Speculative Indigeneities: The [K]New Now

heeten bhagat

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Supervised by Prof J. Pather

Co-supervised by Dr R. Sitas

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the work on which this dissertation/thesis is based is my original work (except where acknowledgements indicate otherwise) and that neither the whole work nor any part of it has been, is being, or is to be submitted for another degree in this or any other university.

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> *I'm not going to thank everybody I've ever met in my entire life -- although, with the way my mind has been going lately probably everybody I've ever met in my entire life and in the other life I might have had had something to do with this.*
>
> *(MacClaine 1984)*[1]

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In all our lifetimes before and all those that are still to come, I will eternally thankful for all that you have offered, practised and shared.
You have been and are a true partner.

[1] Shirley Maclaine, Academy Award Acceptance Speech, 9 April 1984, Academy Award Acceptance Speech Database, available: http://aaspeechesdb.oscars.org/link/056-3/ - retrieved 20 December 2018

Abstract

The starting point of this research study began with a broad and unwieldly question – *what would Zimbabwe look like if colonisation didn't happen*? This question arose with regard to the launch of the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act (IEEA) in 2007 and is focused of on building an understanding of notions of indigeneity in Zimbabwe through an inquiry of indigenousness and indigenisation. The methodological approach is designed as an interdisciplinary and experimental research inquiry that processes these debates and proposes an expansion of the probabilities of notions of indigeneity within the range of existing socio-political, economic and historical analyses of indigenousness and indigenisation in Zimbabwe. This exploration begins with a broad historical, anthropological and etymological survey of the term 'indigenous' that is interwoven with a contextual account of Zimbabwe and its socio-political lifespan.

The primary site of investigation is the independence-day ceremony that took place at the National Sports Stadium in Harare, Zimbabwe on the 18th of April 2017. This focus is motivated by two distinctive elements at this event – a banner that declares 'ZIMBABWE WILL NEVER BE A COLONY AGAIN' and a fragment from the president's speech that asserts, 'we can now call ourselves full masters of our destiny' (Mugabe 2017). This event stands as a crucial node for the debates and questions this research aims to pose regarding notions of indigenisation, indigenousness and registers of indigeneity. Political and socio-economic analyses of this annual ritual tower above the lacuna of analysis of its performance logics. This performance-specific inquiry aims to contribute new meanings and complexity around the event. The information generated from this reading is further processed through the mechanisms of speculative research as a way to think beyond the dilemmas and paradoxes that emerge from the historical, anthropological and performance analyses of this event. The penultimate chapter of this dissertation suggests a conceptual rehearsal of the findings generated through an expanded understanding of queer theory. The final articulation of this research investigation extends the experimental approach, presenting a set of visual, aural and sculptural elements as the conclusion.

The dissertation offers alternate readings of notions of homogeneity and singularity. It is also constituted as a way to understand the probability of building new knowledges through lateral and rhizomic processes as a journey that gathers and synthesises from across a number of disciplines. The contention of this thesis, then, is to suggest an

expansion of the notion of indigeneity towards the possibility of *polygeneity*, a notion that aims to align with the conceptual constructs of cosmopolitanism (Appiah 2006, Kleingeld and Brown 2014), which engage arguments for expanded understandings of contemporary identity formation. Embodied in this suggestion of *polygeneity* lies the potential to revive notions of dynamism and creativity that have been dormant since the onset of European colonisation in Zimbabwe. In the wake of the 'new dawn' in Zimbabwe, in this moment of growing debates for alternatives, the thesis finds its impulse in the imperative for radical and creative shifts in consciousness to activate new ideas, new readings, and new knowledges.

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Introduction

> '*What I had in mind was a subject-in-formation, on the one hand far too ambitious and on the other far too personally motivated, and these seemed respectively unachievable and unavoidable, given the intellectual tools and models of analysis and the modes of writing I had at my disposal.*'
>
> (Rogoff 2000: 1)[2]

i. Motivation

The starting point of this research study was a broad and unwieldy question: *what would Zimbabwe look like if colonisation didn't happen*? This question arose in connection with the launch of the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act (IEEA) in 2007. This new law was designed to provide 'a deliberate involvement of indigenous Zimbabweans in the economic activities of the country, to which hitherto they had no access, so as to ensure the equitable ownership of the nation's resources'[3]. In the years that followed, the impact of this new bill was acutely felt across both the economic and political terrains (Maranzanye 2016, Ndakaripa 2017)[4]. However, given the ferment that it created across these two strata, the impact of the concept of indigenisation along cultural lines was, and still is, barely evident[5]. This lacuna was made more evident with the increase in anti-colonial rhetoric that was matched by passionate sentiments towards notions of post-colonial sovereignty in the time after the launch of this bill (Raftopoulos 2008: 202)[6]. It is within this epoch of indigenisation that the introductory question found active traction.

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[2] I. Rogoff, '*Terra Infirma: Geography's visual culture*', London and New York, Routledge, 2000

[3] Chapter 14:33 Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act, 2007, p.3. Available: http://www.eisourcebook.org/cms/January%202016/Zimbabwe%20Indigenisation%20and%20Economic%20Empowerment%20Act.pdf retrieved 19 January 2018

[4] Marazanye, '*An Analysis of Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment in Zimbabwe*' Masters Thesis, Faculty of Economic Management and Science, University of Stellenbosch, 2016 and M. Ndakaripa, '*State, Civil Society and the Politics of Economic Indigenisation in Zimbabwe, 1980 – 2016*', PhD Dissertation, University of the Free State, 2017

[5] In the chapters that follow, this will become evident. There are tomes of political and economic analyses that unpack the logics and impact of indigenisation. However, in comparison, extrapolation and examination within the cultural territory are scare. A number of doctoral studies (Javangwe 2011, Mawere 2015, Cameron 2008, Musvoto 2010, Mpofu 2014), in the recent years, have contributed valuable knowledge into thinking about concepts and frameworks of cultural understanding in Zimbabwe. However, as will become evident in this dissertation, there is much work still to be done to add necessary depth and complexity into understanding the impact that notions of indigenousness, indigenisation and indigeneity have had, current have and can still have into cultural spaces and debates in Zimbabwe.

[6] B. Raftopoulos, '*The Crisis in Zimbabwe, 1998 – 2008*', in B. Raftopoulos and B. Mlambo (eds), '*Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from The Pre-Colonial Period to 2008*', Harare, Weaver Press, 2009

In 2015, when I began this research study, Robert Mugabe was assuredly in place as the president-for-life of Zimbabwe[7]. As this study it comes to an end in 2019, there have been seismic shifts in the political landscape of the country. In November 2017, Mugabe resigned as president of ZANU-PF and of the country. Or, as he and others would see it, he was ousted. Furthermore, speculative analysis suggested that there was an illegal coup d'état (Mackintosh 2017, Cotterill 2017)[8], though more like a soft coup (Pilling 2017, Chikiwore and Davis 2017)[9], and the military took over, temporarily, for about a week, to restore order. Dubbed '*Operation Restore Legacy*' (Mandaza and Reeler 2018, Mnangagwa 2017, International Crisis Group 2017)[10], this transition, led by Emmerson Mnangagwa, the former vice-president that Mugabe had recently fired[11], and Constantino Chiwenga, the general of the armed forces, resulted in a new leadership for Zimbabwe, for the first time in its 37-year history. This change came quickly and, in many ways, is still ongoing[12]. So, what

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[7] This is in reference to a statement made by Mugabe's wife, Grace Mugabe. She assured the public that, '*Mugabe…will remain…leader even when he's "in the grave."*' News 24, '*We will field Robert Mugabe's corpse as a candidate for election', says wife Grace*', 18 February 2017, Available: https://www.news24.com/Africa/Zimbabwe/well-field-robert-mugabes-corpse-as-candidate-for-election-says-wife-grace-20170217 - retrieved 11 November 2018. Also, '*Mugabe told those asking him to retire to "go hang."*' R. Chidza and O. Manyiti, '*Mugabe to rule from the grave: Grace*', Newsday, 26 May 2016. Available: https://www.newsday.co.zw/2016/05/mugabe-rule-grave-grace/ - retrieved 11 November 2018

[8] E. Makintosh, '*Zimbabwe's military takeover was the world's strangest coup*', CNN 21 November 2017. Available: https://edition.cnn.com/2017/11/20/africa/zimbabwe-military-takeover-strangest-coup/index.html - retrieved 11 November 2018 and J. Cotterill, '*Robert Mugabe says 'coup d'état' ended his rule in Zimbabwe*', Financial Times 15 March 2018. Available: https://www.ft.com/content/b9cffa08-2884-11e8-b27e-cc62a39d57a0 - retrieved 11 November 2018

[9] D. Pilling, '*Why African leaders are watching Zimbabwe's 'soft coup*', Financial Times 27 November 2017. Available: https://www.ft.com/content/607c2f80-d29e-11e7-a303-9060cb1e5f44 - retrieved 11 November 2018 and F. Chikowore and A. Davis, '*Zimbabweans stunned, uncertain after military's soft coup of Mugabe*', The Washington Times, 15 November 2017. Available: https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2017/nov/15/robert-mugabes-fall-to-soft-coup-stuns-zimbabwe/ - retrieved 11 November 2018

[10] I. Mandaza and T. Reeler, '*A brief recapitulation of the political events since July 2016*', Research and Advocacy Unit and SAPES (Southern African Political and Economic Series), Harare, Zimbabwe, 2018. Available: http://researchandadvocacyunit.org/system/files/Transition%20in%20Zimbabwe%20final%2011%20January%202018.pdf – retrieved 12 November 2018; E. Mnangagwa, '*PRESS STATEMENT BY CMD. EMMERSON DAMBUDZO MNANGAGWA: 21 November 2017*'. Available: https://allafrica.com/download/resource/main/main/idatcs/00111347:38e7d0bbac1806a5eae95f4efa3b06e3.pdf - retrieved 12 November 2018; International Crisis Group, '*Zimbabwe's "Military-assisted Transition and Prospects for Recovery: Crisis Group Africa Briefing N*134*', Johannesburg/Brussels, 20 December 2017.

[11] '*Mugabe fired Mnangagwa*', ENCA 6 November 2017. Available: https://www.enca.com/africa/mugabe-fires-mnangagwa - retrieved 11 November 2018 and '*Zimbabwe politics: Mugabe sacks 'disloyal' Mnangagwa*', BBC News, 6 November 2017. Available: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-41890493 - retrieved 11 November 2018

[12] The constant state of flux in Zimbabwe, currently, needs noting at this point. At the going time of writing this introduction, albeit at the very end of the process of research, the changes are large scale and tumultuous. Numerous reports in the media extol the ongoing changes. Any attempt to pinpoint a moment as contemporary or current, for that matter, is eclipsed almost instantly. These changes, if tracked through this dissertation, stand to destabilise the focus of this research study. What is, however, key to note, is the persistence of the Mugabe-era mechanisms around identity and national celebrations. The past two independence day celebrations – 2018 and 2019 – are ample proof that the new regime, led by Emmerson Mnangagwa, have yet to put their stamp of the identity project. There has been very little to no change in the elements and the performance logics of this ceremony. For now, the focus of government is evidently on the economy and

began in 2015 as a discrete enquiry into an abstracted search for notions of indigenousness, has expanded in response to the many questions and dilemmas that now face new generations of Zimbabweans having to contend with a country in the wake of a 'new dawn'[13], finding new feet and potentially new ways of being.

This study is focused of on building an understanding of notions of indigeneity in Zimbabwe through an ontological inquiry of indigenousness and indigenisation. It is motivated, in part, by an emerging scholarship into the notion of indigeneity[14] (Graham & Glenn Penny 2014; Waldron 2002; Tlakatekatl 2014; Nair 2006; Merlan 2009, Guenther, Kenrick, Kuper, Plaice, Thuen, Wolfe, Zips and Barnard 2006) as much as it is broadly interested in exploring the potential impact of this ontological register on the debates around decolonisation in Southern Africa (Msila 2017, wa Thiong'o 1992 2004, Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2018, Booysen 2016)[15]. The methodological approach is designed to build an experimental research inquiry to process these debates through the arts and, in so doing, propose an expansion of probabilities of notions of indigeneity that existing socio-political, economic and historical analyses of indigenousness and indigenisation in Zimbabwe have yet to fully consider. A further aim is to examine the potential impact/s of this inquiry on the current homogeneous registers of indigeneity in Zimbabwe. The research is also designed to take full advantage of the creative scope that is possible given its setting in an arts discipline. With this in mind, the specific objective is to propose an interdisciplinary experiment that will begin with building an understanding of how to evidence and then read notions of indigeneity through an anthropological and historical lens. The next step is to propose a

maintaining the political hegemony of ZANU PF. So, the focus of this research study on the Mugabe era stands as pertinent, since any other trajectory has yet to emerge. This speaks to the relevance of this analysis at this time.

[13] This phrase has been in active use since the *transition*. Used by both political parties and analysts alike. A sample of these commentaries include: F. Jongwe and R. Mashavave, '*Mnangagwa sworn in as president of Zimbabwe*', Mail & Guardian, 26 August 2018. Available: https://mg.co.za/article/2018-08-26-mnangagwa-sworn-in-as-president-of-zimbabwe - retrieved 11 November 2018 and M. Sefularo, G. Nicolaides, M. Lindeque and H. Magwedze, '*NEW DAWN: ZIMBABWEANS WAKE UP TO FIRST DAY AFTER MUGABE*', EWN (Eye Witness News) 22 November 2017. Available: https://ewn.co.za/2017/11/22/new-dawn-zimbabweans-wake-up-to-first-day-without-mugabe - retrieved 11 November 2018

[14] The terms indigenousness and indigeneity, while generally considered to be synonyms, will be employed to define distinct conceptual terrains in this investigation. The former will refer to the term's etymological framing in association to notions of place and/or geography. The latter, as will be explained in more detail in Chapter 1, will denote an emerging notion, in relation to the performance and cultural registers.

[15] V. Msila, '*Decolonising Knowledge for Africa's Renewal: Examining Africa Perspective and Philosophies*', Knowledge Resources 2017; N. wa Thiong'o, '*Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature*', Harare, Zimbabwe Publishing House 2004; S. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, '*Epistemic Freedom in Africa: Deprovincialization and Decolonization*', Oxon and New York, Routledge, 2018; S. Booysen, '*Fees Must Fall: Student Revolt, Decolonisation and Governance in South Africa*', Johannesburg, WITS University Press, 2016

conceptual shift, to process the generated findings through performance theory and speculative research. In closing, the idea is to suggest a further twist that comes in the form of a rehearsal of the outcomes generated through an expanded conception of queer theory. This final written segment will prepare the ground for the concluding articulation of this research journey through the realm of the visual, sculptural and aural. The dissertation is deliberately organised as a journey that begins with regimented density and structured formalism that then progresses towards concluding in a poetic and almost intangible key.

The primary site of investigation is the independence-day ceremony that took place in at the National Sports Stadium in Harare, Zimbabwe on the 18th of April 2017. This event stands as a crucial node for the debates and questions that this research aims to pose regarding notions of indigenisation, indigenousness and registers of indigeneity. Political and socio-economic analyses of this annual ritual tower above the lacuna of analysis of its performance logics. So, the performance-specific focus that this examination aims to apply to this seminal event will undoubtedly contribute new depth and complexity and open a rich ground for enquiry and analysis that is necessary, given the epoch of new beginnings in Zimbabwe.

This study is underpinned by three discrete inquiries. The first is informed by the passing of the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act in 2007, as mentioned earlier. This new bill sought, theoretically and legislatively, to bring racial equity/parity to the economic sector in Zimbabwe. The act declared that ownership of all businesses in Zimbabwe needed to be 51% in favour of 'indigenous Zimbabwean[s]' (IEEA 2007:2). Embodied within this new bill is a legislated definition of what qualifies and quantifies indigenousness in Zimbabwe. This particular clause describes

> an indigenous Zimbabwean as any person who, before the 18th April, 1980, was disadvantaged by unfair discrimination on the grounds of his or her race, and any descendant of such person, and includes any company, association, syndicate or partnership of which indigenous Zimbabweans form the majority of the members or hold the controlling interest (*Ibid.*).

The inherent ambiguity of this legislative framing of indigenousness has instigated many inquiries as to who qualifies and on what grounds. These questions have proliferated productively in the socio-political terrain (Matyzak 2011, Gubbay 2017, Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009, 2011, Raftopoulos and Mlambo 2009, Mlambo 2013, Tendi 2010). What is lacking is research and epistemic equity of notions of contemporary indigenousness and indigeneity

within the cultural terrain of Zimbabwe. Given the rich analyses of the archive of the long past in Zimbabwe (Von Sicard 1962, Newitt 1973, Beach 1980, 1994, Bhila, 1982, Ellert 1993, Mudenge 1998, Ranger 1999, Pikirayi 2001, Mazarire 2008, Mlambo 2014, Mawere, Chiuwa & Thondlhana 2015), the lack of any cultural registers of indigeneity within this call for indigenisation stands as a missed opportunity. This register adds further weight to the question that introduces this segment.

The other two inquiries that underpin this research surface within the 2017 independence-day event. The first of these two is a slogan-carrying banner that hangs over the entrance to the stadium. This is the official entrance for all dignitaries – the president, his vice-presidents, the generals, the ministers, the foreign diplomats, the judges, the traditional chiefs and all the armed forces - to the performance arena of this event. The banner reads, in bold black font, 'ZIMBABWE WILL NEVER BE A COLONY AGAIN'. The second element emerges in the form of a fragment from the president's address to the nation at this ceremony, which proclaims, 'we can now call ourselves full masters of our destiny.' (Mugabe 2017)[16]. This dissertation then goes on to build an experimental and complex research framework with which to bring new thinking as to how the juxtaposition of these three elements against notions of indigeneity play out.

ii. Chapter outline

The first chapter in this dissertation is a dense examination of indigenousness and indigenisation in Zimbabwe. Working through these concepts, the aim of this chapter is to put forward the complexities of these concepts and how they manifest through notions of independence and identity politics in Zimbabwe. The chapter begins with a description of the performance aspects of the first ceremony of independence on the evening of the 17th of April 1980. It goes on to describe performances of the 37th anniversary event, in 2017, at the National Sports Stadium in Harare. From these, the chapter works to contextualise Zimbabwe as country, by giving an overview of its history and its journey to independence.

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[16] **'Pres Mugabe's full 37th Independence Full Address'. Slymediatv Online TV Network, 19 April 2017. See timecode 4.19. Available:** https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=9&v=c35NRhBM5Ao **– retrieved 26 November 2018**

After this survey, key terms – 'indigenous', 'indigenisation' and 'indigeneity' are defined. The motivation for this research inquiry is expanded by locating the specificities of its context within the current circumstances in which Zimbabwe and Zimbabweans find themselves. The chapter concludes with an ontological framing of indigenousness through the notion of indigeneity, which then sets up the transition to the next chapter – a performance analysis of the independence-day ceremony.

The second chapter commences with a detailed description of the 2017 independence-day event, re-imagined in a performance key. The recasting of this event as a performance is a conceptual strategy aiming to provoke an alternative reading of this event through performance theories. A survey of analyses of this event has shown requisite political and social contributions. What has yet to surface are any substantive analyses of the performance logistics. It is this distinct focus that affords the necessary scrutiny of the presences and absences of notions of indigeneity at this ritual. In this chapter, the second and third aspects – the banner, 'ZIMBABWE WILL NEVER BE A COLONY AGAIN', and the phrase, 'we can now call ourselves full masters of our destiny' (*Ibid.*) – are processed productively. This begins with a journey through Althusser's theory of interpellation to set the groundwork for exploring distinct aspects of this performance through three key performance theories. The first is a filtering of the performance logics through Schechner's categorical distinctions – 'being, doing, showing doing and explaining showing doing' (2013: 28)[17]. Processing the logics of this emancipatory concert through these constructs then leads on to the second theoretical filtering, this time through Goffman's theory of conviction/belief. The aim of this is to take a deep look at what is being asked to be believed in this performance. In the final segment of this chapter, aspects of the independence-day performance are brought to face Bakhtin's concept of carnival and carnivalesque. Bakhtin's theory argues for a conception of the carnival as a particularly cathartic moment of unrestricted freedom that aligns with notions of liberation, freedom and independence. It is through this final filter that a particularly eccentric performance emerges from this concert. This distinct performance introduces the link to the third chapter.

[17] R. Schechner, *Performance Studies: An Introduction: Third Edition*, Oxon & New York, Routledge, 2013

The third chapter begins with the assembling of a case to motivate a speculative experiment. Given that there are a number of analyses and critiques that recognise the perplexing legacy of the colonial within various publicly-led cultural performances very few, if any, have taken the analysis beyond this point. Circling back to the two activating elements – 'ZIMBABWE WILL NEVER BE A COLONY AGAIN' and the phrase 'we can now call ourselves full masters of our destiny' – the strategy then is to conceive of these elements as projective intentions – in other words, using them as catalytic instigators to think about a future. This futurist gaze becomes the ideal vehicle to invite a comparative analysis of a select group of characters from the 2017 independence-day performance with their conceptual counterparts in the Marvel film, *Black Panther* (2018). This action/sci-fi genre film is premised on a notion of 'an African nation that...[had]...never been conquered or colonized' (Rock 2018)[18]. This intention ties back to the introductory query of this research investigation. Through an expanded conception of the notion of '*destiny*', this chapter works to build a framework to explore how the independence-day performance and *Black Panther* both aim to project notions of a future - the former through the concept of being – 'NEVER BE[ing] A COLONY AGAIN' – and the latter through an imagined futuristic construct. This examination further strengthens the reading of the distinctive performance that emerged in previous chapter and in so doing prompts, as Savransky proposes, '*a plea for speculative audacity*' (Dewey 2008 [1927]:10 quoted in Savransky 2017:27, emphasis added by Savransky). The chapter concludes with an analysis of the notion of the speculative now (Savransky 2017), which lays the ground for the penultimate conceptual twist that comes into being in the final chapter.

The final written instalment of this research is imagined as a rehearsal, and an interlocutor of sorts for the concluding visual and aural articulation of this dissertation. Its purpose is to activate the notion of, '*a… speculative audacity*' (*Ibid.*) by suggesting an alternative reading of particular elements from the independence-day performance through an expanded conception of queer theory. The aim is to think beyond the gendered and sexual framing of queer theory, so as to propose new readings of notions of performativity in the post-colony. This penultimate chapter begins with a motivation for the experiment and then continues, in a performance key, to process a distinct and anomalous performance from the 2017 independence-day concert through three equally distinct conceptual constructs.

[18] https://www.theguardian.com/film/2018/feb/13/black-panther-joe-robert-cole-black-superhero-interview - retrieved 12 April 2018

Prompted by the scope of imagination that is afforded this research, located within a performance arts discipline, the aim is to reveal a series of creative and hypothetical provocations as a way to round off the written section of this dissertation. This rehearsal is, as the name, intends – an imaginative trial, that will work to present evidence of the productivity of this queer experiment. Structured symbolically in three acts, the processing begins with an extension into the constructs of drag performance initiated by Butler's theory of performance, which then meanders through Bhabha's and Girard's respective notions of 'mimicry' (Bhabha 1994)[19] and 'mimetic desire' (Girard 1961)[20]. The trajectory then concludes with a projection into a Bakhtinian landscape of the carnival and carnivalesque as the precursor for the transition from the written into the visual, sculptural and aural.

This dissertation, at its core, is designed as an implicit challenge to notions of homogeneity and singularity. It is also constituted as a way to understand the probability of building new knowledge through lateral and rhizomic processes as a journey that gathers and synthesises from across disciplines. This is a crucial register because, as this research has uncovered, there are a number of concepts of indigeneity that have, for various reasons, lain dormant up until now. In the wake of the 'new dawn' in Zimbabwe, in this moment of growing debates for alternatives, there is an imperative for radical creativity to activate new ideas, new readings, and new knowledges.

The ideas put forward and how they are structured are by no means definitive nor conclusive. Rather, they are idiosyncratic, and exist in service of the aim to propose an alternative reading of this event. The purpose of this experiment is driven by my experience growing up in Zimbabwe and further strengthened by the many years I have worked in various creative industries in Zimbabwe, ranging from fashion design to film-making to curating for the National Gallery and then as an independent curator. My identity as a Zimbabwean has been tenuous since the introduction of the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act in 2007, and stands as an important catalyst for this research. This coupled with the work I have done with various youth groups underscore the need for alternative readings of notions of identity in Zimbabwe. In constructing this thesis, I have encountered a rich and troubled theoretical and conceptual terrain. There are many

[19] H. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, London, Routledge, 1994
[20] R. Girard, *Deceit, Desire and the Novel*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1961

tangents and specificities that, along with criticisms from the disciplines I marshal to rehearse this experiment, are possible. The end objective of this research is to expand the field of thinking, and in so doing contribute useful information and methods to grow the library of possibilities that notions of indigenousness and indigeneity can generate.

Methodology

> *Giles Deleuze and Félix Guattari declare, 'Make a map, not a tracing!... to what is not yet... for new eidetic and physical worlds to emerge*.
>
> (Corner in Cosgrove 1999: 213-214)[21]

This chapter will present the journey taken to build this research study, beginning with the rationale for its experimental approach. It will then continue on to list the main elements that constituted this exploration into notions of indigeneity in the 2017 independence-day ceremony.

i. Rationale

> *It still is incumbent upon us, all us Zimbabweans, to work to translate into true meaning that freedom, sovereignty and independence, so it can have the meaning and significance we desire*
>
> (Mugabe 2017)

The independence-day ceremony that takes place annually, on the 18th of April, in various cities and town across the country, has been analysed in particular and discrete ways. The event is covered in the press and sections are filmed for broadcast. Interpretive and discourse analyses, to date (McFadden 2005; Raftopoulos & Mlambo 2009; Mlambo 2015; Monda 2016; Kaulemu 2012; Ndlovu-Gathseni 2009; Muchemwa 2010; Willems 2013, 2014, 2015), cover its political and emancipatory significance, processing reflections of the state of affairs in Zimbabwe in relation to the varying degrees of praise and criticism of the ruling party. Government media primarily relays celebratory and emancipatory messages, reflected in superlative tones[22]. The articles and filmed clips confirm its relevance as a crucial performance of the recognition and confirmation of national sovereignty and the end of colonial rule. Other media platforms, local and international[23], employ a more

[21] J. Corner, '*The Agency of Mapping: Speculation, Critique and Invention*', in D. Cosgrove (ed), '*Mappings*', London, Reaktion Books, 1999, pg. 213

[22] There numerous examples of such articles in Zimbabwean newspapers such as The Herald, The Chronicle and The Patriot. Articles published before and after the independence day ceremony each year extol the virtues of this event and its presumed significance. A survey yielded an extensive list, which due to formatting concerns is not included here. This list is available upon request.

[23] As with the comment above, there are numerous examples. Independent newspapers in Zimbabwe include Newsday, Daily News, The Standard, The Financial Gazette. As to the international press, these range the gamut – from CNN, BBC, major South African news networks, regional stations in Botswana, Zambia, Kenya, Rwanda and Tanzania. As previously stated, a survey for this information yielded an extensive list, which due to formatting concerns is not included here. This list is available upon request.

cynical and critical stance, using the extravagance of the ceremony as a way to reflect and comment on the state of affairs in the country at the time. What has not been evident in these various inquiries is any considered analysis of the performance and performative logics of this ceremony. In addition, there has been little to no query into the various contradictions and paradoxes that emerge from the juxtaposition of the material and visual culture exhibited at these celebrations in relation to the anti-colonial narratives that are advertised and professed. These registers became key motivations for this research as a way to bring to the fore the possibility of new readings into the project of identity formation in a post-Mugabe era.

The interest in pursuing this angle of inquiry was further encouraged by a particular clause in the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act (IEEA 2007) that defines what legally constitutes 'an indigenous Zimbabwean' (*Ibid.*:2). The clause reveals a contemporary notion of indigenousness, for Zimbabweans, which is principally defined through registers of marginalisation and temporality. This strategic framing contributed to understanding the political and economic benefits of the aim of indigenisation in Zimbabwe. What this also exposed, in turn, was a void in thinking of visual and material culture manifestations of indigenousness and the potential impacts they could render for this performance. This lacuna was enhanced by an emerging scholarship into the notion of indigeneity – framed as the ontological register of notions of indigenousness (Graham & Glenn Penny 2014; Waldron 2002; Tlakatekatl 2014; Nair 2006; Merlan 2009; Guenther, Kenrick, Kuper, Plaice, Thuen, Wolfe, Zips and Barnard 2006). These analyses and commentaries detail the various ways in which communities around the world who identify as indigenous have found and are finding ways to evolve, adapt and integrate ancestral and cultural elements of material, visual and performance culture into everyday life and ceremonial practices. This, consequently, led back to the need for a deeper reading of the independence day ceremony and how to build a way, theoretically and conceptually, to think about the presences and absences of notions of indigeneity in this event that honours the end of colonisation.

> *[M]ethods are devices, which 'experimentally connect and assemble ontology, epistemology and theory and worlds by putting them into knowledge generating action*'
>
> (Pangrazio 2017:227, quoting Aradau and Huysemans 2014:605)[24]

> *[M]ethods are generated from paying close attention to what exists in and is formed as an archive*
>
> (Macharia 2015: 144)[25]

Given the research challenge at hand and the information that was both available and accessible about this ceremony, it was crucial to build a creative yet robust methodology to explore this query. In consideration of the inherent scope possible in the creative arts, it was imperative to employ unorthodox approaches that could get 'under the skin' (Gillham 2000:11) of the ceremony, in ways yet it had yet to encounter. This intention informed the choice to extend the experiment beyond conventional Post-modern paradigms as a way to strengthen the rationale of an unconventional and speculative approach. This turn to experimentation was a valuable motivation in designing the methodology for this research process.

The methodological approach aimed simultaneously to echo and disturb the conventions of a methodical rendering of new knowledge with regard to notions of post-colonial identity. In examining the canon of analyses that investigate notions of identity in contemporary Zimbabwe there are valuable and significant studies that unpack the aims, objectives and subsequent impacts of how political and economic forces have influenced presentations of notions of independence and sovereignty (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009, Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Muzondidya 2011, Willems 2013, Raftopoulos and Mlambo 2008, Tendi 2010, Mavhunga 2011). The echo of political strategy is a common denominator within these texts. What is less common is 'rigorous academic attention' (Sitas 2015)[26] towards the cultural logics employed within public performances of independence and sovereignty. As a response to this void, and the recognition of a distinct political strategy to frame historiographies of the long past, the approach for this research experiment then recommended provocation as a

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[24] L. Pangrazio, '*Exploring Provocation as a research method in the social sciences*', International Journal of Social Research Methodology, 20:2, 225 – 236, DOI: 10. 1080/13645579.2016. 1161346 – retrieved 2 October 2018

[25] K. Macharia, '*Archive and method in Queer African Studies*', in Agenda: Empowering women for gender equity, 29:1, 140-146. https://doi.org/10. 1080/10130950.2015.1010294

[26] R. Sitas, '*Becoming Otherwise: Two Thousand and Ten Reasons to Live in a Small Town*', PhD Thesis, Department of Architecture and Planning, University of Cape Town, 2015

method (Pangrazio 2017). This approach was identified as a way to disturb convention and thus find ways to productively disrupt the status quo, moving beyond the conventional approaches. Furthermore, as highlighted by Kershaw and Nicholson (2011), this idiosyncratic approach, extending beyond the traditions of interpretive and post-modern analyses, had the potential to 'establish imaginative uses of methods that trouble the boundaries between creative practice and critical analysis, between epistemology and ontology' (2011:2)[27].

A larger aim of the research design was to find a way to process the independence-day ceremony through an inter-/multi-disciplinary inquiry that could engage the visual and material aspects in curious ways. There has been growing value assigned to inter-/multi-disciplinary inquiry, given the growing complexities and intricacies required of research (Jacobs and Frickel 2009)[28]. For this reason, the dissertation is spread across a number of conceptual frameworks. Convention in this terrain of research does recommend broad frameworks such as discourse analysis. While this could generously accommodate a methodological approach, given the express aim to explore provocation and experimentation, the choice I have made is to speculate using a mixed-method approach.

Beginning with a broad and complex survey of the historical and anthropological terrains of indigenousness and indigeneity, the study then narrowed its focus to examine the performance logics of the 2017 independence-day event as a particular case study for evidence of elements of indigeneity. In the next stage, the process shifted to explore the value of examining the findings that emerged from this performance review through a distinctive framework of speculative research. This detour, in turn, led the research, in its penultimate stage, through the realm of queer theory. This was justified as a way to move the debates beyond their perceived stasis and into a territory that would provide the framework for an audacious (Savransky 2017), provocative and poetic conclusion. The objective of this penultimate setup was to pave the way for the final articulation of this research in the domain of visual presentation.

> As Law and Urry (2004) argue, 'methods need to be understood as performative rather than representational…. They are not simply techniques of extracting

[27] B. Kershaw and H. Nicholson (eds), '*Research Methods in Theatre and Performance*', Research Methods for the Arts and Humanities series. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2011
[28] J. Jacobs and S. Frickel, '*Interdisciplinarity: A Critical Assessment*', The Annual Review of Sociology, 2009. 35:43-65

> information from reality', they are 'instead within worlds and partake in their shaping (Pangrazio 2017:227 quoting Larry and Urry 2004:598).

It was important to think in ways that have not been thought, so as to be able to expose these debates to fresh challenges. This was also in recognition of the nature of the realpolitik in Zimbabwe and how policing has worked to consistently curb and censor new thinking. The provocation of this study was thus to present, as Savransky has posited, 'the wager' (2017) to this strategically-imposed immutability, and to find active ways to confront the dilemmas that emerged in the analyses performed. What materialised, then, was the value and necessity of this interdisciplinary approach to re-activate dormant complexities and initiate startling new thinking that would make a unique contribution to knowledge about notions of indigeneity in contemporary Zimbabwe. What this approach has confirmed is the necessity for alternative and innovative methodological approaches to deepen existing research in this domain. This becomes increasingly important as Zimbabwe journeys into the next phase of its young life as a sovereign nation.

ii. Methodological Elements

> '*I have been struggling to approach the question of method. I can only approach it circuitously, understanding this labour as provisional, as work to be undertaken by many minds and bodies engaged in ongoing conversation, attempting to listen to each other, and willing to take conceptual and methodological risks.'*
>
> (Macharia 2015:143-144)

It is important to note from the outset the dynamism of the methodological approach. This was informed by seismic changes that have taken place, and that are still ongoing, in Zimbabwe. At the start of this study, in 2016, Robert Mugabe was firmly in place as the president of the country. This dissertation, as such, was motivated to build an understanding of this ceremony from a particular angle, given his concerted authorship of the notions of indigenousness and independence in Zimbabwe since 1980. As this research journey approaches its current conclusion[29], the situation has changed radically. While the ruling party, ZANU-PF, are still in power, the characteristic leadership of Mugabe has been replaced by that of Emmerson Mnangagwa. Through a surprising turn of events, Mugabe 'tendered'[30] his resignation on the 21st November 2017. The primary impact of this turn of

[29] This is a crucial note: the journey will continue after this dissertation is presented. This is clarified in the 'Future Research' section in the concluding chapter.

[30] The events that led up to this resignation warrant the quotation marks, since it has not been perceived, in the tomes of analyses, that this was a voluntary nor benevolent decision. There is still an ongoing debate as to the events that led up to this circumstance and whether or not it constitutes a coup d'état. See PACT Brief,

events on the methodological approach had was that it led to the objective of reflecting this radical register and thus increasing the study's experimental potential. This recognition then generated the need to be creative and malleable, to be open and to evolve with the changes that were taking place, and still are unfolding in quick succession. These circumstances, it needs to be noted, have imbued this research with ingenuity that then makes the findings compelling and valuable, given the mutable state and State of the country.

This research study conveys an understanding that has been built primarily on textual analyses. The 2017 independence-day ceremony constituted the primary case study for this investigation. The study was conceived as a qualitative inquiry into performances and manifestations of indigeneity, present and/or absent at this ceremony, held in Harare, Zimbabwe on the 18th of April 2017. Locating the methodology, principally, within the qualitative realm was strategic given the potential this offered to explore the 'pluralization of life worlds' (Flick 2002:2). This was important given the recognition of politically imposed notions of homogenisation as regards identity-formation in Zimbabwe (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009:347). In addition, as Sitas mentions, 'Qualitative research is "replete with enthusiasm, creativity, intellectual ferment, and action."' (Sitas 2015 quoting Denzin & Lincoln 2011:76). This is supported by Denzin and Lincoln's understanding that through a qualitative framework, researchers are able to 'deploy a wide range of interconnected interpretive practices, hoping always to get a better understanding of the subject matter at hand…[since]… qualitative research is a field in its own right that cross cuts disciplines, fields and subject matter' (2005:2-3).

The information gathered to explore this inquiry was drawn from four distinct disciplines, which included history and anthropology, performance studies, speculative research, and queer theory. Through exploring various studies and relevant books, educational syllabi, journals, publications and the legislation document for the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act 2007, the aim was to build a discursive understanding of knowledge expressed by analysts, historians, theorists and provocateurs. This generated a non-empirical collation of information through a survey of existing ideas and articulations.

'*Zimbabwe after the July 2018 storm: Opportunities and challenges for democratization, economic recovery, and civic engagement*.' September 2018, CEADZ Brief No. 4/2018

ii (a) The 2017 Independence day ceremony

[C]ase knowledge is central to human learning

(Flyvbjerg 2006:222)

A key motivation to explore a detailed reading of the independence day ceremony was directed by the logics of case study methodology (Tight 2017, Flyvbjerg 2006, 2001; Crang 2002). This was further supported by Zainal (2007), quoting Yin (1984:23), '…when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used."' (Zainal 2007:2). The case study method supports a detailed examination of a particular event in service of building the rationale for new hypotheses (Abercrombie, Hill and Turner 1984). It has also been understood as an important tool in guiding robust qualitative inquiry (Sitas 2015, Tracy 2010). Tight (2017), quoting Gerring (2007), points to the discursive, 'rather messier and more complex' (Tight 2017:6) framework of case studies.

> To refer to a work as a 'case study' might mean: (a) that its method is qualitative…, (b) that the research is holistic, thick (a more or less comprehensive examination of a phenomenon), (c) that it utilizes a particular type of evidence (e.g. ethnographic, clinical, nonexperimental, non-survey-based, participant observation, process-tracing, historical, textual or field research), (d) that its method of evidence gathering is naturalistic (a 'real-life context'), (e) that the topic is diffuse (case and context are difficult to distinguish), (f) that it employs triangulation ('multiple sources of evidence'), (g) that the research investigates the properties of a single observation, or (h) that the research investigates the properties of a single phenomenon, instance or example. (Gerring 2007, p. 17) (*Ibid*.)

A survey of available and accessible information and literature, in libraries and at the national archives, revealed that there are no comprehensive accounts of the 2017 independence-day event that detail the performance logics – processions, costumes, acts, scenarios and design. Information that is available is fragmentary in its coverage of the event[31]. For this reason, information about the details of the ceremony needed to be sought through the event organisers – the Government of Zimbabwe. This required seeking permission to access the information about this event from the government departments who produce the event. The first request was sent directly to the Permanent Secretary in Ministry of Home Affairs on the 30th October 2017[32]. This letter listed the reason for

[31] This was confirmed through a detailed search through The National Archives of Zimbabwe, The Zimbabwe Broadcast Authority and private media outlets. What was garnered were short clips and discrete articles.
[32] Copies of all communications are available in Appendix 3.

seeking information about this ceremony and declared the nature and purpose of the research. The letter was received and processed, and permission to access information about the ceremony was denied, citing that 'Information requested cannot be disbursed to individuals out of the system'[33]. The second request for information was sent to the Ministry of Local Government. This second attempt to gain access to the information about the event was speculatively motivated and premised on the narrative of new beginnings and openness that followed the resignation of Robert Mugabe. The shift in the political establishment heralded changes of personnel in various government ministries following Mugabe's resignation in November 2017. This time, the request for information was received with interest. Additional information to confirm student status and university registration details were requested. Also required was the signing of The Official Secrecy Act, which was duly signed and submitted. The request was processed and permission to access the information was granted[34]. However, when it came to accessing the data, a problem was encountered. The official in the Ministry to whom the request was directed, the custodian of the information - the Director of Finance[35] - refused to part with the data. He expressed incredulity that the request has been granted and expressed that

> he would never share information or give the clearance to get information on the Independence day celebrations because
> i. it touches on the constitution
> ii. he reports to the national taskforce (or something)
> iii. there would be so many clearance issues involved and can not [sic] be shared with anyone in or especially outside the country
> iv. it is in the security zone
> v. he does not want anything to do with this - he doesn't want his name involved/mentioned or linked to any discussion about the INDEPENDENCE CELEBRATIONS
> VI. IT IS BASICALLY CLASSIFIED INFORMATION'
>
> (Detail from email from Leeanne Gumbo[36], 14 March 2018)

Given this final impasse, it was decided that the primary data for this research would have to be assembled from video clips, press articles and observer accounts of the 2017

[33] See Appendix 3.
[34] See Appendix 3
[35] See Appendix 3
[36] Ms. Gumbo was acting on my behalf, as I was not in Harare at that time.

Independence-day event[37]. This chain of events confirmed the choice of a qualitative inquiry, since, as Gillham points out, it is most apt in circumstances where 'investigations… are either not practical or ethically justifiable… where little is known about what is there… [and]… to 'get under the skin' of a group or organisation to find out what really happens' (2000:11). This last point reiterates the aim to explore provocation as method (Pangrazio 2017), as alluded to earlier. The prototypical character of the methodology was crucial since the task was to find a way to build knowledge of an event which presents itself as the pinnacle of public celebration of colonial emancipation and national sovereignty in Zimbabwe, yet there is little information that is available of its performance logics to Zimbabweans.

ii (b) Focus groups and online surveys

In order to get an understanding of the knowledge and the impact of notions of independence and indigeneity from Zimbabweans – beyond the academic frame – I made the decision to arrange a series of focus groups. Focus groups act as a key source for, 'rich, detailed data' and are 'intuitively appealing' (Carey and Asbury 2016:15,16)[38] and as such stand to provide useful data that can inform general and subtle aspects of research studies. Morgan (1997) argues that focus groups can be used to collect viewpoints not readily accessible, be a key source of supplementary data and can involve 'multi-method' approaches. This nod to dynamic practice was valuable in incorporating creative and alternate ways to engage the target group for the focus groups.

Six focus groups were convened, comprising Zimbabweans under the age of 37. This age-limit was set, strategically, to gather information from a demographic of Zimbabweans colloquially referred to as 'born frees, those lucky ones born after 18 April 1980… who would never have to live as colonised subjects' (Ndlovu in Masunungure and Shumba 2012:252)[39]. The participants were made up of groups of women and men, and spread across a broad range of demographics related to economic class, sexual identity, education level and employment. The focus groups were designed as a day-long conversation, and 'planned to capitalize on the interaction among the group members to enhance the

[37] These included 263Chat, Bus Stop TV, Slymedia for video footage. Photographs of the event were gathered from Jekesai Njikizana and a variety of internet sources.
[38] M. Carey and J. Asbury, '*Focus Group Research*', Oxon and New York, Routledge 2012.
[39] M. Ndlovu, '*Youth in Zimbabwe*' in E. Masunungure and J. Shumba (eds), '*Zimbabwe: Mired in Transition*', Harare, Weaver Press and Institute for A Democratic Alternative (IDAZIM), 2012.

collection of deep, strongly held beliefs and perspectives' (Carey and Asbury 2016:17) across a number of questions. Participants were encouraged to share their thoughts and ideas regarding the main topics of this study – independence and indigeneity – on a series of questionnaires. A total of 60 young people participated in these focus groups. Their ideas, comments and drawings were recorded, anonymously, on a series of worksheets. Participants were also shown short video clips, gathered from the internet, of the 2017 independence-day ceremony. The findings from these focus groups[40] reflected important information that motivated the need for this research study.

An online survey was also carried out to get a broader idea of views regarding notions of indigenousness. The question, disseminated by Kubatana.net[41] – an online community platform – asked: 'As we celebrate 38 years of independence, what does it mean, for you, to be an indigenous Zimbabwean in 2018?'. The question was shared with members of the Kubatana platform and forwarded on through their (members') individual networks. The question was supported with the following explanation:

> heeten's inquiry has been inspired by the massive euphoria that greeted the movie Black Panther, especially with regards to one of its main suggestions: a country in Africa that has never been colonized before.
>
> Zimbabwe's recent history has been characterised by the call for indigenisation through the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act (2007), together with persistent calls for sovereignty. heeten's research is looking specifically at how these calls have registered/manifested culturally. And, additionally, if at all, this indigenisation narrative, in a cultural sense, has changed since November 2017, when we took a step into the next stage of our young country.
>
> heeten will be hosting and facilitating a series of workshops in Harare in the next 6 months. The workshops will be opportunities to discuss issues of culture within the indigenisation project in creative way - what it means, it's past, present and its future.
>
> heeten will be offering free space on his workshops for the 10 most surprising and curious responses to his question: As we celebrate 38 years of independence, what does it mean, for you, to be an indigenous Zimbabwean in 2018?

[40] See Appendix 1 for a detailed analysis of the methods and findings from the focus groups.
[41] See: https://www.facebook.com/Kubatana/posts/as-we-celebrate-38-years-of-independence-what-does-it-mean-for-you-to-be-an-indi/1934925466518843/ and https://www.trendsmap.com/twitter/tweet/985854845658779648 - retrieved 20 April 2018

Kubatana Facebook post[42]

The feedback from the focus groups and from the online survey has been elaborated on in the appendices at the end of this thesis.

[42] Kubatana, see: https://www.facebook.com/Kubatana/posts/as-we-celebrate-38-years-of-independence-what-does-it-mean-for-you-to-be-an-indi/1934925466518843/ - retrieved 20 April 2018

ii (c) Researcher/Provocateur - Provocation as method

Pangrazio contends that 'provocation can lead to the creation of new, critical perspectives, as well as generating thinking that might transgress social and cultural norms' (2017:229). This provided an important methodological framework to facilitate the aims of this research project. Drawing on the nature of provocative enquiry to 'create a stimulus… that seeks to unsettle or disrupt' (*Ibid*.: 228) was key in bringing an alternative reading to the 2017 independence-day event. Given the performative fixity that is characteristic of this event (Willems 2013), it was crucial to employ a methodological framework that could, 'obfuscate the 'norms and conventions' (Pangrazio 2017:229)[43] that prevail in the performance of this ceremony. This express objective to invite complexity played itself out, both in the research journey travelled to elucidate this study and in the ways this dissertation consciously collates and juxtaposes conceptual and theoretical frameworks to construct a dense and compelling study. This intricate conceptual and theoretical journey was possible through a process of 'materialising thinking', which Pangrazio refers to as '[a] second principal of provocation' (*Ibid*.: 231)[44]. In this approach, she presents 'three [distinct]… ways' to explore a provocative method, 'present new information... decontextualise … practice… [and]… translate an idea across materials to create a new or different interpretation of an issue.' (*Ibid*.: emphasis in original). Cycling through these modes provided the rational and a technique to synthesise 'issues that have become so enmeshed with daily life as to become unconscious processes (*Ibid*.: 234).

The processing of the historical and anthropological elements that frame this event against its annual realisation provided the impetus to pose provocative questions regarding its performance logics. The result of this performance analysis then led to an distinctive inquiry through the terrain of speculative research as a way to trouble the paradoxes and contradictions that had been revealed. These findings were then provocatively extrapolated, through the productivity of queer theory, as a way in which to stage the concluding written articulation and the penultimate articulation of this dissertation. The final articulation, manifested visually, renders the concluding provocation of this research study. At each stage, as has been made evident, the expansive framework that provocation

[43] A note, Pangrazio includes reference to 'Bardzell, Bardzell, Forlizzi, Zimmerman, & Antanitis 2012:298

[44] Pargrazio refers to four principles of provocation which, '*underpin provocation as a research approach*.' These include, '*Critical distance*',' *Materialising thinking*', '*Reflection and transformation*', and '*Ethical considerations*' (2017: 230 - 233).

as methodological thinking afforded propelled this research study to intriguing and new territories.

ii (d) STOP MAKING SENSE, just *make* sense

The concluding articulation of this research study was conceived as a site-specific installation of visual, sculptural and aural products[45]. This was motivated by the objective of enhancing the proliferating notions of complexity and multiplicity foregrounded by the study's qualitative approach. It was also imagined as a way to transcend the written word and thus open the potential to articulate the many layers of new thought and possibility in other mediums.

> The world is represented by thought, which is a proposition with sense, since they all—world, thought, and proposition—share the same logical form. Hence, the thought and the proposition can be pictures of the facts (Biletzki and Matar 2002, 2018)[46].

Buoyed by a key question that arose through reading Biletzki and Matar's analysis of Wittgenstein's theories of images and words (*Ibid*.) – how is it that people can communicate ideas to one another? – these artistic renderings were produced as idiosyncratic abstractions and provocations to expand the dictionary of notions of indigeneity and independence in Zimbabwe. This turn to the poetic was also imagined as a crucial provocation of the independence-day ceremony's fixity.

Playing with the idea of actually *making sense*, which takes the enterprise out of the realm of thought and into a physical medium, was prompted by a short fragment of footage of *Mr. Hosho*'s performance at the 2017 independence-day ceremony. As alluded to in the performance analysis chapter of this dissertation, his performance stands out against the rest of the ceremony in a perplexing and confounding manner. Thinking of ways to synthesise and present the immense impact that this distinctive performance could extend to the understanding of notions of independence and indigeneity, echoed the same challenge in finding ways to presence the various latent and marooned passages that articulate intriguing performances of cultural expression uncovered from a detailed reading

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[45] Images of all elements are presented in the next section. The images go with the media files sent with this dissertation. The media files include: 2 film files, one audio file, a selection of images and a series of posters.
[46] A. Biletzki and A. Matar, "*Ludwig Wittgenstein*", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2018 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), Available: https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2018/entries/wittgenstein - retrieved 22 October 2018

of the archive of the long past[47]. This argument was matched through the productivity of provocation as methodology, by a similar potential to trouble post-colonial theories of identity and the boundaries of queer theory through appropriative and subversive experimentation with key queer theoretical constructs. Given the location of this research study in the terrain of an arts discipline, the possibility then to *make sense* to make sense was an obvious choice.

The installation comprises four distinct elements: A two-channel video projection of *Mr. Hosho*'s performance and of the band he marches with; a sound installation imagined as a key landscape intervention; a series of posters that appropriate and subvert passages from key queer theory texts; and a pair of sculpturally-rendered kaleidoscopic looking devices, purposed to present what Ellingson refers to as 'crystallization as dendritic, an ongoing and dispersed process of making meaning through multiple epistemologies and genres, constituted in a series of separate but related representations based on a data set' (Ellingson 2011:124)[48].

The date for the installation was set for the 21st November 2018. This date is important as it marks the one-year anniversary of the resignation of Robert Mugabe. The installation was thought of as a one-time only event, beginning at 18:00 and ending at 00:00 – in reference to the inaugural independence-day ceremony that took place, at the same time, on the 18th of April 1980. The ideal site for the installation was imagined at the Zimbabwe Museum of Human Sciences in Harare. Given the political sensitivities in Zimbabwe at the time of this dissertation, and also the denial of access to information about the independence-day ceremony, it was relocated to a courtyard space within the Hiddingh campus of the University of Cape Town.

[T]he main anti-Platonic objective of the phenomenological tradition writ large: to allow the object to skew the alignment of perception in such a way that the sense data this object sends off to consciousness begins to overwhelm the object's properly ideational or

[47] This is discussed in Chapter 1.
[48] L. L. Ellingson, '*Six All Apart: Dendritic Crystallization*' in L. L. Ellingson, '*Engaging Crystallization in Qualitative Research: An Introduction*.', Thousand Oaks, SAGE Publications Inc, 2011.

intellectual determinations. In Lacanian vocabulary, phenomenology wants to prioritise sense data over the signifier (Penney 2014: 19)[49].

[49] J. Penney, '*Currents of Queer*' in J. Penney, '*After Queer Theory: The Limits of Sexual Politics*', London, Pluto Press, 2014

Chapter 1 Indigenous – Indigenisation – Indigeneity

Introduction

In 2007, the government of Zimbabwe under the leadership of Robert Mugabe enacted the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act (IEEA 2007) through parliament, as a means to address what they argued was the persisting legacy of a racially-motivated imbalance within the Zimbabwean economy that was a result of decades of prior colonisation. The implementation of this act had wide-ranging impacts on the economic wellbeing of Zimbabwe and its citizens (Ndakaripa 2017)[50]. The ensuing reverberations extended into other arenas of Zimbabwean life, prompting questions into notions of culture, identity and belonging among the various majority and minority communities that constitute the country. A key motivation of this investigation is informed by a clause in the Indigenisation Act that declares 'an indigenous Zimbabwean is any person who, before the 18th April, 1980 was disadvantaged by unfair discrimination on the grounds of his or her race' (IEEA 2007:2). This interest is further driven by the energy and analysis generated around notions of indigenousness instigated by this act and the recognition of the dearth of cultural manifestations of indigenousness in relation to a potent rhetorical narrative that draws connection between present-day Zimbabwe and a time before colonisation.

The first begins with a description of the performance aspects of the first ceremony of independence on the evening of the 17th of April 1980 and goes on to describe performances from the 37th anniversary event, in 2017, at the National Sports Stadium in Harare. A key aim of this chapter is to contextualise Zimbabwe as country, by giving an overview of its history and its journey to independence. What follows this is an investigation of the terms – 'indigenous' and 'indigenisation'. The motivation for this research inquiry is expanded by locating the specificities of its context within the current circumstances in which Zimbabwe and Zimbabweans find themselves. The chapter concludes with an ontological framing of indigenousness, extrapolated through the notion of indigeneity, and its pertinence for contemporary Zimbabwe.

[50] M. Ndakaripa, '*State, Civil Society and the Politics of Economic Indigenisation in Zimbabwe, 1980 – 2016*', PhD Dissertation, University of the Free State, 2017

If you don't want to be my brother,
Then I'll smash your skull in.

von Bülow in Appiah (2006: 145)[51]

1.1 A country is born

Zimbabwe was born at the stroke of midnight on the 18th of April 1980. On this late summer's evening, over 37 years ago, an elaborate ceremony[52] was staged, attended by thousands of people, that saw the Union Jack being lowered to give way to a new flag representing the newest addition to post-colonial Africa, Zimbabwe. This seminal event was held at Rufaro Stadium – the 'stadium of happiness' (Chakanetsa 2017)[53] – situated on the periphery of Mbare, the first high-density township established solely for black working populations in then-Salisbury (Yoshikuni 2007; Nyambi, Mangena and Pfukwa 2016)[54]. This historic event, seen as the culmination of a decades-long struggle against colonisation, was charged with monumental promise. The stadium was filled to capacity with excited and jubilant new Zimbabweans, who began on the afternoon on the 17th April. The entertainment in the lead-up to the handover ceremony consisted of a variety show, 'of music: church choirs, traditional ensembles, military bands, a troop of "Hindoo dancers" and their accompanists, chimurenga choirs, guitar bands, and, of course, popular singers like Comrade Chinx, Zexie Manatsa, Oliver Mtukudzi, and Thomas Mapfumo.'[55] (Eyre 2015: 360). One of the main highlights was an iconic performance by Bob Marley, who flew himself into the country specially to perform (Hans 2015)[56]. While much has been written in general about this symbolic ceremony, a survey of the national archives in Zimbabwe, various literature and online articles associated have yet to yield any substantive detail or

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[51] K. A. Appiah 2006, *Cosmopolitanism*, Pg. 145. Translated from German: '*Und willst du nicht mein Bruder sein, So schlag' ich Dir den Schådel ein*.' See also Bernhard von Bülow, available: https://de.wikiquote.org/wiki/Bernhard_von_B%C3%BClow retrieved 15 January 2018

[52] https://scroll.in/video/858142/today-a-coup-in-1980-independence-watch-bob-marley-at-zimbabwes-freedom-celebrations retrieved 15 January 2018.

[53] A. Chakanetsa, '*Nostalgia for Rufaro Stadium*', The Patriot, 10 August 2017. Available: https://www.thepatriot.co.zw/old_posts/nostalgia-for-rufaro-stadium/ retrieved 12 July 2018

[54] http://www.hararecity.co.zw/index.php/template-features/87-city-trivia/203-history-of-mbare retrieved 11 July 2018. T. Yoshikuni, '*African Urban Experiences in Colonial Zimbabwe: A Social History of Harare before 1925*', Harare, Weaver Press, 2007 and Nyambi, Mangena and Pfukwa (eds), '*The Postcolonial Condition of Names and Naming Practices in Southern Africa*', Newcastle upon Tyne, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016

[55] B. Eyre, '*Lion Songs: Thomas Mapfumo and the Music that made Zimbabwe*', Durham, Duke University Press Books, 2015 p. 109 - 121

[56] T. Hans, '*Remembering Bob Marley at the Birth of Zimbabwe*', Forbes International, 2 April 2015. Available: https://www.forbes.com/sites/forbesinternational/2015/04/02/remembering-bob-marley-at-the-birth-of-zimbabwe/#348db63f36c5, – retrieved 17 January 2018. See also: 'BOB MARLEY LIVE IN Zimbabwe (FULL SHOW) - https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=1168&v=CYQK34LcebU – retrieved 17 January 2018

planning documents to elucidate the performance minutiae of the ceremony[57].

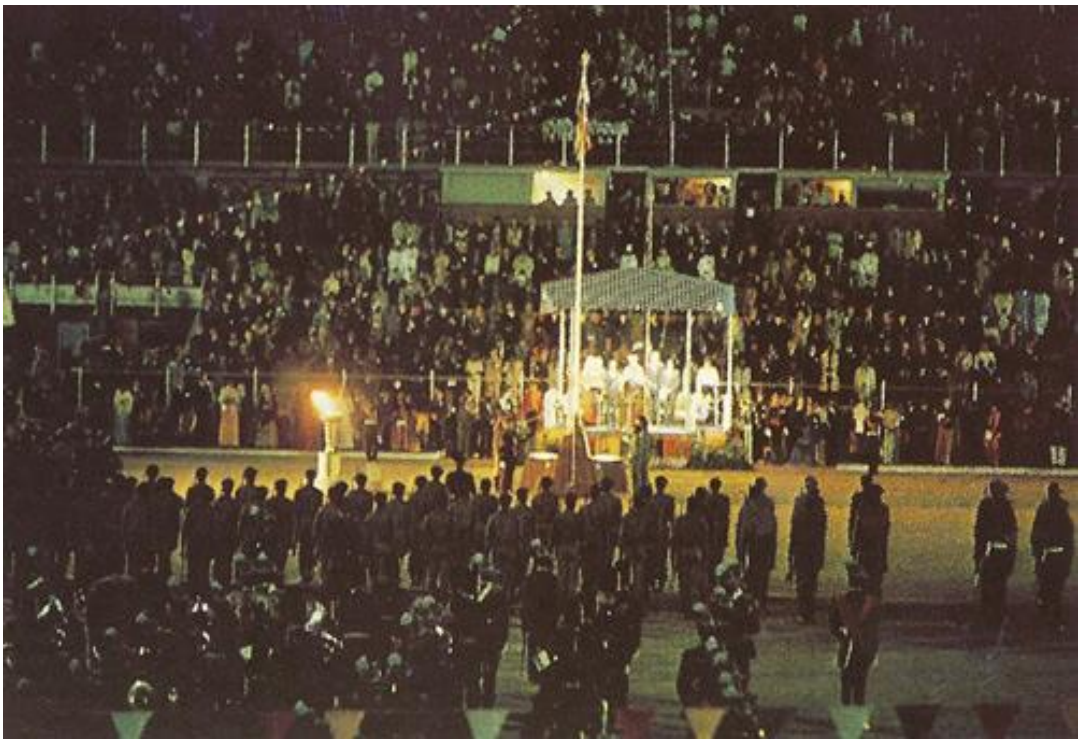

Figure 1

A film produced by The Central Film Laboratories[58] forms the primary source for the examination of the performance aspects of this event. The film, a broad montage of the days and events leading up to the handover ceremony, shares clips of the arrivals of various global dignitaries, lavish banquets and garden parties that preceded the ceremony. The event at Rufaro Stadium is relayed through a series of edited highlights. In the film, the narrator suggests that the actual handover ceremony began with the arrival of a full-scale military marching band[59]. The musicians of this band were dressed in dark-green suits replete with golden embellishments, tasselled trimmings, white gloves, wide-brimmed feathered hats, and shod with spatterdashers. Their formation was led by two leaders carrying staffs, who marched pigeon-chested with verve. Their instruments were typical of

[57] Enquiry at the National Archives of Zimbabwe, in Harare, was re-directed to the Ministry of Information. This was then further re-directed to the Ministry of Local Government. A request for information, initially granted, was denied in the end, with no clear reasoning other than being told the information was 'top secret'. This is covered in more detail in the methodology chapter. Eyre's account, drawn together from people's memories, states that '*there was no schedule to follow. The organizers called performers to the stage as they saw fit*'. In an endnote, Eyre also shares, '*Dera Tomkins describes traditional groups and choirs performing at the far end of the stadium starting at 6:00 pm*.'

