbs or small towns where 'for these disparate elements to cooperate with each other in the control and exploitation of the indigenous African population it was essential to find cultural forms which could bind them all to the overriding ideology of the colonial administration'. It was also necessary to

⁸⁴ H. U. Moffat called them 'pre-pioneers' in his address at the 40th Anniversary Celebrations, 1933.

⁸⁵ For example autobiographical works by J.C. Chadwick, F. C. Selous; fiction by R. M. Ballantyne, Rider Haggard, and James Chalmers.

instil a sense of white solidarity and superiority lower-class recruits through informal recreational activities: 'Entry to a theatre club and attending dramatic functions provided a 'rite de passage' expressing the process of embourgeoisement' (Kerr 1995, p. 21).

Celebrations as performance

The committee that organised the Matabeleland 40th Anniversary Celebrations in 1933 produced a varied programme of activities over five days. The programme include a message from the King and Queen, a play written for the occasion, and an afternoon of Native Dances and Songs, as well as processions, receptions, reunions and a pilgrimage to Rhode's grave. The report of the 'native dances' makes several bigoted comments:

The dances presented all showed the latest developments in dances which have as their background native custom [...] they were performed in the old days before people of wealth and were really petitions for food, which developed into a chorus of thanksgiving when food was given. To the European mind the repetition was picturesque but meaningless, but it was clear that to the native singers and dancers this repetition increased the joy and exultation which they were expressing in rhythm and sound (Illustrated record 1933, p. 20).

While this professes to recognise some lower-order 'picturesque but meaningless' performance skills in the African, its political aim is to reinforce belief that 'the European mind' looks for more aesthetic value in artistic performances, and responds with more subtlety. Evidence is lacking of their engagement with such ideas as whether aesthetic value 'really resides in the object' or is created by learned behaviour designated 'civilised', and why what Africans value is represented as unworthy of a European aesthetic.

Similar pretensions concerning white aesthetic capacity are recorded in an appreciation of the play which, unsurprisingly, was called *Pioneers*. The critic commented favourably on its representation of the mood of 'The seventies in England, when ... Disraeli was rallying youths to his cause of Empire building, for it was then that there was born in many a breast that fervour for British ideals which led them ultimately in their young manhood to go forth, adventurers and all....' But then the critic emphasises that, though full of powerful sentiment and nostalgia, the authors did not claim aesthetic value for any of the week's activities. This suggests that their community had already acquired a pompous 'theatre critic' who 'set standards' that helped his readers to distinguish 'quality' from mere

⁸⁶ Affirmed, he says, by the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia in 1933.

entertainment. The same genre of critical writing was still respected in Harare fifty years later.

After the Second World War the white population of Zimbabwe was refreshed by a new wave of immigrants from metropolitan Britain, many of whom did not want to stay in that country under a Labour government. Thus a new generation settled with land, servants and relative wealth and adopted Rhodesian identity and tastes. Those who preferred 'the arts' to politics employed the familiar festival model in producing celebrations for the Rhodes Centenary in July 1953. The theatre community invited Gielgud to perform in Bulawayo and 'absolutely insisted' on seeing a revival of his famous *Richard II*. 'They were very enthusiastic. For most of them it was the first chance for several years to see live theatre. The Rhodesians who spoke to John were pathetically anxious to seem welcoming and appreciative. He was never told "We enjoyed the play" but was always asked "Are you pleased with your reception?"' (Hayman 1971, p.186) One day, noticing that a group of African actors was in the audience, in segregated seats, he made his own small protest. 'To the consternation of the organisers, he insisted on meeting them in his dressing-room afterwards.' (Croall 2000, p. 378) He later commented that Rhodesians 'like to pretend they are very critical and unimpressed' (Gielgud 1979, p. 176). What they wanted was a quintessential British theatre experience but for him the experience was one of the lowest points in his professional life. The gulf between them was deep.

Rhodesia decided to stand apart politically from Britain and the Empire in 1965 rather than accept a majority, black franchise, thus cutting themselves off from the metropolitan source of their cultural heritage; the isolation was reinforced in the 1970s by United Nations' sanctions. Ransford (1968, p. 307) who later became a member of the National Arts Foundation Literary Committee, gives a partisan view of these 'special' entrepreneurial people:

These white Rhodesians were utterly different in spirit to their compatriots who had colonised other British African Territories. These settlers were governed, not by the Crown, but by officials of a commercial undertaking. The conquest of their vast land and the burden of suppressing the rebellions of 1896 had not cost the British tax payers a single penny. All the expenses had fallen on the company's shareholders and on the Rhodesian settlers.

The Rhodesian concept of indigenous 'communists' is found in British missionary discourse as far as Bullock (1880 p. 42) who thought the continent benighted, the negro savage and their governance primitive and degraded. He described them as 'Communitic, which, in its main elements, is essentially a savage government. It is this which the Socialists of Russia, Germany, France and America are now scheming, plotting and assassinating for.'

Fearful of the vanquished black Others, the Anglo-Saxon imperialist regime embodied racism, masquerading as willing to 'integrate' any 'native' who would learn what the West dictated although in doing so, 'the native risked becoming homeless in his own land, and his identity problematic' (Mudimbe 1997a). On the other hand, the benevolence of the few Rhodesian liberals exemplifies what Eagleton (op. cit. p. 46) calls the quasi-divine capacity 'imagination' – the faculty by which one can empathise with others and feel one's way into the unknown territory of another culture; imagination which, though it has no firm identity of its own, self-effacing but parasitically feeding on life-forms of others, 'lends you universal authority precisely by emptying you of distinctive identity.' In such terms, the Rhodesian aesthetic shared by liberals and fascists included the illusion of a 'pure essence' of British heritage and assumed that the norms of this illusory civilisation were universal.

After the union flag was lowered, the white population remaining dropped from 232,000 in 1979 to 80,000 in 1990 (Moore 2003). The white community's reluctant awakening occurred among those who chose to remain, who then set about making strategies to protect their privileged position – both as individuals and as institutional beings. John Moore (ibid. p. 110) points out that those remaining, along with multinational companies, dominated the output of agricultural, mining and manufacturing tradables and subsequently benefited from economic liberalisation strategies, so they had been successful at least in protecting their economic status. These two sections have explored the origins of the ruling white discourse on culture that remained so isolated for so long. The final section examines concepts of culture that became a resource in the liberation struggle. This was difficult as no discourse of culture or African aesthetics was apparent.

The rise of African Nationalism (Cox 1966, p.27) in Rhodesia had little interest in the black cultural renaissance, Negritude, that was developing in Francophone Africa.

Revolutionary discourse

This section uses evidence from African-authored texts from the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s to explore the role of the concept 'culture' in Zimbabwean nationalist and revolutionary politics and to track their contribution to post-Independence cultural discourses. The few publications that chronicled events and ideologies during the struggle were usually ephemeral but they provide evidence of a major new variability in linguistic terms which theoretically implies the retention of new memes. In discourse terms the texts often contain powerful rhetoric using many cultural tropes whose words disengage our logic from our emotions. Fay (1994) argues that through repetition they become political and normalise a new historical narrative of the masses' lives under colonialism

With the liberation struggle a newly politicised concept of culture at the collective level emerged. DiMaggio (1997 p. 263) proposes that in addition to the collective, supra-individual level of culture, "culture is also manifest in people's heads" and that in order to understand how people *use* culture (rather than produce it) cognitive presuppositions about the nature of culture and how shared cognitive structures *interact* must be clarified.' This is more often the stuff of novelists, but also seems to run alongside memetic theory in relating the individual to the collective. An unusual personal analysis of traditional African culture was delivered by the journalist Lazarus Mpofo (1969, AA1) to a Pan-African Symposium in Algiers. Mpofo became the Chef de Bureau in the Bulawayo office of Zimbabwe Inter-Africa News Agency This early text provides a starting point in asking whether 'culture' was harnessed in the liberation struggle; it even predates UNESCO's publications of the 1970s urging developing nations to embark on cultural analysis and cultural policies. Mpofo's own use of 'culture' 43 times is here contextualised in a brief analysis of meaningful phrases containing 'culture', and the arrival of political keywords characteristic of revolutionary texts is summarised in Appendix 4-4.

Having described many aspects of his culture, he identifies the pain of colonialism in 'Submission to oppression is abandonment of one's culture and effacement of one's

personality' (36). He sees the critical need for a political response: 'the liberation struggle, in a positive sense, is to salvage our culture' and political reasoning to build a better future: 'to preserve the aspects we consider consistent with progress in this dynamic world' (38). He developed this account of traditional culture with a Pan-African audience that already understands the political issues, comrades who can imagine changing their world and actively seek out new memes.

| | Line | TEXT |
|----------|------------|---|
| 1 | 13 | the analysis of culture requires a deeper insight as compared to the treatment of political forces. |
| 2 | 20 | Shona and SiNdebele ... is the language-culture of the Zimbabwe people |
| 3 | 24 | one major effect of colonialism on a people's culture, namely, "attempt at displacement". |
| 4 | 26 | how hard it is to displace or destroy their culture |
| 5, 6 | 27 28 | The only possible impact of enforced culture would be modification of aspects of a peoples' culture, not total destruction particularly if a people is still on its native ground |
| 7 | 30 | Our view is that culture is a refined or perfected and popular manner of performance for a people at a given period in anything they do. |
| 8 | 32 | The surviving and fairly permanent feature of a form of culture is the principle for which a thing must be done and the manner. |
| 9 | 37 | Language constructions carry this form of regard which in culture is respect. |
| 10 | 42 | Order is an essential principle of society and mutual respect is the culture that effects it. |
| 11 | 44 | Culture is dynamic. It is as imperfect as man is at a given period. It is, equally, the evidence of a society's endeavour towards perfection. |
| 12 | 50 | the most interesting social development is that resulting from interaction of two human cultures |
| 13 | 56 | Many theories have been defined as to the preserves and distinguishes blood relationships within the society relative influence of different cultures. |
| 14-16 | 5763 64 | Zimbabwe culture today is best dealt with in the context of abnormal influences of colonialism on Zimbabwe culture, but perhaps better to give the perspectives of the Zimbabwe culture itself. |
| 17 | 65 | Like in any other society, Zimbabwe culture is expressed in every walk of life in song, dance, social relationships, architecture, religion and so on. |
| 18 | 84 | In Zimbabwe religious culture ... Midzimu or Amadloxi... inspire reverence these crucial functionaries of society emerge through transmission of ancestral spirits along family lineages |
| 19 | 101 | In the translation and interpretation of life problems Zimbabwe social records abound with tremendous proofs, hence the survival of the culture. |
| 212 2 | 105 | Zimbabwe culture, and we believe several other cultures, holds that events have a way of announcing themselves in advance |
| 23 | 118 | A Zimbabwean nurtured ... this culture ... reads events in this manner before rationalising them. |
| 24 | 133 | The practices that go into contracting it [marriage]constitutes a culture for each group of peoples. |
| 25 | 140 | Zimbabwe culture provides that contact between in-laws should be through a go-between |
| 26 | 185 | the structure of the Zimbabwe culture vital to the successful maintenance of society. |
| 27 | 187 | Zimbabwe culture provides a system of indirect approach to eliminate possible points of friction |
| 28 | 200 | A feature of African culture highly expressed in Zimbabwe is social organisation through totems |
| 29- | 210 | Zimbabwe culture expresses itself ultimately in the form of song - the colour of our culture. |
| 31 | 216 | culture is a dynamic expression |
| 32- | 219 | When culture takes this form it becomes the culture of resistance. |
| 34 | 220 | A peoples' culture cannot be suppressed or oppressed without touching their very heart |
| 35 | 222 | The nearest thing to a people is their way of life, their culture. |
| 36 | 223 | Submission to oppression is abandonment of one's culture and effacement of one's personality |
| 37 | 225 | The struggle is to reject foreign impositions in our systems and concepts of culture. |
| 38 | 226 | The struggle in a positive sense is to salvage our culture, live by it and preserve the aspects we consider consistent with progress in this dynamic world. |

| | | |
|----|-----|--|
| 39 | 228 | Christianity ... the subtle instrument to destroy Zimbabwe culture . |
| 40 | 229 | every form of African culture has been called heathen and therefore full of evil |
| 41 | 232 | European culture with its base elements which emphasise orgy and class privilege. |
| 42 | 234 | struggle to ... preserve African culture with its emphasis on humanistic values. |
| 43 | 236 | the great necessity of fostering our culture as the basis of our lives and personality. |

Table 4-1 Meaningful phrases around ‘culture’ in Mpofu 1969, AA1

Mpofu develops his account of traditional culture with a Pan-African audience that already understands the political issues, comrades who can imagine changing their world and actively seek out new memes. He reviews his culture critically: it is his foundation but does not constrain him because he wants it to be dynamic not static and welcomes cultural change. Mpofu’s central point is:

Our view is that culture is a refined or perfected and popular manner of performance for a people at a given period in anything they do. The surviving and fairly permanent feature of a form of culture is the principle for which a thing must be done and the manner.

He recognises that the culture of Zimbabweans has been diverted and damaged by colonial strategies and therefore the main purpose of the struggle is ‘to reject foreign *impositions* in our systems and concepts of culture.’ He does not, however, advocate that the indigenous culture should revert to a stable expression of past values and does not yet see it as a tool to manipulate political attitudes and events. Past experience might modify aspects of a people’s culture but could not destroy it while they are still living on their native land.⁸⁷ Although the behaviour of white people often represents an unattractive alternative he is aware that he learnt much from them and his theoretical position – that the *mixing* of cultures can be an exciting experience – represents this new *métissage*. A similar bicultural awareness and desire for change was characteristic of those who became leaders in the nationalist parties even during the early phases of the politicisation of culture.

Nationalism

During the 1950s some Africans had began to argue in English what they already knew tacitly in their mother-tongue, identifying “the way we do it” as different but *not* inferior. Rejecting the racist discrimination of the time and the ethnically-defined identity associated with so-called “primitive” behaviour they began to say out loud that their

⁸⁷ Tambayi Nyika (of ZIANA): ‘A cultured man is one who knows how *everything* should be done’ (1992). Interview for WDCD Extended Committee about treatment of culture by Zimbabwean journalists.

difference was a source of pride (Samkange 1968). The sense of owning their culture became acute in cadres outside the country, where the experience of being immersed in other cultures reinforced

their knowledge that the colonial mis-interpretation of African culture had been deliberately repressive and self-interested. The cadres did not want to possess or imitate that culture: their experience of colonialism brought them to share Freire's position: 'Among the things which the Third World may learn from the metropolitan societies this is fundamental: not to replicate those societies when its current utopia becomes actual fact' (Freire 1970, p. 221).

This had been recognised as a crucial political principle as early as 1961 by Robert Mugabe and the National Democratic Party who 'tried to inspire the spirit of 'self-sacrifice' by a rejection of European luxuries and habits. Emphasis was laid on African cultural practices to inspire pride, to cultivate a spirit of self-discipline and reduce dependence on the white man. The result was an African cultural revival 'that adopted powerful emotive terms to distinguish.... prevaricators or outright collaborators of the white regime.' It thus began to build a liberation culture and language to circumvent legislation that, by the time NDP was banned in 1961, had 'enormously expanded African nationalism and heightened the people's consciousness and militancy' (Bhebe 1989, p. 101).

Introducing their extensive collection of political texts from the Independence movements Nyangoni and Nyandoro (1979 p. xvii) recognise four periods: ⁸⁸

- Protest 1957-64. Several movements emerge, signals developing political consciousness.
- Direct Confrontation 1964-71. Political parties were banned and guerilla war began.
- Armed Struggle 1971-74. With new military strategies.
- Armed Struggle and Détente 1974-76. Detained leaders released, armed struggle resumed.

The Statement of Principles, Policy and Programme published by the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress in Salisbury calls for non-racial national unity and an

⁸⁸ They produced this volume in 1978 while in exile; most items were found in libraries in England.

increasingly *integrated society* in social, cultural, economic and political life. Culture at this point is no more than the few permitted 'arts associations' modelled on English practice. 'Individual initiative and free enterprise' are deemed necessary to the life of a young country, 'so is a measure of Government control.' (SRANC 1957 in *ibid.* p. 3, 10). Pervasive colonial constructions are apparent in their honest (but naïve) approval of most of the existing institutions, including voluntary associations which they say 'must be given the fullest freedom in the religious, cultural and social spheres' (*ibid.* p. 6). Their concept of difference is dominated by 'racial discrimination' which Congress says must be abolished, together with 'tribalism'. Nationalism is understood as political, an inevitable uprising of national feeling among the peoples of Africa (Stoneman 1989) but as yet no evidence emerges of ideas from outside the country.

Nkomo's presidential report to the first SRANC Annual Delegates Congress was similarly reformist, but angrier: 'All our present misfortunes and the decaying dignity of our race are ... produced by laws based on racial discrimination which have subjected the African to the position of a serf, both physically and mentally' (SRANC September 1958, in *ibid.* pp. 13-20). He cited the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a model for national organisation (*ibid.* p.19) but still apparently assumed that African advancement would come about internally when they all *achieved the vote*. After the SRANC was banned Nkomo (1959) wrote in *Africa South* that 'Welensky has found reasons for the crisis outside the territories – he blames the Accra Peoples Conference;⁸⁹ he talks of Communists, plots and agitators.' This paper was cited in the UK by the Marxist Woddis (1960, pp. 5-6), thus effectively giving Welensky evidence to support his fears of communist influence. Nkomo re-iterated the Franc's aims as: 1) to recapture human dignity for the Africans which has been destroyed over a number of years; 2) to restore the land and property rights of Africans; 3) to gain the universal franchise so that Africans may play a full part in the political life of the country.

Reviewing this period Mungazi (1990) concludes that by the time the Rhodesian Front, led by Ian Smith, was returned to power in December 1962 an environment of major cultural conflict had been created which became critical because of the national policy to seek

independence from Britain under a minority white rule. The country was at a cultural crossroads, and escalation was inevitable given the Front's strategies.

In their first policy statement the Zimbabwe African National Union ushers in 'the new politics of confrontation', listing its political objectives in terms such as *citizenship, rights and governance* (ZANU 1963, in Nyangoni and Nyandoro 1978, p. 64-71) that replace earlier, less specific notions of 'civil rights' and 'integration' as the key issues. At this point the only direct reference to culture was an intention to set up a Ministry of Youth, Sport and Culture (*ibid.* p. 70).

After a further decade of civil confrontation, exile and imprisonment, the armed struggle politicised the discourse on culture. The political programme (ZANU 1972, *ibid.* pp. 249-265) published by ZANU from exile in Lusaka, included a section on 'the new Zimbabwe culture' explaining the history of cultural conflict in Rhodesia as a violation of the African peoples' culture. The trope 'cultural aggression' is a persistent theme in African revolutionary writing (Barfoot 1991) and is often associated with warnings about the concept of 'false consciousnesses. The loss of autonomy and recognition of 'false consciousness' become recurring themes, often relying on using the qualifier 'false' rather than the more complex abstract noun phrase. 'Historians are creators rather than simply recorders of, or scholarly witnesses to, revolution which emerges as the creator of rhetoric and the creation of rhetoric; made by tropes as well as the manufacturer of tropes' (Barfoot 1991, p. 7) He draws attention to the work of keywords - the slogans, visual and verbal images, the myths and fantasies of the revolution epoch, and how they are worked and reworked in affirmation or denunciation of the consequences. Typical examples from the Zimbabwean struggle include:

Eighty years of *colonisation* have *warped* the minds of our people and *shaken* their confidence in themselves by a process of cultural *alienation*. The settler stage, screen, mass media, literature, school and church, have combined to create a *false impression* that a foreign culture was good and our own was *bad*. Consequently, our rich cultural *heritage* has been *lost* and at times *despised* by the young generation which has been *indoctrinated* and *intoxicated* with western cultural values (ZANU 1972, *op.cit.* p. 261. *My emphases*).

⁸⁹ The first all-Africa Peoples' Conference, December 1958, was followed by one in Tunis and another in Cairo, March 1961 with a variety of Pan-Africanist ideological trends.

and:

In a free, democratic, independent and socialist Zimbabwe the people will be *encouraged* and *assisted* in building a new Zimbabwe culture *derived from the best* in what our heritage and history has given, and *developed to meet the needs* of the new socialist society of the 20th century, where the emphasis will be on the community (ibid. p.261).

Revolutionary cadres who left the country have by now acquired years of experience in a variety of other cultures, and so the party now looks forward to a 'multi-factorial culture'.

The discourse develops a future-oriented cultural impulse rising above the past anguish.

ZANU policy makers assert their willingness to accept cultural change and develop their relations with the rest of the continent, where they feel their identity belongs.

We are prepared to learn from the accumulated experience and refinement of mind, morals and tastes from other peoples and cultures in the world especially from other parts of Africa and use such knowledge to improve and enrich our own. But our culture must stem from our own creativeness and so remain African and indigenous (ibid. p.261).

In September 1972 the Political Commissariat of ZAPU, also based in Lusaka, issued a document on 'policy direction' explaining why the party must be transformed and revolutionized. It re-presented Zimbabweans as:

...loyal to their long history of national pride and self-determination... Zimbabweans never ceased to fight even at the darkest moments of their struggles in 1890-1903... they carried on stubbornly against colonialist occupation... inspired by our rich national heritage. Our guarantee for final victory is the revolutionary masses whose history and tradition is that of struggle... (ZAPU 1972, ibid. pp. 265, 267).

The rhetoric here still aims primarily to construct a political identity but is presented within a seductive cultural context, linking heritage with mass revolution, and national tradition with struggle.

There could be dangerous assumptions in the rhetoric, however, if progressive advocacy of openness to change is found, in the future, to be incompatible with the masses' indigenous values since the majority have not had positive experience of difference through living in cultures outside Rhodesia. The parties' political failure to anticipate reasoned dissent and disappointment with the values of socialism could not be resolved if it was not problematised. In these documents both parties reveal that culture is understood as central to their motivation but it *remains undefined*. Interestingly the rhetoric can even

accommodate contradictory perceptions of the political importance of the peoples' cultural heritage, depending on the emotion the writers want to evoke. On the one hand culture is said to have been suppressed, lost or destroyed, while on the other hand it is strong enough to provide the motivation and dynamic impulse for the struggle.

Differences in the memes available to leaders as the struggle proceeded are described in a retrospective analysis by Robert Mugabe (1978, p.7) where he details the rapid influx of new perceptions (theorised here as memes) into a changing political culture. This paper shows how the focus on struggle apparently narrows cultural references to concerns for their 'inherent right of self-preservation and self-determining.' In terms of a scientific law of survival he argues that 'a people as a national entity always retains a capacity for its own perpetuation, hence onward carriage of its biological, genetic heritage and its own social, economic and cultural heritage.' Finally, however, nearly all his case rests on the injustices of cultural dispossession in a broad sense.

The evil imperialist and colonialist act of aggression and forcible occupation of our country has over the years yielded opposing relations between the white coloniser community and the black colonised community, has imposed the intolerable burden of:

- a) being perpetual political underdogs in their own country,
- b) being subjected to a brutal social and legal system that has dehumanised them,
- c) being willy-nilly turned into a class of exploited workers and a landless peasantry, most land having been seized and apportioned to a settler farming bourgeoisie,
- d) being publicly massacred, hanged, tortured, quarantined in squalid conditions of hunger and disease, detained and imprisoned for opposition to the system,
- e) being maliciously denied opportunities for educational, technical, social and cultural development,
- f) being racially despised and discriminated against, and otherwise insulted and downgraded.

The workshop report of a group of ZAPU exiles in London (Mkandla 1979). suggested that in the future they should send their people for technical education in friendly Socialist countries who would make a more earnest effort to educate the people for Zimbabwe and not for multinational companies, indicating some success in the cultural dimension of foreign policies of the socialist block towards the developing world The exiles paraphrased their debate on the revolutionary future of education and culture in the following terms:

...it was agreed ...that we should not separate education and culture since one implies the other; culture and education are both concerned with values and socialisation, the fitting of the individual within the prevailing social setup (ibid. p.10)

Points made in their discussion indicate how much more politicised concepts of culture have become in the twenty years since Mpfu's paper was written. 1) The various peoples of Zimbabwe have customs which, although they had differences, were largely similar. Western education brought new technological levels that damaged central values and altered organisational structures from the family upwards; new class relationships came in with the introduction of capitalism. They must seek a new system that will not wipe away good remaining in their culture, such as the predominant value of the family. 2) They should not view society solely through technology but be aware of the totality of production relationships. The political analysis of their position was driven by the injustices of their colonial experience and the impact these had on their cultural identity but it was not suggested that through the revolution they should revert to the pre-colonial polity, though one raised the difficult issue of applying a Marxist analysis to that pre-technological society and noticed that it contained retrograde elements.

We should examine the nature of Zimbabwe society at the time of contact with international forces that resulted in the colonisation of Zimbabwe. We should examine the nature of the culture that was dominant at that time and the mode of production that determined that culture. Since the motive force of colonialism was monopoly capitalism, capitalism crushed those progressive aspects of the existing culture which were inimical to its development and at the same time entrenched those aspects useful to it. Therefore as revolutionaries we have to understand what our whole culture was, otherwise international forces will fill the vacuum for us, or encourage us to conserve the most retrograde of our past. (ibid. p.12)

The booklet *'Education for Revolution'* was said to state that theirs was a collective culture⁹⁰ but the meeting preferred not to 'over-glorify' this collectiveness. This was a long-standing debate: a ZAPU text from Zambia advocates that 'within the party we [should] attempt to throw away those capitalist behaviours of personal power struggles, individualism and materialism, and turn to the practice of collective action' (ANC of Zimbabwe 1976 pp. 35-39). Communal culture had been satisfactory because among other things it encouraged communal discipline, but in some cases the original culture 'had

⁹⁰ Mutumbuka (of ZANU-PF) continued to regard collectivity as a key concept, associated as much with African family values as with Marxism. In 1978 he saw the *pungwe* as a way of mobilising the people.

some very negative and discriminatory attitudes and even oppression of some sections that indicated the beginnings of class differentiation.’

The predominant view was that the participation of the whole people in deciding the details of their everyday lives was most conducive to a genuine flowering of popular culture. We should build socialism to suit our needs to ensure that the means of cultural development and a balanced education are widely accessible (Mkandla, op. cit. p. 10)

Here too, education, culture and democratic participation are inextricably intertwined in the ideological thinking of the leaders. As the concept of culture became associated with a self-constructed, endogenous political identity – it was increasingly incorporated into educational thinking and planning as a basic concept rather than as a component of the curriculum (see texts AA2 – 4).

An important corpus item from the period when they were preparing for government ‘cultural policy’ is Mutumbuka (1978) who became the first Zimbabwean Minister of Education and Culture. Here he quotes Marx: ‘Education must constitute the basis of man’s development of his vocational, cultural and political growth’, thus introducing new language and lexis that offers fresh utopian opportunities for readers to reconstruct their social roles. He shows how a new mentality – a free Zimbabwean identity – will be built on conceptions of ‘culture’ in the past, present and future. While ‘*our culture*’ is the great unifying call – appealing to the heart more than the head – he also presents a full, clear account of educational principles for his partisan readers. Having identified many shortcomings in the colonial education of the past, he bitterly admits its present success in controlling educated members of society ‘without any appearance of using force’. He quotes a section on education from ZANU’s basic policy document that still bears the marked polarities of a time of war and envisages a Zimbabwean future in terms that are still redolent of cultural conflict:

The imperialists have diverted our rich cultural heritage by way of films, literature, mass media, schools, Church, and doctrinaire dogma. These have plunged our nation into a morass of emotional and spiritual confusion. Most of our people believe that western culture is right and that ours is wrong and uncivilised. This is a mental process that has taken years of intense cultural aggression, and which has resulted in the loss of our cultural heritage.

In an independent Zimbabwe strenuous efforts will be made to return the nation to its noble self once more. The people will be masters in building a new Zimbabwe culture

derived from the best of what our heritage and history (armed struggle) have offered to us. Zimbabweans will also take from foreign culture that which is good and transform it with the indigenous culture, and then develop it to meet the needs of the socialist state of Zimbabwe. Our country will need mental decolonisation just as much as it needs political and economic independence (Mutumbuka 1978).

To anchor this in the overall Marxist-Leninist policy he quotes Lenin's somewhat refined view that 'an illiterate person stands outside politics' that had obviously been disproved wrong by the liberation struggle; furthermore, most cultural production came from an oral culture and so obviously was not constrained by illiteracy. By contrast Freire's perspective on adult education did not demand that literacy preceded conscientization, for they occur simultaneously and with a characteristic Zimbabwean capacity for pragmatic compromise, his methods were used in training political commissars 'in the work of discussing national issues with peasants and workers and in adult literacy courses.' (Chung, 2006 p. 227). Freire understands how to build hope: 'There is no annunciation without a denunciation, just as every denunciation generates annunciation. Without the latter, hope is impossible. In an authentic utopian vision, however, hoping does not mean folding one's arms and waiting.' (Freire 1970, Part II, p.221)

While the links between education and culture may have been first recognised through the negative influence of alien culture, in the experimental schools in Mozambique that served over 20,000 refugee youths an unusual new culture was being imagined and constructed. This cultural change may be theorised as the *evolution* of a highly effective strategy for survival through the selection of memes in extremely difficult social environment where every difficulty led to new individual and group behaviours and new cultural values. Mutumbuka's places these aspects of the new mentality – which are indicators of a new formation of 'culture' – at the centre of the revolution when he says: 'The struggle on the cultural front is therefore a synthesis of the rebirth of our dominant culture and our stolen humanity' and identifies some specifics:

- Beginning with 'a handful of trained teachers who were ideologically sound' they built a force of 500 who developed dialogic methods to develop critical independent thinking.
- Constant attacks by the 'Rhodesian murderous warplanes' inculcated a unique sense of security discipline, consciousness and collective spirit; the barbaric aggression of Smith's troops made it very clear who the enemy was.
- The lack of resources led to innovative thinking to produce inexpensive equipment from local materials.

- Living and suffering together, struggling for the good of all, engendered a very strong collective spirit that included women.
- Songs, poetry, plays and dances were performed to keep morale high, praising the peasants as revolutionary heroes.

His view that 'the strength of a nation or society is directly dependent on a collective potential and the culture of its members as expressed in its constructive efforts towards a common goal' belongs in a different paradigm from the aesthetic-creative European concept of individual expression aiming at perfection on behalf of audiences of other civilised but less gifted people.

CHAPTER FIVE

Documentary framework of Zimbabwe's Cultural Policy

Oral and Documentary Systems

It is often assumed in the developed world that the documentary framework of a social setting – such as that surveyed here regarding cultural production – really *is* the framework within which the social actors are working. I argue, however, that in a period of transition from an orally-mediated, traditional social organisation to a globalised condition mediated by written texts, the existence of externally validated documents does not guarantee that they have significant meaning for the life and work of individuals and institutions. It cannot be assumed that a document's provisions will be effectively implemented by literate administrators particularly if, understandably, the non-literate citizens cannot challenge them. Hence, while this account of the documentary framework is necessary for academic purposes, it must not be taken to be the major framework structuring the social action that actually developed cultural production in this research arena. In her work on 'making texts visible as constituents of social relations' Dorothy Smith (1974, p. 210) shows how social practice is structured and organised by documents. They are clearly essential to modernising interventions and globalising influences in Zimbabwe but often not appropriate for fostering the long-standing reservoir of community-based cultural production stored in human memories. As Smith points out, this documentation is a recent trend even in the west and was not applicable a hundred years ago. Goody (1986) theorises that the evolution of writing gives structure to texts which then alters the organisation of cognitive processes in formerly oral societies thus providing strong links between Smith's work and this thesis.

When documentation enters the arena, oral texts or speech events may be discredited but they do not cease to operate. They are essential in the mediation of policies between those who make them, those who implement them and those who are affected by them. Theorising dynamic modes of organisation as tacit policy and protopolicy provides useful reference points. (Diagram 5-1, p.118). In this chapter I examine two propositions: first,

that alternative, oral, tacit policies and protopolicies are operating throughout any project cycle and second, that documented legislation based on an inappropriate model was directed toward satisfying exogenous criteria of 'national arts administration' but was incidental to the creative development of endogenous culture.

The administrative processes occurring at this time may be seen as pilot projects for a newly liberated population to discover the perils and pleasures contingent upon non-military decision-making. Implementation of the documents discussed in this chapter was constrained by the very properties that make documents valuable in a stable social context. Unfortunately amending formal documents – even the minimal constitutions required of cultural organisations – was complicated, demanding functional literacy of a higher order than was generally available, and so required external motivation. This rarely reached down to grassroots cultural workers who recognised flaws in the documentary system but carried on as best they could from memory, thus implicitly acknowledging the intended consistency of the system, but not yet seeing themselves in a critical role capable of changing the documentation (Wiredu 1992). The colonial origin of the documents also enabled people now to shrug them off or deviate from their provisions saying 'these are not our ideas, not our way of doing things.' This resistance is not the result of limited literacy. It is better seen as the operation of what Bourdieu (1990, p.53) conceives as *habitus* – 'the system of durable, transposable dispositions [...] as principles that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presuming a conscious aiming at ends or mastery of the operation necessary in order to attain them.' This avoids reducing the indigenous social actors to Western judgements of their 'failing' in implementation (A. Livingstone 1990, Larsen 1980) when many, recently promoted, were in fact actively discovering the use of spoken English and documentation as administrative tools. Recalling that speech has a functional importance in re-organising behaviour (Vygotsky 1930) and that much of the instrumental talk was in the vernacular, it is not surprising that cultural workers produced alternative constructs of rules, orders, and reasons to those given in English. Within a few years the impact of 'economic policy adjustments' in the 1990s imposed new criteria of success (Milner and Rayner 1992, Grindle and Thoumi 1993). This chapter should therefore be read with the caveat that tacit and protopolicies were regulating most of what actually happened at grassroots level and documented

legislation was rarely consulted — the Act constructed a ‘bureaucratic reality’ that was critically detached from the lived experience of the people it purported to serve. As Winch (1964) argued ⁹¹ theoretical knowledge appropriate to the African cultural paradigm will not *automatically* be equally apt for understanding reasoning rooted in a different language. It is easier to learn to translate words than sequences of concepts.

According to Leys (1996, p.64) ‘The academic world has a history of validating and authorising the behaviour of colonial ruling powers, debating nuances of propriety and expediency in terms that assumed that the subjects should be manipulated even while theorising modernisation, reform and development.’ Documents were used as contracts in Matabeleland by the distant British government and by the BSAC to assert their ‘possession’ of land and the right to exploit its resources, thus creating not only a definite form of words (Smith 1990) but with it an altered socio-economic reality often contrary to the wishes of the indigenous peoples. The significance of the modern use of documents to universalise administrative demands from distant control centres cannot be overstated in the processes of neo-colonialism and globalisation that follow decolonisation. The familiar figure of speech ‘words are bullets’ aptly expresses the resentment of people forced into ‘development’ who see the documentation replacing the guns of imperial expansion.

Assumptions about the value of documentation held by neo-colonising powers that intend to rule or develop Africa from a comfortable distance seem to belong in the same paradigm that Dorothy Smith observes controlling women in her own world:

In our time extra-temporal modes of meaning are created by the written or printed form... transforming our relation to language, meaning and each other. Texts speak in the absence of speakers; meaning is detached from local contexts of interpretation; the ‘same’ meaning can occur simultaneously in a multiplicity of socially and temporally disjointed settings (Smith 1990, p.211).

In memetic terms, freedom from temporality is achieved by placing memes in *inanimate* retention systems such as documents.

⁹¹ ‘Whereas in natural science it is your theoretical knowledge which enables you to explain occurrences you have not previously met, knowledge of logical theory will not enable you to understand a piece of reasoning in an *unknown* language; you will have to learn that language, and that in itself *may* suffice to enable you to grasp the connection between the various parts of arguments in that language’ (in Wilson 1970 p. 16).

Oral memory was a highly developed tool in Zimbabwean society, complemented by ‘active listening’ going beyond western norms. Memory, not books, was the paramount retention system for memes. In this context, when the meanings of a large variety of symbolic artefacts including songs, stories, dances and other cultural practices are transmitted from person to person, memes are copied, but not exactly. Hence their meanings may be continuously re-interpreted in people’s brains in the context of the new moment. Unlike written documents, memory cannot avoid the temporality of the lived moment by relying on *unchanging* written rules. Inghilleri (1999, p.10) reminds us that artefacts – objects produced by human beings – reflect the tendency of living thing towards complexity, order and information but once abandoned and neglected their entropy increases. ‘If I do not take care of an organisation and leave it to itself, if I do not maintain, day after day, a live interest in an idea, if I do not apply or conform continuously to laws, all these artefacts will tend to lose meaning, information and order, and ultimately they will disappear.’ Thus the destiny of memes depends on their relationship with human beings. Documents cannot replace these living processes – the copying, active remembering and interactive debate of memes.

Effects of documenting the properties of social organisations

Smith goes on to identify what occurs when a document is produced: ‘The appearance of meaning as a text, that is, in permanent material form, detaches meaning from the lived processes of its transitory construction, made and remade at each moment of people’s talk.’ But thus to detach social organisation from its local historicity⁹² is problematic, even destructive, in still partly-oral cultures which treat past experience and decision-making differently. Such negative effects are due, not merely to the imposition of new rules by outsiders, but to the mismatch in concepts of authorisation. Ruling precedents preserved on paper reflect ‘due procedures’ but do not lie easily alongside the fluid adaptability of a culture that relies on oracy, as Mudimbe (1997a) points out: ‘The new space created by this radical discontinuity...did not lead, as expected by the colonisers, to the institution of a perfect Western model.The repression of real histories backfired in passive and ambiguous responses from African populaces’ (pp. 151-2).

Smith explains documentation as succeeding because it excludes and evades temporality. However, temporality – the fourth dimension, time – is a positive part of the world-view of Zimbabwean people in an orally mediated social organisation⁹³ so its avoidance is not necessarily an element of success.⁹⁴ The properties of this organisational paradigm exhibit what the West sees as unreliable and unpredictable features of human memory, oral communication and nuanced, subtle perceptions.⁹⁵ In literate societies these uncertain properties are acceptable when disciplined into the non-rational texts of ‘the arts’ while administrative essentials are translated into specific, persistent, reliable *written* words. In traditional Zimbabwean society decisions or intentions are part of a continuum of decisions that are validated internally for individuals by extended discussion, by reference to chiefs and elders, and by invocation of ancestral spirits. Uncertainty can be revisited collectively and the people can adjust their shared reality to their immediate needs and context. Tradition is continuously re-interpreted during the *indaba*, where there is transparency and talkback.⁹⁶

This adaptability frees an oral social organisation to respond differently to similar challenges at different times; it neither anticipates nor predicts what the future may hold. It does not seek to initiate change, but enables the social organisation to respond appropriately to unexpected environmental threats, capricious behaviour, and other nuanced processes of change. Seen from within the pre-literate society the *indaba* can be as conservative as any written constitution or contract but the introduction of written documents by imperialists left no room for manoeuvre. Paper with writing on it creates an exclusive bond between those who can read it and can travel and work at a distance, where

⁹² Smith adopts Garfinkel’s conception of local historicity; it expresses the localised and irreversible movement of the social process as it is lived.

⁹³ E. A. Ngara, 1978, MPhil thesis, explores meanings of time in T. S. Eliot’s poetry and in the Shona language; he quotes from *Little Gidding: part V, A people without history /Is not redeemed from time, / for history is a pattern /Of timeless moments*. Ngara sees in this that “the ancestors realised the importance of relating the temporal to the eternal, thus giving eternal meaning to their otherwise purely historical action...” (p.116) c. f. Alioune Diop 1956 re people without culture.

⁹⁴ Ancestral spirits remain actively present in the community. Praise poems addressed to an individual create an extended four-dimensional identity that includes past ancestors and future offspring as well as the person’s own deeds and attributes.

⁹⁵ See pioneering work of Vansina 1985, Goody 1977, 1987 and Ong 1982, on claiming authority for oral evidence in historical studies.

⁹⁶ These events are probably gendered in favour of male opinion, an important issue I cannot address here.

its implementation cannot be regulated and may seem to have magic properties.⁹⁷ The adaptive possibilities provided in the local historicity of the *indaba* are assumed to enable the people affected to contribute to the making of choices on which their survival depends. Individual attempts to alter that property, or refusal to participate could seem anti-social, dangerous, and even treacherous.

Transition to literacy

Smith does not deal with inter-cultural or boundary zones or with periods where power relations are in revolutionary transition but in my view, colonising forces tend to underestimate the resistance of subject peoples to the documentary 'detachment' that is demanded by the literate world. When a document is produced or demanded by outsiders, the people who are supposed to be governed by it may not concede that it has more authority than the spoken word that is directly received from their own leaders.

Two examples from the 1980s illustrate how written documents in English affected cultural workers. There was a common acceptance that English was preferable for formal procedures especially if they were for use beyond the language community of siNdebele speakers. The first takes pains to create harmony; the second exploits an illiterate musician.

1) A Bulawayo District cultural officer who had a strong personal vision of inclusion in his work regularly wrote letters of thanks to people who had assisted the Ministry by acting as resource persons on workshops, judging drama competitions, and so on. Formerly a primary school Headteachers, he understood that this practice, inherited from the Rhodesian British practice, provided valued credentials to liminal recipients like me who were unsure of their position in the network of cultural activity. Some years later one of his successors told me how the culture of letters was again being used: "We want the whites to come to our Independence anniversary celebrations! Of course everyone is invited, they know it, but they choose to stay away. They like to be specially invited. So we sent X a letter of invitation and then he came!"

⁹⁷ Wallis, 1946, Intro to Baines' 1870 journey, p. xxxiv '...the menace to Matabele hegemony of its novel contact with European legalism, and the too-subtle insistence on the power of what, to the native African, was the puzzling and dubious authority of the written word.'

2) The contract provided by Zimbabwe Music Corporation in the colonial era when agreeing to publish records of popular music bands was a three-page document written in English in small print; it continued in use for many years after Independence. It had over thirty paragraphs of intimidating jargon, of which only two dealt with the company's obligations to the artistes. The duration of the agreement in Paragraph 1(b) was handwritten in front of the musicians at the time of signing – usually for three years – but, tucked away on the next page, paragraph 8(e) said: *'The contract between him/it and ZMC shall be deemed to be automatically renewed for a period which is exactly the same as the period of this Agreement referred to in paragraph 1(b) above unless notice of termination is given by ZMC to the Artiste/Artiste Group by registered post not later than 1 (one) month before the expiration of the period of this agreement as set out in paragraph 1(b) above.'*

Ebony Sheik, a popular township band in Bulawayo led by George Phahlane, wanted to move to a newly established African music publisher. When they came near the end of their three year contract they assumed they would be free to move and discovered too late that this was not possible until *another* three years had elapsed

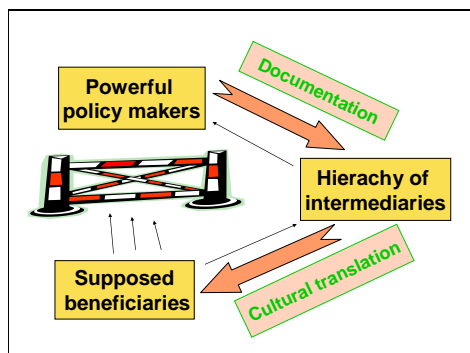


Diagram 5-1 Barriers to implementation of policies

‘But ZMC never said anything!’ was George's bitter reaction. Even if the musicians had understood the meaning of the words they had few negotiating skills – argumentative behaviour was not allowed in workers in the paternalist, exploitative regime, and the few

powerful compradors worked for the management, not for the musicians. This provides a first step in a developing a theory of barriers to implementation.

Documents as meme retention systems

New approaches to the transmission of cultural traits using memetic theory may achieve helpful analysis of how documents frame new realities by storing and transmitting memes retained in words on paper (Speel 1997). With this perspective living **retention systems**, such as individual brains and collectives, may be prioritised following critical review and reflection on the total domination of a people's recent history by the written word. This enables closer study of the power and mode of action of non-documentary (oral, paralinguistic, behavioural and visual) memes in the conservation and evolution of cultures. In Speel's terms, the retention system in oral societies is *internal* – in all the minds of the collective – and s-interaction (which can be seen as the equivalent of biological competition between genes) occurs during debate in the external arena of the *indaba*. Documents, by contrast, are external retention systems in which no change occurs in the memes as signified by written words. Only when they are read and the ideas (memes) are consciously reconsidered can s-interaction occur, first in the internal arena of the single mind of the reader, then leading to discussion and actions that must be initiated to amend the document by consent. The continuity of an oral society depends on sustaining the similarity of the memes retained in all the minds of the collective. Paradoxically, open discussion can reduce s-interaction if thereby decisions seem to be too difficult to make, sustain in practice or maintain in memory. Hence success among les analphabets' may be linked to conformity that tends to be regarded as uncreative by members of more 'developed' social organisations. And conformity is composed of (and expressed in) a network of tacit policies. Where a king makes the decisions after traditional consultation with a select few, the general consensus is achieved through persistent memes of obedience and respect.

Memes at early cultural boundaries

Memes in policy-related documents are not readily subject to competition in their arena of origin once they have been documented; they are despatched to work at a distance. The letters missionaries wrote to their organisations are firstly, reports of observations and

events, written for an audience sharing a common framework of Christian enlightenment. These accounts were summarised, collated, interpreted and reconstructed by colleagues 'back home' in England, few of whom knew Africa by direct experience. The letters establish an identity myth of the native people that the silent subjects cannot dispute. A lineage of those memes was extended in Sunday Schools, sermons, sermons, magazines and books fund-raising for the missionary cause. Frequently this discourse became more lurid than the original despatches – the memes had interacted with those in a new arena, and continued to travel. To help the memes of their Christian mission to be retained by the pagans, missionaries relied on persuasion by preaching, hymns and good example but failed to establish them in twenty-five years. The British South Africa Company preferred to rely on trickery to enforce concession documents in the short term; then on the force of arms rather than reason or kindness. Later the memes of imperialism and colonial rule produced an increasingly favourable social environment for yet others to be imported with less and less competition.

Of course this has happened frequently during the colonial period. The coloniser may feel optimistic that there has been real change but I hypothesise that the new appearance of any particular meme following cultural contact does not imply that it is *trusted*. In the Bulawayo context, the idea of trust would imply retention at level 3, where the meme is endorsed by those receiving it. Colonisers would only judge the 'native' [*sic*] as 'civilised' by the appearance and operation of many of their British memes at level 4 (translated into action). This line of reasoning suggests that in a protopolicy a meme might be overtly endorsed only for strategic reasons when really it was not trusted and, even if included in the document, might never thereafter be read or used.

If a policy document is analysed into its component ideas, and these are considered as memes, the intention of the policy makers is that these memes shall displace any formerly present in the recipient or indigenous culture that would compete with them. If there had been prior negotiations, the document moves the retention of the meme from level 2 to 3 or 4. To avoid overt disagreement with powerful outsiders, the document they require – perhaps an Act of Parliament, a constitution, or a contract – may be treated by the indigenous population merely as an additional, separate and optional set of rules. This

duality can be used as a mechanism of resistance, which is even more effective where the people to be regulated are bilingual and can use mother tongue for their preferred system of tacit and protopolicies while having enough literacy in the second language of the document to make their own decisions about its likely effects. Translation from or into the language of ruling is a critical issue; and while word-correspondence is increasingly demanded with official documentation, it can be argued that the very processes of translation plus transliteration negates the endogenous culture that evolved in and through oral language – yet must now become the subject of a document. The two systems run in parallel, with outwardly directed documentation and inwardly focused oral tacit policies that are largely inaccessible to outsiders, linked as necessary by people who can interpret, thereby invisibly introducing strategies that constitute a protopolicy.⁹⁸ Once outsiders have become rulers they feel justified in producing more and more documents and thereafter create structures for enforcing the rules and provisions therein.

Acts of Parliament

Reference was made earlier to the importance of Chifunyise's writings as culture developed. Five Acts of Parliament dealt with the ordering of affairs of Zimbabwean organisations, of which two specifically relate to "the arts":

The National Arts Council Act 1985 No. 27 1985 (and Amendment 1992)

National Galleries of Rhodesia Act (Chapter 312) 1974

The Labour Relations Act No. 16 1985 (and Amendment Act 1992)

The Welfare Organisations Act (Chapter 93) 1967

The Companies Act

Only the National Arts Council Act 1985 was really important for the work of performance artists, cultural workers and their organisations and is the subject of the following analysis, while the remaining four had some potential relevance but seldom

⁹⁸ Jeremy Munday 2007, Translation and ideology in *The Translator* 13:2 refers to the translator's mediation that may enable the version in the target language to be so taken for granted by its readers that

affected the cultural workers in Bulawayo (see Appendix 5-3). Three additional official documents were important in the emergence of cultural policy:

UNESCO Recommendations concerning the Status of the Artist 1980.

The National Cultural Policy, drafted 1991 tabled 1994.

The National Arts Council Five-Year Plan 1994.

Late colonial arts administration – the National Arts Foundation

From the 1950s white Rhodesians increasingly perceived themselves as grappling with barbaric communist conspirators who would remove white control throughout Africa. As a result of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence in 1965 self-reliance became the national mood, but when sanctions were imposed on Rhodesia by the United Nations in the 1970s their isolation was no longer simply their own defiant choice. Whites chose to see blacks as unreliable and uncivilised while paradoxically denying them a western education, the only way that, in their view, civilisation could be obtained. When Ian Smith spoke of civilisation and Christianity in 1965 these new aspects of the discourse of white nationalism were ‘a coded way of saying that UDI was a stand against atheistic Marxism’ (Chennells 1989, p.136). Rhodesian policies, like those of the apartheid regime in South Africa, were driven by increasing fascism that was implicit in all decisions (Kunert 1981).

In 1971 white arts practitioners responded to the isolation that followed UDI by creating the National Arts Foundation of Rhodesia, modelled on the Arts Council of Great Britain. Its object was a philosophical and educational one to make the public aware of the value of the development of cultural activities to the life of the country, and to provide a recognised, co-ordinated and responsible body to channel finances from the Government and private sectors to stimulate and promote the arts (Huggins 1978).⁹⁹ The National Arts

it is understood to have been *created* in that language.

⁹⁹ 1978 Supplement to *Arts Rhodesia* No. 1. The numbers of arts organisations listed in 1978 were: Art 15, Ballet 3, Literature 9, Music 21, Theatre 35, local arts councils 10, and general arts 11. Policies of ‘separate development’ ensured that only a minimum number of token organisations for Africans were

Foundation Act was derived from the Charter of the Arts Council of Great Britain (1967) and operated in a similar way, 'at arms length', with a National Board in the capital city and nine District Arts Councils based in smaller towns. These were racially exclusive and existed to foster white arts activities. Bulawayo was the only town with an African Arts Council – evidence of the dynamic African urban cultural life fostered by the City Council. Since 1949 the Bulawayo City Council's African Administration Department had provided facilities for mass recreation and public entertainment in order to 'arrest the disintegrative forces of town life' while always exerting control'(Kaarsholm 1999). This department persisted during the liberation struggle despite increasingly restrictive government legislation and became the Social Services Department after 1980. The paradigm of discriminatory paternalism, predicated on tight social control, separate development and limited education, was always resented. It must be acknowledged, however, that the provision of community halls and sympathetic officers provided an infrastructure that enabled township residents to develop a wide variety of creative and social activities, with excellent performers and knowledgeable mass audiences which contributed largely to the strong geo-cultural identity of Bulawayo – the city known affectionately as 'Blues Skies'

There was no specific exclusion of Africans in the Act but it cannot identify them as part of 'the public' because the regime's racist legislation created an over-arching context of segregation that imposed its own meanings. Most white arts practitioners clung to the dualism of separate development in all the arts though occasionally white individuals took some interest in encouraging talented blacks: in the 1930s missionary teachers such as Canon Petersen at Cyrene Mission saw the teaching of arts and crafts to Africans as offering refinement and education, and the gaining of a useful ability and later colonial patronage developed the genre of 'Shona Sculpture' (Woods 1978). Musicians were the only artists to be paid commercial rates as professionals for their performances on radio and in hotels.

recognised, including Kwanongoma College of Music and two Associations of smaller groups: Salisbury African Choirs Association and the Bulawayo African Arts Council, whose Chairman was Remington Mazabane.

Transition

Soon after Independence the membership of the Board and District committees of the National Arts Foundation was radically changed by the inclusion of black artists. The transition is recalled by Felix Moyo, Secretary of the Bulawayo District Arts Council, as a time of ideological strife.

Those were difficult times, when we were trying to merge the two blocks in the city. When I started doing drama in this city, about 1975, we were talking very strictly of African Theatre and White Theatre... We used to operate from Mpopoma Hall and so we saw this whole thing developing. At Independence I attended the first inaugural meeting - the Minister sent the Director of the Arts Council down - where we asked to form a multiracial Bulawayo Arts Council. We had a lot of problems there. I sometimes read through some of those minutes: it's a laugh! ... We were talking about organising our groups into cultural disciplines... no, artistic disciplines: ... Ah! The fears that came from everybody, they were quite funny! But we did overcome them, we got our act together. (Moyo 1995)

The new government, having a different conception of the nature, function and practice of 'the arts', saw considerable importance in reforming this sector. From 1982-85 for the most part the District Arts Council members continued the familiar procedures, though without rigorous attention to details – annual financial statements were not always produced at AGMs and arts organisations often did not account for money given as small grants, causing irritation among remaining white members. The apparently straightforward changes deemed necessary in the existing legislation were produced in 1985, although very few people in Bulawayo saw the new Act.¹⁰⁰ Provisions for democratisation were implemented late in 1986 a Ministry officer was appointed Secretary for the District Arts Council, otherwise little change occurred and the more experienced black members moved on, promoted to more responsible jobs and having less time for 'voluntary' work or simply preferring to work creatively with their groups¹⁰¹ rather than serve on committees. The new members, expecting action, were frustrated by the ineffective bureaucracy while the remaining white members were similarly disappointed in their efforts to 'maintain standards': each blamed the other. Chifunyise (1995a) explains these conflicting expectations in Amakhosi's newsletter ten years later for a new generation of cultural activists:

¹⁰⁰ I was the only person to order a copy from the Government Printer in Bulawayo. Possibly copies were sent to the Ministry and District Arts Council but they were never referred to by anyone I knew.

¹⁰¹ For example, writing play scripts and performing for radio and television at Montrose Studio.

In all the countries of SADCmany artists who were banned from their countries by apartheid and colonial regimes and who played a significant role in the international cultural arena came back at independence expecting to play a significant role in the building of the newly independent and democratic nations. Those artists who remained at home during the nationalist struggle and who survived the culture of colonial and racist subjugation looked forward to being recognised at independence as the custodians of the people's artistic heritage. As artists who had operated as second-class citizens in the land of their birth, and whose organisations were often unregistered, un-recognised, and unsupported by the colonial governments, they expected their new governments to provide them with a new status and resources in order to assert effectively the new cultural identity. ...[They] also expected to have unlimited access to cultural infrastructure ...which they did not enjoy in the colonial era because their artistic creativity was never a priority concern of the colonial governments who saw immigrant and western artistic culture as universal and modern culture.

Other strategies were attempted informally and experimentally but the clash of cultural systems, with the added political dimension of Ministry intervention, led to increasing conflict throughout the eighties between local arts organisations and the Bulawayo District Arts Council.

National Arts Council Act 1985 No. 27 and Amendment 1992

Implementation of the Act began in 1987 but at street level there was little awareness of much change compared with the previous situation; the name change of the institution from 'Foundation' to 'Council' was already in common use. Since national and local administration of the arts had been the preserve of the white minority, it was not surprising that those who remained in the country after independence expected to continue to have influence. They did not doubt that everyone would aspire to their civilisation but only a few progressive white activists enjoyed the political dimension of their art. The provisions of the Act as a whole were:

to provide for the establishment of the National Arts Council of Zimbabwe to foster, develop and improve the knowledge, understanding and practice of the arts in Zimbabwe; to provide for the structure and functions of the National Arts Council; to provide for a Board to manage and control the affairs of the National Arts Council; to provide for the registration and regulation of arts organisations; to provide for the repeal of the National Arts Foundation Act (Chapter 310); and to provide for matters incidental to or connected with the foregoing.

Difficulties of conflating different cultural concepts

From the start, the strong influence of the self-styled 'non-political' British view of arts institutions was seriously at odds with the Marxist-Leninist ideology that had developed in

the revolutionary struggle. Before UDI the British Council had supported the traditions of the white community with a mission to sustain 'civilised' cultural values and artistic practices, including touring performances of Shakespeare's plays and classical music. On the other hand, the liberation struggle had been sustained by politicised cultural activity in the camps and at *pungwes*, where the high morale and new national identity of the combatants was expressed in music, drama and dance. It is at first quite surprising that the Ministry of Youth, Sport and Culture, staffed mainly by war veterans, was not more resistant to the continuing colonial influence. Here, rather than taking a political or aesthetic perspective, memetics may provide an explanation for the survival of those values through the theoretical possibility of 'meme locking' (Appendix 5-1).

In the NACZ Act (part 1.2) "the arts" are to be interpreted as including 13 genres:

- a) music, dance, drama, folk art, creative writing, literature, painting, photography, filming, sculpture, crafts, graphic or plastic arts, and any other art form or culture form approved by the Board
- b) the presentation, performance, execution and exhibition of any arts, art form or culture form referred to in paragraph (a).