[58] '*Zimbabwe Independence Day*' – YouTube, Available https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZD0VmJtuLiY&t=181s - retrieved 12 January 2018

[59] (*Ibid.*) – timecode 08.54.

a traditional brass band (Dube 1996: 107)[60], ranging from trumpets and tubas through to drums. The styling of the costumes and the formal, regimented performance of this marching band evince a colonial influence still in practice. The ensuing procession of police, army, and kilted pipe-band, further supports this observation. The final procession of uniformed ZANLA (Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army) and ZIPRA (Zimbabwe Peoples Revolution Army), also in a distinctive, regimented formation, drew ecstatic cheers from the audience. What is curiously absent from this procession, as presented in the film, is an interweaving of the various cultural presentations that had been taking place 'at the far end of the stadium' (Eyre 2015). The film montage indicates that this ceremony of independence, celebrating the birth of the post-colonial state of Zimbabwe, began with a resplendent and colonially-influenced military parade.

The film goes on to portray the arrival of the primary dignitaries in their individual motorcades. The sequence begins with Robert Mugabe – then Minister of Defence in the short-lived government of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia (Waddy 2014)[61]. Mugabe, the incoming Prime Minister of the new Zimbabwe, was accompanied by his wife of the time, the late Sally Mugabe.

> Roars of adulation broke out when Prime Minister Robert Mugabe rolled into the stadium in a white Mercedes with motorcycle escorts and cadres of bodyguards, ten of them running "American style" next to his car. A band played "God Bless Africa," as Mugabe slowly circled the stadium field (Eyre 2015).

Canaan Banana, who was to take the position of president of the new country, arrived next in a black Rolls Royce, led by two motorcycles and tailed by a further four. Both men, Banana and Mugabe, dressed formally in dark single-breasted suits with shirts and ties, were led onto the ceremonial podium by a British army officer in mess dress that consisted of a waist-length red military jacket, black trousers and a peaked cap. On the podium, they were greeted by the Roman Catholic Bishop for Salisbury, Right Reverend Patrick Chakaipa[62], who wore a traditional red cassock, cape and biretta; Lord Carrington[63], dressed

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[60] C. Dube, '*The Changing Context of African Music Performance in Zimbabwe*', Department of Anthropology, Northwestern University, Zambesia 1996 XXIII (ii)
[61] N. Waddy (2014), '*The Strange Death of 'Zimbabwe-Rhodesia': The Question of British Recognition of the Muzorewa Regime in Rhodesian Public Opinion*', 1979, South African Historical Journal, 66:2, 227-248, DOI: 10.1080/02582473.2013.846935
[62] https://www.pindula.co.zw/Patrick_Chakaipa – retrieved 17 January 2018
[63] http://people.com/archive/the-man-in-the-middle-in-zimbabwe-rhodesia-is-britains-kissinger-lord-carrington-vol-12-no-17/ – retrieved 17 January 2018

in a dark suit, and Chief Justice Hector Macdonald[64], wearing a red cassock and cape with a blonde horsehair wig.

The stage was set with a number of armchairs, each draped with a strip of fabric, striped in the colours of the new Zimbabwean flag and ending with a circular logo of a cockerel – *Jongwe* – the symbol of Mugabe's party, Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). The arrival of Prince Charles and Lord Soames was heralded by a small army of mounted British South African Police (BSAP) cadres, replete with pith-helmets and carrying long spears topped with triangular flags. A similar contingent followed their Rolls Royce cabriolet, as they proceeded around the field, now filled to capacity with various military and police representatives[65]. Both men were led up to the podium to meet the awaiting dignitaries, Prince Charles in all white mess dress and Lord Soames in a generic dark suit and tie.

Figure 2

Thereafter the official handover of documents and swearing of oaths proceeded, accompanied, in parts, with renditions of the British national anthem, "God Save the Queen". Mugabe's inaugural independence-day speech held potent promise.

> Independence will bestow on us a new personality, a new sovereignty, a new future and perspective, and indeed a new history and a new past… …we shall cease to be men and women of the past and become men and women of the future... we

[64] http://www.wikiwand.com/en/Hector_Macdonald_(judge) – retrieved 17 January 2018

[65] Wendy Willems (2013) 'Zimbabwe will never be a colony again': changing celebratory styles and meanings of independence, Anthropology Southern Africa, 36:1-2, 22-33, DOI: 10.1080/02580144.2013.10887021

> cannot afford to be… backward-looking, retrogressive and destructive… Our new mind must have a new vision and our new hearts a new love that spurns hate, and a new spirit that must unite and not divide (Mugabe, 1980)[66].

As the Union Jack was lowered the audience erupted, cheering and waving fists[67]. As the new Zimbabwean flag was raised, the cheering grew exponentially louder, drowning out the band's rendition of a new anthem, 'God Bless Africa' (Eyre 2015)[68]. The cannon-firing salute drew equally spirited support with each firing (*Ibid.*), leaving the stadium dramatically smoke-filled as the new dawn of a new country began. Robert Mugabe, the newly elected Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, then lit the torch that was to become known as the Independence Flame.

[66] Robert Mugabe's speech, 17 April 1980 - https://panafricanquotes.wordpress.com/speeches/robert-mugabes-zimbabwe-indipendence-speech-17-april-1980/ - retrieved 12 July 2018
[67] See: *Zimbabwe Independence Day*' – YouTube, timecode: 16.59, Available https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZD0VmJtuLiY&t=181s - retrieved 12 January 2018
[68] Eyre's account of the event mentions the playing of '*God bless Africa*', also known as Ishe Komborera Africa. This is barely audible in the film.

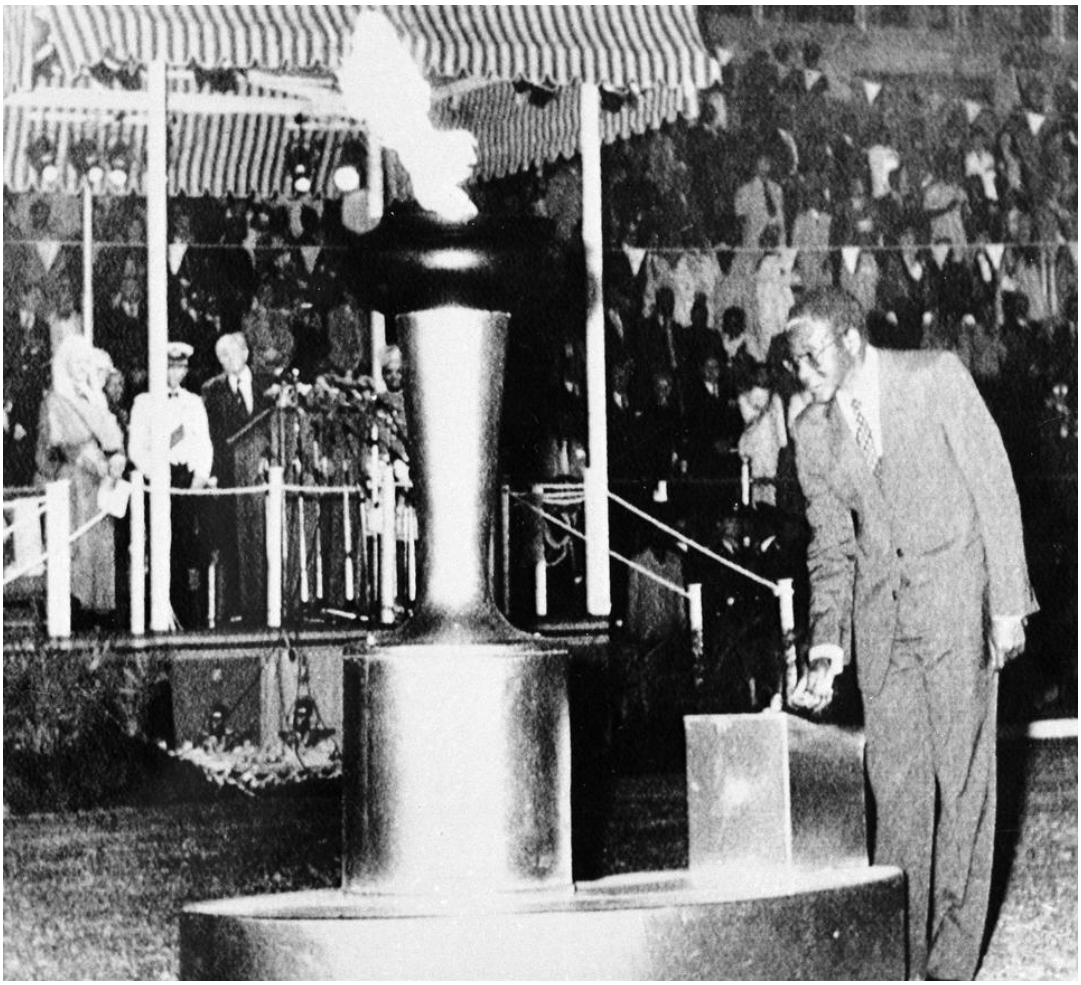

Figure 3

1.2 37+

Thirty-seven years later, Tuesday 18th of April 2017, saw 'thousands of Zimbabweans' (Mlevu and Mano, 2017)[69] arrive at the National Sports Stadium. This stadium, a gift from the Chinese Government, was inaugurated in 1987[70]. Located on the outskirts of the city centre of Harare, it has played host to the main independence-day celebrations in Zimbabwe since it opened.

Figure 4

Figure 5

The various dignitaries, including ministers of the government, the diplomatic corps and invited guests, all in formal attire, arrived and took their places under a series of tented marquees by the middle of the morning. Following them was a procession of Zimbabwean magistrates, dressed in red cassocks and horsehair wigs, and then a procession of traditional Zimbabwean chiefs, who wore red and purple cloaks over their formal suits and ties. Some of the chiefs donned light-coloured pith helmets. Mlevu and Mano's article indicated that the 'service chiefs'[71] (*Ibid*.), vice presidents Phelekezela Mphoko and Emmerson Mnangagwa[72], arrived next, accompanied by their wives and surrounded by their personal security details. Both entourages were dressed formally in suits and ties. The article states the theme of the celebrations for 2017 was "Zim@37, embracing ease of doing business for socio economic development." (*Ibid.*).

The stadium was decorated with various renditions of the Zimbabwean flag, a composition of green, yellow, red and black stripes with the Zimbabwe bird in yellow on a red star

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[69] S. Mlevu and C. Mano, '*LIVE BLOG: INDEPENDENCE DAY CELEBRATIONS*', Herald Zimbabwe, 18 April 2017. Available: https://www.herald.co.zw/live-blog-independence-day-celebrations-2/ – retrieved 16 January 2018

[70] http://nationalsportsstadium.org.zw/about-znss/ – retrieved 16 January 2018. This stadium boasts all manner of modern amenities and has been host to various local and international events that range large scale music concerts, international sporting events and local soccer matches.

[71] Note: this is accompanied by an image of two army generals

[72] Emmerson Mnangagwa succeeded Robert Mugabe as leader of ZANU-PF and interim president of Zimbabwe in November 2017. He is, at the time of writing this dissertation, the incumbent president of the Republic of Zimbabwe after being declared winner of the July 2018 election.

formation with a white triangular background. The president, Robert Mugabe, arrived at the stadium in an elaborate motorcade replete with police, army and ambulance escorts. His vehicle, 'ZIM1... a custom-built black Mercedes 600l' (Citizen, 2017)[73] was driven into the stadium, flanked by a bevy of security guards, all dressed in dark suits. Mlevu and Mano report that, 'terraces burst with cheers as patriots salute and show their gratitude to their icon and leader' (2017). On the field of the stadium stood various formations of military, air force and police, in full uniform. The mid-morning sun provided the requisite light to enhance the regalia on their uniforms and their weapons.

The ensuing ceremony consisted of practiced and familiar performances (Willems 2013:26), including elements such as the president's inspection of the guard, a Christian sermon/prayer to bless the occasion, a series of introductory speeches, then Mugabe's presidential address to the nation, followed by the lighting of the 'Eternal Flame'[74] and the singing of the national anthem (Mlevu and Mano 2017). The various armed forces gathered on the field performed spirited marches at various points to music played by the Air Force Marching Brass Band. Following an almost identical format to previous years' celebrations, the event continued with formation marches by a large contingent of school-going girls and boys and, after them, a group of young women and men staged a medley of generic traditional dancing. Behind these performances, filling the span of one of the stadium's stands, another group of schoolchildren performed a mass-scale pictorial display rendered dynamically with coloured cards. This vast kinetic backdrop delivered a pastiche of words, images and numbers in celebration of thirty-seven years of independence[75], enhancing the vibrant marching and dancing on the field.

[73] https://citizen.co.za/news/news-africa/1734319/gallery-the-cars-the-mugabes-are-rolling-in/ – retrieved 17 January 2018
[74] The description of this element – a flame generated through an urn on a pedestal fed by a concealed gas canister – varies from year to year, depending on the author.
[75] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lwjfWXVyeNw – retrieved 11 April 2018

Figure 6 *Figure 7*

These mass displays of marching and dancing were followed by a concert of athletic dexterity performed by sections from the Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA), the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP), the Airforce of Zimbabwe (AFZ) and the Zimbabwe Prison Authority (ZPA). Their acts showcased acrobatic agility on and off motorcycles, expertise with trained animals and a keen proficiency for coordinated group displays. Thereafter, the official section of the independence-day celebration at the National Sports Stadium ended with the departure of the president and the various dignitaries. The event continued with music concerts and a football match to round off the day.

Willems' analysis (2015) of this event up until 2015 scrutinises the overarching political and military tone of the official section of this event. Her examination of various newspaper articles and transcripts detailing previous celebrations (Willems 2013: 23) shares useful evidence of the performative aspects of this ceremony since its inception. Her observations of the repeating militaristic and political formatting and styling of this symbolic ceremony since its inauguration still ring true in 2017. Drawing on Willem's insightful article, a detailed reading of this event is crucial to build an understanding of the motivations behind the perplexing perpetuation of its colonial aesthetic in relation to notions of sovereignty, liberation and post-colonial independence.

1.3 Rationale - Context and Imperative

There are two elements from this celebration that contextualise the unique interest for this research study. The first comes from a line in Mugabe's speech at this event, in which he proclaims, '[W]e can now call ourselves full masters of our destiny.' (Mugabe 2017)[76]. The second element comes in the form of a noteworthy visual element - a white banner stating in a bold black font that, "ZIMBABWE WILL NEVER BE A COLONY AGAIN". This banner was hung over the entrance to the stadium through which all the officials, including the president, arrived. It is the chiasmic connection between these two statements and how they relate to particular visual elements of the ceremony, that activate the rationale for this investigation. The visual elements of this ceremony, as will become evident as this dissertation develops, are heavily influenced by a colonial aesthetic. The allusion to chiasma is, then, in recognition of the notion of exchange. In other words, the objective is to

[76] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c35NRhBM5Ao see timecode: 4.19 – retrieved 2 June 2018

examine how the notion of 'destiny' both intersects with and is stimulated by the expressed intention of 'NEVER BE[ing] A COLONY AGAIN'. Furthermore, the aim is to explore what kinds of expectation this exchange produces. This forms one of the key foundations for this research inquiry.

Figure 8

Figure 9

Figure 10

In order to offer a contextual framing, it will be necessary to share a brief overview of the country's colonial history. The borders of the country, as it stands currently, were drawn during the 1884 Berlin Conference[77]. Cecil John Rhodes became the first leader of this new country, Southern Rhodesia, at the behest of the British Empire (Rotberg 1988, "Zimbabwe" n.d.)[78]. In 1953 the country was absorbed as a part of the Central African Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland[79]. The collapse of the federation in 1963 led to the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) from Britain by the minority white government, led by Ian Smith, in 1965. Rhodesia, as the country became known, survived

[77] Available: http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/berlin-conference – retrieved 13 January 2018
[78] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zimbabwe retrieved 14 July 2018 and R. Rotberg, '*The Founder: Cecil Rhodes and The Pursuit of Power*', New York and Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1998
[79] https://www.thoughtco.com/federation-of-rhodesia-and-nyasaland-43745 - retrieved 13 January 2018

until 1978. During this period, from 1964 to 1979, a protracted guerrilla war was waged against settler-colonialism (Norman 2003)[80]. A combination of brutal guerrilla warfare, coupled with global pressure led by the British government, saw the white minority government concede to a power-sharing settlement with the majority black population. This led to the formation of a short-lived interim state, known as Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, led by Bishop Abel Muzorewa. Less than a year into its existence, this new coalition was destabilised (Waddy 2014)[81]. This resulted in a further round of negotiations between a coalition of black Zimbabwean liberation leaders headed by Robert Mugabe and Margaret Thatcher, the leader of the government of Great Britain at the time. In the elections that followed, during February 1980, Robert Mugabe's party, Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF), won a resounding victory. With this, the new state of Zimbabwe was born. Robert Mugabe would then go on to rule the country from 1980 through to 2017. In November 2017, in the face of rising internal party strife and with the threat of impeachment hanging over his head, Mugabe resigned as president of his party, ZANU-PF, and the country. The party then installed Emmerson Mnangagwa as interim president of the party and the country until elections were called in July 2018.

The brevity of this review is strategically intended to focus attention on a conceptual provocation. This proposition is directed by the suggested chiasmic connection between the use of the word, 'destiny' and the phrase 'NEVER BE A COLONY AGAIN' at this ceremony. Exploring the territory in which they hypothetically intersect offers an opportunity to think through ideas of what *could* be being communicated by their articulation in relation to the performance aspects of this symbolic ritual. By paying particular attention to specific visual registers of the 2017 independence-day celebration, the aim of this inquiry is to explore the consequences of inviting a speculative lens into ideas of visual identity in post-independent Zimbabwe. This distinct reading of the 2017 independence-day event will aim to enrich the broader debates about concepts and theories of indigenousness and identity in post-independent Zimbabwe (Raftopoulos and Mlambo 2008, Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009, Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Muzondidya 2009).

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[80] Norman, Andrew (December 2003). *Robert Mugabe and the Betrayal of Zimbabwe*. Jefferson, North Carolina, from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rhodesian_Bush_War - retrieved 13 July 2018

[81] N. Waddy (2014), '*The Strange Death of 'Zimbabwe-Rhodesia': The Question of British Recognition of the Muzorewa Regime in Rhodesian Public Opinion*', 1979, South African Historical Journal, 66:2, 227-248, DOI: 10.1080/02582473.2013.846935

1.4 Conceptual Intersections

The phrases - 'full masters of our destiny' and 'ZIMBABWE WILL NEVER A BE COLONY AGAIN' – register as both rhetorical and axiomatic in recognition and in celebration of independent Zimbabwe. Thirty-seven years after the transition from colonial bondage to a post-colonial liberation, the importance of these messages and their primacy, in this event, are evident truisms of liberated pride, particularly in relation to their visual registers. This event has offered the potential to showcase a sense of national pride and projects of post-colonial dynamism to Zimbabwean nationals and global communities. Framed as a vehicle to celebrate the victory over the colonisers and the ensuing transition to self-rule, the realisation of this event, viewed through these two phrases, opens crucial enquiries. A number of analyses of the independent era of Zimbabwe have journeyed, in varying degrees of focus, though this terrain (Davidson 1994, Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Muzondidya 2010; Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009; Mavunga, 2010, Moore, Kriger & Raftopoulos 2013). An important focus of this chapter, and of this research study as a whole, is to examine how these rhetorical and axiomatic phrases are visualised within the context of this seminal celebration of post-colonial emancipation. This focus affords a timely opportunity to examine how the objective of 'NEVER [being] A COLONY AGAIN' is made manifest and how this is made manifest within the notion of the word 'destiny'.

The slogan, 'ZIMBABWE WILL NEVER A BE COLONY AGAIN' opens an opportunity to examine the contextual register of the word 'COLONY', especially with regard to how it is intended to be perceived in this phrase and then in this ceremony. In its general definition, the concept of colony broadly encompasses and intertwines ideas of collectivity, foreignness and organisation (Merriam-Webster n.d.)[82]. Colonisation, colloquially, announces a forceful superimposition of foreign ideology and stands as a reminder of the traumatic ways in which local society and cultural systems were re-organised by immigrant settler minorities. The use of the word 'COLONY' on the banner at the independence-day celebration suggests a pointed invocation of this suffering. The imposition of colonial rule resulted in actions and policies determined to distance local populations from their cultural practices in the name of development and civilization (Rogers and Frantz 1962, Vambe 1972, Jeater 1993, Shutt 2007 and 2010).

[82] https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/colony – retrieved 14 February 2018

Local populations who migrated to new centres of business and life, established by European settler minorities, were forced to realign their ways of living and, in so doing, change centuries of cultural practice to fit and mimic those of their colonisers. When in town, local populations were forced to comply with a series of behavioural protocols in order to gain permission to stay. Burke's analysis reveals that '[i]ncreasing pressure was… brought to bear on the growing number of Africans working in proximity to whites to conform to colonial ideas of hygiene and manners' (Burke 1996:54). This resulted in the formation of hybridised identities amongst local populations who then had to combine and, in many cases, conceal, aspects of their traditional practice to continue to live and work in these new urban settings. In these new towns, such as Salisbury, Umtali and Bulawayo in Southern Rhodesia, behaviour was governed by what was deemed acceptable by this newly imposed colonial standard. Burke (1996) and Hendrickson (1996) present succinct analyses that detail the ways in which local populations were obligated to adjust their ways of living to suit the colonial dispensation. These adjustments included ways of dressing, personal presentation, language, restrictions of movement, and pass laws. Subjugated imitation became a means of survival, as local people were forced to adapt to a new set of behavioural protocols in order to negotiate their existence in their own terrain[83].

The colonial project also set in place a division between local populations who were assimilating into the new urban areas and their rural counterparts. This resulted in the formation of a chasm between the behavioural characteristics of urban and rural communities (Matolino 2017: 2-3)[84]. The latter became increasingly associated with all things traditional. Ethnographic studies (Theal 1910, Kidd 1904, Bourdillon 1976, 1979, Rasmussen 1979, Smith 1978) published in colonial-era publications like the Native Affairs Department Annual (NADA), that were carried out by a mixture of academics and 'isolated, untrained, part-time researchers' (Beach and Posselt 1996)[85], provide ample evidence of this. Their urban counterparts, in relation to the consequential dynamics of imposed

[83] Burke mentions "educational' films made by The Central African Film Unit – Men of Two Worlds, From Fear to Faith and The Wives of Nendi – all made with the idea of re-calibrating identity among local urban residents. (1996:54)
See also: http://www.colonialfilm.org.uk/node/312 and http://www.colonialfilm.org.uk/node/1845 and http://www.colonialfilm.org.uk/node/212 - retrieved 20 July 2018

[84] A. Cabral, '*Return to the Source: Selected Speeches*', 1998 articulated by B. Matolino, '*Return to the Source: Challenges and Prospects*', in P. Ngulube, '*Handbook of Research on Social, Cultural, and Educational Considerations of Indigenous Knowledge in Developing Countries*', Hershey, IGI Global, 2017p. 2-3

[85] Beach and Posselt, '"*NADA" and Mafohla: Antiquarianism in Rhodesia and Zimbabwe with Special Reference to the Work of F.W.T. Posselt*', History in Africa, Vol. 13 (1986), pp. 1-1, Cambridge University Press – retrieved http://www.jstor.org/stable/3171534 – retrieved 20 July 2018

behavioural practices (Burke 1996), then attracted and identified with alternative barometric markers on the colonial scale of human/developmental. These new colonially generated indicators placed urbanised local communities above their rural counterparts. As early as 1938, Siguake argues that, 'Africans should aim at better homes, better furniture, better utensils, better dress, better wagons and ploughs, better stock and better gardens' (Sigauke 1939:8)[86]. In addition, the growing interest in performing ethnographic research, that also gives rise to a determinism expressed through defining tribal characteristics, further exacerbates these hierarchical measures and, in so doing, amplifies notions of difference between local communities in urban and in rural areas. This growing separation becomes increasingly evident within the cultural domain. Images and stories of local communities in urban areas, from the earliest days of the colonial era, are a potent verification. Furthermore, local populations in urban areas who passed through colonial re-education systems were encouraged to see themselves as more developed, more civilised than their rural counterparts. This resulted in a shift of values associated with aspects of tradition and indigenous identity (Bain 1970, Boggie 1966, Ranchod-Nilsson 1992, Yoshikuni 2007).

Burke's (1996) detailed analysis of the ways in which a colonially-acceptable concept of cleanliness was instituted, commodified and imposed exposes a key example of the systematic nature of the colonial enterprise. The strategy, activated through the co-option of local representatives and disseminated through the formation and support of local women's groups (Ranchod-Nilsson 1992), spread messages of colonially acceptable morality engineered around notions of personal hygiene. Another example of an enduring colonial legacy in Zimbabwe is modes of dress. Fanon's contention that, '[t]he way people clothe themselves, together with the tradition of dress and finery that custom implies, constitutes the most distinctive form of a society's uniqueness' (Fanon 1967:35), offers a useful instrument of inquiry. Extrapolating notions of, 'tradition… dress and finery' in relation to aspects of the independence-day event, invites a curiosity with regards to Mugabe's notion of 'destiny'. It highlights a potential rupture within the intention of 'NEVER [being] A COLONY AGAIN' and how this is made manifest in the various ways in which the officials are dressed at the independence-day event.

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[86] M. Wilbert Sigauke, "Do You Shake Hands?", Bantu Mirror, September 2, 1939, p. 8 from T. Burke, *Lifebuoy Men, Lux Women: Commodification, Consumption & Cleanliness in Modern Zimbabwe*, Durham & London, Duke University Press, 1996, 1999 p. 86

Appreciating the scope that rhetoric proposes (Bryant 1953: 415)[87], the recognition of this fissure is, nonetheless, important to register. Given that, as Hendrikson acknowledges, 'European fashions were elements of a system designed to sweep away the culture and tradition of colonised Africans' (Hendrikson 1996:11), the modes of dress by the leaders, the officials and the armed forces at this emancipatory celebration are both curious and confounding. Their distinctly colonial styling arguably troubles the intended objective of 'ZIMBABWE WILL NEVER BE A COLONY AGAIN'. This curiosity is further intensified by literature that traces and analyses the traumatic affects of the colonial project in post-colonial Zimbabwe, providing a rich and meandering narrative of populist and nationalist ideologies denigrating decades of oppression (Fowale 2008[88], Raftopoulos & Mlambo 2009; Zvobgo 2009; Chan & Primorac 2013).

What, then, could, or should, be understood as being 'not-colonial' of the modes of dress of the various officials at this event? Could their visual styling signal a different reading of the notions of 'COLONY' and the colonial, in this instance? And, given the aforementioned scope of rhetoric, could the notion of 'COLONY', asserted by the banner at this event, call to an oblique understanding of 'NEVER [being] A COLONY AGAIN'? The disjuncture between intention and realisation in this celebration of independence, and the questions that follow, uncover a compelling instability worthy of examination. Furthermore, this opportune paradox nurtures the broader interests of this research study, which are aimed at questioning current perceptions, practices and performances of indigenous culture an epoch of independence.

1.5 Dilemma of the Post-colonial and the Post-independent

At the onset of the independent era, in 1980, the country's new Prime Minister, Robert Mugabe declared,

> I urge you, whether you are black or white, to join me in a new pledge to forget our grim past, forgive others and forget, join hands in a new amity and together, as Zimbabweans, trample upon racialism, tribalism and regionalism, and work hard to

[87] D. C. Bryant, '*Rhetoric: Its functions and its scope*', Quarterly Journal of Speech, Vol. 39 No. 4, December 1953
[88] http://zimbabwe-image.blogspot.com/2008/07/zimbabwe-and-western-sanctions-motives.html - retrieved 16 July 2018

> reconstruct and rehabilitate our society as we invigorate our economic machinery (Mugabe 1980)[89].

Today this much-lauded call for reconciliation may sound more mythical than factual given this country's recent political history. Over the past two decades, Zimbabwe, once a celebrated example of post-colonial success (Osborne & Kent, 2015:232)[90], has drawn a wide range of criticism directed at both the ruling regime and the general population[91] in relation to the declining socio-political and economic situation. The resignation of Robert Mugabe in November 2017[92] has provided some reprieve[93]. These critical analyses of the country's decline during Mugabe's reign, measured against nationalist and populist politics, initiated the revival of narratives from the war for liberation, also known as the second Chimurenga (Moorcraft, 2012)[94], by the ruling regime, ZANU-PF, and its supporters. The memories of this protracted guerrilla war, which lasted from 1965 through to 1978, were resuscitated to draw attention to a new struggle. The new battle was to safeguard national sovereignty, and was founded on a narrative which perceived the impending loss of the hard-won gains of independence from putative threats of potential re-colonisation[95] and hostile takeover by former imperialist powers (Willems 2013). At the centre of this narrative was the mission of protecting the ideals of a national sovereignty for 'indigenous'[96] Zimbabweans. The resultant socio-political and economic reality in Zimbabwe, while not the primary focus, provides a crucial framing for the rationale for this research enquiry and offers an opportunity to explore the complexities of identity formation in relation to notions of indigenousness.

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[89] https://adamwelz.wordpress.com/2009/06/04/robert-mugabes-first-speech-in-the-parliament-of-zimbabwe-4-march-1980/ Page 3, - retrieved 28th February 2017,

[90] M. Osborne and S. Kingsley Kent, *Africans and Britons in Age of Empires, 1660 – 1980*, (Oxon, Routledge, 2015) p. 232. This comment is also support by the numerous descriptions of Zimbabwe's 'bread-basket' status before the land reform crisis.

[91] Critical comment levied against the general populace circles around notions of cowardice and complacency. This is further extended to the Zimbabwean "make a plan" ideology, that critical commentary credits, partially, as a contribution to the downward socio-economic and political spiral. (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009) and file:///Users/rau/Desktop/Sommer%20Zimbabwe.pdf, and http://www.news24.com/Africa/Zimbabwe/helpless-fearful-zimbabweans-keep-mugabe-in-power-tsvangirai-20160302-3 and http://www.thenewblackmagazine.com/view.aspx?index=2737

[92] https://www.iol.co.za/news/special-features/zimbabwe/zimbabwes-robert-mugabe-resigns-12102209 - retrieved 28 January 2018

[93] https://www.news24.com/Africa/Zimbabwe/cautious-hope-for-zimbabwes-future-as-mugabe-quits-20171122 - retrieved 28 January 2018

[94] P.L. Moorcraft, *Mugabe's War Machine*, Cape Town, Jonathan Bell, 2012

[95] https://www.voazimbabwe.com/a/zimbabwe-international-observers-mujuru-zanu-pf/2547776.html - retrieved 12 December 2017

[96] Chapter 14:33 Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act, 2007, p.2. Available: http://www.eisourcebook.org/cms/January%202016/Zimbabwe%20Indigenisation%20and%20Economic%20Empowerment%20Act.pdf - retrieved 9 May 2017

At the beginning of 2017, Zimbabweans faced a repeat of the wide-ranging political, social and economic upheaval they had experienced just a short decade earlier[97]. Consistent calls by Robert Mugabe and ZANU-PF for Zimbabweans to 'jealously guard' (Mugabe 2017)[98] their hard-earned independence and strive for '100% Total Empowerment, Total Independence'[99] coupled with comments made in the press regarding the apparent state of wellbeing of Zimbabwe (Sharara 2017)[100] sat at odds with the lived reality of many Zimbabweans. The collapse of the formal economy resulted in unemployment figures rising to an estimated *95%* (van Wyk, 2014)[101]. This was coupled with similar breakdowns in urban service-based infrastructure (Atwood, 2016)[102] and national food security (Financial Gazette, 2016)[103]. These shocks adversely affected the overall wellbeing of the majority of Zimbabweans, and provided ample evidence to refute Mugabe's claims of the country's welfare. Since the beginning of the new millennium, the country had faced numerous shocks that attracted wide-spread criticism of Mugabe and the ruling party, ZANU-PF. In the face of this barrage of criticism, the Zimbabwean government and its supporters equalled the pressure through populist policies premised on notions of '100% Total Empowerment, Total Independence'[104].

It is this notion of 'Total Independence' that stimulates a series of questions regarding the specific context of this research enquiry. Following Martin's (2012:2)[105] assertion that independence can be understood as the 'search for equality, rights, self-respect, and full participation in… society', how does the call to establish 'Total Independence' relate to the objective of becoming 'full masters of our destiny' (Mugabe 2017)? What or who

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[97] Marawanyika, G and Latham, B, New Zimbabwe Notes Stir Memory of 500,000,000,000% Inflation, Bloomburg, October, 21. Available: https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-10-21/new-zimbabwe-currency-stirs-memory-of-500-000-000-000-inflation - retrieved 8 May 2017

[98] A survey of speeches delivered by Robert Mugabe at various events ranging independence-day celebrations, state funerals, party congress speeches and, of late, randomly at speaking engagements.
And: https://africacheck.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/zanupf_election_manifesto_130705.pdf

[99] *Ibid*.

[100] Sharara, M, 2017, Mugabe's denial begs the question: Is there hope for Zim? *The Zimbabwean*, 5 May. Available: http://thezimbabwean.co/2017/05/mugabes-denial-begs-question-hope-zim/ – retrieved 7 May 2017

[101] van Wyk, E (ed.), 2014, Is Zimbabwe's unemployment rate 4%, 60% or 95%? Why the data is unreliable, *Africa Check*, 1 October. Available: https://africacheck.org/reports/is-zimbabwes-unemployment-rate-4-60-or-95-why-the-data-is-unreliable/ – retrieved 7 May 2017

[102] Atwood, A, 2016, Zimbabwe's Unstable Infrastructure, *Spheres: Journal for Digital Cultures*, June. Available: http://spheres-journal.org/zimbabwes-unstable-infrastructure/ – retrieved 7 May 2017

[103] Zimbabwe's food insecurity worsening, 2016, *The Financial Gazette*, 8 July. Available: http://www.financialgazette.co.zw/zimbabwes-food-insecurity-worsening/ – retrieved 7 May 2017

[104] Ibid.

[105] G. Martin, *African Political Thought*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012

constitutes 'our'? The link between 'Total Independence' and 'NEVER [being] A COLONY AGAIN' find an easier, albeit, superficial correlation. However, recalling the lens solicited by Fanon's notion of 'tradition… dress and finery' (Fanon 1967:35), the link between notions of independence and that of 'our destiny' reveals a productive opportunity to explore the mechanisms of how identities are performed and presented in relation to political rhetoric in Zimbabwe. Within the ceremonial elements of the independence-day event, performances of independence are demonstrated by an elaborate show of political and military authority. Willems (2013) reads this as a necessity, by the ruling regime, in the quest to both confirm and perpetuate notions of emancipation within the state of post-colonial Zimbabwe. Thus, independence, the way it is performed in this event, is intended as a show of post-colonial liberation. In spite of this, when the intention of 'NEVER [being] A COLONY AGAIN' is juxtaposed with the potential agency afforded through a Fanonian (Fanon 1967:35) extrapolation of 'our destiny', the performance of independence – as seen through modes of dress, in this instance – expresses a different intention. The aforementioned rupture re-emerges, initiating another set of important questions. In what other ways, beyond the current show of political and military valour, could 'our destiny', within the context of Fanon's notion 'of a society's uniqueness' (Fanon 1967:35), find platform in contemporary Zimbabwe? Furthermore, could/would these manifestations not strengthen the objective of 'NEVER [being] A COLONY AGAIN'?

In Zimbabwe, there is ample evidence to service the objective of 'NEVER [being] A COLONY AGAIN'. Beginning with the transition to majority political rule in 1980; the abolition of racially-biased laws; and the reformulation of policies that have afforded expanded and necessary access to education, health, economic and social systems to previously disenfranchised populations, there is no doubt that the country has grown, and continues to grow in various ways, to realise its 'hard-earned' (Mugabe 2017) independence. It is, however, the recognition of a possible stasis within the terrain of cultural emancipation that drives the specificity of this research inquiry. In contemporary Zimbabwe, the absence of what can be termed "traditional" (Rovine 2009)[106] influence on visual and material culture is broadly evident (Mavhunga 2011, Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2011, Mawere, Chiwaura & Thondhlana 2015).

[106] Admittedly, this is a problematic term in this context, since tradition is a discursive concept. It's use here is very much related to the concept of the past. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tradition - retrieved 22 February 2018. It is being employed here as a provocation, however, and will find a clearer meaning as the chapter develops.

This absence grows particularly evident in the various performances and ritual elements of the independence-day celebration. Willems's analysis of this event, as mentioned earlier, confirms the overarching nationalist and militaristic agenda, arguing that, 'national-day celebrations have become crucial means through which the ruling party ZANU-PF both remembers and glorifies its own role in the liberation struggle' (2013: 24). Additionally, she details the notion of 'cultural nationalism' as a strategy by the ruling regime, as way to 'both remind older Zimbabweans and to conscientise younger Zimbabweans of the party's role in the history of the nation[107]. Cultural nationalists perceive the nation as a product of history and culture' (*Ibid.*).

Willems's analysis offers a rationale with which to understand the legacy and continuing practice of the visual styling of the independence-day celebration. Nevertheless, it does evoke questions, asked earlier, as to what *other* forms of cultural expressions are possible of a seminal celebration of colonial emancipation? And, 37 years into an era of independence, what other historical resources, beyond the frame of colonial trauma, can be drawn on to inform a different public presentation of cultural emancipation? The introduction of the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act (IEEA) in 2007, affords an opportune platform to, simultaneously, examine and abstract the ideas framed by the declarations 'masters of our destiny' and 'NEVER A COLONY AGAIN'. This act holds within its intention the conceptual potential – imperative, even - to take on a particular reading of the historical archive that details the various communities that lived in this geographical region before colonisation[108], as valuable raw material to realise contemporary notions of 'our destiny', and so to bolster the intentions of 'NEVER [being] A COLONY AGAIN'. An exploration of visual and material culture of the various communities that lived in the geographical region now known as Zimbabwe can offer parallel processes to complicate and deepen notions of indigenisation, as was, arguably, discursively intended through the introduction of the IEEA (2007). The consequential impact that this could then have on the ceremonial elements of the celebration of independence in Zimbabwe speak to the curiosity raised by Fanon.

[107] (Thram 2006a, 2006b; Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Willems 2009, Muchemwa 2010; Mate 2012)
[108] Colonisation, in this instance, refers directly back to the colloquial definition mentioned earlier in this section. It refers to the onset of British settlers in 1896.

1.6 Indigenisation and the legislation of *indigenousness*

> 'Can epistemologies that thingified blacks become instruments of dethingification?'
>
> (Mavhunga in Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2011:379)

Over the past decade, the notion of indigenisation has found particular traction in Zimbabwe. In response to a complex set of challenges, opportunities and criticisms, 'indigenous' and 'indigenisation' became legislated concepts in 2007 (Matyszak 2011, Ndakaripa 2017)[109]. The crafting of this new act was conceived as a challenge to the acknowledged legacy of a colonial-era monopoly, still in place, on the country's economy. The act asserted that 'at least fifty-one per centum of the shares of every public company and any other business shall be owned by indigenous Zimbabweans' (Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act, Chapter 14.33 of 2007, 2007)[110]. The bill also decreed that an "indigenous Zimbabwean" is:

> any person who, before the 18th April, 1980, was disadvantaged by unfair discrimination on the grounds of his or her race, and any descendant of such person, and includes any company, association, syndicate or partnership of which indigenous Zimbabweans form the majority of the members or hold the controlling interest (*Ibid.*:2).

This legislation continues with an interpretation of 'indigenisation' as 'a deliberate involvement of indigenous Zimbabweans in the economic activities of the country, to which hitherto they had no access, so as to ensure the equitable ownership of the nation's resources'[111].

In other words, the new law mandated that 'any person' who was marginalised before the 18th April 1980 would be entitled to 'at least' 51% shares of every public company' in order to accelerate access and 'equitable ownership of the nation's resources' (*Ibid.*). The resulting fallout and commotion created by this new law, within the nation's economy, further exacerbated an already dire situation. Matyszak's analysis meticulously unpacks various clauses of this legislation, scrutinising the implications and impact that ensued

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[109] Ndakaripa M, '*State, Civil Society and the Politics of Economic Indigenisation in Zimbabwe 1989 – 2016*', 2017, University of The Free State – PhD Dissertation.
[110] Chapter 14:33 Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act, 2007, p.3. Available: http://www.eisourcebook.org/cms/January%202016/Zimbabwe%20Indigenisation%20and%20Economic%20Empowerment%20Act.pdf - retrieved 19 January 2018
[111] *Ibid*.

(2011)[112]. Of particular interest, for this research, is his reading of the legislated definition of an "indigenous Zimbabwean", which he associates with 'the racist policies of the pre-independence governments' (*Ibid.*: 1). The wording, although not explicit, suggests an "indigenous Zimbabwean" is 'every non-white person' (*Ibid.*). In his analysis of this aspect of the new act, the former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Zimbabwe, Anthony Gubbay confirms 'the classification is problematical' and goes on to question, more specifically, 'how this might apply to second or third generation Zimbabweans of Zambian, Malawian or British or South African extractions, or originally from Asia' (Gubbay 2017:42)[113]. Gubbay puts forward a more troubling observation, that postulates, 'The Parliament of Zimbabwe was understandably reluctant to follow Nazi Germany or Apartheid South Africa in attempting a statutory race classification system.' (*Ibid.*). This mirror's Matyszak's assertion as to the tacit racial framing of this new act (2011:2-3). Matyszak highlights a further problem in classification, 'noting that the definition of "indigenous" in the Regulations differs markedly from the commonly understood or dictionary definition of the term: born of or produced naturally in a region; belonging naturally', adding that the legislated definition serves primarily, 'to exploit insidious political and racial considerations' (*Ibid.* 2011: 3).

The advent of this legislation, gazetted just before the 2008 'harmonised elections' (*Ibid.* 2011: 38), coincided with the peak of the collapse of the Zimbabwean economy and its socio-political circumstance. This legislative framing of a political and economic indigenisation process (IEEA 2007:3)[114] was to be foregrounded through the celebrated gains of liberation from colonisation and stand as a continuation of the promise of emancipation from the embodied trauma of the colonial period. This new law became a pivotal campaigning tool by the ruling party, ZANU-PF, for the 2008 elections (Matyszak

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[112] Matyszak D, '*EVERYTHING YOU EVER WANTED TO KNOW (AND THEN SOME) ABOUT ZIMBABWE'S INDIGENISATION AND ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT LEGISLATION BUT (QUITE RIGHTLY) WERE TOO AFRAID TO ASK*. [*Second Edition, May 2011*], Harare, Research and Advocacy Unit. http://researchandadvocacyunit.org/system/files/Everything%20you%20ever%20wanted%20to%20know.pdf - retrieved 30 January 2018

[113] A.R. Gubbay, '*Anthony Roy Gubbay: A Judicial Life*', London, Wildy, Simmonds & Hill Publishing, 2017

[114] "AN ACT to provide for support measures for the further indigenisation of the economy; to provide for support measures for the economic empowerment of indigenous Zimbabweans; to provide for the establishment of the National Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Board and its functions and management; to provide for the establishment of the National Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Fund; to provide for the National Indigenisation and Empowerment Charter; and to provide for matters connected with or incidental to the foregoing." Chapter 14:33 Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act, 2007, p.3. Available: http://www.eisourcebook.org/cms/January%202016/Zimbabwe%20Indigenisation%20and%20Economic%20Empowerment%20Act.pdf - retrieved 19 January 2018.

2011: 38). For the 2013 elections, new mottos were developed by the ruling party, to strengthen the notion of indigenisation. These adapted mottos - 'Indigenise, Empower, Develop and Create Employment' and 'Indigenisation is REAL Freedom'[115] were widely professed and promulgated. The 2013 ZANU-PF election manifesto, capitalising on these notions, asserted proudly that, 'Zimbabwe has become one of the most indigenised… countries in the developing world' (Team ZANU-PF, Election Manifesto, 2013:11).

A number of analyses, however, acknowledge the announcement of this act, in that moment, as an attempt by the ZANU-PF led government to divert attention from large-scale mismanagement of government, the collapse of the agricultural economy in the wake of the land redistribution exercise, meteoric hyper-inflation, chronic corruption, and wide-ranging health and social crises (Todd 2007, Gowans 2008, Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2008, 2009, Raftopoulos & Mlambo 2009, Compagnon 2011, Matyszak 2011, Haslam & Lamberti 2014). The widespread deployment of this particular concept of indigenisation[116] - through particular political and economic interventions – during this period intensifies the recognition of a growing void with regard to manifestation of cultural conceptions of indigenisation. This void, distinctly evident within the performance elements at various government-sanctioned public events that profess indigenisation, prompts the specific search for indigenous registers at the independence-day event. This, together with the recognition of the legislated definition of indigenousness, heralds the imperative to explore the possibility of an expanded palette of notions of indigenisation in Zimbabwe.

There is a latent opportunity to expand the tapestry of knowledge of notions of cultural indigenousness in Zimbabwe that is embodied within the conceptual intentions of the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act. This proposition is motivated by the various rhetorical assertions made in regard to the presumed successes of the indigenisation project (Team ZANU-PF, Election Manifesto, 2013). In relation to the independence day ceremony, a curious question emerges. How could being 'one of the most indigenised… countries in the developing world' (*Ibid.*:11) be otherwise costumed, styled, and presented in 2017? The opportunity that this question presents is focused on

[115] https://africacheck.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/zanupf_election_manifesto_130705.pdf - retrieved 30 January 2018

[116] ZANU-PF election motto for 2008 was "*100% Empowerment, Total Independence*". http://www.kubatanablogs.net/kubatana/mugabes-second-final-battle-62082/ - retrieved 30 January 2018. The motto for the 2013 elections was "*Indigenise, Empower, Develop and Create Employment*". Both can be seen in various images of campaign posters.

the recognition of the distinct absence of a cultural narrative in relation to the notion of indigenousness within the ceremonial celebration of independence.

Explorations through this vast terrain of cultural indigeneity have, elsewhere, already travelled through the complex terrain of Africanity. Philosophers, academics, artists and others have shared various extrapolations that telescope cultures from the long-past, offering insightful abstractions through hybridised theories of indigenism in post-colonial Africa. This is a rich and diverse philosophical canon (Hountondji 1976, Appiah 1992, Eze 1997, Coetzee & Roux 2003, Neizen 2003, Murove 2009, Mbembe 2001, 2012, Chitando & Mangena 2015). Willems (2013), quoting Hutchinson (1994:124), reminds that 'nations are […] not just political units but organic beings, living personalities, whose individuality must be cherished'. Reading this assertion, in the context of the search for notions of indigenisation, calls for an innovative expedition of the long past that will contribute much-needed value to the various debates around notions of cultural identity which have been finding platforms recently[117].

1.7 The concept and etymology of *Indigenous*

The aim of this etymological survey of the term 'indigenous' is in recognition of the imperative to expand its register beyond the narrow framing indicated by its legislation in Zimbabwe. This exploration will offer a discursive reading of the notion of indigenousness as a rationale to trouble its essential framing, in the Zimbabwean context. Furthermore, by examining how this term has mutated since its inception, the objective is to make apparent the opportunity this conceptual dynamism presents to service the imperative of its expanded register.

The term indigenous dates back to a 'late Latin' source from the 1640s. It was used to define an entity that is 'born or originating in a particular place' and is derived out of a noun 'indigena' which means 'sprung from the land, native' (Harper 2017; Gilbert 2006)[118]. This grounding in the notion of place and geography framed the term's early associations

[117] https://www.herald.co.zw/what-is-traditional-dress/ - retrieved 13 January 2018, https://m.news24.com/Africa/Zimbabwe/Im-no-British-clone-Im-African-Mugabe-20131119 - retrieved 13 January 2018, and https://www.newsday.co.zw/2017/09/mugabes-deep-love-things-colonial/ - retrieved 13 January 2018

[118] D. Harper, 2001 – 2017, Found at: https://www.etymonline.com/word/indigenous retrieved 19 November 2017, also J. Gilbert, *Indigenous Peoples' Land Rights under International Law: From Victims to Actors*, Ardsley, NY, Transnational Publishers, 2006 p. 3

with fauna and flora (Odora Hoppers, 2002:108) as, primarily, northern hemisphere explorers understood the increasing value in documenting new species of plants, insects and animals from their expeditions to various geographic regions around the world. The term then grows to represent a concept that is used to organise a growing compendium of descriptions that frame aspects of identification for the nascent industry of research, that then develops to inform the scientific faculties of botany and zoology.

In the case of the various expeditions to southern Africa in the 18th century, the use of this new industry established a one-way flow of information and artefacts from south to north, as explorers and traders collected data and samples to be brought back to their home countries for further analysis and exhibition (Daunton and Halpern 1999, Sokolow 2015).

In the burgeoning science of taxonomy (Manktelow n.d.) the purpose of assigning the indigenous label was to add a geographical locator to the descriptions of newly discovered species of plants and animals. From this early stage, this contribution to a species' taxonomical nomenclature carried within its lexicon an indicator of geographical alterity. The depth of detail collected about these new species, in these early stages, was subjectively informed since 'there existed no single accepted method of naming species' (Blunt 2001:251) [119]. An example of this subjectivity is evident in the early accounts of Portuguese explorers along the Zambezi from 1569:

> There is a great variety of birds, many of a very strange kind, … decked with cheerful colours, such as green and red… the down upon whose breasts and stomachs is soft as Braganza velvet; they are of the size of geese, … they are all white, with very long red legs. They are as long as a man, if measured from the beak to the feet (Theal 1899)[120].

Early descriptors such as this were developed in relation to species that were familiar to these European travellers, since communication with local communities was still evolving

[119] '*Before Linnaeus's introduction of consistent binomial nomenclature for species in 1753…there existed no single accepted method of naming species. Hence pre-1753 nomenclature…tended to be awkward, unstable and inconsistent…*[using] *names of varying length…as more species became known, so their names lengthened*'. W. Blunt, '*Linnaeus: The Compleat Naturalist*', Princeton and Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2001

[120] This is drawn from an English translation of '*ACCOUNT OF THE JOURNEY MADE BY FATHERS OF THE COMPANY OF JESUS WITH FRANCISCO BARRETO IN THE CONQUEST OF MONOMOTAPA IN THE YEAR 1569*', RECORDS OF SOUTH EASTERN AFRICA by George McCall Theal (9 vols.), Collected in Various Libraries and Archive Departments in Europe. Published for the Government of the Cape Colony, 1899. Vo. 3 Pages 202 - 253

(Tymowski 2002)[121]. Lexicographic complexity in this taxonomic terrain, however, grew steadily, along with the growing number of expeditions made by explorers who were eager to see newer parts of the world. This complexity, then, fed an escalating intricacy of the descriptors, that, no doubt, required, in turn, increasing levels of knowledge, creativity and invention to be able to differentiate and discretise the various new finds (Blunt 2001:251).

In the process of naming and framing, and with regard to data collection of flora and fauna from the southern African region, the scribe/documenter was, more often than not, a man (most likely of Arabian, Indian or Portuguese origin), whose grasp of scientific terminology is not declared in the archival documents that survive. A comparative study of the educational pedigree of individual explorers in relation to their journals would no doubt yield useful information towards understanding how and why they employed the sets of logics to document their journeys in the ways they did. What is evident, however, is the interest and dedication of these individuals in the realm of discovery. The historical archives of this period host valuable collections of explorers' logs and accompanying journals that are full of information, sharing their accounts of journeys undertaken into this southern African region (Von Sicard 1962, Newitt 1973, Beach 1980, 1994, Bhila 1982, Ellert 1993, Mudenge 1998). As it stands, these accounts are the primary and, in some cases, the only source of written information about this time and place. The data collected on these foreign expeditions, no doubt, contributed vital information to libraries and knowledge compendia for Eastern and European societies, documenting newly discovered species and becoming the building blocks for a growing understanding of the 'new' world.

The relational aspect, in this project of ascribing identity to these new species, is an important register. The impact it has within the growing science of taxonomy and how many of these descriptions have survived (Carruthers 2016, Pooley 1993, van Wyk and van Wyk 1993) is a crucial reminder of an absence of a local contribution into this terrain. This calls further attention to how contemporary concepts of indigenousness are currently being used as *self*-descriptors. This is both curious and confounding, since the initial method of attributing the classification of indigenousness, that has been shown to be associative or relational (Pratt in de la Cadena and Starn 2007: 398), marks the first point of an

[121] M. Tymowski, '*How did the European explorers communicate with indigenous African people in the 15th century?*', Africana Bulletin, 2002 and Uniwersytet Warszawski, 2002

abstraction process of a local species. The *new* name given served to make meaning, primarily, in a location beyond its origin.

Since there was no apparent common ground in these early days, in terms of a collective knowledge, language or concept, the naming of species by foreign explorers was formulated in relation to *their* knowledge of species from *their* own countries. The documentation and subsequent identification of these species, both literarily and visually[122], in the language of an other, the explorer/trader, then, became fixed for centuries to come. The subjective strategies and relational frameworks employed by these early explorers, when documenting new species, thus, are important to acknowledge. This recognition, therefore, troubles the notion of indigenousness as a self-descriptor, as it is currently understood and employed, and poses a necessary inquiry regarding the current conceptual framing of these species.

This process of identification, particularly in the form of written documentation, set in motion the building of a knowledge hierarchy that still features today (Chiwome, Mguni & Furusa 2000). The legacy of European and Latin taxonomic descriptors for species that originate from this region stands as evidence of this effort (Ebedes 2017)[123]. In this growing practice of scientific identification and documentation that marks the onset of the taxonomic project, the ways in which species are described, and thereby declared indigenous, seems to oscillate between notions of metaphor and formula (Manktelow n.d.)[124]. Metaphoric descriptions appear to find shape when the species encountered are unfamiliar and therefore have no obvious relational connection. Formulaic descriptors, on the other hand, signal a degree of growing familiarity with the species in question.

What becomes more evident[125] are the relational tendencies, as discussed above, deployed in the process of definition, and how the plethora of species find their *new* classification

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[122] The visual documentation is a rich and complex domain, and perhaps a more accurate representation of these species – since an accurate register was important. A comparative exploration of the literary and the visual of the species would offer a rich, valuable and telling analysis.

[123] G. Ebedes, *Indigenous Garden Plants of Southern Africa*, Cape Town, Struik Nature, 2017, and https://www.theindigenousgardener.co.za/ - retrieved 27 February 2018

[124] http://www.atbi.eu/summerschool/files/summerschool/Manktelow_Syllabus.pdf - retrieved 27 February 2018

[125] Reference is made here to the volumes of zoological and scientific volumes that document the various species in Southern Africa. Manktelow's paper highlights the lineage of taxonomists as the science of taxonomy develops. There is no mention of any influence in this project of people native to the Southern African region. There are several accounts of local knowledge systems that had developed complex and useful information

within the lexicographic lattice of a burgeoning colonial gaze. This evolving science then needed to formulate increasingly complex taxonomic systems so as to better organise knowledge of the various elements that constitute these new species (*Ibid.*). The subjective nature of early descriptions gave way to the need for scientific rigour as the project of cataloguing new species from these new environments expanded. Dynamic new matrices of comparability are developed as key determinants about these discoveries (Blunt 2001, Manktelow n.d.). From this time, a crucial element that classifies indigenousness of the various flora and fauna, discovered in the new world by explorers, is, still, geographical. As such, European documentation from expeditions to southern Africa forms a prominent part of the written record detailing various indigenous species of the region. This represented and, in large part, still forms the central foundation of knowledge about these species today (Carruthers 2016, Pooley 1993, van Wyk and van Wyk 1993).

In the late 19th century, the concept of indigenousness extended beyond the documentation of flora and fauna to include people. In Southern Africa, this classification functioned, primarily, as a way in which European colonisers began to document local communities in the lands they had settled into. This organizing concept found its first outing, according to Ceuppens and Geschiere (2005), with the French explorers 'at the time of the colonial conquest of Sudan in the late nineteenth century'[126] through the concept of autochthony. Originally thought to be synonymous with the notion of indigenousness, comparative explorations of the current framing of these two concepts yields a series of lively debates as to what each term has grown to encompass and signify (Gausset, Kenrick & Gibb 2011, Nahinda in Laher and Sing Oei, 2014:25)[127]. These analyses reveal the nuances that have developed over time, that now distinguish 'indigenous' from 'autochthonous':

> The term indigenous is generally used to refer either to hunter-gatherers and nomads whose livelihood and culture is threatened by encroachment from their neighbours and state, or to groups who occupied a territory before it was forcibly settled by colonising powers and have struggled ever since to maintain some

about both themselves and their environment. That no validated physical record exists of this knowledge today is used as the rational in support of the aforementioned knowledge hierarchy.

[126] Cueppens, B. & Geschirere, P., 2005. Autochthony: Local or global? New modes in the struggle over citizenship and belonging in Africa and Europe. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 34, pp.385 – 407. See also, Delafosse, M., 1912. *Haut-Sénégal-Niger (Soudan française: Le pays, les peoples, les langues*. Tome I, Paris: E. Larose, p. 280.

[127] http://www.sps.ed.ac.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0010/71776/Indigeneity_and_autochthony-_a_couple_of_false_twins_Quentin_Gausset_Justin_Kenrick_and_Robert_Gibb_Soc_Anth_May_2011_19-2_.p.pdf - retrieved 26 February 2018; and Nahinda's essay (2014) builds on this with the recognition of '*the contrasted landscapes under which notions of indigenousness, autochthony or aboriginality . . .were used*' (Laher and Sing Oei, 2014: 25).

> control over what was left of their resources and to assert their socio- cultural specificity... the term autochthonous is more often used with reference to agricultural or industrial populations, who are not necessarily marginal, but rather believe that their resources, culture or power are threatened by 'migrants' (Gausset, Kenrick & Gibb 2011: 138-139).

However, there is a tacit consensus that both terms share a recognition of place, or, more specifically, what Gausset, Kenrick & Gibb refer to as 'primo-occupancy' (*Ibid.*:138) as a key signifier. So, while the etymological origins of these terms differ[128], they both converge on a common denominator that prefaces geography and the notion of primacy, jointly, in relation to a conjectural notion of origin (Kim, Yang, Hwang 2006:197, Gausset, Kenrick & Gibb 2011: 138). For the purposes of clarity, this research study will proceed with the term indigenous, since it is the foundation of the inciting inquiry, in relation to the notion of 'NEVER [being] A COLONY AGAIN' and in recognition of its association with notions of marginality, which are synonymous with the legislated description of an 'indigenous Zimbabwean' (IEEA 2007:2).

'Native Africans who were in Africa *before* the arrival of European colonisers *do not* self-identify as Indigenous peoples' (Kapoor and Shizha 2010, from Mertens, Cram and Chilisa 2013:15, emphasis added). Nonetheless, they were included in the conceptual framework of indigenousness by European colonisers. It is important to acknowledge how this classification was applied and what the consequences were as a result. Although the foundational descriptor – to assign notions of geography – of a place, of the land – remained, the indigenous label extended to include characteristics of behaviour. The inclusion of an ontological register informed a growing ethnographic archive of local communities by European settlers[129]. This expansion of the matrix of indigenousness then grew to include behavioural and cultural characteristics (Theal 1910, Kidd 1904, Bourdillon 1976, 1979, Rasmussen 1979, Smith 1978).

This extension, beyond a geographical register, had wide-ranging consequences. Two specific outcomes pique interest for this research study. The first revolves around the colonial mission to document the traditions and mores of local communities in writing. This

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[128] https://www.etymonline.com/word/autochthon and https://www.etymonline.com/word/aboriginal - retrieved 3 December 2017

[129] In the Zimbabwean context, this includes publications such as *The Native Affairs Department Annual* (NADA) and the *Rhodesiana* - http://www.rhodesia.nl/rhodesiana/indexrhosoc.html - retrieved 30 July 2018. See issues 1, 2, 7, 12, 19, 22, 25, 26 and 29

is a significant development, given that, previously, these practices and rituals were passed from generation to generation solely through an oral practice (Vansina 1985, Mazarire 2002, Mutula 2002). This archiving, Spillman argues, introduced a notion of 'authenticity' which imposed a 'fixity' of identity that, '[rendered] the colonised at once an 'other' and yet entirely knowable and visible' (Spillman 2012:44-45)[130]. The second outcome draws on the consequences of 'fixity' and how this resulted in the essentialising of behavioural and cultural characteristics of local communities to the extent that they became definitive.