Thus, from the start, the new legislation foregrounds European conceptions of 'the Arts' as separate art forms framed by criteria of excellence, economic value, aesthetics and leisure, rather than the indigenous understanding of culture as a holistic complex of functional social practices including work and healing. However, that loose definition of 'the arts' is not a meme from the ACGB document – which does not define the arts – it is still open to reflexivity and innovation. In Zimbabwe 'any other art form or culture form' is subject to approval by the Board: thus unlisted genres of African performance are subordinated and controlled by a new *élite* and the criteria of 'approval' also remain undefined. That meme was not copied by Rhodesia from the ACGB Charter but arose from s-interaction between their remembered memes of metropolitan arts production and their own memes of control – especially in a time of civil war – about suppressing any sort of originality or dissent. When this modified meme was copied by Zimbabwean modernisers this 'locked' the meme into the administration of the nation's cultural production, with long-term negative results. Hidden in the administrative provisions is the government's serious political determination to give grassroots organisations elected 'democratic representation' and so to provide two-way communication with the Board. By virtue of their history, however,

few practitioners had a working experience of democratic systems and accepted the need for 'approval'

In the first years both the Ministry and the National Arts Council were supposedly working together to preserve traditional culture and foster new creative and expressive practices. Since unionism was weak in respect of cultural workers (see Appendix 5-3 on Labour Relations Act) the national arts organisations were assumed to be protecting the professional interests of their members but there was no mention of such matters in the Act. Under part VII section 34 the Minister had power to make regulations but these were not generally known to the public; there was some regulation of foreign musicians but apparently not of propagandist Christian theatre groups. Knowing that white culture was well organised and established, the government position was not to ban anything but to ignore colonial art forms whose practices were deemed to 'consolidate cultural imperialism' and not to fund their activities. This was presented to a community-based theatre workshop in Bulawayo by Chifunyise (1986, 3-A5) but only briefly mentioned in the *Chronicle* (A7):

Theatre artists must therefore realise that government and Arts Councils at district, province and national levels have a right to ignore theatre whose practise is in direct conflict to our national goal of creating a classless society - a society where no one ethnic culture is considered more superior than others. We have a right to ignore these practices whose main role is to consolidate cultural imperialism. By ignoring such theatre practice, government and cultural institutions are not waging a war against practitioners of such theatre as persons. Therefore this attitude can only be seen as an ideological struggle which is paramount in our cultural revolution.

An opinion piece appeared in the *Sunday Mail* 29-03-87 in response to a report of a ZACT workshop at which Chifunyise was reported as again questioning the criterion used for providing funds to groups because 'The money continues to go to those who do not need to be subsidised.' The writer, Gashiri (1987) quotes the 1985 annual report and financial statement of the NAF as evidence of their funding policy and notes that in 1978 and 1983 only eight 'national' arts organisations were funded, most of them white; indeed, the policy picture had hardly changed between 1974 and 1986. Gashiri challenges the Board's implicit funding policy and in doing so reveals further tensions within the black cultural community by proposing that 'Board members of such public cultural institutions should

be headed by people who have a clear ideological orientation consistent with the masses of the people’.

The government believed they had included sufficient safeguards to maintain the system and did not anticipate many of the problems that arose. Avoiding conflict with the white arts community had some advantages. The retention of an established infrastructure was a stabilising influence and it could have provided a useful outlet for the organising skills of the whites that remained, if they really cared for the arts and understood the government’s aims. Generally, however, most felt they were maintaining what they believed to be universal standards and preferred to remain apart though some made significant contributions. Tensions between the Ministry and NACZ continued for years and were often referred to in the press (e.g. SJC 7-B49, 10-C41).

Comparisons between the National Arts Council of Zimbabwe Act and the Charter of the Arts Council of Great Britain

The National Arts Council of Zimbabwe Act has many other points of similarity with the Charter of the Arts Council of Great Britain 1967 (the version still operating in Britain at the time of Independence) which are summarised in Table 5-2 (p. 130 below). A comparison of the content of the two documents reveals a considerable reliance on the colonial documentary heritage. Though this is politically surprising, pragmatically it is understandable as a bureaucratic strategy. It was not regarded as plagiarism or as paying undue respect to the imperial model but rather as taking over a working system the revolutionaries had been careful not to destroy.¹⁰² The cultural revolution was, therefore, not expressed in total reconstruction of the legislature but in redirecting it towards a culture of socialism. Compromises – experiments with words – were introduced that might if necessary be amended when there was more time. In fact only one major ideological change was introduced – the inclusion of strong, entirely new Part 3 sections IV and V – that would make the structure of the whole institution into a representative mass-membership organisation instead of an élitist one.

¹⁰² Johnstone (2002, p.139). This exemplifies ‘intertextuality’ whereby new texts are traceably connected with prior texts; she cites Bakhtin (1986) in reference to the ‘dialogic’ qualities of texts – the ways in which multiple voices are transformed and re-used (appropriated) each time something new is written.

| | NACZ section | Content |
|---|--------------------|--|
| 1 | II, 9 – 10 | Details of procedures, Chair has both deliberative and casting votes, etc. |
| | II, 6 – 8 | Eligibility for appointment to Board, exclusion of bankrupts, criminals, etc. |
| | II, 12 ; VI, 26-30 | Financial constraints |
| | Schedule | Schedule of powers of Board |
| 2 | VII, 34 | Use of regulations as necessary or convenient by Minister |
| | VII, 31 | Minister can call for special reports; Board can submit extra reports |
| 3 | IV, 17-21 | Representation of artists by nominated representatives in District & Provincial Councils |
| | V, 22- 25 | Registration of arts organisations locally and nationally |
| | VII, 32 | Arts organisations to keep proper financial accounts |

Table 5-1 Modifications of sections in NACZ Act

Modifications of the model British document fall into three broad categories:-

1) Four clarify procedures instead of leaving them to be decided by the Council, representing an accommodation to the practical difficulties anticipated among members – a lack of knowledge of formal procedures in committees; contested and conflicting (rather than shared) assumptions about culture and the arts; and a shortage of experienced administrators.

2) Two provide for additional powers of intervention by the Minister and for the Board to involve the Minister if they wish.

3) Three provide for the realisation of a modernising vision of a nationwide, networking, democratic infrastructure in which cultural workers (registered artists) would have elected representatives at District, Provincial and National levels, with channels of communication up, down and sideways.

Partial implementation of these provisions led to failure to represent the cultural workers' views and interests and did not moderate the outrageous powers that remained in the hands of the Board and its appointed Director in the final paragraph of the Schedule of powers: 'to do all such things as may be necessary, conducive or incidental to the performance of the functions imposed on the National Arts Council by this Act'.

Although filtered through ten years of the National Arts Foundation Act of Rhodesia 1971, all sections of the Arts Council of Great Britain Charter are still paralleled in the National

Arts Council of Zimbabwe Act *except* 15 (seal, signatories), 16 (amendments), 17 (Her Majesty authorises) and 11. The NACZ Act elaborates on most of the borrowed clauses, and adds more, producing 36 sections (127 sub-sections in all) compared with seventeen sections (thirty-two subsections) in the ACGB Charter (Table 5-2 below)

Ministry intervention and control/self-regulation

A particular issue in both systems is the extent to which the government in the person of the Secretary of State (Great Britain) or the Minister for Culture (Zimbabwe) is empowered to monitor and regulate their arts council.

| Section - ACGB | Contents | NACZ equivalent |
|----------------|--|-----------------|
| Preamble | New Charter is expedient for better execution of purposes | 1,2 |
| 1 | Revokes Original Charter 1964/5; past acts, deeds, remain legal & valid | 35(2)(4) |
| 2 | Council has a Common Seal, act as a Body Corporate, can sue & be sued, enter into contracts, acquire/hold/dispose of property, etc | 3 |
| 3 | Objects for which Council are established and incorporated | 15 |
| 3a | Develop & improve the knowledge, understanding and practice of the arts | 15(1)a |
| 3b | Increase accessibility of arts to the public throughout GB | ?15(1)b |
| 3c | Advise & co-operate with government departments, local authorities and other bodies on any matters directly or indirectly concerned with foregoing objects | 15(1)b |
| 4 | All money solely for promo of objects, none to members except as 5(5) | 12, 26 |
| 5(1) | Council consists of Chairman, Vice-Chairman & not more than 18 others | 5(1)(2) |
| 5(2) | Chair & others appointed by SoS who determines terms of appt | 5(1)a&b, 9(1) |
| 5(3) | Vice-Ch appt from members by CI (approved by SoS) terms determined by CI | 5(1) 8(1) 9(2)? |
| 5(4) | Every member holds & vacates office according to terms of appt but.... | 8(1) |
| 5(4)a |not more than five year term | 6(1) |
| 5(4)b | Not eligible for re-appt until after one year (except Chairs of CIs & panels) | 6(3) |
| 5(4)c | Member can give notice any time in writing | 8(1) |
| 5(5) | No remuneration payment to members for services but reimburse reasonable expenses incurred in performance of duties | 12 |
| 6(1) | Validity of proceedings not affected by defect in appt of a member | 13a,b |
| 6(2) | Quorum of seven members personally present, or greater as CI decides | 10(4) 21(3) |
| 7 | Council regulates own procedures, subject to provisions of Charter | 10(1) |
| 8(1) | Council shall appt committees (Councils) for Wales & Scotland to advise on or exercise or functions (approval by SoS Scotland and Wales) | 5(1)b 17, 19 |
| 8(2) | Council to appoint member of Council as Chairman of committee, | cf 17(3) |
| 8(3) | Council may appoint non-members of Council to these committees, and may revoke at any time | |
| 9(1) | Council appoints committees & panel to advise & assist with functions | 11(1) |

| | | |
|--------|--|-------------|
| 9(2) | Council appoints a member of Council as Chairman of committee/panel | 11? |
| 9(3) | Council can appoint non-Council members; can revoke appointments at any time | 11? |
| 10(1) | Council may regulate procedure of any committee or panel as in A 8 & 9 | cf 20(2) |
| 10(2) | A5(5) applies to committee and panel members as to Council members | x?cf 21(2) |
| 11 | Any officer appointed by SoS (Ed & Sc, Wales, Scotland) as assessor to Council, Committee or Panel can attend any meeting thereof | |
| 12(1) | Council to appt a Secretary General & others with approval of SoS, | Schedule 1 |
| 12(2) | Council may - with approval of SoS & Treasury :- | Schedule 1 |
| 12(2)a | Pay Secretary General, other officers & employees remuneration | Schedule 2? |
| 12(2)b | Provide officers & other employees d with pensions/gratuities: | Schedule 2? |
| 13 | Keep proper accounts & records in form approved by SoS & Treasury and submit statements at time directed by SoS | 27(1)(2) |
| 14 | Report to SoS on exercise & performance of functions as soon as possible after end of financial year | 30 |
| 15 | Signature of Chairman or other member of Council authorised generally or specifically and one authorised officer of Council | |
| 16 | Amendment of Charter allowed: by Council; ¾ majority present & voting, an absolute majority of whole Council; confirmed 1-4 months later | |

Table 5-2 Arts Council of Great Britain Charter 1967 as a source of memes

The Arts Council of Great Britain was largely self-regulating although the Charter gives the Secretary of State specific powers to appoint members and determine their terms of appointment, particularly chair-persons; to monitor proceedings in any Board, committee or panel meeting through the attendance of an assessor; and to oversee financial statements, salary payments and the annual report on their performance. Implicit in these provisions is that the government had no obvious role – apart from funding – in relation to the aesthetics, management and economics of the arts. There is also no provision for members to be representative of artists or accountable to them in any way. It was assumed that the members of the Board were expert and benevolent, but the reason for producing this new Charter in 1964 had been that it seemed 'expedient for the better execution of their purposes'. British artists were accustomed to being unionised and their professional interests were therefore separated from the interests of the art forms they created or produced. Thus out of seventeen sections in the ACGB Charter, as many as nine are directly regulated by the Secretary of State and one, concerning amendments, is to be authorised by the monarch. (Appendix 5-1) Apart from that, in all artistic matters, the 'arm's length principle' was regarded as sufficient – it depended to a great extent on the fact that the public shared the Council's assumption that 'the great and the good' could be trusted to do their allotted tasks under the Charter. They would be competent or better, and there would be money available to employ people with competencies that the Council and

Panel members might lack so there would be little need for the Secretary of State to intervene; indeed, the Council members were regarded as the ultimate experts.

Zimbabwe's socialist vision aspired to the removal of that élitist model, but the persistence of the memes of the Arts Council of Great Britain was underestimated. As a result, the legislation authorising the Minister to intervene, approve or demand action, created a National Arts Council of Zimbabwe whose Board constantly resented the government's powers and political ideology. White members and some black allies apparently did not understand the need for the Ministry's indigenous expertise and supervisory role. The continuance of élitism and 'foreign' values militated against a new vision of the role 'culture' might play in society, while entrenching the foreign notion of the arts as rule-bound, inaccessible, special behaviours.

Reviewing 1991, Chifunyise (10-C41) raised many 'unanswered questions'. He asked what was being done to make sure that artistes and arts associations are represented on the Board of the NAC, and how would the NAC improve relations with the artistes and associations it was created to serve. Another shortcoming addressed was the NACZ's failure to ensure that its tasks were known so that artistes could properly and critically appraise its work. This was not precisely ministerial intervention but clearly expressed an authoritative view of their current critical thinking about the Arts Council's performance. As far on as 1995 in a seminar to discuss the new Five Year Plan the National Arts Council still, however, blamed the Ministry for poor communication¹⁰³ although as Guest Speaker Minister Mangwende had said that the Government had, through the Ministry, formulated a cultural policy based on a partnership between government and various cultural institutions, the National Arts Council of Zimbabwe among them. In addition to summarising the objectives of that policy he took the unusual but legitimate step of listing twelve 'expectations' that he had of the National Arts Council (Appendix 5-2). Nevertheless, as recently as 2001 the Daily News carried an uncompromising feature on the NACZ's continuing failure to develop an 'industrial policy' for the arts industry.

They have good structures that cover all provinces but they are led by a blind Board.
Not that the Board members do not have good qualifications or credentials, no. What

¹⁰³ Report of The Objectives Orientated Planning Workshop National Arts Council of Zimbabwe, 18-24 November 1994

they lack are the qualities to lead an arts organisation and develop related industrial policies. All their objectives are wrong. (*Daily News*, Arts Watch, 6/18/01)

Democratic procedures

Throughout the eighties there was confusion about the practical roles of the Ministry and Arts Council, by the public, artists and even in the perceptions of the officers themselves. Conflicts arose particularly over the fact that artists, especially the young and urban cultural producers, felt they were not in fact consulted. Another major factor contributing to this situation was that Arts Councillors or Cultural Officers rarely if ever read the Act and did not seem to know it was necessary for or even relevant to their own work; copies were not readily available at the Government Printers in Bulawayo. This contrasts sharply with the Labour Relations Act which was the backbone of Labour Officers' work, especially as they were responsible for interpreting its provisions to workers and employers affected in order to resolve problems arising. In some District Arts Councils casual attitudes to standard committee procedures often prevailed so AGMs were delayed. Artists often used other decision-making strategies after finding resistance to some of the key assumptions, particularly with regard to the enforcement of decisions and accountability of officers to those who elected them. In Bulawayo well attended unofficial meetings were held to protest about specific problems of communication.¹⁰⁴ Points recorded in archived minutes and journalism regarding the Bulawayo District Arts Council in the nineties include:

- National Arts Council of Zimbabwe was dominated in Harare by the charismatic personalities of leading members of national Organisations
- Local conflicts over procedures and practices
- Individuals not up to the demands - education, time available, skills, etc
- Low financing to implement
- Culture clash - implementing others' agendas
- Political exploitation/nervousness/provocation
- Re-writing rules during local implementation
- Lack of clarity about unions of arts organisations, major problems interpreting regulations

Cultural workers theoretically had two channels by which to receive information or to send request to the top – through the arts councils and through the Ministry. Transport by

¹⁰⁴ Most present had not read the Act but shared with the writers of the Act the assumption that socialist transformations were natural allies of the consultative aspect of their traditional decision-making culture.

air, train and bus between the capital city and provinces took many hours and was expensive, and even more so between provincial centres and their rural districts. The telephone system was also unreliable but postal services were better although they usually only delivered to post boxes. For the same reasons national arts organisations did not generally communicate well with branches/members outside the capital. The Provincial Arts Council for many years was not an effective intermediary up or down, partly because of personality and status issues. This was less serious in the Ministry since all of government was administered the same way and the procedures were familiar. The duplication was eventually reduced when the Public Services Commission cut many jobs in the early nineties in line with the structural adjustment programme.

The National Cultural Policy

UNESCO was appreciated for the services it provided but was not well known outside Harare. Through the National Commission in Harare and the Regional Representative it brought a non-colonising voice to governance and project development. The main reason for producing a National Cultural Policy was to respond to section III.5 in their *Recommendations to Member States on the Status of the Artist* (Belgrade 1980).

III.5 At all levels of national planning, in general, and of planning in the cultural field, in particular, Member States should make arrangements, by close co-ordination of their policies relating to culture, education and employment among other things, to define a policy for providing assistance and material and moral support for artists and should ensure that public opinion is informed of the justification and the need for such a policy.

As well as stressing the need for the protection of freedom of expression and communication in all artistic activities (III. 3 & 6) it recommends the creation of conditions enabling artists to participate, individually or through their associations or trade unions (III. 4), in the life of the communities and in the formulation of local and cultural policies (III. 7). It also urges governments to take into consideration the 'special features of artistic activity' – characterised by the intermittent nature of employment and the sharp variations in incomes of many artists – by considering new forms of public and business financial participation.

This document was seen as a model set of guiding principles by those artists, politicians and administrators who had access to it, most of whom were first made aware of it through the Extended Committee for the World Decade for Cultural Development (1988-1997). It was later copied as a keynote document to all organisations participating in the UNESCO/ZUM Seminar on 31 March 1993. The Extended Committee was set up by the Ministry, under Chifunyise's chairmanship, and managed by the National Commission for UNESCO, to increase knowledge of the UNESCO cultural programmes for the decade and to encourage project development and applications for funding. It consisted of representatives of artists' associations at national level, broadcast media, cultural officers, the National Arts Council of Zimbabwe, and others by invitation, but resources could not fund travel for people from outside Harare.

UNESCO was perceived as being willing and able to address the aspirations of non-aligned countries at a time when major neo-colonial powers treated them as pawns. In a discussion of the possible role of culture in the discipline of Foreign Relations, Valerie Hudson (1998, p. 267) says

The explanatory power of culture will be most expressive when the individuals whose behaviour we seek to explain find themselves in circumstances that either make salient their own collective identities or make possible their mobilisation of the collective identities of prospective political allies.

In these terms UNESCO speaks to the owners of idiosyncrasy and collective identity, offering possible structures and objectives and, through conferences and international organisations, a sense of community among equals. Membership of the Non-Aligned Movement and of the Frontline States were similarly important facets of the new national identity.

Development of the National Cultural Policy

The production of the document called 'The National Cultural Policy' was begun 1990 by the Minister for Education and Culture, Fay Chung, and involved Dr T. Mahoso as Director of the National Arts Council of Zimbabwe. It was eventually tabled in about 1994 by which time Charles Makari was the Director of the NAC.

Government

The National Cultural Policy was intended to serve several functions and speaking to various audiences – a) the Ministry of Education and Culture, giving officers, teachers and others a sense of authority in their work; b) all other Ministries, and politicians, so that they should be aware of modern thinking about the importance of culture in national development, and therefore would take culture into the planning and implementation of their own departmental responsibilities; c) national arts organisations and other bodies which had a variety of powers and responsibilities under the National Arts Council of Zimbabwe Act, depending on their constitutions; d) individual citizens, whether or not they thought of themselves as artists, who shared in the ownership of Zimbabwean-ness. In addition to these domestic functions it would be useful to assert some aspects of the national cultural identity when negotiating with governments and international agencies interested in funding development projects or arranging cultural exchanges. Some of these (such as Sweden and Finland) had particularly well established cultural policies of their own which included specifications for their funding policies in the developing world. Finally, it was a positive response to UNESCO recommendations, signifying respect for international consensus and human rights.

Comrade Fay Chung, as Director of the Curriculum Development Unit, had taken a leading role in modernising the school curriculum to meet socialist objectives instead of those of the colonial period. In 1990 the Department of Culture was moved from its earlier politicised place with Youth and Sport ¹⁰⁵ to join Education and she was appointed Minister for the enlarged Ministry of Education and Culture. Her theoretical model was that culture has four basic elements – economic-technological, social-communicative, ideological, and aesthetic, of which the last three are largely determined by the first, but they interact and influence each other in a dialectical relationship. Her own cultural heritage was a *métissage* – of Chinese family, reared in racist Rhodesia she chose to take a revolutionary socialist position. (Chung 2006)

Culture is...related to the people's struggle for better conditions of living. If we see culture in this light we must be prepared to discard that which is reactionary and

¹⁰⁵ A World Bank-style economic structural adjustment programme was designed as a 'home-grown' reform in 1990 (Hammar & Raftopoulos, 2001); this was one of the concomitant changes in political direction.

outmoded in our traditions and to accept new influences. However, welcoming new influences should not mean a rejection of traditional culture ... [or] an acceptance of the view that African culture is inferior to new culture from foreign countries. If foreigners bring positive elements [these] should be accepted if they serve a useful purpose or fill a gap in the traditional culture. (Chung and Ngara 1986, p.72-3)

Soon after culture's change of Ministry, *Teacher in Zimbabwe* (June 1990)¹⁰⁶ carried an article by F. R. Mutakonyi, a senior officer in the Ministry of Education and Culture, on the central role of culture in education. Despite the approach of economic structural adjustment policies, the article's stated aim is explicitly socialist:

‘...to draw upon the expertise, skills, energies and initiatives of teachers bringing about a cultural revolution in the education system ... that would lead to ... the realisation of our declared national goal of the attainment of a socialist state....’

The author argues that culture, defined as ‘a way of life of a people’, precedes education defined as ‘a socialisation process of learning and acquiring new knowledge’. He questions this view of education on the grounds that colonial education in Zimbabwe has been irrelevant to the majority because it has failed to generate anticipated improvements in the quality of life or to enable the individual to solve problems. This is attributed to the form – by which he means the content and practice – not the definition, of education. In his opinion ‘Our education lacks culture.’ He somewhat contentiously represents the World Decade for Cultural Development (1988-1997) as ‘...dethroning education and enthroning culture.’ Since in the recent past the teaching of ‘culture’ was relegated to the African language and social studies curricula, he urges colleges of education to be ‘at the fore-front in the battle against cultural alienation which makes our people confused.’ They should produce student-centred, community-based teachers of all subjects who are actively engaged in cultural activities. Mutakonyi could himself be seen as uncertain about the direction of cultural education within the socialist paradigm, since the Minister warns against certain aspects of traditional culture which hold people back; or as bitterly realistic, since he says that if they ‘...crave for a life-style they will never fully live... only their own culture will enable them to avoid and smooth over ... the contradictions, crises and misfortunes.’

¹⁰⁶ A monthly magazine that was circulated free to all schools, formerly called *Teachers Forum*.

One of the most useful documents in this context is Deputy Minister Machinga's address to a SADC seminar in Tanzania In November 1991.¹⁰⁷ It shows that the Ministry has a very clear and detailed knowledge of its theoretical areas of responsibility, although there is still no formal cultural policy. The draft policy is, he says, now being debated at different levels before being presented to Parliament. He explains that at Independence the Government realised that the cultural unity and influence that had been used to win the war could also be harnessed into the process of reconciliation and reconstruction. Specific reasons for establishing the Division of Culture in 1981 were:

- a. Zimbabwean African culture which had been ignored and eroded during colonial rule must be regenerated.
- b. Cultural development had been restricted to the ruling white minority with the majority of our people being denied the consumption of culture.
- c. In order to build a socialist society, it was necessary to develop and sustain a strong cultural base.
- d. Zimbabwe is a multi-cultural society and that culture must be developed through a policy of "unity in diversity".
- e. Culture plays a major role in development and any development that does not take into account the cultural dimension is bound to fail.

Apart from the use of the term 'multi-cultural', which was rarely used inside the country (non-racist being the preferred epithet), these are strong reminders of the revolutionary movement that politicised the indigenous 'culture' that had previously been silenced and reconstructed by colonialism. The main constraints on implementing the cultural policy were lack of funding for many cultural programmes, so that plans were only half-achieved, and lack of trained personnel to implement arts projects which, except for traditional arts and science subjects, were regarded as luxuries.

Sometime in mid-1991 the MP for Zengeza, B. Moyo, asked in parliament what was being done to define and promote culture in the country, and why culture's budget had remained static.¹⁰⁸ He also asked if foreign encroachment served Zimbabwe's cultural aspirations. In

¹⁰⁷ 'Zimbabwe's Cultural Situation and Infrastructure' see Appendix 2-5.

¹⁰⁸ Quoted in Editor's introduction to the cultural policy draft *Teacher in Zimbabwe*, August 1991, p. 4.

her reply the minister, Fay Chung, pointed out that Culture had only been in the Education ministry for fifteen months, and admitted that previously Zimbabwe had not had a clear cultural policy, and this had allowed outsiders to promote their own and not Zimbabwe's interests. She replied: 'We are trying to change that policy of reacting to outsiders. Rather, we should have our own policy on culture and pursue it so that outsiders can fit into policy rather than we fitting into their policy.' The term 'outsiders' and the nature of 'their own interests' were never explained.¹⁰⁹

Consultation

We can infer from the list of contents Nos. 6-23 in the final document (Table 5-3 p. 143) that the preliminary process involved the Ministry's inviting submissions from a wide range of institutions, including Government departments, parastatals, arts organisations and mass media. Apparently, however, many executives did not extend the consultation process to members of their institutions; for example in the Extended Committee the ZBC/ZTV representative was very surprised to discover their ascribed role in the policy document. The registered arts organisations had few financial or human resources for communicating with local branches and individual members, so their administrative officers were accustomed to speak for all. There is no indication of how much each of the draft sections came from the organisations or whether they were edited by cultural officers in the head office of the Ministry.

At a later stage in policy development the Ministry did try, as UNESCO advised, to consult the nation. A major attempt was targeted at 85,000 teachers through their free monthly magazine, *Teacher in Zimbabwe*. The Draft National Cultural Policy document was published there in three consecutive instalments from August to October 1991 in order to reach an interested and literate audience who might reasonably be expected to respond to the invitation to comment. The introductory 'Opinion' feature by the Editor outlines reasons for producing the policy and, for a non-parliamentary audience, alters the emphasis by suggesting that 'In identifying ourselves we should not be ultra-nationalistic, chauvinistic. We must project our identity and absorb what others have to offer.' Only one response, on languages, was published. Formal mass consultation was an unfamiliar

¹⁰⁹ This contrasts with quotation on p.138 accepting 'positive elements' of non-indigenous cultural

practice and was met with caution in Bulawayo. On asking a District Cultural Officer for a copy of the draft I was that I should know better than to ask, since policy documents were confidential, and as a teacher I had signed the Official Secrets Act. Its publication in *Teacher in Zimbabwe* did not alter her position and no officers in the District Education department were interested in arranging a meeting of teachers or cultural groups to discuss the draft or to generate comments and suggestions. On the whole they seemed accustomed to top-down policy directives. Formal consultation outside the ministry was not yet an established process.

Media Comment

The broadcast and print media were the major sources of information about national issues. Although there was often discussion of local problems encountered by cultural practitioners, cultural policy as an over-arching concept was not often a major topic at grassroots level.¹¹⁰ For years it was lost in the gulf that had opened up between a progressive socialist Ministry and a National Arts Council that had difficulty emerging from its colonial origins. Dr. Tafataona Mahoso was appointed Director of the National Arts Council of Zimbabwe in 1988 on his return from the USA. Early difficulties are indicated by his comments on local promoters of foreign bands which were reported in an investigative feature in *Parade*, November 1988. On one occasion, for example, the fraud squad was called in to investigate a promoter who was soon charged with illegally selling foreign currency. Commenting that 'people will always try to subvert the rules, whatever regulations we impose' Mahoso pointed out that 'when I took over here there were no regulations controlling promoters and no policy either'. There were suspicions, however, that the National Arts Council was itself bending its own rules, and Mahoso told *Parade* that the regulations issued in July were only "transitional" and they "did not want to deter the entrepreneurial spirit of Zimbabweans." (Moyses 1988, p. 27)

After a further two years in office Dr Mahoso, as Director of the National Arts Council, was interviewed by the *Herald* (Dindingwe 1990) about the position of cultural policy as he saw it, now the Ministry's public consultation process was apparently in progress:

practice.

He said that the country's Cultural Policy is made and based mainly on the Western influenced lifestyle and aspirations of the urban elite and the traditional customs of the majority. They both assert themselves quite strongly and our policies reflect this pattern. Our culture is defined not in theoretical terms but in the ways we live both in the urban and rural areas. It is a cultural compromise which the Government has the duty to supervise for the sake of societal harmony – and in this case – of defining. Consultation is the watchword in the making of most Government and national policies but especially those governing our social behaviour and interaction.

There is no obvious socialist ideology here – he identifies 'societal harmony' as the general goal of cultural policy-making, and 'defining' as the priority in cultural affairs. At this time for him the central tension lies in 'the rural-urban polarity' and he does not refer to the earlier conflicts between colonial settlers' and socialists' constructions of culture. A wider perspective would recognise that such polarity is not uniquely Zimbabwean: if he knew this from his experience overseas he was reluctant to import foreign ideas explicitly. He hints at principles of the priority of praxis over theory, and emphasises the need for consultation between Government and the people governed but seems uneasy with the 'cultural compromise', and was possibly already experiencing conflict with the Ministry over funding priorities and power interests. The interview was noticed by a young academic, Caleb Dube (1990), whose response may indicate the discourse at the university; he gives a detailed criticism of the defects in 'this undefined policy, usually in an oral form' and is concerned with the need for an agreed definition of the field of culture.¹¹¹ He regards it as 'colonial' to define culture as 'people's customs and beliefs' because that was used to justify their argument that Africans lacked technological civilisation and deliberately ignores the products of indigenous technology, by which he means artefacts that were designed and produced primarily to be useful.

Dube lists components of a broad concept of African culture itemising several unexpected but valid elements:

"Culture" therefore refers to all types of people's activities that have changed the natural world to produce technology, material goods, wealth and all forms of knowledge like education, creative work, law, science, ethics, religion, philosophy, the mass media and other forms of human consciousness. In Zimbabwe, culture should

¹¹⁰ Boyd Maliki's daily cartoons in *The Chronicle* make a reliable record of topics of discussion in the beer gardens. The most popular items in the paper, these provoked further discussion, irritation and laughter.

¹¹¹ UNESCO had spent two decades advocating cultural policy without actually 'defining' culture; they did not judge it necessary until their conference in 1980 in Mexico.

also cover these forms of human activity, that is, language, scientific theories which scientists have discovered, technologies like the Tsotso Stove, music, theatre, arts and crafts, scenic and tourist centres that are photographed for their beauty, architecture, dress, food, and commercial products.

‘Food’ here will include the practices of agriculture, gathering and hunting of food, not merely its cooking, serving and presentation. It is interesting that Dube mentions the unimproved land and natural landscape as scenic and tourist centres but not their spiritual values. UNESCO has embraced the notion of natural ‘sites of special significance’ – in contrast with the importance that is often given to the developed world’s architectural heritage. Affinity with the land of one’s birth is undoubtedly a major factor in African identity, not least because the ancestors are buried there hence possibly going beyond Western recognition of landscape, water and weather and the sound of the language of one’s childhood. In African philosophy ownership of the land is vested in the people – land cannot be private property. The greatest wound inflicted by colonialism, with the most persistent political outcomes, was the theft and subsequent commodification of the land.

Dube finds the most contentious points in Mahoso’s account to be the implication that the culture of Zimbabwe was primarily based on European forms; the absence of socialist input and lack of consultation; and the implication that ‘in the last 10 years Zimbabwe has been operating without a properly defined cultural policy’. He suggests seeking assistance from ‘fellow African states that already have cultural policies, or UNESCO, or the OAU’s Cultural Charter for Africa that was adopted in July 1976.’

Evaluation of the National Cultural Policy Document

The Preamble suggests a very inclusive definition of culture and instead of referring to participation in culture as a right presents it as an imperative, a moral duty, because ‘a people without a culture is a people without identity’ (1.2). This seems to anchor the document in the painful past rather than in an affirmation of the future. The need to protect and nurture indigenous culture is paramount because it grounds cultural identity and national authenticity (1.5). The formulation of cultural policies must be based on a partnership between Government and various cultural organisations (1.6). Thus the earlier socialist revolutionary critique of some traditions is diluted, and an imagined partnership

with the failing NACZ is represented as central to policy development. These sound like slogans rather than the essence of well-thought out plans.

The first broad objective of ‘promoting Zimbabwean culture in a multicultural society’ (2.1) strangely ignores the national policy of non-racism though it recognises that the policy is for different ethnic, linguistic and religious groups. The remaining objectives offer a variety of worthwhile tasks to be promoted, supported or developed but with no time scale, while concepts of resource management and protection of languages, family and technology are listed as the work of Government. They are all, however, clearly endogenous and of their time – the discourse is no longer revolutionary. The economic dilemma is indicated in the political dichotomy between the socialist ‘promotion of mass cultural organisations’ and the approaching capitalist ESAP imperative: ‘promotion of the Private Sector in funding cultural activities’. The art-forms and institutions in Paragraphs 6 to 24 have relatively little to do with indigenous culture and point to the continuing attempt not merely to tolerate difference but to continue compromising with colonial constructions of ‘the arts’. As mission statements they indicate an impotent recognition of cultural practice as having potential to generate income.

The National Cultural Policy therefore provides striking contrasts with the National Arts Council of Zimbabwe Act. Its strength really lies in the processes that were contingent on its production rather than in its content or usefulness. Caleb Dube’s suggestion that it would have been improved by some modelling on the Cultural Charter for Africa (1976) is important – because that provides an exhaustive document (itself influenced by the UNESCO genre) that draws attention to African Nationalism as cultural ideology – though its own purpose was to make broad recommendations to all members states of the OAU. It could not, therefore, have helped to frame those specific details that arise from Zimbabwean local historicity and determine a national identity.

| Contents | Paragra | No. | Contents | Paras. | No. |
|---------------|---------|-----|----------------|--------|-----|
| 1. Preamble | 1.1-1.6 | 21 | 12. Dance | | 5 |
| 2. Objectives | 2.1- | 40 | 13. Literature | | 4 |

| | | | | | | |
|------------------------|-------|----|--|-----------------------|-------|----|
| 3. Government's role | 3.1- | 38 | | 14. Fine Arts | | 7 |
| 4. Research | 4.1 - | 15 | | 15. Crafts | | 3 |
| 5. Training | | 2 | | 16. Dress and Design | | 3 |
| 6. Zimbabwean | | 7 | | 17. Food | | 2 |
| 7. Publishing Industry | | 7 | | 18. Traditional | | 3 |
| 8. The Culture | 8.1 | 8 | | 19. Environmental | | 7 |
| 9. The Mass Media | | | | 20. Religion | | 2 |
| Print Media | 9.1 | 8 | | 21. International co- | | 5 |
| Electronic media | 9.2 | 10 | | 22. Culture and | | 10 |
| Cinema | 9.3 | 12 | | 23. National Cultural | | 4 |
| 10. Theatre | | 6 | | 24. Social Status of | | 4 |
| 11. Music | | 5 | | 25. Funding Culture | a – e | 14 |

Table 5-3 Contents of National Cultural Policy of Zimbabwe

Doubtless Chifunye could have written a better document from his knowledge of UNESCO policies and the cultural practices of Zimbabwe; however, that would not have been an appropriate style of management and administration: neither he nor the Minister were inclined to tell people what to do but preferred where possible to enable them to discover through praxis how the task might be accomplished.

Changes made after the draft was published in *Teacher in Zimbabwe* and before the final version was released are editorial rather than conceptual except for the late inclusion of the statement that 'A people without a culture is a people without identity' (1.2) that might seem banal to others who have not been colonised, exiled or displaced into the cultural desert of refugee camps. Although possibly developed from the Francophone ideology of Negritude rather than Marxism there is little evidence of such a relationship. Anglophone colonies were generally antipathetic to the French approach to colonial culture, particularly those with the perspective of Marx and Engels that the ruling ideas of each age have been the ideas of its ruling class.¹¹² The ZANU view (Mutumbuka 1978) was that colonial education 'aims at creating a product who has internalised the enemy, has assimilated the

¹¹² The ideology of Negritude initiated by Aime Césaire, a Mauritian poet in the 1930s, was politicised by President Senghor of Senegal. Educated in France he became impregnated with French culture (Cox 1966). Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1972) reflects the ambivalence that existed when he quotes Alioune Diop (1956): "There is this scandalous allegation of peoples without culture. While it is true that those who were really responsible for colonisation knowingly fabricated this myth, it is nonetheless surprising that generations of cultural and spiritual authorities have conceded that men could live in a community and

enemy's culture, his way of thinking, behaviour etc., a totally dehumanised being, almost a robot.' A similar construction is used by Chung and Ngara (1986) 'We should indeed promote and perfect our finest traditions...lest we become a nation without a culture of its own, but we cannot go back to the mode of existence of our ancestors in modern-day Zimbabwe.' This may have been adapted from the construction used by Mao Tse Tung (1944) 'An army without culture is a dull-witted army, and a dull-witted army cannot defeat the enemy.'

In effect the production of the National Cultural Policy was an experimental exercise through which the cultural officers in the Ministry's head office used (and learned the contingent problems of) at least two methods of consultation: direct requests to national administrators of organisations with an interest in being represented in the document, and indirect, open invitation to the whole teaching profession on the assumption that, being close to the daily lives of the people in their communities, they would be interested in representing the diversity of views in the country. It is likely that district and provincial cultural officers had also been invited through routine Ministry channels to contribute on behalf of their locality. Neither method of consultation produced enough significant results and most of the writing was done by urban cultural officers. Thus, though the public learned nothing about the value of participating in a written consultation, the cultural officers had the opportunity to recognise that in the future 'structured consultations' such as local meetings using the vernacular were likely to be more effective simply because they were familiar and traditional.

have no culture." Ngugi comments 'The negritude movement was a cultural phenomenon playing a political role.'

CHAPTER SIX

Bulawayo Music Revival Show

Introduction

This study addresses the cultural politics and cultural policies surrounding a short-term project, the Bulawayo Music Revival Show 1987. The project aimed to activate a regeneration of the local music industry and the social life associated with it, which had been fractured during the two decades of the liberation war. Four institutions, old and new, were involved - in that tight-knit community they gave authority to the 'commonsense' organising behaviour of individuals living and working in the urban culture of the Western Townships. After three months' hectic preparation the show was presented on December 4th 1987 in Bulawayo Town Hall, a fine colonial building with a big stage and an audience capacity of 1500.

The Bulawayo Music Revival Show case study is selected to introduce the thesis because of its suitability for testing the initial hypothesis:

During this transitional period, the processes at work in the achievement of cultural production were an expression of the adaptive initiatives of individuals operating at grassroots level and not the result of formal documented policies of institutions or government.

This was formulated during the initial theorising of the research when the cultural dynamic seemed to be produced by individual animation not institutions. The primary interest of this case study for the thesis is that, although not the earliest chronologically, it is the one that was least subject to contemporary exogenous influences and so is expected to reveal details of indigenous strategies of project planning and implementation in urban cultural practice. Secondly, it was the product of an older generation, involving no-one under the age of thirty. They had lived through the whole period of the struggle; the project shows some of what they hope to achieve from their liberation, free from colonial constraints but touched with a deep nostalgia. Their ideology can be understood as primarily core township values that are now contributing to a changing *espace métisse* (Mudimbe 1997a) now expressed in a self-ruling context. In later case studies they will be compared with a

younger generation of cultural workers. Thirdly, the Ministry's strategy of setting up an 'Artistes Steering Committee'¹¹³ can be seen as a process of 'typification'¹¹⁴ of the socialist ethos of the time, grounded in Bulawayo's township habitus; it illustrates – in the field of cultural production – an exemplary, mainly successful application of new non-racist,¹¹⁵ co-operative and inclusive attitudes. Ordinary people and excombatants understood broadly that government policies were based on Marxist-Leninist principles but these now remained unspoken except in explicitly political fora; the tensions between Harare and Bulawayo during 'the silent years' preceding the Unity Agreement of 22nd December 1987 remained equally hidden.¹¹⁶

Archive

The study is based on a small corpus of concurrent primary materials collected during and after the project (Appendix 6-1). This behaviour was almost the only contemporary exogenous or 'foreign' influence in the project. The corpus includes working documents from the Steering Committee, press cuttings, a commemorative booklet, and audio-recordings made shortly before the event. These are glued together by memories of the lived experience and are theorised as meme retention systems (Speel 1997). As a participant in the management of the show, as a member of the Steering Committee and as editor of the booklet, like everyone else my activities were always subject to the approval of the committee.

¹¹³ The term 'artistes' was often used to denote performers as distinct from representational 'artists'. The other English usage – meaning specifically cabaret performer – was not understood as restricted to inferior species of performer; nor distinguished from the French usage.

¹¹⁴ In Belinsky's sense enabling the artist to 'discover the idea in the fact, the general in the particular', rather than western notions of a formulaic 'stereotype' lacking 'individuality' (Berlin 1978).

¹¹⁵ After a century of institutional and legislative racism and a racial war, neither anti-racism nor multiculturalism could be directly addressed in the terms that were becoming 'correct' in the UK, particularly in London under the Greater London Council, although there were similarities in their approach to the role of the arts in identity politics in the community (Matarrasso 2001). The general Zimbabwean policy was that all ethnicities were to be made welcome in the shared endeavour to create a non-racial socialist society and a new national identity. Perhaps this policy of reconciliation was too abrupt a closure on the colonial racist experience, ignoring the possibility that many remaining Rhodesians would not accept a socialist Zimbabwe.

¹¹⁶ Preben Kaarsholm (1999, p. 229) in his sensitive account of the socio-political situation of this arena cites Jeremy Brickhill's argument that because of the political traditions of Bulawayo, ZAPU's line of struggle was more socialist and less populist, more rationalist and less reliant on cultural and religious discourses, and less coercive than ZANU.

Revisiting the lived experience through these few documents for the purpose of research is problematic. They provide a partial account of some preliminary planning, written in English as the formal discourse of the time and process; they remain authentic history, unreconstructed by hindsight. New interpretations are unavoidably produced at each reading, bringing shifts in understanding of the layers of meaning in the texts and the cultural significance of the discourse, which at the time merely served a practical purpose. In memetic terms, these informal documents can be treated as retention systems of *unchanged* memes. Authenticity is otherwise a vexed question; the insider's affective memories of processes that were encapsulated in the written records contribute perceptions beyond those available to later readers from other times and cultures. But in the brain of the insider, the amateur turned researcher, the memes are *not* unchanged. The participant, in becoming the observer, retrospectively re-encounters, remembers and interprets the memories before analysing them for a different reader. So if a minute notes that 'The cultural officers helped to paint a banner' the memory is awakened by but not overtly contained in the bare text; it becomes a present notion of a past experience that, in the present analysis, can fairly be said to have been successful even if unrecorded frictions and misunderstandings have fallen away leaving only faint traces, memories, in the minds of a few people.

As things turned out, animation and documentation became my principle roles in the project because, qualified by literacy, ownership of a typewriter, teaching skills and attitude it was perceived as an obligation; no one else would have made this particular contribution and the musicians cooperated with approval. The Committee papers were kept only by chance after they had served their purpose and could have been thrown away. Press cuttings were deliberately collected as a lazy way of diarising events - the Victorian talent for sustained journal writing not being part of my repertoire. They were more than personal mementoes, but not yet conceived as material for research.

The programme booklet was a more deliberate undertaking, and repeated an editorial formula that was used successfully two years before with a similar urge to produce a record of activities in Bulawayo's revolution in theatre. While the musicians were practising every Saturday in Stanley Square we talked informally about their memories,

and some wrote their own accounts. Then I edited everything together to provide a log of the shared project. These records were not planned but emerged in response to the opportunity, with the aim of enhancing the status of the musicians as performing artists through favourable publicity and documentation. Its bias, if any, is only in its commitment to the political adventure of the time – the building of a socialist Zimbabwean culture.

The archive contributed to the general context described in Chapter 3 and more specific details about musical history, institutions and social life in the urban townships. In a notably participatory sub-culture, the majority of township residents were involved in cohesive social practices that scarcely changed at Independence. The major difference was that colonial administrative systems were now maintained by civil servants who were under the control of MPs and city councillors elected by a *full adult suffrage*. The change was in who would make the decisions and what those institutions would now set out to achieve. The residents of Bulawayo had long ago assimilated a British model of local government and had a small nucleus of experienced African administrators in the Bulawayo City Council offices whose roles scarcely changed at Independence in 1980. The colonial infrastructure and many of its social policies were retained but the Council had disabled the old dirigisme by which white masters had controlled the black workforce, so that while it was indeed being modernised and democratised, it retained its long-established routines and authority and represented a steady loyalty to the identity of the City of Bulawayo. The Council's support for the project consisted chiefly of making Stanley Square available for rehearsals without charge and the City Hall itself on the day of the show.

The Provincial and District administrators of the new and highly political Ministry of Youth, Sport and Culture had their principal loyalty to the government and to the expression of a new Zimbabwean national identity though they were somewhat cautious in representing the ZANU(PF) government in ZAPU territory. To support the revival project no money was available but Ministry officers were granted a lot of time to work on it and had useful experience of organising large events such as cultural performances at the annual International Trade Fair (ZITF). The Zimbabwe Union of Musicians, after its formation in 1983 from locally-based 'music associations' that dated from 1980 (Bosco,

interview 1995) had serious conceptual, constitutional and administrative problems and, unlike arts organisations with the NACZ, did not attract any further development funding until the nineties. The Bulawayo Branch had almost unquestioning loyalty from its members and their audiences, and some knowledge of committee procedures. Their networking was vital in bringing back many inactive veteran musicians and in calling them to meetings and practice sessions. The Bulawayo District Arts Council was only just beginning to implement the National Arts Council Act (1985) and attempting, with difficulty, to shake off the colonial mode of operating. It was at a new interface between politics and performance and to monitor and assist its activities the secretary was now appointed by the Ministry – normally one of their cultural officers - thus politicising an institution that the whites had always considered to be non-political. The District Arts Council contributed neither money nor manpower but provided a letter of reference to add authority to the Union's efforts to raise funds from local businesses that were mostly white-owned. No one doubted that the Union was 'affiliated' to this arts body, and few knew or cared that they were actually registered under the Labour Relations Act.

Local articulation of cultural policy

If there was any *prior* documentation within the Ministry, it did not reach the steering committee. Although the idea for the project was later claimed by the union there is little doubt that it originated with Henry Thodlana even though his name does not appear in the booklet that was produced to commemorate the event.¹¹⁷ Thodlana was the resourceful District Cultural Officer of Bulawayo North District of the Ministry of Youth Sport and Culture and a jazz pianist of repute. The first public documentation came in an extended interview (Ndlovu 1987) published in September by which time he had, by judicious networking, already involved the local Union executive. 'Music,' he said, 'like any other cultural aspect, is dynamic. We believe, therefore, that present-day young musicians will learn a lot from the music of the recent past.' The event would be 'a walk down memory lane.' It was planned that surviving musicians would repeat the music and style of the most popular Bulawayo bands of each decade. 'As remnants of most of the groups which featured prominently since the 1940s can still be found, and reliable informants are

accessible, we will draw very much on them for the success of the show.’ Bulawayo musicians had been exposed to American music through meeting Afro-American sailors at South African seaports which were easily reached by the railway that integrated the whole region. People also used to bring gramophone records home from South African music when they visited there. The prevalent music idiom was jazz of many categories such as blues, swing, Dixieland, and the local guitar-marabi and kwela music of the forties.

By encouraging the executive of the Bulawayo Branch of the Union to develop new management skills, it was tacitly understood in the Ministry that the union's uncertain status as an institution could be enhanced by being publicly acknowledged as the organisers. Thereafter, Thodlana kept well out of the way. That relationship, like everything that happens in the townships, had a long history that outsiders may never be told. As one musician explained: ‘We’ve known each other since schooldays and we expect to bury each other.’ Many of the cultural officers had been combatants and were passionate about their work for liberation. They understood their role as cadres tasked with continuing political education; some had lost out on formal education through the war years, but they were qualified by their commitment to the ideology of the struggle. During this phase they realised that the process of transformation to a socialist society would take time but they worked towards that goal. By contrast with the concurrent development of youths in community theatre (Chapter 7) there was little socialist rhetoric – these older cultural workers had been directly involved in the liberation struggle, but that belonged in the past and their disappointment with current politics in rural Matabeleland required silence.

The City Hall was a dignified venue that induced good will, good manners and artistic respect; the grand colonial style would be democratised, modified by the confident presence of the previously subordinate African citizens. The show would reconnect the performers with their audience in an unusually prestigious setting and revive memories of social events as well as old musical relationships – friends who had played music, or danced together; music teachers and their pupils. The Ministry also aimed to stimulate the individual musicians' will to return to work and overcome the depression they felt

¹¹⁷ The musical director Sam Mkhithika agrees with this probability; ‘Wasn’t it your idea? Then

generally because of the lack of instruments, venues and employers. The intention was to revive the former status and professional skills of 'the veterans' and re-create a demand for their work in the city by reawakening their audience. It did not attempt to stimulate musical creativity or innovation, and did not bring in any younger African musicians.

Another aspect of the Ministry's influence concerned the government's policy of non-racism and reconciliation. The composition of the steering committee, by invitation of the Ministry or the union, ZUM, and the voluntary cast of performers illustrates how this national policy was applied locally. Though predominantly involving Ndebele and Shona people, the organising secretary and some of the musicians were of mixed-race (so-called Coloured). A few white musicians, both indigenous and expatriate, also took part. Such a social mix was still rare seven years after Independence but, despite some tensions, the respect musicians have for each others' professional skill outweighed the familiar racial frictions.

PLANNING THE PROJECT

Essentially the musicians knew what they needed to do technically and musically, but not how to manage a major themed event from scratch. After independence there was no management infrastructure wanting to set up shows for local bands until, remembering that the City Council used to organise music competitions and other social events, the four local institutions referred to above were enrolled to support this initiative. It is clear from the *Prize* interview and the surge of activity following the first press release that Thodlana had already laid a strong institutional foundation for the project with his characteristic love of every aspect of culture.

Artistes' Steering Committee

The decision-making processes revealed here proceeded in a typical 'township' way, sliding into non-standard strategies where 'going by the book' was not an option since 'the book' did not exist.¹¹⁸ Basic committee procedures were familiar from the colonial period,

Thodlana could well be the one who started it off" (Telephone interview, March 2000).

¹¹⁸ At this stage I still thought that following standard procedures was a natural solution to many problems of group organisation, but did not see it as culturally problematic, see Appendix 8-5, Cameron (1988).

accepted and respected as an effective format for organising the routines of any urban community group. Nothing that had to be done to organise the show could not be initiated or authorised through this structure, and implemented by the Ministry's cultural officers, union members and volunteers.

Membership of the steering committee was by invitation, at the suggestion of cultural officers and the Zimbabwe Union of Musicians branch executive. The committee was rather large to ensure that there were always at least six or seven members present – enough to validate decisions and to pass on the necessary information to those who had not been present.

| | | |
|----------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Sithole, Mr. Abel S. | Band leader | Steering Committee Chair |
| Sekerani, Mr. M. | Band owner | Unionist |
| Salimu, Mr. G. | Band leader | ZUM Branch Chairman |
| Nyathi, Mr. A. | | |
| Nhumbha, Mrs. G | Cultural officer | Ministry |
| M'Hangu, Mr. Chase | Chronicle advertising manager | Jazz club |
| Ngwenya, Mr. R. | Musician | Submarine Band |
| Ncube, Mr. G. | Band leader | ZUM Branch treasurer |
| Mkhithika, Mr. S. | ZBC Radio producer | Music projects |
| Magwaza, Mr. M. | Musician | Union member |
| Juba, Mr. E. | Musician | ZUM Branch secretary |
| Jones, Miss P. | Seamstress | ZUM Branch committee |
| Jay, Mr. Dee | Businessman | D.J., singer, composer |
| Jabangwe, Mr. T. | Music lecturer | Hillside Teachers College |
| Farusa, Mr. A | Cultural officer | Ministry |
| Cameron, Miss S. | Science teacher | ZUM Branch committee |
| Bosco, Mr. M. | Factory worker, Musician | Unionist |

Table 6-1 Members of the Steering Committee

Respect was given to individuals according to their official positions, age, music, war experience and other aspects of their identity, mainly insofar as they were useful to the enterprise. Most knew each other's personalities and capacities very well, having been reared together in the township community. In the committee, there was unselfconscious goodwill among all participants in this racial experiment; characteristics relating to a person's membership of any non-indigenous racially-determined sub-group of the city community¹¹⁹ were treated as potentially useful – particularly in extending the network and

¹¹⁹ Expatriate whites resisted being identified with the Rhodesian and Boer communities. On other occasions Thodlana did much to bring members of different races and nations together in cultural activities, e.g. to celebrate UNESCO day with a food and national dress festival.

contributing different skills. What had changed were the power relations, and the associated confidence now being experienced by black players.

It is hard to express the strategic importance of this unconventional team of disparate characters, their eccentric life-histories woven together for a few months by their shared belief in the power of music to heal the damage done in civil war and reconstruct the identity of Bulawayo. Each one is still vividly present in affective memory, contributing to this narrative. General management was the work of the Artistes Steering Committee, who met weekly in an office of the Ministry of Youth, Sport and Culture; committee members took on various tasks identified in discussion. These included booking a rehearsal venue, negotiating use of Large City Hall for the dress rehearsal and the performance, advertising and press releases to the Chronicle, developing the themed concept, arranging instruments and sound equipment, fund-raising and budgeting, researching the old songs, tracing long-lost friends: the list is long.¹²⁰

Performers

The affectionate name ‘The Veterans’ was given to the old township musicians who were central to the project. Many of them were now out of work and most had sold any instruments they had once owned; some were drinking ‘tototo’¹²¹ and had lost their musical skills. Veteran performers would need a lot of practice. Once the union had sent the word out calling all musicians, members and non-members alike, to get involved, weekend sessions were held at the council-owned Stanley Square, Makokoba, which had an open air stage and arena seating. The instrumental practices were organised by the musical director, Sam Mkhithika, a gentle radio presenter who loved music and musicians. Others joined in as the message reached more musicians and there was a lot of networking going on. This not only helped in recruiting people to play but also provoked them to search for and repair their ‘dead’ instruments, and to make arrangements to borrow from or share with others. Another musical thread was Choral singing that had been popular both as a professional and an amateur activity in the old days. Now, singers (including one or two women) got together again and practised in each others’ houses, recalling their

¹²⁰ Minutes 19 Oct. 1987.

¹²¹ A noxious local alcoholic brew.

repertoires and harmonic arrangements. The old group names were revived and where former members had died younger singers joined in to take their place. Group identities were still characterised by those names – the Golden Rhythm Crooners, the Shanty City Sixes, Amangxolisa and the Cool Four. During the weeks biographies of individuals and oral histories of the groups were collected for the programme booklet (see Appendix 6-2).

The bands in regular employment prepared their performances in their normal practice sessions and guaranteed professionalism with popular appeal. White and coloured bands, who were usually part-time performers within their own communities, but relatively well-equipped, were not unionised. They were included in the show by the energetic networking of the organising secretary and Ministry.

Union role

Although there was a strong tradition of industrial unionism in the city, unionising artists had scarcely begun and the later confusion over the musicians' position as a labour union and not an arts organisation was not noticed. The union, through its members, was the principle agent in effecting the project but the Steering Committee, though it consisted mainly of union members, was not formally constituted by the union, but was tacitly assumed to be authorised by the Ministry. Planning meetings were not designated as union meetings and they took place in the Ministry's offices. This ambiguity allowed the activity to proceed quickly, but resulted in some uncertainty in handling and accounting for moneys. The union provided functions that the other institutions could not have done so well: its oral networks enabled it to find and communicate directly with the musicians quite quickly and to encourage them to support the project. Backed up by Ministry officials the union issued invitations to non-members, to sit on the committee and after some uncertainty, the union's bank account was made available, thereby avoiding the need to open a project account. It provided references approved by the Arts Council and authorised by the chairman's signature *and* a rubber stamp, for those attempting to collect sponsorship. Finally, it was able to arrange for members to share what few instruments they had.

All these things made the union seem a more effective institution in the eyes of the public, its own members, and potential employers. The functions where it was most effective

were those to do with communicating with members and producing a consensus among them. Money handling and employment issues were, however, problematic. Though they were not yet perceived as such, they later generated secondary problems that were not capable of resolution through constitutional procedures.

Communications

Carrying oral messages was an essential part of township life, and an accepted obligation – people would walk long distances to deliver messages. Following years of subversive participation in the liberation struggle, they readily distinguished between messages that were private, those that were secret and those that were even dangerous. The union habitually used this type of networking to inform members what they should do whereas the Ministry and City Council had more official, professional constraints on their relations with the public, reflected in the greater use of documentation. As Sam Mkhithika recalls, ‘There was *so much* talking going on all that time!’ Information about the progress of the show preparations spread by ‘word of mouth’ through the community as the cheapest way of advertising, while ‘gossip’ (often used as a tool against enemies or competitors) in this case embroidered authentic information from the *Chronicle* and ZBC radio with favourable speculation.

All planning, decision-making and communications between the musicians themselves and between organisers and musicians were conducted orally in either siNdebele or English. More than sixty musicians were eventually brought into the project by oral networking; bilingual players used their language abilities to include monolinguals throughout in the activities and discussion, readily interpreting language and conventions. Committee proceedings were conducted and minuted in English, as a formality and for the benefit of monolingual people involved. Apart from Ndlovu’s interview with Thodlana in *Prize* the only written documents known to have been produced before the event were letters seeking sponsorship from local businesses, drafts of the programme, minutes of the committee meetings and booking forms for City Council facilities. Thereafter in the press there were advertisements, previews, reviews and letters to the Editor (Appendix 6-3). Finally, the programme booklet was cyclostyled for the night of the show.

Finances

Much of the committee's time was occupied with fund-raising issues. Initially there was no clear strategy for handling the money. The Minutes record that on October 19th the committee authorised the union to seek sponsorship since there was no funding available from the District Arts Council, and to use the union's bank account. At this point a music lecturer from the Teachers Training College, who was more aware of the need for accountability than the union executives were, uneasily reminded the meeting that in the appeal letter it had been suggested that all moneys would be channelled through the Ministry. A face-saving – but unworkable – compromise was agreed whereby “both Treasurers should work hand in hand”. This was the first of many statements on the management of finances that, in retrospect, can be seen clearly as hedging strategies that reflect uncertainty or even deception.

THEMES ARISING

Social action

The planning and production of the show took no more than three months, and there were no radical changes in the musical life of the city. Despite suggestions¹²² that the show might be taken on a national tour or become an annual event it was never repeated. Some of the organisers pointed out: “You don't keep on reviving something if you succeed the first time!” In retrospect it can be seen to have produced not so much change as, rather, a return to pre-war normality. In addition, it laid a foundation for new relationships, including non-racial interaction¹²³ and strengthened links in the networks. In the longer term it contributed to the reconstruction of groups such as the Cool Crooners and Enoch Ndlovu's band Man about Town in the townships that generated some income, though these remained part time activities with most members having other jobs. The musical director negotiated the use of recording facilities at the Academy of Music for the earliest music from the Veterans (Appendix 6-4). For copyright reasons it was never published but it led to the Isavutha Kwela Revival Project, funded from Swedish sources, and the leader, Mike Bosco, was interviewed as a consultant on band management in the 1995 M-S project (Appendix 6-5).

¹²² *Chronicle* report 11/12/87 (Media Corpus A134)

¹²³ Dave Allan, a newly arrived teacher, met enough local musicians to set up a part-time rock band.

The show was (and still is) remembered as a very special social event and the institutions involved were proud of the result.¹²⁴ At a local level making something happen on such a large scale placed the previously subordinate musical culture of the African townships physically at the city centre in the most prestigious surroundings. Before Independence these social musical activities had belonged only peripherally in the community halls and African homes. During the struggle this vigorous expression of the African civic identity was effectively silenced and even in 1987 the community was still depressed. By reminding them of past star performers the show helped to regenerate their community pride and to heal some of the hurt of the intervening years of war. ‘Groups like iKwela Rise and the Golden Rhythm Crooners... filled the gap caused by the absence of music from the earlier years’ (Hatugari A141). Musicians who had not performed for years joyfully rediscovered their own identities with borrowed instruments in their hands again. Central to the project was the way they cooperated in reviving the identities of the bands of earlier years by the authenticity of their tribute performances. Bringing musicians of different ethnic groups into contact was another small step towards Zimbabwe’s new non-racial national identity.

Band Management

Musicians were accustomed to working commercially, playing at clubs, hotels and events organised and controlled by white managers (individuals, companies or Local Councils). Band management in Bulawayo remained very feudal with nearly all decisions about money and contracts controlled by the bandleader, a long established authority structure that depended on the ownership of instruments. No change can be seen here or in the more equitable management structure of the white and Coloured bands, which were generally part-time or amateur, with adequate incomes from other regular employment. Like their audiences they still preferred to remain separate from the African bands – except for one or two maverick characters who would play their harmonica or saxophone with anyone who played jazz. The idea that musicians should co-operate rather than compete in putting on shows for themselves was new¹²⁵ and so was the marketing of their music as cultural history – an early effort by the Ministry to revalue the product, modernise the music

¹²⁴ Appendix 6-2, *Welcoming remarks*.

industry and counteract their anomie. Meeting the kwela musicians, who still worked in the beer gardens and streets led to Mike Bosco some years later was

Volunteerism, Sponsorship and Fund-raising

Although the event was indeed successful it was very labour-intensive as far as management was concerned. It could not provide a useful model for commercial management, but only for a community event, where volunteers would be willing and able to do much of the work and where local institutions could absorb the cost of releasing their officers when required. Nevertheless, the shared responsibility of a voluntary committee was a social feature of the townships – a colonial legacy used by people in many activities.

Sponsorship remained in the colonial mould, with local companies following practices that were carefully regulated by their own advertising policies and budget, while others made small charitable donations as patrons of the music, a token of goodwill to offset the manifest inequalities of the society. In offering union members' services in exchange for sponsorship their Chairman, Salimu, was seeking to negotiate mutual benefit in place of charity, though no company took up the offer. Musicians kept their established working practices in the commercial sector and found no way of changing their terms of employment or of accessing income-generating support from foreign donors as the drama groups did.

A new audience was envisaged, that would listen to music for its own sake and not merely as an accompaniment to drinking. Press releases suggested that the show would produce a wholesome family atmosphere, where the women would not feel embarrassed as they might in the beer halls. They also hoped to attract a more multiracial audience in the city centre. The first of these aims was achieved with an almost full house – over a thousand people, of whom as many as three hundred were still present at two o'clock in the morning well beyond the intended end of the show (Hatugari, B4). Not many local white or coloured people were in the audience, however, though a few expatriate teachers did attend, having come to the country expecting to participate wherever they could. Once the Revival Show was over, neither the Ministry, the City Council nor the District Arts

¹²⁵ Hatugari (03.01.88) *Chronicle* 'Co-operation. That's the watchword. Musicians must think seriously about this' (MC: B4).

Council had any intention of continuing this sort of support by promoting shows. One outcome was that the union's Branch Committee resolved to put on regular shows combining two or three bands but, lacking outside support, funds, management skills and a significant theme, only one or two ever happened. Bands in regular employment could not take time out to play in extra shows, while the unemployed would not attract enough audiences nor afford the costs of equipment and venues.

Mismanagement

Shortly after the event a question of financial probity was raised. Although the Bulawayo Music Revival Show was a successful event, the correspondence in the *Chronicle* (see Appendix 6-3) raises a whisper of doubt over the financial management in a truculent question from a white musician, de Vos, who writes irritably to the *Chronicle* asking: 'In the public's interest, what charity benefited from the proceeds of the show?' (B88/4 19/01/88). In his reply the Organising Secretary refers to the fact that what was actually said many times was that '*the musicians and other participants were all being so charitable in giving their precious time and services for the benefit of music in Bulawayo*' (B88/5 23/01/88). While thus sidelining the importance of money and de Vos's implication that money might not have been accounted for, he does say that a financial statement is available for inspection at the union office. As a management issue, therefore, the Organising Secretary's reply

gives a fair account of what consultations had gone on

suggests clearly that de Vos already knew the answer and had chosen to avoid involving himself with the black majority; but tactfully avoids mentioning that de Vos' band members had actually received \$7 each for expenses.

Tries to lay the matter to rest in the supposed reliability and transparency of the union – which is tacitly understood to be constituted along international lines.

Racial stereotyping had mainly been avoided and is of interest only because it reflects a general white assumption that non-whites were unreliable, and the nagging, insulting little power struggles associated with it. The second point raises questions about cultural identity and how individuals cope on the boundaries of interacting cultures. Finally, the

uncertainty indicates the possibility of a mismatch between tacit policies at street level and the documented policies of international agencies. The money raised was never mentioned in the union's financial reports, though in theory it was deposited in their bank account. The Organising Secretary's letter suggests that there might have been some small though unspecified surplus; and he urged that anyone could inspect the financial statement at the union office. This merits further examination because the union became increasingly bogged down in the consequences of initially innocent "mismanagement", followed by adaptive "cover-ups" and then by actively corrupt practices involving collusion between two officers at the highest national level.

Bilinguality

The project was not deflected by any problems over literacy. All African participants were functionally bi- or plurilingual; white and coloured participants often had only English. The musicians faced no demands to read or write in order to participate and orally they were positively bilingual, not only able but very willing to switch codes in order to communicate effectively. Officials and organisers had levels of literacy appropriate to their roles – the Union Chairman dictated letters appealing for sponsorship, the Organising Secretary kept working records of potential participants, wrote press releases and persuasive letters to the Chronicle, Eric Juba took concise minutes and typed them up.¹²⁶

'Verbal agreements' were the norm, and later became an issue that the union tried to shift. In this case they were adequate for the production of a complex event involving at least ninety performers playing to a full house of over a thousand. Only one misunderstanding resulting from the verbal nature of the agreements is recorded, and was discussed as a management issue in the previous section. Turning to the communication aspects, the organising secretary prioritises De Vos's failure to follow up his calls to the office by getting directly in touch with himself; it seems likely, therefore, that de Vos experienced tension and alienation in those communicative events with African and coloured people, even over the phone. Dee Jay emphasises this failure by then referring to de Vos's absence from the post-event meeting of participants where they had discussed future possibilities.

¹²⁶ The education available before Independence had been highly selective, so this capacity was rare in the townships, especially in the music business. Only about 2% of the African population got secondary

Such a public expression of political correctness, politely veiling a hostility that was rooted in race not music, must have angered de Vos, and would have driven him back into his preference for separation.

Race

In his address of welcome, Mavunga somewhat surprisingly includes as one objective: “To document the wide variety of music and dance reflecting the broad principles of a *multicultural* community”. The latter term was rarely used, but may have been chosen specifically to sound more inclusive, avoiding the government’s preferred term ‘non-racial’; it suggests the possibility of an apolitical diversity instead. As indicated in other sections, race was not an explicit issue. Power having shifted from white to black, the major remaining threats were economic, with cultural conflicts being left to wither away, on the perhaps naïve assumption that since African values could now be expressed they would become dominant. The ideological struggle between colonial and revolutionary attitudes to cultural production and values is discussed in the case study on discourses (Chapter 7); it was particularly heated in the drama arena in 1986 and 1987. The musicians were of the generation that had instigated and fought the liberation war and, unlike the young people in community drama, they were rarely educated to secondary level. Having won the war, they had little interest in further ideological debate as long as the governance was generally satisfactory.

The only time the Organising Secretary made race an issue was in his draft of a press release (which was not used) after the committee meeting of October 19th 1987. It was minuted that he was disappointed that (at this stage) not enough brown and white performers had come forward, but he hoped this would improve within a week or two. We would like black, white and brown artists to perform and share ideas freely; as we are all members of one race, the human race, and there’s very much we could learn from each other.” There was so little talk of race that his use of ‘brown’ rather than ‘Coloureds’ seems to be a personal experiment in rejecting ascribed identities, for it was not common usage. The inclusive intention was much the same as Mavunga’s use of ‘multicultural’ but the nuances of ethnicity as skin colour was of little interest in the turn towards a non-racial

schooling to ‘O’ level so adults who were literate in English can be assumed to be of high general

socialist culture preferred by government. The project certainly provided him, and white expatriates (who did not share the historical baggage that made it hard for Rhodesians to relinquish their privileged position), with an arena where they could exercise their own personal qualities, skills and ambitions while giving useful service as volunteers.¹²⁷ The participation on the night of seven non-African bands out of a total of thirty listed acts was a better mix than expected.

Theoretical implications

My own preference is for inclusive definitions even at the cost of precision, so here 'identity' is taken to mean:

A conscious sense of origins, presence and possible futures in an individual, a language community, a nation or any other human social group, which distinguishes them from another.

Hope in a shared future is a powerful binding concept in group formation, especially in times of political change.¹²⁸

This case study provides evidence of a geo-social or civic identity that provokes particular affection in people of all ethnicities who live in Bulawayo. For Ndebele residents this incorporates and prioritizes the knowledge that the territory was Lobengula's headquarters before Rhodes's military invasion. This name includes the history of its founding, its metamorphosis into a colonial centre, 'born in blood' according to writers of the nineties;¹²⁹ and memories of life there, its streets in sun and storm, in peace and war; the pulse of paradox, and the vitality of the people. The name is constantly repeated. In the title of the show, it marks the endeavour as belonging to the city not the nation. The organising secretary's letter in the *Chronicle* refers to 'the music of Bulawayo' as the principal beneficiary of all the work. In the Harare-based *Sunday Mail*, Hatugari says provocatively: 'Bulawayo seems to be spearheading everything these days. First it was the

intelligence.

¹²⁷ Personal histories and painful identity myths in the mixed-race community merit detailed study.

¹²⁸ Chabal (1996, pp. 50-3) speaks of the greater subtlety and ambiguity of language needed in 'the relationship between the analysis of reality and its enunciation... what we see, or think we see, is not objectively identifiable but depends in part on how we apprehend and enunciate it.'

¹²⁹ James Chalmers, J. Cooper Chadwick, Rider Haggard, James Dawson, Alice Balfour.

Medical and Cultural Dancers who launched a new association to revive cultural dancing. Now we have a Bulawayo music revival group.’

The programme booklet reveals that there is also an attachment to the ‘identities’ of music bands. Each is a composite of the individual members’ personalities, the way they work together, their material and performances, the effect they have on their audiences and the way they are loved for their work. This is not so much a modern management concept of ‘image’ as the community’s sense of ‘identity with’ that particular band and the style of their music interacting with the community and reflecting its values.

Most of the performers have only small individual ‘performance identities’: they do not seek stardom and can scarcely work alone. The fact that some of the original members are still there and still singing is a reason for joyful recognition. When Ben Phulaphulani emerges from managing his shop on Lobengula Street he becomes again one of the Cool Four. Sinametse is not particularly proud of chairing the Steering Committee but singing with the Golden Rhythm Crooners again is a matter of pride; and though he is the only original member left, his nephew Eric is an equally fine and versatile musician who can stand in for the late Champion Banda. Members of the Crooners’ earliest backing group are still with us: Willie Mahlangu – the first man to play an electric guitar in Bulawayo, and the first to pluck the strings instead of strumming them – is now half-rescued from alcoholic oblivion in Hwange, and Roy Tshwele – smaller than the slap bass that he plays when he is not polishing people’s shoes along the dusty Sixth Avenue Extension. For the veterans, reclaiming those beloved group identities is the primary reward for their participation.

Policy implications

The Bulawayo Music Revival Show attempted to affirm a civic identity without recourse to documentation and thereby exemplifies ‘policy as practice’. There was no general sense of government planning or a national policy about it.

One indication of the possible existence of an internal Ministry policy is in the minutes of the steering committee meeting on October 19th (concurrent documentation), where the District Cultural Officer warned the Chairman of the Steering Committee not to try

charging too much for the hire of his instruments. For him to address the excombatant band leader so firmly indicates a willingness to anticipate and regulate the stereotypic greed of these entrepreneurial figures, which in turn strongly suggests that he feels secure in representing a department where colleagues have discussed how to proceed. The interview with Thodlana in *Prize*, initially read as journalism, takes on theoretical significance as the earliest evidence of the origins and ambitions of the idea: there is nothing exogenous in it. Finally concrete evidence of there being a Ministry policy comes in the retrospective statement by the District Cultural Office J. Mavunga quoted below. This 'retrospective documentation' was produced by someone thoroughly versed in the discourse of bureaucracy, who fully understands the political significance of the event and the cultural significance of the old music and its power to contribute to a local identity.

A more elaborate working definition of 'policy' is emerging here, especially with reference to 'cultural policy'. The idea of 'policy as practice' avoids some of the judgemental approaches associated with definitions developed for analysing governance in the west when they are applied universally, but it tends to yield descriptive rather than analytic treatment. If the purpose of research is to help improve practice, cultural policy analysis will need theory. The purpose of the analysis is not to assess whether people succeeded or failed in meeting pre-determined criteria but to discover *what was actually happening*,¹³⁰ and to understand *métissage* (Mudimbe 1997a) in terms of endogenous and exogenous memes: what memes were being retained, rejected or expressed and why, and how they contributed to outcomes.

What is clear is that developed western notions of policy documents, and the judgmental style of evaluating 'success' or 'failure' of implementation are not relevant – such ideas simply were not there. Furthermore, that close-knit community showed itself to be capable of accommodating outsiders who embraced their tacit goals and contributed useful elements of protopolicy. There is, however, no reason to suppose that documentation would have been capable of improving policy implementation in this community endeavour.

¹³⁰ Related approaches include di Maggio's (1997) search for a view of culture as working through the interaction of shared cognitive structures activated by supra-individual cultural phenomena; Speel's

Although no prior documentation had been produced, Mr. Mavunga, the District Cultural Officer expressed the Ministry's social, economic and political aims for the show in his *Introduction* to the commemorative booklet. These were not prior directives but a retrospective rounding up of ideas that had emerged during the process and grounded the protopolicies (see Appendix 6-2, which also includes biographical notes).

The revival show was an indirect way for the Ministry to intervene by encouraging the union to undertake a work-generating initiative to benefit their members, and as such this can be viewed as a product of protopolicies within the Ministry which would not all be discussed directly with the union or other outsiders. Characteristically, there is some forward planning and identification of goals but no binding policy document that has to be implemented. Running parallel in the minds of the participants in the project were tacit policies that determined how they proceeded with familiar component tasks on the basis of established behaviours which needed little discussion notably, of course, in playing the music. These were partly expressed through the institutions involved but were absolutely basic to individual relationships of township life – a complex amalgam of African practices derived from the ethnic groups that had been incorporated into the Ndebele nation long before, then marginalised, displaced and urbanised during colonial rule.

This study reveals the underlying caution of many of the older generation of musicians in facing the future and their nostalgia for a past which, though politically and socially restrictive, had more economic security and social cohesion. They enjoyed the freedom of thought and movement but some were daunted by the structural uncertainty resulting from the removal of white dirigisme. Relatively few felt equipped to take control and there was a marked absence of women in the project. They would like to recreate the happiness that had existed in their pre-independence lives. In this they are markedly different from the younger generation who became involved in community drama and were free to choose whether to use or reject the past (even including the politics of struggle) in order to build Zimbabwean culture.

(1997) application of memetic theory to the development of policy in university regulations and Gatewood's (2000) exploration of conceptualizing 'the units of culture'.

It also reveals the choices made by Ministry officials and others who, having experienced many alternatives while outside the country, chose to build on the egalitarian ethos that developed among the freedom fighters in their camps during the war. This strongly ideological socialist approach dominated cultural production for several years and is analysed in the case studies that follow.

Memetics and identity

Identity studies are often focused at individual level and, by concentrating on the personal experience of change, thereby miss the evolutionary perspective of the cultures operating in the population. A theoretical approach that considers behaviour as the expression of memes competing in an arena may be helpful in analysing social aspects of identity.

Biologically individuals can only adapt within their lifetime, not evolve. However, by passing on their memes (more easily done than passing on genes) they may contribute to change in the group culture. Theorising that identity must be a product of the meme pool it may be argued there could be saltatory (sudden) change in the cultural identity of populations (large or small) as a result of selective pressures producing major change in their practices or beliefs. The urge to reproduce – passing on DNA as genes that programme the anatomical and physiological properties of a population within a species - is an immensely strong drive, possibly an imperative of the genes rather than the individuals acting as the agents of transmission. If memes have a similar propensity for managing their own transmission, the human urge to communicate, to pass on information and to create symbolic representations of immaterial ideas may also be theorised as an imperative of the memes themselves (Blackmore 1999).

Identity myths are often a fossilised feature of inter-cultural social relations, constructed around how other people are perceived to implement (or frustrate) plans or policies: which reflects their power (or lack of power) over people and the material world. The emergence of authentic representations of Zimbabwean national identity characterised a decade of abrupt political change. In the business of music, and in performance arts more generally, individuals constantly challenged Rhodesian identity myths (as they began to remember and assert their own sense of past heritage, present being and possible futures. Their own

perception was that they had always owned the past aspects of this identity, though only now could it be expressed without exogenous constraints; and that Independence allowed them to own their dreams, make them real and at last to construct their own futures. Freedom - expressed in self-rule - allows the authentic identity to reject the attributed identities and grapple unprotected with the hazards in the cultural environment. Which raises the question – how does a dominant culture manipulate a subordinate culture to ensure the transmission and retention of its own memes into the enlarged arena? How do some of these memes alter the receiving culture so that it is more favourable for yet other memes from the colonising source to be retained?

Evaluation & modification of hypothesis

The first modification necessary is recognition that some local policies were being developed discreetly within the Ministry but at street level practitioners were unaware of it. Cultural workers might have suspected government manipulation during that time of tension between government supporters and Matabele nationalists, but in fact they were happy that a local consensus was obtained by proper consultation with local institutions. The specific goals of the project were popular and seemed apolitical – no one questioned that it was worthwhile. In implementation, the Ministry officers kept a low profile most of the time and made themselves very helpful in the later stages, even to the extent of helping to paint a banner.

The initial hypothesis arose through involvement with the younger generation of drama groups who, unlike these musicians, were not yet accustomed to getting things done. Both were important in the activities that developed: the older generation through their past experience and knowledge continuing various traditions which constrained their possible movement into new types of action, and the younger generation lacking that experience but more educated and willing to experiment with creative attempts at managing things: but neither are recognising that anybody had a policy as such. Out of these two polarities I began to recognise the existence of different forms of what I am calling ‘policy’ – because they all achieve the same sort of purpose even if they function differently.

The hypothesis tested in this first case study does need modification in the light of these findings. A detailed examination of archive texts has shown that in fact there had certainly been policy initiatives from the officers of Ministry of Youth, Sport and Culture and supportive action from the other institutions. These concerned not only goals for cultural production but also strategies for harnessing existing powers and recruiting individual participants in the project to re-invigorate the work potential of musicians. Individuals were indeed animators as hypothesised but they often needed institutional frameworks. There are two further issues with institutions – are they run as intended and if not why not? And are they capable of adaptive change? The modified hypothesis will be tested against available evidence in further case studies.

This case study was concerned mainly with an older generation who had learned to cope with changing power relations and physical hazards during the liberation struggle. Few of those survival strategies were useful in the project or in employment creation more generally but at this stage most of the participants could not expect formal learning processes to be available to extend their performance into new arenas such as management or musical creativity. The study has also begun to explore the possibility of applying memetic theory to the description and interpretation of cultural change occurring at the boundaries where different cultures meet and interact. The musicians had learned to endure problems and to manipulate events and people by applying well-tried but limited strategies (or memes) within the familiar endogenous arena, but not to invent new strategies for a new type of change with economic goals. These memes will be found to be more readily retained in the brains of younger, more literate drama practitioners. The revival show marked the beginning of a new period in politics and in cultural praxis, but it was a social experiment, not a cultural revolution.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Discourse in theatre

In an authentic utopian vision, however, hoping does not mean folding one's arms and waiting. Waiting is only possible when one, filled with hope, seeks through reflective action to achieve that announced future which is being born within the denunciation. *Paolo Freire.*

Introduction

This chapter explores aspects of cultural discourse, focusing on the construction of meaning in ideological disputes about performance and management. The study illustrates early stages in the development of a discourse that was changing significantly during the research period, complicated by sharp transitions in the enactment of power and shifting perceptions of power relations.¹³¹ This is relevant to the way protopolicies were developing at a time when cultural policy was enacted in talk and performance but was not codified in documents. It was an experimental time of transformation not consolidation. This chapter contains linguistic studies of conflict in the naming and ownership of theatre, each focused on a different unit of analysis – utterances, ‘extended speech events’ and lexis.

The use of contemporary texts provides evidence of the social actors’ passionate intention to express both overt and concealed political messages, and allows us to make inferences about otherwise inaccessible attitudes, unintended messages and socio-cultural contexts in the past (van Dijk 1993). This chapter takes a pragmatic, communicative approach to language – interested in the content and function of utterances and texts, not in rule-bound linguistic forms. It also examines ‘micro levels of social practice involved in the enactment and reproduction of racism’ (Travers, 2001, p.123) and inquires how the actors themselves understand what they and the others are doing. The speaker’s choice, for example of words or intertextuality, may be deliberately strategic, or may unintentionally reveal an epistemological break between the culture of revolutionary socialism in war-time

and the problematic of constructing a more permanent socialist culture from a recently-won ruling position. The listener/reader also makes choices (not necessarily consciously) from their 'prior knowledge and dispositions in order to construct a meaning that may not be what the producer intended' (Johnstone 2002, p 230). Suddenly, power relations had been reversed following a successful armed liberation struggle.¹³² In defiant locutionary acts white values and power are now confronted by dominant black institutions and individuals armed with words instead of bullets – an anti-language generated by transformations whose meaning is negation, opposition and inversion (Hodge and Kress 1988, p.68). The analysis will show that this unusual discourse resulted from the collision between incompatible social constructions from the past and new political cognitions that were being hammered out in a heated rejection of the reproduction of anachronistic power relations.

In Zimbabwe bilinguality is available to most, but not all, individuals.¹³³ Communication theory (Grice 1975) is based on rational assumptions of co-operation, honesty and relevance. However, the bilingual arena may have restricted ways of agreeing these assumptions, as they depend on metacommunicative strategies including non-verbal communication that may not be shared by people of different language groups and power, especially those so recently at war.

The sample texts (Table 7-1) were all produced in English but much talk around the topic – the linguistic hinterland – used the vernacular languages of people's everyday work and performances where ideas switched and slid between chiShona, siNdebele, English, Ndenglish, and minority languages.¹³⁴ The discourse analyst cannot ignore the existence of that great reservoir of vernacular context – containing irreconcilable alternative

¹³¹ Michael Agar (1997) 'Some recent notions of 'discourse' use the term to mean *social practices involving language*, that is, language together with the resources that go into its production and interpretation.' This usage is adopted in this research.

¹³² Dan Jacobson (1995) 'For the white people of Rhodesia it was as though they came out one morning to find that the rivers were running uphill.'

¹³³ For example, two L1 Ndebele speakers may talk in English (their L2 or L3) for the benefit of a monolingual English speaker. The former will understand many allusions, translations, metaphors, and so on, transferred from their L1 community, which add complexity, subtle meanings and inter-textuality; unable to access those meanings, the monolingual person has the choice whether or not to engage with the hermeneutic circle.

¹³⁴ Zimbabwe's language policy allows education to begin in the mother tongue for the first two years after which English is gradually introduced and in secondary schools is the language of instruction.

representations, tacit knowledge, commonsense and power which may be alluded to but never adequately explicated in the English academic discourse: ‘When you lift up a piece of discourse – be it a lexical item, utterance, or extended text – interpretive strands of association and use stick to it’ (Agar 1997). The metalanguage of analytical texts itself tends towards ethnocentrism (e.g. maxims, deference, politeness) and without a sound methodology for lexical semantic analysis ethnographers seldom succeed in explaining the full conceptual content of indigenous terms (Goddard and Wierzbicka 1997). Furthermore, academic discourse tends to be self-validating, remaining bounded by its own values and dominant language code, separated from the subjects of study or participants in the research; using a critical approach (van Dijk 1993) or a constructivist paradigm (Guba and Lincoln 1989) can contribute to correcting that ethnocentric bias and questioning its dominance. Saville-Troike (1997) suggests that the researcher can develop a deeper understanding of the culture under study by adopting a functional role and becoming a participant as Chavunduka (1994, p. vii) did when researching traditional medicine in Zimbabwe.¹³⁵ For me the participation in cultural animation came first, whereas the research project followed on my return to the UK. While this has produced methodological problems, an advantage is that the written texts (which are only a fraction of the mainly oral discourse going on around cultural production) take on a multi-modal quality generated by memories of direct experience and affective recall of the individual speakers’ voices, gestures, paralanguage, politics and performances.

| Media | Date | Speaker/writer | Topic |
|-------|-------------|--|-----------------------------------|
| A5 | July 19-20 | Participants’ comments & keynote address | ZIMFEP workshop report |
| A12 | Sept 5 & 10 | Interviews with Chris Hurst, adjudicator | Chronicle and Radio |
| A15 | Sept 14 | Feature: Sunday Mail: reaction to Hurst | Harare theatre critic, D. Granger |
| A16 | Sept 16 | Letter in Chronicle: reaction to Hurst | Byo Theatre Club, M. M-Davies |
| A18 | Sept 21 | Opinion, S.J.C. responds to Granger A15 | No room for bias |
| A20 | Sept 23 | Letter: M.N.N responds to M. M-D A16 | Theatre is colonial |
| A24 | Sept 28 | Letter: Granger responds to S.J.C. A18 | Loyal to national theatre |
| A28 | Oct 12 | Letter: M.N.N. responds to Granger A24 | Stop pontificating |

Table 7-1 Texts examined in discourse of theatre

Except for A5, the texts used in this analysis (Appendices 7-1 to 7-5) are taken from either the *Herald* (Harare) or the *Chronicle* (Bulawayo) in 1986, a significant year because

¹³⁵ Chavunduka ‘Many people resent investigators who collect data without an intrinsic interest in their culture or welfare. I therefore decided to be of help to the people I studied.’

peripheral theatre had invaded white consciousness at the city centre, launching a decade of conflictual praxis and policy development in support of the transition to socialism.

A 'speech event' is a focal event constituted through complex sequences of talk embedded in a field of action; it is the realisation of several connected and independent speech act categories such as complaint, directive, promise and assertion. Because of the distance in space and time between the interlocutors using the print media to debate 'theatre', these texts are here presented as components of an 'extended speech event'. Each text could be described separately as a *macro speech act* insofar as one writer summarises a sequence of speech acts with other actors in their social group, providing a pragmatic coherence for such sequences which they clearly believe represents correctly the agreed position of their group. Unlike a normal conversation, each text is public and read by many people, most of whom take no action. Nevertheless, the exchange of positioned statements and responses does resemble a conversation in turn-taking, speaker attitude, information flow, and so on, and ostensibly the interlocutors do have a shared purpose – to contribute to a wider understanding of theatre practice in Zimbabwe. Newspaper editors welcomed the letters which justified the space they gave to reporting cultural events and indicated they had a progressive readership of some intellectual quality. In practice, however, the exchanges were part of a postcolonial battle for the naming and ownership of 'theatre'.

In conversation between reasonably fluent speakers of any language linguists expect that communication will be 'successful' if all participants speak appropriately as recognised in a particular culture¹³⁶ and are driven by a shared endeavour to create social reality (Hymes 1974; Gumperz 1982; Clyne 1994). The texts reveal that, in fact, neither black nor white speakers in this postcolonial decade were seeking common ground¹³⁷ but were disputing polarised ideologies and assuaging personal pain. From a pragmatic perspective the speech acts lacked appropriateness or 'felicity conditions' (Johnstone 2002, p. 200) for good communication and effective action: the interlocutors engaged with hostility not sympathy

¹³⁶ Competence models applied in Rhodesia generally were rooted in racism, spuriously validated by objectives-oriented testing procedures.

¹³⁷ M. al Mulla (1988) also finds that this assumption is not compelling in cross-cultural diplomacy where non-verbal communication of goodwill may be 'successful' but meanings are not made manifest.

in their debate about methods and purposes of 'theatre'.¹³⁸ Implicitly, however, their underlying meanings had more to do with ascribing identities to each other than with exchanging information about theatre.

Conscientisation, the immediate objective of many cultural animateurs at the time, can be understood to include Ngugi wa Thiong'o's term¹³⁹ 'decolonising the mind' of the oppressed black population and, by default, the white survivors of colonial culture. It reminds us of Freire's credo that 'It is essential that the oppressed wage the struggle to resolve the contradiction [which] will be resolved by the appearance of the new man who is neither oppressor nor oppressed – man in the process of liberation' (Freire 1972, p. 32). White social actors, slow to 'rebuild their social representations in a way that enabled them to communicate with their new social group' (Inghilleri 1999, p. 33) did not believe they had been oppressors and habitually denied the political dimension of culture (as did Eliot in 1948). The majority expressed their stubborn resistance to change in terms of the universal dominance of their aesthetic values and knowledge assumptions that are evident in all three white-authored texts used for reference.

This chapter examines the discourse in which I was immersed while working with Amakhosi and the Bulawayo Association of Drama Groups in 1985-1986; it looks retrospectively for the language dynamic that was driving cultural conflict. It begins with a narrative account of the cultural context of 1980-1985 which is followed by (1) analysis of oral utterances of young practitioners using English to produce new social constructs for their praxis of community-based theatre; (2) analysis of letters written in the media by black and white social actors contesting the praxis and ownership of "national theatre"; and (3) the vivid lexis of abuse that challenges white assumptions.

¹³⁸ 'Letters pages' in the *Chronicle* and *Sunday Mail* included the views of expatriates who seemed bewildered by the depth of hostility expressed. By presenting 'equality for all' as an *existing* humanitarian norm they tended to underestimate the continuing political necessity for socialist discursive action to establish that norm. (van Dijk 1993, p. 17) e.g. L. Neyals 25/09/86 *Time for change is now* (A21) and J. Kendall 12/10/86 *Chifunyise's article welcom.* (A27).

¹³⁹ Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1986) referred this process to the politics of African literature but it adapts readily to other forms of cultural production.

The First Five Years

Before 1980 colonial theatre clubs had been important foci for disparate European classes seeking cultural forms which could bind them all to the overriding ideology of the colonial administration. (Kerr 1995). In the townships few people had seen live drama on stage apart from school plays or occasional variety shows and comedians such as Safirio who including sketches and stand-up comedy, but film shows in community halls were popular, especially those where Bruce Lee astonished them with the culture of karate.¹⁴⁰

Different styles of Zimbabwean theatre¹⁴¹ existed in Bulawayo even before the burst of activity in 1985. Although the differences were most obviously related to performance genre or management style, the new groups' ideologies also became nuanced as they sought useful allegiances and models, defined their aims and developed their group identities in response to the clearly stated positions of national organisations such as the new Zimbabwe Association for Community Theatre (ZACT) and the long-established National Theatre Organisation (NTO). Colonial theatre practitioners generally criticised the management and performance skills of African actors on very little evidence (such as school performances) while remaining certain of the universality of their own unchanged values and practice. By performing on a stage with curtains¹⁴² one or two African groups crossed a threshold of credibility into the white domain but at the same time, by aping western models, sacrificed some respect among the younger generation.

While employed in Zambia Stephen Chifunyise wrote:

From 1950 the Northern Rhodesia Government and Mining Companies spend a lot of money providing support and other cultural facilities to the white settlers and expatriates. Many drama clubs were formed in the white areas (which) grew to become the strongest colonial establishments to propagate Eurocentric culture and enforce racial segregation laws in the colony (Chifunyise 1978).

¹⁴⁰ Tambayi Nyika had only read Shakespeare at school when he wrote *Ndinodawa Mwana* (1985).

¹⁴¹ Descriptive terminology is a problem. Terms like 'black', 'African', 'white' and 'European' were rarely used after Independence for theatre *practices or people*, or for the *plays* they performed. Chifunyise scrupulously avoided racist terms except critically when citing Granger's references to 'local playwrights' and 'black theatre groups' as indicators of his racist mentality. Euphemisms such as 'popular' or 'traditional' and 'foreign' or 'elite' were used since terms of identification had to conform to government's non-racist policy. The fact that they seemed necessary indicates that racial difference in culture if not skin colour still categorised the different genres of performance and cultural production

¹⁴² British 'theatre in the round' began around 1955 in Scarborough but was scarcely known in Rhodesia where the purpose-built theatres signified a consolidated cultural institution.

The Rhodesian settler community institutionalised this leisure activity at first by building little theatres locally and then by setting up the National Theatre Organisation and an annual National Theatre Festival. They assumed that their practices alone were sufficient to construct and own the concept of *National* Theatre and did not anticipate any significant change after Independence and, indeed, seemed surprised when ‘theatre’ became the first arena where their cultural hegemony was contested. A very few members of the committee of the National Theatre Organisation welcomed the opportunity to help *African* theatre to develop in the style of their own *European* theatre. Around 1982 the chairman, Tony Weare, and his son Chris Weare organised a workshop on drama skills in Stanley Hall, Makokoba.¹⁴³ Cont Mhlanga has often told how, noticing the unusual activity in his community hall, he quickly decided to gatecrash the workshop and soon used the skills he learned there to develop his Blue Dragon Karate Club into a drama club, Amakhosi Theatre.¹⁴⁴

For two or three years after Independence there was very little overt theatre activity in Bulawayo: real life was dramatic enough in the western suburbs with gun-fighting in the streets while freedom fighters awaited demobilisation. People who had been denied education flocked into the schools which ran two full sessions each day – a condition called ‘hot seating’. Mthwakazi Actors and Writers Association (MAWA), Amakhosi Theatre and other groups in Bulawayo developed their productions unnoticed by white theatre practitioners. The earliest local evidence of government’s concern for cultural development is provided by Felix Moyo, the first African Chairman of the District Arts Council.

The National Arts Foundation has been providing a lump sum to each local Arts Council, whose responsibility is to distribute it as they choose to member organisations. For Bulawayo we received \$10,000 in June 1982, which was at that time pledged as an annual grant. The pledge was honoured in February 1983 when we

¹⁴³ Susan Haines, 2004, personal communication.

¹⁴⁴ E.g. Daily News, 16 June 2001, ‘For Mhlanga, it all began in 1980 when he formed a karate group called Blue Dragon. There were 90 students in Blue Dragon. Two years later they changed their name to Amakhosi and it also happened that the same year Mhlanga attended a workshop in theatre production. Mhlanga was surprised to discover that most techniques used in acting were also applied in karate teaching. Both demand concentration and action. ... the group decided to concentrate more on theatre than karate because acting was a better activity and had more relevance.’

received \$10,000 from Government.¹⁴⁵ However we only received \$764 from the National Arts Foundation in June 1984 and \$5,000 in February 1985. ... it can be difficult for us to decide how much to allocate to the different organisations who are members and we cannot give them all they ask for! (Moyo 1985, p.19)

Even before 1984 the Ministry of Youth Sport and Culture was routinely organising drama competitions in primary and secondary schools, giving them a story-line around which they improvised performances and developed their own scripts. Soon after my arrival in Bulawayo Thodlana invited me to adjudicate one such competition. By then I had already seen Cont Mhlanga's most ambitious production so far, *Ngulolawe Mwana* playing to a packed audience in a Community Hall where, as so often in the ensuing years, no other white-skinned person was in the audience. The following week, one of my Form Four pupils, Tokozani Masha¹⁴⁶ was revealed as taking the leading role, and so drew me into Amakhosi's activities, and then into the dynamic network of theatre development in the western suburbs.

The community-based theatre movement was introduced by ZIMFEP in Harare in 1983 and in Bulawayo through a two-week workshop in July 1985. Pedagogical theory sees these practices as transgressive and oppositional, but also connected to a wider project designed to further racial, economic, and political democracy (Zavarzadeh and Morton 1992, quoted by Giroux in his introduction to Byam 1999). The movement generated alternatives for youths in which lifestyles, beliefs and values were liberated from the adult culture of the townships that combined colonial social constructions with the politics of the struggle.¹⁴⁷ In 1986 Zimbabwe Association for Community Theatre became the first mass-membership arts organisation; applying principles from Freire's philosophy their work was a powerful force for the conscientisation of the *povo* and a means of generating income. ZACT's Constitutional Aims included: to be 'a vehicle of Socialist cultural transformation in Zimbabwe by creating avenues for socialist cultural education with or by the workers and peasants, i.e. the masses, through theatre'; to provide 'a platform for sharing problems, experiments and new creativity through non-competitive theatre

¹⁴⁵ This conflation of National Arts Foundation and Government indicates that their different roles in cultural administration were not generally recognised, at least in the provinces or Districts.

¹⁴⁶ Tokozani Masha's life was like a shooting star: from school in Makokoba, to Amakhosi Theatre, to filming, university, Anglo-American Company, prison and death.

¹⁴⁷ See Chapter 8. It is necessary to recognise that distinct 'cultures' are constructed by the analyst: in reality there are no clear boundaries as people shift and adapt to changes and available choices.

festivals'; to 'work towards the transformation of colonial theatre institutions so as to make them accessible to the masses;' and to offer assistance promoting professional development for their members.¹⁴⁸ The movement adhered closely to these aims, which members understood as addressing many of their needs. The Constitution documented their 'policy in practice' but was not extended as a model for other organisations.

Section 1: Workshop discourse

The second ZIMFEP Workshop, 19-20th July 1986 ended with the formal constitution of the Matabeleland Chapter of ZACT. From its beginnings in 1983 the community-based theatre movement was presented as the antithesis of the colonial theatre tradition. Now there were more groups, and confidence was growing. In his keynote address Chifunyise (1986 A5) says:

...the Ministry of Youth, Sport and Culture pays less attention to theatre which is for an élite audience, dealing with imported and irrelevant themes, or theatre which is created mainly to compete for trophies and names.... Community-based theatre has a philosophy that is rooted strongly in socialism; theatre should be a tool for political and ideological development. 149

Avoiding explicitly racist or political terms, Chifunyise identifies some undesirable characteristics of the established colonial genre, in order to conscientize his audience of young African actors about the strategies used by white theatre practitioners to retain power. He justifies the Ministry's preference for non-competitive, non-individualistic theatre praxis – a position that echoes Proletkult notions of revolutionary collective creativity, a socialist culture that would insulate the working class from the ideology and institutions of bourgeois society (Kleberg 1980, p. 11). It was not enough, however, for the government to have a tacit policy of ignoring a complacent élite. Their negative influence compelled cultural activists to expose the irrelevance of colonial theatre by spelling out government's position and redefining 'national' theatre in the public media. Thus Amakhosi, in winning the NTO's annual competition, were seen by some as having chosen élitism rather than solidarity with community theatre as an emerging institution. Cont Mhlanga was adept at constructing paradox in 'real' life and theatre alike.

¹⁴⁸ Constitution of Zimbabwe Association of Community Theatre (ZACT). Third draft 1987.

The members of the Bulawayo Theatre Club made no immediate public response to the *Chronicle's* report (A7), but privately they were indignant that their values were being marginalised by the Ministry and media, though paradoxically at the same time, like the cultivated people in the Cambridge teashop, they were trying to win back some status by 'hosting' Amakhosi (see Appendix 7-1).

This section will examine six brief utterances (a-f) 'overheard' during the second workshop in July 1986 and included anonymously in ZACT's final Report. (A5). The participants' debate proceeds entirely without reference to white theatre practices – they have their own dynamic. The first three items, a, b, c, illustrate the discourse of the emerging community theatre movement at the grassroots.¹⁵⁰

a) The problem of our capitalist society is that there is a tendency to grab knowledge and mystify it. We should try to democratise the knowledge we have acquired....

The speaker models a democratic, anti-capitalist position, acting as if he can anticipate solidarity in this progressive assembly. This was more commonly done by reference to colonial experience, but, interestingly, this speaker focuses paradoxically on their ownership of capitalism and identifies individualistic behaviours *to grab, to mystify*, (that are familiar as features of a still untransformed society) as their own responsibility. The abstract notion of the capitalist society is personified as the one that 'grabs knowledge' – is still domineering¹⁵¹ and 'mystifies knowledge' – it still excludes 'us'. Another figurative device here is the way he identifies an epistemological *problem of capitalism* through another shared experience, hunger. *Knowledge* is implicitly food for the mind and, metaphorically, lack of it creates hunger and so knowledge is hoarded; but this selfish secrecy is now a problem¹⁵² and the speaker proposes a *democratic* solution.

¹⁴⁹ Chifunyise's attitude resembles that of Raymond Williams (1958 p. 5) in the Cambridge tea shop: 'If the people in the tea shop go on insisting that culture is their trivial differences of behaviour, their trivial variations of speech habit, we cannot stop them but we can ignore them. They are not that important....'

¹⁵⁰ The resource persons had extensive experience of the process, having worked as amateurs in South Africa, Ethiopia, Zambia and Kenya; they introduced the ideas in the English language.

¹⁵¹ In an early play script Cont used a bully, a street-boy stealing sweets from a child, to symbolise the injustice of politicians who misused their power.

¹⁵² Secrecy was essential to successful operations in the struggle, and in the townships was still a valued quality in a true friend - the biggest compliment: 'He will never tell anyone anything about me'.

The notion of a unified 'We' of course was not new, but had previously been associated with a shared experience of oppression and powerlessness whereas 'we' in the second proposition stands for a modern sense of unity that may implicitly be activated by the application of democratic principles. Democracy as a product of 'our own actions' was an unfamiliar principle for the youths. This use reflects a concept of participatory rather than representative democracy that could have been associated with Qadafi's *The Green Book* (1976) which was circulating in Makokoba at this time: '...true democracy exists only through the participation of the people, not through the activities of their representatives.'

b) Where did *you* graduate in Theatre Arts? Well, I'm a self made artist. I mean I am trained in Makokoba township.

The speaker uses a rhetorical question, emphasised by his impertinent intonation, to engage with the previous speaker thus raising a local class issue. His emphatic use of pronouns *You* and *I* marks a perception of social difference – or speech divergence that signals a symbolic domination or 'elite closure' (Myers Scotton 2006, p.134) – in this brief event, as do the contrasting qualifiers *graduate* and *self-made*. The speaker constructs the streets as a training ground that gives him more status in this context than a university could, with the implication that the theoretical study called '*theatre arts*' is less relevant than street-wisdom. Saville-Troike (1997) suggests that 'when two people meet there are six different 'people' present – the two embodied individuals; their conceptions of themselves; and the conception each has of the other person.' This speaker has been provoked by what he perceives as assumptions of creative superiority by the previous speaker who apparently does not live in Makokoba township and had spoken with a rare erudition that this speaker construes as patronising but possibly fears might indeed be superior. The speaker's intentions are complex, though his words are spontaneous and he is not at ease. He uses a truculent humour in the irony (Chandler 2002) of claiming '*training*' in Makokoba, the poorest suburb: he is street-wise and performs like this for his peers in order to encourage opposition to any sort of privilege. He is negotiating his own status despite his lack of institutional qualification, hedging his inexperience with intensifiers '*well*' and '*I mean that...*' Because his attitude is authentic this contribution reinforces the message of the social movement.

c) Community-based theatre should be a collective endeavour mobilising total support around one issue.

The seminal terms '*collective*', '*mobilising*', '*support*' and '*issue*' are being assimilated after a year of development. According to Fairclough (1989 p 69) the effectiveness of ideology depends to a considerable degree on its keywords being merged with the commonsense background to social action. At this time in Bulawayo the process of embedding ZACT's new social representations into 'common sense' is incomplete; the associated assumptions and expectations are still examined and questioned, they are not yet implicit. The process begins if participants, not having encountered these words before, subsequently use them recognising, at first unconsciously, that they shape the discourse of community theatre. They build a conceptual framework for the drama groups' praxis and for their relations with the communities that will receive their product. They also establish common features of the drama groups' identities and hence their consent, as members, to the power of ZACT to administer policies that would be made explicit in the constitution.

The next three items d, e, f, illustrate a diversity of conflictual issues; the ideology of the movement is not uniformly assimilated by all, for both political and aesthetic reasons.

d) People have inexhaustible creativity and ideas but they are never given the opportunity to develop their talents and when they do take the initiative the authorities feel threatened.

The speaker's proposition values human potential for '*creativity*' and regrets the frustrations that limit what people can achieve. '*They*' encompasses an imagined world of creative people who apparently are not autonomous: a shadow of colonial thinking blames their lack of progress on the failure of unspecified agents who do not '*give opportunity*'. The following argument justifies passivity by generalising negative past experience: unauthorised creative activities destabilise the power of '*the authorities*'. The speaker uses hyperbolic expressions ('*inexhaustible creativity*', '*never*', '*feel threatened*') that heighten the emotional key. The government's support for the movement is not acknowledged – there is instead a tacit resistance to the power that lies with '*the authorities*' because they are not to be relied on to use it well. The sense of oppression remains where '*initiatives*' are read as politically dangerous rather than professional.

e) If you portray political, social and economic issues you will either (1) end up behind bars or (2) get nowhere because you might be misunderstood by the community.

The negative mood of (d) is taken up again. This statement suggests more openly that theatre could be risky if it goes beyond mere entertainment. This speaker hedges the idea with conditionals (*'if'* rather than *'when'*) and, though more explicit about imagined consequences in *'you'* (implicitly *'we'*) will be jailed rather than *'they'* will misunderstand, the agentless passive also embeds the harsh prediction in caution. The speaker recognises that disapproval from *'the community'* could be as serious as disapproval from the authorities; but this is a theoretical anxiety again because of *'if'* not *'when'* and the passive *'be misunderstood'* indicates that *'the community'* is not actively hostile. The argument is, however, performed as a confrontation, willing to provoke the ideologues or the authorities. The political consequence of *'ending up behind bars'* was frightening and not exaggerated in Matabeleland at that time¹⁵³ (Chan 2003) but social disapproval implicitly has the power to stop *'you'* working and so has immediate economic repercussions. The fact that this speaker uses *'you'* not *'we'* introduces another nuanced difference of position in relation to the community-theatre movement. These were assessed risks that Amakhosi members took, more than most other groups.

f) We cannot pretend that because in the play the scene where the lovers are kissing is in the bush and nobody is watching them, that they therefore have permission to kiss on stage.....

Most members of Mthwakazi Actors and Writers Association lived in more affluent suburbs and had performed other works on radio. They bravely accepted an invitation to perform a play written by Ndema Ngwenya about a freedom fighter and his girlfriend to all the workshop participants for critical evaluation. However, although it was a realistic war story, the treatment was received as decadent for showing kissing on stage. This provoked vigorous opposition that slipped between class animosity and traditionalism and effectively excluded MAWA from the movement. The play challenged the ZACT consensus that to avoid offending the audience is a necessary strategy in community theatre praxis: MAWA members alone saw that view as a constraint to their freedom of

¹⁵³ Actions of the Fifth Brigade Gukurahundi were not openly discussed then, and remain largely hidden.

‘artistic’ expression.¹⁵⁴ By making an example of their work the amateurs set up class boundaries and asserted the groups’ social duty to present a message ‘correctly’. As a result, there was little search for ‘creativity’ that would confuse useful messages about socio-political development by exploring different styles of dramatic performance. Aesthetic conflict was not often as intense as this. The complex ordering of clauses may reflect the way ideas would be added together orally in siNdebele in order to criticise behaviour both in reality and performance (*‘pretend’, ‘in the play’, ‘nobody is watching them’, ‘on stage’*).¹⁵⁵

The examples presented here provide examples of how an essentially oral protopolicy encapsulating revolutionary vision was disseminated in cultural discourse after independence. They echo ideas that Mutumbuka published in the revolutionary journal *Zimbabwe News* in 1978 and thus support my argument that the oral transmission of ideas and ideologies can be broadly reliable and is essential in policy implementation:

Instead of authoritarianism and passivity we encourage from the very beginning group work, group co-operation, group decision-making, individual initiative, criticism and group self-criticism. Negative individualism, jealousy and envy among youths, which is so characteristic of the colonial system, is discouraged. Each youth in the colonial system secretly keeps away what he knows. In contrast our youths do not monopolise knowledge and spend an awful lot of time helping their less capable classmates.

This article, along with many others in the journal, probably represents the nearest we can get to early ‘policy documents’, but their arguments and objectives reached the people predominantly through oral links in an extensive network. This further supports the thesis that a major transformation in the transition to independence is theoretically the move from tacit and protopolicies to documented policies. For democracy to be established the people’s literacy needs to become as effective as their ability to network orally.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴ Compare arguments around the withdrawal of *Behzti*, a Sikh play, at Birmingham Repertory Theatre e.g. *Tempest of rage shakes Sikh temple* at http://observer.guardian.co.uk/focus/story_Dec.26th_2004 accessed Dec 2005

¹⁵⁵ Ong (1982) says that discourse in an oral lifeworld is primarily additive rather than subordinate, but Pongweni (1989) describes ideophones as complex figurative structures: either may be relevant here.

¹⁵⁶ Mutumbuka (1978) had also quoted Lenin: ‘An illiterate person stands outside politics, he must first learn his ABC. Without that there can be no politics, without that there are rumours, gossip, fairytales and prejudices, but not politics.’

Section 2: The naming and ownership of national theatre

In the same month, July 1986,¹⁵⁷ contrary to the non-competitive principles that were being established for community theatre, Amakhosi Theatre took their play '*Nansi le Ndoda*' to the National Theatre Organisation's annual festival in Mutare. Cont Mhlanga had been writing and producing plays in Makokoba since 1982 and was already popular there; he resisted partisan affiliations¹⁵⁸ that would limit his freedom to borrow ideas, whatever their source, in order to realise his dream to become an impresario on the model of Gibson Kente.¹⁵⁹ Some Mutare members accommodated Amakhosi actors in their homes for the festival period: most had never had black people except servants in their homes before, and these young visitors were using their baths, beds and sheets! Everyone was meticulously polite. The adjudicator, Chris Hurst, was a Rhodesian-born actor who for ten years had developed a successful career in Britain. But when he gave the 'best play' and 'best actor' awards to Amakhosi's *Nansi le Ndoda* many NTO members viewed his choice as a betrayal of their standards of stage production. Cont made sure that the silver cups were put on very public display in the window of Bulawayo's largest department store. The Bulawayo Theatre Club, 'with misgivings', (Appendix 7-1) invited Amakhosi to perform the play at their little theatre ostensibly in order to 'reach a wider audience' not realising they had opened a year earlier and had already played to over three thousand people during tours in Zimbabwe and Botswana. The BTC assumed this would be seen as a generous offer, but Amakhosi saw it as a face-saving exercise for BTC since, until the Mutare festival, the BTC had shown no interest in their existence and had been unable to tell Hurst where Amakhosi were based.

¹⁵⁷ It was their 1985 production but Mhlanga, characteristically mapping out Amakhosi's development months ahead, decided to keep the play in repertory for another year to enter it in this competition.

¹⁵⁸ He and Amakhosi members had attended training workshops run both by ZACT and by NTO.

¹⁵⁹ Kente, South African composer-arranger and playwright, born in the Eastern Cape in 1932, had revolutionized urban African popular theatre in South Africa during the 1960s, concentrating on social and communal rather than political issues, reflecting the African daily experience using a new theatrical language for the townships' first mass audience. By 1974 he had three travelling theatre companies without state subsidy. Low admission prices and an accessible style of theatre contributed to his success. From 1973 he was caught between the public's increasing demand for political expression and the authorities' threat of shutting him down.



Fig. 7-1 The NTO Trophy on display

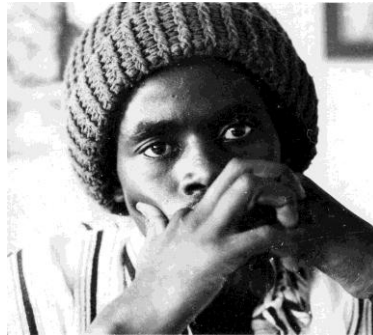


Fig. 7-2 Cont Mhlanga in 1986

The 'foreign theatre debate' that followed was sparked off by Hurst who came to work with Amakhosi in Makokoba soon after the festival. Interviewed by G. Moyo for the *Chronicle*, he was asked 'After adjudicating in the National theatre festival, what are [your] impressions of Zimbabwean theatre?' Hurst's reply left no doubt what he preferred:

At the moment there are two levels of theatre in Zimbabwe: the left over of colonial theatre still trapped in its buildings and convictions and the Zimbabwean theatre dealing with culture and creating a national identity. (A12, 5/09/86)

In this interview he first speaks of 'theatre in Zimbabwe'. This inclusive notion is bounded only by the geographical limits of Zimbabwe; neither his choice of this term nor his analysis claims ownership of the general subject 'theatre'; however, the 'buildings and convictions' are clearly owned by the subsection that he identifies as 'colonial theatre'. The naming of the alternative concept 'Zimbabwean theatre' by both Moyo¹⁶⁰ and Hurst offers what might have been uncomplicated common ground of culture, creativity and national identity; examining the collocations of 'theatre' in the media reveals that it was already producing new types of tacit policy. The implicit criticism in Hurst's naming of colonial theatre as a mere variety that is characteristically 'left over' and 'trapped' caused great offence and was publicly contested in the *Chronicle* 16/09/86 by an official of the Bulawayo Theatre Club (Appendix 7-2). The writer starts politely, as if Hurst's

¹⁶⁰ Godfrey Moyo, a journalist, knew the local theatre scene very well: a major influence in those early years, he sought out new groups practising in the suburbs on the *Chronicle's* shiny moped in order to write their profiles and preview their performances.

polarisation of theatre into two 'levels' coincides with her own dualism concerning racially-determined competence and heritage, but soon becomes defensive, then abusive:

Mr Hurst is right when he claims that there are two levels of theatre in this country, but his comments are so biased that one can scarcely consider them objective or relevant. There is, surely, a place for both. Western-style theatre has been developed over many years through the hard work of some very special people. Colonialism has nothing to do with their efforts which produced many fine well-equipped theatres and I see no reason for apologising for such vision.... Insularity will not further the cause of any theatre and immaterial jibes will create only antagonism and distrust and will be entirely counterproductive.