Therefore, this project of documentation simultaneously enriches and reduces the ontology of local communities. It also laid the groundwork for the formation of the infrastructure of the tribal system (Chimhundu 1992, Sangmpan 2017). As this compendium of knowledge developed, local communities, primarily in rural areas, were documented and discretised through the creation of a tribal categorisation. This colonially-imposed system of classification, Sangmpan argues, was an 'arbitrary delineation of boundaries based on European perceptions of language, religion, dress, and territory that served colonial interests; it implied distinction between "tribal" Africa and "civilized" Europe' (*Ibid.*:8)[131].

This 'distinction' had a larger impact on the developing concept of indigenousness. During the late 19th and early 20th century, the original geographical signifier that included an ontological register was now augmented with a barometric indicator of human development. The consequences of this measure, discussed earlier in this chapter, resulted in an urban/rural separation of local communities. Rural communities became synonymous with notions of indigenousness and tribal taxonomy. In the Zimbabwean context, this is evident in volumes of research and analyses undertaken to document rural communities throughout the mid-20th century (Bourdillon 1976, 1979, Rasmussen 1979, Smith 1978 and Native Affairs Department Annual (NADA)). This research also marks a shift from Beach and Posselt's contention of 'isolated, untrained, part-time researchers' (Beach and Posselt 1996), to more professional and scientifically structured research. Ntarangwi, Mills and Babiker caution against 'Africa-wide generalisations about anthropology and colonialism', urging 'country-specific analyses [as a way of] exploring colonialism's very different

[130] D. Shapple Spillman, '*British Colonial Realism in Africa: Inalienable Objects, Contested Domains*', Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012
[131] S. N. Sangmpam, '*Ethnicities and Tribes in Sub-Saharan Africa: Opening Old Wounds*', Cham, Palgrave Macmillan, 2017

academic and administrative cultures' (Ntarangwi, Mills and Babiker 2006:76)[132]. During this period, research on and with indigenous communities was abstracted through ethnography as anthropologists adopted a Tylorian working definition of culture as 'that complex whole that includes knowledge, belief, art, morality, law, custom and any other capabilities acquired by man as a member of society' (Tylor 1903:1).

Towards the latter half of the 20th century, the concept of indigenousness morphed again, becoming a key indicator of communities of native people facing conflicts over natural resources. According to Graham and Glenn Penny (2006), these communities were 'often positioned… either as elements of the natural landscape or as natural guardians and stewards of threatened environments.' (Graham & Glenn Penny, 2014: 6). This led to the formation of several advocacy groups constituted to protect the human, environmental, economic and cultural rights of these evidently endangered and defenceless communities that resulted in the initiation of a process to formalise / recognise / institutionalise concepts of indigenousness[133]. A forerunner in this terrain was the International Working Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA)[134]. Formed in 1968, one of the primary aims of this organisation was 'to promote recognition and implementation of the rights of indigenous peoples' (IWGIA n.d.). IWGIA's framing of indigenousness, as reflected upon during the first conference of indigenous people in 1993, included references to both a geographical origin and to people who 'were now dominated by other people from whom their cultures were markedly different' (Veber, Wilson, Wæhle 1993:10)[135] – the issue of dominance registering synonymously with and reinforcing the infrastructure of the aforementioned knowledge hierarchy perpetuated a century or so earlier. Curiously, in the most recent report released by the International Working Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA), 'The Indigenous World 2018', 'The Government of Zimbabwe does not recognise any specific groups as indigenous to the country' (Jaquelin-Anderson 2018: 514). The report goes on to list two communities that IWGIA recognise as indigenous. These are 'the Tshwa (Tjwa, Tsoa, Cuaa) San found in western Zimbabwe, and the Doma (Vadema, Tebomvura) of Mbire District in north-central Zimbabwe.' (*Ibid.*).

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[132] M. Ntarangwi, D. Mills and M. Babiker (eds.), '*African Anthropologies: History Critique and Practice*', New York, Zed Books and Dakar, CODESRIA, 2006

[133] K. Coates, '*The Global History of Indigenous Peoples: Struggle and Survival*, Basingstoke and New York, Palgrave MacMillan, 2004: 5-12

[134] https://www.iwgia.org/en/about - retrieved 23 February 2018

[135] H. Veber, J. Dahl, F. Wilson and E. Wæhle (eds), *"…Never Drink from the Same Cup", Proceedings of the conference on Indigenous Peoples in Africa*, Tune, Denmark 1993

Following the lead of IWGIA, a number of new organisations/collectives were constituted in recognition of the predicament of indigenous peoples and they began building advocacy and support mechanisms for the survival and preservation of culture and ways of life of indigenous people. Each of these entities made their own adjustments, thus further ambiguating the core concept of indigenousness. As recently as 2014, the UN Chairperson-Rapporteur, Mrs. Daes, added another layer to this growing list of indicators of indigenousness by arguing for 'a single conceptual element: priority in time' (Laher and Sing Oei, 2014: 26)[136].

This growing compendium of concepts that encompass indigenousness swell with the addition of the distinctive legislated notion of temporal marginality in Zimbabwe. An indigenous Zimbabwean, as mentioned earlier, is defined as 'any person who, before the 18th April, 1980, was disadvantaged by unfair discrimination on the grounds of his or her race' (IEEA 2007:2). These specificities find tacit connection with the notions of 'self-identify[ing]' and 'priority in time', however, they are, in the Zimbabwean context, apart from cultural strata, turning instead to the service of political and economic notions of indigenousness. So, within this century, the concept of indigenousness has grown and been abstracted productively to suit the particular circumstances within which it is required.

Coates's (2004) succinct examination of the history of the indigenous peoples' movement confirms the ongoing dilemma faced by all the actors involved as to a unified description of the concept of indigenousness (Coates 2004: 1-5). The United Nations Working Group on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP)[137], echoing this conundrum, 'could not agree on a formal definition… They opted (or opted out) to leave the issue unresolved: each group could, they decided, self-identify as indigenous' (*Ibid.*: 1). This summary of the shifting etymology of indigenousness registers a conceptual instability that, particularly in the

[136] The full statement is useful – since it details information alluded to earlier in the chapter – 'the international discussion of the concept of the concept of 'indigenous' evolved, from the late nineteenth century until the establishment of the Working Group in 1982. … English and Spanish share a common root in the Latin term indigenae, which was used to distinguish between persons who were born in a particular place and those who arrived from elsewhere (advenae). The French term autochtone has, by comparison, Greek roots and, like the German term Ursprung, suggests that the group to which it refers was the first to exist in the particular location. Hence, the semantic roots of the terms historically used in modern international law share a single conceptual element: priority in time.' (Laher and Sing Oei, 2014: 26)

[137] https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/declaration-on-the-rights-of-indigenous-peoples.html and http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf - retrieved 23 February 2018

Zimbabwean context, could present a timely opportunity for deeper readings of this amorphous concept. Given recent shifts in the political landscape and the call for change, albeit rhetorical[138], the prospect of suggesting an expansion of the palette of indigeneity, which could include material and cultural elements from the long past, is both probable and promising.

1.8 Absences and Quandaries

In present-day Zimbabwe, there is very little tangible evidence that draws inspiration from the rich and diverse heritage of the long past. Elements of contemporary visual and material culture draw from a limited terrain that is primarily centred around representations of Great Zimbabwe, the Zimbabwe bird and touristic objects (Monda 2016, Monda 2012)[139]. A 2007 draft of the National Cultural Policy identifies the primary problem of 'disappearing' indigenous culture as being driven by 'colonialism, urbanisation, globalisation and acculturation'[140] (Cultural Policy of Zimbabwe, 2007:5). The most recent draft[141] builds a compelling case for the development and dissemination of information that details the complexities and multifaceted knowledges of a rich indigenous cultural heritage (The National Culture Policy of Zimbabwe, 2015. Draft)[142]. Government-instituted cultural organisations tasked with exhibiting and/or disseminating information about aspects of culture from the long past are poorly managed, outdated and underfunded (Kachiko 2018, Ngulube 2018)[143].

These institutions, having been parented by changing ministries since the advent of independence in 1980, now are the charge of a new Ministry of Rural Development,

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[138] https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/11/opinion/zimbabwe-emmerson-mnangagwa.html - retrieved 14 March 2018

[139] T. Monda, *Dynamics of Culture in Zimbabwe*, The Patriot Newspaper, 13 October 2016. Available: https://www.thepatriot.co.zw/old_posts/dynamics-of-culture-in-zimbabwe/ - retrieved 17 March 2018 and T. Monda, *Zimbabwe's visual arts @ 32*, The Herald Newspaper, 19 April 2012. Available: https://www.herald.co.zw/zimbabwes-visual-arts-32/ - retrieved 17 March 2018

[140] The document was not available for download from the official government website. Available: http://www.artsinafrica.com/uploads/2011/06/CULTURAL_POLICY_OF_ZIMBABWE_2007.pdf retrieved 9 May 2018

[141] Cultural Policies in Southern Africa, UNESCO, n.d. Available: http://www.unesco.org/new/en/harare/culture/cultural-policies-and-statistics/cultural-policies-in-southern-africa/ - retrieved 12 May 2018

[142] The National Culture Policy of Zimbabwe, 2015, Draft. Produced by The Ministry of Rural Development, Promotion and Preservation of National Culture and Heritage, November 2015. The policy was approved in 2016. https://www.newsday.co.zw/2016/11/govt-approves-revised-national-culture-policy/ - retrieved 1 February 2018.

[143] T. Kachiko, 2018, *Local Museums Face Extinction*, NewsDay, 21 May – https://www.newsday.co.zw/2018/05/local-museums-face-extinction/ - retrieved 5 August 2018
P. Ngulube, '*Handbook of Research on Heritage Management and Preservation*', Hershey, IGI Global, 2018

Preservation and Promotion of Culture and Heritage[144]. The ministry's mandate asserts its '[responsibility] for the promotion and preservation of national culture and Heritage [sic]... vigorous promotion of arts and culture programmes… so as to enhance national identity and social integration amongst communities… promoting, protecting and preserving national and other heritage sites countrywide.'[145]. The projects listed on the website[146] speak more to aspirations and interventions of rural sustainability than they did to the stated 'vigorous promotion of arts and culture programmes or projects that aimed to enhance national identity and social integration amongst communities' (Ministry of Rural Development, Preservation and Promotion of Culture and Heritage, n.d.).

Displays of indigenous culture at national museums in Harare, Mutare and Bulawayo confirm the dearth of diversity and complexity of heritage from the long past. These museums are populated by exhibitions and dioramas that 'perpetuate the colonial mentality and philosophy of presenting and interpreting museum collections' (Mawere, Chiwaura & Thondhlana 2015:137)[147]. Vitrines and installations that share information about visual and material culture from the long past are old and outdated. The has been little to no intervention towards expanding and updating knowledge from the long past that has clearly found more complexity in the plethora of explorations and analyses, in the anthropological and archaeological terrains, carried out since the country became independent[148].

Mawere and Chiwaura argue that, as a result, 'Zimbabwean museums are struggling to assert their relevance and visibility at local and national levels respectively.' (*Ibid.*). The

[144] http://www.herald.co.zw/new-ministry-brings-hope-to-culture-sector/ - retrieved 14 June, 2017. This ministry did not feature in the cabinet of current President Mnangagwa. https://www.enca.com/africa/list-mnangagwa-names-new-zimbabwean-cabinet - retrieved 1 February 2018

[145] http://www.ruraldev.gov.zw/index.php/xyz/background - retrieved 13 July 2017 and 2 August 2018.

[146] http://www.ruraldev.gov.zw/index.php/gallery/category/2-projects - retrieved 13 July 2017 and 2 August 2018

[147] Mawere M, Chiwaura H, Thondhlana T, *African Museums in the Making: Reflections on the Politics of Material and Public Culture in Zimbabwe*, (Cameroon, Langaa RPCIG, 2015). https://muse-jhu-edu.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/book/40074 - retrieved 20 January 2018

[148] Visits to these museums are an uncomfortable reminder of the 1970s Rhodesia. There is a rich body of knowledge that could be drawn on, but, has yet to find any particular platform. Staff members and middle management at the museum in Harare cited, on condition of anonymity, acute challenges with funding and dwindling audience interest. They also suggested that since there is relatively low understanding within government to the pragmatics of museology and advances made in the field, the museum was 'high priority'. This information is not included in the main body of the dissertation as it was not possible to validate these comments given the heightened political tensions at the time.

analysis contained in their survey of the state of museology confirms an immutable circumstance evident in domain of cultural and visual identity and how this has yet to be up-dated in relation to new findings and thinking about Zimbabwe's long past. This finding was supported by Njabulo Chipangura, in a paper presented at the ICMAH and COMCOL 2012 Annual Conference[149]. He maintained that, 'Mutare Museum has failed to reorganise misconstrued ethnographic exhibitions that wrongly depict the indigenous population... None of the permanent exhibitions installed in 1964 have been changed or revamped' (Chipangura in Omar, Ndhlovu, Gibson and Vawda 2014:190). This, it seems, is not a problem unique to Zimbabwe. Coates speaks of a similar disillusion in the state of indigenous representation.

> Reduced in the minds of most to caricatures, stereotypes and museum exhibits, indigenous peoples find themselves fighting for acceptance and survival in a rapidly changing world that shows little respect for their rights or unique histories (Coates 2004:16).

If the national museums see themselves, as mentioned on their website, as, 'the custodians and creators of the national heritage' (National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe [NMMZ] 2015)[150], the present state of their presentation of 'heritage' is in urgent need of updating. This realisation instructs, amongst other matters, a parallel query regarding which source/s of information could be explored to tackle this current stasis. This query is a key motivation for this research study and a justification for a deeper reading of aspects of material and visual culture from the long past. This is a sentiment echoed by Mbembe:

> [I]t may be supposed that the present as experience of time is precisely that moment when different forms of absence become mixed together: absence of those presences that are no longer so and that one remembers (the past), and absences of those others that are yet to come and are anticipated (the future) (Mbembe 2015:16) [151].

The objective of reactivating latent ideas of 'national heritage' in post-independent Zimbabwe speaks directly to Mbembe's notion of 'the possibility of a variety of trajectories neither convergent nor divergent but interlocked, paradoxically.' (Mbembe 2015: 16). The

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[149] International Committees for Museums and Collections of Archaeology and History (ICMAH) and International Committee for Collecting (COMCOL) 2012 Annual Conference held in Cape Town, 2012. See: http://network.icom.museum/fileadmin/user_upload/minisites/icmah/PDF/Museums_and_the_Idea_of_Historical_Progress_ICMAH_COMCOL.pdf - retrieved 28 July 2018

[150] http://nmmz.co.zw/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=30&Itemid=161 - retrieved 2 February 2018

[151] A. Mbembe, *On the Postcolony*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2001), p. 16

latent potential embodied within this notion of 'trajectories' signals an invitation to explore new narratives, and in so doing, resuscitate the notion of cultural multiplicities. This could extend current thinking and practice, in museums such as these, at least, beyond the legacy of colonial essentialism, which has, evidently, been supported through and by post-colonial notions of cultural homogeneity and nationhood. As Brendon Hokowhitu argues, 'when do such essentialisms stop being strategic and become inhibitive, and what do the cultural essentialisms Indigenous people have clung to through the violent torrent of colonisation resemble today? That is, what do they signify and, indeed, are they strategic representations?' (Hokowhitu in Graham and Glenn Penny 2014:293). This dynamism could contribute, then, to assembling innovative cultural bricolages[152] as a means towards an active practice of post-colonial emancipation.

Mbembe's argument recalls a number of propositions enacted towards the building of culturally inspired systems and ideologies across the African continent since the advent of independence fifty years ago. These projects, assembled on distinct ideologies of understandings and readings of a pre-colonial era, have largely found impetus through various African political leaders. These include Nyerere's Ujamaa (Nyerere 1968), Senghor's Negritude (Miller 2010)[153], Lumumba's Pan Africanism (Zeilig 2008), Mandela's Ubuntu (Mathabane 2018) and Mbeki's African Renaissance (Bongmba 2004). The motivation of these movements and their intended impact have in common rely on a connection with the long past as a strategy to dislocate the traumatic burden of colonisation. Mugabe's contribution to this college and collage of ideologies has been 'indigenisation', articulated through the rhetoric of land redistribution and economic empowerment. It is the recognition of a broader opportunity located within the pragmatic realisation of indigeneity, abstracted beyond its current political and economic frame, that invites the possibility of an alternative exploration. This journey into the long past, searching for registers of material and visual cultures, offers a strategic opportunity to expand the indigenisation project. Equally compelling is the prospect of understanding what the potential consequences this *new*[154] knowledge could have for the citizens of Zimbabwe.

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[152] Reference is made here to an abstraction of Bakhtin's concept of '*heterglossia*' and its celebration of multiplicity.

[153] C. L. Miller, '*The (Revised) Birth of Negritude: Communist Revolution and "the Immanent Negro" in 1935*, *PMLA*, Vol. 125, No. 3 (May 2010), pp. 743-749, from *JSTOR*, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/25704473J - retrieved 28 July 2018

[154] The emphasis points to the innate humour embodied within this sentence.

This quest to explore and find ways to create an alternate set of elements, generated from 'past' and 'future' 'absences' (Mbembe, 2001:16), that can constitute a current and diverse sense of indigenous identity in post-independent Zimbabwe, coincides with a vibrant and crucial time. Recent political[155], social and economic upheaval has given rise to a number of social movements and youth-led collectives[156] questioning and challenging understandings of what it means to be Zimbabwean. A growing number of these collectives are challenging the tenuous notions of a post-colonial emancipation that, up to now, have set its foundation on the liberation from colonisation and an 'overemphasizing of a simplistic and monolithic version of the past' (Fontein, 2006, 215)[157]. This 'version of the past' is premised on a distinct reading of Zimbabwe's history that platforms the concept of the 'chimurenga'[158] (revolutionary struggle) (Beach 1978, Martin and Johnson 1981, Mitzira-Nondo 2008) over what is evidently a more complex and eclectic past. Reading through the various analyses of the anthropological and archaeological archives reveals a wealth of information detailing the ingenuity of the people who lived in this geographic region before the onset of colonisation (Beach 1980, 1994, Bhila 1982, Mudenge 1988, Ellert 1993, Pikirayi 2001, Mazarire 2008, Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009). The lack of active and creative engagement with detailed troves of information, especially in light of the call for a process of active indigenisation, informs a key inspiration of this investigation.

Recent analyses construct credible debates as to a political rationale in response to this conundrum (Fontein 2006; Kaulemu 2008; Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009). Perceptions of 'a useable past' feature consistently in various studies of the post-independent era (Vail 1989; Raftopoulos and Mlambo 2008; Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009, Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Muzondidya 2011; Willems 2013; Mawere 2015). This concept of a discretised history is explained as a

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[155] A major shift in the political standing of the country occurred in November 2017, that saw the succession of Robert Mugabe, in what has been described in some analyses as a coup and in others as a smooth transition of power.

[156] #ThisFlag and #Tajamuka are two movements that inform this commentary. In addition, the work of a number of youth-led collectives including Magamba Trust, The Zimbabwe Alliance and Pamberi Trust further support this commentary.

[157] Fontein, J. *The Silence of Great Zimbabwe: Contested Landscapes and The Power of Heritage*, (New York, UCL Press, 2006), p. 215. I add another reference that I recognize does not comply with the requirements of the academic barometer, but it has been useful, evocative and provocative. Zimbabwe has never been a Monolithic Shona Society of One Language and One Culture: The Best Way Forward is !Ke e:/Xarra//Ke: - Unity in Diversity. (11 October, 2012) Available: http://lushanduko.blogspot.co.za/2012/10/zimbabwe-has-never-been-monolithic.html - retrieved 10 May 2017

[158] *Chimurenga* is a Shona word that translates as revolutionary war. (First Chimurenga n.d.) - https://www.pindula.co.zw/First_Chimurenga - retrieved 28 July 2018. See also: chimurenga. (n.d.). *Definitions.net.* from https://www.definitions.net/definition/chimurenga. - retrieved July 28, 2018

strategy deployed by post-colonial governments to frame colonial and pre-colonial historiographies in order to pedestal their contributions to the struggles against imperialism and colonialism to liberate the country, and, in so doing, justify their continual presence and relevance.

Expanding the frame, Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Willem's 2009[159] article further elucidates Hutchinson's concept of 'cultural nationalism', bringing a necessary depth to this debate in the Zimbabwean context. Hutchinson's theory, which states that 'cultural nationalism is a movement of moral regeneration which seeks to re-unite the different aspects of the nation' (Hutchison 1994:123 in Ndlovu-Gatsheni & Willem 2009:2), lends a useable logic to understand the approach that ZANU-PF, Zimbabwe's ruling party since independence, has used to build the necessary rationale to support for their on-going rule. Their conflation of the achievement of independence with specific actions carried out by certain members of their party during the war for liberation was, and still is, a key rationale used to validate the ongoing hegemony over any opposition to their rule, and set in place their version of 'moral regeneration' as justification for strategic exclusion of anyone else in the leaderships stakes of the country (Ndlovu-Gatsheni & Willem 2009:9-10; Raftopoulos & Mlambo 2008; Willems 2013). Those not aligned with the ruling party were branded 'sell-outs' and accused of wanting to return the country to the 'colonial masters' (Kriger 2006; Willems 2013). Furthermore, '[t]o qualify as an authentic and patriotic Zimbabwean, one was expected to vote for ZANU-PF' (Willems 2013:22). This stands in stark contrast with the vision laid out at the birth of this nation (Mugabe 1980)[160].

The politicisation of Zimbabwe's post-colonial history forms a rich and valuable canon, no doubt and, while useful for this debate, is not the aim of this research. However, it is the dearth of analysis of the cultural and creative potential of the long past – otherwise

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[159] Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. and Willems, W. (2009). Making sense of cultural nationalism and the politics of commemoration under the Third Chimurenga in Zimbabwe. In: *Journal of Southern African Studies* 35(4): 945-65.
Also worthy of noting is Chigumadzi's reading of this term in 'These Bones Will Rise Again' – 'The history of Chimurenga has often been related as if the first major anti-colonial resistance took place in 1896 and was the sole effort of the Shona people, but there is more to it than that. Many Africans saw this British invasion as yet another episode in their long history of anti-colonial resistance beginning with the Maputukezi, the Portuguese, in the sixteenth century. According to several historians, what should really be considered the First Chimurenga took place in the late-seventeenth century as Africans fought off would-be Portuguese colonists. In these wars, 'Chimurenga', meaning 'Murenga's thing' or 'Murenga's war', became a Shona idiom of resistance in honour of the warrior ancestor Murenga Sororenzou. (2018: 48)

[160] Reference here is made to Mugabe's speech at the 1980 Independence Day event – see: https://adamwelz.wordpress.com/2009/06/04/robert-mugabes-first-speech-in-the-parliament-of-zimbabwe-4-march-1980/ Page 3 - retrieved 28 February 2017,

referred to as the pre-colonial – and how this lacuna finds affect in present-day Zimbabwe, especially in this moment of indigenousness and indigenisation, that urgently needs research equity. The prime objective of this study is to examine these discursive dilemmas using the independence-day celebration as a case study. This seminal event provides a number of elements to think through complex and pertinent questions regarding notions of culture and identity in Zimbabwe. The various performances within this ceremony, that has become something akin to ritual (Willems 2013), provide an opportune site to examine the conceptual framing of indigenousness within the stated aim of 'NEVER [being] A COLONY AGAIN'. Additionally, this exploration will extend to inform the speculative 'trajectories' (Mbembe 2015) that the concept of 'destiny' (Mugabe 2017) can herald.

The platforming of the process of indigenisation, heralded by the introduction of the IEEA (2007), coupled with the incorporated legislation of an 'indigenous Zimbabwean' (IEEA 2007:2) inform a vital departure point to journey beyond the current politically-influenced, historiographic framing of pre-coloniality. This inquiry is supported by the need to understand whether information that details the long past is unavailable or inaccessible. The question arises as a result of the lack of any other narratives of cultural indigeneity within or from the wider population in Zimbabwe. A survey of the creative industries and the continuing lack of nuance and creative intervention in this domain add further intrigue. Information compiled from a series of focus groups conducted for this research study shows that this information, while both available and accessible, is, nonetheless, unknown[161]. These findings stir another query: is this information about the eclecticism of the long past possibly being ignored?

These findings may, feasibly, speak to the degree of efficacy in the Zimbabwean government's strategy towards the framing and forming of a publicly available and accessible understanding of the long past[162]. It may also be evidence of disinterest, equally less easy-to-measure. Reading through certain accounts of post-colonial emancipation (Martin and Johnson 1981, Mitzira-Nondo 2008, Tendi 2010), Zimbabwe's history

[161] A number of focus groups were conducted in Zimbabwe and Cape Town, with people between the ages of 18 and 38. The findings from these focus groups are detailed in Appendix 1.

[162] Is it useful here to put forward a semantic intention to migrate from the concept of a colonial framing. The various debates that elucidate the problematic semanticisms with the inclusion of the 'colonial' provide some rational (Spivak and Young 1991, Williams 1993, Strongman 1996, Helfont 2015) Strongman succinctly articulates this – *'…we are not so much engaged on a project of de-scribing empire, as re-inscribing its hybridized offspring*.' From this point forward, the aim is to refer to the '*long-past*' as a way to re-locate philosophies of this research, within this debate.

commences with the onset of colonisation which then activates the First Chimurenga[163]. Curiously absent, especially in light of notions of liberation and freedom from oppression, are references to the ingenuity and enterprise of communities from the long past (Mazarire, 2009:1)[164]. Understandably, inclusion of or reference to this information is not essential, but could the observation of this absence offer some rationale for the aforementioned ignorance and possible disinterest? A further quandary nurtures this query, specifically in relation to new generation Zimbabweans, and could speak to their abovementioned challenge of the framed notions of a post-colonial emancipation.

The current O and A Level History and Visual Art syllabi have sections that clearly mandate learning about communities and their complexity, creativity and cultural output as far back as the Early Stone Age (Zimbabwe Schools Examination Council 2013 – 2017)[165]. These syllabi encourage learners to investigate and understand the lives and practices of the major communities over the past five centuries, including The Mutapa, The Rozvi, The Torwa as well as the early days of the Mapungubwe and Great Zimbabwe civilisations. They also include a comprehensive reading list of analyses of these communities by a list of well-reputed historians[166]. The wealth of material embodied in this canon is, evidently, designed to offer credible information for a new generation Zimbabweans and to incite an eagerness to acknowledge the innate complexity and vibrancy of Zimbabwe's history. So, the question arises, again: why has this information not found more active and evident purchase among this agitated demographic of Zimbabwean society?

1.9 Gems from the Long Past

The crafting of identity, specifically in relation to notions of indigenousness and nation building in post-independent Zimbabwe, is a complex terrain. Ndlovu-Gatsheni[167] provides

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[163] Dawson S, '*The First Chimurenga: 1896-1897 Uprising in Matabeleland and Mashonaland and Continued Conflicts in Academia*' 2011, Constellations Vol. 2 No. 2 https://journals.library.ualberta.ca/constellations/index.php/constellations/article/viewFile/10502/8084 - retrieved 2 February 2018

[164] G. Mazarire, *Reflections on Pre-colonial Zimbabwe, c 850 – 1880s*, in B. Raftopoulos & A. Mlambo (eds), Harare, Weaver Press, 2009.

[165] Zimbabwe Schools Examinations Council (ZIMSEC) O Level Syllabus 2013 – 2017 History 2167, Available at: http://www.zimsec.co.zw/O_SYLLABUS/O-LEVEL%20HISTORY.pdf
Zimbabwe Schools Examinations Council (ZIMSEC) A Level Syllabus History 9155, Available at: http://www.zimsec.co.zw/A_SYLLABUS/A-LEVEL%20HISTORY.pdf Both retrieved 22 July 2017

[166] *Ibid*. Pg. 13

[167] S. J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *Do Zimbabweans Exist? Trajectories of Nationalism, National Identity Formation and Crisis in a Postcolonial State*, (Bern, Peter Lang, 2009)

a compelling exploration of the political framing of the post-colonial nationalist project and the role it has played in establishing 'a homogenising and identity-forming socio-political factory' (2009:347). In his reading of Ranger's articulation of 'Patriotic History'[168], Mlambo exposes the fallacy perpetuated by 'state-controlled' media, driven by 'so-called intellectuals of ZANU-PF [that] Zimbabwe was a country in which people lived harmoniously as one nation before the disruption of British colonialism' (Mlambo in Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Ndhlovu 2013:236)[169]. He goes on to credit a speech Mugabe delivered in 1977 as the impetus for this 'homogenising' ideology:

> The distinguishing features of our nation, cultural homogeneity, our biological and genetic identity, our social system, our geography, our history which together characterise our national identity, also combined in producing out of our people a national vigorous and positive spirit which manifests in the consistently singular direction of its own preservation (Raftopoulos and Mlambo 2009: xviii)[170].

However, Mugabe's contention of 'our… cultural homogeneity…' sits at odds with archival documentation of an evidently eclectic heterogeneous past. Economic, social and political interactions with the Arabs, the Indians and the Portuguese from the 900s to the mid-1800s, documented in the various analyses of archival documents (Von Sicard 1962, Newitt 1973, Beach 1980, 1994, Bhila 1982, Ellert 1993, Mudenge 1998, Ranger 1999, Pikirayi 2001, Mazarire 2008, Mlambo 2014, Mawere, Chiuwa & Thondlhana 2015), gives rise to questions regarding the influences that could have contributed to the building of an *indigenous* identity. Various instances of cross-acculturation are documented in the Portuguese explorers' logs.

> The people dress in various ways: at court and Zimboôe[sic] of the Kings their grandees wear cloths of rich silk, damask, satin, gold and silk cloth; these are three widths of satin, each width four covados [2.64m lengths], each sewn next to the next, sometimes with gold lace in between, trimmed on two sides, like a carpet, with a gold and silk fringe, sewn in place with a two fingers' wide ribbon, woven with gold roses on silk – a very well made thing manufactured by the kaffirs

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[168] '…. *assumes the immanence of a Zimbabwean nation expressed through centuries of Shona resistance to external intrusion: embodied in successive empires; incarnated through the great spirit mediums in the first Chimurenga [war of resistance to British colonial rule] of 1896-7; and reincarnated by means of the alliance between [spirit] mediums and ZANLA guerrillas in the second Chimurenga of the liberation war*' (Mlambo in Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Ndhlovu 2013:236)

[169] A. Mlambo, '*Becoming Zimbabwean: Nation and State Building in the Context of Southern Africa*' in S. J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni and F. Ndhlovu (eds), '*Nationalism and National Projects in Southern Africa: New Critical Reflections*', Pretoria, The Africa Institute of South Africa, 2013

[170] B. Raftopoulos and A. Mlambo (eds), *Becoming Zimbabwe, A History from the Pre-Colonial Period to 2008*, (Harare, Weaver Press, 2009), p. xviii quoting N. Bhebe and T. O. Ranger (eds.), *The Historical Dimensions of Democracy and Human Rights in Zimbabwe, Volume One: Pre-Colonial and Colonial Legacies* (Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications, 2001) p. xxv.

> themselves ... These cloths are worn from the waist down the right side trailing along the floor and the left just down to the knee. Others dress in cotton cloth with coloured stripes, black being their favourite colour. Of all the women, the Mocranga are the ones who dress the best, the cloth coming down to one palmo above the feet; that part of the leg showing is covered with bright copper bands (Mudenge, 1998:199)[171].

Mudenge's journey through various archival documents also highlights groups of traders, the vashambadzi, who acted as local salesmen for the foreign traders. Plying their trade of imported goods, these emissaries travelled into the countryside, 'mak[ing] use of artifice to arouse their [local communities] cupidity, for *they cover them and their wives* with clothes, beads, and trinkets, with which they are delighted, and after they have thus pleased them, they give them all these things on credit' (Emphasis in original, *Ibid.*: 44).

Mugabe's notion of 'cultural… homogeneity' is tacitly assembled on the notion of a national Shona majority (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009, Mlambo 2013). Paradoxically, the collective entity suggested by the concept of the Shona and, by extension, its reputation as the ethnic majority (Rothchild 1997, Country Report on Human Rights Practices 2007:648, Ngwenya 2017) sit in questionable territory. As Mazarire argues, 'It is not only an anachronism' (2008:4), but understood through various investigations of its formulation, the communities of people living in this region 'did not know themselves by that name until the late nineteenth century' (2008: xix). A supporting theory of the provenance of this term also points to its pejorative origins – coined by King Mzilikazi to describe people 'who just disappear' ("Shona People" n.d.)[172]. Another school of thought conflates the term's recognition of apparent ethnic majority with the early days of British colonisation and the need to organise local communities for purposes of control (Mazarire 2008; Mlambo 2014). And furthermore, but by no means finally, there is another set of opinions, albeit uncorroborated, though requisitely in a public space to find register in this investigation, that draw additional/useful intrigue[173].

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[171] From: Footnote: Pg. 199. Alpers, *Ivory and Slaves in East Central Africa,* 26, 229, 232, 242; Manuel Galvão da Silva, 'Diario das Viagens', 328; [Anon], 'Descripção do Império Moanomatapa, 224; Gomes, 'Viagem', 209. Fr. Gomes has left us a full description of the dressing in the seventeenth-century Mutapa kingdom showing that imported clothing did not replace traditional weaving craft.

[172] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shona_people - retrieved 19 February 2018

[173] The invitation of these narratives is in service of the experimental and speculative aims of this research study.

The origin of the term Shona, in this set of imaginings, draws direct links with the Indian subcontinent through documented trade connections from the long past. An unsubstantiated connection is made between the Hindi term for gold – *sonu* – which links the trade in gold between the Indians and local communities of this geography from the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries (Hromnik 1981, Pikirayi and Vogel 2001, MacGonagle 2007, Mazarire 2008). This connection is then imaginatively spun on an assumption of this land being described as 'Sonuland' by the Indian traders of that era, which, in turn delivers the moniker, inexplicably, 'Shonaland'. This delivery is then employed to rationalise the origination of the 'Shona' as a collective identity (Chivaura, 2015)[174]. These contestations in the current conceptions of indigenousness point to a useful set of dilemmas, especially in view of the call for 'cultural homogeneity'. This recognition opens the opportunity to journey through unexplored conceptual terrains so as to propose an alternate routing of the energy being generated by new generation Zimbabweans searching for new ways to build their idea of contemporary indigeneity, beyond the current political and economic frame.

The adage 'to know where you are heading, you've got to know where you've come from', albeit a cliché, finds useful mention here as a strategic recognition of the opportunity located in the call to become 'masters of our destiny'. So, in order for this mastering to begin, what explorations into where we have 'come from' – the past – have to be undertaken? And which *past* needs to be known? Evidently, and as reflected in the colonial and post-colonial canon, Zimbabwe's recent past has found compelling and multifaceted analyses (Burke 1996, Hendrickson 1996, Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009, Muzondidya 2009, Raftopoulos and Mlambo 2008). Additionally, there is an equally rich archaeological canon in place that details intriguing, enterprising and highly creative practices by communities across the geographical region now called Zimbabwe (Manyanga and Chirikure 2017, Pwiti 1996, Pikirayi and Vogel 2001, Soper 2002, 2006, Garlake 1985, Mudenge 1998, Huffman 1987, Mitchell & Whitelaw 2005). What remains unexplored in equal depth and complexity to these registers, as yet, are similar analytical journeys into the long past, with a specific lens on complexities of the visual and material culture[175].

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[174] https://www.thepatriot.co.zw/old_posts/the-origins-of-the-word-shona/ - retrieved 22 February 2018. In this article, the author, Dr. V. G. Chivaura quotes Ken Mafuka as a source

[175] Currently Henrik Ellert's books, '*The Material Culture of Zimbabwe*' (1984), '*Rivers of Gold*' (1993), and '*The Traditional African Art of Zimbabwe*' (2002); Pathisa Nyathi's '*Zimbabwe's Cultural Heritage*', and Elizabeth MacGonagle's '*Crafting Identity in Zimbabwe and Mozambique*' (2007) stand as the most comprehensive and

In recalling the specificity of this investigative study – the independence-day celebration of 2017 – reading through the various documented instances of public ceremonies and rituals and the descriptions of material and visual culture presented from the long past prompts a series of queries as to the range of alternate possibilities that could find platform within this celebration of 'NEVER [being] A COLONY AGAIN'. What if one of the objectives of independence from the constraints of coloniality, evolving into Zimbabwe, could, hypothetically, be to explore the possibility of a reconnection – practically and ideologically – to lives, societies and systems that were disrupted by colonisation (Davidson 1992, 1964)[176]? In consideration of this, the above-mentioned cliché invites a requisitely complex and compelling set of inquiries to engage with towards the search for a contemporary practice of indigenousness.

Moreover, could this exploration initiate the revival of potential trajectories (Mbembe 2015) of the many elements of creative cultural practice, which were in dynamic development before the onset of colonisation and perhaps, inform Fanon's call to realise a 'society's uniqueness' (Fanon 1967:35)? The pre-colonial[177] archive, anthropological and archaeological, documents in fascinating detail the growing levels of enterprise and sophistication of many communities, from the Early Iron Age through to the late 18th century (Ellert 1993, Soper 2002, Pikirayi and Vogel 2001, Mazarire, 2008, Manyanga and Chirikure 2017). This research aims to present these details for useful traction in contemporary Zimbabwe and, in doing so, work to enrich and expand the current debates around the quest for an indigenous identity.

1.10 Indigenisation to Indigeneity – The Prospect of an Ontological Turn

The motivation of this investigation is guided by the recognition of an opportunity to explore an ontological inquiry within the current political and economic framing (IEEA

accessible accounts of material and visual culture. This criticism is founded on the absence of detail and nuance that is evident in the sociological, economic, political and archaeological terrains.

[176] B. Davidson, *The Black Man's Burden: Africa and the Curse of the Nation-State*, (New York, Three Rivers Press, 1992) and B. Davidson, *Which Way Africa? The Search for a New Society*, (Middlesex, Baltimore, Ringwood, Penguin Books, 1964)

[177] This is a strategic deployment of this term – and is to a large degree a provocative nod to the debate around oral archives, written archives and the barometers of authenticity. It is a deep and complex debate, that this research cannot host – but is an important debate to acknowledge.

2007)[178] of indigenisation. This investigation, filtered through a performance and performative theoretical framework (Graham and Glenn Penny 2014) and speculative research methodology, is driven by a larger query: What are the ontological registers of the indigenisation project in the contemporary cultural milieu of post-independent Zimbabwe? This detour, from a predominantly epistemological inquiry to an ontological examination, draws on Chandler and Reid's recognition of a 'stasis' in the notion of being indigenous – it 'being deployed to valorise disempowering conceptions of subjectivity' (Chandler & Reid 2018:13)[179].

Indigenousness, as it has been legislated in Zimbabwe is arguably premised similarly, centred around notions of 'disadvantage' (IEEA 2007:2). And so, while the Act puts forward its definitive sense, this only serves to highlight the limitations it sets for its sense of being. In other words, what else, beyond being disadvantaged, could it mean to be indigenous in contemporary, independent Zimbabwe? The inquiry into discursive manifestations of being indigenous is further complicated by Chandler and Reid's reading of Butler and Athanasiou's[180] definition of the performativity, which echoes 'the ways by which dispossessed subjects produce themselves as political subjects under the conditions of their dispossession without asserting themselves as self-possessed and possessive subjects' (*Ibid.*:6). The case through which this gaze is filtered – the independence-day celebration – then implores an ontological abstraction of the current political and economic focus of indigenisation toward the possibility of a performative interpretation of the notion of indigeneity.

Graham and Glenn Penny (2014)[181] situate the concept of indigeneity in the performance realm, tracking it 'as a global identity [that] emerged during the Cold War era' (Graham and Glenn Penny 2014:4). The essays in this volume articulate the notion of indigeneity with practices and production of visual and material culture from the long past as a 'bundle of possibilities' (Pratt 2007:402). Given the acknowledged instability of the concept of

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[178] http://www.herald.co.zw/why-are-african-legal-minds-holding-on-to-colonial-relics/ - retrieved 14 March 2018

[179] David Chandler & Julian Reid (2018): '*Being in Being': Contesting the Ontopolitics of Indigeneity*, The European Legacy, DOI: 10.1080/10848770.2017.1420284

[180] Butler, Judith, and Athena Athanasiou. *Dispossession: The Performance in the Political*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013

[181] L. Graham and H. Glenn Penny, *Performing Indigeneity: Global Histories and Contemporary Experiences*, Lincoln and London, University of Nebraska Press, 2014

indigenousness, these temporal bridges confirm the strength of connection that cultural practices can generate, despite the challenges that prevail within the terrain of indigenousness, 'allow[ing] some groups to embrace a shift from essential, substantial, and positivist definitions of their culture that depend on territorial precedence to constructivist, structural, and relational definitions that are based on self-identification and distinct livelihood strategies' (Graham and Glenn Penny 2014:8). While this suggested swing is not ideal, since the nature of 'constructivist, structural, and relational definitions' (*Ibid*.) needs careful consideration, the move beyond the former definitions is timely and welcome. Indigeneity, as it is presented in these essays, surfaces as an important emerging intervention that challenges the strictures of coloniality and post-coloniality, particularly from its ontological departure points.

Waldron's lecture, on the other hand, declares indigeneity to be a 'mouthful'. He adds, 'You won't… find it in the *Oxford English Dictionary*'. (Emphasis in original, Waldron 2002:56)[182]. He contends that the term is merely a semantic abstraction of the indigenous noun, comparing it to 'its near synonym, "aboriginality"' (*Ibid*.), but also alludes to the fact that 'it is already a term of art in the politics and philosophy of cultural rights and the rights of First People.' (*Ibid*.:57). Waldron's essay - 'Indigeneity? First Peoples and Last Occupancy'- highlights this term's provocative formulation and proceeds to delve into the problematics presented by the temporal and occupancy framing of indigeneity (*Ibid*.:55), reiterating earlier definitions of the term's rendition as the noun, indigenous. These are linked to, he argues, notions related to 'descendants of the first human inhabitants of the land, and 'descendants of those who inhabited the land at the time of European colonisation' (*Ibid*.). Waldron's exploration embraces connections to issues of 'property, the distribution of resources… as well as issues relating to sovereignty' (*Ibid*.: 66)[183]. This last note, 'relating to sovereignty', echoes a term that features consistently within Mugabe's conception and ideology of post-colonial independence (Mhiripiri 2015, Bush and Szeftel 2002,

[182] J. Waldron, *Indigeneity? First Peoples and Last Occupancy*, Wellington, New Zealand Journal for Public and International Law, 2003

[183] Waldron includes a clear-sense definition further into this lecture, that aligns the concept with its original meaning – '*…type (A) definition identifies those whose ancestors were there first to occupy and make a life…. The type (B) definition, by contrast, talks about* ***prior*** *occupancy, not first occupancy*' (Waldron 2003: 68). Also, '*In the crudest sense, the difference between first and last, or – to speak more precisely – the difference between first and penultimate. The Principle of First Occupancy looks at the dawn of time, to the moment at which the land in question was first taken peacefully into human use and procession. The Principle of Prior Occupancy looks to what was happening at a moment just before the present, just before the first European ships came over the horizon.* (*Ibid:*71).

Chasamhuka 2007).

Tlakatekatl (2014)[184] conjectures that indigeneity is a conflation of the terms indigenous and identity, signifying an 'identity particular to an individual who sees him/herself belonging to a specific group with roots dating prior to the so-called 'great encounter' of 1492' (Tlakatekatl 2014). His article makes a connection to Waldron's conflation of aboriginality and indigenousness, arguing that 'if aboriginality is the "quality of being aboriginal,' then indigeneity can be defined as 'the quality of being indigenous' (*Ibid*.). This, he adds, is similar to Nair's (2006)[185] reading, in which she indicates a similar interpretation in The Oxford English Dictionary, second edition (1989) (*Ibid*.). Tlakatekatl admits in this article to the unfounded nature of his contentions – 'the term "indigeneity" is very difficult to trace' – and indicates its interchangeable usage in several analyses (Nair 2006, Merlan 2009, Guenther, Kenrick, Kuper, Plaice, Thuen, Wolfe, Zips and Barnard 2006). He concludes, having analysed various investigations of the concept of indigenousness, ranging from dictionaries, the UN Commission on Human Rights interpretation, that of the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the Department of Economic and Social Affairs in the United Nations, several authors (McGuinne 2014, Alberto 2012, Delgado and Childs 2012, Roach and Eagan 2011), that

> *indigeneity' be defined as:* the state or quality inherent to an indigenous group—or individual, that exemplifies their position as an original people who inhabit and were born, or produced naturally, in a given land or region, including their descendants and relations thereof (Tlakatekatl 2014).

This definition resonates with the recent canon of knowledge developed by indigenous researchers and scholars about the broader aims of notions of indigeneity (Coates 2004; Nair 2006; Pelican 2009; Denzin, Lincoln and Tuhiwai-Smith 2008; Chiomwe, Mguni and Furusa 2000; de la Cadena and Starn 2007; Laher and Sing'Oei 2014; Graham and Glenn Penny 2014). These analyses present the layers of complexity and challenges that face indigenous communities in a terrain still largely validated by the western episteme (Roach and Egan 2008:30)[186]. A revival of indigenous methodologies and knowledge systems is

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[184] https://mexika.org/2014/09/17/%C2%ADthe-problem-with-indigeneity/ - retrieved 14 March 2018. Tlakatekatl is the pen-name for Rueben A. Arellano. See https://twitter.com/tlakatekatl?lang=en - retrieved 12 August 2018

[185] M. Nair, '*Defining Indigeneity: Situating Transnational Knowledge*', Zurich, World Society Focus Papers, World Society Foundation, 2006

[186] Roach and Egan, '*The Equivocal Definition of Indigeneity and Ambivalent Government Policy toward Self-Determination in New Zealand's Health and Foreign Policy Apparatus*', *Junctures: The Journal for Thematic Dialogue*, no. 11 (January 3, 2011), http://junctures.org/junctures/index.php/junctures/article/view/33 -

steadily gaining validation, and building resonant structures to support Tlakatekatl's notion alluded to earlier regarding "the quality of being indigenous" (Tlakatekatl 2014). Pratt highlights Tuhiwai-Smith's notion that 'Indigeneity… names an ongoing, nonteleological process of becoming, self-creation, and self-determination, the living out of a collective's being in time and place' (Pratt in de la Caden and Starn 2007:399).

The dynamism implied and embodied in Tuhiwai-Smith's articulation of indigeneity is anathema to post-colonial dictates of politically imposed cultural homogeneity (Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Ndhlovu 2013). Ranger's notion of 'Patriotic History', mentioned earlier in this chapter[187], conveys this as the espousing of the inherent nation of Zimbabweans, by the ruling party and their supporters, constructed on the myth of a cohesive nation that preceded the onset of European colonisation (Mlambo in Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Ndhlovu 2013:236). This homogenizing bent also surfaces in recent conversations in the terrain of cultural geographies. While tangential, the concerns raised in these debates, reflected in Cameron, de Leeuw and Desbiens's evaluation, Indigeneity and Ontology, resonate with the potential hazards regarding 'the binaries inherited from European philosophy, in which Indigenous peoples appear as either victims of colonisation or heroically resistant' (Cameron, de Leeuw and Desbiens 2013: 19)[188]. The authors point to Blaser's (2014) clarification of the 'modes' of ontology in this circumstance, being either 'an increasing interest in notions of more-than-human agency in geography,' or a 'reinvigorated engagement with radical alterity' (Cameron, de Leeuw and Desbiens 2013:21). Furthermore, Blaser's suggestion of 'a (re)animated world,… with multiple ontologies' (Blaser 2014:49) [189] levels a productive challenge to the current stasis within the terrain of ontological registers of cultural indigeneity in contemporary Zimbabwe (Mawere, Chiwaura & Thondhlana 2015, Chiwome, Mguni & Furusa 2000). He further argues that 'if the heterogeneity of always emerging assemblages troubles the political, the very heterogeneity of these heterogeneous assemblages troubles it even more' (Blaser 2014).

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retrieved 10 August 2018

[187] See: 1.8 Gems from the Long-Past

[188] E. Cameron, S. de Leeuw and C. Desbiens, '*Indigeneity and ontology*', *cultural geographies,* 2014, Vol 21(1) 19–26, sagepub.co.uk/journalsPermissions.nav DOI: 10.1177/1474474013500229 cgj.sagepub.com

[189] M. Blaser, '*Ontology and indigeneity: on the political ontology of heterogeneous assemblages*', *cultural geographies*, Vol 21, Issue 1, pp. 49 – 58, First Published October 4, 2012 https://doi.org/10.1177/1474474012462534 - retrieved 11 August 2018. See also, M. Blaser, '*The Political Ontology of Doing Difference . . . and Sameness*.' Theorizing the Contemporary, *Cultural Anthropology* website, January 13, 2014. https://culanth.org/fieldsights/474-the-political-ontology-of-doing-difference-and-sameness - retrieved 11 August 2018

The dizzying complexity alluded to in Blaser's argument reflects the growing undercurrents of productive uncertainty in relation to decades of politically imposed notions of Zimbabwean-ness and Zimbabwean identity (Chuimbu and Musemwa 2012; Chigumadzi 2018, Tshuma 2018)[190]. This production has been made more apparent and has proliferated, given the recent changes in the political circumstances of the country[191]. In the aftermath of the homogeneous diktats that characterised the practice of Robert Mugabe's rule, the possibilities of new narratives, new understandings of being Zimbabwean, hold active promise. Recognising this as a step forward towards the next iteration of being Zimbabwean, the potential embodied in proposing an ontological turn to expand the current drive for political and economic indigenisation, carries with it the opportunity to shift the inertia that currently plagues notions of cultural indigeneity in Zimbabwe (Chiomwe, Mguni and Furusa 2000; Mawere, Chiwaura & Thondhlana 2015).

1.11 Indigeneity in Zimbabwe?

Given the recognised impasse in the realm of cultural indigeneity, the concluding section of this chapter is motivated by a crucial question: what could it be to *be* indigenous in post-independent Zimbabwe? From a political perspective, the process of indigenisation, heralded by the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act 2007, was launched solely as an intervention to address the imbalances within the Zimbabwean economy due to colonisation. This act hosts within its many clauses a legislated definition of an indigenous Zimbabwean that centres on the notion of being 'disadvantaged by unfair discrimination on the grounds of his or her race' (IEEA 2007:2). Drawing a connection between these two elements, then, the legislated reading of indigeneity, of *being* indigenous in post-independence Zimbabwe, centres on the concept of racial marginalisation. This clause has drawn criticism from the legal fraternity in Zimbabwe (Matyzak 2011, Willsmer 2011, Gubbay 2017), who have declared it unconstitutional and 'poorly-drafted' (Willsmer 2011:3). Their criticism resonates with Coates's lament: 'Is being indigenous simply to have been the victim of colonisation?' (Coates 2004:1). This definition of indigenousness, that

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[190] S. Chiumbu and M. Musemwa, '*Crisis! What Crisis?: The Multiple Dimensions of the Zimbabwean Crisis*', Johannesburg, The Human Sciences Research Council, 2012; P. Chigumadzi, '*These Bones Will Rise Again*', London, Indigo Press, 2018; N.R. Tshuma, '*House of Stone*', London, Atlantic Books, 2018

[191] '*Zimbabwe's "Military-assisted Transition" and Prospects for Recovery*' New York and Brussels: International Crisis Group, https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/b134-zimbabwez-s-military-assisted-transition.pdf - retrieved 10 August 2018

emphasises racial marginality as the primary measure of indigeneity in Zimbabwe, locks the ontological register to the traumas of colonisation. Can the prospect of *being* indigenous in post-independence Zimbabwe be informed by an alternative set of ideas?

The conceptual framework of indigenousness holds within its formulation a connection to a long past, a link to deeper histories (Laher and Sing Oei, 2014:26), which, in turn, prompts a deeper exploration of histories beyond those that have been organised to suit the political objectives of perpetuation and legacy-building. A further connection with the geographical register of indigenousness is apparent in the Shona rendition of indigenous, *mwana wevhu*, which translates as 'child of the soil'[192]. Both these associations – the link to histories from the long past and to aspects of geographical specificity – offer the requisite impetus to build alternative understandings of more expansive ideas in relation to indigeneity in Zimbabwe. Further stimulus for this drive to notions of indigeneity can be read through growing discontent and confusion with regard to the perpetuation of colonially influenced practices, backed by government, that still manifest in the domain of visual and material culture (Hofisi 2017, Siamonga 2017, Siamonga 2018, Chidza 2018)[193]. If the government's vision of being independent in Zimbabwe is to 'NEVER A BE COLONY AGAIN' and to be 'masters of our destiny', given their role in the formation and practice of indigenisation, what manifests in this seminal celebration of independence is perplexing. This lacuna in the terrain of *being* indigenous in post-independence Zimbabwe undoubtedly compels this investigation.

There are a number of analyses that detail the strategy, undertaken by Zimbabwe's government, of constructing and disseminating a 'usable' history as a means to direct and perpetuate their relevance (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009, Raftopoulos & Mlambo 2008, Ranger

[192]T. Tichawangana, '*A Son of the Soil*', https://tafadzwatich.wordpress.com/tag/a-son-of-the-soil/ - retrieved 29 July 2018

[193] S. Hofisi, '*Of judges and their dress codes*', Herald Zimbabwe, 4 October 2017. https://www.herald.co.zw/of-judges-and-their-dress-codes/ - retrieved 22 July 2018; Associated Press, '*In wigs and robes, Zimbabwe judges evoke British colonialism*', https://www.news24.com/Africa/Zimbabwe/in-wigs-and-robes-zimbabwe-judges-evoke-british-colonialism-20170201 - retrieved 22 July 2018; E. Siamonga, '*Chiefs regalia must embrace regional, cultural interests*', The Patriot, 8 February 2018, https://www.thepatriot.co.zw/old_posts/chiefs-regalia-must-embrace-regional-cultural-interests/ - retrieved 22 July 2018; E. Siamonga, '*Meaning of symbols on African* clothing', The Patriot, 14 September 2017, https://www.thepatriot.co.zw/old_posts/meaning-of-symbols-on-african-clothing/ - retrieved 22 July 2018; Zimbabwe Names, '*Zimbabwe National Dress – The Original Traditional Dress of Zimbabwe for Shona People*', 15 December 2017, http://zimbabwe-names.blogspot.com/2017/12/zimbabwe-national-dress-original.html - retrieved 22 July 2018, and R. Chidza, '*Mnangagwa in colonial relics show*', Newsday 19 September 2018, https://www.newsday.co.zw/2018/09/mnangagwa-in-colonial-relics-show/ - retrieved 20 September 2018.

2007, Darnoff and Laasko 2003). This finding suggests a possible, though tacit, censoring of the country's historiography. So, given the rising consternation mentioned earlier, and also the seismic changes in the political landscape of the country currently underway, interesting questions arise. What could be the consequence of a closer reading of Zimbabwe's long past in relation to the potential for creative expression in a cultural milieu? Could the long past, before the advent of European colonisation, be understood in a propagative sense? Evidence of the enterprise of the long past, especially in the visual and material culture terrain, remains scarce in the era of independence (Chiomwe, Mguni and Furusa 2000, Monda 2016)[194].

A survey of archival documents and the accompanying analyses of the long past – traders' and explorers' logs, archaeological data – has yielded information that is at odds with the current framing of indigeneity in Zimbabwe. The productivity and enterprise of communities that lived in this geographical region challenge the notion of the legacy of racial marginalisation. The Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act (IEEA 2007), then, presents a limited reading of the potential of indigenisation through aspects of cultural indigeneity. This finding is more confounding given the current epoch that is alive with active debates around notions of decolonisation, and is further troubled by the seemingly overt colonial and militaristic styling of the national and state-sanctioned ceremonial celebrations of independence in a post-colonial era. This dilemma extends itself into the performative elements of a number of other government-sanctioned public ceremonies, such as the opening of parliament, official state house events, state burials and investitures of public officials, which present ornate performances of 'trooping the colour'; marching of the brass bands; the inspection of the guard; procession of gown-wearing judicial officials in horsehair wigs and traditional chiefs in colonial pith helmets.

However, a troubling of the rhetorical assertions of 'NEVER A COLONY AGAIN' and 'masters of our destiny', cohered through associations with the temporal register of indigenousness – 'priority in time' (Laher and Sing Oei, 2014:26) and the notion of self-identifying[195],

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[194] T. Monda, '*Dynamics of Culture in Zimbabwe*', The Patriot, 3 October 2016, https://www.thepatriot.co.zw/old_posts/dynamics-of-culture-in-zimbabwe/ - retrieved 3 August 2018

[195] https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/declaration-on-the-rights-of-indigenous-peoples.html and http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf - retrieved 23 February 2018

extends an invitation to explore an alternative framing of indigeneity, beyond the frame of racial and colonial marginality. This experiment can take advantage of a formative principal of indigenousness – the inherent association with the long past - coupled with the agency that the concept of independence presents to explore notions of an emancipated self. The specific focus that this research study places on the independence-day celebration aligns its objective with this imperative.

Evidence presented in this chapter has shown that the rich and potent archive of information understood about Zimbabwe's ancestral communities has yet to find complex and provocative creative engagement in the post-independence era (Mazarire 2008; Mlambo 2009; Mawere, Chiwaura & Thondhlana 2015). These examples beg considered inquiry, especially almost four decades into independence. This is especially perplexing given the recent passion imbued in narratives of indigenisation in Zimbabwe. Paradoxically, a stark lacuna in the terrain of understanding and practice of elements of indigeneity in Zimbabwe has also been exposed. So, with respect to the celebration of independence, and notions of post-colonial emancipation heralded by this ceremony of independence, what elements of the long past can be re-cognised, integrated, assimilated and re-crafted within this public ceremony and performance of independence, of emancipation, that speaks to an evidently ethnically-diverse post-colonial country, 37 years into a self-stated sovereignty? This question informs the central thread of this research study and will continue on with an intricate reading of the independence-day ceremony through performance and performative theory.

Chapter 2 Performing independence: The Carnival of Freedom

Introduction

> We, as a people for the past 400 years, is the greatest example of behaviour modification in the history of civilisation. We have had everything taken away from us and yet we have all learnt how to survive. That is why in the ballroom circuit, it is so obvious, that if you have captured the great white way of living or looking or dressing or speaking, you is a MARVEL
>
> (Livingstone 1997: 43:31)[196]

> '[I]n spite of a persistent fiction, we never write on a blank page, but always on one that that has already been written on',
>
> (Michel de Certeau 1988: 43)[197]

The shift of focus towards a performance inquiry has been motivated by the recognition of a set of quandaries within the indigenisation project that become particularly evident within certain performance elements of the 2017 independence-day celebration. If one of the express intentions – indeed, imperatives – of independence and the quest for sovereignty is to '*NEVER BE A COLONY AGAIN*', why, then, is the performance of independence so aligned to colonial registers? What are the registers of indigeneity in this celebration of colonial emancipation? And, what can be gleaned from this performance of independence?

The purpose of this chapter is to frame and examine a broader query: if indigenisation can be made manifest through political and economic interventions, what, then, could be the cultural registers of this ideological turn? This research is framed by numerous allusions to indigenousness by the ruling party, ZANU PF, since the launching of the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act (2007). A particular case in point is the prolific inclusion of the term 'indigenous' in the 2013 election manifesto[198] – a total of 64 times, including the

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[196] J. Livingstone, '*Paris is Burning*', Film 1997. Available - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k70tlLetqqw&has_verified=1 -retrieved 19 April 2018. See timecode: 43.31 for quotation.

[197] M. Certeau, '*The Practice of Everyday Life*', Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, University of California Press, 1988, pg. 43

[198] ZANU-PF Manifesto, 'Team ZANU-PF 2013: Peace begins with Me, Peace begins with YOU, Peace begins with ALL of US', 'Taking Back the Economy: Indigenise, Empower, Develop & Create Employment' – available https://africacheck.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/zanupf_election_manifesto_130705.pdf - retrieved 29 April 2018

proclamation that, ‘Zimbabwe has become one of the most indigenised… countries in the developing world in terms of the untold livelihood opportunities that has been availed to the indigenous population’ (ZANU-PF Manifesto 2013: 11). The independence-day ceremony, a government-sanctioned, overtly militarised and formal event, becomes a necessary and curious site of enquiry.

Since the onset of independence in 1980, this annual performance has been staged, ostensibly, to celebrate the emancipation from colonisation (Willems 2013). So, the processing of this event through a performance inquiry will provide an alternate framework to query notions of intention and register that have yet to be explored in the canon of post-independent identity in Zimbabwe. What will be investigated, in this chapter, is how notions of indigenousness manifest within this annual performance of independence, specifically in connection with the government’s assertions of indigenisation. This analysis of the 2017 independence day ceremony through a series of theoretical frameworks will offer new insight towards developing an ontological understanding of the registers and/or absences of notions of indigeneity.

The chapter will commence by unpacking the independence-day event as a performance. Over four segments, aspects ranging from stage, setting, cast, costume, and procession, to mass displays will be detailed. The analysis will then shift towards an inquiry of interpellation. Reading Butler’s breakdown of Althusser’s concept of interpellation as a provocation, the objective will be to point to the dilemmas that surface in this event in relation to a broader, though more tacit, calling or ‘hailing’ for indigenisation. This broad sweep analysis is employed to prompt a series of critical questions that will nurture the deeper reading that ensues. Following this, aspects of the event will be filtered through distinct hypotheses of three key performance theorists. The event, now cast in a performance key, will first be discussed in relation to Schechner’s four categorical distinctions – ‘being, doing, showing doing and explaining showing doing’. Next will be an analysis of notions of conviction and belief as theorised by Goffman. Finally, and in conclusion, Bakhtin’s concept of carnival, as representative of a moment of unrestricted freedom will be invited to surface and motivate a new reading of this event through a latent register.

The event, which usually spans an entire day, will be framed for the purposes of this performance analysis. The ‘show’ will take its beginning with the arrival of the dignitaries

and end with the exit of the president. All elements to be examined are enacted on the central ground of the stadium – from here on in understood as the stage. The people on the surrounding stands will constitute the audience.

2.1 Performing independence – a performance review of Independence Day 2017

> '[F]or an activity to be regarded as performance, it must involve the live presence of the performers and those witnessing it, that there must be some intentionality on the part of the performer or witness or both, and that these conditions in turn necessitate analysis of the place and temporality which enable both parties to be present to each other, as well as what can be described as the performance contract between them, whether explicit or implicit' (G. McAuley, 2009:45).[199]

Drawing on this quote, the purpose of this review is to introduce an alternative taxonomy to the event so as to re-direct thinking of specific elements towards performance theory and analysis. This review is not a detailed log of the event, but rather a journey through specific elements that will be drawn through theoretical analysis later in the chapter.

2.1.1 The Staging and Setting

In April 2017, 37 years into achieving independence from colonial rule, the ritual of celebrating liberation took place in Harare, Zimbabwe (Mlevu and Mano, 2017)[200]. The setting, as it has been each year since 1987, was the National Sports Stadium, a vast and modern semi-enclosed generic structure. The theme set for the 2017 performance was 'Zimbabwe@37 – Embracing Ease of Doing Business for Socio-Economic Development'[201] (Murava, 2017). The show, as it has been since the onset of independence 1980, was a mixture of staged acts, ranging from formal and sombre speeches through to vibrant marching, dance, acrobatics, mass displays and brass-band music. The narrative of this show was advertised as being both a celebration of independence and in accordance with, the abovementioned, '… Ease of Doing Business' theme (Murava, 2017). The stage was the central grounds of the sports stadium – a terracotta running track framing a grass-covered oval, upon which were faint markings of a football field. This grassy oval was the site for the majority of the marching, acting, dance and acrobatic performances. The speeches were

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[199] G. McAuley, (2010) *Interdisciplinary Field or Emerging Discipline?: Performance Studies at the University of Sydney*. In: McKenzie J., Roms H., Wee C.J.WL. (eds) *Contesting Performance. Performance Interventions*. Palgrave Macmillan, London

[200] *Ibid.*

[201] P. Murava, The Patriot Newspaper, 20 April 2017 - https://www.thepatriot.co.zw/old_posts/drive-to-improve-ease-of-doing-business/ - retrieved 29 April 2018

performed under a tented marquee, located within a cluster of other marquees, on the periphery of the running track. The open ends of these marquees faced the grassy oval.

Figure 11

The inside of the stadium was decorated with hundreds of metres of a striped banner composed of green, yellow, red and black stripes, echoing the configuration of the Zimbabwean flag. Interspersed at regular intervals along its length were depictions the Zimbabwe bird rendered in bright yellow, sitting on a red star. This patriotic skirting was punctuated at regular intervals with large-scale slogan banners, with messages professing a range of ideas.

Figure 12

The audience were seated in stands that rose up all the way around this central field. They occupied all but two of these stands, which were located directly opposite the cluster of tented marquees, and were reserved for a mass-display element, peopled by a generous gathering of school children, each with large-format books. On the pages of these books were fragments of larger images, that when assembled and synchronised would deliver images and slogans later in the show. A few first aid/ambulance stations stood along the periphery of the running track, with military and police personnel guarding entrances and exits. On the edge of the grassy oval stood a single tented marquee. Under it was a stage platform with steps carpeted in red. To the right of this marquee stood a modernist-

inspired sculptural gold installation. The focal point of this installation was a torch-like element.

2.1.2 Act I / The cast arrives

A cast of various officials entered in specific processions initiating the performance (Goffman, 1971:13). The first group, comprising various ministers and diplomats in formal attire, was followed by a procession of magistrate judges in red gowns accessorised with white bibs and black waist-sashes and blonde horse-hair wigs[202] on their heads. Following them came a procession of traditional chiefs draped in identical red and purple gowns, worn over their own suits and ties - some donning khaki pith helmets. These processions entered under a banner that boldly declared 'ZIMBABWE WILL NEVER BE A COLONY AGAIN'. They walked about a quarter of the way around the circular track before taking their seats in the cluster of tented marquees or on the stadium stand behind. Then the 'service chiefs'[203] (Mlevu and Mano, 2017) - vice presidents, Phelekezela Mphoko and Emmerson Mnangagwa[204] - entered, also on foot, through the same entrance, accompanied by their wives - both parties surrounded by their personal security detail. Both vice presidents were dressed formally in suits, Mphoko in a black double-breasted suit and Mnangagwa in a dark Nehru-style suit. Their wives wore tailored matching jacket and skirt ensembles. The security entourages were made up primarily of men dressed formally in dark coloured suits. In Mphoko's entourage there was a young woman dressed in a light-blue trouser-suit. In Mnangagwa's troupe, a young woman dressed in a dark-grey trouser suit, carrying a strapped bag, walked alongside Auxilia Mnangagwa, the vice president's wife. Both groups walked around part of the track towards the tented marquees, accompanied by a cheering audience.

The presidential vehicle - ZIM1, a 'custom-built black Mercedes 600l' with a Zimbabwe flag mounted on the right front (Citizen, 2017)[205] – drove into the stadium slowly, surrounded by a small army of security personnel, all dressed in suits, some with dark sunglasses. Its dark-tinted windows rolled-up, the vehicle proceeded around the track of the stadium. Part

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[202] http://www.newzimbabwe.com/news-34489-Zim+judges+evoke+British+colonialism/news.aspx accessed 17 January 2018 and http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/africa-judges-wigs-british-empire-colonialism-kenya-zimbabwe-ghana-a7952516.html - retrieved 23 January 2018

[203] Note: this is accompanied by an image of two army generals

[204] '*Zimbabwe's "Military-assisted Transition" and Prospects for Recovery*' New York and Brussels: International Crisis Group, https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/b134-zimbabwez-s-military-assisted-transition.pdf retrieved 10 August 2018

[205] https://citizen.co.za/news/news-africa/1734319/gallery-the-cars-the-mugabes-are-rolling-in/ - retrieved 17 January 2018

of the route was lined by exuberant dancers, dressed in t-shirts and golf-shirts emblazoned with ZANU-PF logos and messages. The women wore a variety of skirts, layered with single or multiple frills, all in colours related to the Zimbabwe flag. The vehicle came to a halt in the middle of the field, in front of the single marquee. The president's wife, Grace Mugabe, alighted, clad in an army-green, embossed coatdress with gold buttons, carrying a small, black, jewelled handbag. Perched on her head was a sculptural, meringue-like, cream-coloured fascinator. She wore a large, jewelled pendant with matching earrings. The entourage that surrounded and escorted her to the central podium were dressed in a mix of formal and colourful clothing. She walked purposefully towards the cluster of marquees to take her place.

Figure 13

Her husband, Robert Mugabe, emerged from the same vehicle. Dressed in a dark striped single-breasted suit with a white shirt and green paisley tie, he approached the steps of an outlying marquee, walking with a slight spring and a touch of verve. Stepping up between the two gold hand rails, Mugabe got onto its red-carpeted stage. To the side of this tent stood a line-up of military personnel in elaborate costume, replete with gold medals, braiding and other military insignia. There was a bustle of activity around the tent for a few minutes. Once everyone settled, an announcement over the stadium public address system instructed everyone in the stadium to stand for the singing of the national anthem. This was accompanied by music from the police band, followed by a flypast of several formations of aircraft, ranging from fighter jets to helicopters. Mugabe stood to attention while this happened. The audience cheered loudly as each formation flew past. There followed another flurry of activity around this outlying marquee. Once this settled, Mugabe was escorted off the stage towards a new vehicle.

A set of steps, covered in plush-red fabric, were laid out beside a large military-green jeep-style vehicle. The interior of this vehicle was lined with the same luxurious red fabric. Mugabe ascended these lavish steps on the public-facing side of the vehicle. A red safety rope was then drawn across this entrance. On the other side, two military generals climbed into the vehicle, both having to bend forward under a safety rail to take their places in the back. Robert Mugabe stood upright, akin to an emperor in his chariot. To his right was an officer in dark-green military costume, replete with military decoration, a yellow beret and

sunglasses. Behind them, holding onto a shiny-red stability rail, stood the two military generals in full uniform – resplendent with a bevy of shining medals, braided gold rope draped across their chests and under their arms, peaked military hats perched on their heads, and pristine white gloves. Attached at their sides were ivory-handled shining swords in their cases. As the vehicle moved forward, the '…terraces burst with cheers as patriots [sic] salute[d] and show[ed] their gratitude to their icon and leader' (Mlevu and Mano, 2017). Across Mugabe's torso was draped a green, gold and red sash, on top of which lay a gold necklace, garland-like in proportion. On the breast pocket of his suit, a large gold star-shaped medal was pinned - the Order of Merit[206] - partially obscuring a jade-coloured pocket square. A single green grasshopper hopped between his abdomen and his hand [207]. This random, although decorative, coincidence rendered an unintentional subversion of the ongoing ceremonial pomp.

Figure 14

In the centre of the grassy oval, a collection of armed forces, made up of officers from the Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA), Air Force of Zimbabwe (AFZ), the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) and the Zimbabwe Prison Service (ZPS) backed by The Police Band, stood stiffly to attention. Mugabe and the generals were driven slowly in front and around this army of authority, in lieu of the traditional walking inspection of the guard. Once done, Mugabe's 'chariot' returned its passengers to the single marquee. Mugabe stood as the armed forces performed a spirited march past, in slow and quick time, to the delight of the gathered audience. The police band's music was given fair competition by the cheering and whistling. Amidst this jubilation, a group of runners entered the stadium. Dressed in white T-shirts and black or yellow tracksuit bottoms, they ran around the track carrying flaming torches, to the continuing cheers of the audience. While they ran, Mugabe made his way toward the

[206] http://gmic.co.uk/topic/47895-zimbabwe-medals-list/ - retrieved 29 March 2018
[207] 'PICTURES: Mugabe harassed by a grasshopper', Bulawayo24 News, 19 April 2017. Available: https://bulawayo24.com/index-id-news-sc-national-byo-108645.html - retrieved 23 March 2018

aforementioned sculptural gold installation where he waited for the runners to complete their lap. They arrived and assembled in a grid-like formation. The lead runner then stepped forward with his flaming torch, assisting Mugabe to light the 'Eternal Flame'. Mugabe's frail rendition of this action was specially noted in the press (Ndebele 2017)[208]. This complete, Mugabe and the entourage made their way back to the main collection of marquees at the periphery of the running track. During this time, the lone marquee was carried off the field by a group of uniformed guards and the action was now focused in the central marquee of the cluster.

2.1.3 Act II / The formalities commence

Mugabe stepped onto the stage of the main marquee. There he was reunited with his wife, kissing her cheek when they met. They then took their seats, Mrs. Mugabe tucking and organizing her dress demurely as she sat. The front row of seating – a collection of stuffed leather-like armchairs – was occupied by top ZANU-PF officials, their spouses, and Mugabe and his wife. In front of Mugabe and his wife stood a low table with a flower arrangement at its centre.

Figure 15

[208] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XX6HVtf1cZw - retrieved 8 May 2018, and H. Ndebele, '*Mugabe's frail age shock*', The Independent, 21 April 2017. Available - https://www.theindependent.co.zw/2017/04/21/mugabes-old-age-frailty-shock/ - retrieved 8 May 2018

The ceiling of the marquee was stretched with cloth in the colours of the national flag. The back of the tent was covered with a large banner with text advertising the theme of this show, 'Zimbabwe@37 – Embracing Ease of Doing Business for Socio-Economic Development'[209]; a circular graphic of the Zimbabwean coat of arms and a portrait photograph of Mugabe, clearly from some years ago. The stage was carpeted in red and skirted with the same running-strip banner as flowed throughout the stadium. The circumference of the stage was cordoned off by posts and a cream-coloured guide rope. The interior of this tent was not directly visible to the majority of the audience attending this show. There were, however, large format television screens on either side of the stadium, mounted high up near the roof, that broadcasted edited collations of images, some of which included scenes from within this central marquee. Directed from an outside broadcast facility, this feed was simultaneously broadcasted live on national television throughout the country.

The master of ceremonies, akin to a narrator performing a practiced protocol, welcomed the audience, and praised the gathered officials. His praise for Mugabe and his ongoing leadership of the country was delivered primarily in English. This introduction was followed by a Christian prayer, by Pastor Petunia Chiriseri[210]. Her sermon was a mixture of high praise for the president and the people of Zimbabwe, excerpts from the bible and impassioned warnings of the dangers of Satan, intervention by foreign countries and homosexuality. Pastor Chiriseri wove several languages into her sermon, including Shona, Ndebele, Chichewa, Tswana and English. Throughout these renditions, Mugabe sat slumped in his leather armchair, chewing on a variety of unidentified snacks, his eyes closed for long periods.

A prop resembling a podium was assembled on the main stage in front of a collection of microphones. Made up of a desk-like wooden cube with a small table perched on top of it, this was to serve as the site for Mugabe's traditional independence-day speech. When Mugabe stood up, his wife lent forward to shift the table, with the flower arrangement, to one side. As Mugabe moved forward, a uniformed and decorated officer stepped up beside him, placing a document on the makeshift podium. Mugabe's speech, delivered primarily in

[209] P. Murava, The Patriot Newspaper, 20 April 2017 - https://www.thepatriot.co.zw/old_posts/drive-to-improve-ease-of-doing-business/ - retrieved 29 April 2018
[210] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SqyvTFKrO0c - retrieved 8 May 2018

English[211], reminded the audience of the role that his government and his party, ZANU-PF, played in the emancipation of the people of Zimbabwe. The speech, by some accounts a practiced formula (Willems 2013), offered a broad stroke report of the state of the nation. He touched on specific aspects, including the state of economics, agriculture, education, health and industry. In concluding, he reiterated a call for sovereignty and pleaded for vigilance against the putative threat of re-colonisation (Mugabe, 2017 – independence-day speech). The public-address system that broadcast Mugabe's speech had worthy competition with the sounds of the audience[212]. The end of the speech marked the transition to the final act in this performance.

2.1.4 Act III / The mass displays

The activation of the collection of armed forces marked the beginning of the final act of the show. This formation, who had stood patiently in the centre of the grassy oval for the duration of the speeches, fired into action. The four groups were dressed in the uniforms of their respective forces. The male soldiers were dressed in dark green suits decorated with gold braid and trim, with bright yellow berets perched on their heads. The female soldiers wore similar costume but with a different type of hat. The air force women and men wore slate blue costumes with matching peak-caps. The officers of the prison service, both women and men, wore costumes in a darker hue of slate blue verging on grey. Both groups' costumes had decorative details in gold.

The policemen's dark beige costumes and peaked caps provided a striking contrast to the policewomen, who wore deep teal blue costumes with matching hats. All the forces, women and men, wore a jacket and trouser combination, and in their hands, all gloved in pristine white, they each held a rifle. The Air Force Band's costume was, by comparison, most eclectic. A section of the band wore slate blue suits with matching peaked caps. Interspersed within the formation were another section wearing dark green suits, with gold tape trim along the jacket and down the sides of the trousers. They wore Stetson-like hats, turned up on both sides. Some of the musicians wore white gloves, while others went barehanded. The instruments comprised a walking orchestra of glistening trumpets, large

[211] https://www.pressreader.com/zimbabwe/the-herald-zimbabwe/20170419/281535110865644 - retrieved 11 April 2018 and https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cO6vGZ6SxHQ - retrieved 8 May 2018
[212] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cO6vGZ6SxHQ - retrieved 8 May 2018

white tubas, silver drums on sashes, golden saxophones, flugelhorns, coronets and brass trombones.

Noteworthy in this Air Force Marching Band was a single performer[213] with a set of rattles reminiscent of the traditional *hosho*[214] in each hand. In contrast to the measured formality of the rest of the marching band, this performer, although dressed identically to his colleagues, performed a spirited and elastic dance. His passionate and distinctive gyrations registered as atypical in comparison to the rest of his group.

The collection of forces performed their march, again slow and quick time, to music played by the Police Marching Band. The precision of the performance, evidently well-practiced, impressed the audience. As they marched past the cluster of marquees, they effected a dramatic head-turn sideways to face the gathered dignitaries. Having completed their presentation, this mass marching formation then proceeded out of the stadium to rousing cheers and applause from the audience – evidently delighted by their fervour.

Then, a group of actors dressed in guerrilla-gear – dishevelled, motely clothing, together with another actor dressed in a suit, ran onto the field. They carried set pieces with which they quickly assembled a freestanding shed. Thereafter, the 'guerrillas' acted out a form of menacing drunken skit. Over the roof of the stadium flew in an army helicopter, from which abseiled four soldiers down to the grounds of the stadium. The soldiers together with the other actors then performed a short skit which involved the rescue of the suited actor from the shed and the 'killing' of the guerrillas. The helicopter flew back into the stadium and hovered as a couple of the soldiers and the suited actor were lifted to safety. The remaining soldiers with the 'dead' guerrillas gathered up the set and rushed off the field. Another performer dressed in a cloth-tasselled full suit then sprinted across the field, from one exit to the next.

A large orange arrow, made of lengths of fabric, was laid down on the empty field. This distinctive marker was put in place for a team of parachutists that were going to land. The airplane, a barely visible, tiny dot high in the sky, became evident as the twelve parachutes

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[213] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nwrnHpYbFD0 timecode: 1:01, - retrieved 5 May 2018
[214] 'gourd rattles filled with seeds', C. Dutiro and K. Howard (eds), '*Zimbabwean Mbira Music on an International Stage: Chartwell Dutiro's Life in Music*', SOAS Musicology Series, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, UK, 2007. Pg. 43

blossomed into sight. The audience watched patiently as the parachutists floated and zigzagged down towards the stadium. The parachutes were a medley of designs, some with the Zimbabwe flag, some with logos of large companies, the rest a mixture of colours. Some of the parachutists had ribbon-like strips attached to their feet, which trailed elegantly as they descended. They landed one by one, each attempting to land on or close to the cloth-stripped orange arrow laid down on the field. With each landing, the audience reacted excitedly. Once all the parachutists had landed, they gathered in a loose line-up, parachutes bundled large under their arms, and walked forward. As they reached the edge of the field, they took their bows only in the direction of the dignitaries sitting under the tented marquees. This acknowledging of the dignitaries shifted their role from characters of the performance to now being members of the audience[215]. The performances that followed this were, then, solely focused in their direction, and by doing so, they ignored the attending audiences on the stands on either side of these marquees.

The field was then prepared for what was listed in the programme as 'mass displays', which began with a performance of traditional dance. A large group of women and men crouched in lines at the edge of the field, all of them facing the cluster of marquees under which sat the dignitaries. From both sides, groups of men ran towards the centre of the field and began their dance.

Figure 16

[215] This comment is an acknowledgement of the shifting logics of this performance. It is necessary in regard to the aim of reading this ceremony through a performance lens.

These men were dressed in black shorts with skirts made of animal tails. They each sported crown-like feathered headgear. They performed their dance using animal-skin covered shields and spears. On their arms and calves they wore white fringed bands, which accentuated the drama of their dancing. Once they completed their introductory 'solo', they were joined by the rest of the troupe. The women's costumes comprised coloured vests, again synonymous with the Zimbabwe flag, and frilled skirts, not all uniform, made of several layers of black, white, yellow, green and patterned black and white fabric. The other male performers in the troupe wore costumes comprised also of vests in the flag colours and varying styles of shorts. Some were in plain and short black, others in medium length and baggy black-and-white patterned fabric shorts. At points in their vibrant dancing, the arm- and calf-bands and some of the feathered headgear fell off. Their performance was a rendition of a generic traditional dance. A select group of the women came forward to perform their solo, using grass brooms, mutsvairo, as props. Notable during this performance was the background image – large scale posters declaring 'Embrace Our Cultural Diversity' and 'Uphold Unhu Ubuntu Values'.

Figure 17

The entertainment continued with a performance by a large group of young girls dressed in bright red and yellow coloured t-shirts and short white wrap skirts. They were accompanied by an equally large group of young boys dressed in yellow tops and trousers[216]. Together, their spirited performance took the form of coordinated marching, forming various patterns, shapes and words. At one point, the young girls unfurled strips of fabric in green, yellow, red, white and black – another element of this show in colours matching the Zimbabwe flag. With these strips of cloth, they made different formations ranging from large scale rectangles of striped colours to circular tented shapes. The boys used white sticks as props, twisting and turning them. These rods were used to form grid-like structures to hold a select group up high.

[216] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=THGPI0z2ukc - retrieved 18 May 2018

Figure 18

On the stadium stand behind them, a large-scale coordinated display rendered with various coloured cards was orchestrated by hundreds of school children. They formed a kinetic backdrop for the vibrant performance on the field. Their display, made out of large-scale flip-books, formed pictures, words and numbers in celebration of Zimbabwe's thirty-seven years of independence[217].

Figure 19

The final instalment of the entertainment was a choreographed display of combat and acrobatic skill performed by the police and prison forces. Dressed in vests and tracksuit pants, the performers entertained the audience with dexterous displays on their motorcycles, riding and standing simultaneously. Speeding around the stage area in multiples, they drew enthusiastic cheers from the audience.

This was followed by a dressage-like procession with police-dogs. Advancing in unison, in a line at first, the trainers and their dogs marched up and down the stage area. Then, they scrambled into a grid-like formation and performed a coordinated dance-like swapping of trainers and dogs. Their segment of the show ended with a series of acrobatics – jumping, somersaults, human pyramid-like formations and athletic skill. The end of the performance was marked by the exit of the various dignitaries. Their departure, duly announced by the show's narrator, was discreet and, in many ways, less dramatic than their entrance. The Mugabes exited the stadium in their armoured vehicle, and the remaining dignitaries exited on foot, as they arrived.

[217] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lwjfWXVyeNw - retrieved 11 April 2018

2.2 '"Hey you!" … Indigenise!' – Interpellating Indigenisation

Since 1987, the most high-profile performance of independence has taken place at the National Sports Stadium in Harare[218]. Analysis (Willems, 2013) has shown that this performance is an iterative medley of acts, executed with practiced verve and precision year after year. The visual registers of the performance, directed primarily through degrees of regimented displays – as described in the section preceding – challenge a conventional understanding of notions of freedom and/or liberation. I will examine the overt formality and militaristic styling of the event in more detail in the section that follows so as to build a theoretical reading of this concert through performance theory. For now, I draw attention to two particular framing principles of Althusser's notion of an Ideological State Apparatus, namely, the practice of training consent and that of manufacturing conviction (Sharma and Gupta, 2006:92)[219]. These concepts resonate in relation to both the iterative nature of this performance and its distinctive styling. The repetitive nature of this celebration of emancipation from colonial rule, over a period of 37 years, with little to no divergence from its regimented form, arguably speaks to the notions that Althusser theorises. Evidence of how this is inculcated is explained in more detail as this section develops. Going one step further, this research posits that these Althusserian concepts are further compounded, strategically, by the introduction of the legislated definition of an indigenous Zimbabwean. This definition foregrounds elements of marginality and temporality as key to the legislated validation of indigeneity in contemporary Zimbabwe – 'disadvantaged by unfair discrimination…before the 18th of April 1980' (IEEA, 2007:2). This section will be used to detail the rationale for this argument.

At the outset of 'Gender is Burning: Questions of Appropriation and Subversion' (Butler 1997: 381), Judith Butler examines 'Louis Althusser's notion of interpellation' (*Ibid.*). This concept speaks of the delivery and response to a specific calling, a 'hailing', that consequentially sets up a particular dynamic between authority and subject. In her analysis,

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[218] There are similar performances held all over the country. Each of these shows follows a similar set script, in line with the main ceremony in Harare. Absent, however, are the larger elements such as the aircraft fly-pasts, the sizes of the mass displays and the numbers and variety of marching armed forces. Evidence of this can be found in press articles from various smaller cities and towns and videos on *YouTube*. Each performance, in themselves, are a fascinating window into how the performance aspects are both mimed and adapted to suit the situation. This analysis is not possible in the scope of this research study, but worthy to note for future research.

[219] A. Sharma and A. Gupta (eds), '*The Anthropology of the State: A Reader*', Maldon, Oxford and Victoria, Blackwell Publishing, 2006, Pg. 92, and K. Anderson, M. Domosh, S. Pile and N. Thift, (eds), *The Handbook of Cultural Geography*, (London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi, Sage, 20013), from Chapter 14, E. Probyn, *The Spatial Imperative of Subjectivity*, p. 291-292

Butler points to both the 'formative' and 'performative' action of interpellation and its association to 'the juridical and social formation of the subject' (*Ibid.*: emphasis in original). In essence, she argues that the unconscious logics that condition subject formation, 'subjectivation'(*Ibid.*), in relation to authority can be 'performative' (*Ibid.*: emphasis in original). The iterative nature of this 'hailing'(*Ibid.*) results in an almost Pavlovian response. Butler's extrapolation of Althusser's theory, albeit in the context of gender performativity, offers an unorthodox and generative infrastructure to examine the impact of the consistent and authoritative calls to indigenise (Ndakaripa 2016)[220] that followed the introduction of the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act (2007). Additionally, Althusser's concept of Ideological State Apparatus (Sharma and Gupta, 2006:92) offer a broader filter through which to hypothesise what could be being hailed through the various elements of this performance. More directly, remembering the focus of this investigation, assuming indigenisation is a form of interpellation - that which is being hailed - what evidence of cultural indigeneity is then evident within the performance elements at the 2017 independence-day celebrations? With this being the case, an individual, 'you'[221], is being subjectivated by an authoritative hailing, 'Hey' – that is subject to the authority of both the law and the government. Interpellation, in this instance, manifests as a particular and a conditioned response to being called by an established authority, '"Hey you!" has the effect of binding the law to the one who is being hailed.' (Butler 1997:381)

The recognition of interpellation as a political strategy in Zimbabwe is reasoned by Ndlovu-Gatsheni in his analysis of post-independence national identity (2009), through research that exposes 'how the nationalist leaders tried to construct the individual called 'Zimbabwean' and how the subject responded to these processes' (*Ibid.*:29). His investigation hypothesises the strategic use of interpellation and subjectivation in 'creat[ing] a durable and stable national identity' (2009:30), through the use of 'regime-intellectuals', 'culture-based debates', 'state-sponsored annual 'galas' and 'music-bashes', and 'patriotic history' (*Ibid.*). These efforts have intensified in the lead-up to and the aftermath of consecutive election periods since the early 2000s (*Ibid.*) and are associated with the need to confirm both an ideological homogeny and the political hegemony by the ruling party, ZANU-PF.

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[220] M. Ndakaripa, '*State, Civil Society and the Politics of Economic Indigenisation in Zimbabwe, 1980 to 2016*', PhD Dissertation, Centre for African Studies, University of The Free State, 2016

[221] The reference here is made to the policeman calling a person in the street – Butler 1997:381

The crafting of this concept of a homogeneous national identity was built on a particular reading of precolonial and colonial history that was put together and supported by academics, cultural historians and entrepreneurial supporters of ZANU-PF (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009:346). According to Moore (2008:32)[222], these efforts failed and resulted in a tenuous hegemony at best. Moore's analysis details the various tensions that existed within the party from its inception, that challenged any notions of 'unity of a hegemonic sort' (*Ibid.*). His analysis may have been relevant for that time. However, after suffering major losses in the first round of the 2008 elections[223], the full force of ZANU-PF's hegemonic might became evident. The coordinated reign of terror that followed is well documented (Raftopoulos and Eppel 2008, Mlambo 2013, Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009)[224]. The resounding victory of ZANU-PF's presidential candidate Robert Mugabe in the second round of elections, orchestrated through a systematic campaign of violence and intimidation, echoes Althusser's conception of Repressive State Apparatus (Sharma and Gupta, 2006:92)[225].

Further acknowledged in Ndlovu-Gatsheni's analysis is a parallel strategy employed by the opposition party, Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), in the lead-up to the 2008 elections, 'frantically trying to "re-interpellate" and "re-subjectivate" (*Ibid.*) citizens towards their notions of good governance. Eschewing the authoritarian rhetoric of ZANU-PF, the now-late Morgan Tsvangirai, then leader of the MDC, put forward a people-centric image[226] and 'argued that the people wanted total change and not merely partial reform, …new clothes…[rather than]… patching up tattered clothes' (Campaigning for Zimbabwean presidential election, 2008). These efforts had some impact, going by the results of the first round of elections in 2008. Ultimately, however, Ndlovu-Gatsheni's analysis declares a failure by both political parties to 'construct the individual subject called "Zimbabwean"'

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[222] D. Moore, '*Coercion, Consent, Context: Operation Murambatsvina and ZANU-PF's Illusory Quest for Hegemony,* in L. Vambe (ed.), *The Hidden Dimensions of Operation Murambatsvina in Zimbabwe* (Harare and Pretoria: Weaver Press and African Institute of South Africa, 2008), p. 32., in S. J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *Do 'Zimbabweans' Exist?: Trajectories of Nationalism, National Identity Formation and Crisis in a Postcolonial State*, African Development Vol. 3, Peter Lang, 2009, p. 31.

[223] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zimbabwean_general_election,_2008 - retrieved 2 May 2018

[224] See also press: https://www.theindependent.co.zw/2008/04/11/zanu-pfs-campaign-of-terror-spreads/; https://www.voazimbabwe.com/a/a-13-56-74-2008-04-30-voa53-68976897/1469974.html; https://www.thezimbabwedaily.com/news/47121-mugabe-rewards-officers-for-brutal-2008-campaign.html and B. Raftopoulos and S. Eppel, '*Desperately Seeking Sanity: What Prospects for a New Beginning in Zimbabwe*', Journal of East African Studies, Vo. 2, Issue 3, 2008

[225] A. Sharma and A. Gupta (eds), '*The Anthropology of the State: A Reader*', Maldon, Oxford and Victoria, Blackwell Publishing, 2006, Pg. 92

[226] Campaign adverts - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8E8zmgSFTJs and https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h2LTi5saQ6o - retrieved 19 May 2018

(emphasis in original, 2009:29), citing mass disengagement by citizens of Zimbabwe, 'from the state and the national project as the economic and political crisis deepened' (*Ibid.*).

Ndlovu-Gatsheni's assertion of failure is an interesting finding, since it contradicts the conjecture of the implicit authority of interpellation, and, furthermore, that of a conditioned subjectivated response. Ndlovu-Gatsheni's finding is similar to conclusions drawn by Moore (Moore, 2008), yet it is unclear how both analysts incorporate the consequences of the 2008 elections and the terror campaign that followed the first round of elections. Analysis of Althusser's theory of interpellation, filtered through the terrain of cultural dynamics, of the second round of the 2008 elections, and then through the period of the Government of National Unity (GNU)[227] and up to present day, is, as yet, largely underexplored. It has recently found fragmentary extrapolation through a psychological terrain (Piotrowska, 2017: 71-73)[228], but, considerations of its influence through material culture exposes a void that needs attending to.

So, how could a strategic deployment of interpellation, within this terrain, be read in contemporary Zimbabwe? What is being hailed? A response could lie in imagining a combination of Althusser's Repressive and Ideological State Apparatuses. This is imagined as the apparatus of power, as wielded by ZANU-PF, being a combination of both an overtly repressive force and a subtle and persistent ideological coaxing (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009: 358, 359). The latter, it is proposed in this hypothesis, is the call for indigenisation, to indigenise. Through the legislation of a mechanism for indigenisation, played out as 'a deliberate involvement of indigenous Zimbabweans in the economic activities of the country' (IEEA 2007:2), the ruling party, proposed to institute a process that would deliver on the promise of economic and political integration (Ndakaripa 2016)[229]. In her chapter, 'The mobilisation of indigeneity', Fisher extends the reading of how the potential of indigenisation was framed. She suggests that the broader aim was imagined under 'the

[227] C. Dziva, B. Dube and P. Manatsa, '*A Critique of the Government of National Unity and Human Rights Protection in Zimbabwe*', International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Invention ISSN (Online): 2319 – 7722, ISSN (Print): 2319 – 7714 www.ijhssi.org Volume 2 Issue 8, August 2013, pp.83-92, http://www.ijhssi.org/papers/v2(8)/Version-3/N0283083092.pdf - retrieved 19 May 2018
[228] A. Piotrowska, '*Black and White: Cinema, politics and the arts in Zimbabwe*', Oxon, Routledge, 2017
[229] M. Ndakaripa, '*State, Civil Society and the Politics of Economic Indigenisation in Zimbabwe, 1980 to 2016*', PhD Dissertation, Centre for African Studies, University of The Free State, 2016.

guise of re-Africanisation,' and that the objective was 'to get rid of Euro-centric ideas and institutions in favour of centring that which was local' (Fisher 2010: 141)[230].

However, the impact of the introduction of this bill across the cultural domain has yet to find considered analysis. It is with this background that an investigation of the manifestation of interpellative influences within the performance logics of 'independence', at the annual Independence-Day celebrations, is being suggested. The visualisation of the independence-day performance, then, is an essential site for exploration for this reading. This high-profile ritual, advertised as a public performance to celebrate freedom from colonisation, becomes an interesting nexus to examine the connections and consequences that play out between the notion of interpellation and notions of indigeneity.

Indigenisation, broadly speaking, is seen as one of the mainstays of Mugabe's legacy (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2015, Andreasson 2010, Marazanye 2016)[231]. It is in relation to this reputation and the visual registers of the independence-day performance that Althusser's theory contributes a provocative troubling of post-independent notions of identity. Extrapolating Butler's reading of the formative and performative within the mechanism of interpellation suggests the presence of a framing call—a call to—and the response to that call—a reaction. Superimposing this suggestion onto the independence-day celebrations renders a productive stochasticity and complexity, when viewed through the context of indigeneity.

The conflation of the concept of independence with a register of indigeneity is both experimental and potentially logical. The backing rationale being used is that of a particular prop from the 2017 performance – the banner 'ZIMBABWE WILL NEVER BE A COLONY AGAIN' – coupled with the proposition of an Aristotelian syllogistic logic. Underpinning the latter proposition is the understanding that, in 2017, independence in Zimbabwe is defined by the declaration of 'NEVER BE[ing] A COLONY AGAIN'. Therefore, if we understand that all Zimbabweans are independent, it follows that Zimbabweans are, then, not colonial. So, in

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[230] J. Fisher, '*Pioneers, Settler, Aliens, Exiles: The decolonisation of white identity in Zimbabwe*', Canberra, Australian National University Press, 2010

[231] S. J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, '*Mugabeism?: History, Politics and Power in Zimbabwe*', New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, S. Adreasson, '*Confronting Settler Legacy: Indigenisation and Transformation in South Africa and Zimbabwe*', Political Geography, Vol. 29, Issue 8, November 2010, pp. 424 – 433 and K. Marazanye, '*An Analysis of Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment in Zimbabwe*', MA Thesis, Faculty of Economic and Management Science, University of Stellenbosch, December 2016.

continuing this conceptual trajectory, might this signal an opportunity to explore what the conception of indigeneity could be? This query could prompt an alternative examination of indigenousness through an ontological key. Following this logic, what, then, is being hailed? It is this provocation, the notion of not being colonial and/or being indigenous, that is being investigated through the performance mechanisms of this influential ceremony. Dunn identifies this as 'ontological uncertainty of the postmodern/postcolonial condition' (Dunn, 2009:114)[232].

In Zimbabwe, the legislation that currently defines an indigenous person decrees being 'disadvantaged' (IEEA, 2007:2) as one of the key registers of indigeneity. So, in the various calls to indigenise, might this adjective constitute the specific calling/hailing – the interpellation? Via the logic-frame put forward, this research suggests that it translates, tacitly, as a call to perform 'disadvantage', and thereby does the subtle work of Althusser's Ideological State Apparatus. While Ndlovu-Gatsheni's analysis (2009:29-33) does not include any overt declaration of strategic interpellation by either ZANU-PF or MDC, his analysis of the actions of both these political parties does infer the possibility. Additionally, recalling Coates's argument in recognition of the framing of the indigenisation diktat in Zimbabwe – he questions, 'Is being indigenous simply to have been the victim of colonisation?' (Coates 2004:1).

Ndlovu-Gatsheni's analysis of the building of a post-independent, culturally homogeneous[233] national identity encompasses 'some key contours of Mugabeism[234]' (2009:264). He lists the tenets of 'Mugabeism' as 'nativism', 'nationalism', 'patriarchy', 'African memory' and 'cultural nationalism' (2009:264-289). As his analysis continues with an extrapolation of 'Mbembe's concepts of Afro-radicalism and nativism' (*Ibid.*), Ndlovu-Gatsheni alludes to the tenuous rationale deployed by Mugabe and the ruling party in

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[232] K. Dunn, '*Sons of the Soil' and Contemporary State Making: Autochthony, Uncertainty and Political Violence in Africa',* Third World Quarterly, 30 (1), 2009

[233] In reference to Mugabe's speech calling for, among other things, '*cultural* homogeneity' - B. Raftopoulos and A. Mlambo (eds), *Becoming Zimbabwe, A History from the Pre-Colonial Period to 2008*, (Harare, Weaver Press, 2009), p. xviii quoting N. Bhebe and T. O. Ranger (eds.), *The Historical Dimensions of Democracy and Human Rights in Zimbabwe, Volume One: Pre-Colonial and Colonial Legacies* (Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications, 2001) p. xxv.

[234] '*What is termed 'Mugabeism' is a summation of a constellation of political controversies, political behaviour, political ideas, utterances, rhetoric and actions that have crystallised around Mugabe*.' - S. J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, '*Making Sense of Mugabeism in Local and Global Politics: 'So Blair, Keep Your England and Let Me Keep My Zimbabwe*', Third World Quarterly, Vol. 30, No. 6, pp. 1139-1158, Taylor & Francis Ltd. 2009, Accessed: 20-04-2018, and S. J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, Mugabeism?: History, Politics, and Power in Zimbabwe, USA, Palgrave Macmillan, 2015

service of an apparent process towards postcolonial emancipation. '"Nativism', Mbembe argues, is built on notions of 'authenticity' and 'Afro-radicalism… with finding a way of breaking away from imperialism, neo-colonialism, dependence, and neo-liberal cultural imperialism' (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009:265). Juxtaposing this rationale against the broader project of indigenisation highlights a number of dilemmas that become particularly evident within the performative elements of the independence-day celebration. This paradox is strengthened by the ceremonial entrance of the dignitaries, described earlier as the cast, under the 'ZIMBABWE WILL NEVER BE A COLONY AGAIN' banner.

Acknowledging 'Mugabeism' as a crucial framework that informs the architecture of post-independent Zimbabwean identity, thinking about notions of indigeneity through the above-listed tenets of 'Mugabeism' offers a useful palette through which to comprehend interpellation as a strategic, albeit hypothetical, imposition of Althusser's notion of Ideological State Apparatus[235]. Each of the tenets of 'Mugabeism' comes complete with a philosophical framework, backed up by a seemingly robust and purposefully framed historiographical rationale[236]. These tenets were implemented, in various degrees, with an undeniable rigour that only political expediency can demand. Noteworthy too, in Ndlovu-Gatsheni's analysis, is his linking of the concept of nativism to Žižek's recognition of 'national paranoia' (2009:12)[237], explained as a leader's anxiety around 'a nation's doubtful completeness and authenticity' (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009:1140)[238]. This anxiety is evident in Mugabe's independence-day speech of 2017, and in a number of previous public addresses. Could this 'paranoia' be a way to read the overtly militaristic styling of the independence ceremony (Willems 2013)? And, if so, what can be read within the intention of celebrating independence?

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[235] K. Anderson, M. Domosh, S. Pile and N. Thift, (eds), *The Handbook of Cultural Geography*, (London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi, Sage, 20013), from Chapter 14, E. Probyn, *The Spatial Imperative of Subjectivity*, p. 291-292

[236] Quote: Mugabe ruling by historiography – Foreword by T. Ranger 2004 in B.M. Tendi, '*Making History in Mugabe's Zimbabwe: Politics, Intellectuals, and the Media*', Oxford, Bern, Berlin, Bruxelles, Frankfurt, New York and Wien, Peter Lang, 2010 p. xvii and T. Ranger, (2004) '*Nationalist historiography, patriotic history and the history of the nation: the struggle over the past in Zimbabwe*', Journal of Southern African Studies, 30: 2, 215—234

[237] S Zizek, The Sublime Object of Ideology, London and New York, Verso. 1989

[238] S. J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, '*Making Sense of Mugabeism in Local and Global Politics: 'So Blair, Keep Your England and Let Me Keep My Zimbabwe*', Third World Quarterly, Vol. 30, No. 6, pp. 1139-1158, Taylor & Francis Ltd. 2009, Accessed: 20-04-2018

The other notable descriptor in the legislation of indigenousness is temporal – 'before the 18th April, 1980'[239]. The open-endedness of this temporal descriptor troubles the application of interpellation in a rich and productive way, given the specific interest this study has in the long past. This interest draws on both Hegel and Foucault's (Hegel 1899, 1956, 2004 and Foucault 1988)[240] validation of history as vital repository of knowledge building. Capitalizing on both philosophers' interpellation, and recognizing the scope of creativity afforded this study within the arts space, an abstraction of this temporal descriptor could point to the possibility for a longer-reaching and potentially imaginative gaze into Zimbabwe's long past, for a broader range of evidence of cultural indigenous practices.

Again, drawing on the acknowledged subtlety of Ideological State Apparatus as an influencing and conviction-manufacturing tool, this troubling is intended to connect the recognition of a politically-framed history (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009) that has served the ruling party with the limited set of notions that manifest as indigenous in Zimbabwe[241]. A key example plays out in what is choreographed as 'traditional dance' at this independence-day concert. The generic performance that is presented, against a backdrop announcing the 'Celebration of our Cultural Diversity'[242], eschews evidence of the cultural diversity of communities from the long past. This genericism is particularly palpable in the way the traditional chiefs are homogenised for this ceremony. Knowing that they each represent a distinct culture with cultural and performative idiosyncrasies, their uniform presentation confirms, to some degree, Mugabe's call for cultural homogeneity. These findings reveal an opportunity to foster active and dynamic connections to the discursive and diverse cultural manifestations of indigeneity in association with a long past (Mawere, Chiwaura and Thondhlana 2015).

So, what notions of indigeneity are being hailed through the performative elements of the independence-day celebration? What work could an Ideological State Apparatus be doing in this instance? If this performance, as advertised, is intended as a call – a hailing – to celebrate independence from colonisation, and if one notion of independence is, evidently,

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[239] IEEA 2007:2 and also the day on which independence is celebrated in Zimbabwe.
[240] G. W. F. Hegel, '*The Philosophy of History*', New York, Dover Publications, 1956 & 2004; M. Foucault, '*Madness and Civilization:* A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason', Vintage, 1988
[241] See Chapter 1.
[242] See '*Zimbabwe Celebrating37 years of Independence in Style*', timecode": 01.19. 263chat News – video available upon request.

framed by the idea of not or never being a colony again, can celebrating independence be staged as a way to promote and celebrate notions of indigeneity? And is the hailing intention of this performance of indigeneity, as understood via an Althusserian construct, inseparably linked to the legislation? If so, how does the 'Hey you!' register, in this circumstance? And who or what is being called into subjectivation? Can this calling be both an 'effect' (*Ibid*.) as much as an affect, in a performative sense? And finally, with regard to this extrapolation of interpellation, what could be the automated conditioned response?

Butler's analysis recognises two distinct entities in the act of interpellation as understood within the broader theory that Althusser ideates: the caller, who/which institutes authority, and the called, who/which complies through a conditioned subjectivation. In the case of the independence-day celebration, how might these two entities manifest? A conditioned response would offer an obvious, if not banal, response, that would position government as the authority and the audience/people as those being called into a subject state. But there is an opportunity to trouble the obvious, to explore a reversal of the obvious in search of an abstracted complexity and, potentially, a poetic speculation, so as offer an alternate reading of post-independence in Zimbabwe. Shifting the authority of 'State', within Althusser's Ideological State Apparatus, towards a 'mode or condition of being' (Merriam-Webster ND)[243] and, even further, towards an action, as if to declare, offers the possibility of productive slippage. An example of this could involve rendering the audience of this independence-day performance, by their presence, as the ones who state a tacit hailing - their authority being framed by a growing need[244] for conviction of the supposedly liberated state and State.

This conceptual detour, which would challenge the recognised hierarchy, reversing the flow of command, would then allow for re-framing of the plethora of performers involved in this event. This would encompass not only all the musicians, dancers, parachutists and acrobats, but also the president, his cabinet, the gathered dignitaries and the various coteries accompanying and guiding them in and out and around and about. Viewed through this detour, they, the apparent leaders and architects of the State and the state of emancipation, become the ones who are obliged to, in an Althusserian construct, deliver

[243] https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/state - retrieved 22 May 2018

[244] See chapter 1 for rationale of the growing frustration of a new generation towards nationalist politics and empty promises of freedom. This is also reflected in the information gathered from the focus groups. See Appendix 1 for this evidence.

the subjectivated, conditioned response. Processed through this hypothetical twist, the performance dynamics of this event provide a key opportunity to examine and experiment with the roles of caller and called. This play allows a creative metabolisation of who/what is subject to which/what authority in the case of this independence-day concert. This processing will contribute new insight and new imagings regarding the call to indigenise, to perform indigeneity, within the theoretical framework of interpellation.

This analysis shows the multiple paradoxes that a deeper reading of the performance elements of this ceremony could present when examined through an abstracted lens, such as the notion of interpellation. Filtering this ceremony through this alternative theoretical framework reveals a curious and productive volatility. As has been made evident, this shifted focus suggests an instability within the emancipatory intention of the independence-day performance. Multiple questions then surface about how to read the call to celebrate liberation or freedom as it is manifested through the staged performances of military prowess, colonial subjectivation and apparent mimicry. The questions, given the narrative of new beginnings in Zimbabwe that follows the unseating of Mugabe, demand a deeper reading, so as to contribute new thinking of how notions of indigeneity, abstracted through notions of post-colonial emancipation, can register within this seminal yet challenging event.

2.3 Theorising the show - elements of Independence Day 2017

This section is directed by two particular aspects within McAuley's framing of what a performance is or can be – 'analysis of the place and temporality' and 'the performance contract' (McAuley, 2009:45). McAuley's justification alludes to the problem of discursivity, or as he puts it, 'fields without limits' (*Ibid*.) that activate the terrain of performance studies, shifting what can be seen as a challenge towards a set of productive opportunities. So, guided by that call, the aim of this section is to filter discrete elements from the independence-day concert through the distinct performance theory frameworks of Schechner, Goffman and Bakhtin. Using this strategy, the objective is to build and contribute increased depth and complexity, so as to enrich current debates in the terrain of post-independent Zimbabwean identity (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009, Muzondidya 2009, Raftopoulos and Mlambo 2008, Chuimbu and Musemwa 2012, Chigumadzi 2018, Tshuma 2018).

2.3.1 Schechner's categories

Schechner's categorical elucidations of performing[245] – 'being, doing, showing doing and explaining showing doing' (2013:28)[246] – offer a framework to think through the independence-day ceremony as a performance. He describes, 'explaining showing doing', as being 'performance studies' (*Ibid*.). This umbrella category, essentially the work of 'critics and scholars' (*Ibid*.), outlines the methodology, via the categories of 'being, doing, showing doing', to examine this pivotal ceremony in relation to particular registers of indigeneity – the core interest of this investigation.

Beginning with the notion of 'being', which Schechner interprets as 'a philosophical category pointing to whatever people theorise is the "ultimate reality."' (*Ibid*.), what 'ultimate reality' is 'being' pointed to in this ceremony? Understood in the context of the framing and titling of the performance, it is a public concert of 'being' independent. If this is the case, what philosophy of 'being' independent is made manifest within the performance elements of this ceremony? Ndlovu-Gatsheni's extrapolation of the projects and processes instituted to build a national Zimbabwean identity, examined in the preceding section, postulates a potential philosophical intention, a set of key informants being the tenets of 'Mugabeism' (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009: 264-289) coupled with the broader aims of decolonisation.

These ideas tie in with aspirations expressed as far back as 1959[247] under the title, 'Africa: The Dynamics of Change'. Listed in Ade Ajayi's essay, 'Expectations of Independence', the ideas centred around aims 'to throw off the imperialist yoke, and end discrimination and exploitation of man by man; they wanted freedom, and respect for the dignity of the black man' (Ade Ajayi, 1982:2). This is reflected, somewhat succinctly, in a particular prop used in this performance, hung above the entrance to the staging area for the show: the large-scale banner that reads, 'ZIMBABWE NEVER BEING A COLONY AGAIN'. This shifts the inquiry into a more focused terrain – how is 'being' independent achieved in this performance? The various narratives that are presented within this performance provide fruitful ground to explore. A key narrative is the performance-framing monologue delivered by the main

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[245] *'…being, doing, showing doing and explaining showing doing*' - R. Schechner, *Performance Studies: An Introduction: Third Edition*, Oxon & New York, Routledge, 2013
[246] http://uhimik.ru/33319/33319.pdf - retrieved 20 March 2018
[247] 'Representative Government and National Progress', Ibadan, Nigeria, March 16-22, 1959

protagonist, Robert Mugabe. The content of this speech, analysed as iterative by Willems's examination of past independence-day performances (2013:24)[248], was, as it has been since the onset of this event, part laudatory, part overview, part memorial and part warning.

Read as a script, the content of this soliloquy suggests some response to the question being posed. Mugabe began with hearty congratulations of 'our country's 37th Independence Anniversary. To a free and sovereign Zimbabwe'. This was followed by a plea for Zimbabweans to be mindful and respectful of the sacrifices made by 'our people, trained in the battlefield or in "keeps", detention centres, prisons, or even villages, [who] endured untold suffering at the hands of the colonisers'. He paid 'tribute to all our heroes and heroines… [who] ushered in our National Independence in 1980… and now we enjoy our freedom and independence'. There was a mention of the 'Land Reform Programme' which delivered 'back our land… now… under our full control… to work on, build on and profit from.' He asserted the collective responsibility of all Zimbabweans to 'translate into true meaning that freedom, sovereignty and independence.'

The narrative then shifted to a quasi-report card listing his government's achievements and progress from various sectors, all delivered as accomplishments under the umbrella of celebrating independence. These missives reported updates on 'development programmes', 'socio-economic policies', the recently launched 'Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation (ZimAsset)'[249], 'agriculture', 'mining', 'manufacturing', 'tourism', 'roads projects', 'Micro-, Small- and Medium Enterprises', 'since January 2016,… a 15-month period without load shedding'[250], the state of the health sector, education, sports and housing. There was a specific nod to the 'Zimbabwe Defence Forces (ZDF) and all other security forces for… safeguarding the country's national sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence, peace and stability.' In concluding, Mugabe issued a warning, calling for vigilance against an 'enemy [that] is ever ready to pounce on any signs of laxity' and closed by wishing 'Happy 37th Birthday Zimbabwe!' (Mugabe 2017)[251].

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[248] Willem's use of words such as '*normally*', '*often*' inform this reading of iteration. This is coupled with a comparative survey with speeches from previous years.

[249] Launched in 2013. See http://www.chronicle.co.zw/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/Zim-Asset.pdf - retrieved 21 May 2018

[250] This is in reference to the continual supply of electricity. The generalisation as disputable however. See http://www.financialgazette.co.zw/power-shortages-criplling-economic-development/ - retrieved 21 May 2018

[251] Address by His Excellency the President and Commander-in-Chief of the Zimbabwe Defence Forces, Comrade R. G. Mugabe, on the occasion of Zimbabwe's 37th Independence Celebrations, 18th April 2017. Available at https://www.pressreader.com/zimbabwe/the-herald-zimbabwe/20170419/281535110865644 - retrieved 13 May 2018

Understood through this narrative, 'being' (Schechner 2013:28) independent is characterised as a series of statements that detail a general well-doing by government for its people, interspersed with self-congratulatory assertions that are swiftly backed up with a call for caution. The tone and content of this speech – generalised as 'we did this, we are doing this, for YOU' - tacitly suggests a degree of obligation levelled at the audience to concede that it is only government that can deliver on the enterprise of liberation. Within a deeper reading of this soliloquy's call lies a latent connection to Althusser's Ideological State Apparatus, which links the commitment to liberation and freedom with the purpose and perpetuation of the rule of this government. However, the contradictions that surface when this emancipatory script is juxtaposed with the visual registers of the performance are confounding, and challenge a general reading of the notion of independence. This lends a compelling dramatic tension to this concert.

The incongruity becomes evident in the heavy presence of armed protection around the leader as he is guided into the stadium, through the marchers and finally towards his podium. Given his proclamation of 'independence, peace and stability' (Mugabe 2017), and the predominance of the armed forces that constitute the lion's share of this concert, the celebratory allusion to freedom falls flat. The warning, at the end of his speech, to 'remain vigilant, remembering that the enemy is ever ready to pounce on any signs of laxity' (*Ibid*.), is a potential clue to the tenuous nature of freedom in the mind of this leader.

As postulated earlier in this dissertation with the concept of indigenousness, this script and what it declares destabilise a rote reading of the concept of independence. Distinctively absent within Mugabe's keynote monologue is any mention of the cultural well-being of the country or, for that matter, any update as to how government proposes to deliver, or is delivering on, notions of indigenisation at a cultural level. The absence of any reporting in this domain is remarkable considering the platform given to an epoch of indigenisation within the 2013 election manifesto (Team ZANU-PF, Election Manifesto, 2013:11)[252]. The sole connection a notion of indigenousness within this monologue manifests is in relation to the economic realm: 'indigenous companies' and government's promise to offer 'significant subcontracting arrangements' (Mugabe 2017). Tacitly inferred suggestions

[252] https://africacheck.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/zanupf_election_manifesto_130705.pdf - retrieved 30 January 2018

towards indigeneity can be read, albeit abstractedly through notions of 'self-determination', 'masters of our destiny' and 'sovereignty'. In the concluding remarks, there is, however, a more pointed gesture towards 'sons and daughters of the soil' (*Ibid*.). This lacuna registers a missed opportunity on the part of the scriptwriter/s to propel the much-lauded narrative of indigenisation to support the layers of legacy and self-congratulation that are so apparent in this monologue.

The recognition of this gap foregrounds the particular ontological interest of this study, which lies in provoking a conceptual detour to explore the notion of 'being' indigenous within the palette of intentions that characterise 'being' independent. Rationalised in the previous section through an experimental abstraction of Aristotelian logic, the purpose of this provocation is to expand current narratives that inform ideas of post-independent sovereignty (Tendi 2010:56-57; Chan and Primorac 2013:2-3)[253]. The application of the conceptual filter of indigeneity, as a reading of the category of 'being' –of an apparent "ultimate reality" (Schechner 2013:28)[254] – agitates many of the performance elements of this ceremony. In what gets exposed, confusion arises in relation to which definition of indigenousness should be drawn from. A key finding at the end of the previous chapter highlighted the evolution and manipulation of the definition of indigenousness by various entities in the quest of emancipation. These shifts in meaning render a conceptual instability that, for the purposes of this investigation, complicates and expands the field of inquiry. The complexity arises with regard to the conceptual multiplicity that evolves as newer and more opportune/intricate definitions of indigeneity flourish (Jaquelin-Anderson 2018, Nair 2006, Merlan 2009, Guenther, Kenrick, Kuper, Plaice, Thuen, Wolfe, Zips and Barnard 2006, McGuinne 2014, Alberto 2012, Delgado and Childs 2012, Roach and Eagan 2011, Graham and Glenn Penny 2014). The impact of this evolving multiplicity, then, increases the menu of notions of indigenousness and, in so doing, disturbs the term's essential and homogeneous register. The hypothetical trajectory of this conceptual dynamism impacts the ways in which manifestations of indigeneity can surface to find recognition. This is a broad and eclectic playing field, holding the promise of a number of compelling analyses beyond this discrete study.

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[253] S. Chan and R. Primorac (eds), '*Zimbabwe in Crisis: The International Response and The Space of Silence*', London and New York Routledge 2013

[254] R. Schechner, '*Performance Studies: An Introduction: Third Edition*', London and New York, Routledge, 2013

For the purposes of focus, this inquiry is directed towards the current legislated framing of indigeneity in Zimbabwe (IEEA 2007:2). A further fine tuning will draw on the analyses in preceding sections of this dissertation that have extrapolated marginality and temporality as key authoritative markers that determine the legislated authenticity of an indigenous person (*Ibid*.). By employing Schechner's philosophical category, that is, 'being' independent understood, in some part, as 'being' indigenous, questions arise regarding what instances of marginality and temporality surface in this performance. Put more directly, how is 'being' marginal, as understood through notions of 'being' 'disadvantaged' and 'being' 'before the 18th April, 1980', expressed? Understood within a broader framework of the performance of independence, of freedom and liberation by and for Zimbabweans, a quarrel emerges that signals a paradox within the current definition of indigeneity in Zimbabwe. Simply put – if 'being' independent is connected to 'being' indigenous, and 'being' indigenous is legislated as 'being' 'disadvantaged', then 'being' independent is, by this syllogism, inextricably linked to indicators of marginality. Following this perhaps subconscious logic could offer some rationale for the absence of indigenous registers in this performance. On the other hand, this could also point to a problem within the performance design of this spectacle. Albeit conjectural, both these hypotheses offer the potential for rich extrapolation.

A number of analyses have extrapolated how this particular performance of independence has, over the past 37 years, been framed primarily as a celebration of the liberation from colonisation (Muchemwa 2010, Chikwero 2007, Willems 2013)[255]. The celebratory intention of the event itself is without question, since year on year, performances are programmed across the country, drawing audiences of Zimbabwean citizens eager both for entertainment and to partake in some essence of emancipation, of liberation. What is being questioned, then, are the performance logics and the paradoxes related to aspirations of indigenisation. Willems offers a succinct analysis of this event (Willems 2013), suggesting that the "ultimate reality" is purposefully political within the meta-logic of this event.

[255] K. Muchemwa, '*Galas, biras, state funerals and the necropolitan imagination in re-constructions of the Zimbabwean nation*', 1980–2008. *Social Dynamics* 36(3): 504-514, 2010; M. Chikowero, '*Our people father, they haven't learned yet: music and postcolonial identities in Zimbabwe*', 1980–2000. Journal of Southern African Studies, 34 (1), 145–160. 2008

Her examination of this event over the past 37 years confirms a consistent ritualizing of notions of liberation narrated through an anti-colonial script. So, the concept of independence has been choreographed specifically as having been freed from colonisation, a 'crucial means through which the ruling party ZANU-PF both [recapitulates] and glorifies its own role in the liberation struggle' (*Ibid*.: 24). Clearly, this celebration aims less towards a broader project of 'being' discursively liberated or free – socially, culturally, philosophically, or even, metaphysically. This strategy is deployed as a way to 'reinforce the…. legitimacy of the…ZANU-PF government' (*Ibid*.:24). According to Willems, Mbembe argues for

> the crucial role of performance and ritual in the relation of the rulers and the ruled in the postcolony. For him, ceremonies have become the privileged language through which power speaks, acts, coerces... giving expression to the commandment and for staging its displays of magnificence and prodigality (Mbembe 1992:21,7 in Willems 2013: 24).

This search for registers of indigeneity invites a shift towards Schechner's category of 'doing', which he explains as 'the activity of all that exists, from quarks to sentient beings to supergalactic strings.' (Schechner 2013:28). Willem's examination of the performance elements indicates 'the militarised nature of the ceremony' (Willems 2013:24), which she recognises to be connected to 'the armed struggle of the 1970s… the post-independent state which "is militarised in form and content"… characterised by a "solid alliance between war veterans and the ruling party, between the Youth Militias and the ruling party, and between the ZNA and ZRP and the ruling party"[256] (*Ibid*.). So, 'doing' independence is activated, in a large part, by a show of military might. Ndlovu-Gatsheni's mention of Žižek's notion of 'national paranoia'[257] (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009:12), offers a theoretical construct that rationalises the overt militarisation of this celebration, suggesting an 'intrinsic… nervous[ness] about… completeness and authenticity'. This manifests as a potent reminder of the authority that delivered independence. '[D]oing', also, plays out, significantly, in the general pomp and ceremonial nature of this performance, beginning with the arrival of the dignitaries and continuing through to the marches and speeches. What is also distinct is the regimented formality of many of the performance elements. This, recognised in the realm

[256] Sub-reference to S. J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *Nationalist-military alliance and the fate of democracy in Zimbabwe*. African Journal of Conflict Resolution 6(I), 2006, p. 77, 49-80
[257] S Žižek, The Sublime Object of Ideology, London and New York, Verso. 1989

of 'doing' independence, agitates, again, intentions towards stated notions of freedom and liberation.