Her claim that the settlers were 'very special people' was a white 'fact'¹⁶¹ (Saville-Troike 1997) but in the western suburbs of Bulawayo they were not seen as heroic but more often as brutal. Her denial of the relevance of colonialism reveals that her group still held the unreconstructed belief that theatre had no political significance, contrasting with the socialist view that everything a white person did had political significance and was now only tolerable if they were willing to share in the new national identity.

Peter Brook's reference to the robust rural origins of theatre appeals to her attachment to the Pioneer identity of Rhodesians. To criticise or oppose that attachment as Hurst did is read as a threat to 'the cause of any theatre.' In this riposte she voices her assumption that white theatre is universal and aligns herself with Brook's personification of 'Theatre': it *has taken many forms, it grew, it thrives*. If 'theatre' thus has agency, this argument removes responsibility for the social effects of those 'forms of theatre' from the people who constructed them, and hence 'we' are not responsible for the consequences, despite the fact that 'we' are part of it.

Hurst is not only supporting alien conceptions of theatre but is, in the writer's view, also betraying his Rhodesian birthright by choosing to place his enviable London-based professional authority with the potential of theatre practitioners in Bulawayo's townships. She aims to demolish his local authority – he must be excluded and his opinions disowned in order to sustain the white theatre hegemony. Her lexis of personal abuse – *irrelevant, immaterial, bias, jibes, insularity, antagonism, distrust, counterproductive* – suggests that

¹⁶¹ 'Assumptions which underlie the use and interpretation of language are difficult to identify when they are in the form of unstated presuppositions, but may surface after such formulas as "everyone knows..." or as proverbs or aphorisms. These are 'facts' for which evidence is not considered necessary' (p.132).

all aspects of his work are face-threatening acts that must be negated for they cannot be assimilated into her 'theatre'. She names Rhodesian work as Western-style theatre and reinforces her claim to ownership of the universal concept by citing Shakespeare, and Wole Soyinka. Her letter is a clear example of a macro speech act and stands as raw evidence of the invective that was generated in Bulawayo's white theatre clubs against someone they perceived as a cultural traitor.

Ironically, Morgan Davies's letter was read with amusement in Makokoba where they thought her criticism of Hurst applied better to her own élitist condition. Her abuse was simply laughable to the many township readers who knew Hurst's credentials personally – a professional actor, living and working with Amakhosi in Makokoba, speaking Ndenglish and siNdebele, who did not hesitate to share his performance skills with them! A complementary macro speech act therefore emerges in a characteristically acerbic letter (A20, Appendix 7-3) by Ndema Ngwenya who contradicts her emphatically: and expounds a contrary account of colonial theatre:

M. Morgan-Davies (Chronicle September 16) is wrong and Hurst (September 5) is right,' White theatre in this country is colonial, racist and class-conscious The metropolitan countries and their activities were the centres of the colonial universe.Finally, Cde. Morgan Davies, don't try to excuse your class bias and cultural ignorance by dragging the name Wole Soyinka in. Wole did not turn to Greek tragedies out of deference to their superiority or universalism (as you and your ilk are doing). He did so because he found a striking affinity between Yoruba cosmogony (theory of the origin of the universe) and Greek cosmogony.

Ndema has no hesitation in naming 'white theatre', 'the theatre of Rhodesia', and 'the theatre of white Zimbabweans'. Using them almost synonymously, these are defined as 'the tradition of producing and promoting foreign plays: of examining and commenting on its experiences through the surrogate perceptions of foreign writers.' He uses the quasi-egalitarian form of address 'Comrade' for both Hurst and Morgan-Davies, in the knowledge that what would amuse the former would incense the latter. This is immediately followed by stinging accusations of *class bias* and *cultural ignorance*. These examples of insulting lexis indicate the gulf between the self-images and ascribed identities that each brings to the speech event. In conclusion, Ndema dismisses Morgan-Davies's effort to recruit Soyinka into her universal theatre. Her superficial knowledge of Soyinka is thrown back at her as further evidence of the facile strategies of 'her ilk';

Ngwenya interprets Soyinka's relationship to 'the classics' as not deference but empathy, opening the possibility of an intellectual debate that he could carry further with more worthy collocutors. His response is grounded in the vernacular hinterland where actors did discuss the work of African writers. Ndema knew that while BTC had failed to produce a Wole Soyinka play the previous year, students from Hillside Teacher Training College had presented *The Lion and the Jewel* and *Kongi's Harvest*. Moreover, he knew intimately the reasons why black actors had not been interested in joining the Bulawayo Theatre Club or any of its projects.

Soon after, Chris Hurst gave a similar interview on radio.¹⁶² *The Sunday Mail's* regular theatre columnist in Harare, Denis Granger, then defended the Rhodesian theatre tradition in his next column. (A15) Pained because 'Hurst urged the production of indigenous plays and a break away from what he decried as "foreign theatre",' the critic opined that

Certainly, the local playwright must be encouraged, particularly in the writing of plays for black theatre groups, but a National Theatre develops slowly, because playwriting is a very specialised art. In the 1960s a number of plays had brief runs, then disappeared into limbo. Who will direct them today? Some had an inter-racial theme, and are not possible for production today because unfortunately, we are too close to our history ... We must encourage local writers, particularly in the local languages,..... but until – and it will take a long time – we can establish work of the calibre of overseas scripts, we must learn from them, and we can only learn by seeing and studying them." (A15, 14/09/86)

These few lines are so redolent with élitist assumptions that they prompted a scathing condemnation of false consciousness, bias and racism by Chifunye¹⁶³ in the next *Sunday Mail*. (4/A18, 21/09/86)

... The NAM cultural gala ... was a most vivid and practical example of that non-racial Zimbabwean culture which, like a plant well-watered by the spirit of reconciliation, has blossomed in colour and strength that only people blinded by false consciousness cannot see. 164

He then turned readers' attention to the idea of 'national' theatre.

¹⁶² *Spectrum*, ZBC Radio, Wednesday 10/09/86

¹⁶³ At that time he was Director of Arts and Crafts. His view that some whites were imbued with 'false consciousness' places them politically in as disadvantaged a position as a pre-revolutionary proletariat – another form of insult! Their form of class consciousness, ideology and social imagery was regarded as inappropriate to the 'real' or the 'objective' class situation or class interests of the ordinary citizens.

¹⁶⁴ The gala, organised by the Ministry of Youth, Sport and Culture was an important symbol of the new national identity during the Non-Aligned Movement's conference in Harare.

The truth is that national theatre is alive and flourishing and consolidating every day and at an astounding pace, as can be expected of any cultural revolution. And this is clearly exemplified by the hundreds of plays and other dramatic performances which are presented in many non-competitive cultural festivals all over the country..... Did Mr Granger see any of these excellent examples of our national theatre?

In responding so strongly Chifunyise was intent on breaking the link between theatre discourse and white power but Granger responded uncompromisingly, arguing every point at great length. (A24) His elaborate self-justification in turn provoked letters from other readers notably (A28) from M. N. Ngwenya in Bulawayo which is the subject of detailed analysis in the next section.

Section 3: Discourse of abuse: Ndema challenges assumptions

The lexical analysis of this dynamic, colourful text (Appendix 7-4) aims to answer two questions: a) What does Ndema want to do? b) How does he use lexis to achieve his aims? In the context of this thesis Ndema, who published several novels in siNdebele before Independence,¹⁶⁵ is recognised as an important contributor to protopolicies for cultural action in Bulawayo.¹⁶⁶ Among his linguistic strategies I shall concentrate on his use of modifiers in delineating the *in-group* (Myers Scotton 2006, p181) and the *out-group* that are contesting the ownership of 'theatre' in Zimbabwe (Appendix 7-5) and his use of rhetorical pairs (Appendix 7-6) for emphasis. I am not concerned here with arguing the truth of his statements but with the writer's choice of words, his knowledge of their meanings and of their influence on his readers. I envision him as honing the text to produce the maximum rhetorical effect in the minimum volume, taking pleasure in the process and enjoying the result.

Abuse or insult is an unusual topic for a linguistic case study because research more often emphasises positive communicative strategies or unintentional misunderstandings. Deliberate interpersonal and inter-group insults revealed in this case study differ significantly from what Brown & Levinson (1978) describe as 'negative politeness'¹⁶⁷ – there is little hedging here since there is full commitment to the intention to convey insults (Ester Goody 1978). During the transition of power from white Rhodesian institutions to

¹⁶⁵ The Literature Bureau, a Rhodesian Government organisation, is discussed by Ngara (1985, p. 24)

¹⁶⁶ Reference his work with Literature Bureau, MAWA, District Arts Council, journalism, BADG, etc.

¹⁶⁷ Where conflict is avoided through modesty, formality and restraint, quoted by Michael Clyne p. 14.

black Zimbabwean institutions, extreme face-threatening acts¹⁶⁸ (FTAs) were particularly significant between individuals who were implementing or resisting new policies to effect constitutional and legislative changes in power. Despite the habitual abuse of blacks by whites in colonial days, insults were rarely returned by blacks to their white masters. To the contrary, one of their most effective responses was the use of silence – a tacit refusal to play a ‘face-saving’ game that they could not win.¹⁶⁹

Ndema shared Chifunyise’s perception that the *automatization* of racist language by white Zimbabweans would continue to exert its abusive power as long as they had no fear of retaliation (van Dijk 1993, p.14). They were both entirely willing to co-operate with ‘progressive’ white cultural workers¹⁷⁰ but saw that the moment was right for confrontation with the reactionary owners of Rhodesian-European culture and art forms. Granger’s stubbornly self-justifying reply (A24) to the criticisms in Chifunyise’s letter (A18) is used by Ndema (A28) as specific evidence of the persistence of colonial social representations and values among white citizens.

Ndema’s purposeful response in this text is evidence of an opposing body of social representations framed by black experience of powerlessness and revolution. Because they do not meet face to face, the interlocutors, audience and text are safely decontextualised and the writers are free from the need to soften their hostility by hedging strategies or paralanguage that would apply in normal conversation. Both writers develop large volumes of uninterrupted insulting text which results in unusually detailed arguments about their differences. Ndema considers Granger’s individualised attempts to deny or mitigate cultural racism to be specious, and refuses to be marginalized or to reproduce that generic racism by polite submission. He is free *to choose not to* legitimate the critic’s claim to cultural power by associating his metropolitan practices with ‘international’

¹⁶⁸ Esther N. Goody (1978). ‘Face’ consists in a set of wants satisfiable only by the actions (including expression of wants) of others. In general the mutual interest of two persons will be to maintain each other’s face but *coercion or trickery* may be used to maintain face without recompense (pp. 65, 134).

¹⁶⁹ For an extreme example see McCulloch (2000) which examines the moral panic in early 20th-century Rhodesia over the supposed threat posed by black men to white women. Known as Black Peril, it led to the introduction of the death penalty for attempted rape; many of those hanged were innocent.

¹⁷⁰ At the end of 1992 he died in a road accident, which many believed was an assassination. Obit. Vox Populi: Township Theatre News Vol. 1, No. 3 December 1992.

values. Ndema's unconstrained rejection of exogenous norms of politeness signifies his deep contempt for the racist assumptions underpinning Rhodesian culture.¹⁷¹

Lexical features of insult and approval

Ndema Ngwenya's concise text of 514 words (Appendix 7-4) has a striking and extensive lexis of insult with a nicely contrasting lexis of approval that emphasises the interpretation that the insults are chosen and used with care and deliberation in order to assert the *new* mode of interaction: 'black dominant, white dominated' (van Dijk 1993)

In-group and out-group

An important rhetorical device typical of discourse about race, is to juxtapose perceptions of out-group/in-group – what they/we are like, and what they/we do – indicating that what is approved of is 'ours' and what is rejected is 'theirs' (Appendix 7-6). 'We' will develop a theatre that draws on the 'rich and variegated cultural roots in the country' (para. 4); 'they' have 'utterly failed' to do this. The political purpose of Ndema's macro speech act in this text is to demolish Granger's attempts to reproduce white dominance in theatre, to which end he develops a comparison between the theatre practices and values of the in-group and out-group. He identifies and contests the assumptions that underpin Granger's text through argumentation developed with surgical precision through the following paragraph themes:

1. Arrogance of Granger's views.
2. His loss of (personal) authority.
3. His 'Internationalism' is equivalent to European cultural imperialism.
4. 'National theatre' must be defined by its inclusiveness.
5. The preferred role of white theatre is to separate people.
6. Antiquated white delusions.
7. Influence of white theatre alienates man from reality.
8. Positive alternative attitudes do exist among black and white players.
9. Qualities of new Zimbabwean writers.

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¹⁷¹ It is not in itself racist behaviour to identify racism in some object of analysis. This false charge was often made by whites representing themselves as victims of 'reverse racism'.

10.●

T

these are worthy of respect, not Granger's cynicism.

11.●

M

oral failures of colonial theatre elite.

In the first two paragraphs Ndema attacks Granger's opinions and ignorance personally, by name or as 'he'. In paragraphs 3 and 4 he generalises these criticisms to an out-group – 'the likes of Granger' – in order to attribute agency to them and to delineate 'white theatre'. Thereafter, in paragraphs 5-7 he extends his critique of the out-group with references to 'whites', 'they', 'themselves', 'their', and then shifts to depersonalised forms with reference to 'their' work – 'these attempts', 'such theatre', 'it', and then to universalised forms – 'man[kind]', 'his', 'him'.

In paragraphs 8, 9, 10, Ndema constructs a potentially inclusive in-group, to which he himself belongs, and names it 'black Zimbabweans and progressive whites', 'writers' who deserve respect not Granger's cynicism because they are helping 'us' to see 'ourselves'. Implicitly 'our recent history' includes black and white Zimbabweans. Finally, in paragraph 11, Ndema returns to a condemnation of 'it' – the[white] theatre of the 60s – as 'apemanship' characterised by the anti-democratic élitism that Chifunyise had identified with 'false consciousness' (see p. 188).

Insult and approval

This analysis recognises that much of the impact of the text depends on the equitable use of modifiers ¹⁷² (Appendix 7-6). Of over 50 adjectival words or phrases, ten are fairly neutral descriptive modifiers; 20 obviously insulting words or phrases would normally be applied to an out-group while 22 terms of approval would tend to refer to the writer's in-group. Their intrinsic semantic value is, in some cases, clearly abusive (*spineless*, *ridiculous*), in other cases clearly approving (*authentic*, *talented*); relatively few are neutral or intermediate (perhaps *European*, *recent*). In trying to place them along a spectrum of polarity it becomes apparent that modifiers with strong evaluative meanings remain explicit in noun phrases (silly, rudderless; evocative, universal) whereas the apparently neutral items shift their meaning in the context provided by the text – that is, by the history

that the writer knows and may assume is understood by the intended readers. (*standard theatre, foreign theatre forms*). This usage functions as classification or description rather than irony.

Most of the modifiers he applies to the in-group of new writers are clearly positive (*imaginative, eager, capable*, etc.) and carry different messages for the newspaper's bivalent readership – for members of the in-group they build confidence in their identity, while members of the out-group are offered unfamiliar ways of perceiving black theatre praxis and practitioners.

Negative forms

While many of the lexical items are directly pejorative or affirmative, Ndema uses indirect or negative forms seven times, though probably not with the intention of hedging his criticisms. By this rhetorical device he draws attention to 'their' theatre's absence of positive quality, strengthening the contrast with socialist values. For example, their work's '*lack of vitality and of authenticity*' results in theatre that alienates, making people *lose* direction and confidence (para. 7) which are implicitly opposite qualities to the in-group. The same device is used to denigrate white playwrights indirectly: Ndema responds to Granger's question: '*who would produce [plays] with an inter-racial theme, we are too close to our history?*' by representing 'our' writers as capable of doing so because 'we' '*are not craven and spineless*'. (para. 9). 'They' are in, but *not of*, Africa.

Rhetorical Pairs

Another striking rhetorical device that is used in every paragraph in this text is the use of pairs of words (Appendix 7-5). Sixteen of the pairs are adjectival; two pairs are adverbials; three pairs are verbs (two of which are infinitives); 15 pairs are nouns. The effect of these pairs is neither mere repetition – since they differ in meaning – nor simple addition since, for example, in some cases the first item is specific and the second generalises, (pass judgement/pontificate) and in other cases the second effectively modifies or extends the first (imitation/distortion; discrimination/exploitation). In some the first is an inward feeling, the second is its public expression. (respect/recognition; morality/justice). In one

¹⁷² Jackson (1990 p.125) Words associated with the classification and description of participants.

case the combination of contrasting features highlights that unity is the aim (black Zimbabweans in alliance with progressive whites, para. 8).

As a result, a relatively simple sentence structure is able to present two related but different propositions while giving the reader only one grammatical form to understand. Lexical variety is adequate for the meanings intended; grammatical nuances would be less reliable. This is recognisably a strategy of oratory, particularly when using the second language of the listeners whose processing time can be a constraint to full understanding. To an L1 English reader/listener this rhetorical device could be understood as assertive or emphatic and, when used so extensively, even hectoring. This might be avoided if there were more redundancy in the language but it is not Ndema's intention to hedge the insults.

Irony

Ndema's text reveals layers of perception. Several terms of apparent approval (good, acceptable, sophisticated, civilised, international) are used sarcastically to represent the out-group's assumptions about themselves and their theatre practices which Ndema and Chifunyise regard as illusory. For example, Granger states (*Sunday Mail* A15) that he has 'no racial bias whatsoever' which he justifies by his dedication as an adjudicator of the schools' festival:

I felt that the constructive advice I could give to the schools ... might be of benefit in improving standards of direction and acting... Our schools are the nursery of our culture and theatre, and I felt this worthwhile. Each and every play I saw I treated on its merits – whether indigenous or foreign. Does this show bias?

Because Granger lacks critical insight into the source of his power to introduce (and impose) his own values in theatre competitions, he counters Chifunyise's criticisms by point-scoring – for example, he had not read the plays because they were not available (i.e. published); Ngugi's *The trial of Dedan Kimathi* was Kenyan, hence 'foreign'; Granger says he attends every production for which he receives Press tickets (but ignores the fact that knowledge of this formality is restricted to whites.) Recognising these 'facts' as irrefutable, Ndema no longer seeks to persuade but arms his invective with unambiguously offensive modifiers like 'pathetic', 'arrogant' and 'antiquated'.

Discourse features of insult and approval

Although the conflict is between the embodied in-group and out-group there are notionally four (or maybe six?) other groups present in these texts: the self-images of the progressive group and the reactionary group, and the attributed images each constructs about the other, (and maybe each group's critique of the other's self-image). Referring to Saville-Troike again,¹⁷³ the texts reveal the fact that these groups are negotiating new codes and rules because the membership of the groups is changing in response to socio-political changes in the cultural arena. Individuals must learn which new rules to follow in order to belong, and must decide how much they want to belong.

After the formal politeness of 'May I comment on...' of the genre 'Letters to the Editor' (which I earlier called a macro speech event), in paragraph (1) Ndema hedges his description of Granger's views in an insincere act of polite uncertainty, where 'rather' modifies the hyperbolic assertion of 'arrogant' and 'Olympian'. In written text '*rather*' has some ambiguity: the intention could be either to downtone or to amplify the arrogance. However, in oratory his intonation and delivery would have left no doubt as to whether he wanted to incite anger or laughter in his audience. In paragraph (2) Ndema comprehensively discredits the critic's knowledge of "indigenous" theatre and languages, while also expressing a deep resentment of his prescriptive utterances (*pontification*), drawing attention to Granger's self-justifying 'claims' and his Eurocentric assumptions about 'acceptable standards'.¹⁷⁴ The European critic has become redundant because of his 'not being acquainted with' something that he has never valued or attempted to know, namely 'black theatre in the indigenous languages'.

Granger's claim to authority is negated by the re-imaging of what he still believes to be the white community's position in 'International Theatre' (para 3). The lexis with which Ndema re-defines their work is insulting in two dimensions – the decontextualised meaning of the words themselves and the contextualised reversal of power that allows a despised black to presume to judge 'their' work: 'an unabashed and spineless imitation

¹⁷³ Saville-Troike p.126 Observed behaviour is now recognised as a manifestation of a deeper set of codes and rules, and the task of ethnography is seen as the discovery and explication of the rules for contextually appropriate behaviour in the community or group; ...what the individual needs to know to be a functional member of the community.

and reproduction of European ... theatre forms ... the reproduction of and obeisance to cultural imperialism' Such language and attitude of course infuriates the out-group, who are dismissively identified as 'the likes of Granger' and 'those like him'. His paradoxical naming of 'their' production model as 'good theatre' is a sneer at their valued abstractions.

The essential concept of National Theatre for Ndema is defined in paragraph (4) as 'an authentic and independent theatre tradition that draws from the rich and variegated cultural roots of this country.' He uses 'authentic' in the sense of Heidegger's (1929) 'authentic self' which has 'potentiality for action, orientation towards the future (becoming) which involves possibilities and requires choice'. National Theatre is thus inclusive and anticipates change; it is not a finished product but a dynamic Zimbabwean process open to – but not dependent on – European participation.

Paragraphs (9) and (10) enlarge on the definition of national theatre with an evocation of the mind-set through which writers and performers of intelligence, courage and sensibility will construct a theatre that is again identified by negating the characteristics of white theatre in paragraphs 6-8. The in-group will, for example, attempt to examine their own existential reality and its implications for the future. Again Ndema criticises Granger personally, this time for his cynical refusal to respect white people who do not share his assumptions. He constructs an identity for the out-group that only approves of what *they* understand as mainstream, international, civilised, sophisticated culture; this is validated by the way Granger has continued to belittle black theatre and patronise the potential of local, experimental creativity and the cultural capital of indigenous people.

Intertextuality

The semiotic notion that 'Texts owe more to other texts than to their own makers' (Chandler 2002 p. 230) challenges a literary tradition that takes originality and individual creativity as the main criteria of excellence. Discourse analysis is more pragmatic, looking for information about the biography of the text rather than stylistics, about its body and working life rather than the clothes it wears. The various links in form and content which bind a text to other texts may be used to enrich communication, for example Morgan-

¹⁷⁴ Okot p'Bitek (1973) describes a similar discourse in Kenya in 1969 around the song 'Bobby Shafto'.

Davies used this linguistic tactic when she referred to Wole Soyinka (Appendix 7-2) but Ndema rejected it because in his view she was not making valid links. His interpretation of Soyinka's work makes more credible cultural links but he interprets her reference as a shallow attempt 'to excuse [her] class bias and cultural ignorance.'

Ndema Ngwenya also uses intertextuality to return Granger's weapon of literary condescension to him to mark external validation of his own Zimbabwean meanings. The Eurocentric critic is dismissed as superfluous for he values only texts that use English and has nothing new or unpredictable to contribute in the bilingual domain. Suddenly the cultural dynamic of Zimbabwe uses languages Granger does not speak, and critical authority has slipped from his grasp; power now lies with people who are reaching for representations of a history that Granger never saw, a present he denies and a future he deplors.

Ndema's critique is not a trivial or personal reaction, nor is it a particularly socialist ideology but rather a postcolonial, Africanist view – arriving twenty five years later in Zimbabwean theatre than in Kenya which became independent in 1963. Ngugi wa Thiong'o, still a student at Makerere, was writing *The River Between* and *Weep not, Child* and his play *The Black Hermit* was produced in the white-run colonial theatre in Kampala, where its run had to be extended from three nights to a full week. Ndema had probably read Ngugi wa Thiongo, Okot p'Bitek and other East African analysts of the postcolonial role of literary criticism, and could have been affected by Chinweizu's vehement opposition to the influence of Western critics and their African adherents (whom he refers to as 'the Ibadan-Nsukka School of the Hopkins Disease' pp. 179-183).

'.....[when they introduce] problems and pseudo-problems from within the Western tradition, they are either the expression of a literary tourist mentality addicted to nouveaumania whose easily jaded sensibilities cry out for new supplies of exotica, or they are underhand efforts to defend the Western imperialist, pro-bourgeois status quo in the cultural domain.' (Chinweizu 1980, p.7)

Chinweizu argues that it is 'irresponsible' to recreate in African literature problems arising in centuries of criticism of western literature (ibid. p106). He rejects colonial critics who, seeming oblivious to the technical experimentation of such writers as Proust, Joyce and Kafka, imagine the African who writes in English as an apprentice European with no other

available canon. Although not a socialist ideologue, he quotes Fidel Castro's epigraph in support of this political view of their work:

Novels which attempt to reflect the reality of the world of imperialism's rapacious deeds; the poems aspiring to protest against its enslavement ...and the militant arts which in their expression try to capture the forms and content of imperialism's aggression ...on all that is revolutionary... which – full of light and conscience, of clarity and beauty – tries to guide men and peoples to better destinies – all these meet with imperialism's severest censure (Castro 1962) 175

Ndema harnessed similar feelings in the Zimbabwean context to counteract the influence of Granger who, although hardly a literary critic, had taken on the task of guiding the new Zimbabwean theatre into the only genre he knew. Ndema and Chifunyise were cultural *bricoleurs*, building in the style of the Ugandan, Taban lo Liyong

African culture is to be a synthesis and a metamorphosis – the order of things to come. It assimilates and disseminates. It picks, it grabs, it carries on ... A racially and culturally mixed person is the universal man; all is in him; he identifies with all; he is kith and kin to all other Homo sapiens (lo Liyong 1969, p.206)

Specific evidence that, despite the constraints of Rhodesian education, some East African literature had come Ndema's way is his use of the uncommon word '*apemanship*' in the last paragraph of A28. This witty neologism is not his own but was coined by Okot p'Bitek (1973) and has not yet found a place in the Oxford English Dictionary. The Ugandan poet, like many writers in Africa since the thirties (such as Aime Cesaire, Kofi Awoonor, Wole Soyinka, Chinua Achebe) has also contributed theoretical arguments and critique about the nature and role of African literature and literary criticism. Ndema shifts the usage, however: whereas p'Bitek uses it contemptuously of ambitious blacks who ape colonial white manners and values as they acquire wealth and status, (a comprador class, in Marxist terms) Ndema uses it to mock white settlers who slavishly imitate outdated cultural practices of metropolitan Europe. It is not a racist insult but signifies contempt for the values and delusions of those who choose those merely to copy memes instead of contributing them to a more creative, future-oriented bricolage.

For Ndema, to be insulting is a deliberate choice marked by lexis, discourse features and paralinguage, leading towards a socio-political outcome that is intended to be

¹⁷⁵ 'The second Declaration of Havana' quoted in *The mythology of Imperialism* by Jonah Raskin 1971 New York Delta Books.

unacceptable to Granger and Davies.¹⁷⁶ The use of English, the dominant language in any inter-cultural conversation with whites, in itself is an unmarked choice but this ‘insult frame’ is a case of markedness – a deliberate flouting of the normative expectations or maxims of conversations of the past (Myers-Scotton 1988, p. 151-9) which required cooperative-submissive strategies from Africans.¹⁷⁷ Ndema’s status-raising choice is indexical of the set of rights and obligations of his chosen in-group (black writers and progressive whites) and is entirely different from *unintentional* rudeness due to lack of communicative competence.

With unequivocal cultural authority Ndema, like Chifunyise, uses strong reasoned argument in the national press to restrict the ‘discourse rights’ of whites who are not willing to use those rights dialectically – an example of how the management of modes of access to the public mind through the media represents one of the fundamental social dimensions of dominance.¹⁷⁸ The white argument is not denied a voice by the editor but is crushed by revolutionary African voices. In his next weekly column Granger explicitly refused to respond to ‘...the effusions from Bulawayo’, thus Ndema succeeds in winning the critic’s silence.

The indignation of white participants following Hurst’s adjudication in Mutare led to an urgent search for justifications of their failure to win the major awards (Hurst and Haines in telephone interviews, 2005).¹⁷⁹ The final strategy was never published and remains evidenced only in reports of some private letters between theatre clubs and the National Theatre Organisation. They developed a modified social construction of their theatre activities that, surprisingly, accepted a significant reduction in the scope claimed for their authority. Although they derided ZACT’s socio-political aims and performance skills, most of the white out-group chose to retain the biggest possible distinction by conceding bitterly that emerging black theatre practitioners claimed to be professionals. *The white*

¹⁷⁶ If the listener/reader chooses *not* to take offence, or wishes to join the in-group, Ndema’s strategy is still ‘challenging’ but insults could be deflected, e.g. by shared humour, apology or conceding the point.

¹⁷⁷ Blommaert (1988 p.66, 68) questions her placing code usage always in a consensual dynamic through the markedness model, where ‘unmarked’ choices indicate acceptance of conventional relations.

¹⁷⁸ van Dijk (1993, p.9). Socially shared representations of societal arrangements, groups and relations, as well as mental operations such as interpretation, thinking and arguing, inferencing and learning, among others, together define what we understand by social cognition.

¹⁷⁹ In the same week BTC invited Amakhosi to perform *Nansi le Ndoda* in their theatre (Appendix 7-1).

clubs thereafter described their own theatre practices as amateur not professional. Thus they constructed, privately, a 'dual' concept¹⁸⁰ in which amateurism reverts to Victorian class values, whereas their modern British professional models (even including Hurst) were respected for their expertise. Black 'professionalism' was, in their view, a different category and apprenticed to very inferior goals and status.¹⁸¹

Policy implications

From the analysis, two possible outcomes of speech events can be identified that flout the usual maxims for success in cooperative communication and which were, it is suggested, significant in conversations between black and white theatre practitioners. In both these cases mutually acceptable resolution is neither attempted nor anticipated during this period in the early development of cultural policies.

The first case is where one interlocutor intends from the start only to make decisions and give orders, expecting to be obeyed. This is exemplified by colonial master-servant relations and other situations of extreme social dominance; misunderstanding by the listener (servant/slave) will result in physical enforcement or punishment rather than any negotiated resolution of meaning, therefore silent compliance is a strategic response. This resembles situations that Clyne (1994, p. 114) calls 'asymmetrical negotiation' and tends to be persistent. Occasionally whites would complain of 'reverse racism' when they crossed swords with confident or powerful black people.

Second, where both interlocutors from the start have no intention of resolving differences or misunderstandings, both insisting that their views are correct and must dominate. This might be called 'trading insults' or 'a war of words', and characterises conflict situations; in this case study, conflict results from progressive decolonisation and the contingent establishment of new power relations that challenge outdated (but not extinct) dualism. There is no negotiation, only a wish on both sides to specify humiliating, non-negotiable

¹⁸⁰ In the late colonial period the term 'dual policy' was used by academics to avoid recognising the political consequences of racial discrimination, e.g. Atkinson (1972).

¹⁸¹ 'What is an amateur?' asks Ostrovsky. 'He is first of all a person with leisure time, which means he is a person of independent income. If he were a person of talent, or one with a calling, or one who had to earn his own living, he would develop his powers by hard work and become a professional. Most amateurs are far from desiring this. It is sufficient that they dress up in becoming costumes and strut for an hour for the amusement of themselves -- rarely of their audiences.' Quoted by M. Wettlin 1974, p57.

terms that the other must accept. The success of the communication may be judged by the interlocutors separately in terms of obtaining or retaining dominance by the 'face-threatening' acts – that cause pain, offence, humiliation, anger and so on in the other and so result in accommodation or submission (Clyne 1994, p.13-16). In this case study, speakers and writers are using face-boosting acts of self, representing what they assume to be positive features of their own version of 'theatre'. In persuading people to seek membership of a new 'in-group' (i.e. Zimbabwean), that is identified by humanist values rather than race, it was necessary to construct social representations of the previous white position as an 'out-group'.

The process of cultural policy production requires the development of a diplomatic discourse of consensual value-based intentionality, together with the confidence that plans have a reasonably good chance of being implemented in the future – which in turn requires negotiation between government officers and institutions, and the co-operation of individual citizens. Such politic behaviour aims at establishing a state of equilibrium between individuals of a social group during ongoing interaction (Watts 1991, p. 50). After being reared under a regime that allowed Africans no more social power than children, they were now making decisions and controlling others through a liberated English discourse: robust insults were transient, having achieved their purpose of producing a turn in the other's behaviour, but submissive politeness was still inappropriate to achieve the cultural revolution on the foundations laid by the armed struggle.

The formulation and implementation of emerging policies continued to be bivalent, with the National Arts Council sustaining putative international values while the Ministry developed and supported cultural democracy. The Ministry had the power and political will to initiate and intervene in the public arena, thereby generating complexity through what sociologists variously call cultural fusion, diffusion, transculturation, acculturation, métissage, bricolage or hybridisation. Shifts in cultural discourse reflect these processes, naming and describing the variety of memes being evaluated, enacting the s-interaction between memes at cultural boundaries and selecting the most useful adaptive or strategic elements in this changing social environment. Many protopolicies are contributing to the redefinition of 'National theatre' which is thereby reconstituted so that the discourse of

theatre will belong to all Zimbabweans. None of this, however, impacted on policies outside the Ministry responsible for Culture. The government did not consider the cultural sector to have any *economic* significance despite approving its social roles. In his keynote address to the UNESCO/ZUM Seminar *Status of artists in Zimbabwe* in Harare Chifunyise expresses his frustration with this lack of vision. He takes a strong socialist tone, treating *amateurism* as exogenous and redundant and quoting Sheptulin (1978).

No positive action a government can take in the interests of its people is greater than ensuring the people's access to labour which provides them with the means of subsistence..... We cannot find any real meaning or purpose in discussing the significance of the professional and amateur status of artists in Zimbabwe unless we begin by appreciating first, that occupation in the cultural sector is not only a means of subsistence but also what Sheptulin calls 'the basis for the peoples' existence. (Chifunyise 1993b)

The OAU/UNESCO Dakar conference 1992 on Cultural Industries for Development asserts that 'efforts should henceforth be made to liberate and organise the economic and cultural spaces and that the issue at stake is employment creation, cultural values, status of the artist and financing culture' (p.19, para. III 45). The Ministry would have welcomed this Plan of Action to drive government's policy for the cultural sector.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Management of Cultural Production

Introduction

This chapter examines the management of cultural production among a younger generation of performers in Bulawayo who, having grown up during the liberation struggle, were bold in seeking and grasping opportunities. Following a review of management policy discourse in context, the focus is on the variety of early management styles (that might be described as naïve, pioneering or revolutionary) adopted by self-reliant cultural groups selecting and retaining memes as they organising themselves in small institutions to generate income by performing drama, dance and *imbube*.¹⁸² It does not aim to assess their competence in terms of western models of arts management. Evidence from archived records, questionnaires and interviews is used to identify tacit and protopolicies in their strategies, strengthening the theoretical basis of the thesis. Local networks and their relations with the national infrastructure are examined for evidence of influence by national policy.

Reviewing these records raised problems of approach. My original research questions assumed that modern concepts of management would provide an appropriate theoretical frame but cross-case reviews showed that the extensive archived materials are more concerned with people's perceptions of their position of the moment rather than planning documents or regulations. Their 'factual' content is largely ephemeral and represents the growth of communal social constructions that specialists might not regard as either 'management' or 'cultural policy'. The groups began to construct a praxis marked by its *métissage*, shifting between the cultural poles of the veteran musicians and the ideologues of community-based theatre. Their efforts were driven by the need to generate income but

¹⁸² A southern African style of *a capella* singing.

they had few assets except schooling,¹⁸³ urban cultural capital and, unrecognised, the cognitive benefits of bilingualism.¹⁸⁴ To make economic use of their restricted resources they embraced a commodification of the intangible treasures of their culture: 'Culture as showbusiness' was regarded as culturally incorrect by some traditionalists because the value systems of commerce changed the social context¹⁸⁵ but it was tolerated for pragmatic economic reasons. Even within the community theatre movement the treatment of traditions (such as kissing in public or advocating the use of condoms) were subjects of heated debate. Comments on cultural issues by journalists could be vehemently attacked by readers feeling insulted. (MC 106/108) Criteria of success for groups in the townships included primarily survival, reputation and the envy of other local practitioners. (Khabo 1995 M-S interview)

Naïve, revolutionary and pioneering management styles

This chapter examines in detail evidence for the initial proposition of the thesis:

Creative activity ... resulted mainly from the work of self-motivated cultural workers at grassroots level. Initially they learned – individually and corporately – from experience, reformulating their rules as they went along and thus constructing their own unwritten and often 'naïve' policies as they saw the need.

The revolutionary praxis introduced by ZACT to address this situation was grounded as much in Freirean principles of cultural revolution and cultural action (Freire 1970b, p.467) as in Marxist-Leninism. It was introduced with government support by animateurs who had experience of Kenyan and Ethiopian community theatre (Dale 1999). Supported by

¹⁸³ After 1980 an intensive education development programme made secondary education universally available, though not free, so after 1986 most school leavers had four years of secondary education and bilingual literacy.

¹⁸⁴ As theorised in studies of codeswitching, cognitive linguistics, etc. Byalistok (1992) finds bilingual students have advantages in '*selective attention*' (integration, filtering, search and priming); Hamers and Blanc (1989) point out that "cognitive advantages [of bilingualism] seem to be mainly at the level of higher creativity and reorganisation of information". (p.50). Colonial educators had emphasised the *negative* 'language deficiency' model of bilingualism that posits all monolinguals as perfect speakers and all bilinguals as inadequate.

¹⁸⁵ Media items indicate that the loss of 'traditional culture' resembles the populist transformation of concepts of 'high' culture and 'spectacle' during the same decade in Europe: "In the light of an ideology of Culture... the premise is that show business is amusement, and faintly culpable, the audience must not participate. It sits and listens, or watches; in this sense a spectacle (originally in the "bad" sense) can become "serious".' (Eco 1986, p.151).

¹⁸⁶ In Freire's 1972 terms, "...naïve thinking ... sees 'historical time as weight, a stratification of the acquisitions and experiences of the past' from which the present should emerge normalised and 'well-

ZIMFEP's national policies and administration, drama groups at the grassroots encountered ideas on collective playmaking, directing, performance skills, communicating with audiences, research, etc. that gave a path from inarticulate frustration to eloquent oracy to effective literacy through drama. There was relatively little specific management training but the sharing of problems and possible solutions through discussion was encouraged in workshops.

To call young animators of cultural production in 1985 'Pioneer managers' has an element of irony,¹⁸⁷ subverting a myth of Rhodesian heroism of 1893 simply by signifying black people, not white (Chandler 2002). Their role can be seen as temporary and tending to become assimilated into neo-liberal globalisation. Their success is measured by their ability to lift a local arts organisation to a pitch of excellence that first attracts donor funding and thereby creates opportunities for international tours in a savagely competitive industry. Pioneer managers are highly adaptive, experimental, and empirical in coping with unforeseen problems; they readily shift from tacit policy processes to protopolicy and as the need for project documentation increases their management expertise moves forward from pioneering into professionalism.

Cultural workers were all plurilingual and readily recognised ideas and associated language that could be useful; in linguistic terms the *words* were assimilated and recontextualised through translation of meanings in both language and behaviour (Bakhtin 1986, p. 89) and adapted into cognitive tools and documents they could use for their own tasks. A memetic account would describe *memes* – units of information – as (1) being retained, (2) made the subjects of discussion leading to (3) rejection or endorsement, then (4) translated into action and included in the meme pool or a policy document (Speel, 1997) – two sides of the same coin, both concerned with the cognitive processes in acculturation.

Described in the *Herald* (March 1986) as a 'cyclostyled magazine', the booklet *What happened in drama in Bulawayo in 1985?* (Appendix 8-2) was my first major animation,

behaved'. For the naïve thinker, the important thing is accommodation to this normalised 'today'. (p.64-5).

¹⁸⁷ This term was first used in my paper 'Frontier Pioneers' in *International Arts Manager*, February 2000.

motivated by involvement in an abundance of cultural activities with enthusiastic people, and driven by a sense of *carpe diem*¹⁸⁸ lest the affective memories of those cultural activists were to be lost.¹⁸⁹ Unable to tell the story myself, I sought out the transient thoughts of leaders and followers in culture.¹⁹⁰ Performance reviews and comments on emerging issues were written by a wide spectrum of activists in local networks (Appendix 8-1).¹⁹¹ Their accounts together help to constitute the postcolonial theatre situation in terms that had not been used before in Bulawayo (Smith, 1990).

A commercial performer-audience relationship was well established in music but in drama the ambiguity between the performative role of actors and their real life was initially a problem, especially for the relatively few women. From their experience of variety shows¹⁹² in community halls, students in the school drama club in 1984-5 expected that any drama or show would begin with a master of ceremonies to introduce the performers in both their real identity and their imagined role. The practice quickly lost favour as it took too long and was often not interesting enough to impress the audiences, though a similar genre of welcome was retained by some groups (e.g. Black Umfolosi, NASA) when later they toured overseas, to establish their Zimbabwean identity.¹⁹³

There are only two items about performance management – one on advertising in the press and public spaces, and one about how to bring in the audiences. Both Amakhosi and Kanyama had been impressed by the audiences when they performed in Gwanda so Cde. Marine's advice is welcomed as an example of conscientised efforts at audience building that can be taken to be an element or meme in the Ministry's internal policy even if it is

¹⁸⁸ Horace, *Odes*. 'Carpe diem, quam minimum credula postero.' Seize the day, trusting little in tomorrow. (Erllich)

¹⁸⁹ Dorothy Smith, 1990, p. 216. 'Textual inscription produced forms of social consciousness.' That booklet was indeed a 'consciousness raising' project My personal involvement cannot be ignored or edited out of the *bricolage* if the account is to be true, even though the primary aim is to give voice to the others.

¹⁹⁰ A similar transformation was observed in Harare by R. Zinyemba (1986). '1985 is the year when Zimbabwean theatre is finally standing up and blazing a definite trail'.

¹⁹¹ The unit of analysis is the booklet, not the individual. See K. P. Addelson, 1994.

¹⁹² For example, Safirio's touring family show, and stand-up comedians such as Leonard Dembo.

¹⁹³ Joyce Mpfu (1992) *Vox Pop* 3, says 'When you are on stage, you must not let the audience drag down your energy. In Tanzania the audience gathered to watch Sitsha and upstaged the cast because of all the noise they were making....they were only interested in our dances and songs. We did our best to control the audience and at the end of the day, they demanded that we replay the show in order to hear the message.'

not made public at this early stage. He gives practical advice on using personal contacts, posters, low admission fees, word of mouth, and combining drama presentations with other popular activities that will also generate audiences.¹⁹⁴ Ndema Ngwenya's analysis of *Problems* identifies the 'lack of patronage by the public' as serious: 'Our communities have not yet developed a habit of watching plays for entertainment'.

Three important workshops represent the arrival of modern exogenous influences with marked differences in their interpellation of the participants – socialist networks, benevolent disability networks, and liberal capitalist networks. A report on ZIMFEP's workshop on community-based theatre (p.3) summarises three inter-linked dimensions of theatre but does not explain how the project itself was organised and administered. Other sources¹⁹⁵ show that this was the domain of a committee of expert volunteers, with skills, training and local or foreign experience. The committee meetings were goal oriented, effective problem-solving sessions reflecting the fact that ZIMFEP was an established and well-funded institution. The Jairos Jiri drama group reported a three-week workshop with an expert facilitator from Britain, Nic Fine, whose approach to theatre was similar, but his mission was focused on empowering the disabled. The group thereafter became active in local network. A third workshop was anticipated; offering full-time training in theatre skills, by an expert trainer from a Canadian development agency, CUSO. There was no mention of management although in fact the outcome was Iluba Elimnyama, a successful group that was self-managed on cooperative principles.

Bulawayo's network of postcolonial cultural workers and institutions is well represented by the items providing vivid specimens of the cultural discourse in English¹⁹⁶ at a time when the development process was marked by optimism and co-operative adventure.¹⁹⁷ Throughout this case study the existence of networks of personal and institutional links is

¹⁹⁴ These strategies were all in use at Battersea Arts Centre in London in 1997. Internal report on the effectiveness over six months of the 'Pay What You Can' concession policy on Tuesdays Cameron (1997).

¹⁹⁵ The archive has minutes of meetings of the Steering Committee for ZIMFEP workshops in 1985 & 1986.

¹⁹⁶ Most could have made a similar contribution in Ndebele or Shona, but English was the *lingua franca*.

¹⁹⁷ All spare copies were bought by wa Mirii on behalf of ZACT – 'it inspired drama people in Harare'.

seen as a ubiquitous organising principle that contributes to the development of policies.¹⁹⁸ Working almost entirely through oral communications, networking extended notions of ‘family’ to more complex social relations of cooperation, power and information sharing between interest groups. The network diagram, (Appendix 8-1) shows links between all eighteen institutions and thirty-six individuals named in the booklet. The actants and links vary in strength: infrastructure of government at national and local levels are stronger, recently founded drama groups are as yet weak.

Despite the expertise of workshop facilitators and the many visiting performers, the booklet makes no claims to knowledge about global concepts of ‘management’ or ‘policy development’. This was a deliberate if naive way of avoiding giving any credit to complacent colonial theatre practitioners. Practical information, such as *Copyright*, *Bulawayo Arts Council*, *Writing for Radio*, and *Advertising* was commissioned to demystify aspects of the emerging cultural industry and to encourage resourcefulness. Those strategies, however, require first as Cont Mhlanga already knew, that ‘they know there is something to manage.’¹⁹⁹ Only a few amateurs who had experienced drama, song and dance in the military camps were still available to continue that work since ‘many of the pioneers of this radical and innovative work, on returning home, were appointed to senior government positions or absorbed into the newly integrated national army.’ (Chifunye, 1990, p.276)

Individualism was socially and politically²⁰⁰ disliked in government, seen as a product of colonial education²⁰¹ that was in conflict with the roles people had within their extended

¹⁹⁸Borzel (1997). ‘A set of relatively stable relationships which are non-hierarchical and interdependent, linking a variety of actors, who share common interests with regard to a policy; they exchange resources to pursue those shared interests acknowledging that cooperation is the best way to achieve common goals.’

¹⁹⁹ Mhlanga M-S interview (1995) ‘They have no product to manage, and they do not manage time to create one. They’ve nothing to manage in the way of creativity. But they don’t know what they have around them.’

²⁰⁰ The political climate did not encourage individualism: ‘The wishes and ideas of the outstanding personalities that determine the life and development of society. This was regarded as “a wrong assumption because ideas become an important motive force of social development only when they are grasped by the masses of the people... Outstanding personalities play an important role only insofar as they correctly grasp and express the pressing requirements of society and the aspirations of the bulk of the people’ (Kader, 1987. p.11).

²⁰¹ Mutumbuka 1978, ‘Instead of authoritarianism and passivity we encourage from the very beginning group work, group co-operation, group decision-making, individual initiative, criticism and group self-criticism. Negative individualism, jealousy and envy among youths, which is so characteristic of the

four-dimensional family. With the dissolution of colonial categories of identification, however, people had increasing freedom to move and needed the support of group identities; networking was a key to this cultural development for most young people for whom the support and loyalty of like-minded people was essential. Furthermore, the existence of an identifiable network is evidence of the emergence of policy. Where there is a will to work together towards a desired result there is the stirring of policy process; even if it is not yet conceptualised as such, the aim that is tacitly agreed and the path to it constitutes a tacit policy. The first level of institution building was not top-down but a growth upwards from the grassroots: the formation of groups (in effect, small networks of friends) was what they did when the school would no longer provide that security. Cont Mhlanga had engineered his own earlier successes after founding Amakhosi in 1982 by carefully choosing useful mentors (whom he later called ‘bricklayers’) to work with the group but without ever becoming dependent on them.²⁰² Cont was still in an early phase of self-education in ‘management’, ready to experiment with everything that offered to contribute to Amakhosi’s development.²⁰³ He was the first of the ‘pioneer managers’, a natural animator, who never doubted that his social actions had constructive power.

During 1986 the Bulawayo Association of Drama Groups (BADG), set up by the District Arts Council to facilitate funding, began to develop an identity for Bulawayo drama, providing another network of groups that were otherwise separated by the different concepts of theatre represented by ZACT and the NTO. They were unwilling to enrol the same groups as members, a position that continued for a decade, including a cathartic confrontation during the second Linkfest Seminar in 1993. A wider network had links with the Ministry - the local hub - communicating through cultural officers who organised celebrations such as Heroes’ Day at Barbourfields Stadium (Appendix 8-3) and cultural programmes for the Zimbabwe International Trade Fair at the Showgrounds.

colonial system, is discouraged; our youths do not monopolise knowledge and spend an awful lot of time helping their less capable classmates.’

²⁰² When the casting directors for ‘*Cry Freedom*’ arrived in Bulawayo later that year Amakhosi were sufficiently skilled and disciplined in karate to be offered training and employment with the Stunts Team but I was personally blamed by some groups for having favoured Amakhosi by introducing them to the casting directors.

²⁰³ Cont refused to use the telephone claiming ‘bad ears’ but years later acknowledged that his ears were perfect – he had simply been learning how to use the phone by listening to me. He was continually

UNESCO: source of policy discourse for management

The Accra Conference 1975²⁰⁴ recommended the training of specialists in cultural action (cultural planning, administration, research and organisation of activities) and endorsed the project for regional centres for training cultural animators in Togo, Tunisia and Tanzania – thus maintaining ‘the customary distinction between cultural "animators" and natural leaders.’ (Moulinier 1977 pp. 67) Much later, the ACTPA project in Bulawayo (African Centre for the Training of Performing Artists) was funded by UNESCO and Scandinavian NGOs. It opened in September 1990 but collapsed in 1992 before establishing any of the promised training in performance and production skills. Press reports referred extensively to the failure of project management based far away in London. Understanding that the managers should be held to account was widespread in Bulawayo, but this experience of a corrupted model (and the secretive resolution of its failure) probably delayed the introduction and dissemination of exogenous management concepts in cultural production locally.

Chifunyise chose not to introduce ‘animation’ as a Zimbabwean policy issue, and used less specific English forms,²⁰⁵ such as ‘probably the most important action called for is the training of *cultural development personnel*’ (SAPEM, Dec. 1991, C42) One of his major policy frustrations continued to be the lack of resources for training artists and managers (not animateurs) which was referred to more often after the establishment of SADC in 1992 had created potential for regional policies in the cultural industries. (C66) By supporting a variety of other projects he provided opportunities for people to learn 'on-the-

testing stories, inventing with delight the impresario character he wanted to be, as he would create characters for his plays.

²⁰⁴ The Final Report of the Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies in Africa 1975 (UNESCO-OAU) Accra, Ghana. (SHC/AFRICACULT/3 Accra 1975) This Conference can be considered the starting point of post colonial cultural (and linguistic) policies in Africa. The resolutions and the declarations adopted at this conference were materialised at the governmental level by the establishment or the reinforcement of regional centres. <http://www.acalan.org/an/consult.htm>

²⁰⁵ Animation was never established in English or Rhodesian cultural policy, either as a process or as a profession. A British report, struggling with the ‘recommendations to governments on animation’ adopted by the European Council for Cultural Co-operation in January 1976, anticipated negative attitudes: “The United Kingdom Working Group would like to represent most strongly the need for common policies which would embody the principles of animation there is a great need for more central inter-departmental and agency co-operation, as at present approach to provision both for the animateur and the individual in the community is tortuous and alienating....” Kingsbury 1976.

job' thus developing their capacity, but less systematically than he would probably have preferred.

Insofar as 'animation' suggests the power of an inspiring individual it was wise of Chifunyise, on behalf of the Ministry, to avoid it. The local politics of culture and external influence was complex and nuanced because, from the beginning, the dominant socialist discourse in culture was deeply concerned with equality, "individualism" was strongly discouraged and military metaphors of leadership in management were abandoned. At the launch of the Bulawayo Chapter of ZACT he said:

.....community-based theatre is based on a philosophy that is rooted strongly in socialism – a philosophy which dictates that theatre should be a tool for political and ideological development - is a tool for community solidarity and communal co-operation.[and] attempts to destroy... excess individualism that searches for fame and reputation.... (A5, July 1986)

That position, in competition with traditional Ndebele memes of leadership remaining in oral memories of Kings, led to ideological tensions between some social actors and institutions. Heroes and war leaders were admired but African civil society was perceived to be communal and egalitarian, thus individuals had a spectrum of possibilities from which to find their own style of leadership or animation. For a century people in Bulawayo's townships had provided an arena for the interaction and expression of colonial and rural memes in their everyday lives, unintentionally producing a unique *espace métisse*. (Mudimbe 1997)²⁰⁶ This set of urban cultural practices provided a 'toolbox' of habits, skills and styles (Swidler 1986 p.273) that were used by "natural animators" to devise a variety of new group structures²⁰⁷. During the Eighties modern exogenous practices (memes) were added to the mix by a few expatriate educators and occasional visiting experts facilitating workshops, etc. Remnants of Rhodesian arts practices remained, at the same time both respected and resented, but members of the white community rarely participated in public cross-cultural activities, even as observers.

²⁰⁶ V. Y. Mudimbe (1997) 'social engineering that invented and organised a transcultural *espace métissé* in order to duplicate the history of the West according to Enlightenment prescriptions.' *Tales of Faith* p. 147

²⁰⁷ When outsiders encounter this mixture, they incline to prioritise the memes that they share and may not even notice the others.

‘Management’ was an idea in the commercial sector, not in revolutionary discourse. The earliest use I have found is in a ZIMFEP leaflet that speaks of ‘qualified farm managers’ and quotes an address given at Chindunduma School in November 1983 by Cde. President Banana:

[School leavers]... must be prepared to create their own jobs. They must be given the technical skills as well as financial management training to set up their own cooperatives and rural industries.

‘Management’ as used here refers only to efficient agricultural practice, which in this context was the practical basis of a revolutionary education system that, however, remained peripheral. In most secondary schools it did not replace the established curriculum leading to Cambridge ‘O’ level though its ideological content continues in ZIMFEP projects (e.g. L. Moyo 1993). When the Minister of Education, Cde. Dzingai Mutumbuka, addressed a meeting of Dutch teachers on Education Policy in 1985 he too referred positively to the value of ‘management skills’ in Education with Production.

‘It is also inherent in the concept that students should be practically involved in the aspects of finance, accounting and management.... Budgeting, planning, marketing, quality control, and distribution Such practical skills do not, as is feared by some, lower the quality of education; rather, they make the learning more useful and not confined to memorising facts and repeating theories parrot-fashion as was done so often in the past.’

Chifunyise, a notable communicator, addressed seminars and workshops for artists and marked special days and cultural events with articles in the national press. These were his principal means of disseminating priorities in cultural policy to the general public, including members of mass cultural organisations, revealing the dynamics of policy development where no documented policy existed. The corpus contains 34 texts of addresses or policy papers that he wrote. An extensive analysis of the frequency, appearance and disappearance of key words has found that usage shifted as socialism was displaced by economic liberalism. Table 8-1 extracts lexis relevant to management (five items from a total of seventy counted).

| Chifunyise Texts | 1-8 | 9-12 | 13-22 | 23-31 | Combined totals |
|------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-----------------|
| Word totals | 10928 | 5572 | 15619 | 8593 | 40712 |
| Years | 1986-89 | 1990-92 | 1993-94 | 1995-96 | 1986-96 |
| Socialism | 0.4 | 0.0 | 0.4 | 0.2 | 0.3 |

| | | | | | |
|------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Policies | 0.5 | 4.1 | 0.8 | 4.0 | 1.9 |
| Organise/ation | 3.9 | 4.7 | 2.8 | 1.4 | 3.0 |
| Manage/er/ment | 0.0 | 0.7 | 0.3 | 1.4 | 0.5 |
| Develop/ing/ment | 7.9 | 9.0 | 9.4 | 5.4 | 8.1 |

Table 8-1 Frequency/1000 of lexical items in texts by Chifunyise

Whereas 'organisation' and 'development' were in frequent use throughout the whole research period, the corpus of Chifunyise's texts does not contain 'management' until December 1991 (10-C41) when he refers to it as a capacity to be expected in already-established music promoters: 'The role of the National Arts Council in clearing music promoters has to be clearly defined so that financial and management-capable promoters are allowed to promote international concerts.'

In 1993 the Minister of Finance refused an invitation to the UNESCO-ZUM conference on 'The Status of Artists' and referred the organisers back to the Ministry of Education and Culture, who had originally suggested the invitation in an effort to get music recognised as an industry rather than as the luxury service it had always been. The conference was supported by many cultural production organisations who debated issues arising from UNESCO's *Recommendations to member states on the status of artists* (Belgrade 1980) and focussed on developing concepts of professionalism in the artists, without which other people and institutions would not recognise their economic and creative value. In his keynote address (17-C83) Chifunyise, now Deputy Secretary for Culture, based his policy intentions on the declaration from the Dakar Plan of Action (1992): 'Now that the liberation of the political spaces has more or less been completed, efforts should henceforth be made to liberate and organise the economic and cultural spaces.' He argued passionately:

..... the crisis in Zimbabwe is not only the poor status of artists, but also the constant undermining and total disregard of the economic significance of employment creation through the arts and the almost embarrassing shortage of public finance for culture... Why do we expect commercially viable cultural products that can compete internationally when the basic infrastructure, technical skills and finance needed to produce such competitive products are not considered as a pre-requisite investment? (March 1993)

In 1994 Chifunyise refers with frustration to the continuing lack of capacity of national arts associations and unions to 'train their members to manage'. (22-C95) At the start of

1995 he finds it necessary to refer to the need for individuals first to have basic literacy and numeracy to develop themselves in management:

Unfortunately the vast majority of the Zimbabwean artists ...do not have the management skills to produce the required constitutions in English, and the resources to have their accounts audited in order to qualify for funding' (23-C96)

In August 1995 he links individual and organisational needs in a funding proposal to the Norwegian Government (26-C110), pointing out that 'basic secretariats are necessary [for national associations] and office bearers need to be trained on how to manage associations.' Again in 1996 at a World Dance Day seminar he emphasises the importance of training in management: 'This critical shortage of trained managers in the dance sector should be a major challenge to the Ministry of Sport, Recreation and Culture and the National Arts Council of Zimbabwe because it touches on skills training and the provision of financial resources. (32-C161) It was in this climate of 'identified need' that the proposal for the M-S workshop was produced.