Further complicating the category of 'doing' and 'showing doing', in relation to concepts of independence and freedom, are questions related to manifestations of indigeneity. In what ways are elements of indigeneity being performed or shown? This question reveals a provocative conundrum in relation to the prominent colonial styling of various elements of this performance. Framed by the express intention of 'NEVER BEING A COLONY AGAIN', a reading of the regimented formality of the armed forces, their costumes and the costumes of the various dignitaries, the pageantry and props used in this performance, compound this paradox. Itemising these details reveals the stark absence of aspects that connect this ceremony to elements or ideas of cultural indigeneity. Again, in an era of indigenisation, this is deeply confounding – are there no references that can be drawn on from the long past that would allow for an alternative representation of 'power' and 'magnificence'? (Mbembe 1992:21,7 in Willems 2013:24).

Bhabha's notion of 'colonial mimicry' (Bhabha 1994)[258] suggests a theoretical structure to think through this query. Bhabha argues that 'Colonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, as a subject of difference that is almost the same, but not quite' (*Ibid*.:122). Mimicry[259] is defined as 'the act or the art of copying or imitating closely' (Collins English Dictionary N.D.). Tangentially, and worth noting, the definition of mimicry extends to include, 'the resemblance shown by one animal species… to another, which protects it from predators' (*Ibid*.). The allusion to defence is echoed in the president's speech, 'remember… that the enemy is ever ready to pounce on any signs of laxity on our part' (Mugabe 2017)[260]. 'Doing', played out through Bhabha's notion of 'colonial mimicry' (Bhabha 1994), then can reflect both as mimetic strategy and as a mechanism of protection. Processing the proliferation of colonial styling through this extrapolation suggests the possibility of subconscious scheming, which projects a reading of this performance into a very different realm.

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[258] H. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, London, Routledge, 1994

[259] mimicry. Dictionary.com. *Collins English Dictionary - Complete & Unabridged 10th Edition*. HarperCollins Publishers. http://www.dictionary.com/browse/mimicry (accessed: April 23, 2018).

[260] Address by His Excellency the President and Commander-in-Chief of the Defence Forces, Comrade R. G. Mugabe, on the occasion of Zimbabwe's 37th Independence Celebrations, 18th April 2017

Schechner's understanding of 'doing' and 'showing' as actions offer further provocation in a reading of the president's assertion of 'celebrating our hard won [sic] independence' (*Ibid*.). In 'doing', the premise communicated is a ceremonial performance to validate this recognition of independence - 'the opportunity to celebrate the day Zimbabwe shook off the yoke of colonialism'[261]. The intention of the 'doing' in this event, then, is informed by the logics of liberation from colonial rule, by the freedom to reject colonial impositions – be they political, social, economic or cultural. The colonial period has been defined by many atrocities, one of them being the enforcement of colonial mores and culture at the expense of indigenous cultural expression (Burke 1996, Hendrikson 1996).

According to Willems, the ruling party, ZANU-PF, saw this event primarily as a chance to confirm their notion of national sovereignty centred around, as mentioned earlier, a particular framing of colonial and precolonial Zimbabwean history (Ranger 2004[262], Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009). In addition, from the 2000s, the ruling party also sought to confer 'new meaning [to this ceremony] in the face of the emerging opposition party MDC, which was portrayed as an agent of the British government and white Zimbabwean 'Rhodies' who threatened the sovereignty of the nation' (Willems 2013:27). In this regard, the action of 'showing' of notions of independence in this celebration, through the various ceremonial and performed elements – from the official arrivals and processions, the costumes and setting, the military and police presence and the various mass display elements – become even more visually and performatively potent in relation to the accusations of imagined threats to 'the sovereignty of the nation' (*Ibid*.). Another notable aspect of 'showing doing' is the primacy of images and regalia that represent the ruling party. Fabric printed with the ruling party's logo and images of the president was worn as wraps, scarves, bandanas and also tailored into clothing and t-shirts. The wearers formed a distinct chorus of support, performing their loyalty to the leader and his ruling party. In so doing, they delivered a resounding message, to audiences, far and wide, confirming their position as 'true patriots' to their leader, the main protagonist of this performance.

Filtering elements of this performance through Schechner's categorical distinctions brings to light the multiple paradoxes present within this performance, especially with regard to

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[261] https://www.herald.co.zw/independence-day-carnival-ready-to-roll/ - retrieved 11 April 2018

[262] T. Ranger, '*Nationalist historiography, patriotic history and the history of the nation*'. Journal of Southern African Studies, 30 (2), 215–234. 2004

manifestations of indigeneity. These findings trouble the intention of this celebration of independence, philosophically and practically. Conjoined through recent changes in the political landscape in Zimbabwe, they also recommend the opportunity to explore a range of alternatives that focus much-needed attention on ways in which indigenous cultural practices from the long past can find active and alternative purchase in contemporary Zimbabwe. The suggestion of a turn towards dynamic notions of indigeneity will offer a productive parallel inquiry that aligns with current debates around decolonial practices.

2.3.2 Goffman's conviction

In his seminal book, 'The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life, (Goffman, 1971), Goffman uses the Shakespearean phrase, 'All the world's a stage and all the men and women merely players…' (Shakespeare 1603), as a foundation to build a theoretical framework to understand human actions as performance. In the opening chapter of this book, Goffman highlights the necessity of conviction, both by the 'individual' and the 'observer' (Goffman 1971:10), in their respective roles. He maintains that 'observers… are asked to believe that the character they see actually possesses the attribute he possesses' (*Ibid*.). This notion of belief relates equally to the practiced theory of a suspension of disbelief – commonly understood as a vital component to the success of any performance.

The mechanisms that inform this success hark back to the foundational philosophical underpinning of the performance which, in turn, inform and then are supported by realisation through distinct elements. These includes aspects such as cast, narrative, costume and set design, which resonate with Goffman's framing of what constitutes the 'front… the expressive equipment of a standard kind intentionally or unwittingly employed by the individual during his [sic] performance' (Goffman 1971:13). Goffman's list comprises 'the "setting", involving … décor, physical layout,… scenery and stage props' (*Ibid*.). He continues, listing elements on the 'personal front…[that include] items that… identify… the performer' (*Ibid*.), that include elements of 'insignia of office or rank; clothing; sex; age; racial characteristics; size and looks; speech patterns; facial expressions; bodily gestures and the like' (Goffman 1971:13-14). So, with regard to Goffman's construct – what did the independence-day performance and the embodied minutiae of 2017 ask/need/want its audience to believe?

The response, supported by the analysis of the philosophical intent of this performance,

extrapolated through Schechner's category of 'being', is explained in the event's description – independence-day celebrations. The philosophical intention, in this instance, is framed by the purpose of honouring the concept of freedom, of liberation from colonisation. The audience, then, is being called to witness a grand performance that has been specifically choreographed, scripted, designed and performed as a show of independence. Independence, in this case, is advertised as the emancipation from colonisation, as being liberated, as valuing sovereignty, as celebrating freedom and autonomy. The veracity of each element within this concert of freedom is, therefore, significant given the importance that a celebration of this kind embodies in an era active with debates and intentions around decolonisation. Investigating notions of conviction through the minutiae of this performance, given the relative paucity of visual and material culture analysis currently available (Mawere, Chiwaura & Thondhlana 2015, Chiwome, Mguni & Furusa 2000), will enrich the existing political and sociological debates (Willems 2013, Tendi 2010, Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009, Raftopoulos and Mlambo 2008, Muchemwa 2008) and contribute another layer of analysis that is vital as Zimbabwe grows.

The purpose of applying Goffman's conception of the role of conviction in a performance is motivated by a strategically placed prop – the banner hung above the entrance to the performance space that states, 'ZIMBABWE WILL NEVER BE A COLONY AGAIN'. The echo of this message proliferated implicitly through the keynote speech delivered by the leader/lead protagonist (Mugabe 2017). Drawing on the conceptual detour alluded to earlier[263], the purpose of this examination is extend the provocation further, by juxtaposing the intention relayed by this prop – that of 'NEVER BE[ing] A COLONY AGAIN' with notions of indigeneity. Building additional specificity, the notion of indigeneity, for this scenario, will be framed by the two key notions that authenticate indigenousness within the current legislation - 'disadvantaged by unfair discrimination' and 'before the 18th of April 1980' (IEEA 2007:2). The rationale for this framing is informed by the understanding that, because this is a government-sanctioned event, a relational analysis of government-sanctioned ideologies and policies is thereby afforded.

This analysis extends to include comparisons with three particular tenets of 'Mugabeism': 'nativism', 'African memory' and 'cultural nationalism' (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009:264-289).

[263] To explore the notion of '*being*' indigenous within the palette of intentions that characterize '*being*' independent.

Extrapolated through Ndlovu-Gatsheni's analysis of 'Mugabeism' (*Ibid*.), there are a number of common denominators that justify the invitation of these ideological postulates to examine notions of conviction. At the outset, all three ideologies are situated within discursive notions of indigeneity and conceptual connections to the long past. 'Nativism', Ndlovu-Gatsheni argues, 'is always preoccupied with identity and authenticity' (*Ibid*.:265). Quoting Mbembe, the author further explains that, 'nativism' is '… predicated on the 'claim that their race, traditions, and customs confer to them a peculiar self, irreducible, to that of any human group'[264]. Of additional resonance in Ndlovu-Gatsheni's analysis are links to Dunn's notion of 'autochthony... [and the notion of]… the original inhabitants of the land… [which]... 'provide 'a sense of primal security and certainty'[265] (*Ibid*.:269), and Mbembe's offering that 'each spatio-racial formation has its own culture, its own historicity, its own way of being, and its own certificate of origin and its own telos' (*Ibid*.:269). Employing these foundational ideologies, the 'Mugabeist' doctrine is championed by

> '… a broad church sheltering a bizarre mixture of some academics, ZANU-PF leaders, war veterans, ex-detainees and former mujibhas (young men who were messengers of the guerrilla fighters) and chimbwindos (young girls who cooked for the guerrilla fighters during the 1970s), as well as frustrated black middle classes desperate for quick embourgeoisement' (*Ibid*.:272)[266].

Considering the rhetorical 'emphasis' on this concept of 'an authentic African interpretation of things' (*Ibid*.:273), observations of the visual and performative elements of the independence-day concert flourish with contradictions especially when read through Goffman's conceptual framing of the 'front', and the list of elements that constitute this conception[267]. These conundrums continue to proliferate, somewhat productively, when scrutinised through the gaze of 'African memory' and 'cultural nationalism' (*Ibid*.: 264-289). These concepts add weight to 'nativist discourses of resistance of globalisation and cosmopolitanism' (*Ibid*.: 273), connecting this essentialising identity discourse with Mahoso's proclamation of 'Mugabeism' as 'African memory that reconnected the pre-

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[264] A. Mbembe, '*The Cultural Politics of South Africa's Foreign Policy: Between Black (Inter) nationalism and Afropolitanism',* (unpublished Paper presented at Wits Institute of Economic and Social Research (WISER), University of Witwatersrand 2006), p. 8 - in S. J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *Do 'Zimbabweans' Exist?: Trajectories of Nationalism, National Identity Formation and Crisis in a Postcolonial State*, African Development Vol. 3, Peter Lang, 2009, p. 264.

[265] Reference is drawn from K. C. Dunn, '*Sons of the Soil' and Contemporary State Making: Autochthony, Uncertainty and Political Violence in Africa',* Third World Quarterly, 30 (1), 2009 - in S. J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *Do 'Zimbabweans' Exist?: Trajectories of Nationalism, National Identity Formation and Crisis in a Postcolonial State*, African Development Vol. 3, Peter Lang, 2009, p. 269.

[266] Reference is made to S. Moyo, *The Zimbabwe Crisis and Normalisation,* (Centre for Policy Studies: *Issues and Actors*, Vol. 18, No. 7, Johannesburg, July 2005), p. 5

[267] An unpacking of these elements in relation to specific characters will follow as this section develops.

colonial spirit mediums… pan-African roots… going back to Ethiopianism' (*Ibid*.: 282)[268].

As evidenced earlier in this study, notions of memory as extrapolated through a particular historiography (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009, Raftopoulos & Mlambo 2008, Ranger 2007, Darnoff and Laasko 2003), were a key strategy of Mugabe's government. Within this construct, the manifestation of 'cultural nationalism' played out performatively as 'constant singing of the national anthem,... the wearing of identical dresses, with Mugabe's portrait emblazoned all over the fabric, by members of ZANU-PF's Women's League' (*Ibid*.: 286). Additionally, notions of 'African memory' were engineered to revolve around notions of anti-colonial struggles and chimurengas – liberation wars (Nhemachena and Mawere 2017:204)[269].

Through the trauma of war, the script to these events abstracted, diverted even, the notion that freedom and Zimbabwean identity could not exist uncoupled. This grand gesture towards the performance of independence was, paradoxically, defined by an unbreakable, sacrosanct even, connection to colonial trauma. What emerges through this – that is, ZANU-PF's strategy of iterative interpellation – is the centrality of notions of Mugabeism in the construction and perpetuation of a national and patriotically-constructed sense of identity for Zimbabweans. How these intentions, connected to Mugabeist notions of 'nativism', 'African memory' and 'cultural nationalism' (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009:264-289), are then played out within this show is where the confusion emerges. Recalling the point of this examination in relation to Goffman's notion of conviction, the visual registers tell a different story.

What follows is an examination of a select series of images of characters from the independence-day performance. The aim of this discrete analysis is to juxtapose the rhetorical ideologies and notions of independence and anti-colonial narratives expressed with the visual realisations of this event, as a way to evidence the paradoxes alluded to above. The primary question that foregrounds this exercise relates specifically to how this juxtaposing of intention in relation to visual register can be read in this performance, when processed through Goffman's notion of 'front'. Simply put: what is being visualised, 'front[ed]', and what work does this expect an audience to believe?

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[268] Reference is made to Tafataona Mahoso, a well-known proponent of Mugabe's ideology. Ndlovu-Gatsheni draws this understanding from an article published in The Sunday Mail, 16 March 2003.

[269] '*Chimurenga is a Shona word that refers to a struggle, a war or a fight for emancipation*', A. Nhemachena and M. Mawere (eds), '*Africa at the Crossroads: Theorising Fundamentalisms in the 21st Century*', Bamenda, Langaa Research and Publishing Common Initiative Group, 2017, p. 204

Figure 20

This is the leader, Robert Mugabe, the main protagonist of this performance, his costume a single-breasted striped suit, and a green paisley tie with a matching pocket square. He wears a sash, a necklace akin to a livery collar and a large medal – the Order of Merit. In relation to 'nativism', 'African memory' and 'cultural nationalism', what can be understood by this presentation, these 'front' elements? Arguably, the styling of this character, through his costume and insignia, exhibits no recognisable connection to any of the above-listed Mugabeist tenets. Even more so, recalling Mahoso's assertion of connectivity to 'pre-colonial spirit mediums... pan-African roots… going back to Ethiopianism' (*Ibid*.: 282), the visualisation of this character bears no bond. The styling feels, ironically, in Mugabe's own words[270], 'implacably moored in the colonial yesteryear and embraces wittingly or unwittingly the repulsive ideology of… white settler' (Mugabe, *Inside the Third Chimurenga*, pg. 88, in Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009:283). This feels like an apt overview of this uniform. What is not colonial about this image – how is this representative of 'NEVER [being] A COLONY AGAIN'? The overt coloniality of this presentation confirms the layers of paradox alluded to earlier.

Figure 21

These are two members of the Presidential Guard, distinguished by their yellow berets, their costume a bottle green suit coupled with a matching tie, worn with a white shirt. Their uniforms are decorated with elaborate insignia – badges, medals and epaulettes. The gold-braided cord that loops under their arms, aiguillettes, originates from 1800s Europe[271]. In their pristine white-gloved hands, they carry a silver sabre, 'derived from a Hungarian cavalry sword introduced from the Orient in the 18th century' (Encyclopaedia Britannica, n.d.)[272].

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[270] Mugabe made this assertion in relation to the MDC.
[271] https://ipfs.io/ipfs/.../wiki/Aiguillette.html - retrieved 2 June 2018
[272] https://www.britannica.com/technology/saber - retrieved 2 June 2018

The berets they wear also originate from Europe[273]. Considering the passion expressed for the ideals of anti-colonialism and the celebration of sovereignty in this performance, this presentation of military extravagance, so particularly in a colonial key, extends the dilemma stated above. Furthermore, regarding the platform given to the memory of colonial trauma, as mentioned in the key monologue performed by the main protagonist, this presentation of the Presidential Guard, marching with swords and guns, stands at odds with the messages about freedom, liberation and peace (Mugabe 2017).

Figure 22

Here are three members of the dance troupe who performed the only element in the event dedicated to 'traditional' culture. Their costumes are a mix of contemporary garments overlayed with generic representations of traditional dress. The male dancer wears a skirt made of animal tails and arm and leg bands of white woolen strands, which cohere with images of Ndebele warriors (Dewey 1997:151)[274]. Some of the male dancers in the background wear a crown-like feathered headdress edged with a beaded strip, also loosely associated with the ensemble worn by Ndebele warriors. The woman on the right wears a belt consisting of layers of black, white and yellow wollen strands on top of a pair of black cycling shorts and a green vest. The woman on the left wears a yellow vest and a layered black skirt with a strip of white fringe and a white-edge binding. The skirts of all three dancers and the man's arm- and leg-bands are, no doubt, styled to emphasise movement. Questions relating to notions of African authenticity fare somewhat better on this 'front', since the visual presentation falls, broadly, within the remit of ideas and images familiar to notions of traditonal dress, albeit contemporised.

[273] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Military_beret - retrieved 2 June 2018
[274] See W. Dewey, '*Zimbabwe: Legacies of Stone: Past and Present: Vol I*', Tervuren, 1997 Pg. 151

Figure 23

The costume of the traditional chief comprises a cloak made of red cloth that has a purple contrasting collar and front with matching sleeve cuffs, a half-moon shaped medal and another medal, just barely visible on the left, under the rose corsage. Underneath this cloak, he wears a suit, shirt and tie. A white pith helmet, synonymous with Victorian Britain[275], completes the ensemble. In recent years, there has been much consternation[276], most vocally from the Zimbabwe Council of Chiefs, about this homogeneous uniform and its enduring connection to the colonial era. Considering that the government of Zimbabwe currently recognises well-over 270 traditional chiefs[277] officially, each representing a community that embodies distinct cultural idiosyncrasies, it is astounding that 37 years into an era of independence and within an epoch of indigenisation, this colonial trope persists. This exposes the extent of the rhetoric of 'Mugabeism'. Measured against notions of all three of the tenets in discussion – 'nativism', 'African memory' and 'cultural nationalism' – the presentation of the traditional chiefs in this homogenising, colonially-inspired costume begs clarification. As it is, and given the questions that have surfaced about this uniform (Zimbabwean 2015, Chingwere 2015, Siamonga 2018 [278]), this presentation firmly contradicts the intention of 'NEVER [being] A COLONY AGAIN'.

[275] http://www.militarytrader.com/military-trader-news/pith_helmets_of_the_british_empire - retrieved 2 June 2018

[276] https://www.newsday.co.zw/2015/02/comment-chiefs-regalia-reflect-apolitical-ethos/, https://www.southerneye.co.zw/2015/02/18/govt-seeks-new-regalia-chiefs/, and, https://www.thepatriot.co.zw/old_posts/chiefs-regalia-must-embrace-regional-cultural-interests/ - all retrieved 3 June 2018

[277] http://www.thezimbabwean.co/2015/08/traditional-leaders/ - retrieved 3 June 2018

[278] http://www.thezimbabwean.co/2015/08/traditional-leaders/; http://www.sundaymail.co.zw/chiefs-want-change-of-regalia/; https://www.thepatriot.co.zw/old_posts/chiefs-regalia-must-embrace-regional-cultural-interests/ - retrieved 29 August 2018

Figure 24

The High Court judges of Zimbabwe wear red cassock-like garments with a broad circular cape. A grey-broad collar is topped with a smaller winged-white collar that extends in two ribbon-like prongs. The sleeves of this gown are cuffed with a broad grey band. Around their waists they wear wide black belts with two long extensions. This colonial style uniform is completed with a blond horse-hair wig. As with the chiefs, this costume cannot but draw superlative consternation[279]. Their role within this performance can be conceived as contributing a certain gravitas, as with the chiefs, that is, framed by a representation of the central figures of the nation's authority. This is a further paradox to contend with in comparison to the rhetoric of freedom, liberation and sovereignty.

Within this performance of independence, of post-colonial liberation, the visual presentation of these characters requires deep introspection. The emancipatory intentions expressed stand at odds with the visual registers that animate this performance. This observation troubles a rote reading of the notion of conviction embodied in Goffman's theoretical offering. What does this performance, then, require its audience to believe with regards to ideas of freedom, liberation and indigeneity – as an abstracted notion of 'NEVER [being] A COLONY AGAIN'? Willem's recognition of this performance's iterative nature may offer some clarity to this conundrum (2013). Her observation of the annual repetition of the performance programming could contribute a compelling basis on which to build an understanding of how notions of conviction are constructed. The consistent and unchanging form of this ceremony potentially justify its normative register, and in doing so, motivate the belief that this is how independence is celebrated. This, coupled with the connection to notions of interpellation, strengthens the case for an observation of strategic stasis. In other words, and perhaps colloquially speaking, this is how it has always

[279] https://www.dawn.com/news/1358575, https://www.herald.co.zw/of-judges-and-their-dress-codes/ and http://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/ap/article-4179492/In-wigs-robes-Zimbabwe-judges-evoke-British-colonialism.html - retrieved 3 June 2018

happened, so this is then how it should always happen. This extrapolation perhaps also exposes an engineered conceit that, in turn, registers the pointlessness at the centre of this concert, for a Zimbabwean population, at least. That this seminal performance serves a purpose that simply registers its occurrence is reflected in the press offerings that cover it. It is in this objective of examining the minutiae that questions surface about its veracity and the platform given to it.

And so, under fine scrutiny, this dichotomy flourishes, inviting more layers of inquiry and complexity that perhaps could prompt a more apt term – that of a *poly-chotomy* – in the sense of the multiplicity of conundrums that elements of this performance, this seemingly absurd carnival, present, when channelling Goffman's inquiry - what are the audience being asked to believe? And, how could the notion of 'NEVER [being] A COLONY AGAIN' find active purchase within these elements? The dilemma of these unanswered questions find resonance in Mavhunga's criticism, extrapolated through Ngugi wa Thiongo, that

> Independence merely enabled us to chase away the colonists in order for us to live (like them), take the land and farm (like them), to get educated (like them), to live within the colonial borders (like them), to be (like them)… The colony has not ended as such, but has only retreated to an inner cavern: within us (Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Muzondidya 2011:371, 372).

In closing this Goffmanian exercise, of the notion of conviction through the minutiae of the independence-day performance, there is an opportunity to introduce, superficially though strategically, a parting provocation. Goffman made a distinction between what he called 'a sincere performer' and 'a cynical performer' (Goffman 1956: 10). The former he describes as being, 'convinced that the impression of reality which he stages is the real reality'. The latter, he shares, is 'moved to guide the conviction of this audience only as a means to other ends, having no ultimate concern in the conception that they have of him or of the situation' (*Ibid*.). Given the earlier exploration of Althusser's notion of interpellation as an Ideological State Apparatus, metabolising these constructs brings a further layer of poetic complexity to this event. It is with this strategy, offered as a stimulating prompt to the final segment, that this segment concludes.

2.3.3 Bakhtin's turn

Bakhtin's theory of carnival and carnivalesque (Bakhtin 1984) arrives as the third and final construct to think through the mechanisms of this independence-day performance for registers and/or absences of cultural indigeneity. There are three reasons for employing

this theoretical construct. The first objective is to articulate a conceptual twist in order to suggest the rationale for a speculative turn[280]. The second aim is to explore the unique vagaries of Bakhtin's extrapolations and subsequent extrapolations of his theories, so as to contribute imaginative depth to the ways in which this performance of independence can be re-imagined. The final reason will be to apply a particular categorical construct of Bakhtinian thinking to reveal a curious anomaly that, until now, seems to have gone unnoticed.

Processing this event through a colloquial understanding of carnival, understood as 'an organised program of entertainment or exhibition' (Merriam-Webster n.d.)[281], reveals a host of elements that confirm its prosaic register. The pageantry, the processions, the costumes, props, and the variety of acts, all align with what is colloquially accepted as constitutive in a carnival. Bakhtin, though, would have railed against this idiomatic association, as evidenced in his argument that, 'Carnival must not be confused… with self-serving festivals fostered by governments' (Bakhtin 1984:xviii). His comprehension of carnival spoke to a more radical imagining of an event that subverted hierarchies, had 'the world standing on its head' (*Ibid*.: 150), and promoted eccentricity as an active, even necessary, expression of agency.

However, Michael Holquist, in the prologue of Bakhtin's '*Rabelais and His World*', drew an association with the notion of 'revolution', and the recognition that, 'when events threaten to outstrip the capacity to interpret them', an opportunity opens for 'intelligentsia… to provide an interpretation of the world for… society' (*Ibid*.:iii). Backed by this rationale, the aim is to engage Bakhtin's theory differently. With the appreciation that theory is traditionally employed to explain certain phenomena – to build a case for 'what is', in this specific case, given the conundrums that have surfaced in the analysis of the independence-day performance so far, there is an opportunity to summon a speculative or 'what-if' option. This conceptual twist holds the possibility to reveal an intriguing alternative reading of this performance, that, until now, has not surfaced. In the concluding section of the performance analysis of this independence-day event, the aim, then, is to examine particular aspects from the performance, filtering them through Bakhtin's

[280] This pre-empts the third chapter of this dissertation.
[281] Definition of carnival, 3b, Merriam-Webster, n.d. - available - https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/carnival – retrieved 1 October 2018

theoretical proposition, to propose latent and, perhaps, inadvertent registers of indigeneity – specific or discursive – so as to offer provocative complexity to this influential event.

The abstraction of this performance, through Bakhtin's concepts of carnival and carnivalesque, is inspired by a curious anomaly: the hosho man[282], a distinctive performer, and his performance within this generally perplexing colonially-styled homage to notions of freedom, liberation and post-colonial independence. The choreography of this hosho player[283] startles within the disciplined formality of the Air Force Marching Band. His passionate performance – gyrating and leaping[284] – jars with the mechanistic marching of the regiment that he is part of. His movements offer, strangely, a degree of satisfaction.

Figure 25

The recognition of this particular and dissonant performance as an agitation within the structured formality of this group invites comparison to Bakhtin's concept of the 'internally convinced word' as it related to the 'word of the father'. Kumar's extrapolation of these notions suggests the latter as the 'hierarchical' - alluding to a voice of authority. The former he describes as 'being one's own, can be played with… is loaded with various layers of meaning and signification that demonstrates 'otherness' (Kumar 2015:153)[285]. Kumar's interpretation is mirrored here to suggest the presence of a theoretical authority that has conceptualised this concert, and how it relates to the performance of this actor and, furthermore, how to think about the choices he has made. This Bakhtinian recasting opens the door to curiosity. Given the recognised formality and rigidity of the elements of this performance, coupled with the perception of iteration (Willems 2013), the choreography of this specific performance of 'Mr Hosho' (Masau 2013)[286] manifests as antithetical, if not

[282] *Hosho* – These musical instruments are hand-held shakers., accessed 5 May 2018. Affectionately known as Mr. 'Hosho Man', Tatadzei Chimanga, has a unique following in Zimbabwe and was recognised by News Day Weekender as one of the 100 Great Zimbabweans in 2017. See: Pictures: 100 Great Zimbabweans Award winners, News Day, 7 June 2017 - https://www.newsday.co.zw/2017/06/pictures-100-great-zimbabweans-awards-winners/ - retrieved 3 May 2018

[283] See ZRP Police (sic) Band perform live during the 37th Independence celebrations - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nwrnHpYbFD0 – see timecode: 1:01 – retrieved 27 April 2018

[284] Image-frames from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nwrnHpYbFD0 – retrieved 27 April 2018

[285] A. Kumar PV, '*Bakhtin and Translation Studies: Theoretical Extensions and Connotations*', New Castle Upon Tyne, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015. p. 153

[286] P. Masau, '*Meet Airforce's 'Mr Hosho*', Herald Zimbabwe, 14 September 2013. Available: https://www.herald.co.zw/meet-airforces-mr-hosho/ - retrieved 3 May 2018

somewhat anarchic. How, then, can this anomalous presentation offer a generative and provocative reading within the grand-design, or meta-script of this independence-day concert?

> That hierarchical oppositions always tend towards re-establishing themselves does not mean they can never be invaded, inferred with, and critically impaired. . . what is called for is nothing less than an insistent and intrepid disorganization of the very structures which produce this inescapable logic (Fuss 1999:6)[287].

Calling on Fuss's provocation has a dual purpose in this instance. Firstly, it exposes points to the 'hierarchical' sanctity and formality of the performance design as articulated in Bakhtin's 'word of the father', while simultaneously exposing a litany of contradictions. Secondly, it motivates a speculative reading of Bakhtin's theory of carnival and carnivalesque, as a way to 'invade' the performance mechanisms with the purpose of presenting an alternate reading of this show of independence. The minutiae of the performance design, as analysed in the preceding sections, point to a perplexing and, now, productive troubling between intentions and realisation.

The productive nature of this register in turn feeds the invitation of a speculative lens. The idiosyncratic performance of this hosho player, within the intentional 'hierarchical' sanctity and formality of this concert, indicates a captivating instability. Thinking through a Bakhtinian construct, if this imaginative choreography is premeditated, designed and sanctioned, as it is, by a directorial authority – a purposeful objective of the 'word of the father', the 'hierarchical' voice, what can be understood of its performative purpose? Who or what is this eccentric dynamism aimed at? What emerges, from these questions, is that the peculiarity of his performance, within the regimented framework of this marching formation, echoes loud and unclear. Assumptions of intent, while not academically sound nor verifiable, have registered a myriad of responses[288].

His expressive and energetic cavorting, specifically within the context of this formation, are uncomfortably reminiscent of early 20th century ethnographer's observations of the performance of indigenous communities from this geographical region (Gonye and Manase

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[287] D. Fuss, '*Inside/Out: Lesbian Theories, Gay Theories*', London, Routledge, Chapman and Hall, 1991, p. 6

[288] These responses surfaced in the focus groups convened for this research study. Tabled as a point of discussion, the responses range from wonder and disbelief of *Mr. Hosho*'s unique eclecticism through to derisory hysterics of his idiosyncratic performance.

2014:126)[289]. Could this albeit unfortunate association offer a reading of indigenous intent – a performative manifestation of 'NEVER [being] A COLONY AGAIN'? What can be understood as the purpose of this individual's performance, with his traditional instruments, in his formal costume, in this formation? Mavhunga, in his essay '*The Colony in Us, The Colony as Us'*, laments 'the nest of contradictions… extended to… imaginations of liberation and freedom' (Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Muzondidya 2011: 349). His analysis of the current state of identity politics echoes the question being posed here: 'Who is the audience of our narratives?' (*Ibid*.). The suggestion of instability flourishes, productively, especially with regard to the dearth of information available to build more considered knowledge about this performance[290].

To the second purpose of Fuss's provocation – the speculative potential that Bakhtin's theory of carnival and carnivalesque affords: What if this performance is read, alternatively, as the radical intervention of an individual, thus speaking directly to Bakhtin's notion of the 'internally convinced word'? What if this spirited performance can be read as a puncture point that 'critically impair[s]' the grand-narrative of this concert (Fuss 1996:6)? The presence of this rebellious act disorganises (*Ibid*.) the regimented formation of the ensemble, drawing attention to a rupture of the prim coloniality of the band's act and ultimately spotlighting something stimulating and bizarre. What if this lone performer's intention could be read as the yet unfulfilled intention of 'NEVER [being] A COLONY AGAIN'? This would be one small but resounding register of anti-colonial intent – aligning with Bakhtin's proposition that, in carnival, there is no connection to real life but rather to 'the world standing on its head' (Bakhtin 1984:150). The choreography of this hosho player posits a comparable register within the terrain of the carnivalesque and opens the possibility of a new dialogue.

> We can in fact think of performances as analogous to the Bakhtinian utterance: each new statement is a novel creative act, but one that contains echoes of past

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[289] J. Gonye and I. Manase, '*Debunking the Zimbabwean Myth of Jikinya Dance in Ndhlala's Jikinya and Zimunya's "Jikinya" (Dancer) and "Jikinya" (An African Passion)*', Journal of Black Studies 2015, Vol. 46(2) 123–141. The authors quote specific sources which are noteworthy for this argument of uncomfortable reminiscence - K. W. Asante, '*Zimbabwe dance: Rhythmic forces, ancestral voices—An aesthetic analysis*', Asmara, Eritrea: Africa World Press Inc., 2000; S. A. Reed, '*The politics and poetics of dance*', Annual Review of Anthropology, 27, 503-532. 1998 , M. K. Asante, Kemet, '*Afrocentricity and Knowledge*', Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1992; J. Conrad, '*Heart of Darkness*', New York, NY: Penguin Books, 1995 and H. R. Haggard, '*King Solomon's Mines*' (D. Butts, Ed.). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2006 (Original work published 1885)

[290] As will be reflected in the methodology chapter, requests for access to information about this event from official sources, that is the Ministries of Home Affairs and Local Government, were rejected. The official reason given alluded to the necessity for high-level security status. See also Appendix 3 for a full explanation of the process.

voices and opens up the possibility for future conversation and dialogue (Graham and Glenn Penny 2014: 2).

Bakhtin organises 'four categories of carnival; categories that as he states are "sensuous ritual-pageant 'thoughts'" (Davis 2014:7)[291]. Two of these categories – 'eccentricity' and 'carnivalistic mésalliances' (*Ibid*.) - resonate with issues highlighted above. Lachmann argued that in Bakhtin's thinking, 'it is the body that becomes the stage for eccentricity, …plays up its own exaggeration: the grotesque body.' (Lachmann 1988: 146). Bakhtin's theory of eccentricity suggests an internal desire to 'reveal and express' (Davis 2014:7). The distinctive and intentional choreography of this hosho player, in turn, encourages a performative relation to Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Muzondidya's notion of 'grotesque nationalism… the incongruous, [and] bizarre... the ambiguities and contradictions, of contemporary Zimbabwean nationalism' (Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Muzondidya 2011:3).

There is, however, a further extrapolation of eccentricity that this performance announces. This connection draws on the notion of the 'latent' (Davis 2014:7), a conjectural subconscious or unconscious state. In his presented form, this performer embodies and relays multiple paradoxes. His costume – a shirt and tie, a suit, peaked cap and shiny black shoes – is an ensemble that is arguably, if not unmistakably, colonially drawn. The formation he marches within, coupled with the instruments and the music being played, extend the connection to colony (Stapleton 2011, Parker and Reid 2013: 459, Manyame 2016). The band is then presented within a concert publicised as a celebration of independence, freedom from colonial rule – 'ZIMBABWE WILL NEVER BE A COLONY AGAIN'. The compounded materiality of this construct recalls, as stated earlier, Bhabha's reading of 'colonial mimicry' (1994)[292] and furthered by Fontein's comprehension of Bhabha and Chatterjee in relation to the legacy of Great Zimbabwe (2006, 2009, 2016:134). Most pointed, however, is Fontein's reasoning of Bhabha's argument, that 'colonialism and its antithesis, anti-colonialism are "almost the same but not quite"' (*Ibid*.).

Extending this recognition of a dualism, in his essay, 'Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse' (Bhabha 1984), Bhabha winnows through this argument, suggesting 'the sign of a double articulation' (*Ibid*.:126), that simultaneously

[291] R. Davis, '*BAKHTIN'S CARNIVALESQUE: A GAUGE OF DIALOGISM IN SOVIET AND POSTSOVIET CINEMA*', Virginia Commonwealth University, 2014 https://scholarscompass.vcu.edu/etd/3442 - retrieved 1 June 2018
[292] H. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, London, Routledge, 1994

‘“appropriates” the Other as its visual power’, while also policing its affect. His examination summates that ‘mimicry is at once resemblance and menace’ (*Ibid*.). Returning to the site of examination, this suggestion of duality surfaces within the performance of the band and the hosho player. The hosho player’s presence is simultaneously ‘resemblance and menace’ – the former constituted by his uniform, his band and its place in this performance. The ‘menace’ is transmitted by his unique and spirited performance.

There is another register that begins to surface, drawing on the connection to the idea of appropriation that Bhabha’s theory suggests and furthered through the other category of carnival and carnivalesque that Bakhtin theorises. Heralded by the recognition of the unmistakable colonial styling of this troupe, which is agitated through the mechanism of colonial mimicry, a suggestion of a performative trompe l’oeil emerges. This deceptive register manifests within the paradoxical juxtaposition of the anti-colonial, read in this case as indigenous, and the colonial. This suggestion of a conceit within the performance logistics draws a lateral connection with Bakhtin’s classification of ‘carnivalistic mésalliances’ – a form of juxtaposition of opposites. Bakhtin suggests that in carnival there is ‘the bringing together of "the sacred with the profane, the lofty with the low, the great with the insignificant’ (Davis 2014: 7). In the case of this independence-day carnival, a provocative suggestion, then, could be to juxtapose the colonial and the indigenous.

This Bakhtinian categorisation suggests a stimulating distillation of the dilemmas that have surfaced – the notion of freedom from colonisation, of apparent indigenous sovereignty, that has found iterative presentation and celebration over the past 37 years in this perplexingly colonial concert. The nature of opposites that resonate, coupled with an essence of parody, are, Bakhtin argues, at the heart of the practice of carnival. Parody, in this case, is read through the meta-framing of subversion. Bakhtin proposes that in carnival there is ‘the bringing together of "the sacred with the profane, the lofty with the low, the great with the insignificant’ (*Ibid*.). Thinking of the independence day ceremony through this Bakhtinian proposition, then, would recommend a hypothetical juxtaposition of the indigenous and the colonial. The result of this experiment offers a provocative and stimulating distillation of the dilemmas that have surfaced in relation to this perplexingly colonial concert that presents itself as the seminal celebration of independence from colonial rule.

The juxtaposing of opposites coupled with the explicit permission for parody are, Bakhtin argues, central to the performance of carnival. Parody, in this case, is enacted through the subversion and appropriation of hierarchical power. Imagined through this carnivalesque lens subverts a conventional emancipatory reading of the independence day event. The overt coloniality of its performance mechanisms, processed through this distinctive understanding of parody, suggests the tacit presence of an appropriative agency. Read through Bhabha's notion of mimicry and Mavhunga's criticism of the persistent legacy of colonial practices (Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Muzondidya 2011:371, 372), this hypothetical processing launches the independence day ceremony into the provocative territory of drag performance.

Drag, as performance, is understood as (but not confined to) being a way to parody the hegemony of heteronormative gender performativity. In its escalation as an activist tool that queers imposed hegemonic norms, it has grown, and continues to grow, to disrupt other fields of static and iterative cultural fixity. This rationale is being employed in this specific instance for a similar purpose – to interrupt the performative stasis with a question that could bring new complexity to this particular element of the independence-day performance. Could Mr Hosho's choreography, within the construct of this band and within the programme of an acknowledged celebration of independence, project a parodying of a parody? Or, in the lexicon that is being explored here, a dragging of drag?

This dichotomy needs unpacking. Starting with the second register of parody, or drag, as is being proposed, alludes to the notion of dressing and/or performing an other. Inspiring this thinking is a connection to American ball culture (Beemyn 2014, Hughes 2001, Livingstone 1991, Butler 1989) as alluded to in the opening quotation of this chapter. This challenging idealisation of whiteness among a certain sector of gay culture, evidenced through notions 'of behaviour modification in the history of civilisation' (Livingstone 1997:43:38[293]), and how this gets translated into the objective of 'captur[ing] the great white way of living or looking or dressing or speaking' (*Ibid*.: 43:58) resonates with the colonial styling and the regimented performance of the marching band.

[293] This is a reference to the timecode in the film where this quote can be found.

Ball culture provided the platform for drag performance and became the active venue for calculated expression, considered strategies of subversion articulated through appropriation that was, and is, played out through performative parody. These performance balls, which originated in the early 19th century (Beemyn 2014, Hughes 2001), began in protest against laws instituted to safeguard 'acceptable' dress as governed by a heteronormative binary. The motivation for these surreptitious and defiant performances resonates with the provocation and satire of Renaissance era socio-political hierarchies that Bakhtin's theoretical constructs of eccentricity are built on. He recognised their agency to parody socially and politically imposed sanctity and explore, albeit momentarily, the boundaries of free expression.

Recalling the conceptual twist mentioned earlier, the aim of making this association is to, hypothetically, recast the presentation of the band as a drag intervention, and suggest a subversive strategy in its apparent 'mimicry' (Bhabha). Their amplified and stiff marching, the colonially-styled dress that has them clad in suits, peaked hats, white gloves, then having to play shiny brass instruments… these arguably satirise the objective of 'ZIMBABWE WILL NEVER BE A COLONY AGAIN'. In this conception, what becomes open to conjecture, then, is whether their performance registers as a satire of the former colony or of the current era of sovereignty. Or can it be both? This thinking renders a stochastic fluidity that disrupts and complicates the fixity of the regimented performance.

Now, returning to the first suggestion of parodying: the objective, here, is to suggest a further twist by building onto the (hypothetically re-imagined) subversive performance and styling of the band within the mechanism of a supposedly anti-colonial concert. The first layer of parody is awarded solely to the unique and peculiar performance of '*Mr. Hosho*'. His spirited gyration issues another challenge that disturbs the regimented formation of the band. The proposition being offered, then, is to imagine this deliberate departure from the synchronised structure of their formation as a further parodying of their regimented formality. His distinctive choreography not only subverts their performance, but also calls attention to their paradoxical register in this performance of colonial emancipation. His performance reads as eccentric to their eccentricity. His freestyled dance invites itself to be read as a potentially defiant expression of his 'internally convinced word'. This additional twist catapults the reading of this performance into a speculative orbit, and in so doing recommends the productivity that an abstractive exploration of the independence-day performance can, and needs to, deliver.

This imperative is directed by the aforementioned dawning of a new era, given the recent resignation of a person, a leader who has been credited as the architect and, to some degree, gate-keeper of Zimbabwean identity. This investigation also endorses a further imperative: the need for expansive and eclectic reading of the Zimbabwean identity project, since there is scope for lateral proliferation. This enterprise is further prompted by the inherent productivity of speculative research understood through developed notions of 'eccentricity' and 'carnivalistic mésalliances' (Davis 2014:7). The potential, then, to exercise the agency of radical expression that notions of independence, of freedom, can afford could play out through of notions of expansive speculative indigeneities. These kinds of provocations could then bring together opposites that stage, propose and suggest a series of apposite readings.

Conclusion

What has emerged from this exploration of the performance mechanisms of the independence-day ceremony are the multiple registers of instability and paradox. Processing elements of this performance through Schechner's categorical constructs relays a series of contradictions in relation to the metaphysical intentions of notions of independence as abstracted through ideas of freedom, liberation and anti-colonialism. These dilemmas extend in relation to the processing of discrete minutiae from this performance through Goffman's filter of conviction and, more so, in relation to notions of sincerity and cynicism regarding performance intentions. In the concluding section, Bakhtin's theoretical constructs further foreground the contradictions that precede yet pave the way for a conceptual twist, towards a generative and provocative reading of this performance of putative colonial emancipation. These layers of perplexing registers have produced rich and curious material - material that needs processing, given the new era that Zimbabwe and Zimbabweans find themselves in. More importantly, however, what this discrete analysis has revealed is the imperative for complex and intricate inquiry into the performance logics and minutiae of this seminal ceremony.

Additionally, this investigation points to the potential for thinking about alternative constructs which could shift the current performative stasis. These alternatives, as signalled in the last section, using Bakhtin's construct, could find intriguing purchase through the terrains of speculative research. This will be explored further in the next chapter. In concluding this chapter, however, it is important to draw attention to the developing theme of instability that surfaced in the previous chapter/indigenous chapter, with regard

to the framing of the concept of indigenousness as it finds a new and more specific register through the dynamism of ontology, that is, indigeneity. This volatility is a vital finding in so far as it motivates, as Fuss argues, 'an insistent and intrepid disorganization' (Fuss 1999:6) which, in turn, could nurture the energy being expressed by a new generation of Zimbabweans in search of alternatives to the homogeneous hegemony of that which has prevailed with the performance of independence, of freedom and liberation in Zimbabwe since 1980.

Chapter 3 – Speculation – Theory and Practice

Introduction

> '*Beneath reality, there is always fantasy*'
>
> (Marechera in Veit-Wild and Schare 1988:10)

> *'Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto'*
> *(I am human, and think nothing human alien to me)*
>
> (Terence, *Heauton timorumenos* 77 in Jocelyn 1973)

In this chapter, the aim is to build a rationale for a speculative intervention as a way to read and reimagine the independence-day performance of 2017. By marshalling the presences and absences of registers of indigeneity within this event, as discussed in the previous chapters, the objective is to propose a process of speculative synthesis of these elements so as to propose the potential of alternative manifestations of contemporary indigeneity. Key to this intervention is the quest to explore and build on evidence of indigeneity that could emerge from this processing that is perhaps latent in this performance of independence, as seen in the preceding chapter.

The proposition of a conceptual detour through the territory of speculative research is prompted by the recognition of a distinct instability within the legislative framework of indigenousness, as it is interpolated in Zimbabwe. This developing flux further flourishes when aspects gathered from the independence-day event are filtered through the lens of performative analysis in search of evidence of notions of contemporary indigeneity. The objective of this conceptual turn is to engage a particular reading of speculative theory as a generative experiment to think through this instability, with the added intention of recommending a dynamic synthesis of the quandaries, the paradoxes and the dilemmas that have surfaced in the previous chapters.

The central proposition is to suggest a speculative process as a method to activate the immutable present, as regards notions of cultural indigeneity and, in so doing, present a series of provocative alternatives that juxtapose the present with the long past in ways that have not yet surfaced in post-independence Zimbabwe. In exposing evidence of interpolation, articulated through Ndlovu-Gatsheni's examination of *Mugabeisms* (2009:29), together with the implicit registers of Althusser's theory of Ideological State

Apparatus (Sharma and Gupta, 2006:92)[294] in Zimbabwe, this analysis will work to synthesise the meta-ambitions of emancipation and post-colonial freedom in Africa (Ade Ajayi 1982)[295], in search of probabilities, albeit hypothetical, of '*NEVER* [being] *A COLONY AGAIN*', and of reframing post-independent trajectories towards '*becoming*' (Deleuze and Guattari 2004) indigenous. How this experiment could play out within the specific confines of the performance logics of the independence-day ceremony presents a compelling prospect. The lack of knowledge or active use of aspects from the long past that there has been, specifically in relation to registers of the innate plurality of those eras, is evident in contemporary Zimbabwe (Mawere, Chiwaura and Thondhlana 2015 and focus group data). This recognition draws particular attention in comparison to the extraordinary depth of the analyses that do exist about these eras and their availability. Acknowledging this lacuna reveals the value in this vast library of material that could find active and creative synthesis through a speculative key.

The chapter begins with a framing of speculative research, in the realm of visual and performance arts, as a rationalizing anchor. This is followed by an examination of the visual styling of a select group of characters from the Marvel film *Black Panther* (2018), in conversation with an equivalent set of characters from the 2017 Independence-day performance in Zimbabwe. This combing of minutiae is staged to generate and strengthen the rationale for this approach through the landscape of speculative research. The next step in this exploratory journey is to delve into Martin Savranksy's 2018 essay on the notion of 'speculative pragmatism' as a methodological approach to thinking about the instabilities and ensuing conundrums that have surfaced in the analysis of post-independent notions of indigeneity. Through this concluding articulation, the objective is to rationalise the inherent potential of intricate and unconventional applications of speculative research and methodology, as a way to disrupt the inertia of the present.

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[294] A. Sharma and A. Gupta (eds), '*The Anthropology of the State: A Reader*', Maldon, Oxford and Victoria, Blackwell Publishing, 2006, Pg. 92, and K. Anderson, M. Domosh, S. Pile and N. Thift, (eds), *The Handbook of Cultural Geography*, (London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi, Sage, 20013), from Chapter 14, E. Probyn, *The Spatial Imperative of Subjectivity*, p. 291-292

[295] J. F. Ade. Ajayi, "*Expectations of Independence*." *Daedalus*, vol. 111, no. 2, 1982, pp. 1–9

3.1 Why Speculate? – The Lure and Allure

'*A basic imperative… is the need to work out the synthesis of insights from our traditional philosophies with any we can get from modern resources of knowledge and reflection.*'

(Wiredu 2002:54)[296]

'*As a teenager, I spent my time wondering why in sci-fi movies, every landscape, every object I could see was Western or Asian based. I've finally understood that somewhere our legacy had been locked in the past, that we couldn't be "futuristic" in the eyes of our fellow Europeans.*'

(Aguessy in Pinther and Weigand 2018:4)[297]

'*[W]e can now call ourselves full masters of our destiny.*'

(Mugabe 2017)[298]

In relation to the inciting prop that directs this research inquiry, the banner that declares, 'ZIMBABWE WILL NEVER BE A COLONY AGAIN', the question arises as to what particular, or even general, notion of 'destiny' Mugabe was or could have been 'call[ing]' to? Understood in its broadest sense, the inference of *destiny* indicates, within its oeuvre, projections of inevitable becomings and futurity. Etymologically, the term similarly organises a range of speculative precepts that revolve around notions of "fate, ... [an] inexorable force that shapes and controls lives and events… [and]... "that which is predetermined and sure to come true" (Harper 2001 - 2017)[299]. The Shona translation, *magumiro* echoes these concepts, going one step beyond, by speaking to the 'manner in which events/plans/strategies come to an end… [or]… the furthest limit of our imaginaries and reality' (Mpfunya 2018)[300]. A combination of the presented notions towards ideas of the 'predetermined' and 'the furthest limit of our imaginaries and reality' could productively be shepherded as a way to read Mugabe's assertions to 'destiny'[301] in the speech he presented at the independence-day ceremony in 2017. In other words, these extrapolations of the notion of 'destiny' could point towards a reinvigoration of the cultural dynamism that was

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[296] K. Wiredu, '*Conceptual decolonization as an imperative in contemporary African philosophy: some personal reflections*', Rue Descartes 2002/2 (n° 36), p. 53-64. DOI 10.3917/rdes.036.0053

[297] K. Pinther and A. Weigand (eds.), '*Flow of Forms, Forms of Flow: Design Histories Between Africa and Europe*', Bieldefeld, transcript Verlag, 2018

[298] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c35NRhBM5Ao see timecode: 4.23 - retrieved 2 June 2018

[299] https://www.etymonline.com/word/destiny - retrieved 12 August 2018

[300] Email exchange with Mr. F. Mpfunya, Executive Director of The Culture Fund Trust of Zimbabwe. 22 August 2018

[301] Reference is made to another line in Mugabe's speech – '*But the assignment is not yet complete*', which follows, '…*we attained our independence and now enjoy our freedom and independence*' – Mugabe 2017. These lines are used as motivation and justification for his reading of '*destiny*'.

disturbed, paused or stopped by the onset of European colonisation. What has become evident as challenging and perplexing, however, is how this presumed cultural reinvigoration has been made manifest.

In the previous chapter, reference was made to the ways in which the ruling party, ZANU-PF, under Mugabe's tutelage, deployed narratives of nationhood, nationalism, patriotism and a strategic reading of history to author a distinct notion of Zimbabwe's 'destiny' through a collectivizing homogeneity (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009, Muzondidya 2009). However, the recognition of this ring-fencing and shepherding of particular narratives of indigeneity present a timeous opportunity to offer new thinking of what a broader reading could do. The potential embodied in suggesting multiple explorations into time as a way to invite alternative narratives, and within that, to explore the possibility of juxtaposing the long past with the notion of a, or its, future, is as compelling as it is imperative (Savransky 2018:26)[302]. Zimbabweans currently find themselves in a curious and apparently new epoch, post-Mugabe[303], with the narrative of new beginnings. For the first time in the country's short life, they have an opportunity to examine aspects of identity and becoming beyond the reign of Mugabe's 'homogenising and identity-forming sociopolitical factory' (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009:347). Expanding on this provocation through a rhizomatic (Deleuze and Guattari 1987) rendering of the notion of 'destiny', could provide generative service to this imperative, offering the promise of radically alternative notions of contemporary indigeneity within scope, given the context of immutability.

The 'inexorable', synonymously implied with the notion of 'fate', further nourishes projections of 'becoming' and futurity. The process of 'becoming', theorized by Deleuze and Guattari through notions of 'deterritorialization' and 'reterritorialization' (2004) articulates the dynamism of growth. Understanding 'becoming' through this non-linear morphing of forms exposes the current state of immutability and the immutable state of the presentation of culture and indigeneity in Zimbabwe (Chipangura in Omar, Ndhlovu, Gibson and Vawda 2014:190). For Deleuze and Guattari, the synthesis in '*becoming*' defies the fixity of things that merely 'happen', favouring instead the dynamism of 'happening'. So,

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[302] This is aptly articulated by Savransky – '*…when futures demand to be thought*' (Savransky in Savransky, Wilkie and Rosengarten 2017: 26)

[303] It is vital to register the immense impact of this new era. Given the stronghold that Robert Mugabe has had over various aspects of Zimbabwean life -ranging from political through to cultural - it is in particular reference to how the project of dictating and perpetuating a distinct, though confusing, sense of post-independent identity that this reference is drawn.

'becoming', understood through this construct, suggests a continuous evolution since it is always 'happening' (Teisson in Shields and Vallee 2012:34)[304]. The iteration that is then produced is not only a cycling of processes of 'becoming' but, also, a vital evolution of forms towards multiple 'becomings'. This rotation of processes, activated with newer materials, could then articulate the idea of 'fate' in a *multiplicity* of forms, thus rendering the notion of 'destiny', in the context of contemporary Zimbabwean indigeneity, in ways that have yet to surface.

This suggestion of multiplicity is further supported by another articulation of 'becoming': 'the transformation of essential forms' (Deleuze and Guattari 2004:252). The 'essential forms' in this case relate to the iterative recycling that is evident in the choreography and styling of the independence-day event in Zimbabwe (Willems 2013)[305]. Analysis of the independence-day ceremony through a performance key in the previous chapter has revealed that the primary visual and material culture registers indicate a perplexing colonial styling that directs the attire and address of the dignitaries. This influence extends to the various other performative aspects of this ceremony, from the choreography of the marches and the design of the uniforms of the armed forces; to the music and the instruments used to perform; and further, to aspects of the supporting performances staged by large groups of adult and child performers. This scrutiny highlights a distinct absence of manifestations of cultural indigeneity which would reflect the rich heritage of cultural practices that preceded European colonisation. What also surfaces, from this comprehensive reading of the performance elements, is the potential for multiple narratives that can be generated from synthesizing the elements of the independence-day ceremony through performative analysis. This detour opens the possibility to generate alternative understandings of the various processed elements, and by doing so, support the case for multiplicity.

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[304] R. Shields and M. Vallee (eds.), '*Demystifying Deleuze: An Introductory Assemblage of Crucial Concepts*', Ottawa, Red Quill Books, 2012

[305] Willems's analysis, unpacked in detail in the previous chapter indicates the repetitive aspect of this event in the general programming. While there are changes in the minutiae, the processions, the performances, the speeches and the overall choreography have been repeated each year, since the onset in 1980. The first ceremony, which happened on the evening of the 17th April 1980, culminating in the lowering of the Union Jack and the raising of the Zimbabwean flag on the stroke of midnight, understandably, held more drama. This is a crucial element that is conspicuous by its absence.

Through this distinct reading of the performance of independence in Zimbabwe, it can be argued that the notion of 'becoming' has been fundamentally denied. If Mugabe calling to a *destiny* that excludes coloniality reveals a particular and strategic immutability, the question being posed, somewhat rhetorically here, is what methodology could, productively and creatively, process the potential trajectories of *becoming* indigenous[306] Zimbabwe?

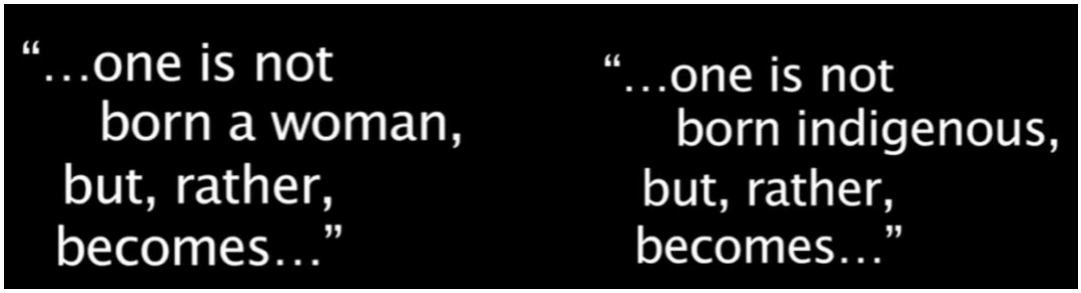

Figure 26 [After Beauvoir[307]]

In the introduction to their 2017 book, '*Speculative Research – The Lure of Possible Futures*', authors Savransky, Wilkie and Rosengarten unpack a rationale for speculative research. Within their motivation, the past, the present, and the future – the meta-temporal triumvirate – secure positions in the chronology of development. In this, the understanding is that the future is, almost always, the hypothesised entity, akin to '*destiny*' in this context. By comparison, the past is often thought of as being the place of memory, and that of learning. The present, then, can be considered the site for synthesis, where lessons from the past are juxtaposed with aspirations for the future, in a productive quarrel. What is distinctively attractive about Savransky, Wilkie and Rosengarten's proposition is 'the active taking of risks that enable an exploration of the plurality of the present… out of which unexpected events may erupt, and alternative futures may be created.' (*Ibid.*: 8).

This notion of 'alternative futures' presents the possibility of challenging the homogeneity that has dictated notions of Zimbabwean identity since 1980 (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009:347).

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[306] Indigenous here is being employed as the doppelgänger to the objective of '*NEVER* [being] *A COLONY AGAIN*'

[307] Simone de Beauvoir's provocation coupled with Deleuze and Guattari's theory of '*becoming*' align in that they both allude to a journey of discovery instead of a destination. Becoming, in both instances, requires a constant '*transformation of form*', an evolution. The speculative provocation, shown in fig. 3.1, appropriates Beauvoir's assertion as a way to coalesce the preceding logic and bring into being the purpose of this research. Also, this calls into being the shifts that have occurred in the foundational concept of indigenousness – from geographical locator to measure of development to endangered/threatened communities to land warriors etc. This is also a provocation to the legislated definition of an '*indigenous Zimbabwean*' – '*before the 18th April, 1980, was disadvantaged by unfair discrimination on the grounds of his or her race*', (IEEA 2007: 2)

Ndlovu-Gatsheni's extrapolation of 'Mugabeism', discussed in the previous chapter, articulates the nationalist political scaffolding that has shaped identity politics in both overt and subtle ways. At the dawn of a post-Mugabe era[308], Savransky, Wilkie and Rosengarten's propositions hold latent promise for Zimbabweans keen to explore alternative narratives of *being*. The authors challenge, however, the notion that futures are necessarily progression of the present, warning of 'reduc[ing] futures to matters of anticipation, calculation, management and pre-emption of risks and uncertainties in the present' (*Ibid.*: 1). What is suggested, then, is the idea that thinking about futures can draw stimulus from beyond the strictures of temporal chronology and the governing impulse of a logic of linearity – 'it matters how we enter the future, what sense of futurity we bring into play, which modes of relating to the not-yet we enable knowing and thinking practices to nurture' (*Ibid.*: 5).

This idea of 'the not-yet we enable' invokes a parallel cynicism that has accompanied practices and outcomes of speculative intervention in recent times. The devastating consequences of speculation in the world of finance confirm this scepticism resoundingly and caution vehemently against the negative consequences of the application of this method and/or intervention (MacKenzie 2006 in Savransky, Wilkie and Rosengarten 2017:5-7; Halewood in Savransky, Wilkie and Rosengarten 2017:59-60). To speculate, understood from the dictionary, is 'to review something idly or casually and often inconclusively, ... to take to be true on the basis of insufficient evidence... [and]… to be curious or doubtful about' (Merriam-Webster n.d.). What speculative research proposes, however, is to bring in an alternate methodology to support 'a different sense of the speculative… [so that a] more creative and responsible sensibility may be cultivated' (Savransky, Wilkie and Rosengarten 2017:6).