M-S Workshop

Recognising local needs in terms of national policy.

In October 1994 Chifunyise²⁰⁸ visited Bulawayo and gave two 'vigorous, informative and uplifting addresses'²⁰⁹ to cultural workers who responded with such enthusiasm that, with his encouragement, I considered organising a SEDCO-style management workshop for them. In 1995 the project went ahead funded by the Danish donor agency M-S as Management Skills in the Arts Industry for community arts organisations in Bulawayo. Assisted by M-S staff, a project proposal was drawn up, participants enrolled, speakers invited, handouts written and other resource materials duplicated.²¹⁰

From the policy point of view, there were two reasons why this project was powerfully supported by Chifunyise as Deputy Secretary for Culture. First, the economic structural adjustment programme, ESAP, now encouraged government ministries to form

²⁰⁸ At this time, as Deputy Secretary in the Vice President's Office, he was actively promoting ESAP-style policies, and had indicated official approval of government working in 'partnership' with the private sector. This marked a change in access to donor funding which could be given directly a small company instead of through a registered institution such as the ZUM had been necessary for the Isavutha Kwela Revival Project (SIDA, 1991-2) and the UNESCO, 1993 seminar on the *Status of the Artists*.

²⁰⁹ On 'Piracy in the music business' and 'Funding policies'. The comment is from our letter of thanks.

‘partnerships’ with the private sector instead of trying to control development and funding through its own infrastructures. Secondly, the government was still not persuaded that a viable cultural industry existed, so Chifunyise’s oft-repeated wish to make professional training in management skills available to cultural workers had still not become a key aspect of policy in practice.²¹¹ This project was therefore officially approved as consistent with both policy areas. It was the first workshop in Bulawayo on the subject to use *local* experts as trainers, in contrast with agencies like British Council, CUSO and NORAD. My principle consultant, Cont Mhlanga, recognised that the project would meet a local need:

....[most NGOs] ... do what I would call ‘Institution Building’...but they’re not keen on building creative local groups...because they are banking on the national institutions to change the culture.... My interest is that [they] should be more interested to identify a couple of people at that local level, and resources, to send it down so that the fire grows quicker.... (Interview July 1995)

SEDCO’s 3-day courses (Chapter 3) including ‘General Management’ and ‘One-book Accounting System’ were open to anyone interested but it was clear that musicians and other ‘artistes’ had never approached them and were not expected to benefit from, or even be interested in, training for small business enterprises. Despite Ministry encouragement, the National Arts Council and ZCTU seemed disinclined lobby for a socio-economic concept of a *cultural industry*. Unlike writers and visual artists who were institutionalised by white-dominated publishers and galleries marketing their work, cultural performers in groups were rarely paid as professionals for their work.

The preliminary proposal emerged from networking with Chifunyise and the M-S project officer, whom I knew as the cousin and hero of a pupil at Mzilikazi High School, a keen Amakhosi member who had introduced me to Cont Mhlanga; M-S was therefore well-acquainted with cultural activity in Bulawayo.²¹² The workshop was planned with particular regard to the sensibilities of potential participants, which necessitated prior

²¹⁰ The training was delivered during six days 31/07/95 – 3/08/95, 14 & 17/11/95

²¹¹ SAPEM, 1992, p.45. ‘Significant growth of a profitable cultural industry will depend on the existence of effective training programmes that produce artists, arts managers, arts promoters and technical specialists.’

²¹² He remembered, as I did not, that while he was still a university student I had given him some books – an unwitting step in networking that could raise discussion of the age-old, thorny issue of *present giving* as opening a door to corruption. In 1859 this was a major cause of friction between missionaries at Inyathi.

consultation with cultural workers in order to identify what topics and approaches *they* thought would be most acceptable.²¹³ The ‘sensibilities’ were those of people emerging from a repressive history who now wanted to be consulted about any influences they were being offered, even if they were not in a position to imagine or access alternatives. This consultative approach was further justified by observing that development programmes generated outside Zimbabwe often failed to interest participants; foreign experts brought in by propagandising missions such as USAID and British Council came with the immense authority of western cultural systems, but delivery was often educationally inappropriate and ill-prepared for the Zimbabwean context. There is a sensitive dynamic between high aspirations and restricted literacy that external educators fail to recognise, gauge, manage and satisfy. For that reason we hired SEDCO’s trainer, Mr. Isaiah Moyo, to provide two days of ‘general management.’ He was experienced in meeting the needs of inexperienced entrepreneurs, responding with fluent code-switching between Ndebele, Shona and English as necessary. Without him the project would not have achieved its objectives. This insider approach was enhanced by the support of Chifunyise, who came for a whole day. Rather than present a formal paper he preferred to answer any questions the participants wanted ask, providing helpful insights for participants who would not normally have met him.

Fortunately Cont Mhlanga's pragmatic advice was readily available: the openness of his comments laid a professional responsibility on me to appropriate his ideas, or as I now would say, retain the memes he offered and defended in the interview. His overview of the current position was based on his intimate knowledge of cultural workers and their needs:

So you've got to start that low in ‘management’... you can't say ‘This is a big industry, it has so much productions, results, money,’ etcetera.” It's worse when you come down to human resources - I tell you... What human resources are there??
214You only have a bunch of people who have no single skill to apply in the whole process.... what are they doing? ...they have NO CLUE what they should do... those elementary human skills are not even there in those people so you actually have no

²¹³ This matched M-S policy on culture in 1995: ‘Emphasis in the future should be at district level, as near to the people as possible, and the urban communities. For a long time to come, experts and other resources will continue to be needed in training, administration, management, institutional capacity building and venues by groups or individuals in culture.’

²¹⁴ His habit of answering his own rhetorical questions was a popular feature of argumentation in public speaking and teaching in Bulawayo and less domineering than it may seem because the speakers were also good listeners when others joined in the debate.

human resources to manage. So the problem, for me in arts management, is deeper than saying the people can't manage, that they've not been taught how to manage: it's the whole culture of these people ...in their own society and context they won't find it.... (Interview 1995 transcript)

Responding particularly to the last of my written prompt questions Cont's interview ended with another example of his complex layering of the cognitive issues in learning at cultural and linguistic boundaries:

CONT What can people learn from the workshop that they might not learn so well on the job? ... one of the most important is trying to find what people *are* doing on the job and *what it's called on the course* – those people are doing a lot of things! ...it's not the language; *they think they are not doing it*. They are actually doing it but they don't KNOW they are doing it. In terms of management, they can't go out and look for in-puts to make what they are doing more better. So take what people are actually doing on the job, and give it a description so that they know how to make it grow when they go back to the job.

This interpretation justified administering the questionnaire: it introduced names for elements of their work – some they were doing without knowing, some they were not doing but recognised might be useful, some they apparently thought were not their business. Thus memes are encountered, not necessarily consciously: and our own inputs were designed to increase the selective interaction of memes and conscientise the participants.

The first part of the project was a feasibility study concerning content and presentation. Interviews and questionnaires were used to elicit perceived needs and identify prior knowledge and professional goals of potential participants. By 1995 many unemployed 'school-leavers'²¹⁵ saw cultural production as a possible field for job creation but so far had no formal management training. Few young groups survived more than a year or two. David Khabo, who founded the Masibemunya Association, explains the township context:

My old ones really love art. Most of them, they are gainfully employed, and after work they feel like going to art. Most are from the rural areas, they are here because they are working and on Friday may go home for the weekend to the tribal trust lands, where art was a way of living, part of their culture; so while here in town they are trying to preserve their culture while living in town as well. Most of the young ones were brought up in town.... That is the main problem. And so, you see their goal - it's money. But they don't take it seriously as an industry, don't develop their human resources. They don't know about goals, they do things haphazardly. Because most of

²¹⁵ The government's priority at Independence was to make 4 years of secondary education available to all. The members of these drama groups later were generally better educated and more fluent in English.

these budding groups got into art because they don't have anything else to do. Once they've got something to do, they leave art to go and work somewhere. They got into art by accident. They are doing it because they don't have anything else to do. Yes some continue as 'amateurs' but some don't – there is pressure of work, the need for money, and pressure from parents (Khabo M-S interview, 1995; Appendix 8-5b).

The usual format for dance or drama groups was moving towards commodification, i.e. performers rehearse and present an advertised performance at a time and venue of their own choice to an audience who usually pay to buy the right to attend a performance. This is distinct from established practice in the music industry where full-time musicians were usually contracted to work regularly at a specific venue with their instrument-owner as manager. Part-time musicians attended social events by invitation, with oral agreement as described in interview by Mike Bosco (Appendix 6-5).

Invitations to the proposed M-S workshop were posted to a wide variety of groups whose names were on a mailing list prepared by Amakhosi. Participants were self-selected by expressing their interest in the programme though there is a slight bias because a few groups who were known to be hostile were omitted. This does not invalidate the responses to the questionnaire since the aim was to *identify commonalities* not to *quantify differences*. Eighteen groups and individuals accepted and completed the preliminary 20-item questionnaire (Appendix 8-6a). They were promised a fee of \$20 as an inducement to give a full response because such documents were totally unfamiliar to people living in a mainly oral information culture. There was, furthermore, a reluctance to give away any information, especially about problems and personal details.²¹⁶ The fee was withheld from some participants until answers to all items had been attempted, however briefly. The justification for paying a fee for answering the questionnaire was that it showed that the researcher valued the artists' knowledge and experience and did not intend to exploit them, (similar to paying a \$40 fee to interviewees, see later). Visiting academic sociologists said that a mere \$20 or \$40 could not establish a relationship of mutual trust or get 'truthful' responses. This was a misunderstanding of the fact that enough trust had already been established and in accepting it the participants signified their co-operation and cautiously agreed to answer questions from an outsider they had known ten years, (but

²¹⁶ A similarly negative, suspicious attitude was encountered by a Harare activist when collecting contact details for a booklet, also funded by M-S, intended to advertise cultural groups to foreign film companies.

who, by seeking information by the very act of asking, was possibly alienating herself to some degree). A similarly negative, suspicious attitude was encountered by a Harare activist while he was collecting contact details for a booklet intended to advertise cultural groups, particular for foreign film companies. also funded by M-S, (Personal communication, Cultural Officer 1995)

The findings from the questionnaire are summarised in the M-S Report. The groups ranked the proposed topics for the workshop in order of importance to them as below.

| | | Rating (Low number = High Priority) |
|----|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1 | Planning | 27 |
| 2 | Negotiating skills | 64.5 |
| 3= | Managing people | 74.5 |
| 3= | Structure of the industry | 74.5 |
| 5 | Contracts | 82 |
| 6 | Writing letters & agreements | 84.5 |
| 7 | Managing money | 90.5 |
| 8 | Imaging and media | 114.5 |

Table 8-2 Management training priorities of Bulawayo groups

Responses indicate an unexpectedly high regard for 'planning', followed by 'negotiating skills', followed by 'managing people' and 'structure of the industry', all of which were difficult concepts but not helpfully elaborated in the items. 'Contracts' and 'writing letters and agreements' were regarded as unimportant, so we included two introductory sessions by a lawyer.²¹⁷ Distinctly last was 'imaging and media'. Since all but two groups said they had been mentioned in the local paper, and some had performed on radio or television, and all habitually employed local printers to produce posters, it is possible they really did believe they knew enough. For example a reggae band, Ebony Sheikh said they regularly attracted about two hundred people in Mpopoma Hall; but the capacity, they thought, was maybe five hundred. Challenged to consider why it was less than half full, they had no strategy for getting a bigger audience. More disturbing was the low priority musicians gave to financial probity; for example, despite a majority claiming to have bank accounts, several needed someone else to cash their expenses cheque. Possibly the technical

²¹⁷ Thereby nudging them towards what Dorothy Smith (1990) describes as 'a ubiquitous phenomenon of contemporary society – textually mediated social organisation'. p. 209.

language and questionnaire format were barriers to communication, but their low valuation of record keeping – due to the established habit of sharing out takings immediately – is consistent with their failure to make union officials produce accounts for how they spent donor funding in 1992-4. In fact, the responses concerning participants' perception of their training needs apparently provided little more precision than the intuition, commonsense and experience on which a teacher relies. As research material, however, they do provide documented indicators of their naïve management procedures.

The M-S Interviews

My assumptions about the value of importing western norms in order to achieve 'institution-building' and 'capacity building' had changed to some extent since the 1988 article '*Talking about Constitutions*' was published in *Zimbabwe News* (Appendix 8-5a) but in 1995 the terms 'management' and 'management training' still did not prompt reflection on the paradigmatic significance of this choice.²¹⁸ Six 'natural animateurs' well known in Bulawayo's townships were interviewed before the workshops. Each was paid a Z\$40 fee in return for an oral agreement that I could transcribe and publish their words for research or project development. Each was a successful manager in their chosen field because of their social skills, creative vision, energy, intelligence and ambition. The interviews invited critical comment on the draft proposals of management issues that might be useful to cultural workers, and the interviewees were regarded as consultants²¹⁹ in which their knowledge – because endogenous – was dominant to my own exogenous perception of the needs of the intended workshop participants. The interviews – tape recorded before the workshop and transcribed since – exemplify concurrent documentation because they were part of the plan specified in the prior documentation or project proposal. They also are retrospective accounts of the consultants' own experience, providing 'specimens' of lived experience rather than 'factist' evidence. The full texts are combined constructions arising in a particular context; they reflect how both speakers' cognitive frames were modified as the conversation proceeded. The meaning is located in the space between spoken text (now transcribed) and the two interlocutors and shifts as

²¹⁸ In the process of writing this thesis I have developed an understanding of differences between the discourse of *animation*, with its French roots in UNESCO's concepts of cultural development and social action, and the discourse of *management*, originating in American military colleges such as WestPoint.

shared experience accumulates (Johnstone 2002, p.231). At the time, the aims were not precisely formulated beyond the need for reflexive social accounts to assist in planning the workshop; with that in view, facts were less important than browsing through the consultants' changing perceptions of the processes they had experienced so far, as they considered the needs of a new generation of managers. From more extensive archives, those cited here are:

Cont Mhlanga: Founder and artistic director of Amakhosi Theatre Productions, playwright and super-hub in networks.

Norman Takawira (late): Left school 1986. Playwright, founder and leader of Young Warriors Drama Group; one of the youngest activists, Chairman of BADG for several years.

Patrick Mabhena: An actor and founder member of the CUSO co-operative training programme that led to formation of Iluba Elimnyama to work in Theatre for Development.

Lucky Moyo: A founder member of Black Umfolosi, interviewed in London, 1993 and for *Dancehall* in 1995.

Mike Bosco Ncube (late): Experience of the traditional urban music business at street level since the fifties; worked in Ministry of Construction. Used to be active in unionism.

David Khabo: Long experience in the urban arts environment working with traditional artists in the old authoritarian mode of the City Council, now a middle manager in the Social Welfare Department, founder and Secretary of Masebemunye Arts Association.

Much information on the diverse management styles of the earliest township drama groups is contained in M-S interviews with key animators and leaders, but this section focuses narrowly on what they reveal about their policy framework. Even if policies were not formulated explicitly at the time, it might be possible to deduce their existence from the presence of indicators in the discourse. From this approach emerged the more satisfactory

²¹⁹ Not 'subjects'. see James J. Scheurich, 1997, *Research method in the postmodern*, p.70

theory that recognises the *simultaneous* occurrence and interweaving of tacit policy, protopolicy and documented policy.

Black Umfolosi (Lucky Moyo, 1993, 1995)

Their experience of revolutionary unity in the camps, sharing the hardships of military life, the risk of death, the problem-solving, the joy of eventual victory: these made a strong bond between them, but it was their love of singing that kept them together thereafter. The group had unique advantages from their education that gave them a secure period of schooling and apprenticeship to develop their endogenous cultural skills and co-operative principles before entering the entertainment industry. In Lucky's words:

I had been out from 1976 – four years. In that time of the struggle, in the camps, singing was very important. The songs, in fact all aspects of culture, were the affirmation of our identity. This was much more than just keeping our morale high. It was an expression of our existence, our defiance and our future.²²⁰ The Foundation for Education with Production stands for the principle that education should be closely linked with self-reliance and productivity. So we learned about marketing, budgeting and so on in a practical way. But some of us liked singing very much and we gradually persuaded the school authorities that music, dance and drama is also a product that can be marketed to provide employment and income. So we began with a real sense of purpose, we had clear goals.

An exceptional comradeship was built in these three phases during which time they were laying the foundations of the group's own tacit policies. Members did not seek individual status, preferring their very strong shared identity as Black Umfolosi, confirmed by their controlled discourse; they spoke with one voice and were respected by other artists for never exposing their problems or plans publicly – so they were difficult to imitate.

Starting a business, we came together knowing each other's potential. All squabbles are resolved internally for the good of the group. There has to be discussion and the use of constructive language – people know right from wrong and they must always be trying to improve. It was basically a sort of co-operative, with annual meetings to plan policy and elect people to various positions. These ideas have continued, we don't like to be singled out with big titles like artistic director or choirmaster. Recognising that people need to change and develop, each member takes on a new responsibility every year by election at the AGM. Officers are Chairman, Vice Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer, and others take on the different departments:- Production, Marketing, Finance, and Welfare.

²²⁰ Lucky Moyo, 1993; see also Dzingai Mutumbuka's account.

While still at school they wrote a constitution to guide them in their organisation, and concepts of the value of their cultural heritage – thus documenting an agreed policy. The account has indications of the use of concurrent documentation – bank book, booking forms, and contracts – needed to achieve the next steps in their plan:

Because money was not our first priority we decided not to share out the money straight away but banked it. Our first show, while still at school, brought us eight dollars and we bought exercise books and a pencil, saved the rest. Then we got \$35 for a wedding and used it to book a hall for a bigger show. In 1987 ZIMFEP helped us with good office accommodation when we wanted to be self-employed; our major goal was to revive our culture

Locally Black Umfolosi built a reputation – and an enthusiastic audience – by performing in beer gardens, sports clubs, community halls, hotels, schools, festivals, etc. A major factor in their success overseas was that their agents, World Circuit Arts, had ‘a high opinion of their *reliability* as well as their *product*’. (Personal communication, Annie Hunt, London, 1991). By now they are highly professional, producing documentation to publicise their product and policies internationally, and equally able to recognise how other people’s policies affect their relations and commercial success:

Many groups have good products but poor marketing. They need to develop publicity packaging promotions - to establish themselves - to show they are selling a quality product and to appeal to different audiences. Entertainment market research is not like selling tomatoes – you must identify your own particular audiences and what exactly they want from you, and decide how to get it to them ...and keep in touch with friends all over the world.

Key features of their policy development include the sense of preparing for the future, willingness to learn from selected mentors, and the realistic assessment of resources. As much attention is given to event management as to performance skills, heritage research and new compositions.

Iluba Elimnyama (Patrick Mabena, 1995):

This group came up through the training scheme, the CUSO project (1986) for Theatre for Development. Similar to Black Umfolosi in adopting co-operative principles it was, however, an exogenous (Canadian) conception.²²¹ In development projects it is not unusual for participants to find their own voice and raise critical issues over the content

²²¹ See announcement and invitation to participate in the 1985 booklet.

and delivery of their training as Mabena does here: indeed it is a criterion of success if the conflicts are resolved amicably.

We didn't know exactly what we were in for. So, right from the beginning ... there were a lot of things we had to adjust to. The programme included about 18 people... we were taken more or less like students who were learning.... I think everything about our philosophy ...depended on the way we started off as a group ... All the people that were there, the external forces, the people that were involved, maybe ... made us what we are today. We are the result of that because at the beginning there was so much in-fighting, of people trying to establish themselves as the charismatic leader. And it was important for everybody to fight that, and to know that they are not fighting because they hate or because they would rather be the leader, but to mould an all-round group that won't depend entirely on one person but will work efficiently with all the people concerned.

The interview indicates how difficult it was to establish new tacit policies to bind the group while under the control of exogenous protopolicies: the arguments about gender, leadership, product development, etc. were framed by township habitus. There is little evidence of documentation, though the project organisers must have had a full documented policy and later produced a detailed training document for further workshops (Dennis Smith, 1990). After about two years these young people, who had been almost strangers to each other at the start, had significantly indigenised the foreign framework of their training. Having retained numerous 'progressive' Western memes they applied them to their own cultural production and praxis.

It is painful, because there is the individual within you who has to let go of some beliefs, at times you think ... this idea is so good, you want it pushed, ...but then somebody else brings up another idea and somebody else has another suggestion... could we put together these two ideas, wouldn't they work better this way... and you find the idea which you originally thought was so brilliant ... has been polished now, to something you didn't even envisage; the results of co-operation were better than we had realised they could be.

Less tightly organised and ambitious than Black Umfolosi, Iluba Elimnyama nevertheless provides a marked contrast with the majority of self-starting township groups, many of whom were affiliated to ZACT and embracing a more ideological approach to development (Chifunyise A5). Iluba Elimnyama had been put through a different genre of self-examination in their discovery of unfamiliar relationships, notably concerning gender and team-building. A solid core of about a dozen people remained together having pioneered a co-operative that only marketed its product to development agencies. The

interview brings indicators of consensus about their values, that imply the existence of protopolicies:

When you work on commission you have the boss calling the music ... But then you've got to be honest enough with yourself, you know, to accept anything... because you need the money. If you honestly feel you don't want to do it, then better not do it... Usually it has been community issues and we have ourselves been mostly concerned.²²² We are there within the society to look and comment and not to look and shut up. ..., so that the society can look within itself and say 'Is this okay? Is this not okay?' We are not there to say 'This is so, this is right' but we are being honest and brave enough to speak out.

After working together for ten years they recognised a new problem in co-operation – a reluctance among members to raise disturbing issues for discussion – and wanted strategies to overcome it. There are indicators that they recognise a need for a policy but it is not yet formulated and agreed.

But there again, there's the negative side to it too, which presently the group is trying to fight. ...people are reluctant to come out with things they think might be rejected by other members of the group, 'let's stay within the circle so that we don't upset anybody'. But it's not very progressive. At times you've got to go out of the usual trodden way, to bring out the bestWe shouldn't be afraid to be disturbed... because we worked through that furnace together we now in some way cling to one another and want to stay that fast!

Young Warriors Theatre (Norman Takawira, 1995)

Takawira was still at school in 1986 when scenes of the Soweto riots were being filmed in the western suburbs for *Cry Freedom*. He was recruited as an extra (one of 4000) and took the opportunity to learn about several aspects of direction and acting, and thus became aware of the potential of cultural industries. He founded Young Warriors with school friends, typifying the conception of many groups in the townships at that time. Clearly there is consensus about the basic issues in the constitution:

Well, I struggled to get going myself without money. We worked in theatre for three or four years without getting money. We started with our own subscriptions. But eventually we had to teach ourselves that we have to be prepared to promote the drama as well, to earn a living. So ... you don't go into theatre to be an artist and just starve ... you must be in theatre because you love it and, because you love it, it must give you bread.

²²² For example researching 'democracy' for the CCJP. 'That's very exciting, talking to people and finding their thoughts, you have to consider what has been said before, not only what the group thinks' (Mabhena).

We've got permanent members, eight of them, and we aren't closing doors to anyone who wants to come in. They are free to come and rehearse with us, but if someone ... wants to work with us we take them, but on different terms from the members. Because it's very expensive to run a group of 15 or 20 people! We have a constitution ourselves and we have put that down on record... and we are bound to work together... in case of dissolution, all that is in our papers. When we know we are talking on club business..... it is the eight of us who make that decision.

Young Warriors had worked out their own pragmatic *bricolage* for managing their work without the strong models that had provided the cooperative groups with their structures and strategies.

We work for four hours a day. From 10 o'clock till two o'clock. But we will say to ourselves ... we may not need to have the rehearsal every day, we don't think that's important... We don't need to be rehearsing, rehearsing... no, we need to be doing some other things ... Okay. We will work on the play for four or five days. That's what kills some groups... rehearsing for six or nine weeks but what for? You need to know how long it does take to do a play, but if you try to drag it on longer will it improve?

Although this group had a lower profile in their home town than Amakhosi and Black Umfolosi, Takawira was successful in marketing overseas by targeting their product precisely:

People that you want to get money from, they are the ones you tell more about yourself. I've got plenty of publicity material. I've written a five-page profile of what Young Warriors has done and hopes to do. Every time I talk to a donor I give them a copy of that and also my newspaper cuttings at home I put together in a file and I can make a copy to give to the donors. ... I've got three or four videos, but what I plan to do is to plait them to get one promotional video about 20 minutes long. Well I wouldn't want to rely on things that come to me! We are competing against 40 or 50 groups, what are my chances? I have to go out and sell the idea to the person who wants it. I don't hang about in a line...

As Chairman of Bulawayo Association of Drama Groups, Takawira helped to market Bulawayo's township drama groups.

I had some good connections with an NGO after some successful workshops so they managed to raise some tickets for me that took us to the Eisteddfod in 1991. And from there I used the tickets to get to Scotland and ... managed to convince the directors of two workshops to come and audition groups in Bulawayo. This is how groups in Bulawayo started to get to take part in the Aberdeen festival. I went out and convinced... them to come to Bulawayo. So they came and started auditioning groups and took them over to Aberdeen.

In December 1991 he was harassed in the street by men, presumed to be CIO, who tore up his latest script because it was critical of some aspects of government. The Writers' Union made an issue of it at an emergency meeting and the *Chronicle* reported that they planned

to seek assistance from visiting writers at a UNESCO conference on African literature in February.²²³ Soon after that he was forced out of the chairmanship of BADG, ostensibly for being critical of the work of officers of the District Arts Council. (C63, *Sunday News* 31 May 1992). The interview suggests that Takawira is a formidable leader, a natural manager, but is he using that insight to build an institution secure enough to outlast any one individual? He has clear personal strategies, but it is harder to identify group inputs to policies here.²²⁴ This raises questions for further study about how tacit and protopolicies of institutions arise, how they are influenced by a strong individual and whether they can be regarded as group policies without formal processes and documentation.

Amakhosi Theatre:

It is difficult to describe the structure of this group because it has grown in complexity every year, changing its name with each significant change in direction. In the early years it was based in Stanley Hall, the community hall in Makokoba. Cont Mhlanga was the founder, leader and artistic director. He always claimed to have received no secondary education. The story of their origin has often been told, as in the Daily News, 16-06-2001.

For Mhlanga, it all began in 1980 when he formed a karate group called Blue Dragon. with 90 students. Two years later they changed their name to Amakhosi and Mhlanga attended a workshop in theatre production.²²⁵ He was surprised to discover that most techniques used in acting were also applied in karate teaching. Both demand concentration and action. ... the group decided to concentrate more on theatre than karate because acting was a better activity and had more relevance.

When asked in this interview how his awareness of management developed he has vivid memories of the actions and the thinking behind them, but incorporates what he has learned since into the narrative, using terms like '*result*', '*measurable*' and '*smart*' as key words:

For me it was way back in 1982 - our first real management.... stumbling into management to call an audience in.... We made a play and nobody came. ... and we

²²³ Cont Mhlanga in his role as Chairman of ZIWU had instigated a seminar on copyright protection at UZ in August 1991 in cooperation with KOPINOR, e Reproduction Rights Organisation of Norway and in taking this action on behalf of Takawira was moving into the more politically risky field of the human rights of artists. His progress from the streets of Makokoba to international conference organiser in five years is a measure of his colossal vision and ability.

²²⁴ This thesis has defined policies (Ch 1, p.6) as including short-term and long-term plans, whether written or oral, that represent the agreed intentions of institutions concerning their own internal organisation or how they relate to, or regulate, external individuals or organisations, or both.

²²⁵ The National Theatre Organisation workshop in Stanley Hall, see 'The first five years' in Chapter 6.

challenged ourselves and said ‘Why don't they respect us? We call them for a show and they don't come? We must make these people of Makokoba respect us: they must come to our shows!’ So then management began. “What shall we do to get them into the hall?” We sent out letters to all our friends and their families and.... then we discovered tasks ... we wanted to do lots of things but were not sure how it works so that's how we made our first committee meetings We wanted a result – to put on our show: if they don't come to the hall we will make them respect us – we want to fill the hall. It has to be the right result at the time, not just ‘we want money!’ It was about filling the hall. At that time we didn't really realise that filling the hall meant improving income... we didn't aim at the income By the time we got to 1984 it was filling up and we were much happier... for us the result itself was a very smart result for us. ... We didn't call it ‘advertising’ and ‘audience’ – not all these damn names we are meeting now! But it was specific, measurable, you know, it was nice to see the hall filling.²²⁶... at least we did it, it was there. For me it was making it better, changing it every year. (Mhlanga interview 13-14)

Cont made most of the decisions and was constantly learning, borrowing ideas, modifying and experimenting with them; a master *bricoleur*, he was always years ahead of the rest of us while assessing the capacities of every person and experience available, and creating opportunities for them. By November 1985 Amakhosi had a formal constitution, based on a model English document providing for an executive committee, subcommittees, meetings, financial control, discipline, etc. all of which they implemented. Among the objectives there was already a clear purpose not only to manage the arts - ‘to form a combination of administrated [*sic*] arts with the view to overcoming the death of certain arts due to lack of direction in leadership,’ but also to ‘develop networks for cultural exchange within and outside Zimbabwe’. (Appendix 8-4a) The archive contains a draft of an earlier version with corrections and amendments in Cont's hand adapting the wording to their specific needs. The thoroughness of Amakhosi's approach to their constitution can be compared with that of Shashi Classic six years later (Appendix 8-4b) and of groups in the Midlands described by their cultural officer (see p. 236).

In 1986 Amakhosi made a further leap forward in management. A local journalist directed his own play, *Season of Tears*, with the newly formed Kwayedza Drama Group, mainly National Railways employees, and presented it in the Small City Hall using a stage, curtains, props, and so on in a colonial amateur theatre idiom. They did not see themselves as socialist revolutionaries but as educated, professional people who were merely

²²⁶ Arriving at Nkulumane Community Hall for the first performance of *Ngizozulu Lawe* (1984) we met Cont looking out from the stage door as we came across the empty square under a hot sun. He said he

challenging the exclusion of black people from the centre, which had been their painful experience until independence. The community-based movement commented that it was 'memorable chiefly for its length and admirable for its attempt to do something that had not been done before' but had no respect for such 'apemanship'(see p. 197) agreeing with p'Bitek (1973) 'If the goals of African nationalism are to be achieved after political independence, Africa must discover her true self and rid herself of all "Apemanship" and develop a culture of her own.'

Kwayedza did not last beyond this production, but it had an unplanned impact because, coincidentally, on the same three evenings that Kwayedza had booked the City Hall, Cont Mhlanga had accepted an invitation from the Bulawayo Theatre Club to perform *Nansi le Ndoda* in their theatre in recognition of their winning the NTO award for Best Production. (Ch. 7, p.139). When later the Production Manager realised there would be a clash with the Kwayedza production, she told me that Amakhosi should cancel the Friday performance because 'There can't be an audience for two African plays in the centre of town at the same time.' Cont was livid and sent me back to make the following points:²²⁷

- Amakhosi do not cancel. They have their audience and will not be made to look incompetent – people will be sure to think some of the fault was on our part.

- A firm arrangement has been made in writing and confirmed and then it has been published. It shows no respect for us to push us aside for another person. What did Bulawayo Theatre Club make the arrangement for, if they could so easily set it aside?

- It could be regarded as a deliberate effort to discredit us – Kwayedza and the BTC are known to be acquainted so we look like fools to have fallen for it.

- If you want to alter the arrangements you can get Kwayedza in your cars and come to Stanley Hall to discuss it.

- Our chairman heard it from a journalist before any other information reached us. How can this be?

was looking to see if the people were coming. Soon they had a packed audience of adults of every age and class but I was the only white person there.

²²⁷ From manuscript notes made at the time outside Stanley Hall.

- Our audience already are asking us about this and we have told them. How much harm has been done already?

Mhlanga certainly did not care whether the other group had an audience, for under the circumstances his loyalty was not to any notion of ‘Africans doing theatre’ constructed by a colonial theatre practitioner. His six points show that he already had clear ideas about professional management issues such as competence, contracts, audiences, competition, reputation and image. He was also acutely aware of issues in the culture of the township – such as the impact of malicious gossip and hostile scheming – that the Theatre Club managers had not considered and would not have admitted experiencing as problems in their own community.

Thus the colonial centre of Bulawayo was doubly invaded by the post-colonial periphery. Pasipanodya’s relatively insignificant play became more important for its part in this social reconstruction than for its quality as a performance. An accidental clash between two productions had shaken the complacency of local white theatre and transformed their perspective on African theatre through initiating a conflict over the proposed betrayal of a contract. Instead of performing as a grateful recipient of expert patronage and being bullied by a piece of paper with writing on it, Cont was able to cast himself in a controlling role as the injured party and perform it to a small white audience on their own territory.²²⁸

By 1995 Cont’s understanding of what he has been doing is complex:

Decisions vary in an organisation: some are small decisions, some are collective, some are really BIG. They are not the same. For instance, the way I see it, sometimes people have to make individual decisions for their own interests within an organisation. The organisational interests - say decisions that have group interests, say decisions that have to be made by the cast of ‘Stitsha’, may be completely against the organisational interests of Amakhosi. And it might be bad for the whole organisation or for individuals..... and the cast is still made up of individuals. So for me there are all these layers of decisions.

²²⁸ Amakhosi joked that BTC gave the word ‘invitation’ a new meaning by charging them the normal hire fees! However, they valued it all as part of a many-layered learning experience, including conducting an audience survey to discover which advertising had brought them in, and how to relate to an audience that did not wander in and out during the show, which came in useful when they hired the theatre in the future.

You can try to make limits about who shall make decisions in one layer – I can make a decision for the organisation of Amakhosi, no need for the individual to know why at that level – they'll catch up with it. We then decide on the interests of the individuals but if we need to make a big decision that could change the whole direction of Amakhosi, I can't make that decision on my own. In the process of making decisions everyone in the group must be aware of the different layers involved then they can know what is their own individual decision. It is so hard to work with people who have not made an individual decision. (CM 17-19)

Cont Mhlanga is aware of the how limited are the 'human resources' available but understands that his own people's needs are unlike what Ulrich (1998) predicts – human-resources managers to do what he calls 'the real work of companies: improving customer service and increasing shareholder value.' However where Ulrich (1998) argues that human resources, 'HR', should be focused on results for example 'by executing strategy and developing better ways to manage benefits and information' Cont would concur, having already retained and used that meme with enthusiasm, but without the jargon.

With management in the arts, or rather in cultural industries, one of my main worries is that... they forget – it's easy to talk about it in terms in the way Americans do. But are we saying the level of people you are getting [i.e. on the MS workshop] will really understand 'goal' and 'objective' in their own society? (CM ibid)

Linkfest'97

The whole LINKFEST story is an aspect of management in SADC region. Festival reports 1991 to 1999 show what can was achieved by an inexperienced administration team under the resourceful direction of Nomadlozi Kubheka, whose vision of the community in action has worked as powerfully in urban theatre as in the empowerment of girls and farm workers in rural areas. In 1997 Linkfest was the only event where information about management practices in drama groups throughout the SADC region could be obtained, using a developed version (Appendix 8-6b) of the questionnaire originally produced in 1995 as part of the M-S feasibility study (see p. 216, Appendix 8-6a).

Responses are summarised and tabulated in Appendix 8-7 and some key issues are discussed here. Of forty five questionnaires issued to groups performing at different venues across Bulawayo, fifteen responses (33%) were received. Eight came from Bulawayo, and one each from Namibia, Mozambique, Swaziland, Mauritius, South Africa, and Zambia. The results are not statistically significant but draw attention to

differences and commonalities of their experience at a time when development across the region was still very uneven. English was not the first language of the majority, so the intended meaning²²⁹ of the written questions was often only partly understood and responses were often limited, and indicated that even where English lexical items were recognised much of the grammar and discourse was unfamiliar. In preparing responses there was discussion within groups, codeswitching between their vernacular and English. As in 1995, the project intended to challenge them to grapple with the pressing need to name and recognise concepts of management so that, having transferred the memes into their own brains and language, they could choose to include them in their praxis. 'Failures in communication' signify difference in linguistic and cognitive frameworks between the researcher and respondents, and *not* relative competence: thus the responses are not read simply as wrong or worthless. In several instances unfamiliar language introduced by the researcher in a workshop session was repeated experimentally by the groups as they worked towards a better understanding of the meanings.²³⁰ This case study is not, however, primarily a linguistic exercise: it aims to review the range of administrative and managerial strategies the groups were using and the extent of their self-awareness as social actors 'doing drama'.

Group profiles Languages available to all Bulawayo groups are English, Ndebele and Shona; three of these groups also use Venda, Sotho, Shangani, Ndau and/or Tswana. This diversity is a key feature of the Bulawayo arena, where each language group had a different cultural heritage before coming to Bulawayo. English is common to all the visiting groups except the Mozambiquans who list only Portuguese and Changana; the group from Namibia also has Lozi; from Swaziland, Seswati; from Mauritius, French and Creole; from South Africa, Xhosa, and from Zambia Bemba and Nyanja. The first piece of documentation required officially was a **constitution** (Appendix 8-4). Of the fifteen

²²⁹ Linguists recognise that utterances have four possible meanings (Johnstone 2002, p. 231). Locations of meaning: 1. What the speaker/producer means; 2. what the text itself means; 3. what the listener understands it to mean; 4. social construction in the space between all these.

²³⁰ See Bakhtin, 1986, cited by B. Johnstone on '*appropriation*' 'As people learn how to do things in a language... they must start by borrowing. Learners begin by mimicking words, structures, purposes, and ways of talking that belong to other people. As they use and reuse these borrowed building blocks, successful learners appropriate them or make them their own. What starts as imitation becomes a self-expression, as borrowed discourse strategies and pieces of language are fitted into a person's own set of ways of meaning...' See also Lensmire and Beales. (My translation uses '*assimilation*').

Linkfest responses nine mention the constitution as an important aspect of their work so I feel somewhat vindicated in the intense consideration I gave to the subject in 1988 (Appendix 8-5a) although it was not an appropriate time to open discussion on the topic.

Most Bulawayo groups claimed to be full-time except 38/4 and 44/7, which were established to perform traditional dance and music 17 and 9 years ago respectively. The others, with between 9 and 16 members, had only begun working in drama and other forms of cultural performance since 1990 and thus benefited from the experience of pioneer groups of the mid-eighties, such as Amakhosi, Black Umfolosi, NASA and Iluba Elimnyama, and from the socio-political influences of the ZACT, National Theatre Organisation, Bulawayo Association of Drama Groups, Linkfest, and the Ministry of Education and Culture.

Two of the SADC groups were performing groups; the other six were associations but varied in constitution. Namibia's well-resourced group based in the remote town of Katima Mulilo included two white members from the University; the Zambian group from Ndola with only eight members was based in a community hall and were the closest parallel with the Bulawayo groups. Vukani was not long established in South Africa and came under the care of a deputy director of art and culture of the region. The Mauritius Drama League were more mature and experienced in administration than most of the others and had fifty members based at a theatre. This large and sophisticated urban group nevertheless worked in art forms much like everybody else, such as traditional dance, drama, storytelling and choral singing. From Swaziland came an Association of Swazi theatre groups which had only been together part-time for a year and were just beginning to extend the infrastructure for drama in that small country. The Mozambiquan song and dance group of the Casa da Cultura had 30 full-time members and a stronger political attack than the others. Nevertheless they had a great excitement about them having only been in existence since their Independence in 1992.

Short-term and long-term aims. Despite efforts to clarify the meaning of these items²³¹ very little forward planning was apparent in the responses and few had specific aims. Four groups expressed a desire to travel or tour, and three hoped to achieve 'an income,

sponsorship or funds'. Three were hoping to get a centre or office for their operations. Many spoke of trying to develop cultural awareness, to promote their culture, to promote drama. The closest to the ZACT approach was from Zambia where the educational potential of drama, culture and arts had been conceptualised in the seventies. The Mauritius Drama League were most specific – they were staging a play in September and their long-term aim was to do a full length translation of Shakespeare's Macbeth and the Swaziland Association wanted an office, a coordinator and funds for training. The Mozambicans aimed long-term to become a professional song and dance group for southern Africa. One Bulawayo group referred to developing cultural co-operation and international exchange and another more realistically, wanted to organise regional festivals and performances in Matabeleland South.

There is a great variety of management styles, including planning by elected committees, collective decision-making, ad hoc arrangements as necessary or individual animation. Constitution documents are generally produced concerning membership, objectives and rules. The majority of groups worked on a cash basis most of the time, sharing out the takings between the performers straight after the show, though seven claimed to have bank accounts. Only the Zambians, two Bulawayo groups, the Namibians and the Mauritians said they routinely deposited takings in a bank, and few made regular payments to performers. About half of the respondents claimed to keep financial records. Concerning advertising and imaging there is again a wide variety of experience and awareness. In deeply traditional groups, such as Gazaland United, literacy is low and so access to television is valued; few harness journalists but posters are widely used. Several refer to experience that verbal agreements are unsatisfactory, others rarely use contracts. A few have connections with larger institutions, and value affiliation, advice from cultural officers, etc.

The highest priority in their own work was perceived as planning, placed in first or second position by eleven of the fifteen respondents. The next most important aspects were Managing People, the Constitution and Managing Money. Relatively little importance was given to imaging, documentation and the structure of the arts industry; surprisingly,

²³¹ What is the immediate aim of your group? (i.e. what are you working on right now?)

organizing shows and creating new works were perceived to be the least important activity. In answering question 32 concerning what types of training would be most useful a large majority of groups referred to various performance skills and not to management.

Although there was as yet little appropriation of the global discourse of management, all these groups had 'managed' to get themselves there, six of them travelling long distances and crossing national borders. The organiser, Nomadlozi Kubheka, ensured that they entered the country legally, were accommodated and fed, had an exciting seminar programme as well as their performances, and finally she produced a very full report.

Evidence for the influence of national cultural policies in a rural Province

Sakhile Moyo²³² has been working for 13 months as a Provincial Administrative Officer for Culture in the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture in the Midlands Province, based in Gweru, a small town serving a largely rural agricultural area. Enthusiastic about her work, the language used in this account reflects her thorough knowledge of the policy principles she has encountered in her training and from the Ministry's planning meetings; she adapted the wording of the questionnaire (designed for groups, not for officers), in order to represent the general position of Midlands groups, none of whom were present at Linkfest'97.

The work of the Provincial Office is to administer, coordinate and promote cultural activities, including all the performing arts in their remit. Languages in use in the Midlands Province include Ndebele, Tonga, English, and Shona 'and probably more'. Most of the performing groups do not have a regular performance space or base but give performances at functions organised by the Ministry or cultural organisations, and there is also a serious shortage of resources and facilities for their development. Her role is to assist in coordinating cultural activities and implementing policies as well as to administer the Act. She regards the priorities in her own work as managing people, planning, constitutional matters and managing money. The Ministry's immediate mission is to facilitate unlimited access to participation in all cultural activities by all people irrespective of gender, race, performance ability, geographical location or socio-economic status. The long-term aim is that all people in the Midlands province should appreciate the

value of the 'arts' and their importance in employment creation, income generation and tourism. At the present moment, she said regretfully, the society does not place any economic value on cultural activities.

The management style of the groups varies considerably between groups but generally there is one leading person who deals with most of the responsibilities. In some groups this 'artistic director' decides almost everything whereas in others there will be some consultation possibly involving an adult or mentor. There is little advance planning; planning activities are mostly left to the last-minute or they are not done at all – a clear example of tacit policy in action.

The groups do not distinguish between planning creative work and management as yet, and most have little concept of saving or investing any income received. Not surprisingly, therefore, few of them keep financial records other than a bank book; a major difficulty in managing their finances is the need for three signatures if they use a savings account in the bank. In practice, they prefer to be paid in cash, not cheques or presents, because the income is needed immediately to pay out expenses. Most have prepared neither mission statements nor budget estimates, though some have prepared a business plan or a funding/project proposal. None of them consider producing a promotion and information package or even promoting themselves through press releases and, unlike Bulawayo groups, they rarely produce posters. She is disturbed that most groups still rely on verbal agreements and are not able to value their work in reliable economic terms. It is not unusual, she says, for them to be cheated.

The groups have benefited from the Ministry's provision of an outline of possible aims and objectives which they can use in drawing up their constitutions. The officers are thus enabling performers to access what is little money might be available by grant-aid to groups through being registered under the terms of the National Arts Council Act. Ms Moyo has also assisted members of the groups by running four workshops on management skills, each of which lasted a week.

²³² This account is derived from her responses to the Linkfest 97 questionnaire and a follow-up interview.

A European model

Rosemary Stewart (1985) observes that textbooks commonly describe management as a logical, ordered process in which managers, acting consciously and deliberately, can be observed to plan, organise, coordinate, motivate and control, but that her researches into what managers actually do reveal a dynamic alternative. She finds in Britain and Germany that managers will be socialised into taking a particular approach to work, officially during professional training and unofficially by fellow professionals in the workplace. She considers these as subjective or 'naïve' theories,²³³ which suggests that they can be equated with protopolicies and tacit policies.

Her model of a manager is close to what was done in Bulawayo before anyone was taught anything about management: someone who 'lives in a whirl of activity' in which 'attention switches every few minutes from one subject, problem and person to another'; a person who inhabits 'an uncertain world' where it is necessary to develop a network, where 'relevant information includes gossip and speculation about other people'; and who 'needs to learn how to trade, bargain and compromise'. This busy account of leadership behaviour has elements seen in many drama group leaders and members of co-operatives working in Bulawayo, and even intermittently in band leaders. Stewart recognises that as these managers ascend the management ladder, they increasingly live in a political world where they must learn how to influence people other than subordinates, manoeuvre and enlist support for what they want to do. This also applies to cultural producers in Bulawayo.

Outcomes – memetic interpretation

At the time the purpose was not academic ethnography but 'capacity building', which is now being revisited theoretically from a memetic perspective. Like 19th century missionaries the intention was to be a benevolent vehicle for exogenous memes. The motives of the animateur do affect the choice of information and how it is introduced into the process of transculturation, for example in workshops. There were three points in the

²³³ She cites Laucken (1974) for this view of micro-level behaviour: relatively long-lasting cognitive systems developed by the everyday person based on accumulated knowledge and subjective theoretical convictions.

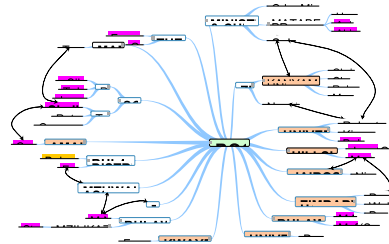
process where cultural workers who were participants could select or reject those memes: that is, where they could have *agency*. First, they could choose to encounter the memes by coming on the workshop or they could reject that invitation and those memes in their entirety; secondly, having encountered new memes during the workshop they could decide to bear some of them in mind, or if the memes were not useful, they could choose not to retain them above level 2. Thirdly, they could accept the usefulness of discussing the memes and using them experimentally in their own practice. During conversation the memes would move between different brains, possibly being modified by internal or external s-interaction. The educator has to decide how to understand these changes: she cannot say the learners have 'got it wrong' or correct them repeatedly until they assimilate the meme unchanged, for development must involve the learners in discussion of how and why they can reconstruct the ideas, if they so wish. People described as 'quick on the uptake' are already involved in s-interaction and aware of making choices and modifications. Rote-learning, which they had experienced in early schooling, was the antithesis of development. Artefacts – documents, diagrams, films, and so on, had less part in the process than reflection on their own activities and dialectical discussion of praxis. The main use of handouts was to make it possible afterwards for participants to continue the experiments, selection and application of potentially useful memes (information) in introducing them to other members of their group.

Developing his working theory of cultural change Auger (2002 pp. 281-94, 329) describes artefacts such as images and books as 'memetic interactors explicitly designed to disseminate memes.' He offers a waggon as an example of 'an artefact that communicates' through the act of visual perception alone. The act of looking at something may make it possible to separate the idea from the instantiation. Mzilikazi's interest in Moffat's waggon, (see p. 83) is a striking eye-witness account of that process of acculturation being carefully observed in action by Moffat. The king's curiosity made him look closely at the wheels and in perceiving some of the details of the unfamiliar technology he became the willing recipient of some of the *ideas* that had led to the inventor's original creation – and he could acquire a memetic copy of the idea of 'efficient transportation of heavy objects using wheels' although without appropriate technologies he would be unlikely to raise that

meme to level 4, and manufacture his own version of 'waggon'. The interaction of artefacts and people having some knowledge (however little initially) of the relevant technology thus can lead to the migration of memes across cultural boundaries. If the receivers (or would-be imitators) of the memetic copy cannot actually manufacture the desired artefact they may acquire it by barter, purchase, borrowing or theft – if those memes and words (or other signifiers) are available. Memetic theory is certainly not yet far developed, but it has potential to detach analysis of the movement of cultural information between people from the power relations between them; and that may be useful in reducing the effect of political or emotional bias.

NETWORKING OF SOCIAL ACTORS LINKED VIA THE BOOKLET 'WHAT HAPPENED IN DRAMA IN BULAWAYO IN 1985?'

The activities discussed in Chapter 8 developed from this basis in the following decade



CHAPTER NINE

Review of findings

Policy processes

The multiple-case study approach has made it possible to bring together a variety of theoretical perspectives in the search for useful social constructions of the pre-policy situation in post-colonial Zimbabwe. Because the life of people in central Africa is often unfamiliar or misrepresented to European readers, in this academic context it has been a key strategy to provide the reader with as much vicarious experience as possible, and to represent the social actors as far as possible through transcriptions (rather than paraphrases) of their own words. It is acknowledged, however, that the ideas they create and play with in their first language remain tantalisingly inaccessible.

The proposed theoretical treatment of tacit policy, protopolicy and documented policy at the very porous boundaries between oracy and literacy can be applied at all levels of institutional complexity from 'naïve' groups to process-rich international conventions. The oldest must be **tacit policy**, governed by local cultural practices and the common sense of people living together. Second is **protopolicy**, that denotes a distinct and debated agenda for action that is not written down but has important structural and functional elements such as a) forward planning; b) leadership roles and the allocation of tasks and responsibilities; c) anticipation of problems, consideration of alternative approaches and contingency plans. Apparently more complex is **documented policy** which, being enshrined in a document, theoretically possesses additional properties that the other types do not have, such as relative permanence, transparency and verifiability. This type of policy can travel through space and time because the document *stores memes and carries them unchanged* beyond the local arena where dynamic tacit and protopolicies are adequate for most purposes to more powerful institutions in the wider world. In principle, it will also reach down to the people whose lives are affected by it, though in practice that rarely happens. While the boundaries between these forms of policy might be uncertain, recognition of the distinctions between the three foci is helpful in recognising what is

actually going on when people are implementing plans, whether written or not. Where literacy is limiting, people still get things done orally – by tacit and protopolicies – on the basis of memes retained in the brains of the people.

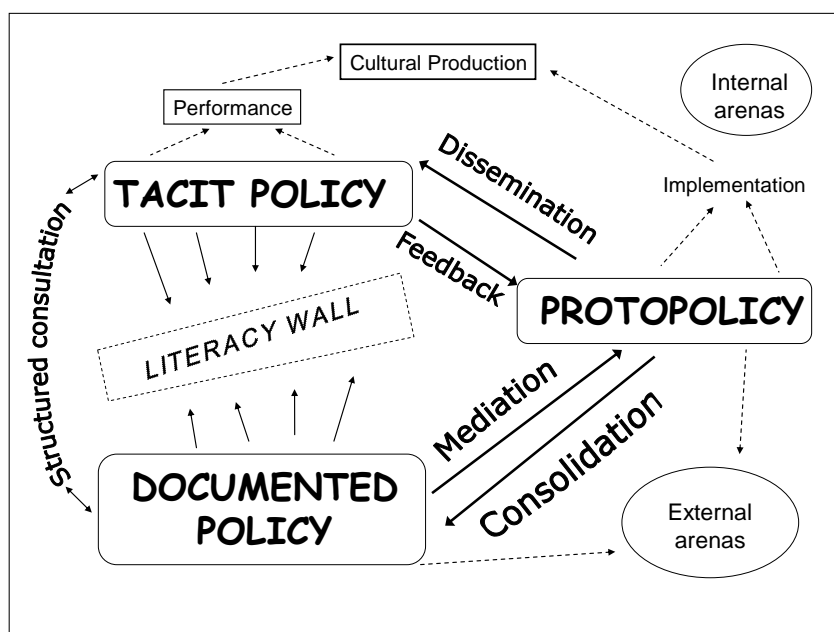


Diagram 9-1 Relationships between policy processes in the cultural domain.

Having examined the content and purpose of the ruling documents (Chapter 5) a major question arose: What is there *before* policies are documented? This was where, to a scientist, the term 'protopolicy' seemed suitable. It has gradually emerged as signifying activity that shares many of the cognitive or structural aspects of formal policy production but it remains *undocumented, transient, unrecorded* and therefore in many situations *unresearchable*. But its recognition helped the research to address some of the vexing questions about documented policy such as - Why are documented policies ignored even if they are produced? Who constructs them, for whom, and for what purposes? How necessary are they for people who are becoming conscientized?

Although in many situations tacit policy processes precede the others, once plans have been imagined there is continuing feedback and emendation between them all. (Diagram

9-1). Once this simple relationship is recognised the naming and theory can be useful in understanding how policies are generated, refined and implemented in practical situations where institutions, procedures and trained personnel specialising in policy development are not in place. This can be construed as a '**pre-policy situation**'. It has been typical when independent government has replaced colonial domination and may also occur in more stable situations where major changes are sought and an ideology that approves of public participation exists. Although the theory has arisen in a study of the origins of Cultural Policy in particular it could have implications for any policy area. It has been found relevant, for example, in the dynamic policy climate of Wales (where many aspects of governance are now devolved from Westminster), particularly in negotiations between service users and administrators charged with delivering health services to the people in Wales.

Tacit policy

Tacit policy processes are governed locally by the cultural practices and common sense of the people in the group. This is how they talk and think in the vernacular at home, at work and in the street. They know each other so well that they take nearly all their behaviour for granted but to an outsider planning may appear only rudimentary because so little needs to be spoken. Thinking about the individual functioning in this domain, Polanyi (1962) wrote 'there are things that we know but cannot tell' and theorises that 'we are generally unable to tell what particulars we are aware of when attending to a coherent entity which they constitute.' Co-operative and consensual, tacit policies tend to be persistent and to resist innovation because people say 'He *knows* what he should do,' and it is unusual (but not impossible) for someone to act otherwise.' This ties in with the idea that much of this knowledge, categorised in this thesis as memes, is *repeatedly copied* within the family and local community on the basis of multi-sensory reception of information, until talk is often almost unnecessary.

Where there is planned communal action, whether or not it includes a documented dimension, tacit and proto-policies are always present and occur simultaneously. Their occurrence is not merely linear in time or complexity, nor are they necessarily followed by documented policies, though they may precede and influence them. Quite often, however, a further reverse process is at work obscuring the distinctions; this is the transformation of

documented or protopolicies into tacit policy through processes of dissemination in training programmes and more generally in the community through imitation, gossip and mass media. It is not uncommon for the rigor of the documented policy to be modified in entering dynamic oral texts. This may vitiate the intentions of the policy-producers but is not a sign of incapacity in the individuals but of their particular interests (Levi-Strause, 1966). Memetics would interpret it as selective-interaction that weeds out the unsuccessful memes, together with 'weaselling' of the memes that are retained and replicated. It should be possible to trace meme lineages from their derivation in verifiable documents to the oral forms that are transmitted through the population.

Protopolicy

Protopolicy is generated by some sort of institution – defined by Speel (1997) as 'at least minimally structured by some recognised set of rules, according to which specific actors or individuals behave; in other words, stable patterns of behaviour' – in a slightly more formal context than the communalism that uses tacit policies.

Protopolicy is a dynamic plan of action, produced through dialectical, often plurilingual, discussion among interested parties aiming to achieve agreed objectives through an institution as described by Malinowsky (1961). Protopolicies are accountable to people's memories of that discussion and agreement and, being known by the people concerned, have some status and authority. They differ from documented policy in being highly adaptable. Although there is some foresight and contingency planning, procedures can be changed informally and quickly by authorised individuals in response to unforeseen events. An example that developed at national level is recorded in Chifunyise's feature *Theatre Day*. This depended initially on two institutions – the Government and Zimfep – providing a frame within which individuals were able to meet, discuss and agree on plans. Little of this cultural action was documented in advance but new memes were being introduced and disseminated, and thereafter selected or rejected in many local contexts, implemented and evaluated.

By the end of 1987 there were not less than 10 full-time theatre groups in Zimbabwe out of an estimated total of 130 formed since 1980. These full-time theatre groups have not been born out of the well-established, well-funded and well-equipped theatre clubs but have come out of the community as a result of a democratic theatre movement. Equally important is the fact that these pioneers of professional theatre in

Zimbabwe are not winners of best actor or actress awards which are conferred annually by foreign theatre adjudicators but are predominantly school-leavers who have acquired theatre skills through community-based theatre workshops and collective-production techniques (Chifunyise 1988, 6-B10).