In response to notions of the inconclusive, the casual, the insufficient and the doubtful, speculative research, the authors suggest, has the potential to harness the dissonance as productive impetus for chimerical alternatives. Through this proposition, however, there is the acknowledgement that the processing of speculation, 'should not be thought of simply as a practice of wild imagination… [but]… hypotheses that are projections of the possibilities of facts already in existence and capable of report (Dewey 2008 [1929]:63 quoted in Savransky et al 2017:32). The plurality that this considered methodology

[308] Robert Mugabe, president of Zimbabwe since 1980, resigned his position in November 2017, after mounting pressure for his exit. See: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-42071488 - retrieved 18 June 2018

supports, through the idea of generating multiple outcomes, confers another layer of merit in service of destabilizing the monolithic scaffolding that has enshrined notions of homogeneity in contemporary Zimbabwe.

This notion of multiple narratives, integral to the literary terrain of science fiction, as the authors mention, is an indication of the eclectic productivity of speculative research. The production of future-worlds through 'projections of the possibilities of facts already in existence' (*Ibid.*), gives rise to compelling heterogeneity that revels in 'the not-yet'. This heterogeneity is a key indicator resonating with the objective of this research proposition in search of contemporary registers of indigeneity in Zimbabwe. Recognizing the monolithic immutability (Fontein 2006:215)[309] of contemporary identity politics in Zimbabwe, and how this plays out in the performance mechanics of the independence-day event, exploring alternatives using the methodology of speculative research is timely. This imperative seeks to wallow in the opportunity embodied by the declaration that 'ZIMBABWE WILL NEVER BE A COLONY AGAIN' while, simultaneously, exploring ways to activate narratives from the long past as innovative alternative contributions to the ongoing debates on decolonisation.

Figure 27

3.2 Reading Speculatively - Black Panther and Independence-day 2017

'*One of the amazing things about Wakanda is that it is an African nation that is wholly self-determining and without influence from the outside, without westernizing influence. It's never been conquered or colonized*.'

(Rock 2018) [310]*

'Question: What was the biggest source of inspiration for you, on a personal level?

"*That I could bring ancient Africa to the foreground in a way that's never been seen before in cinema. We weren't doing Coming to America. It really hadn't been dealt*

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[309] Fontein, J. *The Silence of Great Zimbabwe: Contested Landscapes and The Power of Heritage*, (New York, UCL Press, 2006), p. 215. I add another reference that I recognize does not comply with the requirements of the academic barometer, but it has been useful, evocative and provocative. Zimbabwe has never been a Monolithic Shona Society of One Language and One Culture: The Best Way Forward is !Ke e:/Xarra//Ke: - Unity in Diversity. (11 October, 2012) Available: http://lushanduko.blogspot.co.za/2012/10/zimbabwe-has-never-been-monolithic.html - retrieved 10 May 2017

[310] https://www.theguardian.com/film/2018/feb/13/black-panther-joe-robert-cole-black-superhero-interview - retrieved 12 April 2018

> *with in this way. You had to imagine a place that didn't get colonized by the Dutch or the British. So, what would that be like? How would their culture stay intact, and what would it look like? It was inspiring for me to know that I could do it."'*
>
> (Placidio interviewing Carter 2018)[311]

The screenwriter of the action/sci-fi film *Black Panther* (2018), Joe Robert Cole, offers an interesting proposal in relation to the research rationale of this chapter. Cole's motivation was informed by the possibility to speculate on, he says, 'an African nation that...[had]… never been conquered or colonized' (Rock 2018). The film's phenomenal success with viewers across the world[312], and the serendipitous connection with the pivotal prop[313] at the Zimbabwean independence-day performance of 2017 – 'never been….colonized' chimes with 'NEVER BE A COLONY AGAIN' – make it a compelling case study to think through the pragmatics of a speculative approach in the realm of post-colonial emancipation. Analysis of the film's exponential influence speaks of the impact this film may have on a new generation.

> It is not all fantasy. If we… do more research into our history… we will see that there are many elements of what we saw in Wakanda that are already within our grasp… It is now up to us… to reshape the world as we would like it to be (Black Consumer Group 2018)[314].

The close reading of this film has a crucial objective: to examine specific design elements of the film to understand how a group of African-American filmmakers, with the support of 'experts on Africa and the diaspora', realised their vision of 'an African nation that... [had]… never been conquered or colonized' (Rock 2018). This reading poses, also, a tacit query: could it be useful to highlight what Mbembe referred to as 'those presences that are no longer' and 'absences of those others that are yet to come' (Mbembe 2015:16)[315] within the manifestations of design, intention and styling of the independence-day celebration of 2017 in Zimbabwe?

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[311] https://www.forbes.com/sites/danidiplacido/2018/01/31/costume-designer-ruth-e-carter-talks-the-inspiration-behind-black-panther/#24ccf3eb4d25 - retrieved 12 April 2018

[312] http://thinkmonsters.com/speakinghuman/media/headlines-black-panther-phenomenal-success/ and https://pursuenews.com/marvel-icon-stan-lee-celebrates-black-panthers-phenomenal-success/ - retrieved 25 June 2018

[313] The banner, hung over the entrance to the stadium, '*ZIMBABWE WILL NEVER BE A COLONY AGAIN*'.

[314] http://blackconsumergroup.com/what-impact-will-black-panthers-phenomenal-success-have-on-the-film-industry/ - retrieved 25 June 2018

[315] '….it may be supposed that the present as experience of time is precisely that moment when different forms of absence become mixed together: absence of those presences that are no longer so and that one remembers (the past), and absences of those others that are yet to come and are anticipated (the future)." A. Mbembe, *On the Postcolony*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2001), p. 16

Much has been written and celebrated about the visual styling of *Black Panther* (2018). The narrative of emancipation-through-design is a key feature being attributed to the success of this film. So, the focus of this analysis will revolve around the visual styling of certain characters, and how their visual identity has been conceptualised and realised. The aim of this is to draw a conceptual connection with the characters examined and detailed in the previous chapter, from the Zimbabwean independence-day performance of 2017. This connection is being pitched as a correspondence, an expositional dialogue of sorts, between the two sets of characters, framed by an understanding of their shared emancipatory narrative. This exchange is premised on how the film processes the notion of 'never been colonised' and how the ceremony of independence makes its claim to 'NEVER BE A COLONY AGAIN'. Key to this framing is, also, how the notion of *destiny* and, by association, notions of futurity are visually suggested. Both performances allude, in varying degrees, to notions of indigeneity filtered through the express aim of not being colonial or colonially-influenced. This, then, is a crucial motivation to explore alternative readings of these performances.

The pairings being proposed are as follows:

a. The main protagonist, King T'Challa, also referred to as Black Panther, will be in dialogue with his equal, the President in the independence-day performance (Robert Mugabe);
b. The leaders of the three military battalions in the film – the General of the Dora Milaje, the Leader of the Border Tribe, and the Leader of the Jabari Tribe – will converse with the corresponding leaders of the Zimbabwean military forces – the General of Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA), the Commissioner General of the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP), and, the Commander of the Airforce of Zimbabwe (AFZ).
c. The leaders of the four tribes in the film – the Border Tribe, the River Tribe, the Merchant Tribe, and the Mining Tribe, who also function as the kingdom's elders and supreme council – will confer with the Magistrates and the Traditional Chiefs of Zimbabwe.

It is important to note that this comparative discussion of the visual styling elements is being relayed from a conceptual platform, and is driven by an understanding of each of them as crucial characters in their respective performances. As such, and where possible, information about the intention of the styling will form the basis of understanding, and

where information is not as explicit, this analysis will defer to etymological or historical pointers of costumes.

3.2a The King and the President

Figure 28

King T'Challa's costume consists of a tunic-style 'cutaway coat based on 18th-century designs and embroidered front panel and sleeves in Nigerian style.' (Buchanan 2018)[316]. The trousers are modelled on a Japanese samurai *hakama umanori* style (Mito 2011)[317]. Also noteworthy are the king's open-toe sandals, which he describes in the film, to his sister's exclamatory inquiry, 'What, you don't like my royal sandals? I wanted to go old school for my first day' (Black Panther 2018)[318]. The costume designer, Ruth E. Carter, 'wanted to make sure that T'Challa's costumes had not even a whiff of colonial influence' (Bradley 2018)[319]. The rendering of the full costume in black, save for the embroidery on the coat, is a further reference to power (Pastoureau 2008)[320]. Carter's design for the king is clearly a fusion of multiple influences. The silhouette of the coat echoes the distinct cut of a European frock-coat and, in doing so, perhaps exposes a slip in the designer's intention to pursue non-'colonial influence[s]' (*Ibid.*). A further deceit is held in the choice of the sandals. Carter shares, 'They're Alexander McQueen. ... He needed a sandal that looked like a royal sandal, in sort of a dated, Roman way.' (Zemler 2014)[321]. Does this expose Carter's choosing of how notions of coloniality are interpreted? What this query

Figure 29

Figure 30

[316] http://www.vulture.com/2018/02/black-panther-costume-designer-ruth-e-carter-on-8-looks.html - retrieved 26 June 2018
[317] http://shugyo.com/hakama/ - retrieved 25 August 2018
[318] Black Panther 2018, timecode: 38:46
[319] https://www.vanityfair.com/hollywood/2018/02/black-panther-costumes-designer-ruth-carter-interview - retrieved 26 June 2018
[320] M. Pastoureau, '*Black: The History of a Color*.', Princeton University Press, 2008.
[321] https://www.elle.com/culture/movies-tv/a17887835/ruth-carter-black-panther-costume-designer-interview/ - retrieved 26 June 2018

does suggest is an indication of an idiosyncratic understanding of the colonial gaze, from the view point of an African-American designer. Apart from this register, however, what also stands out is how Carter gathered and combined European, Nigerian, Japanese and Roman elements to speculate on the identity of a leader, a king of a hypothetical African nation[322]. This speaks to the notion of multiplicities alluded to earlier in the work that 'becoming' can and does do through a speculative key. This combination of influences also troubles the notion of homogeneity and supports the recognition of the plurality in the project of projecting ideas of identity.

> Because Wakanda is so forward-thinking, I went beyond the African-based designers and looked at some Japanese designers like Yohji Yamamoto and Matsuda (Zemler (quoting Ruth E. Carter) 2018).

Figure 31

The president in the independence-day performance in Zimbabwe wears a single-breasted striped suit, accessorised with a green paisley tie and matching pocket square. Across his torso is draped the 'Zimbabwe Order of Merit – Grand Commander's Sash'[323] in colours that echo the Zimbabwe flag. Over the suit and the sash lies an elaborate neck-piece, akin to a garland. And finally, affixed to his suit pocket, is a large medal. The provenance of the suit is, as that of King T'Challa, European (St. George 2017)[324]. The grasshopper sitting at the edge of the sash, since it must be mentioned, is a random, though beautifully whimsical, accessory. The single-breasted, hip-length style jacket originated in 'the late 19th century' (*Ibid*.). The tie and the pocket square have a similar history[325]. The sash is a common accessory among African and South American leaders, who wear it mostly for official ceremonies[326]. The garland-like necklace is modelled on a livery collar. This signifier of official office originates in medieval Europe (Ward 2016)[327]. The medal on the president's

[322] It is unclear as to the year that this film is set in. A number of analyses speak about the film as futuristic. Additionally, the filmmakers mention their work incorporating elements of Afrofuturism and futurity.
[323] http://www.medals.pl/bc/zw1.htm - retrieved 26 June 2018
[324] https://therake.com/stories/style/the-origins-of-the-single-breasted-jacket/ - retrieved 26 June 2018
[325] https://www.tie-a-tie.net/the-evolution-of-the-necktie/ and https://www.pochette-square.com/en/blog/history-pocket-square-n9 - retrieved 26 June 2018
[326] https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Banda_presidencial - retrieved 26 June 2018
[327] **M. Ward, The Livery Collar in Late Medieval England and Wales: Politics, Identity and Affinity', Martlesham, Boydell and Brewer, 2016**

suit pocket is the Order of Merit. This medal is awarded '[f]or eminent achievement and for services to Zimbabwe or humanity in general'[328].

Now, considering that this performance of independence is set in 2017, a full 37 years after the attainment of independence from colonisation in 1980, the styling of this character, especially in relation to the declaration 'ZIMBABWE WILL NEVER BE A COLONY AGAIN' is perplexing. What adds further intrigue how this styling relates to the notion of '*destiny*'. The president's costume strikes a single note that jars against the apparent anti-colonial rhetoric delivered at this performance. An anecdote shared by Mugabe's personal tailor reveals a similar slip to the one revealed in Carter's non-colonial intention:

> Khalil "Solly" Parbhoo, Mugabe's other tailor, told the late Heidi Holland in her book, Dinner with Mugabe, that the president "still dresses like an English gentleman; that's always been his style. He acts like an English gentleman, too (Zvomuya 2013)[329].

Taking account of this anecdotal observation of the President's character challenges a didactic reading of *'destiny*' in its allusion to notions of futurity, and therefore prompts questions regarding intent and manifestation. What should be understood by this presentation, in relation to the notion of *magumiro* and 'the furthest limit of our imaginaries and reality' (Mpfunya 2018)? This presentation, arguably, challenges the claim that 'we can now call ourselves full masters of our destiny.' (Mugabe 2017), since it foregrounds a layering of colonially-influenced elements in relation to notions of 'NEVER [being] A COLONY AGAIN'.

Interpreting speculation through these two characters offers divergent and interesting readings. T'Challa's characterisation aligns with a number of the concepts discussed earlier in this chapter. These include Deleuze and Guattari's notions of "deterritorialization' and *'*reterritorialization' of forms (Deleuze and Guattari 2004), the dynamism embodied in 'becoming' and the transformation of essential forms' (Deleuze and Guattari 2004:252). The evolution and the combination of cultural influences employed to present King T'Challa as a vision of a futuristic leader of an African country breaks the pattern of 'Pan-African

[328] http://medals.org.uk/zimbabwe/zimbabwe/zimbabwe005.htm - retrieved 26 June 2018
[329] https://mg.co.za/article/2013-10-04-00-the-tailored-gait-of-mugabes-march - retrieved 26 June 2018

Essentialisms' (Hopkinson and Myers in Langmis 2018:228)[330] and, as Adiche (2009)[331] argues, 'When we reject the single story, when we realise that there is never a single story about any place, we regain a kind of paradise.' Her quote sets up the platform for an opposing reading of the president's manifestation. Framed by the notion of 'NEVER BE[ing] A COLONY AGAIN' and the breadth that *magumiro*, the Shona interpretation of '*destiny*' conveys, the visualisation of a leader of an independent African country is confounding. There is, perhaps, 'a single story' to be read in this character: the resounding legacy of coloniality. What can be understood from the president's presentation through the speculative filter is that this is perhaps what 'call[ing] ourselves full masters of our destiny' (Mugabe 2017) looks like in Zimbabwe. This presentation exposes a perplexing exhibition of colony which then troubles the objective of exploring 'the furthest limit of our imaginaries and reality' (Mpfunya 2018):

> [T]the assignment is not yet complete. It still is incumbent upon us, all us Zimbabweans, to work to translate into true meaning that freedom, sovereignty and independence, so it can have the meaning and significance we desire (Mugabe 2017)[332].

[330] N. Hopkinson and T. K. Myers, '*Afrocentricity of the Whole: Bringing Women and LBGTQIA Voices in from the Theoretical Margins*' in K. Langmia (ed.), '*Black/Africana Communication Theory*', Cham, Palgrave Macmillan, 2018

[331] C. N. Adiche, TED Talk 2009, https://www.ted.com/talks/chimamanda_adichie_the_danger_of_a_single_story?language=en - retrieved 25 August 2018.

[332] http://nehandatv.com/2017/04/19/mugabes-speech-37th-independence-anniversary-celebrations-video/ and https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=1&v=c35NRhBM5Ao - timecode: 4.39 – 5.21 – retrieved 25 August 2018

3.2 b The Armed Forces

Black Panther

'*The Dora Milaje aren't the only way in which Black Panther brings pre-colonial African ideas into modernity*.'

(Coleman 2018)

The Dora Milaje[333], led by General Okoye, are the King's army. This all-female battalion, writes Arica Coleman, referred to as 'the adored ones', were also thought of as 'the King's "wives-in-training" (Coleman 2018)[334]. Coleman (2018) suggests that the inspiration for the Dora Milaje emanated from an ancient African army of the women soldiers, from the Kingdom of Dahomey, who originated from the area that is now the Republic of Benin. (Alpern 2011; Serbin, Joubeaud, Adandé and Masioni 2015[335]; Coleman 2018). In visualizing the General's costume, Carter aimed for a combination of, 'both stunning and practical' (Buchanan 2018). Under the guidance of Carter, a group of designers fused traditional elements drawn from Kenya, the Philippines, South Africa, Ethiopia, Japan, and Benin (Ro 2018, Abrams 2018)[336]. The visual references for this costume deliver 'a modular design that's "80 percent Masai [from southern Kenya and northern Tanzania], five percent Samurai, five percent ninja, and five percent Ifugao tribe," from the Philippines' (Soo Hoo 2018).[337]

Figure 32

[333] https://www.buzzfeed.com/crystalro/dora-milaje-costume-details-black-panther?utm_term=.qhajdKMg6#.qd004dYmA -retrieved 26 June 2018
[334] http://time.com/5171219/black-panther-women-true-history/ - retrieved 26 June 2018
[335] S. Alpern, '*The Amazons of Black Sparta: The Women Warriors of Dahomey*', New York, New York University Press, 1998, 2011; S. Serbin, J. Joubeaud, J. Adandé and P. Masioni, '*The Women Soldiers of Dahomey*', Paris, UNESCO 2015 - http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0023/002309/230934E.pdf - retrieved 26 June 2018
[336] https://www.buzzfeed.com/crystalro/dora-milaje-costume-details-black-panther?utm_term=.dvwedqY2W#.jswpqZmJB and https://www.mpaa.org/2018/02/costume-designer-ruth-e-carter-designing-black-panthers-fierce-dora-milaje/ - retrieved 26 June 2018
[337] https://fashionista.com/.amp/2018/02/marvel-black-panther-movie-costumes-hair-makeup - retrieved 26 June 2018

General Okoye's costume is constituted of many layered elements, each having a specific meaning and/or connection to Africa. At the base is a dark fitted body suit, overlaid with a 'hand-tooled' harness 'made of multiple pieces of leather, stitched together with large decorative stitches', that crisscross her torso and extend down to her waist (Black Panther Costume 2018)[338]. The waist section is belted and clasped with a large buckle with a Black Panther emblem. The belt has extended sections of tooled leather that cover the top of her hips. In place of the traditional military-type epaulettes are Samurai-style articulated plates. The general's shoulder plates are gold, which signify her high rank (*Ibid*.). Around her forearms are golden coiled-metal amulets worn on top of leather cuffs. She wears a matching collar of stacked gold rings, 'reminiscent of the *Ndebele* women' (Horne 2018) [339] around her neck, adorned with a spray of tubed extensions, some of which end with spherical golden beads. She wears a column-like tabard that extends from the torso through to the mid-thigh, beaded with a pattern, 'inspired by the Turkana tribe of Africa' (Black Panther Costume 2018). Her legs are clad in dark leggings which are overlaid with a contouring 'triangular designs…[that]…mirror the designs on T'Challa's…suit' (*Ibid*.). At her waist is a red leather apron-style skirt, off which hangs a number of talismans.

> The Dora Milaje wear tabards adorned with little talismans of protection……Most of them have an African symbol, or a piece of jade, or amethyst. …..I felt like it could be a personal thing, or a family sigil. When a Dora can no longer fight, maybe she trains her daughter, or granddaughter, and passes it down to her (Placidio interviewing Carter 2018).

General Okoye's feet are clad in Samurai-style split-toe boots[340]. Speaking of the entire ensemble, costume designer Ruth E. Carter relayed that 'it was Ryan's [the film's director, Ryan Coogler] idea to keep the Dora covered from neck to toe. He did not want them seen as sexual objects' (*Ibid*.). The general's bald scalp is adorned with sculptural tattoo, 'designed to look like a fighter pilot helmet' (Robinson 2018)[341]. She carries a metal spear and wears a bracelet of 'kimoyo beads', both of which are imbued with special powers.

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[338] Okoye and the Dora Milaje, Black Panther Costume 2018. Available: http://blackpanthercostu.me/dora-milaje/ - retrieved 26 June 2018

[339] http://www.syfy.com/syfywire/black-panther-designer-ruth-carter-reveals-the-african-symbols-embedded-in-the-costumes - retrieved 26 June 2018

[340] https://www.buzzfeed.com/crystalro/dora-milaje-costume-details-black-panther?utm_term=.wwY53kdR7#.voAvaoGpm - retrieved 26 June 2018

[341] T. Robinson, '*Behind the scenes with Black Panther's makeup designer*', available - https://www.theverge.com/2018/2/21/17033058/black-panther-marvel-makeup-designer-joel-harlow - retrieved 26 June 2018

'Carter took inspiration from the "glorious" blankets of the Lesotho people, who were inspired by similar ones given to them by European colonizers. "The King of the Lesotho people ... he loved them so much, he brought them into their culture and they designed these blankets honoring the queen. Some of them have crowns on them, honoring the harvest, some of them have corn husks. They all have this special meaning.'"

(TooFab Staff 2018)[342]

'*Those blankets were the bane of my existence," Oscar-winning costume designer Ruth E. Carter lamented*'

(*Ibid*.)

Figure 33

W'Kabi is both the leader of the Border Tribe and '*Wakanda's chief of security*' (Symlen 2018)[343]. His costume, like General Okoye, also comprises several layers, each imbued with particular design significance. The designer credits the overall styling influence for this character, and the tribe he is part of, to discrete South African and Lesotho-inspired culture. His wears a draped shoulder-blanket, 'inspired by the traditional garb of the *African Basotho* people' (Jason in Hollywood 2018 – emphasis in original)[344], that is inscribed with a silver text, that references 'a Ghanaian adinkra symbol' (Horne 2018), that materialises as a technological defence mechanism, when activated, becoming a force-field like shield (Ryzik 2018[345], Horne 2018, Jason in Hollywood 2018)[346]. The font of the text was designed 'to communicate messages into the past and into the future simultaneously', says Ytasha Womack, and incorporates 'influences from Tifinagh (North Africa), as well as glyphs taken directly from Bamun (Cameroon), N'ko (Guinea), Osmanya (Somalia,) and Vai (Liberia)' (Tselentis 2018)[347]. The asymmetrical torso harness he wears is made of textured and layered leather strips in blue, brown and gold. This torso-crossing shield radiates out of a

[342] http://toofab.com/2018/02/14/wakanda-black-panther-costumer-designer-ruth-e-carter-daniel-kaluuya-ryan-coogler-blanket/ - retrieved 26 June 2018
[343] https://comicvine.gamespot.com/wkabi/4005-62660/ - retrieved 26 June 2018
[344] https://hollywoodmoviecostumesandprops.blogspot.com/2018/03/wkabi-zuri-and-mbaku-costumes-from.html - retrieved 26 June 2018
[345] https://www.nytimes.com/2018/02/23/movies/black-panther-afrofuturism-costumes-ruth-carter.html - retrieved 26 June 2018
[346] http://www.syfy.com/syfywire/black-panther-designer-ruth-carter-reveals-the-african-symbols-embedded-in-the-costumes - retrieved 26 June 2018. This mechanism comes, most dramatically, into action in the final battle scene, when this army is pitched against the Dora Milaje. Timecode: 01:44:17
[347] http://www.printmag.com/typography/the-typography-of-black-panther/ - retrieved 25 August 2018

large ring of similarly coloured plaited leather strips that is anchored through one of his armholes. Underneath this harness he wears a long-sleeved medieval-style tunic made from a thickly woven and textured material. The lower half of his body is draped with an asymmetrical brown-suede wrap skirt, edged with the embossed 'adinkra' symbol, which is sits over a pair of close-fitting, dark, trouser-type leggings. On his feet are a pair of boots that extend up to the middle of his calves. Around his waist circles a collection of leather belts which also work to secure his samurai-styled sword. His hair is cut in a close-crop and his face is marked with lines of dots in a pattern akin to traditional African scarification patterns (Black Panther Costume 2018). W'Kabi also wears, like General Okoye, a set of 'kimoyo beads' around his wrist.

Figure 34

M'Baku is the leader of the Jabari – a warrior-clan army based in the mountains of Wakanda. Carter's imagining for this character and his tribe 'had to be handled differently because they lived away from the city in the mountains and were anti-technology, you see. Their totem was the white ape… [T]hey preferred the old ways, so there had to be fur and woven fabrics, because they lived in a colder climate' (Horne 2018). She based her designs on 'the hillside-dwelling Dogon people of Africa', adding that, '[t]hey were the first astronomers' (Buchanan 2018)[348]. M'Baku wears, like the General Okoye and W'Kabi, a costume of multiple layers. Covering his torso is an elaborate tooled leather bodice that is topped with a loose fur collar that drapes over his shoulders. Tortoiseshell-like armour plates are strapped to his biceps, and his forearms are wrapped in fur with studded embellishments. His tasselled-skirt, Carter shared, is styled on 'a grass piece at the Metropolitan Museum of Art [in New York]… that…I felt would look like a traditional skirt worn in Africa,' (Jusino 2018)[349]. This piece of clothing, she says, is another reference to the Dogon tribe (Buchanan 2018). Protecting his

[348] http://www.vulture.com/2018/02/black-panther-costume-designer-ruth-e-carter-on-8-looks.html - retrieved 25 August 2018

[349] https://www.themarysue.com/black-panther-costume-designer-ruth-e-carter-interview/ - retrieved 25 August 2018

feet and calves are boots made of fur with a shield-like guard attached over them. He carries a long pole with a sharpened bottom-end and the spherical top.

> [H]e's based on the character Man-Ape, a dated representation that would not fly in 2018. "It was pretty derogatory and racist, and we didn't want to go there, but we wanted to honor that he was Man-Ape," Carter said. "So instead of making his face look like an ape like the comics did, the fur that he has on his shoulders, prominently covers pitching up without invited type. I'll love to see the cover. [m his back is silvery in tone, and represents the silverback ape." (*Ibid.*).

Zimbabwe Independence Day 2017[350]

Figure 35

The Police Chief Commissioner, Augustine Chihuri[351], wears a dark-blue suit. The trousers have a prominent golden yellow ribbon along the side. On the left top side of the jacket are a bank of medals, each attached with woven medal tape. Each medal represents a particular recognition of honour (Gaszewski 2000, 2005)[352]. Around his right arm are braided gold *aiguillettes* (Collins English Dictionary n.d.)[353] which are draped across the torso of his jacket and attached to the top button of his dark-blue jacket. The collars of his jacket are embellished with royal blue 'collar patches'[354] that have silver embroidered insignia. Around his waist is a broad gold belt which is clasped with a prominent gold buckle. Covering his head is a peaked cap embroidered with a gold leaf-like insignia and topped with a gold band and golden embroidered medal. His hands are concealed in pristine white gloves. On his left side, he carries an elaborate golden-handled sword.

Figure 36

[350] It needs noting that information about the specifics of the uniforms of these characters was not so readily available. Queries were met with suspicion and a request for a detailed supporting rationale. As such, and given the particular time constraints of this research study coupled with the tenuous state of the politics of official permission in Zimbabwe, a decision was made to build an understanding of these uniforms through other means.

[351] Note: Augustine Chihuri is the former Commissioner of Police. This image is particular to 2017, during his tenure under Robert Mugabe.

[352] L. Gaszewski, '*Decorations and Medals of Zimbabwe 1980 – (Formerly Rhodesia)*' - http://www.medals.pl/bc/zw1.htm - retrieved 25 August 2018

[353] https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/aiguillette - retrieved 25 August 2018

[354] Wikipedia contributors, "Gorget patches," *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopaedia,* https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Gorget_patches&oldid=850039244 - retrieved 25 August 2018

Figure 37

The Army General, Constantino Chiwenga[355], wears a dark green suit over a white shirt and matching green tie. His trousers have a decorative gold and red braided ribbon running down each side. On the shoulders of his jacket are elaborate shoulder-boards, of braided gold cord upon which sit three red and gold embroidered insignia and an embroidered set of crossed swords[356]. The general, like his police colleague, also has, draped around his right armhole and attached to the front of his jacket, gold-braided aiguillettes. The collars of his jacket are decorated with distinctive red 'collar patches'[357] that are also referred to as '*Gorget* patches' (Verman 2017)[358]. The design of the embroidery on these patches – three leaf-like fronds rendered in gold – are a copy of British general's collar patches[359] and allude to his high-ranking position. An array of elaborate medals adorns the top left of the jacket, as does the Zimbabwe Merit of Order badge.

Figure 38

On top of all this finery, draped across the general's chest, is a broad green sash that is edged in black, red and yellow. He, like his police colleague, wears a banded, medalled, insignia-ed and embroidered peaked cap, to match his suit. His hands are covered in white gloves and he carries a shiny unsheathed golden sword.

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[355] Note: Constantino Chiwenga is currently the vice-president of Zimbabwe

[356] For a more detailed image, see: https://bulawayo24.com/index-id-news-sc-national-byo-137198.html - retrieved 25 August 2018

[357] Wikipedia contributors, "Gorget patches," *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopaedia,* https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Gorget_patches&oldid=850039244 - retrieved 25 August 2018

[358] https://www.quora.com/Why-do-some-IPS-officers-have-a-black-strip-at-the-collar-of-their-uniform-What-does-it-indicate - retrieved 25 August 2018

[359] http://www.sofmilitary.co.uk/british-generals-collar-patches-product,16682 and http://www.military.ie/fileadmin/user_upload/images/Info_Centre/Posters/rank_markings/Army_Rank_Markings_01.png - retrieved 25 August 2018

Figure 39

Commander of the Airforce of Zimbabwe, Perence Shiri[360], wears a slate-blue suit. Similar to his police and army colleagues, the right side of his jacket is embellished with numerous medals and the Zimbabwe Merit of Order medal. Across his chest sits a sash which is identical to the one worn by the army general. Slung under and around his right arm are, like his police and army companions, a set of gold-braided aiguillettes. He, too carries an elaborate sword with white gloved hands. The insignia that mark his collar-boards are less elaborate than the general's, comprising of 2 narrow stripes and a broad block, all in gold. Research into various military insignia indicate that these stripes signify his high rank and also their British provenance. His slate-blue peaked cap is trimmed with a broad matching band and a central embroidered insignia. The visor section of this cap is black and has an elaborate raised embroidery decoration. His collar patches are in a colour that matches his jacket and embroidered with three gold leaf-like fronds. Around his waist is a broad gold sash-like belt that has a pair of tasselled attachments that extend to the middle of his thigh.

Figure 40

There is, seemingly, a vast gap that separates these two sets of characters. For one set, the notion of 'never [being]… colonized' (Rock 2018) is speculated on through an eclectic, essentialised fusion of tribal, animal and indigenous influences from the long past, overlaid with covert, combat-ready technologies. What is also particular noteworthy, in the explications of the design influences, are how many references made to specific tribal influences are balanced against generic continental references. A specific example of this is the reference made to M'Baku's Dogon-inspired skirt that then had to be adapted to portray 'a traditional skirt worn in Africa' (Jusino 2018). Reading through the many articles that analyse and share the design processes for these characters reveal many such

[360] Note: Perence Shiri is currently the Minster of Lands, Agriculture and Rural Resettlement.

exchanges. On the other hand, for the other set of characters from the 2017 independence-day performance, the notion of 'NEVER BE[ing] A COLONY AGAIN' plays out as a detailed re-characterisation through the colonial – a more recent past, that is.

Also noteworthy in its absence is an accessible and detailed description of the provenance of their costumes, the significance they relay for contemporary Zimbabwe, and what strategies guide their annual repetition, given the epoch of indigenisation. Both presentations reveal unique and productive conundrums. Given the focus of this chapter, the speculation of a future, as proposed in the design elements of the film *Black Panther* (2018), conveys the idea that the future is, in essence and pragmatics, located in the past. In other words, the past is essential *for* a future (Yu 2018)[361]. So essential is it that there is no perception that ideas, forms, styling from the past – both recent and long – could have developed and evolved beyond the stasis of their temporally clichéd forms. Carter, unequivocally, states, that 'we did them as they were centuries ago… Then, it was a process of deciding how we go from there in the past, to where Wakanda would be in the future' (*Ibid*.). The re-presentation of the past, in most cases with little or no update, as seen in the design elements that clothe these characters – just superimposed with invisible technologies – is a curious statement on the notion of how a future is both speculated and presented. The absence of a present in this conceptual leap is an interesting strategy to consider.

Given the imaginative freedom that the genre of science-fiction affords, coupled with the opportunity for a radical re-thinking of the essentiality of notions of Africanity, the approach taken by the film's makers is laden with queries, albeit rhetorical in nature. Take, for example, General Okoye's weapon, a metal spear. In a nation so imbued with centuries of knowledge, wealth and freedom, how else could the visual evolution of this basic weapon been imagined into a form that would reflect, more imaginatively and innovatively, the futurity that this film posits? Is M'baku's and the Jabari's rejection of technology and a preference for 'the old ways' (Buchanan 2018) justification to stagnate the evolution and imagination in visual and material culture that aligns with narratives of nativism and tribal essentialisms? From what other era/s could 'the old ways' (*Ibid*.) have been envisioned? Is technology the only register of evolution that is possible? Could more have been

[361] https://www.npr.org/2018/02/16/586513016/black-panther-costume-designer-draws-on-the-sacred-geometry-of-africa, - retrieved 25 August 2018

synthesised from their connection to the Dogon and *their* cosmological prowess? (*Ibid*.). If this nation was 'never… conquered or colonized' (*Ibid*.), what then can explain this stasis in the domain of visual and material culture? For this nation to have flourished over millennia so successfully, what explains its intrinsic, self-imposed practice of cultural essentialism? These conundrums agitate the core objective of this film's speculative ambition and present a rich and diverse set of research questions that would trouble the film's phenomenal success as a register of racial emancipation (Johnson 2018)[362].

Speculation about the characters from the 2017 independence day event, when viewed as a visual rendering of 'NEVER BE[ing] A COLONY AGAIN' is, perhaps, a more challenging read. While the objective to speculate is not an overt objective, it is being read though the prospect that 'destiny' foregrounds. So, in this regard, the question arises: what is not colonial about their styling? Given the breakdown of the elements that precede this section, the characters are visually articulated entirely in colonial military vocabulary. Their appearance confirms Mavhunga's lament that 'what posits itself as postcolonial or anti-colonial in Zimbabwe today speaks from deep within colonial traditions' (Mavhunga in Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Muzondidya 2011).

This, in turn, confirms an earlier observation by Gikanda (1996), in which he argues that 'colonialism is an incomplete project… [and]… postcolonialism [is] a code for the state of undecidability in which the culture of colonialism continues to resonate in what was supposed to be its negation' (Gikanda 1996:9,14)[363]. Similar to the former set of characters, General Okoye, W'Kabi and M'Baku, this group, the Commissioner, the General and the Commander, also, in a sense, project a notion of the speculative from the past, albeit, as mentioned earlier, from a more recent past, the same past that they claim to 'NEVER BE…. AGAIN'. This is the nucleus of *this* conundrum: the vast gap that seemed to separate these two groups narrows with this finding. Both entities can be understood to be, directly or tacitly, processing notions of futurity from generic ideas that are extracted from the past. One draws eclectically from a vast compendium that details the long past. The other draws mimetically from a much more recent past. In both cases, there is little to no actual processing or synthesizing of the elements being drawn. Thus, what is presented is, in a

[362] https://www.vox.com/culture/2018/2/23/17028826/black-panther-wakanda-culture-marvel - retrieved 30 August 2018

[363] S. Gikandi, '*Maps of Englishness: Writing Identity in the Culture of Colonialism*', New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.

way, a verbatim recapitulation of the past. In this regard, a few crucial questions arise. How can the presentation of these characters be understood and read through a speculative lens, with regard to the potential that futurity affords the post-colonial? What can be comprehended as the objective of 'call[ing] ourselves full masters of our destiny' (Mugabe 2017) by this presentation? And, given the scope that *magumiro* extends, is this the furthest that *an* imagination can deliver?

3.2c The Tribal Leaders, The Traditional Chiefs and The Supreme Court Judges

These characters function peripherally in the film and the independence-day performance respectively. Their styling is being read, for this analysis, as being supportive of the overarching narratives of 'never colonised' and 'NEVER BE[ing] A COLONY AGAIN'. In both the film and the performance, these characters imbue a sense of morality to notions of culture and justice in relation to their positionality. Details listing the provenance and design decisions of their styling offer a basic frame from which to extrapolate an understanding of their contributions to these broader objectives:

> A visual bible created by Hannah Beachler, the production designer,… laid out the districts and culture of Wakanda. The merchant tribe is inspired by the Tuareg, ethnic Berbers of the Sahara, Ms. Carter said. The mining tribe resembles the Himba of Namibia, known for their red ocher body paint and leather headpieces. And for the artsy Step Town district, she scoured looks from an Afropunkfestival in Atlanta, where "Black Panther" was shot (Ryzik 2018)[364].
>
> "Appropriation is alive and well," Carter says. "But as we put together Black Panther, we did it from a purist point of view. I feel like we are educating people with more of an original plan or more of an original take. [And] at least if someone is adorning a Maasai's headpiece, and they got the idea from Black Panther, it actually is something that we used from the real thing and not from some fictitious thing" (Griffiths 2018)[365].
>
> As part of the African diaspora, authenticity was important to Carter, who took care not to blend the cultures… "I was very specific about having a totality. A person was dressed as a Zulu or dressed as a Maasai or dressed as a Tuareg, [We did] not mix the cultures. We won't see someone who looks like a clown because he's got a Zulu hat on and a Tuareg drape and Hemba anklets or something, if he's taking it from the Black Panther film... It was not messed up in that way" (*Ibid.*).

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[364] *https://www.nytimes.com/2018/02/23/movies/black-panther-afrofuturism-costumes-ruth-carter.html* - retrieved 26 June 2018

[365] https://www.bustle.com/p/black-panther-costume-designer-ruth-e-carter-on-how-fans-can-appreciate-the-characters-without-culturally-appropriating-them-7982553 - retrieved 26 June 2018

Black Panther

Figure 41

For the coronation ceremony, the River tribe elder is dressed in hues of green. 'His costume is completely made up… beaded from African artefacts that I found at flea markets… from Africa' (Vanity Fair 2018)[366]. His tunic and scarf appear to be made of a thick woven material that is ridged in green and gold. The scarf is trimmed with cowrie shells. His head-piece combines a hat, a fabric-rolled form and a curved horn-like element. His bottom lip holds a large lip plate. Similar disks hang off his earlobes. Carter added, 'We borrowed heavily from the Mursi tribe of Africa for that look' (*Ibid*.).

The Merchant tribe is styled in 'plums and purples, referencing the Sub-Saharan Tuareg'' (Soo Hoo 2018)[367]. For the coronation ceremony, their tribal elder wears distinctive Fulani-style[368] gold earrings and a '[t]urban adorned with Tuareg symbols' (Black Panther Costume 2018)[369]. Her patterned gown is embellished with 'Ethiopian crosses' (*Ibid*.). Wrapped around her wrist is a bracelet of *kimoyo* beads. She steadies herself with an ornate wooden cane that is topped with a circular motif.

Figure 42

[366]Black Panther's costume designer breaks down T'Challa's entrance scene - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mmP1aHJjJ-U - timecode: 8:30 - retrieved 30 June 2018

[367] https://fashionista.com/.amp/2018/02/marvel-black-panther-movie-costumes-hair-makeup - retrieved 26 June 2018

[368] E. Blauer and J. Lauré, '*Cultures of the World: Mali*', New York, Marshall Cavendish Benchmark, [1997] 2008 p.72

[369] http://blackpanthercostu.me/merchant-tribe/ - retrieved 26 June 2018

Figure 43

The styling of the Mining tribe is 'inspired by the Himba in Northern Namibia' (Soo Hoo 2018). The elder of the Mining tribe is made distinct by a 'dreadlock-style headdress… called an erembe…a wig made with red ochre and shea butter' (Black Panther Costume 2018)[370]. She wears a thick-rolled red and gold choker that sits on top of an orange cape adorned with layers of black beaded flouncing. 'The Mining Tribe Elder wears a beaded crown that was inspired by costume designer Ruth Carter's work on the 2016 *Roots* remake.' (*Ibid*.: emphasis in original).

The Border tribe elder's style is inspired by 'the Sotho (AKA Basotho) people, who live in... Lesotho and South Africa' (Black Panther Costume 2018)[371]. He wears a 'Lesotho-inspired, heart-shaped drape over his head and he also adorned in his Lesotho blanket, which we added vibranium to' (Vanity Fair 2018, 7:05)[372]. His face is scarred with dotted lines.

Figure 44

[370] http://blackpanthercostu.me/mining-tribe/ - retrieved 26 June 2018
[371] http://blackpanthercostu.me/wkabi-the-border-tribe/ - retrieved 26 June 2018
[372] Black Panther's costume designer breaksdown T'Challa's entrance scene - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mmP1aHJjJ-U - timecode: 7.05 - retrieved 30 June 2018

Zimbabwe Independence Day 2017

> *In Zimbabwe, chiefs are… often seen as the traditional custodians of the land, customs and societal values.*
>
> (Augustine 2016)[373]

Figure 45

The traditional chiefs of Zimbabwe all wear a uniform red robe that has a broad purple shawl-like band. On the left side of the chest, they each wear a brass badge that signals their position as traditional chief. On this badge is printed their name and provenance. Some of the chiefs wear white pith helmets, and some wear ordinary hats. The remainder go without any particular head-covering. They all wear some form of a formal suit, shirt and tie, underneath their robe – some in matching jacket and trousers, others in mixed ensemble. Their feet are shod in socks and shiny lace up shoes. The origin of the robes, the pith helmets, the suits and insignia are widely understood as a lasting legacy from the period of British colonisation (Zimbabwean 2015, Chingwere 2015, Siamonga 2018 [374]).

Figure 46

The Judges of the Supreme Court of Zimbabwe dress in red cassock-like garments. The sleeves and cowl are broadly trimmed in grey, as is a short shoulder cape, which is edged with a similar grey band. They wear a thick black sash at the waist, with two hanging tassels. Around the neck is worn a white collarette and, on the head, a long, blond wig, traditionally made out of horsehair. This uniform, as with that of the

[373] https://hsf.org.za/publications/hsf-briefs/the-role-of-traditional-leaders-in-post-independence-countries-botswana-ghana-and-zimbabwe - retrieved 29 August 2018

[374] http://www.thezimbabwean.co/2015/08/traditional-leaders/; http://www.sundaymail.co.zw/chiefs-want-change-of-regalia/ and https://www.thepatriot.co.zw/old_posts/chiefs-regalia-must-embrace-regional-cultural-interests/ - 29 August 2018

traditional chiefs, replicates similar costumes worn by British judges that date back to before the era of colonisation (Baker 1978, Mutunga 2017, Kiunguyu 2018)[375].

The examination of these two groups of characters, from the film and from the 2017 independence-day performance, ostensibly cast in the role as proprietors of a nation's cultural wellbeing (Augustine 2016, Mashoko 2018, Horne 2018, Chutel and Kazeem 2018[376]) reveals, as with the king, the president, and the armed forces, a number of interesting findings. An article published in 2015 noted questions and criticisms about the dress-sense/costume that the chiefs and the judges in Zimbabwe wear, describing them 'like caricatures in their colonial regalia' and calling for them 'to look Zimbabwean and behave Zimbabwean' (Newsday 2015)[377]. The same article, however, stages a crucial, albeit rhetorical, question:

> The Ministry of Local Government is right to call for change, describing the old regalia as outdated and detached from the country's history, culture and traditions… it will be very interesting to figure out what the expression "our history, ethos, values and our aspirations as a people" means (*Ibid*.)[378].

This query regarding 'our history, ethos, values and our aspirations as a people' (*Ibid*.) highlights the call made in Mugabe's independence-day 2017 speech, in which he urged Zimbabweans to 'work to translate into true meaning that freedom, sovereignty and independence, so it can have the meaning and significance we desire' (Mugabe 2017). Looking at the characters from the performance of independence in Zimbabwe, in 2017, how does this 'desire' manifest? The layers of colonial influence in the presentation and performance of Zimbabwean independence agitate, through what is being presented

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[375] J. H. Baker, '*A History of English Judges' Robes*', Costume, 12:1, 27-39, 1978, DOI: 10.1179/cos.1978.12.1.27; W. Mutunga, '*Dressing and Addressing the Kenyan Judiciary: Reflecting on the History and Politics of Judicial Attire and Address*.' Democracy, Constitutionalism, and Politics in Africa, 2017 pages 131-166, https://ubir.buffalo.edu/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10477/24263/BFH104.pdf;sequence=1, and K. Kiunguyu, '*African Judges wearing wigs a symbol of British colonialism? Julius Malema thinks so*', This is Africa, 31 August 2018 - https://thisisafrica.me/african-judges-wigs-symbol-of-colonialism/ - all retrieved 29 August 2018

[376] Reference is made here to Mashoko's extrapolation of the notion of '*fit and proper*' and their discursive analogy to the broader conceptual framing of culture. C. Mashoko, '*Judicial appointment in Zimbabwe: defining the concept of "fit and proper person" research paper submitted to the Faculty of Law of the Midlands State University*', Zimbabwe Rule of Law Journal, Zimbabwe Electronic Law Journal, January 2018. See page 1 -2. https://zimlii.org/system/files/journals/judicial%20appointment%20incorporates%20anne%20comments.pdf, Reference is also made to Horne's framing of the value of each of the tribes - https://www.syfy.com/syfywire/everything-you-need-to-know-about-the-tribes-of-black-panthers-wakanda and Chutel and Kazeem's explanations in https://qz.com/africa/1210704/black-panthers-african-cultures-and-influences/ - retrieved 29 August 2018

[377] https://www.newsday.co.zw/2015/02/comment-chiefs-regalia-reflect-apolitical-ethos/ - retrieved 29 August 2018

[378] *Ibid.*

visually, the purported objective of realizing the 'true meaning [of] freedom, sovereignty and independence' (*Ibid*.).

Additionally, the query that 'our history, ethos, values and our aspirations as a people' (*Ibid*.) gives rise to, becomes a useful link into the work that the film *Black Panther* (2018) aims to achieve. The filmmakers declare that their aim was to build a vision of a nation that wasn't 'trying to be "African-inspired"'. They qualify this by adding, 'We were trying to build a distinctly African futuristic movie' (Quoting Ruth Carter-Horne 2018)[379]. As a result, these filmmakers' version of a 'futuristic' Africa does something interesting. In the sea of dystopic scenarios that recent science fiction films have portrayed, the makers of *Black Panther* (2018) cast an African future, albeit beset with a number of theoretical challenges (Lebron 2018, Amblin 2018, Dean 2018, Brown 2018, Rattansi 2018)[380], with an eye of creative optimism that draws on a fusion of multiple elements and that reaches, in varying degrees of length, into the culturally rich past of the African continent. Their vision of an uncolonised African state, measured by the film's reception within the domain of ongoing decolonising discourse (Mbembe 2018)[381], is noteworthy. It is how, in parts, the filmmakers have revived dialogue with the long past, especially in relation to a nation's hierarchy – political and cultural – that sets itself in stark contrast to the reality in a country like Zimbabwe, which identifies itself as being liberated from colonisation. The method by which these filmmakers have engaged notions of tradition and culture, finding ways to enhance and underline their platform, makes their intervention, and the potential repercussions in an independent Zimbabwe, crucial.

It is palpable from the variety of interviews and articles that have proliferated about the film, across print and digital media, specifically on the design elements employed to visualise 'an African nation that... [had]… never been conquered or colonized' (Black

[379] http://www.syfy.com/syfywire/black-panther-designer-ruth-carter-reveals-the-african-symbols-embedded-in-the-costumes - retrieved 26 June 2018

[380] See the criticisms levelled at the film - http://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/opinion/the-conversation/sd-black-panther-bad-reviews-20180214-htmlstory.html , http://bostonreview.net/race/christopher-lebron-black-panther, https://www.looper.com/110198/5-best-5-worst-things-black-panther/, https://theconversation.com/black-people-beware-dont-let-black-panther-joy-mask-hollywoods-racism-93095, and https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/02/black-panther-co-opting-african-struggles-oppression-180217145412378.html - all retrieved 29 August 2018

[381] http://www.lepoint.fr/culture/black-panther-une-nation-negre-debout-27-02-2018-2198216_3.php#xtor=CS2-238 - accessed 27 May 2018.

Consumer Group 2018), that a connection to the long past, to aspects of cultural indigeneity, is a crucially important link (Mbembe 2018).[382]

> To imagine the fictional African nation of Wakanda, without the influence of the Dutch, the British and other colonizers, Ms. Carter borrowed from indigenous people across the continent... she had shoppers scouring the globe for authentic African designs (Ryzik 2018)[383].

This conceptual springboard, that facilitates a leap over the colonial era, is a key observation that plays out as a useful strategy in the terrain of speculative research. Given the euphoria that the design elements of this film have generated, it is impossible to ignore their productivity in association with elements of cultural indigeneity. Mbembe, in relaying his experience of watching the film in the company of a group of school children, described it as, 'something like a contagious breath that suddenly took hold of everything and made voices that had not been heard for a very long time in a polyphony of new languages' (Mbembe 2018)[384]. Mbembe was clearly taken by their reaction to the film, as evidenced by his patent enthusiasm and genuine excitement for the consequence: 'Something fruitful will come out of this Africa-gale, ... an infinite, extensive and heterogeneous universe, the universe of pluralities' (*Ibid*.). Mbembe's sentiments are not singular, (Ro 2018, Buchanan 2018, Horne 2018, Soo Hoo 2018, Ryzik 2018 et al). This film, however is not without criticism.

Critics of the film find issue with the narrative and plot and how racial politics are portrayed: '[T]he movie uplifts the African noble at the expense of the black American man' (Lebron 2018). Brown (2018) called the film a 'Trojan Horse', sharing, from her perspective, that it 'portrays Africa as wild, weirdly exotic, and mysterious, and Africans as tribal savages, backwards and subordinate' (Brown 2018)[385]. She issues a warning: 'Black people must be careful lest black joy at the gift of the film blinds to the destructive ideologies embedded within it' (*Ibid*.). Cultural commentators and philosophers from the African

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[382] http://www.lepoint.fr/culture/black-panther-une-nation-negre-debout-27-02-2018-2198216_3.php - retrieved 26 June 2018

[383] https://www.nytimes.com/2018/02/23/movies/black-panther-afrofuturism-costumes-ruth-carter.html - retrieved 26 June 2018

[384] http://www.lepoint.fr/culture/black-panther-une-nation-negre-debout-27-02-2018-2198216_3.php#xtor=CS2-238 - accessed 27 May 2018. Mbembe mentions here that he is quoting from his book – Exit from the great night (2010) A note, the article is written in French, and this translation has is at the courtesy of the Google Translate function. – maybe needs revisiting.

[385] https://theconversation.com/black-people-beware-dont-let-black-panther-joy-mask-hollywoods-racism-93095 - accessed 27 May 2018

continent have, on the other hand, been conspicuous by their silence[386]. From the analyses shared above, of the visual styling of the characters, there are numerous contradictions and generalisations between intention and realisation. Examples manifest in the styling intricacies that claim notions of African authenticity and intimate observation of cultural and traditional mores. The idea that the River Elder's costume was 'completely made up… [with]… artefacts… found at flea markets… from Africa' (Vanity Fair 2018) reflects the clichés employed when representations of communities across the continent have been portrayed. Costume designer Ruth Carter's express intention to design King T'Challa with 'not even a whiff of colonial influence[387]' (Bradley 2018)[388] falls flat in relation to the cut of his 18th century coat, his Roman sandals, his black ensemble with draped scarf[389] at the end of the film, when he presents at the United Nations, or even his costume for the casino scene[390].

A larger concern that the film raises is the plausibility of the assumed plurality within this fictional nation. How is it that an imagined country in contemporary Africa that has been kept secret and cut off, not only from the continent, but from the world, is imagined as host

[386] In December 2018, during the final stage of writing this dissertation, 'The New Image of Africa in Black Panther', an article written by Ainehi Edoro was published in Perspective Africa, a Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung funded publication. In her article, Edoro points to some of the film's problems. She suggests that the film's director, 'Coogler, didn't quite succeed in working out the terms on which Africa could truly inspire a futuristic aesthetics' (2018: 8). She also shares a key argument about the challenges of 'Afrofuturism'. 'Contrary to popular opinion, Afrofuturism is not only about producing futures. As the science (fiction) of black world-building, it is just as much about re-imagining the past. Kodwo Eshun, one of Afrofuturism's foremost thinkers, reminds us that Afrofuturism is an attempt at "reorienting the intercultural vectors of Black Atlantic temporality towards the proleptic as much as the retrospective." This simply means that Afrofuturism is that sweet spot where the difference between remembering the past and dreaming the future breaks down.' (*Ibid*.). The article is available at http://za.boell.org/2018/12/04/new-image-africa-black-panther - retrieved 10 December 2018

[387] On repeat viewing, Carter is not fully successful in this mission. King T'Challa is costumed a few times in western-inspired clothing. The first time, in a South Korean casino, he wears tailored jacket fabricated from a jacquard fabric with plain black lapels. The second time, he is costumed in a black wool trench-coat, jeans and boots. And, finally, he wears a tailored black single-breasted suit draped with a colourful silk scarf, in one of the final scenes, to address The United Nations. This scarf, from a US-based designer – Ikiré Jones, is discussed in detail. (http://www.philly.com/philly/columnists/elizabeth_wellington/black-panthers-dope-scarf-is-thanks-to-a-philadelphia-designer-elizabeth-wellington-20180322.html). The choice of the suits and trench, however, are not analysed as succinctly as his other costumes. While this analysis is not focused on all the costume choices, this recognition is worth noting. It is, however, the energy that is created from the presentation of ideas, a pragmatic presentation of a consequence of decolonisation produces via an indigenous filter, that is the landing here.

[388] https://www.vanityfair.com/hollywood/2018/02/black-panther-costumes-designer-ruth-carter-interview - retrieved 26 June 2018

[389] For an image of this, see: https://i.pinimg.com/originals/1c/e1/79/1ce17998187b2ba97efe7cd20507f2e4.jpg - retrieved 29 August 2018 (copy of image available on request if needed)

[390] https://i.pinimg.com/originals/47/fa/58/47fa58142f0ea6ac9e52af468c17a6e7.jpg - retrieved 29 August 2018 (copy of image available on request if needed)

to '11 African tribes' (Bada 2018)[391], thus making it such a multilateral and multi-cultural mosaic? Granted, this is a work of imagination, but the logics of this probability would find valuable purchase in the current debates around xenophobia (Nyamnjoh 2010, Nyamnjoh 2013)[392], and the perplexing perpetuation of colonially drawn borders (Herbst 1989)[393]. This plurality could offer a worthy challenge to the essentialising projects of early colonial ethnographers, and the arguments made for post-colonial nationalisms (Berman and Lonsdale 2013, Lonsdale 2013, Berman 2013)[394] that have kept this narrative in position. But there is another question that the creative freedom of fiction and, by association, speculation could afford. Could a futuristic country in Africa be imagined beyond a jumbled re-fabrication of indigenous cultural elements from the long past? Given the film's phenomenal reception, what does this say about the visual culture presented as representative of the utmost boundary of creativity? These queries launch from the conceptual agency that 'magumiro - the furthest limit of our imaginaries and reality' (Mpfunya 2018) proposes.

Can the same questions be asked of the Zimbabwean performance of independence? Is the representation of a colonial aesthetic as a picture of independence, in the visual styling of the main characters, the best work that imagination can do? Evident from the fiction that *Black Panther* (2018) proposes is the idea that, as mentioned earlier, the future is located in the past, more specifically, the long past. By this same extrapolation, the notion of 'destiny' that the independence-day performance presents is also located in the past – a recent colonial past. What the examination of these characters in the film and the performance exposes is a dynamic paradox that oscillates between the intention towards notions of futurity and their visual realisation, both creating the platform for their 'becoming', while simultaneously being reneged by their actualisation. Nonetheless, more crucially, the revelation of this dilemma extends a tacit invitation to stretch the limits of the imagination

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[391] https://www.pulse.ng/lifestyle/food-travel-arts-culture/11-african-tribes-cultures-featured-in-black-panther-id8001496.html - retrieved 29 August 2018

[392] F. Nyamnjoh, '*Racism, Ethnicity and the Media in Africa: Reflections Inspired by Studies of Xenophobia in Cameroon and South Africa*', Africa Spectrum, Vol. 45, No. 1 (2010), pp. 57-93, Institute of African Affairs at GIGA, Hamburg/Germany, https://www.jstor.org/stable/25798906 and F. Nyamnjoh, '*Insiders and Outsiders: Citizenship and Xenophobia in Contemporary South Africa*', London and New York, Zed Books, 2013

[393] J. Herbst, '*The Creation and Maintenance of National Borders in Africa*', International Organization, Vol. 43, No. 4 (Autumn, 1989), pp. 673-692, The MIT Press, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2706803

[394] B. Berman and J. Lonsdale, '*Nationalism in Colonial and Post-Colonial Africa*' pp. 308 – 318; J. Lonsdale, '*Anti-Colonial Nationalism and Patriotism in Sub-Saharan Africa*', pp. 319 – 340; B. Berman, '*Nationalism in Post-Colonial Africa*', pp. 359 – 376. All in J. Breuilly (ed.), '*The Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalism*', Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2013,

towards a more radical intervention. Given the ambition that the decolonisation project proposes, it is now imperative to explore alternative processes, parallel and possibly tangential to the roads already charted, that could stimulate locally-generated cultural imagination towards notions of indigeneity as a way to think beyond the enduring legacy of the colonial. Thus, the enterprise embodied within speculative research proffers an important methodology to engage.

3.3 Of wagers and interventions – Speculating for the now

> '*Africa will have to look to what is new… and accomplish, for the first time, what has never been possible before.*'
>
> (Exit from the Great Night, 243 – Mbembe 2010)[395]

> '*Human capacity is, in reverse, a definition of the impossible that incredibly surrounds us. We are what we are not, is the paradox of fiction. What is not observed, sharply observes that which is. What is not said qualifies all that is said*.'
>
> (Marechera 1990:32)[396]

> '*How can speculation become a productive mode of thinking, feeling and knowing, and not just a practice of conjecturing and managing uncertainties?*'
>
> (Savransky, Wilkie and Rosengarten 2017: 11)

> '*[T]he purpose of speculation is to "unsettle the present rather than predict the future"*'
>
> (Dunne and Raby 2013:88)

Why does celebrating independence happen only as a response to colonisation?

What other ideas or concepts could the celebration of independence, in Zimbabwe, applaud?

What would this celebration look like?

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[395] http://www.lepoint.fr/culture/black-panther-une-nation-negre-debout-27-02-2018-2198216_3.php#xtor=CS2-238 - retrieved 30 August 2018

[396] D. Marechera, '*The Black Insider*', Harare, Baobab Books, 1990

Could registers of indigeneity be creatively revived in this era of independence?

How could the potential of '*magumiro*' - 'destiny' – be productively visualised?

What would it take to think '*for a* future' (Savransky in Savransky, Wilkie and Rosengarten 2017:25)[397] as opposed to thinking *of the* future?

If the future is informed by the past, what happens in the present?

These questions drive the thinking for this research study, giving both specific and discursive form to the foundation of this investigation. In the opening segment of this chapter, a case was put forward for a process of speculation as a way to think through the observed stasis of cultural indigeneity in Zimbabwe. Then, the definition of *destiny* and its Shona equivalent, *magumiro*, were processed through aspects of the visual styling of the independence-day performance of 2017 revealing a trove of questions and unrealised possibilities. This lacuna in how 'NEVER BE[ing] A COLONY AGAIN' gets presented in the independence-day performance in Zimbabwe, became more apparent through an examination of how notions of futurity were used to respond to the idea of an African country that had 'never been… colonized' (Rock 2018) in the film *Black Panther* (2018). However, a common denominator emerged that revealed, in both instances, stylistic activations that stem from a past. Both entities, the film and the performance, think about ideas of a future through the past.