The great disadvantage of protopolicy is that it is easily overtaken, repossessed and corrupted by individuals with an alternative *personal* agenda, in which case it may be termed 'deformed'. It is therefore necessary to define policy in terms of institutions, however small or naïve, and not as an individual's vision or agenda. Protopolicy can (so far) also be used for the cognitive processes harnessed by people responsible for translating a documented policy from the dominant language to the vernacular: they act as **cultural interpreters** who are trusted and bound by the document, but within that frame are free to interpret not merely words but behaviours and strategies.²³⁴ Corruption of historical processes can begin here through deliberate deviousness or unintentionally because of misunderstanding, misinterpretation and misconceptions, which occur even between professional diplomats with consequent failure of their negotiations (al Mulla 1988). In another application of the theory, in an effectively monolingual social arena a similar situation intervenes because at the boundary between oral and literate social classes the ability to read and write gives status, confidence and great power *for good or ill*. The success of a project depends on the manager's ability to produce bridges between the unlettered cultural actors and the people with money, local power and other capacities. Diagram 9-1 indicates the oral role of protopolicy in disseminating information to *analphabetic* cultural performers and receiving their feedback. The only direct contact between the producers of documents and those social actors needed special arrangements for structured consultation; one example noticed by the press was the time in October 1995 when Minister Mangwende set up meetings to negotiate with the ZUM about arrangements for the SADC music festival (*Herald* C112, *Chronicle* 113).

The Music Revival Show was the seminal case study because it revealed the occurrence of these different policy processes more clearly than any other did, and disengaged them from dependence on documentation. This important realisation was due to the wide variation in literacy of the plurilingual participants that made it essential to recognise cultural activity

²³⁴ Bhabha (1994, p.87) refers to 'the mimic man' as originating with Macaulay's view (1835) of interpreters as a class of persons Indian in blood and colour but English in tastes, opinions, in morals

in Bulawayo was occurring at the fuzzy boundary between oracy and literacy. The event happened successfully with only one or two people available to read, write and transmit the few essential documents. An important corollary was to recognise that the reservoir of traditional cultural practice and performance was fragile, stored only in memory, and that literacy would not increase that sort of knowledge – indeed might well reduce its volume – even though it could assist new creative practices to emerge from new experiences and thoughts.

Documented policy

Documented policies are *not* more important (a reasonable view for those who write them) but they are generally regarded as authoritative by everyone else, a property that depends on the process of committing ideas formally to writing. Here Smith's revelations of how documents structure society, Goody's ideas about the impact of *écriture* on language and how writing structures thinking, and Bakhtin's theories of copying in language appropriation, have come together. Often the people most affected by a policy are very dependant on its interpretation by professionals and the mediation introduces additional protopolicies and tacit policies to regulate the 'relations of ruling' (Smith 1999). The powerful properties of a documented policy include those of any document and are more useful to the ruling classes than to the masses. In summary these are:

- freedom from temporality (move through time)
- persistence (last a long time, can be stored)
- exactly reproducible for spatial dispersion (can be copied and widely distributed)
- stability (not easy to change)
- authoritative, establishing and conserving a *status quo* (respected by citizens)
- prescriptive and controlling (can say exactly what should be done)
- monitoring behaviours (a reference point for resolving disputes)
- use of dominant language (inaccessible to the unlettered, or L2 speakers)
- objectification of society (depersonalise assumptions, values, etc.)
- marked by context of production (produced in a system for ruling people)

and in intellect' who are now the effect of a flawed colonial mimesis in which to be Anglicised is *emphatically* not to be English.

In the early phases of cultural production in Zimbabwe most groups produced documentation as a necessary strategy to manipulate or satisfy external funding agencies supporting a project, but some paperwork was helpful for the smooth implementation of their own plans. In order to clarify concepts of policy documentation in practice key aspects can be distinguished and named. The prevailing and persistent purpose of the ruling classes in the governance of culture is to determine how others should think, organise and act; often project documents are not open to negotiation. Those with smaller ambitions do nevertheless find it useful to refer to models of subsidiary types of document. It is helpful to distinguish three varieties of documentation in policy analysis, here termed prior, concurrent and retrospective documentation. Table 9-1 summarises their features; examples have been referred to earlier and many more are archived.

| | PRIOR DOCUMENTATION | CONCURRENT DOCUMENTATION | RETROSPECTIVE DOCUMENTATION |
|----------|--|---|--|
| Produced | Before implementation | During implementation | After implementation: |
| Purposes | Planning procedures | Communicative | Narrative account |
| | Budgeting | Executive action | Financial accounting |
| | Authorisation | Financial records | Evaluation |
| | Prescription | Contingencies | |
| | Regulation | | |
| | Frame for appraisal | | |
| Context | Depends on demands of civil institutions and policy environment: e.g. Constitutions Project proposals Contracts | Functional, necessary in order to proceed: e.g. Advertisements Cash book Letters | Reports sent to: e.g. Funders Media/Journals Archives Participants |

Table 9-1 Roles of documentation in event management and policy process

Prior documentation is pro-active and largely prescriptive; it includes the globalised concept of national and supra-national policy-making that the developed world demands, and on a smaller or local scale includes approved, detailed project plans. It regulates and authorises planned actions and may be used to disseminate necessary memes to participants and interested parties. In global neo-liberal cultural production ability to produce such complex documentation is a *sine qua non* for receiving funding and since it is difficult to do, this requirement has led to the emergence of specialist managers who

even can enhance their income by offering *prior* prior documentation called feasibility studies!

Concurrent documentation is functional and often ephemeral, produced during the implementation phase to facilitate necessary management processes and co-operation. It tends to be private but not very confidential, and its contents belong mainly in the domain of protopolicy. Much of the thesis archive is of this genre. **Retrospective** documentation is produced after the event to meet some sort of demand for accountability, to reflect critically on results and achievements, and to communicate information about the group's capacities and reputation. It may be disseminated privately or by agents and advertisements or through the mass media and now on the internet and is important in developing a professional image.

Barriers

So far we have been concerned principally with how policies are generated, but after success in producing an agreed policy it needs to be realised in effective implementation otherwise its production is mere futility. Creative cultural producers are not always keen to be policy experts: as the Linkfest organiser, Nomadlozi Kubheka, said, she was only interested in policies that helped in her work. This led to the recognition in Chapter 5 that 'barriers to implementation' exist – it is not correct to blame the people as 'failing' because there is often a great gulf between people with power – and responsibility – who produce documented policies and those who are supposed to benefit from or comply with those policies at street level even though they rarely see the policy documents. That claim was inevitable in the light of lived experience in Bulawayo and elsewhere and close reading of UNESCO's reports in the 1970s on national science policies (Ch. 2, p. 31). It was also rebellious because early literature searches about 'policy' and 'implementation' were frustrating since there was so much bias in favour of interpretations and evaluations grounded in the developed world. The prescriptive approaches of the 1970s seeking 'perfect management' and rationalist models of implementation (Dunsire, Younis and Davidson, 1990) were the antithesis of our emerging praxis. Their assumptions were inappropriate for my research arena, and as a result I resisted what Mudimbe calls 'the

disciplining of Africa' until finding more radical views that emerged in the eighties. (Sabatier, 1986; Hogwood & Gunn, 1984).

In re-examining this issue the thesis recognises that a process of "cultural translation" is essential to place the content of documented policies into the domain where tacit policy operates, and in an *espace métisse* this requires an agent who is not only bilingual but also bicultural. The role of protopolicies is expanded in a second proposition: a *hierarchy* of intermediaries is needed as 'socio-cultural translators' or even 'social animateurs' to devise more adaptive protopolicies consistent with the provisions of the documented policy and to communicate them in the vernacular to influence the tacit policies used at home, at work and in the street. Without this dissemination of ideas the community is unlikely to become interested in bringing on *unimaginable* changes, low value will be given to change, stultifying taboos and mores will not be challenged and cultural inertia will persist. The government had given priority to education provision, and although obliged to retreat from the socialist vision of ZIMFEP curricula, the increasing impact of literacy and basic secondary education quickly produced a future-oriented generation. The barriers remained but the major ones, the literacy wall and the fear of change, were very much reduced.

The notions of tacit policy and proto-policy plaited together with the documented policy that modernity demands made it possible to recognise the part they play in the development of organisational skills leading to the wide range of patterns of 'management' that emerged in the mid-eighties. These categories having been named and identified, the hypothesis can be applied to analysing specific problems of policy implementation. It is now proposed that exogenous influences could be unsuccessful (as evaluated by external criteria) because key social actors, unfamiliar with the discourse leading to the controlling policy documents, nevertheless recognise their *own version* of the intended purpose. In doing so they begin to evaluate *in their own terms* the achievability of the proposals offered them, and instead produce deformed protopolicies towards implementing *their own intentions*. This process could be viewed as either co-operative or manipulative, setting up in the vernacular a discourse that is impenetrable to outsiders and reveals only what is, in the insider view, necessary or acceptable for an

outsider to know. It is not surprising if the resulting tacit policies therefore deflect action. It was sensible on the one hand for development professionals to strategise so that locally generated goals and dynamic policies coincided with theirs from the start: and on the other hand, for indigenous recipients of exogenous project support to decolonise their own tacit knowledge so that it can be preserved, protected and diversified through being used in positive cultural action. Once the armed struggle is over cultural action for freedom has to oppose a new type of oppression that is related to deeply embedded traditions that are now anachronistic because they prevent the evolution of tacit policies through the acquisition of new memes.

Themes and problems

Several threads or themes have been developing during this research period. Initially, **contrasts** between the self-reliant animation driving cultural production in Amakhosi and the township networks that produced the Music Revival Show dominated my memories. Recognition of the interplay of endogenous and exogenous factors in development was another early theme that was reflected in the daily negotiations required to avoid universalising my own exogenous assumptions and commonsense (Garfinkel). Through immersion in the life of Bulawayo came recognition of different possibilities: the remnants of static, reactionary Rhodesian attitudes to black-white segregation were sharply contrasted with an already postmodern uncertainty and optimism in the black majority. Shared cultural action had potential to defuse these tensions but only if manifestly directed towards the increasing freedom of all citizens in revolutionary terms. Freire warned that whereas cultural revolution proposes freedom as its goal, cultural action, if sponsored by the oppressive regime, can be a *strategy for domination* in which case it can never become cultural revolution.²³⁵ Cultural imperialism survived and still had to be resisted, as revealed in the discourse analysis. At the same time the revolutionary zeal that won the war faded as excombatants rejoined the civil society and the lexical analysis of keywords used by revolutionary cadres indicates shifts in the political and economic climate.

Several chapters have indicated the disappointingly slow growth of a Zimbabwean **cultural industry**. The lack of investment in training and the reliance on small-scale

²³⁵ The South African apartheid regime, for example, fostered cultural separateness between 'tribes'.

initiatives by performing groups was only slightly offset by the organisation of festivals. Cultural officers in the Ministry provided the most effective personnel in this domain, whereas the Board of the National Arts Council, chained by an inappropriate Act, was unable to realise its potential to initiate national programmes for cultural action or build a cultural industry that could continue the liberation of the people in the rural areas. On the whole it was urban-based groups that toured with performances away from town and who thereby achieved some small economic benefit – but at the expense of their rural audiences because money that had been circulating in the villages was taken back to the urban base. The cultural traditions and identity of Matabeleland's rural people were better served than in several other provinces, enhanced by their attachment to the related Zulu people just over the border in South Africa and the enthusiasm of the cultural officers of Arts Council and the Ministry.

Two important themes have developed from Raymond William's revolutionary work in cultural analysis in Britain: firstly the notion that 'culture is ordinary' is equally applicable to the cultural life of ordinary people in Wales and Matabeleland and that, while appreciating 'the arts', it is not necessary to become a victim of elitism or relativism. Secondly, the importance he gives to keywords – recognising that changes in their use and meaning reflect changes in social history – led to detailed lexical studies of the texts available in the archive, particularly of revolutionary documents before Independence and the writings of S. J. Chifunyise as cultural action in the country progressed. Though neither of these appears in the foreground now, they remain important framing concepts.

Mudimbe's work was important because he talked about an Africa of ideas, of hybridity and a pervading sense of homelessness. The strange relations between black and white people in the eighties made it important to discover what relationships had been like when white settlers had accepted the rule of the black king. The way identity myths had been locked in those early days gave the research an unexpected historic edge. Having laid those ghosts of identity myths to rest, the same texts became far more important as a source of exciting information about early cultural practices of the Ndebele, though those white-authored accounts cannot compare with the work waiting to be done to collect and archive of memories of cultural practices and performances from eyewitnesses.

Recognition of the porous boundary between oracy and literacy is central to explaining how misunderstandings arise and could be resolved. Dorothy Smith's feminist attack on how oppressed people are dominated by documents created by others with power, and how they had been silenced by the relations of ruling opens up a related area that merits research. It was useful, early in the research, to make a detailed study of the Zimbabwean documents regulating cultural production which played so small a part in the dynamic cultural action of the eighties. Experience had already shown how people can devise strategies for avoiding unhelpful documentation for their own good or nefarious purposes. The cultural policies produced by Botswana and Uganda are evidence that alternative distinctively African formulations are possible: both with a history as Protectorates that left them with much less anger than the colonialism their neighbouring states endured.

The technical difficulties of multiple case study as a methodology were considerable, particularly because they were each rooted in a different discipline. Nevertheless, by the refocusing of ideas through these different prisms and then returning to the key issues of cultural policy and Bulawayo (rather than the whole of Zimbabwe) it became possible to unify the thesis. The use of memetic theory is academically problematic but, I believe defensible; it kept returning as a unifying approach providing an objective perspective and distance from the emotion so often connected with cultural difference. It avoids thinking 'this is better than that or the other' through conceptualising that memes are elements in competition, whose retention will depend on a dialectic in which people have agency, making choices and contributing significant cognitive understanding of their social interactions.

National and Regional issues

Madzadzavara (1991) observed to the Extended Committee for the Decade that cultural work was divided among several government departments (Appendix 2-5) causing a variety of funding and coordination problems. It was a legacy of the Rhodesian regime that became a major constraint on the development of cultural production and cultural industries, and was associated in Zimbabwe with the existence of several different Acts of Parliament regulating their powers and procedures (Appendix 5-3). In the 1990s

Chifunyise often referred to problems arising in Zimbabwe and the whole SADC region because of the number and different status of the ministries involved:

In many countries of Southern Africa, various cultural dimensions have been scattered in different ministries without a common reference point or co-ordination mainly because of the absence of practical cultural policies. Within the SADCC, culture has not been a priority sector (Jan. 1992, 11-C42).

There is therefore an urgent need for a task force comprising all sectors of the cultural industry, both formal and informal that will produce a collective and detailed petition or recommendation to government in this regard (21 May 93, 19A-C86A)

Information concerning the meetings of the Sector is sent to Ministries which do not have either the list of the appropriate organisations to be encouraged to take part in the meetings or the knowledge of whether the organisations have received invitations directly from the Sector Coordinator (21 May 1994, 21A-C94A)

The same fledgling cultural industry is undermined critically by the absence of a comprehensive national policy on the funding of employment creation and income-generating in the arts. (Sept. 1994, 22-C95 Introduction, p.1)

While the existence of diverse government and parastatal structures which are responsible for cultural action has some advantages, there are serious disadvantages caused by poor co-ordination of policies resulting from the multiplicity of these structures. The growth of cultural industries has in fact been given varying status by different ministries and departments concerned with culture while many artists have often not known the ministry responsible for their cultural industry. (Sept. 1994, 22-C95 para. 3.6, p.6.)

Although in principle the SADC region might seem to have a natural potential for developing a unified geographical, cultural and economic identity this still has not happened in the cultural sector. An analysis of the complex reasons for this stagnation may achieve less than would result from simple but reliable funding schemes for training in management, performance and information technology. Cultural praxis will continue to survive for an interim period through loving attention to the nourishment of tacit and protopolicies rather than by competitively generating documented policies that are modelled on those of the Council of Europe. It is over forty years since UNESCO's Monaco Round Table conference in 1967 took the view that :

In the transition from cultural life's being regarded as an individual or private matter to its conceptualisation as a necessity meriting public social action, it is advantageous for a national cultural policy to be consistent with local practice so that it can be understood and used' Monaco Round Table 1967 (Report, 1969 p. 36-7).

Civil War - the struggles for independence - took priority in Southern Africa and the task of cultural policy production has been slow to proceed so far, as Chifunyise has pointed out, because of the weakness of necessary institutions.

Conclusions

The initial proposition was that the intensive development of creative activity in the arts and the regeneration of traditional culture in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, soon after Independence resulted mainly from the work of self-motivated practitioners at grassroots level, not from top-down institutional cultural policies. Initially these social actors are seen as constructing their own unwritten and often naive 'policies'. Academic analysis of policy implementation in the 1970s emphasised failure but in the eighties a more reasonable view began to emerge that policy documents cannot be a perfect blueprint for action. My insider/outsider approach was not reflected in the literature where the aim was rarely to understand implementation before finding out what problems foreign interventions, however well-intentioned, raised in practice. Yet by 1979 UNESCO had developed a unifying concept of cultural policy connecting all fields of creativity (Chapter 2 note 9).

Cultural policy and science policy become jointly committed to increasing both individual and collective creative potentialities. It should be recognised that reciprocal relationships between science and cultural policy have not yet received all the attention they deserve, either at national or international level (UNESCO 1979a p.21 para. 7b).

Clearly a policy document generated outside the arena of operation is not enough to ensure development. The mongrel NACZ Act is a case in point. Few people read it or tried to implement its provisions and so its democratic clauses did not offset the controlling assumptions of a persistent dualism originating in polarities constructed by early settlers, such as white/black, we/them, civilisation/barbarism.

The first case study was surprising in that it revealed previously unnoticed concomitants of 'documented policies' showing that plurilingual cultural workers constructed, modified and implemented their own 'tacit policies' and 'proto-policies' as they saw the need. Even in this one small project, these types of policy process revealed themselves and it was possible to theorise them as emerging from 'common sense' in oral discourse. The work of the organisers produced innumerable examples of both 'tacit policies' and 'proto-policies' generating distinct but concurrent and connected forms of social action during cultural production. The next empirical chapter was necessary to explore how language was being used to express both ideological conflict and positive social action. The discourse about ideology, culture and identity in the main two ethnic groups was so

uncompromisingly different that cross-cultural communication was generally unsuccessful; this frustrated progress towards the new, non-racial national identity envisioned by government. Evidence of this failure has been found by analysis of lexis and discourse features in texts produced and informally retained in 1986-7 when the naming and ownership of 'theatre' was vigorously contested without any reference to documented policies.

Presumptions were necessarily and often painfully brought into the open, recognised as oppressive, actively challenged and changed. Formerly, the oppressed achieved survival through a performance of consent, the abdication of any claim to rights and the denial of pain (responses that Wildavsky (1994) was willing to describe as 'fatalism'). These behaviours were already present in the meme-pool of a tenacious people meeting the ancient need to solve environmental problems. The more recent obliteration of many public signs of cultural memory by colonial rule did not prevent the memes from being transmitted privately in families and streets where a new variety of tacit policy grounded in conscientization was emerging in a younger generation.

I have argued that (a) the government's formal policy to provide education for all was revolutionary and enabled the younger generation to construct new opportunities; (b) their unwritten 'policies in practice' for democratising culture were undermined by lack of funding and by the documentary attempt to compromise a dynamic socialist transformation with static colonial traditions misleadingly represented as 'international'; (c) funding policies of neo-colonial development agencies and non-governmental organisations were the major factor in establishing international management discourse. All these policy positions had exogenous origins but were adapted by the increasing numbers of Zimbabwean performers who performed in other countries.

The concentration of cultural meaning in oral forms and expressive behaviour without writing prevents their thoughts and values from being carried far in time or space. As access to literacy increases in the population, the advantages and constraints of documentation become important. Nevertheless, tacit & protopolicy processes remain essential, binding actor networks together. These dynamic ways of getting things done resists external management: alien strategies to subvert or control them include

propaganda, rational persuasion or physical compulsion. All these were there in Matabeleland. Cultural power was not a matter of majority rule: each individual carried a variety of memes from the *espace métisse* and hence each experienced trans-cultural conflicts of their own; these were resolved through processes of cultural *bricolage* in which groups were often more effective than individuals. The visionary influence of acknowledged leaders and individual creative artists was, however, also highly significant in achieving consensus. Although socialist ideology faded with ESAP, and documented national cultural policies were unsatisfactory, Zimbabwean cultural production remains varied and successful, being grounded in pragmatic 'policies in practice' that respect the creativity and self-reliance of local cultural performers. The thesis questions the value of exogenous memes in authentic cultural production and institutions unless they can be mediated in indigenous languages and values, and suggests that Zimbabwe's experience may be of interest to countries facing similar problems as they emerge from constraints of orality, war or oppression.

* * * * *

APPENDIX 2-1

Print Media

| | | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------|------------|---------------------------|
| The Herald | Harare/National | Daily | Broadsheet |
| The Chronicle | Bulawayo | Daily | Tabloid |
| Daily Gazette | Bulawayo | Daily | Independent |
| Sunday Mail | Harare/National | Weekly | Broadsheet |
| Sunday News | Bulawayo | Weekly | Tabloid |
| Financial Gazette | Harare | Weekly | Finance, economics |
| Parade (later Horizon) | Harare/National | Monthly | Magazine: current affairs |
| Prize Africa | Harare/National | Monthly | Magazine, pop, sport |
| Bulawayo Bulletin | Bulawayo | Monthly | White Community news |
| Workers' / People's Voice | Harare | Monthly | Trades Union/Socialist |
| Zimbabwe News | Harare | Monthly | ZANU(PF) political news |
| Moto | Gweru | Monthly | Catholic: current affairs |
| Teachers' Forum | National | Monthly | Ministry of Education |
| SAPEM | Regional | Bimonthly | Politics & economics |
| Nomdlalo/Vox Pop | Makokoba, Byo. | Occasional | Amakhosi/arts news |

Daily papers, *The Herald* (broadsheet) and *The Chronicle* (tabloid), on Fridays provided a dedicated 'Showpage' in which performance previews were more important than reviews, and gossip was featured; on other days serious news of arts and culture might be included. *Sunday Mail* and *Sunday News* had a similar Showpage and longer features. All four papers were generally pro-government but those from Bulawayo had more sense of difference where local interests were at issue.

Parade (later relaunched as *Horizon*) was a popular monthly magazine with an emphasis on leisure – sports and music – but with well-researched investigative features on matters of socio-political interest. *The Bulletin* had a limited distribution among a mainly white readership in Bulawayo.

APPENDIX 2-2

Case Studies: resources

| Subjects | Themes |
|---|--|
| 1) Documentary framework of culture in Zimbabwe | Relevance of literacy, need for documents |
| 2) Bulawayo Music Revival Show | Township traditions for event management |
| 3) Isavutha kwela music revival project | Role of an urban music tradition , management |
| 4) Emerging Policy | Policy in Practice |
| a) Chifunyise Texts | Dissemination of information |
| b) Government Papers | Consolidation of policy |
| c) Media and civil society | Consultation, dissemination and debate |
| 5) Impact of filming - <i>Cry Freedom</i> | Exogenous private enterprise |
| 6) Amakhosi Theatre and Black Umfolosi | Contrasting management styles from interviews |
| 7) Community based theatre | Younger generation, socialist ideology |
| 8) Arts Management workshop, project animation | Questionnaires: contemporary indigenous concepts |
| 9) Unionism | Institution building |
| 10) Corruption | Naming and interpreting other behaviour |
| 11) 19th century | Basis for 20 th century identities |
| a) AmaNdebele cultural practices | Visual and verbal sources on Ndebele culture |
| b) Rhodesian 'aesthetics' | Different ways of being British |
| 12) Revolutionary discourse | Socialism and nationalism, use of culture |
| 13) Rhodesian Dual Policy - Education | Reproduction of racist institutionalism |
| 14) Postcolonial cultural conflicts | Ownership & naming of 'international theatre' |
| 16) Project funding | Exogenous donors & development agencies |
| 17) Maliki cartoons exhibition | Indigenous comment and humour; event management |

APPENDIX 2-3

Case Study Analysis : Parameters in Cultural Performance

This frame was the product of cross-case reviews attempting to find ways to compare management, creative perspectives, etc. in different projects in cultural production. It provides a checklist of abstractions for describing the dynamic of the group. Since it is impossible to *quantify* the parameters it represents only a stage in developing the multiple-case study approach, and is included here to give the reader insight into the hermeneutics of the research, the conscientizing of the researcher.

The approach belongs in the constructivist paradigm, resisting positivist assumptions and attempting to present the constructions of ‘stakeholders’ in ways they would approve (Guba and Lincoln). Although of no *quantitative* use, without it both performance and analysis

| PARAMETER | SCALE | | | | |
|--|-------------------|---|---|---|--------------------|
| REGISTER USED FOR ‣ PERFORMANCE ‣ MANAGEMENT | oral oral | 1 | 2 | 3 | written written |
| LINGUALITY | monolingual | | | | multilingual |
| ORIGINS OF IDEA | individual vision | | | | shared intention |
| POLICY BASIS | tacit | | | | document |
| CREATIVITY | innovative | | | | imitative |
| PROCESS | spontaneous | | | | Planned |
| RESULTS OF ACTIVITY | adaptive | | | | conservative |
| DIRECTION OF DEVELOPMENT | transitional | | | | traditional |
| GROUP AUTHORITY | individualism | | | | communalism |
| PURPOSE/DRIVING FORCE | intuitive value | | | | financial gain |
| CULTURAL BASE (DISCOURSE) | endogenous | | | | exogenous |

would be constrained by categories of art forms and management criteria familiar from European cultural production. Many of these parameters were not a matter of conscious choice for the participants or leaders but were the cognitive and creative elements of the human resource; I suggest that they can be regarded as indicators of the memes that were available. Each can be observed by an outsider and through discussion may become increasingly available to the participants as they become more conscientised and motivated to take control of their production.

APPENDIX 2-4

Stephen J. Chifunyise biography

| | |
|-------------|---|
| 1974 | Appointed to University of Zambia. Lecturing in language and literature department, with increasing interest in theatre. |
| 1975 - 1976 | His lectureship was a Staff Development position so he went to UCLA in California and obtained an MA in Theatre Studies |
| 1976 | Returned to the University of Zambia, Department of Theatre Arts. Seconded for one year to the Cultural Services Department |
| 1976 - 1978 | Chairman of Department of Language and Literature in University of Zambia |
| 1978 - 1981 | Director of Culture – Zambian Ministry of Education and Culture. Here he experienced the interface of cultural policies at UNESCO |
| 1980 | Involved in UNESCO’s formulation of Belgrade Recommendations to Member States on the Status of the Artist |
| 1981/2 | Returned to Zimbabwe. Set up Theatre Arts course in the English Department at University of Zimbabwe |

Before Independence

| Date of Evidence | Position | Source |
|--|--|------------------------------|
| 1983 July | ‘Chief cultural officer’ at Murewa | CT workshop report |
| 1986 Feb 1987 Feb 1 | Director of Arts & Crafts Dir. Arts & Crafts (with Prof. Ngara at Harare talks) | 2/A2 A70 |
| 1990 Feb 11 | Deputy Secretary in Office of the Vice President Cde S. V. Muzenda (Task force) | C2 |
| 1992 June 5 1993 Jan 3 1994 May 18 | Deputy Secretary for Culture, Ministry of Education & Culture Interview – policy mission Deputy Secretary for Culture, Ministry of Education & Culture | C64 (Zindi) C74 21/C94 |
| 1994 Sept 1994 Oct | Deputy Secretary to Vice Pres. Cde S. Muzenda From President’s Office | 22/C95 Letter |
| 1995 Dec 27 1996 Apr 29 | Permanent Secretary for Sport, Recreation & Culture | 27/C131 31/C160 |
| 1997 | Permanent Secretary for Education | UNESCO Stockholm Conf. |
| 2000 | Retired from Civil Service | NACZ website 2006 |

After Independence

APPENDIX 2-5

| MINISTER, DEPUTY MINISTER & PERMANENT SECRETARY MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE | | | | Ministries of Home Affairs; Information, Posts & Telecommunications; etc. |
|---|---|---|---|--|
| DEPUTY SECRETARY DIVISION of CULTURE | | | DEPUTY SECRETARY DIVISION of EDUCATION | |
| Under Secretary Department of Community Arts (Arts & Crafts) | Under Secretary Cultural Education & Orientation | National Arts Institutions (policy implementation) | Schools | Cultural Institutions under other Ministries |
| Cultural Institutions (policy guidelines & monitoring) | National Cultural Policy (currently in process) | *National Arts Council Chairman & Board Executive Director Registered Arts Organisations in 55 District Arts Councils | | *Museums & Monuments |
| Cultural Exchange Programmes (bilateral agreements & implementation programmes) | Research & Documentation (inventory of institutions, oral traditions, folklore) | | | Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation |
| Entertainment for State Occasions Mass Games Displays | Artists Legislation (including copyrights) | National Dance Company National Ballet | | Film making, Book publishing, |
| Performing Arts (Cultural Officers organise & coordinate, consult National & District Arts Councils) | Mass Media (advice on cultural content of film, video, other ministries) | *National Art Gallery (skills training, exhibitions) | | *Unions & Workers Committees |
| | School Cultural Curriculum (works with teachers & college lecturers) | National Library & Documentation Services | | National Archives City/Town Councils |
| Visual Arts | Cultural Training programmes for government staff | Literature Bureau (founded 1953 to develop Shona & Ndebele writing) | | 6. Others |
| | Cultural Education & Orientation (for teachers & lecturers) | Murhewa Culture House (pilot project) | | Private Institutions (Mzilikazi Arts & Crafts Centre) Commercial Enterprises |
| | International Institutions UNESCO, OAU, EEC, NAM, PTA, SADCC | | | Non-Governmental Organisations |

Summarised (with minor additions) from presentation at Conference on 'Cultural Co-operation in the SADCC Region' Tanzania 25-28 Nov. 1991
by The Hon. Gabriel Machinga, Deputy Minister of Education and Culture
Subject to Acts of Parliament referred to in Chapter 5

APPENDIX 2-6 Corpus of Papers by S.J. Chifunyise

| Ref | Date | Writer | Topic/ Headline | Pubn. | Genre | Notes |
|----------|-----------|----------------------|--|------------|----------|--|
| 1-A1 | 2 Jul 83 | Stephen Chifunyise | Dance drama in cultural studies | Min.Ed | Paper | Teacher training - Ministry workshop |
| 2-A2 | 15 Feb 86 | Cde S.J. Chifunyise | International theatre organisations | ?Zimfep | Paper | Info for community drama groups |
| 3-A5 | 19 Jul 86 | Stephen Chifunyise | Opening Address to Comy.Th workshop | ZACT | Keynote | Ideological struggle |
| 4-A18 | 21 Sep 86 | S.J. Chifunyise | No place for bias in national theatre | S. Mail | Opinion | Response to Granger theatre column |
| 5-A124 | 24 May 87 | S.J. Chifunyise | Talks focus on theatre & development | S. Mail | Report | International seminar (Canada) |
| 6-B10 | 27 Mar 88 | S.J. Chifunyise | Theatre Day (quotes P. Brook) | S. Mail | Feature | Celebration of world theatre day |
| 7-B49 | 22 Jan 89 | S.J. Chifunyise | Struggling to become dr. professionals | S. Mail | Feature | ZACT groups going full time |
| 8-C5 | 1 May 90 | Stephen Chifunyise | Development of theatre in Zimbabwe | Mayfest | Chapter | Rhod. refs; Development chronol.10 yrs |
| 9-C10 | 29 Jul 90 | Stephen Chifunyise | SADCC film makers recommend action | P.'s Voice | Feature | First frontline film festival/workshop |
| 10-C41 | 29 Dec 91 | S.J. Chifunyise | Year musicians took to the streets | S. News | Feature | Show page, review , NAC.; CHOGM |
| 11-C42 | 1 Jan 92 | Stephen Chifunyise | World decade for cultural development | SAPEM | Feature | Weakness after 3 yrs. Cul.pols lacking |
| 12-C66 | 1 Sep 92 | Stephen Chifunyise | SADC to boost cultural industries | SAPEM | Feature | Collaboration, harmonisation, etc. |
| 13-C75 | 17 Jan 93 | Stephen Chifunyise | Major strides made in Decade for Culture | S. Mail | Feature | 1st of 4. Progress made |
| 14-C76 | 31 Jan 93 | Stephen Chifunyise | Media playing vital role in drama | S. Mail | Feature | 3rd (2nd lost?) hosting festivals, |
| 15-C77 | 7 Feb 93 | Stephen Chifunyise | Phenomenal growth in visual arts | S. Mail | Feature | 4th. Artists must challenge Gallery |
| 16-C81 | 31 Mar 93 | S. J. Chifunyise | Introductory Remarks | UNESCO | Paper | For seminar on status of the artist |
| 17-C83 | 31 Mar 93 | S. J. Chifunyise | Prof. & amateur status in cultural sector | UNESCO | Paper | For seminar, keynote |
| 18-C85 | 12 May 93 | Stephen Chifunyise | Promotion of African development | Chronicle | Feature | WDCD, CRDTO, FESPACO, etc |
| 19-C86 | 21 May 93 | Stephen Chifunyise | World culture day observed | Chronicle | Feature | Theme - education, culture & work |
| 19A-C86A | 21 May 93 | Cde S.J. Chifunyise | Culture as work in Zimbabwe | UNESCO | Paper | Decade seminar |
| 20-C91 | 8 Mar 94 | Stephen Chifunyise | Music festival for Zimbabwe | Chronicle | Feature | Economic potential, added value |
| 21-C94 | 18 May 94 | S.J. Chifunyise | African culture as a tool for development | UNESCO | Paper | Harare conference, & discussion annex |
| 21A-C94A | 21 May 94 | S.J.C. for Secretary | Problems encl. in consolidating sector | Ministry | Overview | SADC problems of regional admin |
| 22-C95 | 1 Sep 94 | S. J. Chifunyise | Towards a comprehensive nat. policy | Ministry | Paper | Funding employment creation in arts |
| 23-C96 | 1 Jan 95 | Stephen Chifunyise | Govt's dilemma on cultural policies | Nomdlalo | Feature | Recognition of artists, status issues |
| 24-C98 | 1 Jan 95 | Stephen Chifunyise | Zimbabwean appointed to post | Nomdlalo | Feature | Angeline Kamba WCCD commission |
| 25-C107 | 21 May 95 | Stephen Chifunyise | The cultural dimension of agriculture | Herald | Feature | 'As I was saying' World Culture Day |
| 26-C110 | 1 Aug 95 | Zim. Government | Support to the cultural sector in Z | Govt | Proposal | 1995-99 Finance, plans; Norway |
| 27-C131 | 27 Dec 95 | S.J. Chifunyise | Community Audience Building Project | Ministry | Paper | Cc: N.A.Assns, NAB, NAC Director |
| 28-C146 | 25 Mar 96 | Stephen Chifunyise | Role of Theatre - edited v. of 29/C148 | Herald | Feature | Preview for WTh. Day; current problems |
| 29-C148 | 27 Mar 96 | Stephen Chifunyise | Theatre is vital to human development | Chronicle | Feature | Quotes ITI, + Herald ed/d version; WTD |
| 30-C149 | 27 Mar 96 | Cde S.J. Chifunyise | Towards comp. support theatre developmt | Ministry | Paper | Nat. seminar WTh day; mission statemt. |
| 31-C160 | 29 Apr 96 | S.J. Chifunyise | Full time artists in Z prospects, problems | Ministry | Paper | Nat. seminar W.Dance Day; Keynote |
| 32-C161 | 29 Apr 96 | S.J. Chifunyise | Towds creating viable opps dance sector | Ministry | Paper | World Dance Day |

APPENDIX 3-1

Summary of the broad periods of Zimbabwean history

| |
|--|
| 1. Early migrations of peoples, settlement, agriculture and trade |
| 9000BC Earliest possible date for rock paintings |
| 200 AD Introduction of Iron Age technologies |
| 947 AD Sofala gold trade, chronicled by al Masudi |
| 16th C. Kingdoms of Monomatapa and Butua |
| 2. European and African penetration |
| Portuguese penetration in north-east ends by 1690 |
| Early 19th C. Nguni invasions from south: Shangaans c.1825; Angoni c.1835; Ndebele c.1837 |
| Later 19th C: Hunters, traders, missionaries, gold prospectors, mining concession seekers |
| 1859 London Missionary Society founded Inyathi Mission (Welsh and English) |
| 1890 Cecil Rhodes establishes British South Africa Company |
| 3. Colonial domination, urbanisation and trade |
| 1894 Colonial city of Bulawayo founded after battles & death of King Lobengula |
| 1895 Rhodesia founded – under rule of British South Africa Company to 1923 |
| 1896 First Chimurenga |
| 1923 Self-governing colony established with a population of 35,000 Europeans |
| 4. Winds of change in Africa - nationalist struggles begin |
| 1948 General Purposes Strike; (SRABVA) |
| 1953-63 Central African Federation (Northern & Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland) opposed by united front of unionists, churches and political organisations. |
| 1957-64 Founding & banning of nationalist political parties: Southern Rhodesia African National Congress, 1957-9; National Democratic Party, 1960-1; Zimbabwe African Peoples Union, 1961-2; Zimbabwe African National Union, 1963-64; strikes, demonstrations, disobedience |
| 1965 Unilateral Declaration of Independence; state of emergency; confrontation; militant trade unionism, UN sanctions; civil war begins |
| 1970s Second Chimurenga: armed struggle, negotiations - mainly outside the country. |
| 5. Zimbabwe Independence 1980 - Marxist-Leninist regime of ZANU(PF) elected and re-elected. |
| 1980s Lancaster House agreement; dissident forces of destabilisation and government retaliation |
| 1987 Unity agreement |
| 1991 Economic structural adjustment programs begin |

SOURCES: Mai Palmberg (1982) *The Struggle for Africa* pp 176-205 Zed Press;

R. Kent Ramussen & Steve C. Rubert (1990) *2nd. ed. Historical Dictionary of Zimbabwe*,

ZAPU (Patriotic Front) London Branch Circular (1979) no.3. *Development of workers' struggle*.p.15

Colin Stoneman (1989) *Zimbabwe: politics, economics and society*

APPENDIX 3-2

White Rhodesian Population Changes

John L. Moore, 2003, *Zimbabwe's fight to the finish: the catalyst of the free market*

a) From text

| Year | Total white immigrants (estimated) | Farmers |
|------|------------------------------------|---------|
| 1891 | 1,500 | |
| 1901 | 11,000 | |
| 1904 | | 300-400 |
| 1911 | 23,600 | 1,324 |
| 1914 | | 2.040 |
| 1921 | 33,600 | |
| 1931 | 49,900 | |
| 1941 | 69,000 | |
| 1946 | 82,400 | |
| 1951 | 136,000 | |
| 1979 | 232,000 | |
| 1990 | 80,000 | |

b) *ibid.* p.65 (CSO data cited by A. Mlambo 1997)

| Year | Immigrants | Emigrants | Net migration |
|--------|------------|-----------|---------------|
| 1961-4 | 50,000 | | |
| 1975 | 12,425 | 10,500 | + 1,925 |
| 1976 | 7,782 | 14,854 | - 7,072 |
| 1977 | 5,730 | 16,638 | - 10,908 |
| 1978 | 4,360 | 18,069 | - 13,709 |
| 1979 | 3,416 | 12,973 | - 9,557 |
| 1975-9 | 33,713 | 73,034 | - 39,311 |

APPENDIX 3-3

Cultural Activities in Bulawayo in the later colonial period

| Activities | Venues |
|--|--|
| Libraries | Lending in suburbs and bookshops; archives and reference in City Hall. |
| “High” arts - mainly local amateur dramatics and ballet and, until sanctions against UDI, touring groups from UK | Schools, Bulawayo theatre, City Hall, homes. |
| Traditional arts (holistic, healing) dance, song, drums | Rural & urban homes |
| Classical music: Bulawayo Orchestra and Bulawayo African Orchestra (amateur orchestras) | Sibson Hall (music college) City Hall. Community halls. |
| Literature Bureau (publish in vernaculars) | |
| Popular music (commercial & amateur, township and mines bands, Afro-jazz, reggae, marabi, simanjimanji). | Beer gardens, community halls, mines, township social clubs. |
| Popular music (white amateur, jazz, rock, Afrikaans folk) | Home, clubs, city bars. |
| Bulawayo Theatre Club (amateur) | Theatres & clubs. |
| Choral singing (religious & secular) | Township churches, schools, halls |
| International Cabaret (visiting artists) | Hotels |
| Umasiganda (travelling minstrels) solo or small kwela groups. | Roadside, railway stations and trains, bars, anywhere people gather. |
| Salvation Army (instrumental & choral music) | Church halls, street, village. |
| Community events (socials, weddings, City Council competitions, ballroom dancing clubs) | Community halls, mine compounds. |
| British Council touring companies | Theatres, schools. |
| Army Band | State events, sports stadiums, parks. |
| Hand Crafts (Afrikaans, African) | Home use, tourists. |
| European ‘fine art’ (amateur & semi-professional) | Bulawayo Art Gallery, homes. |
| Youth Club bands (popular & dance music) | Community halls, schools. |
| Photography | Homes, clubs |



What connects Sheila-in-Wales with Kapaes-in-Matabeleland?

The Biography of the Portrait

In 1869 the portrait of Kapaes, Imbongi to King Lobengula, was sketched by Thomas Baines not far from Bulawayo.

Work transported by ox-waggon to Capetown (~ 6 months)

By ship to England (~ 6 weeks).

1870-71 Lodged in the London office of Baines's prospecting company.

1871-72 Portrait accessed by T.M.Thomas and taken to London publisher, John Snow.

Copy produced by publisher's artists on woodcut block

Printed (black and white) and bound into the books in London.

1872 English edition to Wales by train, sold in shops, churches, etc.

1873 Welsh edition printed and bound in Cardiff by James Wood with same plates but Welsh captions, and sold in churches, shops, and door-to-door by the author.

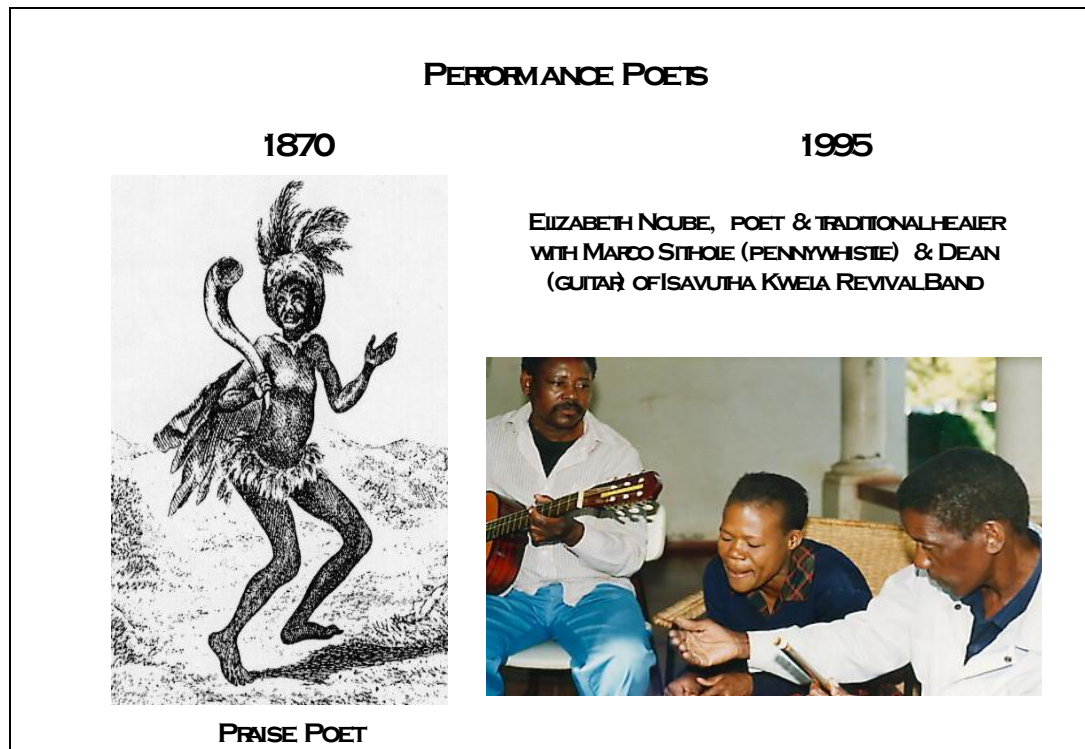
Date unknown. Original work to British Natural History Museum.

1970 Facsimile edition printed in Bulawayo by Books of Rhodesia using 'Third Thousand' printing of original English edition.

2002 The original painting was in my hands in NHM library.

2004 Digital copy accessed from NHM library.

2008 This copy printed with ink-jet in North Wales, now in your hands, dear reader.

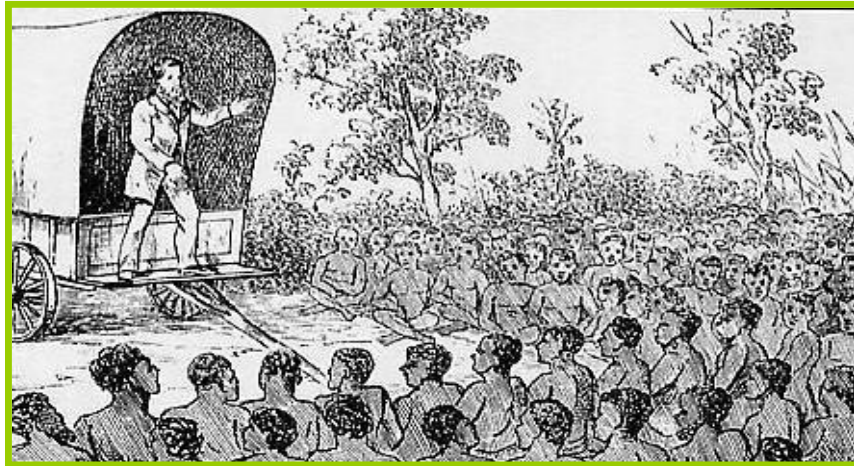


This thesis aims, like Thomas's book, to re-present what the Matabeleland I knew is really like, but with a postcolonial insider perspective; and to discover much that went unnoticed during those 12 years, especially about the cultural inheritance of people who were of such various and evolving cultures. By chance I found the book in Bangor University library.

Technically the reproduction in Thomas's book, a woodcut, is not good but it instantly connects an understanding of performance by the King's praise poet in 1870 to my dear late friend, Elizabeth Ncube, from 1985 to 1995. She received her poems from her grandfather's spirit in dreams. Here she is working on a traditional song with members of the Isavutha Kwela Revival Band, a project that began in 1991.

Elizabeth exemplifies the notion of 'cultural pioneer', negotiating the transition from her traditional role as a healer and poet - where everyone present is somehow a participant - to her modern role as a professional performer in the competitive, alienated, commercial arena that is geared to entertaining a passive paying audience.

MR THOMAS PREACHING TO A THOUSAND NATIVES 1869



T.M. Thomas 1972 *Eleven years in Central South Africa* Plate 31. p.414. Unknown artist, possibly sketched by his second wife and included in the book to show Christian readers in Wales and England how their contributions support the mission at Inyathi.

Note the 'camera position' – our point of view as readers. Alternative and opposite interpretations are possible, for example:

- 1) We, observing as the 19th.C British Christian audience did, see the missionary as the central figure and are inspired by his qualities; the people belong to God.
- 2) We, as post-colonial readers of visual ethnographic texts, see ourselves as among the people; perhaps we identify ourselves fully with pagans, the Amandebele, and – sharing their lowly position - feel patronised. They belong to the Empire.

Then jump a century to compare this image with the next, a triumphant visual text about the culminating stages of the Liberation Struggle: leaders with different ideologies using similar performative roles. The images retain memes (information) that are altered only in the process of interpretation in different brains at different times in different places – which is possible because the images were documented. Processes of decay do not change what was intended by the originator, though the *meanings* may become less accessible as the material damage increases.

FREEDOM FIGHTERS ADDRESSING A PUNGWE 1978



Zimbabwe News 1978 May to June 1978, Vol. 10 No 2. Front Cover
SELF-IMAGING FROM EXILE: This image from *Zimbabwe News* - a coloured pencil/wax crayon drawing of a political meeting or 'pungwe' at an outdoor rural venue by unknown artist. It seems like a political idyll, but the struggle was not yet over: so in fact it images a dangerous continuing reality, while signifying their ideology.

VISUAL GRAMMAR: We look towards the people, They-as-a-body are the focus of this visual text. The freedom fighter, although foregrounded, and the focus of their collective gaze, is slightly peripheral to our observing eye. We are not among the povo. We, the observers, are among the revolutionary cadres standing supportively behind the comrade who is speaking to the people; perhaps we are waiting our turn to speak on another topic. We, the observers, are political insiders.

The people are self possessed - they own the published image and their future.

(Kress 1996, Dondis 1973, Elkin 1996, Pink 2001).

APPENDIX 4- 5A

| CORPUS REF. | AA1 | AA2 | AA3 | AA4 | U | T1-4 |
|----------------|------|------|------|-------|---|-------|
| Source | Mpfu | ZAPU | ZANU | Mtbka | s | |
| Word total | 2917 | 4757 | 3780 | 4388 | e | 15842 |
| Year | 1969 | 1976 | 1978 | 1978 | s | |
| 30 Education | 0.0 | 12.8 | 5.8 | 11.4 | 3 | 8.4 |
| 46 People/s | 7.2 | 8.6 | 9.3 | 4.1 | 4 | 7.3 |
| 64 Society/s | 9.9 | 7.8 | 2.6 | 1.1 | 4 | 5.1 |
| 59 Revolution | 0.0 | 10.9 | 2.9 | 3.0 | 3 | 4.8 |
| 15 Colonialism | 2.4 | 1.5 | 2.1 | 9.3 | 4 | 4.0 |
| 23 Culture | 14.7 | 0.0 | 2.4 | 1.8 | 3 | 3.8 |
| 11 Capitalism | 0.0 | 9.2 | 0.3 | 1.4 | 3 | 3.2 |
| 40 Liberation | 1.0 | 3.8 | 1.9 | 2.3 | 4 | 2.4 |
| 21 Creation | 0.3 | 3.4 | 0.5 | 3.0 | 4 | 2.0 |
| 29 Economic | 0.3 | 2.9 | 3.4 | 0.7 | 4 | 2.0 |
| 45 Party | 0.0 | 2.9 | 4.2 | 0.2 | 3 | 2.0 |
| 34 Imperialism | 0.0 | 1.7 | 3.2 | 1.8 | 3 | 1.8 |
| 61 Social/ly | 3.1 | 2.7 | 1.3 | 0.2 | 4 | 1.8 |
| 71 White/elite | 0.3 | 1.3 | 3.4 | 1.6 | 4 | 1.7 |
| 36 Individual | 2.1 | 2.9 | 0.3 | 0.7 | 4 | 1.5 |
| 26 Development | 1.0 | 0.2 | 1.6 | 2.7 | 4 | 1.4 |
| 38 Institution | 0.7 | 1.1 | 2.9 | 0.7 | 4 | 1.3 |
| 22 Cultural | 2.1 | 0.0 | 2.1 | 1.4 | 3 | 1.3 |
| 63 Socialism/t | 0.0 | 0.4 | 2.1 | 1.6 | 3 | 1.1 |
| 72 Women | 0.0 | 0.0 | 2.9 | 1.1 | 2 | 1.0 |

Table (1)

| CORPUS REF. | AA1 | AA2 | AA3 | AA4 | U | T1-4 |
|----------------|------|------|------|-------|---|-------|
| Source | Mpfu | ZAPU | ZANU | Mtbka | s | |
| Word total | 2917 | 4757 | 3780 | 4388 | e | 15842 |
| Year | 1969 | 1976 | 1978 | 1978 | s | |
| 23 Culture | 14.7 | 0.0 | 2.4 | 1.8 | 3 | 3.8 |
| 64 Society/s | 9.9 | 7.8 | 2.6 | 1.1 | 4 | 5.1 |
| 46 People/s | 7.2 | 8.6 | 9.3 | 4.1 | 4 | 7.3 |
| 61 Social/ly | 3.1 | 2.7 | 1.3 | 0.2 | 4 | 1.8 |
| 15 Colonialism | 2.4 | 1.5 | 2.1 | 9.3 | 4 | 4.0 |
| 36 Individual | 2.1 | 2.9 | 0.3 | 0.7 | 4 | 1.5 |
| 22 Cultural | 2.1 | 0.0 | 2.1 | 1.4 | 3 | 1.3 |
| 40 Liberation | 1.0 | 3.8 | 1.9 | 2.3 | 4 | 2.4 |
| 26 Development | 1.0 | 0.2 | 1.6 | 2.7 | 4 | 1.4 |
| 38 Institution | 0.7 | 1.1 | 2.9 | 0.7 | 4 | 1.3 |
| 21 Creation | 0.3 | 3.4 | 0.5 | 3.0 | 4 | 2.0 |
| 29 Economic | 0.3 | 2.9 | 3.4 | 0.7 | 4 | 2.0 |
| 71 White/elite | 0.3 | 1.3 | 3.4 | 1.6 | 4 | 1.7 |
| 30 Education | 0.0 | 12.8 | 5.8 | 11.4 | 3 | 8.4 |
| 59 Revolution | 0.0 | 10.9 | 2.9 | 3.0 | 3 | 4.8 |
| 11 Capitalism | 0.0 | 9.2 | 0.3 | 1.4 | 3 | 3.2 |
| 45 Party | 0.0 | 2.9 | 4.2 | 0.2 | 3 | 2.0 |
| 34 Imperialism | 0.0 | 1.7 | 3.2 | 1.8 | 3 | 1.8 |
| 63 Socialism/t | 0.0 | 0.4 | 2.1 | 1.6 | 3 | 1.1 |
| 72 Women | 0.0 | 0.0 | 2.9 | 1.1 | 2 | 1.0 |

Table (2)

Analysis of 20 most frequently used lexical items in four texts by revolutionary cadres before 1980.
 Frequency of items/1000 words of text sorted by (1) Total T1-4 (2) Mpfu 1969 AA1

APPENDIX 4 – 5B

Lexical Analysis of revolutionary texts

The most significant set comprises twenty lexical items with the highest frequency ($F = 1.0$ – 8.4) of which eleven were used in all four texts: *people/s*, *society/ies*, *colonial/ism*, *liberation*, *create/ion*, *economic*, *social/ly*, *white/elite*, *individual/ism*, *develop/ment* and *institution* (see p. 268). A belated entry into the public political discourse indicating a rise in gender-consciousness is **women** ($F = 1.0$) which occurs only in the two texts from 1978, AA3 and AA4. Of the remaining eight items, used in three texts, ‘culture’ and ‘cultural’ are not found in AA2 while the other six items – education, revolution, capitalism, party, imperialism and socialism – are not found in Mporu AA1. It is interesting how Mporu’s mild text from 1969 compares with the angry politicisation that emerges in the seventies; he shares only the gentler words of the ideologues.¹

Finally it can be argued that the seven items having the highest combined frequencies ($F = 3.2$ – 8.4) are particularly significant for one of two reasons. On the one hand some are, of course, used passionately and extensively by any one writer because of their particular topic and political position: **education** for AA2, ($f = 12.8$) and AA4 ($f = 11.4$); **revolution** ($f = 10.9$) and **capitalism** ($f = 9.2$) for AA2; **culture** ($f = 14.7$) for AA1. On the other hand three are used by all four writers – **people/s** ($f = 7.3$), **society** ($f = 5.1$), **colonialism** ($f = 4.0$) – and so *reveal the essential common ground* that extends distinctively throughout the period (see Tables 1 and 2).

Conclusion

Summarising the top six frequencies in each text suggests considerable consistency over the twenty years. At first sight some cadres may seem to be taking **culture** for granted since it does not make their top five but – it is sixth of the combined keywords. **Cultural** is eighteenth; if, however, **culture** and **cultural** are conflated by counting CULTUR (as are most other lemmas - head-word, lexeme - in the counting) their

¹ Speaking at Oxford University on 11 Nov. 1975, Julius Nyerere, President of Tanzania quoted the Lusaka Manifesto of 1969 – a twelfth-hour offer to talk: ‘We would prefer to negotiate than to destroy, we do not advocate violence,’ but, he said, ‘the armed struggle had already started. The peoples of Portuguese colonies and Rhodesia had been driven to acknowledge that without a willingness to kill and be killed their demand for freedom would make no progress.’ (Nyangoni

combined frequency would place this in the top six of each text except AA2 and with $F = 5.05$ it would take fourth place in the combined list of keywords.

For the purpose of providing a base-line or common revolutionary lexis for comparison with post-independence texts the hypothesis is adequately supported by these findings, which justify taking the twenty items in Group 4 as keywords to indicate revolutionary socialist discourse in further text analysis. An acceptable corollary is that the omission of these keywords from post-Independence texts can also be regarded as significant.

| | | AA1 | AA2 | AA3 | AA4 | AA1-4 |
|--|---|---------------|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| TEXT | | MPOFU | ZAPU | ZANU | MUTUMBUKA | COMBINED |
| | | 1969 | 1976 | 1978 | 1978 | |
| Frequencies of the top 6 keywords in each text | 1 | 14.7 | 12.88 | 9.3 | 11.4 | 8.4 Education |
| | 2 | 9.9 | 10.9 | 5.8 | 9.3 | 7.3 People/s |
| | 3 | 7.2 | 9.2 capitalism | 4.2 party | 4.1 | 5.1 Society/s |
| | 4 | 3.1 Social | 8.6 | 3.4 economic | 3.0 | 4.8 Revolution |
| | 5 | 2.4 | 7.8 | 3.4 white | 3.0 Create/ion | 4.0 Colonialism |
| | 6 | 2.1 | 3.8 liberation | 3.2 imperialism | 2.7 Develop/ment | 3.8 Culture + al |
| Words used from core 72 | | 24 | 39 | 41 | 39 | 58 |
| Keywords used from top core 20 | | 14 | 17 | 20 | 20 | |

Table 3 Comparison of keywords in four revolutionary texts

The 20 items with $F \geq 1.0/1000$ will be taken as keywords in the on-going analysis. They carry strong meaning and/or emotional value and are chosen by Zimbabwean revolutionary cadres to communicate socio-political ideas in English, the second or third language of all the writers. Taken separately these items are not necessarily part of a polarised political discourse but in combination they can fairly confidently be identified as elements of a socialist revolutionary discourse that continued in use in Zimbabwe after 1980.

and Ndoro 1978, p. 363)

APPENDIX 5

5-1 Origins of NACZ Act

The original National Arts Foundation (NAF), established 1971, was derived closely from the British model.

This table indicates the items (memes) in the National Arts Council of Zimbabwe Act 1985 that were derived from the British tradition via the NAF Act.

| Part | Section | National Arts Council of Zimbabwe Act 1985 Content | Arts Council of Great Britain Charter 1967 Derivations | |
|------------|--|---|---|--|
| | | To provide for the establishment of the National Arts Council of Zimbabwe. Summary refers to content detailed in sections: 3, 15, 5-14, 22-25, 35 | | |
| I. | PRELIMINARY | | | |
| | 1 | (1) Short title as above (2) Date of commencement – President to fix, notice in Gazette | Pre- amble | |
| | 2 | Interpretation: defines 13 terms used in the document: "the arts" includes:- (a) music, dance, drama, folk art, creative writing, literature, painting, photography, filming, sculpture, crafts, graphic or plastic arts, & any other art form approved by the Board; and (b) the presentation, performance, execution, and exhibition of any arts, art form or culture form referred to in paragraph (a) | Pre- amble | <i>"the arts" not defined n.b. The art-form classification does not correspond with the indigenous traditions of holistic arts Entertainment -> economic with performers and audience product of leisure, separated from work, reflexivity possible c.f. work & healing -> psycho-social for participants product of inclusive social interaction, cohesive functions,</i> |
| II. | NATIONAL ARTS COUNCIL OF ZIMBABWE | | | |
| | 3 | Establishment of National Arts Council of Zimbabwe A body corporate capable of suing & being sued, and performing all such acts as bodies corporate may by law perform | 2 | Council has a Common Seal, may sue and be sued, power to enter into contracts, acquire, hold and dispose of property of any kind; to accept trusts & do all incidental or appertaining to a Body Corporate |
| | 4 | Establishment of National Arts Board - constituted as in Section 5 To control affairs of the National Arts Council subject to provisions of this Act | | |

APPENDIX 5

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | <p>Constitution of Board</p> <p>(1) (A) (i) - (viii) 10 members appointed by Minister (education, business administration, 2 x community interests, 2 x commercial sector, AUCZ*, ADCZ, ARDZ, culture in Zimbabwe.) (b) one elected by each Provincial Arts Council* (see S20a1) (2) Minister appoints at * if vacancies remain after 2 months</p> | <p>5(1) 5(2) ?8(1) 5(3)</p> | <p>Council consists of Chairman, Vice-Chairman & not more than 18 others Chair & others appointed by Sec. of State (and of Scotland & Wales) who determines terms of appointment Vice-Ch appointed from members by Council (with approval of Sec. of State) terms determined by Council</p> |
| 6 | <p>Terms of office of members of Board</p> <p>(1) In 5(1) (a) Minister specifies various interests, max. 3 years (2) 5(1)(b) Provincial reps. 3 years (3) Outgoing members are eligible for reappointment or re-election</p> | <p>5(4) 5(4) a 5(4) b</p> | <p>Every member holds & vacates office in accordance with terms of appoint determined by Sec. of State not more than 5 year term not eligible until +1yr (except Chairs of CIs & panels)</p> |
| 7 | <p>Disqualifications for appointment or election as member</p> <p>(a) In law of any country (i) undischarged bankrupt (ii) assigned to creditors or (b) in last 5 years been sentenced to gaol for more than 6 months with no option of a fine</p> | | |
| 8 | <p>Vacation of office by member</p> <p>(1) A member vacates office:- (a) 30 days after giving notice to the Minister (b) on date of starting a prison sentence of not less than 6 months (c) if absent without permission of the Board from 3 consecutive meetings of the Board (2) The Minister may require member to vacate office if:- (a) member has conducted himself in a manner that is unbecoming or prejudicial to interests or reputation of the Board (b) is mentally or physically incapable of performing duties</p> | <p>5(4)c 5(3) 8(3)</p> | <p>Member can give notice any time in writing but determined by Council for Vice-Chairman Council may revoke appoints to Scot & Wales committees and other committees and panels</p> |
| 9 | <p>Chairman & vice-chairman of Board</p> <p>(1) Minister appoints one member as Chairman and members elect one of themselves as vice-chairman (2) Vice chairman exercises functions during any period the chairman is unable to do so</p> | <p>5(2) 5(3)</p> | <p>See above</p> |

APPENDIX 5

| | | | |
|----|---|------------------------------|--|
| 10 | <p>Proceedings of Board</p> <p>(1) Board regulates its meetings and proceedings as it sees fit (2) Members elect one to act if chair and vice-chair both absent (3) Chair has deliberative and casting votes (4) 9 form a quorum -must include 4 PAC representatives as in S5(1)(b) (5) Decision of the Board is taken as a majority of members present and voting</p> | (7) 6(2) | <p>regulate own procedures subject to provision of this charter quorum 7 members present & see 21(3)</p> <p>Quorum of seven members personally present, or greater as Council decides</p> |
| 11 | <p>Committees of Board</p> <p>(1) The Board may establish one or more committees for the better exercise of its functions, provided that this does not divest the Board of such functions and Board can rescind or amend any decision of such committee (2) Meetings of a committee can be convened at any time in any place by the Chairman of the Board or of the committee (3) Committee procedures fixed by the Board (4) (a) Board appoints at least one Board member to be Chairman (b) May appoint to committees persons who are not members of the Board and fix terms & conditions</p> | 9(1) 9(2) 9(3) | <p>Council appoints committees & panel to advise & assist with functions</p> <p>Council appoints a member of Council as Chairman of committee/panel</p> <p>Council can appoint non-Council members; can revoke appointments at any time</p> |
| 12 | <p>Remuneration of members of Board & of committees (5 & 11)</p> <p>May be paid such allowances from National Arts Council funds as the Board may fix with approval of Minister, to meet reasonable expenses incurred in the business of the Board or committee <i>(NB this does <u>not</u> apply to Provincial & District Arts Councils)</i></p> | 4 5(5) 12(2) | <p>No moneys received by Council to be paid directly or indirectly to members of Council except as provided otherwise in Charter [i.e. in 5(5)]</p> <p>No remuneration to any member of Council for his services, but reasonable expenses incurred by performance of duties</p> <p>May pay remuneration to Secretary General, other officers & employees and provide pension, with approval of Secretary of State and Treasury</p> |
| 13 | <p>Validity of decisions & acts of Board</p> <p>Decision or action not invalidated only because:</p> <p>(a) Board consisted of fewer than total number of members (b) a disqualified person purported to act as a member at the time the decision was taken or act authorised if the decision was authorised by a majority who were entitled</p> | 6(1) | <p>Validity of proceedings not affected by defect in appoint of a member</p> |

APPENDIX 5

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| | 14 | Execution of contracts or instruments by National Arts Council An agreement, contract or instrument approved by the Board can be executed by anyone authorised to do so by the Board | | |
| III. | FUNCTIONS OF NATIONAL ARTS COUNCIL | | | |
| | 15 | <p>Functions of National Arts Council</p> <p>(1) (a) to foster, develop & improve the knowledge, understanding and practice of the arts in Zimbabwe by encouraging the teaching and practice of the arts and their presentation, performance, execution and exhibition to the public; [<i>implies performer/producer focus?</i>]</p> <p>(b) to advise and co-operate with the Government, local authorities, registered arts organisations, or any other societies, organisations, associations, groups or other bodies in any matter concerned directly or indirectly with the arts and the teaching and practice thereof</p> <p>(2) has power to do or cause to be done all or any of the things in the Schedule of Powers either absolutely or conditionally, solely or jointly, by itself or through agents</p> | <p>3a</p> <p>3b</p> <p>3c</p> | <p>to develop and improve the knowledge, understanding and practice of the arts; [but '<u>foster</u>' & '<u>encouraging</u> the teaching & practice of the arts' is NOT in UK <i>what do these words convey about Zim attitudes? Possibly via the Foundation?</i>]</p> <p>to increase accessibility of the arts to the public throughout GB [may parallel 'presentation, performance & execution & exhibition to the public?' <i>implies audience focus?</i>]</p> <p>to advise & cooperate with Government departments, local authorities and other bodies [no '<u>registered</u> arts organisations' not '<u>any</u>' other 'societies, organisations, associations, groups,' or '<u>individuals</u>' [<i>specifies inclusion</i>]</p> |
| | 16 | <p>Limitations of power of National Arts Council to provide financial assistance</p> <p>(1) Subject to S2 the National Arts Council shall not --</p> <p>(a) make grants to registered arts organisations</p> <p>(b) incur other expenditure</p> <p>unless a committee to advise the Board on matters pertaining to that art has been established in terms of S11 (1) and has recommended it.</p> <p>(2) The above does not apply to expenditure which does not exceed in the aggregate in any one year an amount fixed by the Minister from time to time</p> <p><i>[It seems that the 'associations' in Bulawayo District Arts Council = section 11 committees originally, but BADG became a national orgn.!]</i></p> | <p>....</p> <p>9(1)</p> <p>....</p> | <p>No equivalent</p> <p>Council appoints committees & panel to advise & assist with functions</p> |

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| IV. | DISTRICT & PROVINCIAL ARTS COUNCILS | | | |
|-----|--|--|------------------------------|---|
| 17 | Establishment & constitution of District Arts Councils | (1) Minister appoints members, but not unless at least 3 arts organisations operate in the District (2)(a) after consulting Board, x2, one designated secretary (b) after consulting Board, x3, representing the business community of the District (c) at least 5, not more than 9 others, nominated by the registered arts organisations, recommended by the Board and appointed by the Minister (3) Members elect one of their number as chairman | 8(1) 8(2) 8(3) | Scotland & Wales committees appoint by Council not members of committee, can be revoked any time Council appoints chair from committee members ? |
| 18 | Functions of District Arts Councils | (1) Functions: (a) elect one representative to Provincial Arts Council S17 (b) advise the Board re activities of arts organisations in the district (c) encourage arts organisations to register in terms of this Act (d) assist, advise, supervise registered arts organisations (e) any other functions conferred in terms of this Act or any other enactment (2) exercise functions subject to control & supervision of the Board | 8(1) | To exercise functions and advise Council in Scotland & Wales <i>[Other wise no equivalent]</i> |
| 19 | Establishment & constitution of Provincial Arts Councils | (1) there shall be one in every Province (10) (2) consists of 1 elected representative from each District Arts Council S18(1)a | 8(1) 8(2) 8(3) 9(1) | as above <i>[UK Regional Arts Councils may seem equivalent to Provincial Councils but much more autonomy]</i> Council appoints committees & panels to advise & assist |
| 20 | Functions of Provincial Arts Councils | (1) (a) - (e) elect Board representative, advise; encourage; assist, advise, supervise; any other functions- [all as District, S18] (2) subject to control and supervision of the Board | 10(1) | Council may regulate procedure of any committee or panel as in A8 & 9 |

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| | 21 | Conditions of membership and procedure of District Arts Councils & Provincial Arts Councils (1) same as Board procedure sections 5(2), 6, 7, 8, 10(3&5), 13, 25; (2) only to Provincial Arts Council, 9 also [but NOT 11 or 12 or 14 re committees & expenses & executing contracts in Districts] (3) quorum = half of the members in office (but they can decide a larger number) [c.f. 10(4)] | 10(2) 6(2) | no payment but reasonable expenses see 5(5) Quorum of Council is 7 members present and voting or greater as Council decides |
| V. | REGISTRATION | | No equivalent at all throughout this section | |
| | 22 | Registration of arts organisations a condition for financial assistance, etc. No arts organisation shall -- (a) receive financial assistance (b) participate in activities of National Arts Council unless registered as in S23 | | |
| | 23 | Registration (1) application to secretary of District Arts Council in prescribed form with attached constitution (2) District Arts Council recommends registration to the Board if satisfied that (a) its objects are consistent with National Arts Council (b) in all other respects the applicant is fit and suitable (3) the Board may register an organisation or group of organisations operating in more than one province as a national arts association provided that, if more than one organisation in the association, each continues to be considered as an independent arts organisation for the purposes of the Act | | |
| | 24 | Cancellation of registration (1) If it appears to the Board that an arts organisation has ceased to operate as an arts organisation and has materially changed its objectives registration it may cancel the registration (2) shall not take this action until it has given 90 days written notice & given opportunity for the arts organisation to make representations (3) Reapplication allowed on compliance with requirements of the Board | | |

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| | 25 | <p>Appeals</p> <p>(1) any arts organisation which is aggrieved by a decision of the Board or a District Arts Council concerning rejection of its application for registration or cancellation of registration may appeal to the Minister</p> <p>(2) the Minister may vary or rescind the decision after allowing reasonable opportunity for representations, and the Board or District Arts Council shall comply with the Minister's decision</p> | | |
| VI. | FINANCIAL PROVISIONS | | | |
| | 26 | <p>Funds of National Arts Council</p> <p>Funds consist of <i>[n.b. sources not uses]</i></p> <p>(a) moneys appropriated by Parliament</p> <p>(b) grants, donations, bequests received with Minister's approval</p> <p>(c) loans raised with approval of the Minister and the Minister responsible for Finance</p> <p>(d) income from invested funds</p> <p>(e) other moneys or assets as may vest in or accrue whether in the course of its operations or otherwise</p> | 4 | <p>Moneys however received including voted by Parliament used solely towards the promotion of the objects of Council; no part to members of Council</p> <p><i>[nothing on other sources of moneys for ACGB]</i></p> |
| | 27 | <p>Accounts of National Arts Council</p> <p>(1) Board to keep proper accounts including such particular accounts and records as the Minister may direct</p> <p>(2) Board to prepare statement of accounts for each financial year or other period as Minister may direct</p> | 13 13 | <p>Keep proper accounts & records in form approved by Sec. of State & Treasury and submit statements at time directed by Sec. of State</p> |
| | 28 | <p>Audit of accounts</p> <p>(1) Board to appoint an auditor, may be Comptroller and Auditor-General, to audit accounts annually (S27)</p> <p>(2) Auditor to report to Board and Minister on the statement of accounts</p> <p>(3) Report to include statements if he has not obtained (a) information and explanations (b) properly kept accounts (c) or if Board has not complied with this Act</p> | 13 | <p>no equivalent except reference to approval by Treasury</p> |

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| | 29 | Powers of auditors Auditor can require all accounts and records to be produced to him at all reasonable times and members or employees to provide information necessary for the audit | | no equivalent except as above |
| | 30 | Annual report of National Arts Council (1) Submit report to Minister not later than 6 months after the end of the financial year (2) Report to include copy of (a) balance sheet (b) income & expenditure account (c) report as in S28(2) in form as determined by Minister (3) Minister to lay this report to House of Assembly | 14 - - | Report to Sec. of State on exercise & performance of functions a.s.a.p. after end of financial year no equivalent |
| VII. | GENERAL | | | |
| | 31 | Special reports (a) in addition to S30(1) the Board may submit reports the Board considers advisable (b) Board shall submit other reports the Minister may require | | no equivalent |
| | 32 | Arts organisations to keep proper accounts (1) registered arts organisation to keep accounts and records of any money received and furnish reports and any additional information required within prescribed period (2) accounts of arts organisations to be audited by someone not connected in any way to the keeping of accounts Secretary of Board may require auditing by a registered public accountant | | no equivalent |
| | 33 | Members not personally liable No member of Board or a S(11) committee personally liable for any bona fida action taken in that capacity | 2 | probably body corporate rule |

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| | 34 | Regulations The minister may make regulations for all matters which are required, permitted or prescribed in this Act or in his opinion are necessary or convenient for carrying out/giving effect to the provisions of this Act | 3 also 7 | assumed in objects for which established |
| | 35 | Repeal, savings & transitional provisions (1) (2) (3) The National Arts Foundation Act is repealed (4)(a) - (e) (5) (6) continuity in all areas and activities | 1 | Original Charter 1946 Amended 1964 & 1965 revoked, all original acts & deeds still valid & legal (<i>no transitional provisions</i>) |
| Schedule | 15(2) | SCHEDULE: Powers of the National Arts Council | | |
| | 1 | With approval of Minister and the Minister of Finance & PSC, to employ staff on terms and conditions it sees fit and suspend or dismiss staff | 12(1) 12(2) 12(2)a | Council to appoint a Secretary General & others with approval of Sec. of State Council may - with approval of Sec. of State & Treasury :- Pay Secretary General, other officers & employees remuneration |
| | 2 | Pensions and insurance for staff | 12(2)b | Provide officers & other employees with pensions/gratuities |
| | 3 | Borrow or raise money for carrying out functions including debentures, or stock certificates | | |
| | 4 | Purchase or otherwise acquire property, movable or immovable, or exchange, hire, receive donation, gift, grant, lease, testamentary disposition | 2 | acquire, hold & dispose of property of any kind accept trusts |
| | 5 | Enter into contracts in performance of its duties, & modify or rescind them | 2 | enter into contracts |
| | 6 | Sell, exchange, lease, donate, dispose of, turn to account or otherwise deal with any of its assets as it sees fit | 2 | as above |
| | 7 | Make grants-in-aid or other assistance to registered arts organisations | | |
| | 8 | Invest any funds not immediately required | | |

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| | 9 | Do all such things as may be necessary, conducive or incidental to the performance of the functions imposed on the National Arts Council by the Act. | | |
| | | | 11 15 16 17 | Any officer appointed by Sec. of State (Ed & Sc, Wales, Scotland) as assessor to Council, Committee or Panel can attend any meeting thereof Signature of Chairman or other member of Council authorised generally or specifically and one authorised officer of Council Amendment of Charter allowed: by Council; $\frac{3}{4}$ majority present & voting, an absolute majority of whole Council; confirmed 1-4 months later E.R. In this Charter 'Secretary of State' refers to Sec. of State for Education & Science; witness 07-02-16th year of our reign |

NAC-ACGB memes: Comparison

Issues

1. Ministry intervention and control/self-regulation (appointments etc)
2. Responsibilities/duties of Secretary of State/Minister, Board/Council, committees,
3. Specifications/assumptions esp. concerning financial management & reports
4. Implementation by PAC & DAC & Section 11 committees/committees & panels
5. Democratic procedures
6. Assumptions and lexis

APPENDIX 5-2

National Arts Council Objectives-Oriented Planning Workshop 19.11.94

The Hon. Minister [Mangwende] informed the participants that the Government had through the Ministry formulated a cultural policy that is based on a partnership between government and various cultural institutions, the National Arts Council of Zimbabwe among them. had an important role to play in liaison with other parastatals and organisations as well as government Ministries. Having listed the objectives of the policy, he indicated that the National Arts Council had an important role in liaison with other parastatals, organisations as well as government Ministries. He cited his expectations of the National Arts Council as follows:

- a) work in close liaison with the Division of Culture in the Ministry in the promotion of national skills, training workshops in visual and performing arts such as music, dance, theatre and mass displays;
- b) establish community-based visual and performing arts groups throughout the country;
- c) establish associations that promote visual and performing arts;
- d) the present visual and performing arts at state functions;
- e) organise cultural exchange visits and international festivals in the areas of visual and performing arts;
- f) promote cultural activities in schools, through the cultural promotion officers based in the districts;
- g) establish effective liaison with the Curriculum Development Unit to ensure that crucial cultural elements are incorporated in the various syllabuses;
- h) establish effective communication with the Standards Control Unit as the supervisors of syllabus implementation in the school system;
- i) be in touch with local publishing companies to facilitate the promotion of local scientific and literary publications;
- j) maintain close links with the Department of National Museums and Monuments, under the Ministry of Home Affairs;
- k) look into the financial welfare and security of artists viz a viz employment creation;
- l) initiate fundraising activities to supplement government grant.

In conclusion the Minister emphasised the need for the Council to openly lay on the table the criteria it uses when considering arts and arts organisations applying for financial assistance. Dr Mangwende praised the Council for coming up with a five-year plan for discussion during the workshop.

Acts and Documents relevant to the Arts in Zimbabwe

Summarised from a paper submitted by invitation to Linkfest'95. These documents create the legislative infrastructure of the arts and entertainment industry, or, more accurately, lay down a *theoretical* potential for such an industry - only two specifically relate to 'the arts'

- The Labour Relations Act No. 16 1985 (and Amendment Act 1992)
- The National Galleries of Rhodesia Act (Chapter 312) 1974
- The National Arts Council Act 1985 No. 27 1985 (and amendment ?1992)
- The Welfare Organisations Act (Chapter 93) 1967
- Libraries, museums and monuments

Labour Relations Act No. 16 1985 (and Amendment Act 1992)

This important act declared and defined the fundamental rights of employees, unfair labour practices, and regulated conditions of employment. It was particularly important in the process of decolonising the minds of people who, as voiceless employees, had developed other strategies to endure or resist the Rhodesian system.

Each industry can form a National Employment Council in which employers and employees are equally represented; these are powerful in developing their industries and in settling general disputes. Unfortunately there are no employer's organisations for the entertainment industry which functions at an undeveloped entrepreneurial level and survival depends more on competition than on cooperation. There are also no effective unions of artists, although there were attempts to set them up in film, music, acting and visual arts. The fact that an organisation calls itself a union (such as the Zimbabwe Writers' Union) is no guarantee that it is registered under the Labour Relations Act which makes very specific constitutional demands. In my view this has increased the general confusion about unionism in the arts – if an organisation is called a “union” people expect it to be bound by the same legislation as other industrial unions. Only one arts organisation was registered under this Act – the Zimbabwe Union of Musicians - which never understood its own constitution; when musicians began to question how the industry was regulated and tried to undertake collective action, the Minister dealt with them directly rather than through the relevant Acts. (Media corpus C2, C41, C112).

The National Galleries of Rhodesia Act (Chapter 312) 1974

Inherited from the Rhodesian regime, this Act is narrowly focussed on art as a product created to be seen in galleries. These buildings provided social centres for the bonding activities of the colonial ruling class as well as temples to creativity, and after independence remained attractive mainly to the bourgeoisie. It is concerned with the ‘fine and applied arts generally’ – anachronistic terms still holding sway, even in the National Cultural Policy published last year. The National Gallery’s duties are concerned with managing all art galleries and the works of art in their collections. There is no reference to marketing, to the socio-economic welfare of the artists themselves or to their education and training. In fact the Gallery (in Bulawayo and in Harare) does exhibit works for sale, taking 25% commission from the artists; they also have shops selling artefacts and ‘applied art’ (often called crafts) either on commission or bought at wholesale prices for re-sale. The preamble refers to “fostering and promotion” of fine arts generally; this is mainly conceived as building an appreciative audience among the public, on the assumption that ‘there will always be plenty of talented artists – they just walk in from the bush,’ (Cyril Rogers).

A serious problem is the inflated financial value placed on sculpture and painting through the enterprise of a few entrepreneurs who promoted individual artists and certain genres of ‘Zimbabwean Art’ into the international market while there are still no agreed criteria of excellence within the country. In the past the Gallery and patrons attacked mass production by ‘airport’ artists. All copying of the work of others was discouraged, acceptance of works for sale was highly selective ‘and so an artistic criterion was set’ (Wood 1978).

The National Arts Council Act 1985 No. 27 1985 (and amendment 1992)

This is examined in detail in the main body of the chapter. Relatively minor points from Linkfest95 are annexed here.

Local arts organisations may register with their District Arts Council if they provide a constitution that shows their objectives are consistent with those of the National Arts Council, and are judged “in all other respects fit and suitable”. Some bitter squabbles have arisen over this phrase. It is not clear whether individual artists can register, nor whether commercial organisations and employers are as entitled and welcome to register as mass organisations. Arts organisations are defined as “any group of persons associated together for the purpose of promoting the arts”, but the way this has been

interpreted by Arts Council officers leaves room for doubt and has caused some damaging confrontations. The requirements for registration are trivial by comparison with the Labour Relations Act and the advantages and powers of registered arts organisations are far less than those of unions. The only benefits for arts organisations that register are (1) they become eligible to apply for grants and (2) they are permitted to take part in Arts Council activities. Often the civil servants administering the National Arts Council Act seem to know their Act less well than Labour Relations officers who seem well able to interpret their Act to the people affected by it; unionists usually know that their Act gives them legitimate rights and protection from corrupt officials.

Nevertheless, artists may have been more successful with a looser structure, developing practical skills and preferring to promote their art before entering into elaborate negotiations of terms and conditions of work which they cannot enforce. The stronger national arts organisations – ZACT, ZIWU, and NTO for example – have produced more investment and training opportunities for their members than Zimbabwe Union of Musicians. It has been easy to criticise the NACZ Act for its lack of precision but one might view this as a strength if people can be prevented from using it cynically as a licence to power rather than as freedom to create.

Welfare Organisations Act (Chapter 93) 1967

This provides for the registration of welfare organisations and the control of voluntary contributions to support them. It was intended to ensure proper management of charitable affairs but was open to misuse. Registration under this Act led to conflicts for the Linkfest organisation over their eligibility for registration under the National Arts Council of Zimbabwe Act..

Libraries, Museums and Monuments were covered by separate legislation again reflecting the British model. The National Archives, is a multifunctional institution, the custodian of the national documentary heritage, and its collection includes *inter alia* the records of the Central Government, local authorities and parastatals; the papers of organisations and individuals who have contributed to the history and development of the country.

APPENDIX 6-1

Archive of Primary sources for Music Revival Show

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| <i>Booklet</i> | Record keeping – exogenous notion but welcome |
| Introductions | J. Mavunga – Ministry of Youth, Sport and Culture Sam Mkhithika – Musical director Editorial – S. Cameron |
| Biographical information | >22 groups mentioned (BMRS Appendix) Individual profiles: Sandy Wilson, Willie Mahlangu, Enoch Ndlovu, Tion Nxumalo (ms), Andrew Sithole, Gerry de Vos (ms), Paul Lunga (ms), John White |
| Archive photographs (photocopies) | 12 photos, provided by participants, captioned with line-up |
| Satchmo's visit | Refs. in Chronicle & Parade 1960-61 (City Hall library) |
| Advertisements | Galaxy, Coca-Cola |
| <i>Draft programme</i> | Dee Jay's original draft + preliminary list of bands 2 sides Gestetner copy of "programme" |
| <i>Press Coverage</i> (Mediacorpus) | 1987: A-132,133,135,138,139,140,141, & 1988: B- 4,5,6,7 |
| Advertisements | October, Call to final auditions 4/12/87 Venue, prices, performers |
| Article in <i>Prize</i> | Henry Thodlana interviewed by Saul Ndlovu; first ideas |
| Press cuttings | 20/09/87 First meeting, Grace Nhumba (S. Mail) 20/11/87 Press release – Dee Jay/Godfrey Moyo 04/12/87 Making memories preview 11/12/87 Godfrey Moyo (Chronicle) 03/01/88 Leo Hatugari (S. Mail) |
| Letters to the press – Chronicle | 16/01/88 Dee Jay 19/01/88 Geo. W. de Vos 23/01/88 Dee Jay |
| <i>Steering Committee</i> | |
| Sponsorship requests & results | Letter authorises Union as an affiliate of Byo Arts Council 5/10/87 Duplicated request for sponsorship, union rubber stamp & signed Record of four responses with signatures 1 st draft of sponsorship letter 4/10/87 2 nd draft revised 19/10/87 by committee Targeted requests – Sun Hotel, Willards, Bulawayo Bottlers, |
| Minutes of planning meeting | 19/10/87 + press release |
| Other administration | BCC booking form for Stanley Square ?? Estimated value of instruments (for insurance) – Sinametse Participants – numbers, expenses allowed M.S. List of tasks accomplished by S.C.?? |
| <i>Recording of Veterans</i> | Documentation: letter to SMk from S.C. publication enquiry |
| Master (¼ in. tape) | Cassette copies – <i>Yesteryear</i> |
| Recording sheets | X4 Technical details of tape, copyright owners, times, languages Original log 3pp Mkhithika & Hudson |
| Blue Skies Bulawayo programme notes | 6 numbers by the listed groups + Remington Mazabane |
| Letters | 29/04/? S.C. to Mkhithika re digital effects with Benny Miller 12/05/91 S.C./SM Further preparations on publishing |

APPENDIX 6-2

Extracts from the commemorative booklet, December 4th 1987

A. Introduction by The District Cultural Officer (Byo South), Mr. J. Mavunga

I would like to welcome you all to this Bulawayo Music Revival Show, the first of its kind in the city and probably in the whole country. I am confident that you will enjoy the show, which is the result of tremendous hard work by Cultural Officers of the Ministry of Youth, Sport and Culture, Members of the Zimbabwe Union of Musicians (ZUM) Bulawayo Branch and other musicians. To them I would like to extend my congratulations and appreciation of this cooperation by which you can promote music - be it modern or of the past - as part of our endeavour to encourage and develop culture in Zimbabwe.

This brief booklet is an eye-opener to the history of contemporary music from the forties to the eighties. It summarises the achievements and interactions of some groups of individuals in creating a form of cultural identity whereby old and young are joined together. The show includes veterans of the early days and others who have stepped into places left vacant by the death or departure of well-remembered friends.

The Ministry of Youth, Sport and Culture recognises the following objectives of the show:

1. To expose to the public the variety of musicians now performing Zimbabwean music, and to encourage them to perform more.
2. To document the wide variety of music and dance reflecting the broad principles of the growth of a multicultural community.
3. To chronicle the changes that have taken place in music during the past four decades.
4. To link the music of past and present for the benefit of young and aspiring musicians.

We hope this information will prove valuable and inspiring for other developing artists to organise themselves into worthwhile ventures that can advance both the individuals and the nation socially, politically and economically in the world of music.

I hope you will find this evening a memorable feast of music and artistes' solidarity. I must stress that it is the combined efforts of each and every individual that will make the show achieve its objectives. I have no doubt that to create a happy occasion unity of purpose must prevail in all respects. I know that this quality is in all of you here this evening, and I have been made aware of the great cooperation and support the organisers have received from Bulawayo's business houses, musicians and the general public.

Now I invite you to settle in your seats as we journey down Memory Lane from the present day back through the years of music.

B. Producer's Notes from Sam Mkhithika

The show that you see tonight has evolved over two months of intensive rehearsal from those musicians who made themselves available; we regret that some groups who were prominent in the past could not participate because of other commitments or perhaps did not hear about it in time. It has indeed been exciting to see the great cooperation and mutual encouragement the musicians have given in helping each other to re-create and polish the acts of former times. If this spirit continues there is great hope for the future of music here. We hope the show can be a springboard from which old and new groups start not only playing but also creating music together. In the past, could we say that the audiences appreciated music better? Could we say now that they merely think of music as a background noise to drinking and conversation? Through this show we have found many musicians; will they find the audiences they deserve?

C. Enoch Ndlovu: biographical notes (by interview)

Here is another mainly self-taught musician who began with a home-made box guitar. In 1953 he founded the Black Swallow Brothers with vocalists Samuel Nhliziyo, Samson Moyo, Gentle Ndlovu and another Enoch Ndlovu. By now he could also play double bass and tenor sax – Stanley Wilson polished his playing and later included him in the City Jazz Esquires. He wrote and recorded two jive numbers, “Exactly you” and “Hot Shoes”. The group split up when two left for other work but in the early Sixties, while playing with Stanley Wilson, he set up a new group 7th Street Jazz to play for smaller shows than the Esquires. The line-up was: Trumpet – David Gambe, Drums - Kitty Maseko, Lead guitar -- Andrew Sithole, Rhythm guitar: Robert Ndlovu, Bass guitar -- Manica Ngulube, Sax -- Enoch Ndlovu. After the Esquires stopped he bought some of the instruments from Stanley Wilson to enlarge the group but they disbanded in 1969. Very soon he started a new band, Man about Town. To suit the times they played mainly simanjemanje and ballroom dancing music. At first the line-up was: Lead guitar -- Nico Sibanda, Rhythm guitar — Andrew Clark, Bass guitar – Wellknown Dlamini, Drums – Cyrus Ngwenya, Sax – Enoch Ndlovu. When Ngwenya left to continue his schooling, Kitty Maseko came in, and Robert Ndlovu replaced Dlamini when he took up permanent employment elsewhere. After the death of Nico Sibanda they hired several different lead guitarists but none settled and before long business had become so quiet that, in 1976, the group disbanded.

He recalls being the first black pupil of the Academy of Music. “It started in Avenue Buildings on the corner of 8th Avenue and Abercorn Street. I had a job in the same building in Black Swallow days and I got friendly with Dr Fielden when he saw me carrying my saxophone to work. I had lessons on the piano for six months at 30 shillings a month. Mrs Jarvis gave lessons when Dr Fielden was away. About that time I bought a violin and a clarinet but they were stolen at a youth club.”

D. Autobiographical notes by Tion Nxumalo

It was in 1954 when I bought myself a set of instruments composed of two guitars and drums. As I liked music very much I started organising my friends to former group which had four singers as well as drums and two guitarists; we were called The Crotchets. When some had to go away I was left on my own and sometimes I hired the instrument is to other people, but later I sold them one by one.

Then in 1961 I went to the Academy of Music for some lessons in theory of music and voice production. This was only for one year then some promoters came from the Royal School of Music, London. And they promised us, as we were only two blacks by then, that we would go to London for more training. Unfortunately this did not happen as then a man called Mr Williamson came here from London and started a music College at the Old Memorial Hospital. I joined the College and we, the students, called it the Kwanangoma College of African music. This was in 1962, and we began at two-year teachers' High Music course which included rudiments of music, piano, African drums, mbira, marimba, hosho, traditional songs, Lozi dancing, guitar, bow music, voice production and even musical appreciation and choral singing. The course ran daily from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. and we also toured different parts of Zimbabwe in search of African music. After a year I was sent to do my practical at Insukamini and Helemu Primary Schools. I think the course was very good for me but rather too difficult for most students – only three of us were left after two years out of 21 who began, and I was the only one who qualified.

Then, in 1964, I was employed under the then Welfare Department, now called the Housing and Community Services Department of the City Council, as a music instructor. I am now at Thabiso Youth Centre as a club leader, where we have a group called the Kinder Cools whom I train; and we have a singing group of adults called Amangxolisa, but two only now the others are out of town so, with love of music, Mr Canaan Nyoni and I carry on practising. I am happy with the organisation of this Revival Show which can help us in improving our cultural music which was almost out of sight of our friends.

E. Autobiographical notes by Gerry De Vos

Born in Bulawayo in 1920, I began playing the violin at the age of seven, since when I have also learned piano, organ, guitar, drums, the mandolin and almost anything you care to name! I became interested in the guitar after seeing a visiting performer, Izzy Ressel, at the Princess Theatre in 1939. A year later I was playing the guitar as well as anyone, and when the leader of the Vic Davis Band fell ill I took over. Soon after, the name of the band was changed to the Gerry De Vos band and I've never looked back. I have made over 36 instrumental albums and have been musical director for several artistes. Highlights – recently being in the nightclub seen in the film "Worlds Apart"; earlier, accompanying Vera Lynn in 1961-2 on her tour, and being steward to Satchmo on his tour here. Now I spend most of my time teaching pupils and practising with the band.

F. Original line up of musicians in the bands (collated by the Editor)

Early bands playing popular music in Bulawayo

| | | |
|---|------------------------|--|
| The Black and White Havana Band | 1940s | George Caison, Mr. Scott, Fox Mtukhitiva, Chaka, |
| Los Angeles Orchestra | 1949 | James Kahlu (leader) |
| The Cool Four | 1950s | Ben Phulaphulani, Never Nevado Ndlovu, Marko Mapfumo, Lucky Thodlana |
| Philharmonic Stars | 1948 | Billy Matwele, Ben Phulaphulani |
| Hippo Valley African Welfare Band | 1964-79 | Jonathan Sibanda |
| The Golden Rhythm Crooners (with Dorothy Masuka) | 1951- | Steven Gadlula (founder), Sonny Mini, Champion Banda, George Sibanda Chagasa, Abel Sithole, Timothy Seilane, Phineas Ncube,(vocalists) (instrumentalists) Willie Mahlangu, Peter Jaffe, Tuso, Roy Tshwele Mhlanga, Zex Gwaze, |
| The Black Merchants | Revived 1983 | Abel Sinametse Sithole |
| The Joy Harmoners | late 1950s | Miller Jiyane Kitty Maseko, Robert Ndlovu |
| City Jazz Esquires | late 1950s- 1967 | Stanley Wilson, Willie Mahlangu, Tuso, Lashanty |
| Shanty City Sixes | | Musa Mbuyisa, Justin Sibanda, Julia Moyo, Jairos Moyo, Vatte Maseko, Enos Ndlovu |
| The Diamonds | 1970 - 1974 | Musa Mbuyisa, Vincent Mbuyisa, Japhet Tshuma, Mishak, Kitty Maseko, Prosper Ngwenya, Lucky Boy Ngwenya, Judy, Lavenda, Audrey, Anna. |
| Submarine (formerly The River Boys) | 1973 | George Selimu, Prosper Ngwenya, Robert Ngwenya, Julius Ndoro, Never Nyamanyoro, Maxwell Mavura |
| The Keynotes | | Jairos Jiri |
| Black Swallow Brothers | 1953- ? | Enoch Ndlovu, Gentle Ndlovu, Aaron Ndlovu, Samuel Nhliziyo, Samson Moyo |
| Seventh Street Jazz | 196?-69 | Enoch Ndlovu (leader), Amon Ntere, Chicky, Andrew Sithole, the other Enoch Ndlovu David Gambe, Robert Ndlovu |
| Man About Town (revived early 1990s) | 1970-76 | Enoch Ndlovu, Nico Sibanda, Andrew Clark, Wellknown Dlamini, Cyrus Ngwenya |
| Amangxolisa | 1980s | Tion Nxumalo, Canaan Nyoni |
| Jazz Tones | 1966 | Oliver Maseka, Ambrose Mutungwase, Chrispen Matema, Pilot Dladla, M&B Chiradze, Andrew Sithole |
| Bulawayo African Orchestra | 1950s | David Gambe |
| All Stars | 1960-62 | Gibson Maphosa, Amon Phiri, Matthew Phiri, David Matenga, Moses Moyo, C. Dube, R. Dube, P. Lunga |
| Soloist - umasiganda | 1950 - | John White |
| Gerry De Vos Band (formerly Vic Davis Band) | 1940s | Gerry De Vos et al |

Information obtained by interview: from the memories of musicians who played with them

G. More memories (references from Bulawayo City Hall archive)

WHEN DID SATCHMO VISIT BULAWAYO?

In *PARADE* magazine for November 1960 Louis Armstrong's tour was previewed and the programme tells us that there were to be performances in Blantyre, Salisbury (Harare), Bulawayo, Lusaka and Kitwe. Two of tonight's performers were lucky enough to shake hands with the great man and to play in his presence. It was in Kitwe that **Willie Mahlangu** played in the band that kept the audience happy till SATCHMO came on stage, and in Bulawayo **Paul Lunga** was invited to play his trumpet at the official welcome in Macdonald Hall.

On November 19th *THE CHRONICLE* report said:

"... beaming and joking as he stepped off the plane, Louis waved cheerfully to August Musarurwa and his Sweet Rhythm Band as they played 'Skokiaan' -- the melody composed by August and later made famous by the jazz trumpeter.

In the afternoon he was greeted by more music when he played a flying visit to Southern Rhodesia's first multiracial club, the Ikhwezi Club in Pelandaba township, which cost £10,000.

'Satchmo', arriving in a big American car with his wife, was welcomed by a crowd of about 100 Africans and 30 Europeans. Inside he had coffee and met members. Four Africans from Tabiso Boys Club sang jazz numbers accompanied by the Kwela Flute Band. The Mayor, Councillor Mrs Brett, officially welcomed Louis and his party."

In May the following year... screaming girls greeted the arrival of Cliff Richard...

* * * * *

There are some websites referring to this visit from white viewpoints; details of venues, etc. vary.

1. A white Rhodesian memory is at <http://www.rhodiemusic.com/memories.htm> (uploaded 19/06/05 accessed 05/01/09)

2. A more surprising account from Mark Lewis, former Director of the US Information Service in the Central African Federation, explains the problem for American cultural diplomacy: 'The Rhodesias and Nyasaland composed one of the most racially segregated areas on earth. How could the man known as "America's Goodwill Ambassador" perform in such an environment?'

In Bulawayo Lewis recalls: 'We were walking out of a hotel one morning when three local white journalists came up to him. One of them asked a typical question put to visiting celebrities: "Well, Mr. Armstrong, how do you like Rhodesia?" Without missing a beat, Armstrong said: "Y'all sure know how to keep little black children in bare feet!"'

http://www.americanheritage.com/articles/magazine/ah/1996/3/1996_3_36.shtml
[May/June 1996 Volume 47, Issue 3](#) (Accessed 05/01/09)

APPENDIX 6-3

Selected items of press coverage

1. 'Rhythm Revival' H. Thodlana interviewed by Saul Ndlovu (A132) Parade Sept 1987
2. *Advertisement* inviting participation.

3. News Item: Previews

(A 133) Calling all musicians by Benjamin Jubane *Sunday News* 20th Sept 1987

(A 135) Appeal for prizes by Godfrey Moyo *Chronicle* October 20th 1987

A MEETING was held at Mimosa House on Monday to plan a music revival show, which will feature music from the 50s until the present. The steering committee's organising secretary, Dee Jay said rehearsals start at the Stanley Hall tomorrow for the concert, *A Walk Down Memory Lane* scheduled for December 4, at the Large City Hall. Dee Jay appealed to business houses to donate prizes to be presented to performers who will have excelled in their respective areas.

(A 138) Making memories *Chronicle*, Friday, December 4, 1987

MUSICIANS of today and those from yesteryear get together tonight for a music revival show at the Large City Hall, which will feature music from the 40s, 50s and 60s, right up to date.

Called *A Walk Down Memory Lane*, the show will feature local artistes who were performing and releasing records, way back in the 1940s and 50s, among them the Home Lilies, Shanty City Sixes. The Cool Four, Golden Rhythm Crooners, The Jazz Merchants, the de Vos Brothers Quintet and Aaron Newman Sibanda.

Others performing and bringing back the music of the past four decades include; Double K, Purple Monkey, Steam Rollers, YAWU, Submarine; Dee Jay, Johnie White, Special FX, Dave Allen; Mark, Rose and George; Paul Lunga and Jazz Impacto, Kwela Rise Band, Man About Town, Ernie Konson, and Amangxolisa.

Promising to be a lively mixed bag of jazz, Afrojazz. blues, swing, country, rock and roll, reggae, rapping, jive. kwela and rock. The show starts at 7 pm.

(A 139) The Veterans



(A 140) Caption

Roy Shwele on double bass, Enoch Ndlovu on saxophone and Willie Mahlangu (right) on guitar, accompany The Cool Four: (from left) Benny Gumbo, Justin Sibanda (partly obscured), Willard Nyoni and Teddy Sibanda, seen rehearsing for tonight's show.

4. Letters to the Editor

(B5) Thank you so much

Chronicle January 16th 1988

Can we, please, through the medium of your paper, thank and express our heartfelt gratitude to everyone who contributed towards the success of the Bulawayo Music Revival Show in any way whatsoever.

It is now over a month since this very successful show was held and many people who sincerely believe they are all for the success of the show will begin to feel by now that their efforts were not really appreciated at all. The truth of the matter is quite to the contrary, thank you so much all of you!

Dee Jay,

Organising Secretary, Bulawayo Musical Revival Show

(B 6) What charity benefited?

Chronicle January 19th 1988

With reference to Dee Jay's letter (*The Chronicle*, January 16), we would like Dee Jay to reply to the following:

Our band was approached to perform in the Bulawayo Music Revival Show, which was held in the Bulawayo City Hall recently. It was made quite clear to us (the members of the band) that this show was in aid of charity.

Since we were participants and spend a lot of time in rehearsing and preparation for the show, which was a great success as we played to a full house, we would like to know, in the public's interest, what charity benefited from the proceeds of the show?

Geo. W. De Vos Bulawayo

(B 7) Music was for City

Chronicle January 23rd 1988

I was surprised and saddened to read Geo. W. De Vos' letter (*The Chronicle*, January 19) wherein he calls for a reply from me. I was surprised because on several occasions it was stated to him and the rest of the De Vos band, that the musicians, singers, dancers, choral groups, comedian, committee and producer were all being so very charitable by giving of their precious time and services for the benefit of music in Bulawayo! I was saddened because I've discussed this charity issue with Gerry De Vos and his clarinet player, Dave Benbow, before.

I must emphasise that neither I nor any of my fellow committee members informed any of the (around) 156 participants that our show was in aid of charity. What I did promise was as much publicity and exposure as possible.

Hence the appearance of the De Vos Bros. Band's picture in our programme booklet and the biography of Gerry De Vos.

On several occasions before the show, he telephoned our offices asking if the show was in aid of charity. He was told no, and referred to me for details, but he never did!

When the show ended, I announced over the public address system that all participants should please come to Stanley Hall a week later to discuss the future of the show and what to do with new options and resources. Sad to say the De Vos band did not attend the meeting held at Makokoba. Many interested participants did attend the meeting and decided that any excess of income over expenditure should be held over to organise future shows, especially in view of the astronomical costs involved, e.g. \$643 City Hall; \$400 equipment hire, etc.

The financial statement is available at the offices of the Zimbabwean Union of Musicians on the second floor of Southampton House, Main Street/9th Avenue, Bulawayo, for anyone to peruse. Especially in view of George De Vos letter I advise anyone to go over to the said the ZUM. offices and examine this financial statement for themselves instead of allowing themselves to be influenced by the mischief of a disgruntled few.

Dee Jay, Organising Secretary, Bulawayo Music Revival Show

APPENDIX 6-4

YESTERYEAR

Music from the Bulawayo Music Revival Show

| | ARTISTES | TITLE | DURATION | DATE | |
|------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|------|------|
| SIDE ONE | Golden Rhythm Crooners | Venentula | 2:40 | 1959 | |
| | | Uman'uyakhala | 2:45 | 1958 | |
| | | Cherry Zespot | 3:20 | 1961 | |
| | Man About Town featuring Enoch Ndlovu | Skokiaan | 2:31 | 1955 | |
| | | Jungle Kwela | 3:33 | 1958 | |
| | | Hot Shoes | 2:58 | 1987 | |
| | Shanty City Sixes | Sana lwami | 3:32 | 1958 | |
| | | TOTAL TIME | 21:19 | | |
| | SIDE TWO | The Cool Four | Waze wadzala ngami | 2:09 | 1940 |
| | | | Abazali | 2:06 | 1940 |
| Umsebensi | | | 2:34 | 1950 | |
| Amangxolisa | | Suke'mua kwami | 3:10 | 1957 | |
| | | Khuluma wemfazi | 2:52 | 1958 | |
| Kwela Rise Kings | | Three-One Special | 2:10 | 1956 | |
| | | Two-One Special | 2:28 | 1987 | |
| | | Uhlaleleni | 2:52 | 1987 | |
| | | TOTAL TIME | 20:21 | | |

Performed by the Veteran Musicians

Recorded at Sibson Hall, Bulawayo, Zimbabwe by:

Derek Hudson (Bulawayo College of Music)

and Sam Mkhithika (ZBC)

December 4th 1987

APPENDIX 6-5

Extract from Mike Bosco Ncube's M-S project interview 4/7/95

Mike. Firstly on the course, I would dearly have loved to have this kind of management training. It should be the... about documentation, whereby generally everybody seems to be given an opportunity to understand and learn how his constitution should be drafted and how it should work. And how a group or a band should get to some agreement among themselves before even getting to.....

SC. Well you've heard that... do you remember it was a big struggle for me to bring it forward, wasn't it.?

Mike. That's right. That's why it's very important that these themes should always be brought forward, to such kind of seminars; because I believe that's the key figure towards the management of each or whatever groups.

SC. Even though it was difficult? You think it was worthwhile? In the long run?

Mike. Yes it is very much important that these things should always be brought forward to every... aspiring....

SC. Why?

Mike. Because I believe most of us musicians from way back until now also for more years to come, we haven't got any access to our constitutions, we just do things from ...er... from the mind.

SC. Doesn't that work?

Mike. At times it does work, but when it comes to a standstill then there's no answer to the problems...

SC. I think... are you saying that the constitution, or contracts and things, you don't notice them if things are going well but when something goes wrong (**Mike.** That's right.) Then you wish you'd mentioned the problems...

Mike. That's right. You see, partnerships, trusts, correspondences and so on, all these need to be done through the group agreement and management which by then will be managed by the constitutions.

SC. Do you think musicians can manage themselves or do you think they should employ a manager?

Mike. I believe they can manage themselves, that is, if they get the opportunity to get to understand what is the management capabilities, but I would also like to point it out that there are some of course who could manage without having outside assistance because of the experience they have had in the music industry. But definitely my opinion is that every musician should learn to understand how his constitution or the agreements should be, then they can have their own management from the musicians themselves.

SC. What else? About other things on the [*proposed*] programme?

Mike. Yes, there are ...a couple arenot lot of things that look to me ... look very much important -- we could finish the whole lot....

SC. I asked you for the three most important things... in fact you've already given me one.

Mike. Yes and secondly it is finances. Yes. You find that normally all the groups that are formed especially groups in Zimbabwe -- of course I haven't been out of the country but I'm talking about the groups that I have seen from...[...] Until now... some of them have disbanded because of erratical financial management. You may find that I am the manager of this group and the owner of the instruments, and then I gang up with a couple or more guys, we make up a group and there is no constitution. As we said before; there is no understanding or banking account for the group so whatever monies we account for whether these are live shows or recordings, sometimes it is my own discretion to give the guys that have organised whatever...

SC. Oh, they have to do what you tell them? Why?

Mike. Because I'll be the manager of this group, and maybe I'll be part owner of the instruments.

SC. Oh. So anyone who owns the instruments...?

Mike.... whoever owns the instruments normally turns out to be the manager of the group.

SC. So he's got a stranglehold over the others?

Mike. Yes. His holding his other friends over a barrel.

SC. So what sort of people manage to get instruments? Is it perhaps that they've got leadership qualities already and so they manage to get the instruments in the first place? Isn't that actually one of the key things?

Mike. Not quite, some of them... well they just happen to have money to... buy those instruments. They've got no real leadership qualities, they've got absolutely nothing to do with music but just because he may be interested in music and he's got money to buy the instruments.... Suddenly he will just itch to the point where he becomes the manager because he is just safeguarding his assets. But most musicians themselves, I believe, throughout the country don't own instruments.

SC. Did they used to? When you were a young man, were more people owning instruments?

Mike. No... when I was a young man it was easy to own instruments, like, it was not all that sophisticated as it is today.

SC. It was box guitars wasn't it?

Mike. That's right. And even some of these electric guitars, they were not all that expensive as they are today. You know, I could buy one guitar and my friend could buy another and then another friend could buy a set of drums and just like that... it was possible. In the olden days we could play with one guitar and a set of drums and a bass guitar... it was a bit easier for the young musicians at that time to own their own instruments. But thereafter --

SC. Well who was the boss in that case? If everybody had their own things... has the leadership of bands changed? How was it decided in those days?

Mike. No, in fact, it was a joint problem. So you could talk it out. Whatever it was, a decision, monetary, your instrument was very much expensive, we would have to talk it out amongst ourselves.

SC. So who made the arrangements for the bands to play different places? Wasn't there a leader to do that?

Mike. No in fact, during that time, there was not much of that going on. I would say it was better to make arrangements for jobs but it was normally people who used to come to the groups having heard them play, so they come and propose, saying hey, guys, can you play for our meeting or can you play for us a concert? and then we just did it..

SC. At those times were the musicians only part-time musicians, they still had other jobs generally, or were they full-time?

Mike. There were some part-time musicians and some were full-time. The majority was part-time musicians.

SC. So did they get paid?

Mike. Yes. We used to get paid when we did shows... when they came to ask for the group to play and they would say -- I need you for a wedding, my daughter is getting married so I'll pay you guys \$100, is that fair? I'll give you food, and transport as it's out-of-town... something like that... and an agreement is reached. Then we get paid. Immediately we get paid, then we share the money accordingly, yes, we shared it all.

SC. The full-time musicians, did they work exactly the same way?

Mike. Well I wouldn't... I can't say much, I wasn't very associated with full-time musicians since I was also a junior, so I wouldn't say what they really did about their part of the shares.

* * * * *

APPENDIX 7-1

Letter from Bulawayo Theatre Club to Amakhosi

Telephone: 65393 Bulawayo Theatre North Park P.O. Box 731, Bulawayo 17 July 1986

Miss S. Cameron
Abercorn Street/6th. Ave
BULAWAYO

Dear Miss Cameron

Our recent telephone conversation (July 15th) left me with a distinct impression that you were wary of our intentions. So I must clarify.

Our immediate reaction was to make our Theatre, with all its facilities, available to the Amakhosi group which, we understand has few or none, so that such a highly lauded production could be exposed to a far wider audience. There were reasonable objections.

It would be a gamble on our part. Even with English dialogue there has been audience resistance and we have experienced very sparse audiences, as low as 30 and 40. 'Pajama Game', after a brilliant review, was a financial flop – one we could ill afford if we are to maintain the Theatre's viability.

It was decided that a guest appearance would fulfil our first aim and, maybe help us to recoup our expenses for the running of the show. So August 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th were booked for your group. However there is an alternative:

The group could hire the Theatre for those dates – (hire charge \$120 per night, payable in advance) and take over the whole organisation i.e. booking, Front of House, box-office, ushers, plans, advertising etc., etc. – with no reference at all to the Bulawayo Theatre Club. This would make you totally independent.

As time is of the essence, you will appreciate that we must have a firm decision by Wednesday July 23rd

Yours sincerely

pp. Mary Morgan-Davis

PRODUCTIONS MANAGER FOR BULAWAYO THEATRE CLUB

Copies: The Chairman, BTC
The Theatre Manager BTC
The Productions Manager BTC
File (2).

APPENDIX 7-2

In Defence of Local Theatre

Media Corpus **A16** September 16, 1986 *The Chronicle*, Letters Page
from Mary Morgan-Davies (Bulawayo)

Mr Hurst is right when he claims that there are two levels of theatre in this country, but his comments are so biased that one can scarcely consider them objective or relevant. There is, surely, a place for both.

Western style theatre has been developed over many years through the hard work of some very special people. Colonialism has nothing to do with their efforts which produced many fine well-equipped theatres and I see no reason for apologising for such vision.

The history of drama reveals all the fascination of the whole kaleidoscope of theatre but it is the brilliant director Peter Brook who put it in a nutshell.

‘Through the ages, theatre has taken many forms and there is only one factor common to all – sold, sweat, nose, smell: the theatre that not in the theatre, the theatre on carts, wagons, audiences standing drinking, theatre in backrooms, barns – that one generic term theatre covers all this AND the sparkling chandeliers.’

The theatres in Zimbabwe grew out of the salt and sweat in the backrooms and barns, so don't knock them Mr Hurst. We are not trapped in our buildings and we still looked forward – hopefully – with vision.

Still drama thrives on all aspects of the human condition – is therefore timeless which is why Shakespeare works as well in Russia and China as in London or Denmark.

Wole Soyinka, the great Nigerian playwright, produces brilliant African plays, but also turned to the universal theme of a Greek tragedy, a theme with which all audiences can identify.

Insularity will not further the cause of any theatre and immaterial jibes will create only antagonism and distrust and will be entirely counterproductive.

Mary Morgan-Davies (Bulawayo)

APPENDIX 7-3

Theatre is colonial

Media Corpus **A20** 23/09/86 *The Chronicle*, Letters Page, from **M. Ndema**

M. Morgan-Davies (Chronicle September 16) is wrong and Hurst (September 5) is right. White theatre in this country is colonial, racist and class-conscious. It is paradoxically one of the remaining vestiges of colonial and cultural imperialism.

White theatre in this country has been part of the colonial and imperialist cultural and educational policies. The metropolitan countries and their activities were the centres of the colonial universe. What is standard and civilised was that which emulated or approximated the metropolitan standards. Hence books studied in schools were published in the colonial metropolis. The themes and images of literature extolled the imagined virtues of imperialist metropolitan powers and induced on the colonised a sense of inadequacy, hopelessness and self-denigration.

The theatre of Rhodesia and, lo and behold, that of white Zimbabweans, continues to perpetuate the tradition of producing and promoting foreign plays: of examining and commenting on its experiences through the surrogate perceptions of foreign writers. If this is not cultural imperialism, what is it?