In this segment, the aim is to think about the present, what impact it has, and could have, in the chronology of a speculative intervention, as Savransky emphasises, in thinking '*for* a future' (Savransky 2017:25). The work, then, will be to propose a contortion of the temporal cliché that interrupts speculation as a futuristic intervention, through the suggestion of a 'speculative now' (*Ibid*.). Given the observation of an overarching colonial aesthetic that plays out in conjunction with the rhetoric of 'destiny' and freedom in this important performance of independence, it is both compelling and crucial to build an understanding of how this can be read through the logic of speculation. Considering Willems' (2013) analysis of the iterative nature of this event, and Ndlovu-Gatsheni's reading

[397] This reference will be abbreviated to (Savaransky 2017) going forward.

of interpolative strategies (2009), there is a need to think about which elements of the visual styling of the main characters emanate from, and perpetuate, a colonial aesthetic. These presentations trouble the projective principles that found the notion of 'destiny' and, by extension, complicate the possibilities of creative imagination around notions of cultural indigeneity in the epoch of independence. The anti-colonial rhetoric delivered and exhibited at the 2017 independence-day performance, processed and then exhibited through the visual styling of the characters presented earlier, contradicts the claims of independence from colonisation. The perplexing influence of the recent past in current manifestations of emancipation presents a compelling conundrum to metabolise through a speculative key.

Speculative projections of Zimbabwe, within the decisive epoch of Mugabe and ZANU-PF, have generated sobering and dystopian critique, primarily in the terrains of politics and economics. A noteworthy offering into this fray is a proposal compiled by a collective of religious organisations under the aspirational title, '*The Zimbabwe We Want: Towards a National Vision of Zimbabwe: A Discussion Document*' (The Catholic Bishops Conference, The Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe and The Council of Churches 2006)[398]. Over 43 pages, the document lays out the rationale for why 'Zimbabwe needs a new national vision to restore our self-confidence, dignity, and hope' (*Ibid.*:6). It proposes a utopian construct in which Zimbabwe is imagined as being 'free, tolerant, peaceful, prosperous and God fearing' (*Ibid*.). Reading the proposal through a speculative key gleans a general and, perhaps, banal request.

Published at the height of a period of political instability that resulted in astronomical hyper-inflation, precipitating the collapse of the economy, public infrastructure, healthcare, education and social systems (Hanke 2008, Compagnon 2011)[399], the conventional scope of their propositions that are, seemingly, located in a pragmatic and achievable terrain, is understandable. Its radicality can be read, however, in the tacit ambition of this intervention. Given that specific period of time, characterised by immense social and

[398] http://archive.kubatana.net/docs/relig/zim_churches_national_zim_vision_060918.pdf - retrieved 22 August 2018

[399] S. Hanke, '*Zimbabwe: From Hyperinflation to Growth*', Centre for Global Liberty and Prosperity, Development Policy Analysis, June 25 2008, No. 6, Washington, CATO Institute. https://object.cato.org/sites/cato.org/files/pubs/pdf/dpa6.pdf - retrieved 4 September 2018 and D. Compagnon, '*A Predictable Tragedy: Robert Mugabe and the Collapse of Zimbabwe*', Philadelphia, The University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011.

political instability[400], it is this apparently simple plea that agitated the government and caused a rupture in the apparently harmonious relationship between the church and the state (The Church and Civil Society Forum 2012:30)[401]. Their intervention, albeit inadvertently, 'unsettled the present' (Dunne and Raby 2013:88), thus disrupting Zimbabwean government propaganda (The Church and Civil Society Forum 2012: 30) that was fixated on reciting narratives of wellbeing and of indigenisation in Zimbabwe. The reaction by the authorities exposed the lack of possibility of a wider agency, beyond government, to imagine alternative destinies of and for Zimbabwe.

Other examples of speculation are found in Zimbabwean literature. Needless to say, these accounts have posed less of a threat to the ruling party and its politically salient propaganda of positive gains. Fictional stories that entertain notions of a futuristic Zimbabwe are characterized by tried and tested tropes of dystopic societies and the quest for survival (Farmer 1989[402], Brakarsh 2015, Kerstein 2011, Sasa 2011, Holding 2010). Noteworthy in this terrain are recently published novels by Chigumadzi (2018) and Tshuma (2018), that creatively process narratives of the past as a dynamic affect within the current zeitgeist in Zimbabwe. And, although of a different era, and of a more experimental nature, the surreal prose and poetry of Dambudzo Marechera (1978, 1980, 1984, 1992, 1994) contributes a crucial voice to this speculative landscape. Marechera's projections for the newly independent Zimbabwe offer notions of complexity that border on the prophetic.

> It is not what I know that intrigues me now but what I can never know. Imagine it, there are things which our mind and imagination can never think or imagine. …. I have adjectives to define you. You have nouns to define me. If we do away with the adjectives and the nouns can you imagine the transformation that would take place within you, within me? (Marechera 1980:63)[403].

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[400] Zimbabwe was in spectacular collapse, facing a record 2 million percent inflation. Much of the detail is listed in Hanke's paper, mentioned above.

[401] '*A Study of the Role of the Church in Violence in* Zimbabwe, Harare, The Church and Civil Society Forum, 2012:30) quoting A. A. Muchechetere, (2009), '*A Historical Analysis of the Role of the Church in Advocating for Good Governance in Zimbabwe: Heads of Christian Denominations (HOCD) Advocacy in Zimbabwe's Political, Social and Economic Impasse from 2003 to 2008*'. Dissertation on Master of Arts in Leadership and Management Degree, Africa Leadership and Management Academy (ALMA), Harare.

[402] Peter Armstrong's *Hawks for Peace* written in 1979 puts forward a dystopian view, '*set mostly in a futuristic mid-1990s, the novel outlines the inevitable decline of independent Zimbabwe, run by a greedy and incompetent black president who is no more than a puppet of foreign corporate interests.*' R. Primorac, '*The Place of Tears: The Novel and Politics in Modern Zimbabwe*', London and New York, Tauris Academic Studies, 2006, p. 69

[403] D. Marechera, '*Black Sunlight*', London, Heinemann, 1980

In his chapter, '*The wager of an unfinished present: Notes on speculative pragmatism*' (Savransky, Wilkie and Rosengarten 2017:25-38), Martin Savransky formulates the foundation for a distinctive argument regarding the pertinence of speculation as a methodology to think about a 'world that is, as William James (1957 [1890]) famously put it, blooming and buzzing, being shaped and transformed as its many heterogeneous actors practically intervene in it' (Savransky 2017:26). The exuberance that James proffers finds a parallel in the euphoria that followed the recent de-seating of Robert Mugabe as president in November 2017. The score of new beginnings was sung widely, across the political, economic and social sectors (Thornycroft 2017, Maimane 2017, Lindeque 2017, Baker 2017)[404]. What became apparent from this event were the limitations set by almost four decades of politically-imposed cultural hegemony. Savransky's strategic extrapolation of the notion of 'the unfinished nature of the present' (Savransky 2017:32), provides key articulation into this territory, offering a way to think through the unwieldy questions that introduced this segment. The value of his analysis becomes particularly pertinent with regard to the prospect of new beginnings, given the recent changes in the political landscape of Zimbabwe and the opportunity for alternative narratives.

Dunne and Raby's suggestion of 'unsettl[ing] the present' becomes a useful departure point. How can this intervention be used to formulate a productive challenge of the theories and analyses of notions of identity in post-colonial Zimbabwe that have been presented (Ranger 1985 and 1993, Darnoff and Laasko 2004, Fontein 2006, Muponde 2004, Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009, Tendi 2010, Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Muzondidya 2011)? One way could be to think about 'hypotheses that are projections of the possibilities of facts already in existence and capable of report' (Dewey 2008 [1929]:63 quoted in Savransky et al 2017:32). The processing of this idea poses a crucial question in juxtaposition with Dunne and Raby's provocation (2013:88): What constitutes this 'present' that can be 'unsettled'?

Understood through the presentation of this performance, the present, the now, evokes the idea of independence, which then also offers, 'the possibilities of facts already in existence and capable of report' (Dewey 2008 [1929]:63 quoted in Savransky et al 2017:32).

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[404] https://www.iol.co.za/news/africa/mugaberesigns-a-new-beginning-is-possible-for-zimbabwe-12108596, https://www.da.org.za/2017/11/robert-mugabes-resignation-first-step-towards-new-beginning-zimbabwe, https://ewn.co.za/2017/11/22/zimbabwe-s-economy-set-for-recovery-after-mugabe-exit, http://time.com/5034942/zimbabwe-robert-mugabe-emmerson-mnangagwa-crocodile/, all retrieved 22 August 2018,

Considering the temporal triumvirate – past, present and future – suggests that in the state of independence, Zimbabweans are in the present, having moved from the past through the process of independence. 'ZIMBABWE WILL NEVER A COLONY AGAIN' is the present. But this claim is troubled by what is evident from the independence-day performance. Or is *this* the present? The present is *this* past. Not the future. 'Destiny' and all it conveys then reads less as ambition, and more as rhetoric. Savransky's notion of 'the unfinished nature of the present' (Savransky 2017:32) reads, in this sense, as 'the unfinished nature of the' past (Savransky 2017:32). By this logic, could a speculative intervention be needed to process the past into a present? Here is the twist, since the past has been used to process ideas of the future, as was made evident in the analysis that precedes this section – to imagine a future, that is. But this projection, this processing of a past through a mechanism of speculation, can be employed in the case of Zimbabwe to understand the present, first.

Thinking about the particular site of inquiry, the independence-day performance of 2017, Savransky proposes 'speculative pragmatism… [as]… a productive, experimental understanding of speculation that creates new demands, and new responsibilities, for philosophy and social theory' (*Ibid*.:26). This lends a unique framework to leverage new thinking around concepts of indigeneity and independence that have been shown to be unstable and curiously absent within this performance. Given that independence is the present state, the metabolizing mechanism that 'speculative pragmatism' can invite could synthesize notions of a *longer* past in ways that have yet to surface. Jumping, then, to Savransky's proposition of a 'wager' (*Ibid*.:25) further enriches this enquiry. What could be the consequences of alternate readings of cultural indigeneity in this performance of independence? This query brings acute attention to all the questions that opened this section of analysis. Savransky's proposition that 'all future-oriented forms of thinking involve assumptions and wagers… and… the efficacy of thinking and knowing in relation to it' (*Ibid*.) expands the landscape for thinking about what is at stake in relation to thinking '*for* a future' (*Ibid*.).

Given the tenets of 'Mugabeism' (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009) and the construct of patriotism rendered through political affiliation (Kriger 2006; Willems 2013), what is potentially at stake is ownership of the concept of independence. Alternative scenarios of independence could destabilise the hold that this performance and those who have designed it have over the perceptions of colonial emancipation. These scenarios could also extend to troubling the equally persistent legacy of colonially-defined essentialism in the terrain of

indigenousness. Framed by this processing, the wager that a *speculative now* then proposes is the recognition of individual agency in building identities that perturb claims to national and or cultural homogeneity (Mugabe 1977). The complexity of these interventions brings a provocative disruption of the hegemonic homogeneity that has dictated notions of identity in post-colonial Zimbabwe.

The conceit that this detailed reading of aspects of this performance of independence exposes is that, even with the express intention of negating the role of the colony in independent Zimbabwe, the colonial is still, very evidently, the practice. Additionally, as Willems (2013) shares in her analysis of the progression of this performance since 1980, this practice has found an iterative rhythm that has gone, perplexingly, unchallenged. That the performance of coloniality is a persistent reality in post-colonial countries is not a new finding (Gikanda 1996, Mavhunga in Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Muzondidya 2011). However, how this finding can foment productive synthesis, beyond the stasis of its analysed framing, presents a compelling opportunity. This, then, *is* the wager. The objective, now, is to venture into this territory, with the methodology of speculation, to explore the stakes (Savransky 2017:25) that inquiries into notions of contemporary indigeneity in Zimbabwe could 'wager'.

It can be argued that political systems, here Zimbabwe's, count *'*on a kind of isomorphism… whereby the present… will be conserved in the future' (Savransky 2017:25). The rationale for this hypothesis lies in the notion of a useable past, one that can provide a perpetual legacy in relation to the notion of independence. Bhabha argues that an 'important feature of colonial discourse is its dependence on the concept of 'fixity' in the ideological construction of otherness' (Bhabha 1983:18)[405]. This fixity that Bhabha alludes to is well present in post-colonial Zimbabwe. This framing also gives meaning to the legislation that encases 'an indigenous Zimbabwean' within the construct of 'disadvantaged… before 18 April 1980' (IEEA 2007:2).

This construct does two interesting things. First, it excludes registers of evident enterprise in the creation and production of material and visual culture that populate the archive from the long past by suggesting 'disadvantaged' as the key frame. By this logic, is it to be

[405] H. K. Bhabha, '*The Other Question…: Homi K. Bhabha reconsiders the stereotype and colonial discourse*', *Screen* Vo. 24, Issue 6, 1 November 1983. https://doi.org/10.1093/screen/24.6.18 - retrieved 6 September 2018

understood that any person or persons who were not 'disadvantaged', who were productive and innovative and practiced ingenuity, then fall out of this definitive framing? Secondly, it creates a liability that needs to be consistently serviced through regular recognition of the people who liberated the country from colonisation. What is thus at stake is the prospect of accountability. Can this performance, that has relied so consistently (Willems 2013) on notions of 'NEVER BE[ing] A COLONY AGAIN', be called to account for its perplexing elements? Can its 'categorical propositions' be troubled by 'hypothetical' imaginings? (James 1966 [1911]:229 in Savransky 2017:36).

The opportunity this delivers, the proverbial rub, is where 'speculative propositions… [can]… infect the very manner in which the world "goes on"' (*Ibid*.:35). The interpolation of colonial negation and indigenisation, coupled with the observation of a stylistic conceit at the centre of the celebration of independence, propels the potential of radical readings. This intervention, then, is less about speculating *out* of this circumstance 'which [could] fantasise' (Savransky 2017:32), but, more provocatively, about speculating from *within* the performance mechanisms. Consequently, modifying Savransky's argument ever so slightly, this can then lead to activating 'projections [from] the possibilities of facts already in existence and capable of report' (Dewey, 2008 [1929]:63 in Savransky 2017:32). Savransky's concept of the 'unfinished now', specifically in relation to the performance of independence, highlights that Zimbabwe can, even *needs* to, encounter or engage the 'now'. This has become evident through a reading of the visual styling of seminal characters in this event. This also reveals that the 'destiny' hailed by Mugabe at the independence-day ceremony is a confusing projection for the present, let alone any future.

The foundation of this study is the search for registers of contemporary indigeneity within the performance of independence in Zimbabwe. Guided by a query prompted by a prominently placed banner at the independence-day celebration of 2017 that declares that *'*ZIMBABWE WILL NEVER BE A COLONY AGAIN', a conceptual connection was drawn to invite the notion of indigenousness as a potential response to make manifest this declaration. This led to an analysis of the conceptual framework of indigenousness, from its historical initiation, that revealed a relational strategy. From the beginning, species that were organised under the umbrella of 'indigenousness' shared the specificity of geographical location as common denominator[406]. However, what also became evident was

[406] For references see chapter 1.

a certain creativity in the development of the taxonomical detail for these apparently new species. Given the nascent language and communication of that era, species being called into this taxonomic enterprise were declared unique by geographical location, yet rendered similar through relational connections to species from other countries. The creativity at the beginning of the act of indigenising foreign species seemed to have been informed by a need to build definitive knowledge of newly 'found' species (Blunt 2001:251).

What is interesting is the contribution of creativity. In other words, borrowing from James Dewey's postulation, these initial descriptions were, perhaps, less 'categorical' and more 'propositional'? (Dewey 1966 [1911]:229 in Savransky 2017:36). By extension, might this process of indigenising, then, be thought of as a 'speculative proposition' (Savransky 2017:35)? Evidence shows the documentation process formed its taxonomic projections from, 'the possibilities of facts already in existence and capable of report' (Dewey, 2008 [1929]:63). It is just that these 'facts' are generated from another country to the species that they are being called to define. What further supports this speculative framing is how the concept of indigenousness then becomes actively dynamic and malleable, growing its stable of meanings to denote, among others, notions of culture, development, existential risk, environmental struggles and economic disadvantage. The productive morphing of this concept recommends its inclusion with Deleuze and Guattari's concept of '*becoming*' (Deleuze and Guattari 2004), as alluded to at the outset of this chapter and, by extension, with always 'happening' (Teisson in Shields and Vallee 2012:34)[407]. Indigenousness, by ontological extension, is always 'becoming', always 'happening'. The instability within the conceptual framing of indigenousness can, then, be read as productively mutable, constantly speculating or being speculated about, so to encompass new framings and ideas. So, indigenousness, or indigenising, that began as a form of stereotypical colonial framing, morphs through its ontological exploratory key - the notion of indigeneity - becoming and 'becoming' its speculative offer.

This new thinking could activate the mapping of latent trajectories that were halted at the onset of the colonial project. This activation could also encourage disruption of the myopic 'fixity' that stagnates essentialised ideas of cultural indigeneity in the epoch of independence in the Zimbabwe. It could activate, as Savransky observed, John Dewey's,

[407] R. Shields and M. Vallee (eds.), '*Demystifying Deleuze: An Introductory Assemblage of Crucial Concepts*', Ottawa, Red Quill Books, 2012

'plea… for the casting off of that intellectual timidity which hampers the wings of imagination, a *plea for speculative audacity*' (Dewey 2008 [1927]:10 quoted in Savransky 2017:27, emphasis added by Savransky). This productivity could catapult the long past to meet the contemporary, conceptually leaping over the colonial, enhancing the imaginative intentions initiated in *Black Panther* (2018), to visualise, to speculate, 'the furthest limit of our imaginaries and reality' (Mpfunya 2018) and to suggest multiple indigeneities.

Conclusion

This chapter began with an inquiry into the notion of speculation. Cycling through the particular elements that direct this research, these being the 'ZIMBABWE WILL NEVER BE A COLONY AGAIN' banner and how this plays out through the notion of '*destiny*', the opening segment worked to encapsulate the lure and allure of a speculative inquiry. Juxtaposed against the idea of futurity and the 'inexorable' that destiny proposes, the corresponding vernacular simile, *magumiro*, was invited as a way to extend the playing field towards the idea of 'the furthest limit of our imaginaries and reality' (Mpfunya 2018). This was followed with a journey through a select series of Deleuzian and Guattarian concepts, namely 'becoming', 'the transformation of essential forms', and 'deterritorialization' and 'reterritorialization,' as ways to continue expanding the field of enquiry to rationalise a speculative enquiry. Then, aspects of Savransky, Wilkie and Rosengarten's *Speculative Research – The Lure of Possible Futures* (2017) were brought in to articulate the broader aims of speculative research.

The next section applied the concepts and proposals of reading speculatively to two case studies. Through an examination of the costumes and visual styling of a select group of characters from the Marvel film *Black Panther* (2018) and from the 2017 Independence-day performance in Zimbabwe, each entity's conceptions of the future were discussed. The results of this comparison garnered crucial similarities and differences. The differences were marked by their temporal interventions. The similarities revealed a parallel strategy of thinking and activating notions of the future drawn from the past. In the case of the film, the draw was from a wide and eclectic palette from the long past. For the independence-day performance, the inspiration came from a more recent past. The dilemmas exposed by

these findings are crucial for this research study, and paved the way for the concluding section of inquiry of this chapter.

A deep dive into the notion of 'speculative pragmatism' (Savransky 2017) yielded the rationale for the inherent potential of intricate and experimental applications of speculative research and methodology, as a way to disrupt the inertia of the present. This section concludes with a proposition for the notion of '*speculative audacity*' (*Ibid*.: 27) as a precursor to the final written articulation of this dissertation. Presented as a 'rehearsal for an exhibition', this concluding missive will delve into the productivity that queer theory can nurture, and prepare the reader for a detour from the written to the visual.

Chapter 4 Thinking Queerly: Rehearsing Theory

We have to look behind our shoulders, get back to our traditions, seize the best of them and shape a future with it…The future is for me not only a matter of dialogue with the past, but, and beyond everything, a dialogue with the rest of the planet.

(Aguessy in Pinther and Weigand 2018: 4)[408]

Can we read bodies as 'geographically' marked? How does the representation of the body become the site of conflicting projected identities?

(Rogoff 2000:144)[409]

[R]unning into a paradox is a very responsible situation.

(Singh 2017)[410]

4. 1 Why this, why now?

So, what brings this research here?

The preceding chapters have worked to engage a series of conceptual and theoretical constructs to articulate the notions of indigenousness and indigeneity, and their respective presences and absences within the celebration of independence in Zimbabwe. The specific site for this exploration has been the 2017 independence-day performance that took place at the National Sports Stadium in Harare. By filtering this seminal concert through a set of rigorous, interdisciplinary analyses, and then processing particular aspects through unconventional theoretical and conceptual frames, what has emerged is both banal and compelling. Given the intention expressed towards 'NEVER [being] A COLONY AGAIN', the overt coloniality of the visualisation of independence in Zimbabwe in 2017 productively troubles a number of precepts that frame its purpose. However, an enigmatic performance has emerged from this examination, one which challenges didactic reading and so stimulates a turn towards 'unsettled and unsettling methodologies' (Rohy 2010:358)[411] which could generate a new reading. *Mr. Hosho*'s performance *is* this enigma.

[408] K. Pinther and A. Weigand (eds.), '*Flow of Forms, Forms of Flow: Design Histories Between Africa and Europe*', Bieldefeld, transcript Verlag, 2018
[409] I. Rogoff, '*Terra Infirma: Geography's Visual Culture*', London and New York, Routledge, 2000
[410] Prof. N. Singh, '*The Paradoxes and Contradictions*', [Podcast, 18 August 2017], timecode -1.05.16, available: https://syntalk.wordpress.com/episodes/turn-four/tpac/ - retrieved 2 September 2018
[411] V. Rohy, '*In the Queer Archive: Fun Home*', GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies 16 (3): 341 -61

In this grand performance of liberation from colonisation, 'imbricated' (Puar 2007)[412] with regimented formality, fixated on and styled with perplexing layers of colonial influence, the physicality of his performance indicates a paradox. The startling agility of his idiosyncratic and energetic performance has the potential to 'infect the very manner in which th[is] world "goes on"' (Savransky 2017:35). This 'infect[ion]' has, laden within its trajectory, the potential, conceptually, to proliferate and turn 'the world on its head' (Bakhtin 1984:150). It is through these hypothetical registers that the purpose of *Mr. Hosho*'s performance is being proposed as response, stimulated by Dewey's call for '*speculative audacity'* (Dewey 2008 [1927]:10 quoted in Savransky 2017:27, emphasis added by Savransky). This audacious twist, the final one in this unique and complex research journey, will leverage its synthesis through the productive and provocative terrain of queer theory.

Queer theory is proposed, at this juncture, as an apparatus to speculate on the potential of expanding contemporary notions of indigeneity in Zimbabwe. This experiment has been motivated by processing current notions of indigeneity through the terrains of speculative research. The rationale that supports this unique, and possibly radical, proposition plays out as follows: *Mr. Hosho*'s anomalous performance, in its form and within the ensemble of which it is part, represents a microcosm of the query this research exploration proposes. His distinctive performance draws attention to the multiple contradictions that emerge between intention and realisation of notions of independence and indigeneity in Zimbabwe. The conceptual detour proposed earlier in this dissertation, that is, to explore the notion of 'being' indigenous within the palette of intentions that characterise '*being*' independent, finds an acute register here. Being indigenous, in this construct, is aligned to being independent, which is conceptually abstracted through the claim that 'ZIMBABWE WILL NEVER BE A COLONY AGAIN'. This syllogistic extrapolation proposes that, as a sovereign state, Zimbabwe is now, no longer colonised[413]. The liberated state, as in being independent of colonisation, temporally echoes a time before colonisation. The time before colonisation has been described as the indigenous era. *Mr. Hosho*'s idiosyncratic performance, then, is proposed to be both not colonial, since it disrupts the regimented formality of this performance, and also to be enacting notions of liberation and freedom,

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[412] J. Puar, '*Terrorist Assemblages*', Durham, Duke University Press, 2007

[413] The colonisation being spoken about here is that of British colonisation. There are compelling arguments that extend the onset of colonisation with the arrival of both trade and the missionaries. However, for the purposes of this study, and given Mugabe's particular penchant for all things British, the period of colonisation being alluded to here is that of the British, that began with Cecil Rhodes in 1890. This discretisation is also echoed in Mugabe's speech at this performance.

given his fluid and gymnastic gestures. Taking this one step further, beyond the initial conceptual processing, this research argues that *Mr. Hosho*'s unique presence in this performance focuses crucial attention on what Mbembe alludes to as the 'absence of those presences that are no longer so and that one remembers (the past), and absences of those others that are yet to come and are anticipated (the future)' (2015:16). The former '*absence*' indicates a startling and challenging register of a recent 'past'. The latter '*absences*' herald the murmur of alternatives that perhaps suggest, more faintly, connections to the long past, synthesised through unexplored trajectories of substantive and palpable manifestations of 'destiny' – '*magumiro*'. It is through these perceptions and projections that processing through the terrains of speculative research and, by extension, queer theory, is proposed.

To suggest *Mr. Hosho*'s performance *is* queer, then, triggers the audacious wager that this speculative experiment recommends. His liberated choreography arguably disrupts the regimented fixity and the iterative performativity that has characterised this concert since its inception (Willems 2013). *Mr. Hosho*'s routine is also disruptive in its suggested connection to an inherent and archaic idea of cultural freedom[414] - drawing superficial connections to essentialised and ethnographic conceptualisations of gesture and movement (Gonye and Manase 2014:126)[415]**.** Metabolising this thinking, however, through Bakhtin's conceptions of carnival and carnivalesque, invites more complex connections to notions of Marxist-inspired agency and productive anarchy as it was performed in medieval times (1984), which provide a useful counter to the aforementioned notions of cultural freedom. Now, processing this thinking through the conceptual framework of queer theory could put forward another set of alternative and generative readings, bringing pasts and futures together to explore abstracted, and even kaleidoscopic, notions of, as Savransky proposes, a 'speculative now' (2018).

> [Q]ueer theory, as formulated in the 1990s and practiced today, has used the term [queer] to refer to topics outside the range of lesbian/gay studies, employing it

[414] This thinking emerged at the focus group discussions with youth in Zimbabwe. They were not recorded explicitly, but alluded to in the group discussion.

[415] J. Gonye and I. Manase, '*Debunking the Zimbabwean Myth of Jikinya Dance in Ndhlala's Jikinya and Zimunya's "Jikinya" (Dancer) and "Jikinya" (An African Passion)*', Journal of Black Studies 2015, Vol. 46(2) 123–141. The authors quote specific sources which are noteworthy for this argument of uncomfortable reminiscence - K. W. Asante, '*Zimbabwe dance: Rhythmic forces, ancestral voices—An aesthetic analysis*', Asmara, Eritrea: Africa World Press Inc., 2000; S. A. Reed, '*The politics and poetics of dance*', Annual Review of Anthropology, 27, 503-532. 1998, M. K. Asante, Kemet, '*Afrocentricity and Knowledge*', Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1992; J. Conrad, '*Heart of Darkness*', New York, NY: Penguin Books, 1995 and H. R. Haggard, '*King Solomon's Mines*' (D. Butts, Ed.). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2006 (Original work published 1885)

> instead as a kind of position against normative or dominant modes of thought (Whittington 2012:157)[416].

Acknowledging the persistent legacy of colonisation traced through evidence of colonially-inspired performance in the epoch of post-colony is not a new finding **(**Muzondidya 2011, Mbembe 1992[417]**,** Mbembe 2001). Identifying a kind of processing that can synthesise these findings beyond their current analytical stasis, however, could be. Stimulated by this provocation, the potential of performing a queer reading of this seminal performance, that is, 'to read against the grain of conventional critical practice in order to expose the regulatory hierarchies' (Whittington 2012:158), could generate alternative observations of this seminal concert. 'Queer', in this instance, is being initiated conceptually into this realm through its etymological foundation, that being 'to puzzle' and also in that it foregrounds notions of 'peculiar, eccentric' (Online Etymology Dictionary n.d.)[418]. The queering of the independence-day ceremony of 2017, presented as a catalyst for speculation, offers the potential to render 'peculiar, [and] eccentric' the colonial manifestations in this performance, while simultaneously queering post-colonial registers of independence for 'presences' and 'absences' (Mbembe 2015) of contemporary indigeneity. This radical[419] thinking will encourage, through an alternate reading of *Mr. Hosho*'s anomalous performance, the potential to stage a theoretical challenge of the notions of fixity and performativity in the concert. Drawn together through this rhizomatic process, then, imagining *Mr. Hosho*'s performance *as* queer has the potential to intimate poetic propositions of notions of emancipation and liberation that have yet to surface in relation to this grand performance of independence in Zimbabwe.

This provocation posits a compelling step forward from the recognised stasis and then towards a speculative beyond.

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[416] K. Whittington, '*Queer*', Studies in Iconography, Vol. 33, Special Issue Medieval Art History Today—Critical Terms, pp. 157-168, Board of Trustees of Western Michigan University through its Medieval Institute Publications and Trustees of Princeton University 2012

[417] A. Mbembe, '*The Banality of Power and The Aesthetics of Vulgarity in the Postcolony*', Public Culture (1992) 4 (2): 1-30

[418] https://www.etymonline.com/word/queer - retrieved 3 October 2018

[419] 'Radical' is being used strategically to draw attention to the conservatism that has surrounded the various analyses of this crucial and banal ceremony.

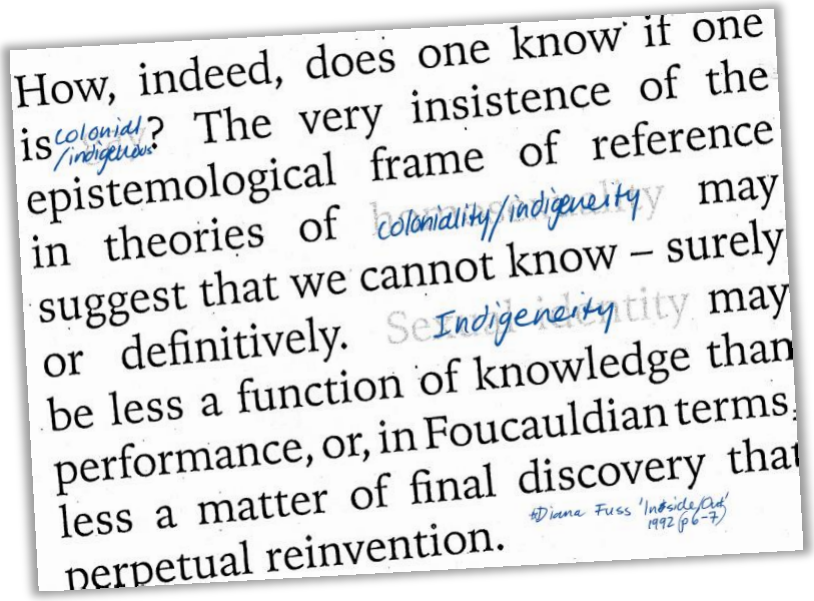

Figure 47

Given the recognition of the productivity of queer theory in terrains of gender and sexual identity, the task here is to extend this enterprise, hypothetically, to disturb the normative, static and essentialising constructs of performative indigeneity in the landscape of post-colonial identity politics and pragmatics (Hofisi 2017; Siamonga 2017; Siamonga 2018; Chidza 2018; Mazarire 2008; Mlambo 2009; Mawere, Chiwaura & Thondhlana 2015)[420]. In doing so, regarding the recognised binaries set up between 'female' and 'male', and between 'homosexual' and 'heterosexual', a new binary is being envisaged to stage this experiment. This binary vacillates between the notions of 'indigenous' and 'colonial'. Motivated by what Coates's insightful argument beckons: 'Is being indigenous simply to have been the victim of colonisation?' (Coates 2004:1)[421], the hypothesis being suggested is that the one term does not, and arguably, cannot, exist without the other.

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[420] S. Hofisi, '*Of judges and their dress codes*', Herald Zimbabwe, 4 October 2017. https://www.herald.co.zw/of-judges-and-their-dress-codes/ - retrieved 22 July 2018; Associated Press, '*In wigs and robes, Zimbabwe judges evoke British colonialism*', https://www.news24.com/Africa/Zimbabwe/in-wigs-and-robes-zimbabwe-judges-evoke-british-colonialism-20170201 - retrieved 22 July 2018; E. Siamonga, '*Chiefs regalia must embrace regional, cultural interests*', The Patriot, 8 February 2018, https://www.thepatriot.co.zw/old_posts/chiefs-regalia-must-embrace-regional-cultural-interests/ - retrieved 22 July 2018; E. Siamonga, '*Meaning of symbols on African* clothing', The Patriot, 14 September 2017, https://www.thepatriot.co.zw/old_posts/meaning-of-symbols-on-african-clothing/ - retrieved 22 July 2018; Zimbabwe Names, '*Zimbabwe National Dress – The Original Traditional Dress of Zimbabwe for Shona People*', 15 December 2017, http://zimbabwe-names.blogspot.com/2017/12/zimbabwe-national-dress-original.html - retrieved 22 July 2018, and R. Chidza, '*Mnangagwa in colonial relics show*', Newsday 19 September 2018, https://www.newsday.co.zw/2018/09/mnangagwa-in-colonial-relics-show/ - retrieved 20 September 2018.

[421] K. Coates, '*The Global History of Indigenous Peoples: Struggle and Survival*, Basingstoke and New York, Palgrave MacMillan, 2004

This conceptual postulate offers a useful paradox to process[422]. It echoes resoundingly with regard to the posited notion of 'indigeneity' as a manifestation, or lack thereof, in the independence-day performance. Taking the premise of this concert, which is staged annually, ostensibly to celebrate liberation from the oppressive forces of colonisation, there is a perplexing proliferation of coloniality. The enterprise allocated to the indigenisation project in Zimbabwe, albeit politically and economically led, does elicit queries about the extent of the call for indigenisation. This query proliferates, somewhat tangentially, into a broader question. If native or local populations were not colonised, would they still be thought of, or think of themselves, as '*being*' indigenous? Introducing these broad and peripheral inquiries at the concluding stage of this research points to the necessity of continued research in this oblique and latent realm. More to the point of the present research enquiry, these paradoxes propagate when confronted with the legislated framing of 'an indigenous Zimbabwean' and how this edict, then, authorises marginalisation and a remarkably infinite temporal register[423] (Matyszak 2011) as the key indicators of contemporary indigeneity. This legislative shift from the vernacular conception of indigenousness, *mwana wevhu* – child of the soil, actively nurtures its conceptual instability as a phenomenological register. It is these confusing though dynamic conceptual shifts that reveal a number of productive opportunities for queer theory, in its discursive key (Halperin 2003)[424], to offer compelling and audacious processing.

> Methodological approaches to queer African archives should be complex, multivalent, and rigorously creative in harnessing ethnographic, sociological, and historical discourses and aesthetic representations. Such methodologies can be seen as exemplary, in their ever-shifting complexity, of the innovative queer methodologies, protocols, and best practices that remain to be invented and implemented across and against disciplinary boundaries (Migraine-George and Currier 2016:202)[425].

Mr Hosho's performance is the catalyst that drives this research towards its concluding trajectory in the productive terrain of queer theory. His presence and his unique performance in this ceremony are imagined as, or even imagined to indicate, the epicentre

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[422] This is the motivation of the opening quote: '*[R]unning into a paradox is a very responsible situation*', (Singh 2017: 1.05.16)

[423] '*…before 18th April 1980*', Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act, 2007, pg. 2

[424] The notion that queer theory has found agency in disciplines across an increasing and eclectic range of disciplines. (Halperin 2003: 342) - David M. Halperin PhD (2003) The Normalization of Queer Theory, Journal of Homosexuality, 45:2-4, 339-343, DOI: 10.1300/J082v45n02_17

[425] Migraine-George and Currier, '*Querying Queer African Archives: Methods and Movements*', Women's Studies Quarterly, Vol. 44, No. 3/4, QUEER METHODS (FALL/WINTER 2016), The Feminist Press at the City University of New York.

of this queer inquiry. Articulated through the construct that queer theory proposes, his energetic and fluid routine suggests a subversion of the regimented ensemble with whom he marches. However, his costume and styling, in uniformity with the rest of the band, indicate, as discussed earlier, a confounding appropriation of aspects of the colony. This combination of subversive and appropriative actions features in a prominent argument of queer theory – the performance of drag. These actions are presented as key interventions in the claim to 'naturalness and originality' in the presentation and representation of heteronormative gender constructs (Butler 1993:384). As a response to the heritage of established heteronormative notions of gender, the performance of drag stages a unique and radical protest. By appropriating and subverting the binary of female and male gender performance, drag artists provoke prosaic notions of presentation as a way to stage alternatives. Drag performers' response to the edicts of normative gender binaries register as, simultaneously, both and neither. This extrapolation recalls the analysis of Goffman's notion of conviction, earlier in this dissertation, and how this, then, projects notions of what he called 'a sincere performer' and 'a cynical performer' (Goffman 1956:10).

Processed through this categorisation, drag performance reveals equal and strategic presence of this framing, at once 'sincere' – 'convinced that the impression of reality… is the real reality' and 'cynical', 'as a means to other ends, having no ultimate concern in the conception… of him [sic][them] or of the situation' (*Ibid.*). This championing of alternatives that questions prosaic constructs has, through deep and insightful questions (Butler 1989, Fuss 1991, Macharia 2015), led to an expansion of the categories and combinations that now traverse the landscape of gender performance. It is this enterprise and intricate inquiry that rationalizes the purpose of staging *Mr. Hosho*'s performance as the activating catalyst that can 'infect' the 'world' (Savransky 2017:35) of the thirty-seventh performance of independence in Zimbabwe.

4. 2 Rehearsing Queer

> [Q]*ueer theory, arguably more than, say, postcolonial theory or textual criticism,* ***took more risks****. It took the risk of reducing and historicizing a philosophical programme into concrete strategies for discursive analysis, … and it took the risk of disavowing insights that were productively utilized in a radical critique of its parentage. … It took the risks of getting it wrong in order to queer it right. These are the risks of misconstruing, subverting, or even perverting established canons of theory which may well be the sort of risks that need to be taken if theory of any sort is to be reborn or to stay alive.*
>
> (Kollas 2012:160, emphasis in original)

Here is where the productivity of queer theory can come into play. Triggering Kollas's recognition of the speculative potential of queer's theoretical audacity, that is echoed in Dewey's call (Savransky 2017:27)[426], the invitation to take 'the risks of getting it wrong in order to queer it right' by 'misconstruing, subverting, or even perverting established canons of theory' is a compelling prospect. Kollas, in detailing the journey to get to this construct, describes how 'the major critical discourses on identity and sexuality that came to be organised under the term queer theory in the US in the early 1990s are structured by a movement of appropriation and dislocation of a few key elements taken from theoretical discourses developed in France since the 1960s' (Kollas 2012:144). Coupled with Migraine-George and Currier's call for invention and implementation (2012:202), this extension of the enterprise of queer theory 'born out of the political need to bring… thought to bear upon issues of identity' (*Ibid.*: 145) into the debates of post-colonial and also into independent notions of identity, are timeous and crucial.

An additional purpose of this experiment is to strengthen the case for developing complexity and multiplicity within renditions of indigeneity, so as to trouble the essentialist, nativist, singular framing that has imprisoned notions of vernacular identity in museum-like theoretical and conceptual vitrines. This presents a further possibility to think of the historical archive as a 'system of discursivity' (Foucault 1982:129). Going forward, a case can be made for the performance of broader registers of contemporary indigeneity in Zimbabwe, that can draw its cues from the multivalent influences and presences that affect a new generation of young people growing up in Zimbabwe.

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[426] John Dewey's, '*plea…for the casting off of that intellectual timidity which hampers the wings of imagination, a* ***plea for speculative audacity***', Dewey 2008 [1927]: 10 quoted in Savransky 2017: 27 (emphasis in original)

What follows is a rehearsal that plays out an example of an experiment. Prompted by the scope of imagination that is afforded this research, located within a performance arts discipline, the aim is to perform a reading of this crucial ceremony through a queer lens. This is motivated by the prospect of revealing a series of creative and hypothetical provocations as a way to round up the written section of this dissertation. These rehearsals are, as the name intends, trials, and imaginative trials, that will work to present evidence of the productivity of this queer experiment. This particular experimental reading begins with an extension into the constructs of drag performance initiated by Butler's theory of performance, that will then meander through Bhabha's and Girard's respective notions of 'mimicry' and 'mimesis'. This trail will then lead onto Bakhtin's notion of 'carnival' and 'carnivalesque' as the penultimate location before this dissertation changes from its written form into its final visual articulation.

The first act

> *These hegemonies operate, as Antonio Gramsci insisted, through rearticulations, but here is where the accumulated force of historically entrenched and entrenching articulation overwhelms the more fragile effort to build an alternative cultural configuration from or against that more powerful regime. Importantly, however, that prior hegemony also works through and as its 'resistance' so that the relation between the marginalized community and the dominative is not, strictly speaking, oppositional.*
>
> (Butler 1993:385)

The opening act of the rehearsal, as it were, takes its cue from an idea that has featured in various sections of this dissertation – the connection this research study aims to make with the performance of drag. Dispensing with the need to rearticulate the rationale, the aim here is step forward and play out the prospect, 'infected' by *Mr. Hosho*'s activation, of articulating this performance through the distinct mechanism of a drag ball. This experiment is inspired by the film *Paris is Burning* (Livingstone 1992), and a particular feature of drag balls – *reading*. *Reading* indicates a situation in which contestants are assessed to gauge a measure of their '[r]ealness' (Butler 1993:387). In his analysis of the film, Gregory suggests that 'reading' is 'one of the primary ways in which the performers in the drag ball scene flex their intellectual muscle' (1998: 19)[427]. The other aim of *reading*,

[427] C. A. Gregory, 'Performative Transformation of the Public Queer in "Paris is Burning"', Film Criticism, Vol. 23, No. 1, Special Issue on Theories of Performativity (Fall, 1998), pp. 18-37, Available: https://www.jstor.org/stable/44018928 - retrieved 20 October 2018

Dorian Corey indicates, is 'the real artform of insult' (Livingstone 1992: 33:37). Imagined through this construct, the question arises as to who or what the criticism generated from a *reading* of this independence-day performance, imagined as a drag ball, is being levelled at? The provocation suggested here is that it could be designed to deliver a sharp satirical *reading* of coloniality. The strategic twist is to conceive of an alternative narrative of the criticism of the persistence of colonial registers within post-colonial performances **(**Muzondidya 2011, Mbembe 1992[428], Mbembe 2001). This contortion renders the overwhelming manifestations of colonial minutiae in the 2017 independence-day performance less perplexing, perhaps. The intention is to offer intriguing agency to these performance-related elements by this provocative turn. Of the characters that have been analysed in this study - the leader, the generals, the chiefs, and the magistrates – *read* for their renditions and/or re-presentations of the 'enemy [that] is ever ready to pounce' (Mugabe 2017:13), the exactitude of embodied British colonial pageantry is astoundingly precise. This meticulousness, given the goal of *reading*, suggests a superlative score.

This experiment aims to consciously trigger 'a "structural misunderstanding" [a notion Cusset takes from Bourdieu], [that is] not in the sense of a misreading, an error, a betrayal of some original, but in the sense of a highly productive transfer of words and concepts from one specific market of symbolic goods to another (xiv-xv)' (Kollas 2012:145). This is a crucial register. Building on the purpose of a 'productive transfer of words and concepts' recalls Butler's recognition of the imperative role that practices of subversion and appropriation play in productively disrupting normative constructs. She argues:

> [A]n appropriation of a dominant culture... [is not] … to remain subordinated by its terms but an appropriation that seeks to make over the terms of domination, a making over that itself is a kind of agency, a power in and as discourse, in and as performance, which repeats in order to remake – and sometimes succeeds (Butler 1993:393).

Here, this provocation suggests lateral extension, as a way to trouble the settled and perhaps stagnant debates of post-colonial presentation of material and visual culture. These agitations are directed by Goffman's theory of conviction and how it manifests through the constructs of sincerity and cynicism. This not only applies in the realm of the presentations of this independence-day performance, but also to the theories that are

[428] A. Mbembe, '*The Banality of Power and The Aesthetics of Vulgarity in the Postcolony*', Public Culture (1992) 4 (2): 1-30

assembled to offer understanding, explanation even, as to why this seminal concert plays out the way that it does. In this research instance, theory is being proposed in its speculative key: the theory of 'what-if?' that offers a tangential and ambitious conceptual structure to imagine another *reading*.

And then

> *The effect of mimicry is camouflage. ... It is not a question of harmonizing with the background, but against a mottled background, of becoming mottled – exactly like the technique of camouflage practised in human warfare*.
>
> (Lacan 1981 in Bhabha 1994: 85)[429]

> *If we concede that mimicry is not simply a strategy of colonial subjugation, but also one of resistance, or at least response, on the part of the colonized, might we connect colonial mimicry… to drag?*
>
> (Sarah, Blog the Obscure 2008)[430]

> *Is mimicry as a strategy of colonial control or the activity of the colonized?*
>
> (*Ibid.*)

Taking this proposition of colonially-driven appropriation and subversion laterally recalls Bhabha's notion of 'colonial mimicry' (1994). In this theory, he argues that 'colonialism and its antithesis, anti-colonialism are, 'almost the same but not quite' (*Ibid.*: 86, emphasis in original), and, furthermore it signals 'the sign of a double articulation' that, simultaneously, '"appropriates" the Other as its visual power'(*Ibid.*:126). This processing finds provocative outlet through the possibilities that queer theory portends. The binary set up between 'colonialism and its antithesis, anti-colonialism' (*Ibid.*:86) for the purposes of this experiment is being compared to the binary that oscillates between homosexuality and heterosexuality. In this suggestive comparison, notions of heteronormativity are being aligned with those of colonisation, motivated by Bhabha's observation that 'colonial power carefully establishes highly-sophisticated strategies of control and dominance' (Bhabha 1994:85)[431]. Read, or *read*[432] through the construct of drag performance's intervention, then, the purpose of colonial mimicry can shift to reflect the agency of 'the colonized' (Sarah, Blog the Obscure 2008), in much the same way as the production of drag registers

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[429] J. Lacan, '*The Line and Light'* in H. K. Bhabha, 'The Location of Culture', London Routledge, 1994
[430] '*Mimicry and Whole Subjects*', from 'Blog the Obscure: A Forum for Infinite Regress. And Books' – available at: http://blogobscure.blogspot.com/2008/07/mimicry-and-whole-subjects.html - retrieved 15 October 2018
[431] H. K. Bhabha, '*Mimicry, Ambivalence and Hybridity*'
[432] The reference here aligns with Gregory's allusion to '*intellectual muscle*.' (Gregory 1998:19)

the agency of drag artists in disrupting established gender norms. This echoes with Lacan's nod to the façade that fronts the projection of mimicry (1981), as much as it confirms 'the metonymy of presence' as evidence of survival. Reproducing images of the colonial period, now, can both challenge and present an implicit gauge of a deep sense of self-reflexivity. This speculative observation acts to complicate straight-forward readings of mimicry and mimesis. This is a complex setup, no doubt, and will need to abbreviated here due it being the concluding stage of this particular research journey. It is, however, an important inclusion, since it confirms the need for deeper and more audacious analyses of the intricacies of notions of contemporary identity in Zimbabwe.

One final complication of this section is needed, however – one that will pave the connection to the final act of this audacious rehearsal. The intricacies of Bhabha's theory of '*colonial mimicry*' extend, within this terrain, a call to Girard's notion of 'mimetic desire' (Girard 1961). Girard's proposal, though too complex to detail in full at this concluding stage of the research, contributes an important granularity to understanding how notions of mimicry can manifest in situations such as this performance. Girard's theory is premised on the notion of abstracted desire – that is, wanting something because it is wanted by an other. This is a vital register in connection to the notion of mimicry, since it prompts key questions around how to understand the objectives of what is being desired through the miming of colony. What *is* being desired, given the aim of 'NEVER BE[ing] A COLONY AGAIN'? By what mechanism can this paradox find clarity? In this instance, the triangulation that 'mimetic desire' can be processed through, when superimposed onto this performance of emancipation, delivers a stimulatingly imagined response. If the elements that constitute the trio for this experiment are independence, indigeneity and coloniality, the oscillations produced in the shifting relations towards desire and mimesis – as in what wants what and why – confirm the imaginary just mentioned. This resembles the agitations that queering bring to notions of fixity – 'Queer movement must be restless' (Morris 2007:147 in Migraine-George and Currier 2016:201). In this mimetic modelling of likeness and desire, there lies a hidden connection to queer theory that is uncovered through the mechanisms of drag performance.

The performance of drag, in its idiosyncratic articulation, 'repeats rather than re-presents', as Bhabha argues of colonial mimicry (Bhabha 1994:88). This is particularly evident in *Paris is Burning* (Livingstone 1992), and then even more so in the 2017 independence-day performance in Zimbabwe. In the latter, this confounding repetition is what drives the

search for notions of contemporary indigeneity in Zimbabwe. But, as is evident in the subversive and appropriative intervention of drag performance, Bhabha also alludes to a shift in likeness – so that this repetition, while seemingly the same, is strategically 'janus-faced' (Bhabha 1990:6)[433], 'at once menace as it is resemblance' (Bhabha 1994:86)[434]. The significance that connects Bhabha's hypotheses, through Girard – that from mimicry through mimesis – to queer theory is, admittedly, complex and oblique. In calling it a rehearsal here, the objective has been to put forward the productivity that this form of complex and speculative thinking can and needs to offer in Zimbabwe. This journey now moves into the final act of this experiment.

Before the leap

> *At what point do we cross the line from mimicry to mockery*?
>
> (Blog the Obscure 2008)

> *By adopting the language and forms of the empire, the colonized subjects can reflect back to the colonizers a distorted image of their world which is unsettling to their authority. It is not just about copying or imitation, but about displacement; reflecting back an image that is subtly but distinctively different.*
>
> (Reid n.d.)[435]

In this concluding articulation, the aim is to bring the focus back to *Mr. Hosho*'s unique and inspiring act. The productivity that his performance has afforded has opened the 2017 independence-day event to analysis in terms of the dynamic complexities of drag, mimicry and mimesis. It has also, as shown in chapter 2, heralded a particular connection to Bakhtin's theory of carnival and carnivalesque. The previous steps of this queer rehearsal present the rationale for this final audacity. With the expressed intention that 'ZIMBABWE WILL NEVER BE A COLONY AGAIN', this concert of emancipation expressed through an undoubtable, and previously perplexing colonial key, is now, in resonating with *Mr. Hosho*'s performance, loaded with the potential for 'complex, multivalent, and rigorously creative' (Migraine-George and Currier 2016:202) readings. By proposing the persistence of coloniality as the dominating norm, and then imagining its repetition of colonial registers as strategic, in this experiment, there is now an opportunity to pose a radical question:

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[433] H. K. Bhabha (ed), '*Nation and Narration*', London and New York, Routledge, 1990
[434] H. K. Bhabha, '*The Location of Culture'*, Oxon and New York, Routledge, 1994
[435] M. Reid, '*Postcolonial Science Fiction*', available: https://www.sf-foundation.org/publications/essays/reid.html - retrieved 15 October 2018

Could this celebration of emancipation, constituted by formal processions, regimented marching, brass bands, surreal pomp and soliloquies be speculated to be a Bakhtinian carnivalesque response to the objective of 'NEVER BE[ing] A COLONY AGAIN'?

Bakhtin's generative and compelling reading of the emancipatory agency of renaissance-era processions offers a bold and 'risk[y]' articulation of 'the incongruous, [and] bizarre... the ambiguities and contradictions, of contemporary Zimbabwean nationalism' (Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Muzondidya 2011:3)**.** Important to register in Bakhtin's analyses of renaissance carnivals are the notions of timelessness and the disregard for authority. Carnival was a distinct performance of freedom, during which people dressed in ways that made a mockery of systems they perceived as oppressive and authoritative. They also donned masks to accentuate and enable extreme role-playing efforts that flattened the verticality of hierarchy. For the period of the carnival, there was no separation between performer and audience, since everyone took part. Bakhtin theorised that during this momentary celebration of hedonistic liberation, the role superseded the actor. There are, evidently, a number of connections between the production of carnival and the performance of drag. Thinking through these connections and constructs builds a useful complexity, re-rendering the multiple colonial registers as potentially layer upon layer of strategic and active protest. Catalysing this suggestion further, by thinking *queerly* through this Bakhtinian carnival and carnivalesque frame, opens the possibility of multiple readings. These new imaginings of the independence-day event will undoubtedly trouble the fixities of persistent colonial legacy and the homogeneity of post-colonial identity constructs. In doing so, they invite the possibility of complexities that then open the door to dormant registers of indigeneity that have been lying in wait since the onset of independence in Zimbabwe.

4. 3 Conclusion

The objective of this chapter was to build a case for the discursive potential of a queer experiment. In response to Dewey's call for '*speculative audacity*' (Dewey 2008 [1927]:10 quoted in Savransky 2017:27, emphasis added by Savransky), *Mr. Hosho*'s performance was cast as the catalyst for this experiment. This intervention afforded both rationale and sustenance for wondering and wandering through the interwoven notions of post-colonial emancipation and the landscapes of performance and of indigeneity, guided by the abstracted potential of an expansive reading of queer theory. Queer theory was put

forward as a speculative apparatus which could uncover the potential of a productive stochasticity in response to the recognised stasis in the terrain of contemporary notions of indigeneity. Taking advantage of the capacity for rhizomatic thinking, the objective was then to think over and beyond the constraints encountered within the 2017 performance of independence in Zimbabwe, and venture towards alternative conceptual constructs of poetic and chimeric multiplicities.

The experiment performed a reading of the independence-day performance through three distinct and connected conceptual frameworks, beginning with Butler's treatise on drag performance, which was inspired by a particular element of drag balls – the process of *reading*. Analysis of this construct led onto Bhabha's notion of 'colonial mimicry', and a brief introduction to Girard's theory of 'mimetic desire'. Cycling through these frameworks then catapulted this study into Bakhtin's landscape of carnival and carnivalesque, as a both a concluding frame and a thought-provoking opening to new thinking about this event.

This chapter has been designed to act as a bridge between the written articulation of this research and its final articulation in the realm of the visual.

This final chapter is articulated through the following files:

1. Chapter 5 – 'This image may contain' is a short film that presents evidence of the preparation and installation of the elements that constitute the visual articulation of this final chapter.
2. Projection film – the film that was projected.
3. Kaleidoscopic film – the film that played in the kaleidoscopic device.
4. Soundscape – an audio file.
5. Posters – copies of the takeaway posters.

Conclusion

> *Stripped from all context, perhaps to emphasize the idea of emptiness [Mu] or even to oblige Kawakubo's notorious unwillingness to explain her clothes, the garments become that much easier to disregard.…The power of Comme des Garçons comes not only from Kawakubo's efforts but from the wearer's experience. What makes these clothes radical is that although they are not always recognizable as clothes, they were meant to be worn.*
>
> (Lewis 2017)[436]

> *[W]e will learn that this new way of being is not so new, it is of the present, past and future. This new way of being that we will create through our alternative histories will be created through a radical re-imagining of ourselves and the state… [W]e know how to craft these stories, because… history lives in the mouth, and so we must draw on memory and myth to craft these alternative pasts, presents and futures.*
>
> (Chigumadzi 2018:149)

The motivation to understand the concept of indigenousness in Zimbabwe was the driving impulse for this investigation. The launch of the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act (IEEA) of 2007 with its legislated definition of 'an indigenous Zimbabwean' (2007:2) further strengthened this curiosity. In working through the methodology to assemble this investigation, what became evident were a number of dilemmas that, in the Zimbabwean context, have yet to encounter considered inquiry. These gaps emerge in the understanding of how notions of being 'indigenous' and projects of 'indigenisation' manifest in relation to presentations of visual and material culture as contemporary registers. These findings led to the shift in focus of this investigation towards a speculative inquiry. What then developed from this experimental approach was a crucial recognition of the veracity of speculation as an important method to trouble the fixities assigned to notions of indigeneity. The dynamism of this inquiry exposed the imperative to bring alternate methods to think through these conundrums while also imparting remarkable influence in how this dissertation was written. The change in the form of its articulation was guided by these influences.

[436] J. Lewis, '*Always Meant to Be Worn*', Flash Art, 315 – 76 – June/July/August 2017. Available: https://www.flashartonline.com/article/always-meant-to-be-worn/ - retrieved 28 October 2018.

i. Summary of chapters

This dissertation has set out to investigate notions of indigeneity as a performative and an ontological register within the Zimbabwean independence-day celebration that took place on the 18th of April 2017. The aim of the first chapter was to build a framework for this investigation. Beginning with a description of the first independence-day celebration that began on the evening of the 17th April 1980, the chapter continued with a comparative description of the same celebration 37 years later, on the morning of the 18th of April 2017. These descriptions were followed by an explanation of the context and imperative for this inquiry. Two elements from the 2017 celebration were highlighted as key motivators for this study. The first was a banner, hung across a significant entrance to the stadium, that read: 'ZIMBABWE WILL NEVER BE A COLONY AGAIN'. The second element, drawn from the president's address to the nation speech at this ceremony, declared that 'we can now call ourselves full masters of our destiny' (Mugabe 2017). Thinking about the independence-day event through these two elements revealed a series of dilemmas and paradoxes that developed in relation to notions and intentions of post-coloniality, practices of independence and notions of indigenousness in Zimbabwe. This led into an explanation of the introduction of the legislative process of indigenisation, heralded by a new bill – the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act of 2007. Identified within this new law was a particular clause that sought to legally define what constitutes an 'indigenous Zimbabwean' (IEEA 2007:2). The use of this definition as a campaigning tool in the lead-up to the 2008 elections in Zimbabwe was discussed, particularly noting the absence of a cultural register of the notions of indigenousness. This provided crucial context in furthering the rationale for this investigation.

The chapter continued with an exploration of the concept and the etymology of the term *indigenous*. This was critical since it revealed a growing conceptual instability within the logics and processes marshalled to define the notion of indigenousness for different purposes by various communities, analysts and organisations from around the world. Using these findings, the next section in this chapter examined the absences and quandaries emerging in relation to evidence, or lack thereof, of cultural registers of indigenousness in an apparent epoch of indigenisation in Zimbabwe heralded by the launch of the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act in 2007. Measured against claims of 'vigorous promotion of arts and cultural programmes… to enhance national identity… and… national… heritage' (Ministry of Rural Development, Preservation and Promotion of

Cultural Heritage 2017), this analysis revealed evidence of immutability in relation to understandings and representations of notions of cultural indigenousness. This finding incorporated analyses of comparable inertia within national museums and other institutions tasked with the objective of promoting and disseminating knowledge about communities that lived and thrived in the geographical region before the onset of British colonisation. What also surfaced from a survey of analyses was an expedient strategy to frame history, constructing the idea of 'a usable past' (Vail 1989; Raftopoulos and Mlambo 2008; Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009; Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Muzondidya 2011; Willems 2013; Mawere 2015), to suit the particular purposes of political legacy-building.

This outcome served as useful link to the next segment of this opening chapter, which presented examples of cultural indigenousness drawn from the archive of the long past that challenge politically-imposed notions of 'cultural homogeneity' (Bhebe and Ranger 2001:xxvi). The aim of this section was to reveal curious and somewhat ignored instances of multiculturalism that, as yet, do not register in narratives of indigenisation and indigenousness in Zimbabwe.

The penultimate and concluding sections of the first chapter cycled through the notion of indigeneity. Framed as an ontologically driven framework with which to read performances of indigenousness, the aim of this round up was to direct the focus of this dense and complex inquiry of indigenousness and indigenisation in Zimbabwe towards a discrete analysis of particular elements from the 2017 independence-day celebration. Using the two motivators and the various conceptual notions of indigenousness that emerged from previous sections, the objective was to prepare the ground for the processing of this seminal celebration through performance and performative theory.

The principal aim of the second chapter was to read the independence-day ceremony as performance. The thick descriptions of 'indigenousness' and 'indigenisation' built in the previous chapter provided a robust foundation that allowed a shift in focus toward the logics and theoretical constructs of performance and performativity. The chapter began detailing aspects of the staging, the setting, the cast, their costumes, the processions and the supporting entertainment from the 2017 independence-day concert. The purpose of this was to fine tune the focus for the search for registers and absences of notions of contemporary indigeneity within this annual ritual. This section expanded on the initial description in the opening chapter, re-casting the event in three acts that provided

distinctive details which were to become useful as this chapter and the dissertation as a whole developed.