Comrade Hurst is right in criticising the sumptuous theatres in this country and Comrade M. Morgan Davies is wrong in saying that they are monuments of a theatre that has grown from backyards, barnyards and streets. Their current occupants may have at one time produced plays in those humble environs but the plays were not the clay and mortar of that environment.

They were not plays about ordinary people; peasants, workers, farmers, black and white, in Rhodesia. They were reproductions of classics from Europe, classics that have been written and developed by imaginative and nationalistic writers to their current levels of sophistication.

Those classics were rabidly British or American or European or Russian. The theatres that were built were living testimony to the box office appeal of theatre that is essentially cultural, national and relevant. Such were impressive monuments of the people's sweat and toil. The Globe Theatre of Shakespeare was a place for English theatre and not for French or Spanish theatre.

I have alleged that the theatre owners in Rhodesia and today in Zimbabwe are a class conscious and snobbish lot. They conceived of theatre as a connoisseur's pastime and not as a people's recreation. Evidence of that can be seen from the fact that none of the community-based black theatre groups or school drama groups can afford the exorbitant expenses of hiring places such as the Bulawayo Theatre.

The question is: Who uses such theatre? It is the middle-class performing their middle-class plays that have no relevance to the vast majority of the people of this country. For even during the heyday of white rule theatregoing was a minority pastime.

Why? Because it was a middle-class hobby massaging middle-class egos and without the remotest relevance to the country's socio-cultural heritage.

How much more benefit could have been derived had all that money which went into building those citadels of European cultural and parochial theatre been invested in developing a community-based national theatre? Today we would have classics that have an international appeal like your Shakespeare, Chekhov and many other renowned writers.

Finally, Cde. Morgan Davies, don't try to excuse your class bias and cultural ignorance by dragging the name Wole Soyinka in. Wole did not turn to Greek tragedies out of deference to their superiority or universalism (as you and your ilk are doing). He did so because he found a striking affinity between Yoruba cosmogony (theory of the origin of the universe) and Greek cosmogony.

* * * * *

APPENDIX 7-4

Granger should stop pontificating

Media Corpus **A28** 12th October 1986 *The Sunday Mail* Harare Letters Page
from Mutandazo Ndema Ngwenya (Bulawayo)

1. MAY I comment on the rather arrogant and Olympian views of Dennis Granger (Sunday Mail September 14). (Media Corpus A15).
2. Mr Granger makes some ill-informed statements about indigenous theatre. He claims that there are no writers who can write what he considers standard and acceptable theatre. That of course is absolute nonsense. Mr Granger, for a start, is not acquainted with black theatre in the indigenous languages and as such is not in a position to pass judgments and pontificate.
3. To the likes of Granger, good theatre is an unabashed and spineless imitation and reproduction of European and other foreign theatre forms. In short, good theatre is the reproduction of and obeisance to cultural imperialism. Hence his references to internationalism without defining what is international and what is not.
4. What Granger and those like him should realise, is that white theatre in the past and at present in this country has dismally failed to develop and sustain an authentic and independent theatre tradition that draws from the rich and variegated cultural roots of this country.
5. Whites continue to indulge in silly and effete imitations and reproductions of theatre forms of European, and particularly British and American theatre. This inclination of whites is rather a pathetic and ridiculous attempt at reassuring themselves that although they are in Africa, culturally they are not of Africa and they are radically different.
6. They also want to flatter themselves into thinking they are still part of the mainstream of the civilised and sophisticated culture of the countries of their origin and extraction, little realising that they are holding on to antiquated forms. In other words their imitations and at times distortions are to all intents and purposes ego-boosting attempts at cultural reaffirmation and regeneration.
7. But what severely inhibits these attempts is the fact that such theatre lacks the vitality and authenticity of their real existential culture. It is a theatre that alienates man from his concrete experiences and renders him spiritless and rudderless.
8. The theatre that offers a prospect of contributing to universal culture is that which is being experimented on by many black Zimbabweans in alliance with progressive whites. I know of many talented and imaginative writers throughout the country who are working either individually or collectively with their communities to help us see ourselves and our times.
9. Writers who are not craven and spineless to shy away from commenting on our recent history of inter-racial conflict and who are eager and capable of capturing and projecting, powerful and evocative images and insights about that experience and the directions which our self-regarding ways are leading the country.
10. These writers have the intelligence and good sense to expose the workings of the human mind and the human heart. Indeed, such writers deserve respect and recognition and not the cynical and divisive comments of Dennis Granger.
11. The theatre of the 60s which Granger pines for never rose above the level of apemanship. It never questioned the morality and justice of white rule, of discrimination and exploitation. On the contrary it strove rather stridently to reinforce the anti-democratic tendencies of the ruling white élite.

(Paragraphs numbered for analysis)

APPENDIX 7-5

Rhetorical devices – lexical pairs in M. N. Ngwenya, A28

| Pa | Concept modified | Paired lexical items | Grammatical | Semantic role |
|----|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| 1 | Arrogance | arrogant and Olympian | adjectival | description |
| 2 | Loss of authority | standard and acceptable | adjectival | classification |
| | | to pass judgments and pontificate | infinitive verb | actions |
| 3 | 'Internationalism' | unabashed and spineless | adjectival | neg. attributes |
| | | imitation and reproduction | noun | classification |
| | | European and other foreign | adjectival | classification |
| | | reproduction of and obeisance to | noun | mixed |
| 4 | National theatre | Granger and those like him | noun | classification |
| | | in the past and at present | adverbial | temporality |
| | | to develop and sustain | infinitive verb | actions |
| | | authentic and independent | adjectival | qualities |
| | | rich and variegated | adjectival | descriptive |
| 5 | Role of white theatre | silly and effete | adjectival | descriptive |
| | | imitations and reproductions | noun | products |
| | | British and American | adjectival | classification |
| | | pathetic and ridiculous | adjectival | descriptive |
| | | in Africa not of Africa | adverbial | locative |
| 6 | White delusions | civilised and sophisticated | adjectival | descriptive |
| | | their origin and extraction | noun | classification |
| | | imitations and ... distortions | nominalisation | classification |
| | | reaffirmation and regeneration | noun | processes |
| 7 | Bad influence | Vitality and authenticity | noun | qualities |
| | | alienates from... and renders | verb | processes |
| | | spiritless and rudderless | adjectival | negative quality |
| 8 | Positive alternatives | talented and imaginative | adjectival | classification |
| | | individually or collectively | adverbial | process |
| | | ourselves and our times | noun (pl) | classification |
| 9 | Qualities of writers | (not) craven and spineless | adjectival | classification |
| | | Eager and capable | adjectival | descriptive |
| | | capturing and projecting | adjectival | descriptive |
| | | powerful and evocative | adjectival | descriptive |
| | | images and insights | noun (pl) | constructions |
| | | experience and the directions | noun | descriptive |
| 10 | Worthy of respect | Intelligence and good sense | noun | constructions |
| | | human mind and the human heart | noun phrase | affected participants |
| | | respect and recognition | nominalisation | quality/action |
| | | cynical and divisive | adjectival | descriptive |
| 11 | Moral failures | morality and justice | noun | actions/values |
| | | discrimination and exploitation | noun | action/ process |

The effect of these pairs, as discussed on p. 193, is not mere repetition – semantically they have complementary roles producing elaborations of consciousness. A dual grammatical/semantic analysis (Jackson 1990) reveals many nuances in what was going on during these exchanges that would justify more attention. A relatively simple sentence structure is able to present two semantic propositions while giving the reader/listener only one grammatical form to process (but in para. 3, with 3 pairs in one sentence, the flood of lexis almost confounds that structural simplicity.)

This is recognisably a strategy derived from oratory particularly if the listeners' second language is being used (often English to an Ndebele audience). For an English-speaking (L1) audience this rhetorical device, especially when used so extensively, might be heard as over-emphatic, even hectoring or aggressive. If there were more redundancy, the language could seem more gracious. Ngwenya chooses to employ every word in order to express his anger with racist assumptions of cultural superiority published by Morgan Davies and Granger.

APPENDIX 7-6

Lexis of insult and approval in A28

| Adjectives: Insult (They) | Para. |
|------------------------------------|--------------|
| arrogant (views) | 1 |
| Olympian (views) | 1 |
| ill-informed (statements) | 2 |
| (not) acquainted with | 2 |
| spineless (imitation) | 3 |
| unabashed (imitation) | 3 |
| silly (imitations, reproductions) | 5 |
| effete (imitations, reproductions) | 5 |
| pathetic (attempt) | 5 |
| ridiculous (attempt) | 5 |
| antiquated (forms) | 6 |
| ego-boosting (attempts) | 6 |
| rudderless (man) | 7 |
| spiritless (man) | 7 |
| craven (not) (writers) | 9 |
| self-regarding (our ways) | 9 |
| spineless (not) (writers) | 9 |
| cynical (comments) | 10 |
| divisive (comments) | 10 |
| anti-democratic (tendencies) | 11 |

| Adjectives: of difference | Para |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|
| absolute (nonsense) | 2 |
| standard (theatre) | 2 |
| black (theatre) (Zimbabweans) | 2,8 |
| foreign (theatre forms) | 3 |
| variegated (cultural roots) | 4 |
| white (theatre) (rule) | 4, 10 |
| European/British/American (theatre) | 5 |
| different (radically) | 5 |
| Inter-racial | 9 |
| recent (history) | 9 |

| Adjectives: Approval (We) | Para. |
|---|--------------|
| acceptable (theatre) | 2 |
| indigenous (theatre, languages) | 2 |
| cultural (imperialism, roots, reaffirmation & regeneration) | 3, 4, 6 |
| civilised (culture) | 6 |
| sophisticated (culture) | 6 |
| good (theatre, sense) | 3, 3,10 |
| international (is not defined) | 3 |
| authentic (theatre tradition) | 4 |
| Independent (theatre tradition) | 4 |
| rich (cultural roots) | 4 |
| concrete (experiences) | 7 |
| existential (culture) | 7 |
| real (culture) | 7 |
| imaginative (writers) | 8 |
| progressive (whites) | 8 |
| talented (writers) | 8 |
| capable (of projecting) | 9 |
| eager (writers) | 9 |
| evocative (images, insights) | 9 |
| powerful (images, insights) | 9 |
| universal (culture) | 8 |
| human (mind, heart) | 10 |

Several features of text A28 are notable:

1. Ngwenya's extensive vocabulary produces a vivid text even when all the qualifiers are deleted.
2. Contrasting qualifiers are chosen to frame his argument in terms of differences in we/they behaviours and characteristics.
3. The rhetorical device of 'lexical pairs' is used to dramatic effect to express degrees of contempt, tolerance or approval.
4. The writer relishes the performance of insulting Granger and Morgan Davies to punish their racist assumptions.

APPENDIX 8 – 1

Contents of booklet

| WHAT HAPPENED IN DRAMA IN BULAWAYO IN 1985? | | | |
|---|----|------------------|-------------------------|
| Title | | Writer | Topic |
| WHAT HAPPENED IN DRAMA IN BULAWAYO IN 1985? | 1 | Editor | Survey |
| PROBLEMS | 2 | M.N. Ngwenya | Local context |
| THEATRE SKILLS: COMMUNITY THEATRE WORKSHOP | 3 | Editor | Report |
| WHAT ARE THEATRE SKILLS? | 4 | Cont Mhlanga | Drama skills |
| * THE JAIROS JIRI DRAMA GROUP <i>Musekiwa</i> | 5 | Mark Smith | Disabilities |
| M.A.W.A. ACHIEVEMENTS IN 1985 | 6 | M.N. Ngwenya | Information |
| DO YOU KNOW . . .??? | 6 | Editor | Information |
| BULAWAYO THEATRE CLUB <i>Agnes of God; Woman in a Dressing Gown</i> | 7 | Club officer | Information |
| * AMAKHOSI THEATRE PRODUCTIONS: <i>Nansi le Ndoda</i> | 8 | S. Cameron | Local |
| THE DRAMA DEPARTMENT, HILLSIDE T.T. COLLEGE <i>The Lion And The Jewel</i> | 9 | Mark Smith | Students |
| * ZIMBABWE ARTS PRODUCTIONS: <i>Sizwe Bansi Is Dead.</i> | 10 | Mark Smith | Harare |
| KANYAMA THEATRE PRODUCTION UNIT <i>Mr Polera; The Retired Ones; The Story of Music</i> | 11 | Sibusisiwe Ncube | Theatre for development |
| * KWAYEDZA DRAMA GROUP: <i>Season Of Tears</i> | 12 | Mark Smith | Local |
| * UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA TRADITIONAL DANCERS | 12 | Editor | Zambian |
| DRAMA IN DEVELOPMENT | 13 | A. Damasane | Ministry work |
| PERFORMANCE CERTIFICATES | 13 | Editor | Information |
| * U.Z. <i>Serikwesasa-Okusemsamo</i> | 14 | T. Masha | Harare UZ |
| DRAMA IN EDUCATION | 15 | Editor | Info/Context |
| THE BULAWAYO ARTS COUNCIL | 16 | Felix Moyo | Info/Context |
| SCHOOL LEAVERS - A GREAT OPPORTUNITY | 18 | Steve Williams | CUSO |
| ANOTHER LOOK AT DRAMA IN 1985 | 19 | Gift Siso | Opinion |
| HOW TO BRING IN THE AUDIENCES | 21 | A.M. Marine | Ministry work |
| ADVERTISING IN THE CITY | 22 | Brian Moyo | Press |
| FREE ADVERTISING! | 23 | Editor | Information |
| PERFORMANCE RIGHTS AND COPYRIGHT | 23 | Cont Mhlanga | Information |
| ARE SETS NECESSARY? | 24 | Myfawny Hess | Drama skills |
| ARE DIRECTORS NECESSARY? | 25 | Cont Mhlanga | Drama skills |
| THE BIG FIVE | 26 | J. Rushambwe | Translation |
| RADIO DRAMA | 28 | M. N. Ngwenya | Writing skills |
| SECONDARY SCHOOLS COMPETITION | 30 | Buhle Ndebele | Report |
| THE MINISTRY OF YOUTH, SPORT AND CULTURE | 31 | Editor | Thanks |
| FINALLY | 32 | Editor | Farewells |
| * Reviews of/comments on performances | | | |

APPENDIX 8 - 2

Networking in Ministry's event management

Programme for Heroes Day 1986, at Barbourfields Stadium, Bulawayo

| TIME | ITEM | PRESENTER |
|---|-----------------------------------|--|
| 8.30 - 9.00 | Contemporary music | Lucky-Dan Trio (Jazz) |
| 9.00 - 9.10 | Poetry | Dumisani Gumpo |
| 9.10 | Mbakumba Dance | Masvingo Dancers |
| 9.20 | Mbube Songs | Impi Yosiko |
| 9.40 | Poetry | Amakhosi/Chris Hurst/ Elizabeth Ncube |
| 9.45 | Revolutionary Song | Womens' League ZANU(PF) |
| 9.50 | Gumboot Dance | Unyawolwethu |
| 10.00 | Official Speakers' Arrival | Master of Ceremonies |
| | National Anthem | Audience |
| 10.10 | Introductions | Provincial Administrator |
| 10.15 | Choral Music | Amakhosi Productions |
| 10.20 | Hymn, Text & Prayer | Rev. M.V. Ncube |
| 10.30 | Isitshikitsha (traditional dance) | Unyawolwethu |
| 10.35 | Official Speech | Governor of Matabeleland North Province |
| 10.55 | Choral Music (Traditional) | Impi Yosiko |
| 11.00 | Silent Prayer | Audience |
| 11.03 | Vote of Thanks | Mr. Jack Ngwenya |
| 11.06 | National Anthem | Audience |
| | | |
| <p>HYMN: AMAZING GRACE Amazing Grace, how sweet the sound! That cleansed a wretch like me. I once was lost, but now I'm found; Was blind but now I see.</p> | | |
| <p>H. A. Thodlana (Cultural Officer) PROGRAMMER & MASTER OF CEREMONY</p> | | |

APPENDIX 8 - 3

Club constitutions

1) AMAKHOSI CONSTITUTION

1. NAME: The association shall be called 'AMAKHOSI PRODUCTIONS'.
2. OBJECTIVES of the association shall be:
 - i To perform artistic activities within the association.
 - ii To learn and do various arts under a single group.
 - iii To produce and present various types of cultural entertainment in different localities.
 - iv To encourage united enthusiasm among talented artists, deep in their roots, so that they can be strongly represented in Arts Councils or other fields.
 - v To form a combination of administrated arts with the view to overcoming the death of certain arts due to lack of direction in leadership.
 - vi To have connections with relevant organisations within and outside Zimbabwe for cultural exchange in the fields of performing and visual arts.
3. MEMBERSHIP. The joining fee shall be \$5.00 payable on joining and the subscription shall be \$2.00 per annum, payable by office-bearers and ordinary members at the beginning of the year.
4. MANAGEMENT
 - a Composition of Executive
 - i the association shall consist of a Chairman, an Honorary Secretary, an Honorary Treasurer, a Committee not exceeding 15 members in number, and Ordinary Members.
 - ii All activity units shall be headed by a sub-committee not exceeding five in number whose duty is to report directly to the Amakhosi Executive.
 - iii Every member of the Committee will hold a respective portfolio and the Committee will have the powers of a board of directors.
 - b Meetings.
 - i The Committee shall meet in the first week of each month except for emergency meetings.
 - ii Seven members of the Committee shall form a quorum.
 - iii The AGM shall be called, and members should be informed, at least seven days before.
 - iv Alterations of or additions to the rules shall be made only at an AGM or at an extra-ordinarily meeting and shall be confirmed in writing to the Secretary and by more than half the members.
 - v Office bearers and Committee shall retire annually at the AGM but shall be eligible for re-election.
 - c Finance.
 - i The finance of the association shall be directed by the Treasurer who will present a financial statement at every AGM.

- ii During the Treasurer's absence, the Secretary shall be the acting Treasurer.
- iii The current banking account of the organisation is with the Founders Building Society.
- iv All finance exceeding an amount of 20 cents paid to the association shall be issued with a receipt.
- v All sponsored finance shall be distributed by the Treasurer to the activity units.
- vi All sponsored property shall remain the property of the sponsors unless it is a gift to the association, and all sponsored finance shall be used for association projects only.
- vii The association shall invite auditors to audit the box once the year.

5. DISCIPLINE.

- i An executive member missing three consecutive meetings shall be dropped from the executive.
- ii The meeting shall only accept written excuses.
- iii The discipline pertaining to ordinary members shall be governed by sub-committees.
- iv The Amakhosi Executive shall have the powers of expelling any member only after investigating the case thoroughly.
- v Bylaws shall be submitted to a general meeting for sanction and shall be approved before coming into operation.

6. DISSOLUTION.

- i Should the association be dissolved, a special meeting of members who are up-to-date with their subscriptions shall be called to decide the fate of property and finance.

7. ACTIVITIES

- i A contract will be signed with guest stars or arts groups who are invited to participate in any of the association's productions.
- ii Activities within the association may be given sub-names for easy communication and identification.
- iii Activities currently are:

DRAMA: Amakhosi Theatre Productions
 MARSHALL ARTS: Union Karate Academy, Sankukai.
 CREATIVE WRITING: Amakhosi Writers
 TENNIS: Bulawayo Central Tennis Club
 MARATHON: Amakhosi Road Runners.

| |
|--|
| <p style="text-align: center;"> AMAKHOSI PRODUCTIONS TSHAKA YOUTH CENTRE THEATRE ARTS P.O. BOX 2034 BULAWAYO This copy is dated November 1985 </p> |
|--|

[Official Rubber Stamp]

Footnote: The archive contains a draft of an earlier version of this document with corrections and amendments in Cont's hand, so it would seem that I had major inputs as far as layout and wording was concerned. It is also noteworthy that the group had already bought an official rubber stamp.

APPENDIX 8 - 3

Club constitutions

2) 'SHASHI CLASSIC' CONSTITUTION

| | |
|--------------------|------------------|
| Choirmaster: | Joseph Sibanda |
| Choirleader: | Levers Siziba |
| Secretary: | Kilebuhile Nare |
| Organiser: | Sishiwe Siwela |
| Treasurer: | Moreen Moyo |
| D/Organiser: | Action Ncube |
| consultant | Moretsi Nare |
| Committee members: | Mavis Moyo |
| | Lenatte Makai |
| | Carlson Ranthasi |
| | Josphat Dlomo |
| | Yonny Mlauzi |

AIM OF THE PROJECT/PROGRAMME

- To promote our culture and bring cultural awareness to the people.
- To promote and teach classic music at learning institutions.
- To conduct talent scouting and grooming of young musicians.
- To organise workshops and seminars for music development.
- To promote the junior policy so as to have a lively and reliable source of singers and performers of classic music.
- To open arts, crafts and drama programs that will highlight our culture.
- To have as form of our primary investment a centre/home of our own.
- To interact with or support other groups.
- To correlate folk/traditional music with modern equipment.
- To help the needy in form of entertainment and fundraising-shows.
- To encompass in our project the promotion of religion through gospel music.
- To create musicianship amongst the performers involved by: --
- Ensuring that performers are creating and imaginative so as to create fascinating shows.
- Making sure that music is treated like any other business with the basic need of fan satisfaction.
- Hard work and utmost performance would deserve public exposure.
- To train our staff to instructors of a high standard of competency
- To teach music at our centre up to the standard grade five theory LABRSM
- To encompass in our project the teaching of practicals in the arts, brass and woodwind instruments.
- To open a tuck shop that will sell our cultural wares and crafts to the public.

Signature of holder:

Date 21/08/91

APPENDIX 8-4

Talking about problems of constitutions in arts organisations

by Sheila Cameron

Zimbabwe News January, 1988

This extract is included as a specimen text, showing that even after three years in the city the exogenous critique, though accurate in principle, I did not recognise the problems of the documentary context and the way policies needed to be formulated and implemented to remove barriers. For comparison it is followed by part of the 1995 M-S interview with David Khabo, an officer in the Bulawayo City Council Social Services department, who founded the Masiyemunya Association to support groups working towards employment contracts in film and other genres of cultural production.

Many organisations in the Arts are suffering serious problems in following their Constitutions. These documents are required by any organisations that wish to be registered with the District Arts Council and thus become eligible to receive funds from them and participate in their activities. All too often the Constitutions are unworkable for one reason or another and are soon filed and forgotten. In practice it seems possible to manage nicely without reference to the written document for the first few months or even years, just as long as the founder members remember the gist of their original ideas. The majority do not see it as a serious problem but indeed it will become an increasingly serious problem, although this may not be apparent until disappointed members challenge the executive officers instead of merely drifting away, or new members with new ideas become active.

The executive officers might make excuses justify themselves. "A badly constructed or inappropriate Constitution *has* to be ignored if the organisation is to get on with its activities." This might solve short-term problems but the consequences can be disastrous. Perhaps the most serious result is the least obvious – it becomes *socially acceptable* to ignore the rules. This opens the door to chaos and corruption. A member asking that the rules be followed is made to feel foolish. No one wants the bother of resolving the basic problem, that is the failure of the Constitution to serve the needs of the members. One irregular solution leads to another problem, and another unconstitutional solution; and so it continues with the organisation becoming more and more dependent on bad habits that have become routines and work to the satisfaction of those that make decisions. But now any discontented member can rightly claim that the executive has proved unreliable and worse. Interpersonal problems arise, including perhaps lack of confidence in the committee by the members generally, personality clashes and power struggles within the committee. Individuals or groups under pressure begin to cover up their mistakes deliberately, useful members leave and the organisation sinks or splits or dies.

We should have, and abide by, a constitution that (like traffic robots) ensures that all members' rights are respected and our goals achieved. To ignore the Constitution is to

be contemptuous of the rights of our fellow-members at heart. If it is unsatisfactory it should be amended; any Constitution *must* include provision for its own amendment, and though it is a boring chore it must be done as necessary, to respect and serve the people and the aims of the organisation. There are two main reasons why amendment may be needed – either circumstances have changed and the organisation wants to adapt its aims or methods, or the Constitution was inadequate in the first place and hinders rather than helps the organisation to proceed smoothly towards its goals. Unfortunately, the mental inheritance of colonialism includes unhelpful attitudes to bad rules – since they could not be changed by most of the people they applied to, it became a virtue and amusing to find ways of evading them! This attitude is damaging us still.

To suggest that many organisations should look again at their constitutions is not to say that the people who drew them up acted in bad faith. Many were young and inexperienced; most were not able to find a variety of models to select from; some may have used a model for the organisation they hoped to create, far-sightedly providing a structure that would suit a membership of thousands but not for only a couple of hundred. Language has been another problem and will continue to be so. Constitutions have generally been drawn up in English and accepted by a membership whose knowledge of this language was not up to the legal jargon involved. There is not always full enlightenment from translation into Shona or Ndebele sense, no translation exactly replicates the original meaning. A further cause of misunderstanding is that some of the ideas enshrined in a constitution may be very alien to the listener or reader culturally, so the implications may be lost even if the words are correctly translated. Many of these factors are still likely to be true but if they can be identified then the work on amendments stands a better chance of succeeding.

Even with a well-designed, appropriate Constitution an organisation cannot be strong over a long period if the members do not know what it says and do not enforce it. At this time many people still do not have the confidence to speak, especially in disagreement with someone who, in other social contexts, may have unquestioned authority. How many women will risk being labelled 'unwomanly' for speaking forcefully against a man's opinion, knowing that both her ideas and her manner will isolate her? How can a young person convince an older one who hardly accepts the young one's right to speak for himself?

APPENDIX 8-5

Extracts from David Khabo M-S Interview (1995)

Even after eight years most groups in Bulawayo had little benefit from registration with the District Arts Council. Having identified some key problems for entrepreneurial cultural activity in the township, Khabo introduced contracts for prospective employers wanting to use any of the Association members and ensured that they began to get information by being represented in the DAC.

Constitutions do help when there is a problem In the past they learned how to be co-operative, how to behave in a group whereas the youngsters no longer take in that cultural background... so you might find that most of the older group won't have a constitution. But something: if someone comes late to a practice, a fine of 50cents, but it's not written down. The young ones have a constitution and put it down but it doesn't affect behaviour, it's not in their heads; they are more affected by what other people think about them, even if it's something which is wrong or.... they are only worried about the other groups' attitude about them. You see, before they start there is no constitution; but when they come to us (our Association or to the social services section of the BCC office) for a rehearsal place the officers demand a constitution so they get someone to write one for them without knowing exactly what it should be. Some of them take things seriously, others just take things as they come.

There are no records kept for their finances.... Yes, music bands make more money than these theatre groups but they manage things the same. When there is cash, all what they are thinking is that once they get money they will be able to take it home - straight away - they don't do like what Black Umfolosi or Amakhosi do, who have made a lot of sacrifices so that they will be able to do other things. When there is a problem this is where the constitution can come in; they can look and see what it says, but even if the constitution is there, they will try to do things that are not in the constitution; they want the money to use there and then.

APPENDIX 8-6

Questionnaires on group structure and management

The first questionnaire (1) with 20 items was created as part of the feasibility study for the 1995 M-S Arts Management workshop and had responses from 18 groups in Bulawayo. It was later developed into questionnaire (2) with 33 items for Linkfest'97. (For reasons of space here lines for answers are omitted.) Their experience of being plurilingual and living within and between two cultures is not easy to operationalise in English alone; many local aspects of authority and dominance are not best expressed in 2nd or 3rd language. (Harris, 1992, p5). Anticipating uncertainty about the intended meaning of the items and their responses the results were interpreted flexibly.

(a) M-S MANAGEMENT SKILLS WORKSHOP FOR THE ARTS AND ENTERTAINMENT INDUSTRY: feasibility study and registration.

QUESTIONNAIRE

Please fill in each part as fully as possible in the spaces provided. All details will be treated as CONFIDENTIAL. The responses will help us to plan the workshop and may be used in compiling a research report as an extension of the project.

On receipt of the carefully completed questionnaire a fee of twenty dollars will be sent to the group, organisation or individual concerned.

A: THE GROUP (or solo artiste)

- 1. NAME of GROUP (or solo artiste)
- 2. NAME & ROLE of contact person
- 3. ADDRESS
- 4. TELEPHONE
- 5. PRACTICE/REHEARSAL BASE or OFFICE
- 6. Are you working in the arts full-time or part-time?

B: MANAGEMENT

7. Please number the topics from 1 to 8 in order of importance to you.

- | | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| PLANNING | MANAGING | MANAGING | CONTRACTS |
| | PEOPLE | MONEY | |
| NEGOTIATING | WRITING LETTERS | IMAGING & ... | STRUCTURE OF |
| SKILLS | & AGREEMENTS | THE MEDIA | THE INDUSTRY |

8. Do you give time to advance planning? If so, how often?
9. How do you plan your work programme?
10. How are decisions about your working programme made for the group?
- II. Do you have a banking account for the business?
12. What financial records do you keep?

C: PAPERWORK

11. Do you work on verbal agreements? If so, how often and who with?
13. Have you ever signed written working contracts? If so, were you satisfied with them and the work concerned?
14. Have you got a band contract between members, or a group constitution? If so, how useful is it?
15. What sort of leadership do you have? ie. permanent or regularly elected?
16. Do you ever employ a non-performer to do any managerial work? If so, what?

D: IMAGING

17. Have you recorded or published any material? If so, give dates & company
18. What promotional material do you use? eg. handbills, leaflets, videos, demo tapes,
19. Have you been mentioned in newspapers, magazines, on radio or T.V. in the past year?
20. Please tick the box if you are willing to be interviewed further on these topics, and check that you have given a contact PHONE NUMBER.

(An interview fee of Z\$40 will be paid.)

SIGNED for the group.....

Please send the completed questionnaire as soon as possible in the envelope provided, to:
 Phaphama Promotions (Pvt)Ltd.
 P.O. Box 2792, Bulawayo,

APPENDIX 8-6

Questionnaires on group structure and management

(b) LINKFEST'97 Needs Analysis For Arts Management In SADC Region

All information will be treated as confidential. Please answer every question as fully as you can. Responses will be used to compile a report on management training needs for artists in the region.

GROUP PROFILE

NAME OF GROUP CONTACT ADDRESS; TELEPHONE; FAX.

1. What art forms do you include in your performances?
traditional dance modern/street dance tap/jazz dance drama poetry
traditional music story-telling mime modern music choral singing
2. How long has the group existed? How many members are there?
3. a. Which languages can your members speak? (Include all of them)
- b. Which languages do you use most often in performances?
4. a. Do you have a regular performance base? If so, where?
- b. What facilities are there? Do you pay rent for it and is it good value?
5. Are you working full-time or part-time in the arts?
6. What is the immediate aim of your group? (i.e. what are you working on right now?)
7. What is your most important long-term aim? (i.e. for the next one or two years)

MANAGEMENT STYLE

8. a. Do people have different responsibilities in the group? List the jobs and say if people are elected or appointed.
- b. How are decisions taken for the group?
- c. Do you give time to advance planning? If so, how often?
- d. How far ahead do you plan your productions or programme of work?
- e. Does the group have separate meetings for creative work and for management?
9. a. Does the group have a bank account? If so, is it a cheque/current account or a savings/interest account? How many signatures are needed to withdraw money?
10. Does the group have a constitution? What things does it cover?
11. What training have members had in performance and management skills till now? Give topics of workshops, how long they lasted, etc..
12. Does the group keep a) a minute book or other records of meetings?
 b) scripts of plays and other creative work?
13. Has the group prepared any of the following planning documents?
 - a) a mission statement
 - b) short and long term objectives.....
 - c) a business plan
 - d) funding/project proposals
 - e) budget estimates for events or general expenses
 - f) promotion packaging

FINANCIAL CONTROL

14. What financial records or books are kept?
15. How often do members get a financial report?
16. Are members of the group paid regularly?
17. Are all takings paid immediately into the bank or are they used as cash to pay expenses?

IMAGING & PROMOTION

18. List any mentions of the group in newspapers, radio, tv, magazines etc. in 1997.
19. a. Have you got access to a typewriter or computer?
b. What promotional materials do you produce? e.g. posters, handbills, flyers, advertisements
c. How often do you send out press releases or invite journalists to visit?
20. How much would you usually budget for spending on advertising a show?
21. What size of audience do you expect for shows on average? Why not more?
22. Which sort of advertising works best for you?

PAPERWORK

23. a. Does the group ever work on verbal agreements? If so, how often and who with?
b. Do you find verbal agreements satisfactory? If not, please explain why.
24. Has the group ever signed any written contracts for work? If so, were you satisfied with how they were implemented? Did you write any of the clauses in the contract?
25. Has the group got a constitution? If so, what does it include? When is it useful?
26. Do you ever employ a non-performer to do any management work for you?
If so, what?
27. How do you deal with mis-behaviour of group members? Are there fixed penalties?
28. Do you have government cultural officers in your country?
What services/help can they provide for artists?
29. Is the group affiliated to any larger arts organisations?
If so, what use is the relationship?
30. Are members of the group registered members of any workers' union?
31. Please number the topics below from 1 - 9 in order of importance to you in your work.
PLANNING;
MANAGING PEOPLE;
MANAGING MONEY;
IMAGING & ADVERTISING;
WRITING LETTERS, CONTRACTS & AGREEMENTS;
STRUCTURE OF THE ARTS INDUSTRY;
ORGANISING SHOWS;
CONSTITUTION;
CREATING NEW WORKS;
32. What do you think would be the most useful types of training for your members?
33. From the list of workshops, which FIVE would be most interesting to you at present?

Thank you for the time and care you have taken in answering these questions

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Responses To Questionnaire At Linkfest '97

Reference number shows *Order of issuing/Order of returning* the questionnaire
15 returned out of 46 issued = 33% response

Underlined languages = most used in performances

| Groups in Bulawayo for LINKFEST'97 | Ref no. | 1. Responses on Group Profile qu. 1-5 | | |
|---|---------|---|---|--|
| | | Languages | Members | Art forms |
| Caprivi Theatre Company, Katima Mulilo, Namibia | 32/1 | <u>Lozi</u> <u>English</u> | Since 1992 8 members, fulltime Based in Cultural Centre | ? Dance drama |
| Shashi Classic, Bulawayo | 5/2 | <u>Ndebele</u> , Shona, <u>Venda</u> , <u>Sotho</u> , Tswana, English | Two years 15 members, Based at home; fulltime | Drama, traditional music, choral singing |
| Basupatsela Theatre, Bulawayo | 36/3 | <u>Ndebele</u> , <u>English</u> , Shona, Sotho | One year, 18 members, fulltime Secondary school | Traditional dance, drama, traditional music, poetry, storytelling, choral singing |
| Gazaland United, Munchongoyo, Bulawayo | 38/4 | <u>Shangani</u> , Ndawu, Shona, Ndebele | Since 1980, Home based, part time | Traditional dance, drums, honsu |
| Ilifa Lendulo Arts Productions, Bulawayo | 37/5 | <u>Ndebele</u> , <u>Shona</u> , <u>English</u> | 5 years, rural/urban, 9 members, fulltime | Traditional dance & music, street dance, drama, poetry |
| Song & Dance Group of Casa da Cultura, Mozambique | 25/6 | <u>Portuguese</u> , Changana | Five years, fulltime 30 members (17 here), Hall of Casa | Traditional dance and music, storytelling |
| Ugodlwayo Bright Stars, Bulawayo | 44/7 | <u>Ndebele</u> , Shona, <u>English</u> | Nine years 9 members Community hall | Traditional dance and music, poetry |
| SAKHILE MOYO, Midlands Provincial Admin. Officer, Ministry of Ed. & Culture, Gweru | 3/8 | <u>Ndebele</u> , <u>Tonga</u> , <u>English</u> , <u>Shona</u> (and probably more) | Most groups have no regular base (S.Moyo in this job 13 months fulltime) | The Ministry administers, coordinates, and promotes all cultural activities and performances genres |
| Association of Swazi Theatre Groups, Mbabane, Swaziland | 34/9 | <u>Siswati</u> , <u>English</u> | One year No base, Part time | Traditional dance and music, drama, poetry, storytelling, mime, choral singing |
| Mauritius Drama League, Rosehill, Mauritius | 46/10 | <u>English</u> , <u>French</u> , <u>Creole</u> | 18 years, 50 members part time, Plaza Theatre | Traditional dance, drama, storytelling, choral singing |
| Phakama Performing Arts, Bulawayo | 10/11 | <u>Ndebele</u> , <u>English</u> , Shona | Since 1990 15 members, fulltime Community hall | Traditional dance and music, street dance, drama, modern music |
| Siyeza Community Arts, Bulawayo | 40/12 | <u>English</u> , Shona, <u>Ndebele</u> | Four months 16 members, fulltime Just open space, | Street dance, drama, traditional music, poetry, mime, storytelling |
| Savuka Community Arts, Bulawayo | 27/13 | <u>Ndebele</u> , <u>English</u> , Shona | Three years, 13 members, fulltime Youth Centre | Traditional dance and music street dance, storytelling, poetry, mime, modern music |
| Vukani Drama/Arts Group Umtata, South Africa (Mr Sipoko, Dep. Director Arts & Culture) | 45/14 | <u>English</u> , Xhosa | Three years 10 members, fulltime No regular base Own music system | street dance (??) |
| Dziwa Zazo Theatre Group, Ndola, Zambia | ?/15 | <u>Bemba</u> , <u>Nyanja</u> , <u>English</u> | 14 years 8 members fulltime Community Hall | Traditional dance, street dance, mime, dance drama |

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Responses To Questionnaire At Linkfest '97

| Groups in Bulawayo for LINKFEST-97 | Ref. | 2. Responses on short- and long-term aims qu. 6-7 |
|--|-------------|--|
| Caprivi Theatre Company, Katima Mulilo, Namibia | 32/1 | To develop and promote performing art To have a centre for our operation |
| Shashi Classic, Bulawayo | 5/2 | Get sponsorship, promote and bring cultural awareness to the people To have as form of our primary investment a centre/home of our own |
| Basupatsela Theatre, Bulawayo | 36/3 | Working on a project to build a cultural centre To see the completion of 'Emzimkhulu Project' as above |
| Gazaland United, Munchongoyo, Bulawayo | 38/4 | To go all over To have transport for my group |
| Ilifa Lendulo Arts Productions, Bulawayo | 37/5 | To go outside the country, looking for funds Festival for young oral people |
| Song & Dance Group of Casa da Cultura, Mozambique | 25/6 | To take the traditional dance of Mozambique to abroad the country To be one of the professional traditional song and dance groups of Southern Africa |
| Ugodlwayo Bright Stars, Bulawayo | 44/7 | To record and make a country tour To use arts as an income generating project |
| SAKHILE MOYO, Midlands Provincial Admin. Officer, Ministry of Education & Culture, Gweru | 3/8 | The <u>Ministry's</u> immediate mission is to facilitate unlimited access to and participation in cultural activities by all people irrespective of gender, race, p, ability, geographical location or socio- economic status. Our long-term aim is that people in the Midlands Province should appreciate the value and importance of arts in employment creation, income generation and tourist attraction. |
| Association of Swazi Theatre Groups, Mbabane, Swaziland | 34/9 | Get an office and have a full-time coordinator To get funds for training of artists |
| Mauritius Drama League, Rosehill, Mauritius | 46/10 | We are staging a play in September A full-length play (translation of Shakespeare's Macbeth) |
| Phakama Performing Arts, Bulawayo | 10/11 | To enhance cultural cooperation and exchange To explore opportunities for dialogue and arts local, regional and international |
| Siyeza Community Arts, Bulawayo | 40/12 | To promote our culture To establish our group and become popular in our area |
| Savuka Community Arts, Bulawayo | 27/13 | Aid developing arts in the Matabeleland South province; and festivals and performances Same as above |
| Vukani Drama/Arts Group, Umtata, South Africa | 45/14 | To develop community theatres (Mr Sipoko, Dep. Director Arts & Culture) To promote drama in the Eastern Cape |
| Dziwa Zazo Theatre Group, Ndola, Zambia | ?/15 | To provide education to the people through drama To promote and foster the Zambian way of life through culture and arts |

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Responses To Questionnaire At Linkfest '97

| Groups in Bulawayo for LINKFEST-97 | Ref. | 3. Responses on management styles qu. 8-13 |
|--|-------------|---|
| Caprivi Theatre, Namibia | 32/1 | Page lost Misbehaviour – penalties in Constitution. |
| Shashi Classic, Bulawayo | 5/2 | Elections, decisions by majority of all members. Planning 4-6 months ahead Separate meetings for management and creative work. Constitution -- broad aims: values, management & creative. Disciplinary committee. Documents -- minute book, creative work, project proposals etc |
| Basupatsela Theatre, Bulawayo | 36/3 | Elections, collective decision-making. Advance planning 'very often'; up to six months ahead. Separate meetings. Constitution: mode of operating, discipline, useful with problems in our everyday work. Misbehaviour- they are suspended or expelled for serious offences. |
| Gazaland United, Munchongoyo, Bulwayo | 38/4 | Jobs done by appointment. Decisions by whole group discussion. We wait for invitations. Misbehaviour: we drop him. Sep. meetings, no constitution. |
| Ilifa Lendulo Arts Productions, Bulawayo | 37/5 | Chairperson, Secretary, treasurer, vocalist, marketing manager. Decisions through meeting of the AGM. Planning yearly; 6 months ahead. Workshops every three months. Constitution: aims, objectives, meetings, finances, rules, obligations. By laws of group, code of conduct is considered. No training so far. Minute book and creative work. |
| Song & Dance Group of Casa da Cultura, Mozambique | 25/6 | Director, manager, artistic manager; members elected if qualified. Voting, the major idea. Constitution: right to perform any where, to organise festival and workshops; maintenance of traditional culture. Documentation unclear -- minute book, scripts, + ? |
| Ugodlwayo Bright Stars, Bulawayo | 44/7 | Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer, Organiser. Majority vote: policy of democracy. Planning three times a year, separate meetings. Constitution: aims, objectives, rules and penalties. Some training in music and dance. Documentation: minute book, songs, objectives, business plan, proposals |
| SAKHILE MOYO, Midlands Provincial Admin. Officer, Ministry of Education & Culture, Gweru | 3/8 | Most groups have one person who deals with most of the responsibilities. Mostly last-minute planning. Few look beyond immediate production. Creative work & management rarely distinguished, hence mixed meetings. Model provided on aims, powers, etc. Most groups hate writing them! Can't generalise: workshops provided; some keep minutes, few documents. |
| Association of Swazi Theatre Groups, Mbabane, Swaziland | 34/9 | Chairperson & Vice, Minute Secretary, Organising Secretary, Treasurer. A consensus is reached. Planning two months ahead, no separate meetings. Constitution, aims & objectives, responsibilities of office bearers. No bank account. Minute books and scripts are kept. Two executive members trained in Festival management |
| Mauritius Drama League, Rosehill, Mauritius | 46/10 | Decisions taken by the two Directors. Advance planning six months, three months for a production. No separate meetings, no constitution. Fixed penalties for misbehaviour. Members trained in stage skills, not management. Listed documents except business plan. |
| Phakama Performing Arts, Bulawayo | 10/11 | Appointed executive -- Director, Administrator, Public relations, Welfare officer. Decision-making varies with issues. Three months advance planning, voting or authorising; separate meetings. Constitution: membership, contracts, financial policy, etc. Some training in 'oriented target Planning'. All listed documents are kept except funding proposals. |
| Siyeza Community Arts, Bulawayo | 40/12 | Leader, Secretary, Treasurer, Director, all elected. Advance planning for important issues or projects. 1 month for productions. Combined meetings. Constitution: officers, finances, rules, dealing with arguments (fixed penalties). 1995 Training in imaging and management skills, etc.** Minute book, project proposals. |

| | | |
|---|-------|---|
| Savuka Community Arts, Bulawayo | 27/13 | Elected Festival Coordinator, Chief Exec. Officer, Gen Sec, Finance & Marketing Officers, Artistic Director. Decisions taken collectively. Monthly planning, six months ahead, separate meetings. Constitution; code of conduct, aims & objectives., bylaws, membership, dissolution, executive duties. Penalties after fair hearing. Past training – project proposals, etc. Documentation includes all listed except business plan. |
| Vukani Drama/Arts Group, Umtata, South Africa | 45/14 | Officers by democratic election. Decisions at meetings, share ideas and come up with a decision. Ambiguous on planning. Constitution (discipline and rules). Basic drama training no management. All documentation claimed (?by Mr S) |
| Dziwa Zazo Theatre Group, Ndola, Zambia | ?/15 | Group leader, Secretary, Treasurer, etc. Decisions by general consensus through consultations and participation of members. Monthly, annual and quarterly planning. On the spot planning is adhered to if need arises.** Separate meetings. Constitution -- group identification, objectives, membership, responsibilities, General rules/norms & policies of group, registration. Training in theatre for development, 3 months. This is management, community development, project management. All documentation is prepared as listed. |

| Groups in Bulawayo for LINKFEST-97 | Ref. | 4. Responses on finance, qu. 14-17 |
|--|-------------|---|
| Caprivi Theatre Company, Katima Mulilo, Namibia | 32/1 | Bank account, monthly financial report Members not paid regularly Takings directly into the bank account |
| Shashi Classic, Bulawayo | 5/2 | Bank statements and group cash book, fortnightly report Members paid only after performances Expenses paid after calculating profit or loss made, paid into the bank |
| Basupatsela Theatre Byo | 36/3 | No responses given on this page. |
| Gazaland United, Munchongoyo, Byo | 38/4 | Not applicable -- no records kept Cash expenses shared out after every show |
| Ilifa Lendulo Arts Productions, Bulawayo | 37/5 | Balance sheet, cash book, receipt book Monthly report and payment Immediately after the performance |
| Song & Dance Group of Casa da Cultura, Mozambique | 25/6 | No responses on records or banking Report twice a year Members paid regularly in cash |
| Ugodlwayo Bright Stars, Bulawayo | 44/7 | No bank account or records Members paid expenses in cash every week |
| SAKHILE MOYO, Midlands Provincial Admin. Officer, Gweru | 3/8 | Mostly cash is used by the groups to pay expenses. Cheques and presents are not welcome. Financial report rarely given unless possibly where there is conflict. |
| Association of Swazi Theatre Groups, Mbabane, Swaziland | 34/9 | Balance sheets, no bank account yet. Once a year, members not paid regularly Takings used to pay expenses |
| Mauritius Drama League, Rosehill, | 46/10 | Bank account. Report after each set of shows Members paid regularly, takings used to pay expenses |
| Phakama Performing Arts, Bulawayo | 10/11 | Savings & interest account. Account book, petty cash book, etc Quarterly report Members not paid regularly Takings paid into the bank immediately |
| Siyeza Community Arts, Bulawayo | 40/12 | Report every Friday. No bank account Members paid when they perform. Takings used to pay expenses |
| Savuka Community Arts, Bulawayo | 27/13 | Bank account. Cash book, Leger, petty cash book, vouchers, cash receipt book, invoice book. Weekly report to executive, monthly to members Takings sometimes paid into the bank, members not paid regularly |
| Vukani Drama/Arts Group, Umtata, South Africa | 45/14 | Bank account, cheque-book After performances. Members not paid regularly Takings used as cash to pay expenses |
| Dziwa Zazo Theatre Group, Ndola, Zambia | ?/15 | Cashbook, ledger, petty cashbook, purchase day book, bank statements, payment of vouchers, receipts, financial and audit report |

| | | |
|--|--|--|
| | | Monthly, quarterly and annual reports to members Members paid regularly. Takings paid immediately into the bank |
|--|--|--|

| Groups in Bulawayo for LINKFEST-97 | Ref. | 5. Responses on imaging & promotion, qu. 18-22 |
|--|-------------|---|
| Caprivi Theatre Company, Katima Mulilo, Namibia | 32/1 | Newspapers, TV, <u>radio</u> . Journalists invited when production No typewriter/computer access, but produce <u>posters</u> , etc. Press releases. Budget for advertng a show \$1000. Audiences +- 200 still introducing theatre to the region |
| Shashi Classic, Bulawayo | 5/2 | Demo cassette on <u>radio</u> . No typewriter/computer. Produce posters etc, seldom press releases. \$5-600 advertising budget. Audiences ~700, afternoons. |
| Basupatsela Theatre, Bulawayo | 36/3 | Page omitted |
| Gazaland United, Munchongoyo, Bulawayo | 38/4 | None. No c or t access. No press releases or advertisements. Audiences 50,000.00 [??] TV works best for imaging. |
| Ilifa Lendulo Arts Productions, Bulawayo | 37/5 | None. No access c/t. Posters. Press releases after every performance. Advertising. \$700 for bigger performances. Audience 700 rural, 1000 urban, depends on studio. TV., radio, newspapers, posters, work best for us. |
| Song & Dance Group of Casa da Cultura, Mozambique | 25/6 | Every month on TV and in newspapers. We have a computer. PR before & after every performance. Budget Z\$4.800 for ads. for weekend performance. Always house full in Maputo. Advertng. TV, radio & newspapers |
| Ugodlwayo Bright Stars, Bulawayo | 44/7 | No t/c access. Pr for every function. No budget. Audience +100. Posters, tv, radio. |
| SAKHILE MOYO, Midlands Provincial Admin. Officer, Gweru | 3/8 | Few have t/c, so works not always neat. Few groups promote themselves with these & rarely send out press release. No response on budgets/audiences. The local paper & a free one are best for them. |
| Association of Swazi Theatre Groups, Mbabane, Swaziland | 34/9 | No mentions, no t/c access. Produce posters & flyers. Press releases every 2 weeks. Budget advertising R3000 on a show. Audience 500, people do not love theatre. Posters, radio & flyers best. |
| Mauritius Drama League, Rosehill, Mauritius | 46/10 | t/c access yes. Posters & ads. produced. P.R. before each set of shows. No fixed budget. Audience 600, size of hall. Newspapers & TV best. |
| Phakama Performing Arts, Bulawayo | 10/11 | Newspaper, TV. Typewriter, posters, brochure, handbills, video etc. press release every 3 months. \$200 advertising budget affected by Hall. 200 audience. Posters handbills, brochures & TV interviews work best. |
| Siyeza Community Arts, Bulawayo | 40/12 | No mentions given. Typewriter. Produce flyers, no PR. \$2000 advert budget [??] Audience 500, lack of big facilities. Best is word of mouth. |
| Savuka Community Arts, Bulawayo | 27/13 | Harare tour, mat south theatre festival, tv showcase, radio plays. No t/c. Posters, flyers, banners. PR once a year. Budget \$700 advertising. Audience ¾ full house – community doesn't fully support the arts. ??highlights best. |
| Vukani Drama/Arts Group, Umtata, South Africa | 45/14 | The Sowetan, SABC2, radio Transkei, Next mag. Yes t/c. Posters, adverts. PR during activities/perfs. R500 advertg budget. Audience 3-400, using community halls |
| Dziwa Zazo Theatre Group, Ndola, Zambia | ?/15 | TV plays annually 1993-8 & radio. Yes t/c. Fliers, handouts, brochure. PR quarterly & annually. \$150-200 advertising. 800-900, limited by public performance space. Direct contact, electronic & print media. |

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| Groups in Bulawayo for LINKFEST-97 | Ref. | 6. Responses on paperwork & management qu. 23 – 30 |
|--|-------------|--|
| Caprivi Theatre Company, Katima Mulilo, Namibia | 32/1 | No verbal agreements. Contracts with National Theatre of Namibia, satisfactory. Employee administrative and backstage staff. Cultural officers provide technical and logistical services; affiliated to larger organisation useful, no union. |
| Shashi Classic, Bulawayo | 5/2 | Verbal agreements may be altered & secretary can't keep good records. No contracts yet. Train own staff, only advice when needed. Cultural officers encourage govt. to fund artists projects. NACZ – info, festivals. Some NSSA. |
| Basupatsela Theatre, Bulawayo | 36/3 | No contracts. |
| Gazaland United, Munchongoyo, Bulawayo | 38/4 | Yes, verbal agreements with customer; not satisfactory, we end up losing. Written contract with Linkfest. No constitution. Cultural officers help – N/A. Some unionised. [?] |
| Ilifa Lendulo Arts Productions, Bulawayo | 37/5 | Mostly written agreements, verbal not satisfactory, one can refuse it. Cultural officers at present no help. Larger orgn. Helps expose our art & exchanging ideas. No unionists. |
| Song & Dance Group of Casa da Cultura, Mozambique | 25/6 | No contract responses.. Non-performers employed for projects & translation. Annual funding from govt. office. No affiliation/union. |
| Ugodlwayo Bright Stars, Bulawayo | 44/7 | No contracts. N employees for management. Cultural officers help promote them. No union, affiliated to ? organisation. |
| SAKHILE MOYO, Midlands Provincial Admin. Officer, Ministry of Education & Culture, Gweru | 3/8 | They use verbal agreements often and so can't add value to their work. Some satis. But some do not pay as agreed. No employees. Officers coordinate activities & implement policies, administer Act. Some affiliated to larger orgns, few unions. |
| Association of Swazi Theatre Groups, Mbabane, Swaziland | 34/9 | Verbal agreements with govt. officials. Not satis because people change from what they said before so far no written contracts. No employees. No cultural officers. No affiliations but some are members of unions. |
| Mauritius Drama League, Rosehill, Mauritius | 46/10 | Verbal agreements before starting rehearsals. Satis. Also use written contracts. No non-performers employed. Cultural officers provide on the spot training. No orgns or unions. |
| Phakama Performing Arts, Bulawayo | 10/11 | Twice a year with devel.agencies & private sector. Not satis- insecure, may not be kept. Some written cons. Non-performer for marketing. No affiliations. |
| Siyeza Community Arts, Bulawayo | 40/12 | Yes when we agree how much to pay the organiser of show. Not satisfactory because the other party demands more money if he hears the takings were good. No written contracts. Nonperformer for writing proposals. Cultural officers help to organise tours. Organisations update us. |
| Savuka Community Arts, Bulawayo | 27/13 | Sometimes, with close organisations. Not fully satis – need paperwork backup. Written contracts yes. No employees. Cultural officers clear groups to go out of country, recommendation. Larger organisation – information & events. |
| Vukani Drama/Arts Group, Umtata, South Africa | 45/14 | Regularly verbal. Not satis – they don't fulfil promises, or our needs as a group. No employees. Cultural officers negotiate funding for the group. No affiliations. |
| Dziwa Zazo Theatre Group, Ndola, Zambia | ?/16 | Verbal not often, in particular with emergent projects. Satis. Written satis, no clauses written. Employ secretarial & analysis services. Cultural officers – logistics, links, advocacy, information. NAC networking,, lobbying, policy formulation. No unions, guided by NAC. |

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| Groups in Bulawayo for LINKFEST-97 | Ref. | 7. Responses on training needs qu. 31 – 33 |
|--|-------------|---|
| Caprivi Theatre Company, Katima Mulilo, Namibia | 32/1 | Planning, managing people, creating new works 9-money management Scholarships, workshops Research, scripting, acting, directing, backstage involvement |
| Shashi Classic, Bulawayo | 5/2 | Arts industry, planning, constitution, managing people. 9-creating new works. Training in computers, public relations; & music appreciation Contemporary dances, mime, stage directing , arts in SADC. |
| Basupatsela Theatre, Bulawayo | 36/3 | Constitution, planning, managing people 9- structure of arts industry. Artistic training and management skills. Stage directing, research on needs for grassroots arts management, stage design, lights, mime, African contemporary dances. |
| Gazaland United, Munchongoyo, Bulawayo | 38/4 | Managing people, imaging& advertising, managing money, 9-new works. Training – going to beer gardens and practising at home. Contracts most useful. |
| Ilifa Lendulo Arts Productions, Bulawayo | 37/5 | Planning, arts industry, constitution, 9- new works. Management & theatrical training. Research on need for grassroots management. |
| Song & Dance Group of Casa da Cultura, Mozambique | 25/6 | Planning, constitution, new works, 9- arts industry. training- new works through research, choreography, acting, management, festival organisation. Play directing, contemporary dance, mime, African dance research. |
| Ugodlwayo Bright Stars, Bulawayo | 44/7 | Managing money, writing letters etc, image & advertg. 9-managing people. |
| SAKHILE MOYO, Midlands Provincial Admin. Officer, Gweru | 3/8 | Managing people, planning, constitution, managing money, imaging & adg., writing letters etc. 9-new works (for self) |
| Association of Swazi Theatre Groups, Mbabane, Swaziland | 34/9 | Planning, arts industry, constitution, managing people, 9-new works. Theatre admin & management for leaders, artists –acting, singing, dancing. |
| Mauritius Drama League, Rosehill, Mauritius | 46/10 | New works creation, planning, organising shows, imaging. All aspects of staging a play. Workshops on artists works & experience. |
| Phakama Performing Arts, Bulawayo | 10/11 | Writing letters/contracts, planning, managing people, managing money. Planning & creating new works most useful. |
| Siyeza Community Arts, Bulawayo | 40/12 | Managing money, writing letters, structure of arts industry, planning. 9 -- Constitution. Training needed in administration and organisational shows. |
| Savuka Community Arts, Bulawayo | 27/13 | Planning, constitution, creating new works, imaging, 9- managing people. Useful training – publicity & marketing, arts admin., directing, project props. |
| Vukani Drama/Arts Group, Umtata, South Africa | 45/14 | Planning, constitution, arts industry, organising shows. 9-creating new works. Physically, mentally, voice, miming. Improvisation, concentration, flexibility & focus. |
| Dziwa Zazo Theatre Group, Ndola, Zambia | ?/15 | Constitution, planning, managing people, money, 9-arts industry. Training – project management, participation, arts & creative skills. |

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