This unique framing of the 2017 independence-day event was followed by an analysis of Butler's reading of Althusser's notion of interpellation (Butler 1997:381). The objective of this abstracted inquiry was to provide the framework to understand the mechanisms employed in the call for indigenisation in Zimbabwe. The notions of 'Mugabeism' (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009:264-289), 'Ideological State Apparatus', and, 'Repressive State Apparatus' (Sharma and Gupta 2006:92) were processed in relation to notions of interpellation and identity formation in Zimbabwe since the onset of independence in 1980. This section put forward crucial questions regarding the principal elements that define 'an indigenous Zimbabwean' (IEEA 2007:2). The marginalised and temporal framing of indigenousness within this clause, measured against the two motivating elements from the 2017 independence-day concert, exposed multiple paradoxes. These findings were then used as a prompt to perform a deeper reading of the performance elements of this event to process the conundrums that surfaced. This resulted in the filtering of the event through three distinct theoretical frameworks – Schechner's categorical elucidation of performing (2013), Goffman's framework to read notions of conviction ((1971), and finally, staging a conceptual turn via Bakhtin's notion of the carnival and the carnivalesque (1994). The chapter concluded with a nod towards the recognition of continued instability and paradox that surfaced in the opening chapter. Also exposed by the Bakhtinian filter was a particular and idiosyncratic performance in the show. *Mr Hosho*, a member of the Air Force Marching Band, emerged as a productive anomaly to encourage the journey of this investigation into the territory of speculative research.

The third chapter began with the building of the rationale for a speculative intervention in order to propose an alternate reading of the independence-day performance. This conceptual detour was imagined as a way to process the recognition of distinct instabilities that surfaced from the analyses performed in preceding chapters. The chapter continued with an exploration of the lure and allure of a speculative experiment through the examination of the term 'destiny' and its potential in the context of its use in the president's address to the nation speech (Mugabe 2017). By outlining the limitations and larger potential embodied in this term 'destiny', the analysis incorporated Deleuze and Guattari's concepts of rhizomatic proliferation, notions of 'becoming' as 'the transformation of essential forms' (Deleuze and Guattari 2004:252). Also key to this section

was Savransky, Wilkie and Rosengarten's suggestion that 'it matters how we enter the future, what senses of futurity we bring into play, which modes of relating to the not-yet we enable knowing and thinking practices to nurture' (2017:5). The authors acknowledgment of plurality in this statement strengthened the justification to further this inquiry through the pragmatics of speculative research.

This finding led the chapter towards a comparative exercise. Drawing on the speculative intention put forward by the screenwriter of the Marvel film, *Black Panther* (2018), who imagined the film to portray 'an African nation that… [had]… never been… colonized' (Rock 2018), coupled with a similar, albeit speculative, intention that the notion of 'destiny' (Mugabe 2017) understood through its Shona counterpart *magumiro* could reveal, the next section of this chapter staged a comparative analysis of key characters from the film, *Black Panther* and the 2017 Independence-day concert. In this exercise, King T'Challa's costume and visual styling in *Black Panther* was compared to the costume and visual styling of the President from the 2017 Independence-day event. The same process was employed to compare the various heads of the armed forces in the film with the general, the police commissioner and the head of the air force from the Independence-day concert. The final comparative exchange juxtaposed the tribal leaders from the film with the traditional chiefs and the judges of the supreme court from Zimbabwe. It is important to note that fundamental limitations surfaced in the extrapolation of both these cases – the film and the event. For the film, due to its recent release (February 2018), most of the information used to make the analyses was drawn from internet sources, thus calling attention to the academic credentials of the source information. In the case of the independence-day event, access to information – empirical and qualitative – was denied by the ministerial organisers of the event.

In addition to these limitations, the number of inconsistencies between intention and realisation of the speculative objectives that were exposed through this exercise brought alternate thinking to how both these cases could be read in an emancipatory key. More significantly, a key finding that did reverberate was how, in each case, ideas from the past – long or recent – are processed and used as material to produce a picture of the present. This finding became an important bridge to the concluding section of this chapter.

The final deep dive into the territory of speculative research was built on the double objectives of 'speculative pragmatism' (Savransky 2017:25-38) and the projected imagining

of ‘speculative audacity’ (*Ibid*.:27). The former lent the potential to enact intricate and experimental applications of speculative research and methodology to disrupt the recognised inertia within the terrain of cultural indigeneity in contemporary Zimbabwe. The latter was proposed as a prompt for the final written articulation of this research study. The objective of this concluding missive proposed an audacious experiment: to journey with these understandings into the domain of queer theory.

The final written element of this investigation was tasked with bringing this research investigation closer to its poetic and visual articulation. With the recognition that the findings generated from the analyses up to this point were not uncommon, the purpose of this concluding experiment and the processing of the material that it generated was to metabolise these findings through a theoretical construct that had not been explored. This chapter commenced with the rationale for this contextually bold experiment by coalescing the key elements and findings that had emerged from the investigation as a point of reflection. These notions were then thought through an expanded understanding of queer theory. The process put forward the inherent notions of multiplicity and complexity that queer theory proposes as a way to suggest a *rehearsal* of a process of thinking queerly about the 2017 independence-day performance.

The analysis continued with a return to the convention of a three-act structure performed in the second chapter. In the first act of the audacious rehearsal of queer theory, *Mr Hosho*’s performance was processed through a Butlerian proposition of drag performance which rendered it into the tangential territory of the what-if. The second stage suggested processing this proposition through Bhabha’s notion of ‘colonial mimicry’ (1994), that then invited further complication through Gerard’s notion of ‘mimetic desire’ (1961). This complex speculative thinking paved the way for the final act of this experiment, which launched the study into the Bakhtinian territory of carnival and the carnivalesque as an ultimate framing device to encourage the possibilities of multiple readings for this performance.

The final articulation of this investigation was presented as site-specific multi-media work comprising video projections, an architectural sound installation, sculptural objects and a series of appropriated and subverted queer texts rendered as take-away posters. The presentation took place on the 21st of November 2018, which marked the first anniversary of the resignation of Robert Mugabe as president of Zimbabwe. It was staged between

18:00 and midnight – a nod to the first independence-day celebration in 1980. The principal inspirations for these choices were the strategic significance of this date and its resonance with the notion of a 'new dawn'[437] for the country.

ii. **Key Findings**

As demonstrated in Chapter 1, a number of analyses surveyed in this study have argued that launching the process of indigenisation in Zimbabwe was primarily aimed at serving particular political and economic objectives. However, as this investigation has shown, it has also afforded the opportunity for a deeper inquiry into the historical and anthropological constructs of indigenousness that continued into an, as yet, under-explored ontological terrain with the concept of 'indigeneity'. Given this speculative trajectory, two distinct questions guide the summation of this research. The first asks how far this imagining, this expansion of possibility of *indigeneities,* can extend itself. Following on from that, the second queries the impact of this extension of creative thinking.

What this research has sought to demonstrate, through a journey that began with a formal, complex and regimented theoretical construct and that concluded with a poetic, abstract and intangible suggestion, is the productive probability of plurality. The findings revealed through this investigation indicate the necessity of complexity as a means to trouble the notion of homogeneity that has framed notions of culture and identity in Zimbabwe for the past 37 years. The objective of this summation, then, is to present a set of key findings that have resonated and that will contribute useful and thought-provoking knowledge towards the building of new understandings of indigeneity in Zimbabwe.

The first significant discovery that emerges from this investigation is a dynamic instability within the conceptual framework of how notions of indigenousness are understood and organised. The term 'indigenous' was originally conceived in the mid-1600s to describe and document various plant and animal species from another place. So, key to its taxonomic foundation, were notions of geography and alterity. Evidence has shown that, from its

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[437] This phrase has been in active use since the *transition*. Used by both political parties and analysts alike. A sample of these commentaries include: F. Jongwe and R. Mashavave, '*Mnangagwa sworn in as president of Zimbabwe*', Mail & Guardian, 26 August 2018. Available: https://mg.co.za/article/2018-08-26-mnangagwa-sworn-in-as-president-of-zimbabwe - retrieved 11 November 2018 and M. Sefularo, G. Nicolaides, M. Lindeque and H. Magwedze, '*NEW DAWN: ZIMBABWEANS WAKE UP TO FIRST DAY AFTER MUGABE*', EWN (Eye Witness News) 22 November 2017. Available: https://ewn.co.za/2017/11/22/new-dawn-zimbabweans-wake-up-to-first-day-without-mugabe - retrieved 11 November 2018

outset, the term was not a self-descriptor (Kapoor and Shizha 2010 from Mertens, Cram and Chilisa 2013:15) and that its application, primarily by European explorers in this early stage, was, to a large degree, creative, relational and speculative. In the early 1900s, the concept of indigenousness grew to encompass various communities facing colonisation by European settlers. With this expansion, hierarchical indicators of human development and measures of civilisation also expanded the theoretical terrain of who was recognised as being indigenous. A further shift occurred when, in the mid-twentieth century, the term found new relevance in the domain of human and land rights. Communities facing displacement from ancestral lands and cultural extinction became the primary recipients of attention and research organised under the notion of indigenousness. A crucial paradigm shift also occurred at this time, with the declaration that communities had the choice of 'self-identifying as indigenous' (UNDRIP:2)[438]. Included within this thinking was the reference to 'priority in time' (Laher and Sing Oei 2014:26). In Zimbabwe, the primary focus of this research, the legislative edict of indigenousness asserted by the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act of 2007 proclaimed two key concepts – marginality and temporality – as indicators of 'an indigenous Zimbabwean' (IEEA 2007:2).

The active, opportunistic metabolisation of this term challenges the implicit homogeneity that has been associated with its selective application. However, what emerges from this etymological survey is a productive multiplicity that suggests a malleability within its conception and its purpose. Up until now, the concept of being indigenous has been somewhat inextricably linked to the colonial project (Coates 2004). This is grounds for a deeper inquiry. What emerges, in relation to this observation in Zimbabwe, is evidence of a paralysing immutability within the conception and performance of notions of cultural indigenousness – explored in this investigation through the notion of indigeneity in relation to a deep reading of the archive of the long past. The persistence of colonially-influenced performances, which proliferate in this epoch of indigenisation in Zimbabwe registers as deeply confounding within the analyses that unpack their exhibition (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009; Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Muzondidya 2011). This conundrum and the possibilities it presents direct the next key finding from this investigation.

[438] https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/declaration-on-the-rights-of-indigenous-peoples.html and http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf - retrieved 23 February 2018

Results from the focus groups and online survey[439], mentioned in the methodology section of this dissertation, confirm valuable arguments put forward regarding evidence of politically-influenced notions of 'a useable past' (Vail 1989; Raftopoulos and Mlambo 2008; Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009; Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Muzondidya 2011; Willems 2013; Mawere 2015). As was alluded to in opening chapter, this dovetails with a growing restlessness among a new generation of Zimbabweans, who are questioning their sense of identity, given the state and the State of the country. In the aftermath of Mugabe's resignation and with the promise of new beginnings, for the first time in the history of Zimbabwe, there exists an opportunity, an imperative, to delve into and contribute complex thinking about notions of identity that can and needs to explore various sources and afford various trajectories. This finding, albeit brief and direct, recommends the continuation of this ontological inquiry of the diverse and complex terrains of indigenousness. The inherent impact that these multiple explorations can offer is justified by the next crucial finding that surfaced through this investigation.

A key aspect of this research study was the aim to understand if and how it would be possible to invite a speculative process into conceptions of identity construction in post-independent Zimbabwe. The observation of speculative interventions at the beginning of the indigenising project (Blunt 2001:251)[440] and its relational rationale (Pratt in de la Cadena and Starn 2007:398) provided a useful justification for this experiment. This recognition, then, prompted a series of questions that focused this research towards the possibilities of building an expanded query into the long past with the additional awareness of the trappings of essentialism, or re-essentialising (Migraine-George and Currier 2016:196)[441]. The pragmatics of speculative research, as a methodological approach to

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[439] See Appendix 1 and 2 for summary and scanned images of focus-group forms and online surveys.

[440] 'Before Linnaeus's introduction of consistent binomial nomenclature for species in 1753… there exited no single accepted method of naming species. Hence pre-1753 nomenclature… tended to be awkward, unstable and inconsistent…[using] names of varying length… as more species became known, so their names lengthened'. W. Blunt, 'Linnaeus: The Compleat Naturalist', Princeton and Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2001

[441] 'Mbembe criticizes the African philosophy that has emerged over the last two centuries for its "historicist" reliance on either "Afro-radicalism" – inspired by a Marxist and national rhetoric that foregrounds concepts of "autonomy, resistance, and emancipation" – or "nativism," which promotes "the idea of a unique African identity founded on membership of the black race." "[N]arratives of loss" govern this "distinctively African philosophy" (2002a, 240-41, 329). Mbembe's arguments have found particular resonance throughout this dissertation and his articulations give robust foundation on which the suggestion of tangential, interdisciplinary and, perhaps then, radical alternative readings can surface. Readings and experiments that, while respectful of the sanctities that have been constructed to preserve these '*"[N]arratives of loss"*', similarly, and given the growing abilities to invite new thought without disposing or endangering older narratives, can propose diverse ways to rethink the fixities that have precluded thinking otherwise. This rationale echoes the purpose of queer thinking, from its documented origin in French theory, through to its American metabolisation, that renders its

activate elements of the long past, defined an experimental and imaginative landscape that challenged the ways in which historiographical processing has been employed to date. This became particularly evident within the rhetoric of futurity employed in relation of notions of post-colonial emancipation. The observation that, to date, ideas of the future have only commenced from the past was crucial. What surfaced, in the context of Zimbabwe, was that this point of activation mimes a more recent past that is resoundingly colonial. This perplexing revelation exposed a key paradox in relation to the anti-colonial rhetoric that guides notions of independence and aims of 'NEVER BE[ing] A COLONY AGAIN'. It also, albeit tacitly, recommended a speculative approach as a way to process the recognition of cultural immutability regarding notions of indigeneity a step further. Guided by the idea of staging an audacious experiment, this investigation then moved towards its concluding articulation, encouraged by the potential of open, radical and experimental thinking, nurtured by the probabilities of multiplicity in relation to notions of interdisciplinarity.

The trajectory of this speculative processing catapulted the investigation into the terrain of queer theory. What was discovered through this was the innate productivity of an expanded conception of queer theory, that extended beyond its colloquial binary of gender and sexuality, and into the domain of indigeneity. This was supported by the interdisciplinary approach of this investigation, which provided a platform for notions of multiplicity and launched the notion of indigeneity into a new terrain, revealing a unique hypothesis. The productivity of queer theory as provocateur foregrounded by the strategic inclusion of provocation as a key methodological apparatus, was a crucial mechanism to activate and think beyond the conservatism and stasis of current notions of indigenousness and indigeneity in Zimbabwe. This also provided a valuable response to the imperative to think alternatively in a post-Mugabe epoch. The multiplicities that processes of queering propose, that play out in its argument against homogenous and normative constructs, offer an important and timely framework to encourage ideas of 'becoming' (Deleuze and Guattari 2004) indigenous beyond the hegemonic frame of homogeneity cast by the colonial and post-colonial project[442].

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current form. What this research, then prompts, is another register of queer – that extends its agitation-of-norms precept into the realm of essentialised notions of cultural identity.

[442] Refer to Mbembe's quote in Migraine-George and Currier 2016. Also, see the archive of the long-past document multivalent communities that had agency and production, that drew influence from all those who passed through. Because of the archives, we only know that the Portuguese, Arabs and Indians passed through – but what if there were others – like the communities from the north, or the south, or the west or the east – and here we are talking regionally. Also, '*Mbembe's "post-colony" reflects entangled temporalities in the history*

Given the recognition of the numerous frames of influences that now guide the 'happening' (Teisson in Shields and Vallee 2012:34)[443] of contemporary identities, this research has exposed the potential to explore alternative conceptions of the notion indigeneity. This recommendation is guided by the complexity that processes of queering have afforded gendered and sexual identities. It is the contention of this thesis to suggest an expansion of the notion of indigeneity, towards the possibility of *polygeneity*. This suggestion offers an alternative to the homogeneity that has governed notions of indigenousness, promoting its essentialising frame and, tacitly, vindicating notions of cultural stagnation. This observation of inherent multiplicity aligns itself with the conceptual constructs of cosmopolitanism (Appiah 2006, Kleingeld and Brown 2014)[444], which also argue for expanded understandings of contemporary identity formation. Embodied in this suggestion of *polygeneity* lies the potential to contribute to the notions of dynamism and creativity are ongoing in Zimbabwe.

On this, much more… [needs]… *to be written*

(Macharia 2015:145)[445]

of African societies, that, far from being homogenous, "harbour the possibility of a variety of trajectories neither convergent not divergent but interlocked, paradoxical (2001, 8, 16)

[443] R. Shields and M. Vallee (eds.), '*Demystifying Deleuze: An Introductory Assemblage of Crucial Concepts*', Ottawa, Red Quill Books, 2012

[444] K. A. Appiah, '*Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers*, New York: W.W. Norton, 2006 and P. Kleingeld and E. Brown, "*Cosmopolitanism*", *The Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2014 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), Available: https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2014/entries/cosmopolitanism/ - retrieved 29 November 2018

[445] K. Macharia, '*Archive and method in Queer African Studies*', in Agenda: Empowering women for gender equity, 29:1, 140-146. https://doi.org/10. 1080/10130950.2015.1010294

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Appendices

Appendix 1 The Focus Groups

The aim of this document is to present a summary of the motivation and design process of the focus groups and key findings garnered from the comments and ideas shared. Participants shared their ideas and responses in written form, in Shona and English. In some cases, participants also shared sketches and drawings and abstract doodles. The information gathered from these focus groups supported the rationale of this research investigation.

Motivation

The objective of the focus groups was to get an understanding of the knowledge and the impact of notions of independence and indigeneity from young Zimbabweans. Six focus groups were convened as a result. All the participants for these focus groups were young Zimbabweans under the age of 37. This age-limit was set, strategically, to gather information from a demographic of Zimbabweans, colloquially, referred to as '…born frees, those lucky ones born after 18 April 1980…who would never have to live as colonised subjects.' (Ndlovu in Masunungure and Shumba 2012: 252)[446]. The participants were made up of groups of women and men, and spread across a broad range of economic class, sexual identity, education level and employment. The focus groups were designed as a day-long conversation. Participants recorded their ideas, comments and drawings, anonymously, on a series of worksheets. They were also shown a series of short video clips of the 2017 independence day ceremony, downloaded from the internet, and a montage of images made up of Afro-futuristic impressions, contemporary African fashion statements and a selection of images of traditional make-up and decoration from communities from east and southern Africa.

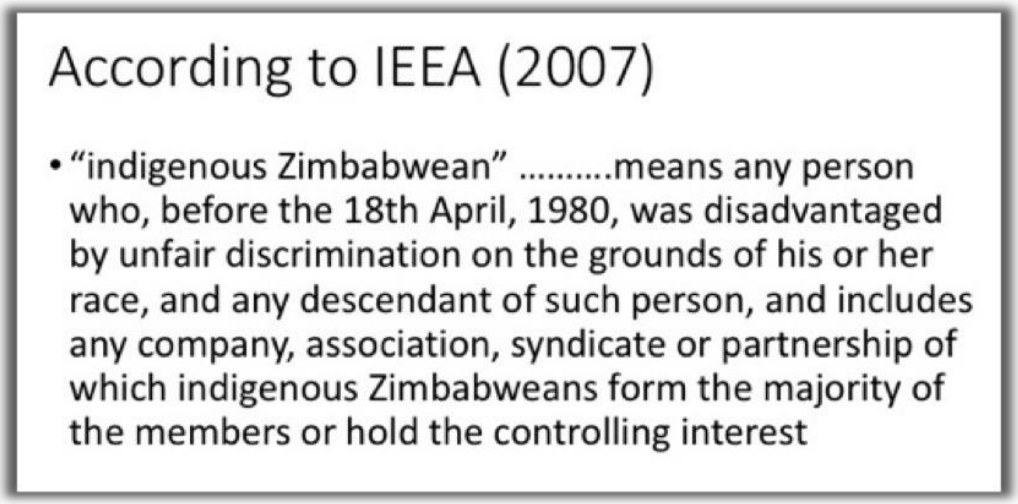
Participants were given an information sheet that explained the nature of the research and also were asked to signal their consent with their signatures. All participants were guaranteed anonymity. A copy of this information sheet and a copy of the consent form is appended at this end of this document.

[446] M. Ndlovu, '*Youth in Zimbabwe*' in E. Masunungure and J. Shumba (eds), '*Zimbabwe: Mired in Transition*', Harare, Weaver Press and Institute for A Democratic Alternative (IDAZIM), 2012

The worksheets

The worksheets comprised of four pages[447].

The discussion that began the focus group explored participants' ideas of notions of independence and indigenousness. Also shared during this discussion was a slide that presented the legislative description of 'an indigenous Zimbabwean' (IEEA 2007:2).



The participants were then led through the first worksheet, which comprised six questions. Each question was preceded by conversation, allowing participants to discuss their thoughts before committing their responses to paper. They were encouraged to articulate their ideas in whatever form and/or language they felt most comfortable with.

The questions included:

- *What does independence mean to you?*
- *What do you do on independence-day?*
- *What, for you, is the link between independence and indigenisation?*
- *What does the word 'indigenous' mean to you?*
- *What does 'indigenous' look like to you?*
- *What does being 'indigenous' mean to you?*

The second worksheet constituted an inquiry of selected aspects of the 2017 independence-day ceremony. This began with a discussion of what elements, for the participants, constitutes a performance and made it engaging and interesting, in other words, what keeps their attention focused on it. Having ascertained that their criteria fell,

[447] Samples can be found at the end of this document.

generally, within the recognised category of conviction/suspension of disbelief, this exchange then continued with the suggestion of re-casting the 2017 independence-day ceremony as a performance. Participants were asked to suspend the ceremonial and formal understanding of the event and allow themselves to think of it as they would a staged performance. Key performance terminology was discussed which included imagining the ceremonial elements on show through performance registers, such as stage/setting, props, costumes and character. On the worksheet were three sections: 'being', 'doing', and 'showing'. These descriptors were designed to reflect Schechner's categorical distinctions of performance, as detailed in Chapter 2 of this dissertation. This worksheet was accompanied by a selection of video clips that showed excerpts and montages from the 2017 independence-day ceremony. While watching these video clips, participants were asked to share their ideas in the three categories. As with the previous worksheet, participants were reminded that they could share their responses in which ever form they felt most comfortable.

The third worksheet was a continuation of the qualitative inquiry of the 2017 independence day ceremony. For this worksheet the discussion delved deeper into Goffman's notion of conviction. After a discussion about their sense of this notion, participants were asked to articulate their thoughts of the 2017 independence-day performance through two specific concepts – 'believe' and 'feeling'.

The video clips shown during these two discussions were:

'Thousands celebrate Zimbabwe's 37th independence day'

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WtxC4warjfI

'2017 Mass Display @37TH Independence celebrations' -

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lwjfWXVyeNw

'ZRP Police band live performance during the 37th Independence celebrations *#263Chat*'

- https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nwrnHpYbFD0

'Children's display during the 37th Independence Celebration *#263Chat*' -

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=THGPI0z2ukc

'*2017 Mass Display @37TH Independence celebrations*' -

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lwjfWXVyeNw

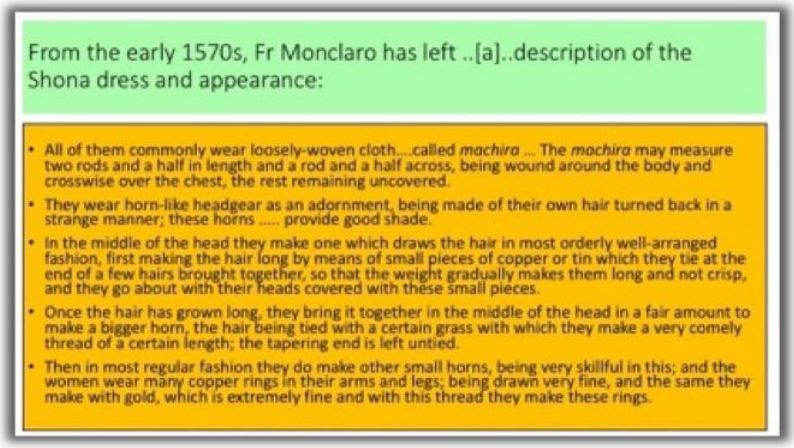
'Independence Celebration 2017 President Robert Mugabe March Past' –

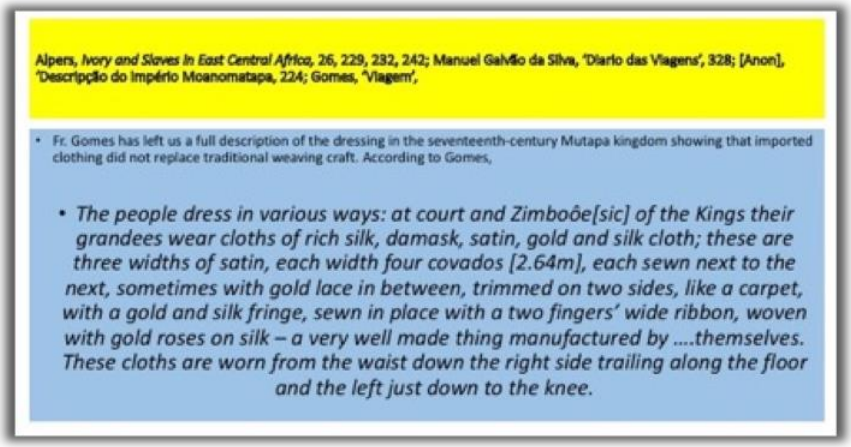
video clip available

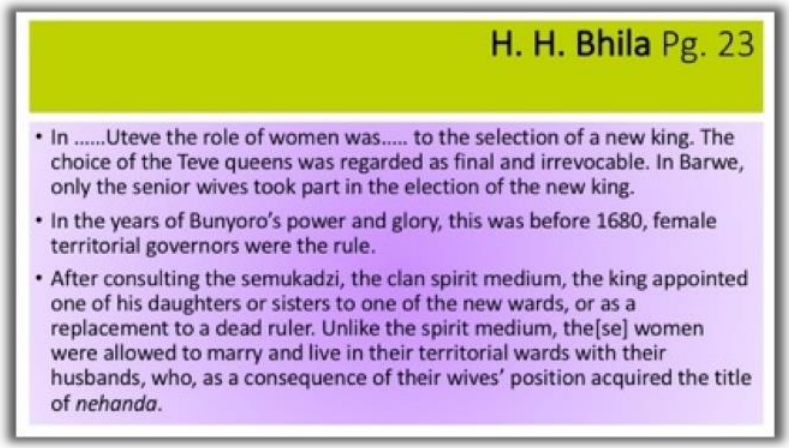
'Zimbabwe celebrating 37 years of Independence in style...' -

video clip available

The final page of the worksheets was designed to gauge participants knowledge of the performance of cultural indigeneity from the long-past. This discussion began with a slide show that showed excerpts from the archive of the long-past.







Participants were given time to read through each slide and share their thoughts to two inquiries. After this, participants were given a number of other excerpts from the archive of the long past. These were presented as individual snippets – each printed on a single piece of paper. Participants were encouraged to choose through and explore these passages. The first request was to list down words or phrases from each text that stood out for them. The second request was to share what they felt as they read through these passages. The next

question asked, '*How much of this information were you aware of?*' and was followed by a slider-scale:

much----------some----------nothing

Participants were asked to indicate their response accordingly. The final question asked, '*What does indigenous mean to you now, having seen this information?*'.

Key findings

The data gathered from these focus groups was rich and informative. The objective of gaining a fuller sense of how notions of independence and indigeneity impact this key demographic of Zimbabweans was achieved in several ways. What emerged consistently, both in the worksheets and the discussions was a growing sense of restlessness regarding notions of identity. Young people in Zimbabwe are looking for alternatives to the status quo, since they have only known one president and one system of governance in their lives. What follows is a summary of the key findings generated from the participants responses on the worksheets. Where relevant, a note has been included regarding the discussions that preceded their written responses. There was no recording facility available to get audio recordings. These comments are based on the researchers notes during the focus group sessions.

Worksheet 1

- '*What does independence mean to you?*'
  Majority of the participants alluded to notions of 'being free', 'liberated' and 'freedom'. Approximately half of this group extended their understanding of independence to be in relation to 'colonisation', 'bondage' and 'struggle'. A few of the participants expressed their understanding of independence as being akin to being 'mature enough', 'self reliant', 'self sufficient', 'accountable, responsible' and 'free from dependency'. One participant expressed that, 'independence in 2018 for us 2nd gen. [generation] born free has changed. [how] can [we] be independent without being free??'.
- '*What do you do on independence day?*'
  Most of the participants had not attened the independence day ceremony at the National Stadium. A small number of them said they had watched parts of the festivities on television. The majority of the participants saw the day as a non-descript holiday and saw it as a chance to do 'nothing', relax and not work.
- '*What, for you, is the link between independence and indigenisation?*'
  Majority of the participants understood the concept of indigenisation as being reparatory and primarily associated to political and economic gains. A number of them saw no link between the two concepts. Two standout responses shared, 'Is the rebranding of independence' and 'Independence was a stepping stone of (sic) [to] indigenisation'.

- '*What does the word 'indigenous' mean to you?*'

  Participants understood this term in relation to notions of origin, land, geography, 'farming', 'homegrown', 'authenticity', 'native', 'originality' and 'naturally occurring'. One participant drew their response. One noteworthy response said the term indicated an 'inferiority complex, feels more like I'm too poor and I need government intervention in my life'.
- '*What does 'indigenous' look like to you?*'

  Responses to this question broadly fell in the cultural domain. Participants shared that for them 'indigenous' looked like 'language', 'colour', 'dress codes', 'dressed in animal skins and barefooted', 'nhembe[448], beads', 'African attire', 'traditional and cultural clothes', 'old and black', 'conservative, political', 'Black, ZANU-PF, rural', 'traditional', 'it's a skin thing, its black, its colourful', 'Trees because trees are often referred to as having originated from a certain area' and 'comfortable in the environment'. One particularly standout response was 'It has no face or cannot be described aesthetically'.
- '*What does being 'indigenous' mean to you?*'

  One response that encapsulated many of the aspects shared by the participants, said 'I myself being indigenous is a concept that means you are the owner of something and you have originated from something. Also it's a term that describes someone who belongs there from their forefathers.' Other notable responses included 'means being disadvantaged unfairly', 'being looked down upon', 'I am also conflicted as an "indigenous" person, I do not really feel like I am one. Being indigenous looks like fitting a stereotype and I am not anywhere close to it'.

Worksheet 2

The participants' responses to the three categorical descriptors of '*being*', '*doing*' and '*showing*' were detailed and complex. I have attempted to generalise these in the interest of brevity, however, a full transcription of these responses is available upon request.

- '*being*'

  Participants mainly recounted aspects of the ceremony. In essence, they read 'being' as what was happening. The responses show that Schechner's notion of

[448] Nhembe refers to a garment that consisted of a set of aprons worn to cover the genital and backside. It is similar to a loin cloth.

being was not aptly communicated by the facilitator. The responses, nonetheless, are helpful and interesting. Participants understood being as 'celebrating', 'police band performing', 'showing weapons used to conquer, Military march showing owner of having freedom', 'lighting the independence flame', 'President's speech', 'festive brainwashed, a personality cult', 'militarised', 'lied to, forced', 'dutiful, obedient', 'ostentatious, regimented', 'monotonous, official, judicial, extravagant, stern, synchronised, choreographed, repetitive', 'happy' and 'jubilant, PATRIOTIC, powerful'.

- '*doing*'

  Mostly responses were a mirror of what was expressed of 'being' – further proof that the concepts were not fully understood and/or communicated effectively. A response that stood out was 'Moving in the nice chariots. Indigenous Zimbabweans driving in first class cars. Raising Zimbabwean flag high. Helicopters and jets flying in the sky showing how free and resembling independence. Black soldiers of which is was a thing that was not there in the pre colonial era. Children can now go to school in towns. People are happy and they can express themselves. High officials are now blacks.' For a number of participants, the category of 'doing' fell into the actions performed. These included 'marching', 'singing', 'pageantry, speechifying', 'the lighting of the fire' and 'dancing'.

- '*showing*'

  Responses showed a bit more range and complexity. Participants saw the performance 'showing' aspects such as 'demonstrating strength and courage, showing recognition & gratitude to those who fought', 'messages, indoctrination, order, structure', 'culture showing how our culture used to be in the dancing clothes and the lighting of the fire', 'regalia, colour, emotion, extravaganza', 'the effects of our past', 'one homogenised group, exuberance, authority', 'ruling party colours are similar to the national flag colours /& ruling party is Shona/ making any other tribe irrelevant', 'solidarity, diversity, pride in our people', 'British heritage, ZANU-PF legacy?' and 'proudness in precolonial culture by doing traditional dance'.

Worksheet 3

This worksheet asked participants to share their thoughts about the idea of '*believing*' and '*feeling*'. More explicitly, they were asked what was this performance asking them to 'believe' and how thinking about this make them feel? The first notion of '*believing*' - related to thoughts around conviction - was prefaced by a discussion about what made a performance believable. This was followed by what, having thought of the notion of belief, did they then feel for this performance of independence.

- 'believing'

  Comments included 'That we are safe & independent in our own land', 'they want us to believe in the lys (sic) that we are completely free', 'how those uniformed forces are united and basically disciplined and how these guys played a major role in getting our freedom', 'Zimbabwe has no problems', 'strength of our people', 'that everything is all rosy and everyone is happy', 'a show of unity' and 'military might – to prove to the world our strength'.

- 'feeling'

  Participants said they were 'annoyed – there is a sort of exploitation taking place', 'overawed, united, love and gratitude to MUGABE, sentimental, proud, patriotic, jubilant', 'relieved from bondage', 'I feel that Zimbabwe will never be a colony again due to confidence', 'respect for the forefathers', 'this day is just for ZANU-PF', 'am feeling like dancing', 'empowered, encouraged, dejected – these (sic) is just acting without real intentions', 'sorry for the people who were sitting down in the direct heat, fascinated about the police show', 'discriminated, used, bored, entertained, lied to', 'emotional', 'sad/mad', 'brainwashed into thinking things are great when they are not, façade of true joy', 'confused – what are they really celebrating', 'bubbling sense of anger', 'I feel this is important as people get to come together, there is something special in uniting thousands', 'relief, excited for the people of Zimbabwe as a country', 'we are colonising ourselves' and 'I feel……yes I guess that sums it all up'.

Worksheet 4

The first query asked participants to list 'words' or phrases from the passages that stood out for them. For many, the words that resonated showed interest in the material and ornamental elements described in the passages, such as 'machira, rich silks, damasks,

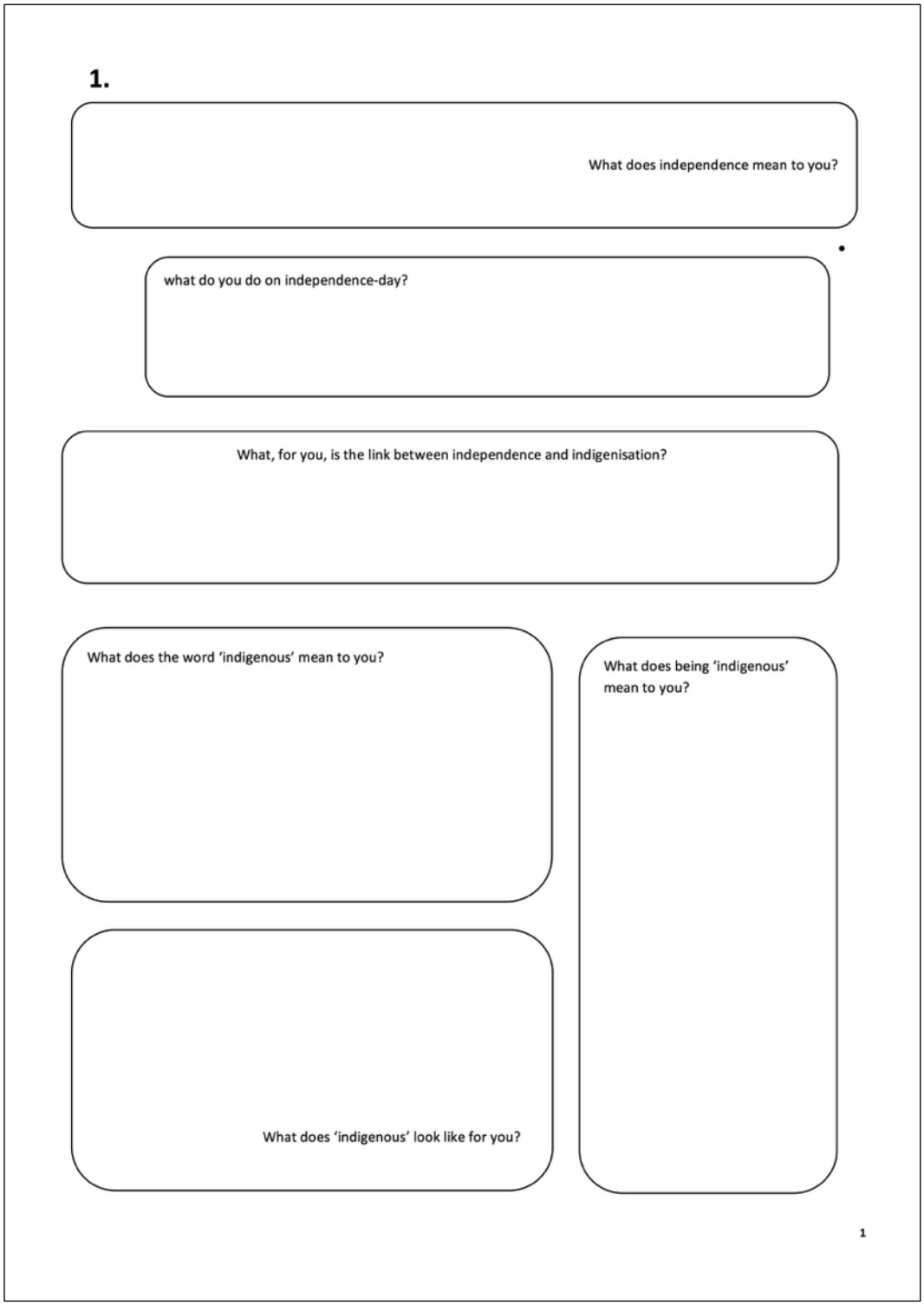
satins', 'heavy copper bangles', 'embroidered', 'horns, nehanda', 'headgear made of own hair', 'long hair', 'gold' and 'Indian cottons'. Also noted was 'the role of women', the 'semukadzi', 'female territorial governors', and the presence of wealth and variety in the styles of dress.

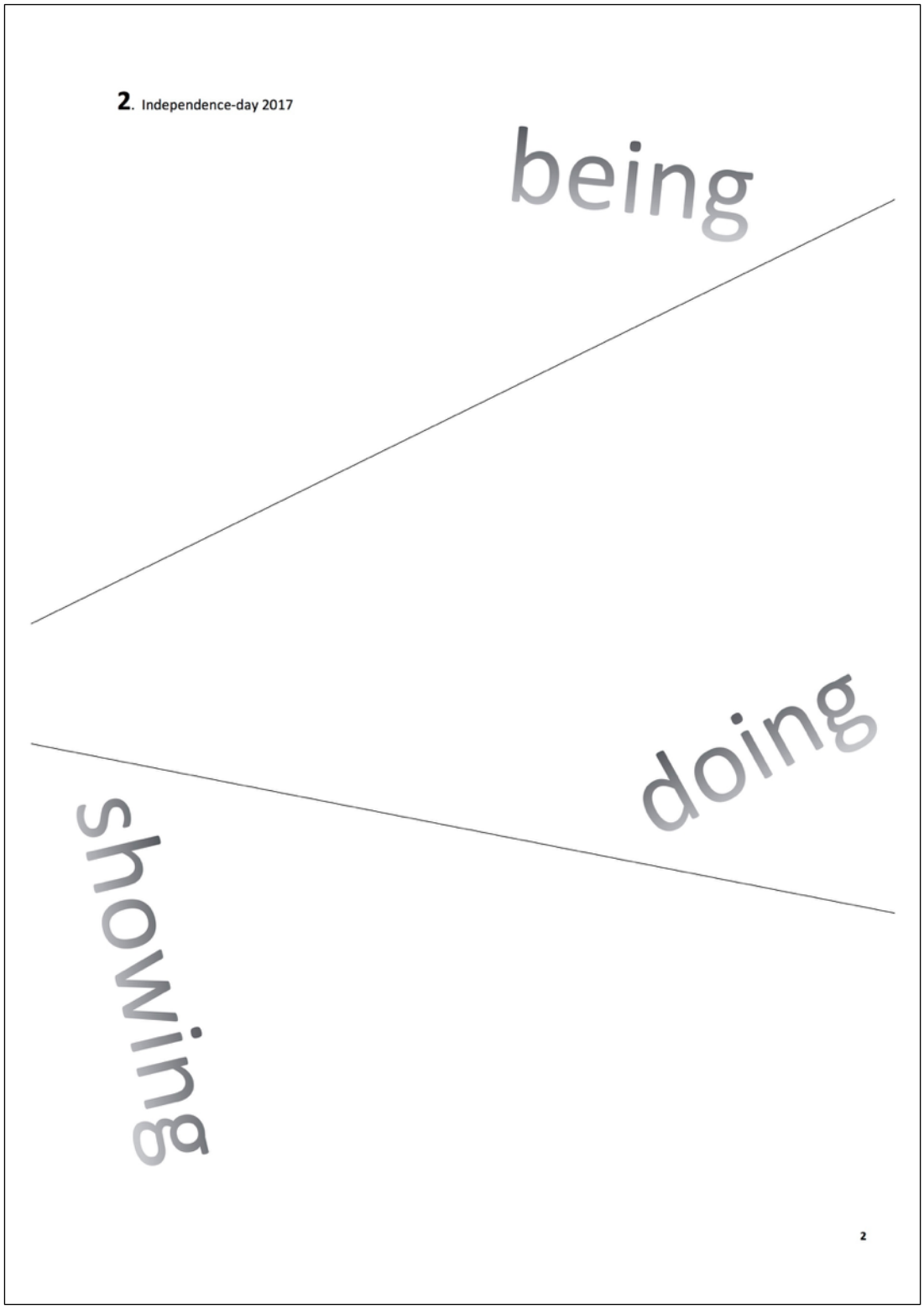
The 'feeling' section of this worksheet was notably divided into negative and positive comments. For the former (negative), participants wrote 'why was this not said to us???', 'kinda frustrated', 'SURPRISED, ASHAMED, ANGRY', '[WOAH]', 'weird', 'confused' and 'depressed due to the ignorance and oppression we have and that we have never known our true authentic self, overwhelmed'. For the latter, participants expressed 'awe, joy, empowered', 'people were actually smart', 'H.H. Bhila extract made me feel surprised and proud', 'Women has value, they were well respected. Women has power', 'ancient people were rich & cultured', 'encouraging in the sense that we would be more cultured if we looked back and did what our people did instead of focussing on colonisation', 'PRIDE PRIDE', 'Fashionable, Advanced' and 'I feel so good when [I] am reading this'.

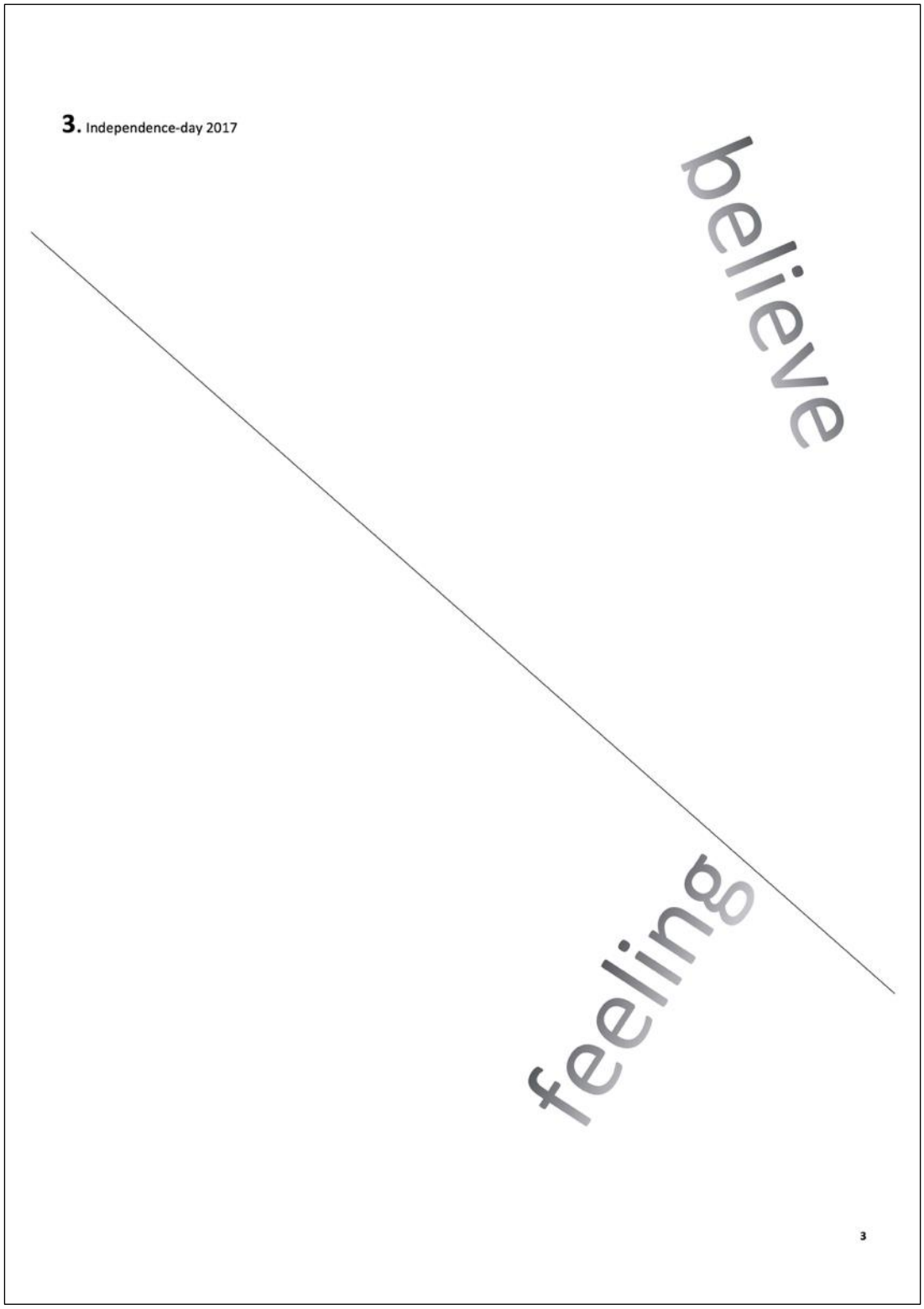
The responses to the question 'How much of this information were you aware of?' registered between 'some' and 'nothing'. 30 participants circled 'some', 2 marked 'much' and 12 indicated 'nothing'. The remainder 8 participants made their mark on different points of the scale between 'some' and 'nothing'.

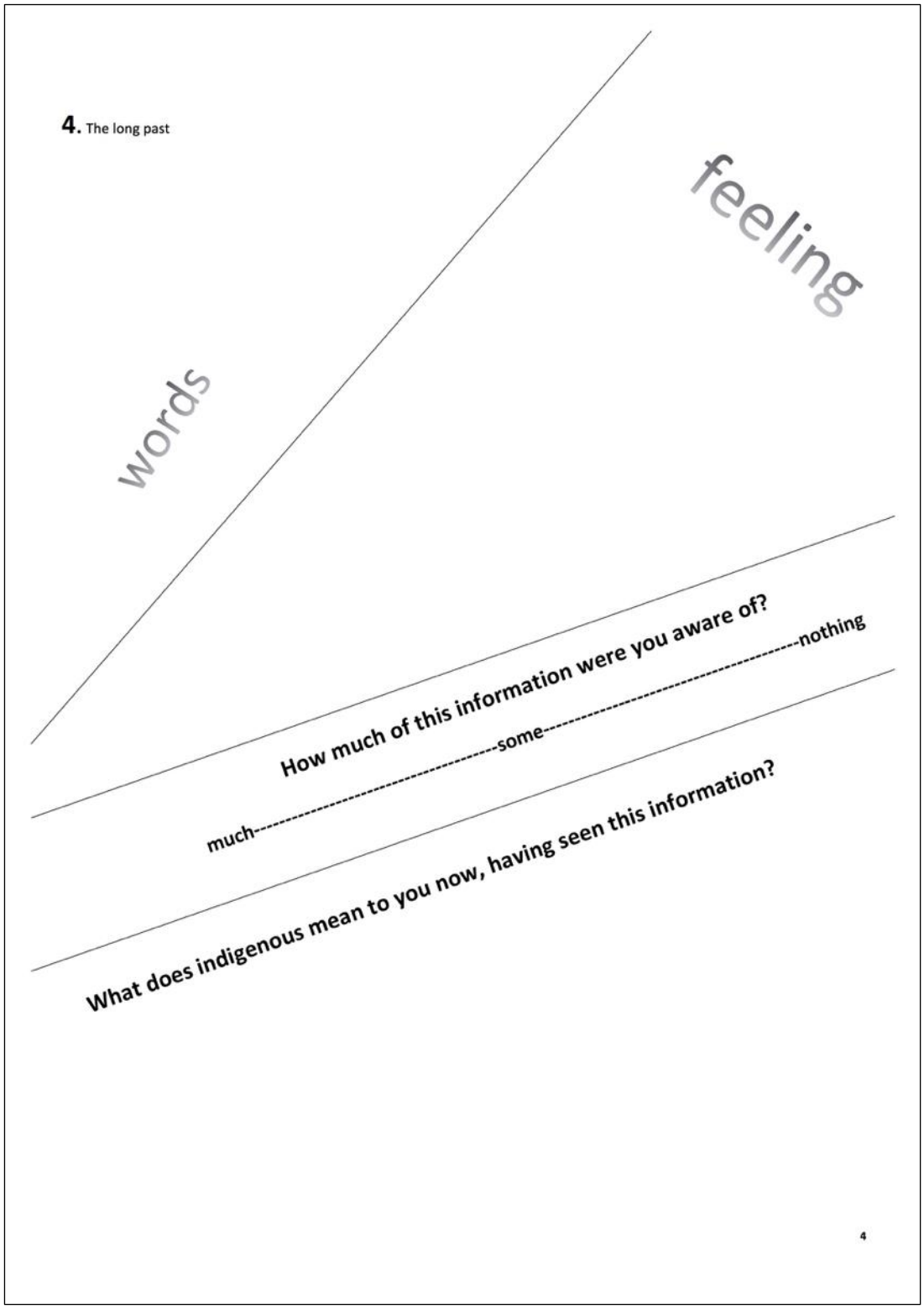
For 15 of the participants, the question, 'What does indigenous mean to you now, having seen this information?' there was no remarkable change in the meaning. They related their understanding of the term still in the realm of geography, land and past cultures and indicated it had not changed. Two notable responses in this cache expressed 'The meaning hasn't changed but my sense of being indigenous has become more apparent and self-questioning in many aspects of society in terms of apparel, culture and human interaction' and 'not by definition but by information, this means power to me'. For 13 of the participants the meaning of the word had shifted significantly. One participant wrote 'This is actually mindblowin[g] it means a whole lot more, diverse and rich sense of belonging'. Two of the participants wrote 'indigenous is basically relative…' and 'I DON'T KNOW'.

The worksheets




2. Independence-day 2017
being
doing
showing
2


3. Independence-day 2017
believe
feeling
3


4. The long past
words
feeling
How much of this information were you aware of?
much----------some----------nothing
What does indigenous mean to you now, having seen this information?
4

Archive Excerpts

What follows are a list of the excerpts from the archives. Each passage was printed and individually presented.

Mudenge Pg. 29
[F]rom the early 1570s, Fr Monclaro has left us another description of the Shona dress and appearance:
All of them commonly wear loosely-woven cloth….called machira … The machira may measure two rods and a half in length and a rod and a half across, being wound around the body and crosswise over the chest, the rest remaining uncovered. They wear horn-like headgear as an adornment, being made of their own hair turned back in a strange manner; these horns ….. provide good shade. In the middle of the head they make one which draws the hair in most orderly well-arranged fashion, first making the hair long by means of small pieces of copper or tin which they tie at the end of a few hairs brought together, so that the weight gradually makes them long and not crisp, and they go about with their heads covered with these small pieces. Once the hair has grown long, they bring it together in the middle of the head in a fair amount to make a bigger horn, the hair being tied with a certain grass with which they make a very comely thread of a certain length; the tapering end is left untied. Then in most regular fashion they do make other small horns, being very skillful in this; and the women wear many copper rings in their arms and legs; being drawn very fine, and the same they make with gold, which is extremely fine and with this thread they make these rings.

Mudenge Pg. 36
Ref: Monclaro, 'Relação', 381. This description of the Shona of the Mutapa is very similar to the Shona of Uteve left by Fr dos Santos:
…..they are handsome men, especially the Macarangas, who dwell in the lands of Quiteve. All wear their hair made into horns all over their heads for finery. The hair is made to stand up as straight as an arrow being twisted round a thin piece of wood, so it cannot bend, and outside it is bound with the outer covering of a certain herb like that of spurge laurel, which when it is fresh sticks like glue, and when it is dry becomes as hard as wood. With this they tie their hair in twists from the root to the point, making each twist into a well-shaped horn, and this is all their finery and show, which they arrange for each other. They make great sport of a man who wears no horns, saying he is like a woman, because a man being male should have horns …..; he wears four horns; one a palm in length above his forehead like a unicorn, and three half a palm in length, one at the back of the head and one over each ear; each horn standing up in its place…

Mudenge Pg. 36
The dress of the king and his lords is a fine cloth of cotton or silk hanging from the waist to the ankle, and another much larger cloth of the same cotton woven …., which they call machiras, or of silk, thrown over the shoulder like a cape, with which they cover and muffle themselves, always leaving the end of the cloth on the left side so long that it drags upon the ground, and the more it drags the greater their majesty and dignity. The rest of their body is naked. All, even the king, go barefoot.
Dos Santos, 'Ethiópia Oriental', 206 – 207.

Mudenge Pg. 84
A Mutapa's regalia would have probably consisted of a chiremba choumambo (royal crown), a quite (throne) or three-legged stool, his 'assegai' of black wood with the point made of solid gold similar to the point of a lance, a svimbo (knobkerry), a staff (mubhadha), and perhaps the skin of a lion or leopard and a piece of cotton cloth.

Mudenge Pg. 84
From footnote: Pacheo, Uma Viagem, 29; Miranda, 'Monarchia', 112, 114-115; Mello e Castro, 'Notícia', 133, 135; Monclaro, 'Relação', 377; Dos Santos, 'Ethiópia Oriental', 288.
Some records claim that, 'The said king [Mutapa] uses two insignia, one being a small hoe with an ivory point [handle], which he always wears in his girdle to show his subjects that they should cultivate and profit by the land, so that they may live in peace on what they obtain from it, without taking another's property; the other consists of two assegais, showing that with one the king administers justice and with the other defends his people.

Mudenge Pg. 146
First come, in front, certain drummers and players of other instruments, together with certain dancers, all singing and playing as they march, deafening the surrounding country with their harsh and discordant voices, their heads ornamented with cock's-tail feathers. After them come the others… in single file, and after them four mutumes in their proper order, he who represents the king coming last. Besides the mibhadha [chibata or rota - special royal staffs] the envoys were usually regaled with striking feathers, cock or ostrich, and perhaps some royal skin like leopard skin. Their flamboyant dress, their mibhadha, and the airs surrounding their entourage set them apart from ordinary travelers..

Mudenge Pg. 199
Footnote: Alpers, *Ivory and Slaves in East Central Africa,* 26, 229, 232, 242; Manuel Galvão da Silva, 'Diario das Viagens', 328; [Anon], 'Descripção do Império Moanomatapa, 224; Gomes, 'Viagem', 209. Fr. Gomes has left us a full description of the dressing in the seventeenth-century Mutapa kingdom showing that imported clothing did not replace traditional weaving craft. According to Gomes,
The people dress in various ways: at court and Zimboôe[sic] of the Kings their grandees wear cloths of rich silk, damask, satin, gold and silk cloth; these are three widths of satin, each width four covados [2.64m], each sewn next to the next, sometimes with gold lace in between, trimmed on two sides, like a carpet, with a gold and silk fringe, sewn in place with a two fingers' wide ribbon, woven with gold roses on silk – a very well made thing manufactured by ….themselves. These cloths are worn from the waist down the right side trailing along the floor and the left just down to the knee.

Mudenge Pg. 199
Others dress in cotton cloth with coloured stripes, black being their favourite colour. Of all the women, the Mocranga are the ones who dress the best, the cloth coming done to one palmo above the feet; that part of the leg showing is covered with bright copper bands.

Mudenge Pg. 188
Throughout the pre-colonial [precolonial] period, locally-manufactured bangles, trinkets and beads continued to be used.
Locally manufactured bangles and trinkets continued to be produced and circulated through the internal trade networks. As Fr. Gomes says,
There is a great quantity of copper and they use it to make their jewelry. They turn it into wire and so shiny and thin that it looks like gold and with it they make bracelets for the arms of both men and women, the men wear them only in the left arm and the women on both, others are thick, smooth and round, for the arms, and thicker for the ankles, they blend this copper with a metal that is like tin ….

Mudenge Pg. 244
It is said that the Gatsi….. When he gave audience to Bocarro
He wrapped a piece of silk cloth round his waist and put another one on his back, that hung from his shoulders and covered him all over: and thus attired he received ambassador Gaspar Bocarro, the companion of the priest. The throne was the doorway in which he sat on an upper step covered with a machira . . .and all the other decorations and hanging were also machiras . . .
[Gace Rucere [Gatsi Rusere] to Pereira, Zimbabwe *Chiromée*, March 1620, *Ditto*, 106-107, Gatsi Rusere to Pereira, June 1620, *Ditto*. 108; Sousa, *O Oriente Conquistado*, 837.

Mudenge Pg 363
Equally interesting are the empire's [Mutapa] impressive contacts with the outside world. This study has traced in some detail, the multifaceted relations with Portugal, and it was through Portugal that the Mutapa empire became known in Europe. But the international dimension went beyond connections with that country. Map-makers of Europe knew the geographic location of the Empire of Munhumutapa and included it on their maps.
Dutch and French artists drew on their own 'conceptions' of the portraits of the Mutapas and their courts; a French poet, La Fontaine, immortalized the Mutapa in a poem about 'Friendship',
In Rome, a bronze tablet, depicting the baptism of Mutapa Siti Kazurukumusapa, was engraved to commemorate that event, on order of the Dominican Superior-General.
And in the Arab or Moslem world, the port of Sofala and Mt. Fura, whence gold came to the Middle East, were all well known, especially before the seventeenth century.
Persian carpets were prized items at the Mutapa courts.
Indians, especially Goanese and Gujarati Banyan communities, were in regular trade contact with the Mutapa state up to the nineteenth century.
Besides learning of the material culture of the peoples they came into contact with, the Shona of Mutapa also learned of the beliefs of some of these people.
We know that the present Lemba people in Zimbabwe owe their Islamic observances and tradition to the moslem traders who used to trade with the people of Zimbabwe in pre-colonial times.
Portuguese and Arab words have found their way into the Shona language through such contacts.

Mlambo Pg. 13 Of the Bantu-Speaking peoples

They produced a distinctive comb-stamped pottery that has been identified at various archaeological sites throughout the country. In addition, they worked iron to produce a variety of implements such as hoes, axes, spears, arrows and knives and made bracelets, necklaces, bangles and other ornaments from copper.

These items as well as ivory, skins and precious metal were traded by emerging entrepreneurial and ruling elites with the Swahili Coast in the Indian Ocean from the seventh century onwards, in exchange for imported glass beads from India and Persia, ceramics from the Persian Gulf and the Far East and other luxuries.

By the end of the first millennium, the southern African coast and interior had become integrated into the Indian Ocean commercial network. [drawn from Pikirayi – The Zimbabwe Culture]

Mlambo Pg. 14

Iron age prehistory classified into four periods:

a. *Stage one - farming communities living in scattered villages – no apparent hierarchical organization*
b. *Stage two – from about the 7th century, coincides with introduction of external trade – goods with exchange value – gold & ivory.*
c. *Stage three – from around 10th century – increase in volume of trade and, archaeologically, can see signs of social differentiation,*
d. *Fourth stage – emergence of state structures like Mapungubwe and increased social stratification. These events reach a climax with the establishment of Great Zimbabwe State.*

Mlambo Pg. 17 – Great Zimbabwe (1270 – 1550)

….Gumanye culture around the Great Zimbabwe Hill…its location at the head of the Save River, which flows to the Indian Ocean stood in good stead to make the most of the commercial networks of the Swahili Coast of the Indian Ocean.

Persian bowls, dishes from China, glass from the Near East and several other items have been excavated at Great Zimbabwe, suggesting trades links with these and other foreign places.

….Great Zimbabwe was not only a trading but also an important craft centre and a place of religious significance

Mlambo Pg. 22 – The Mutapa Empire (1450 – 1629)

…… the Mutapa state continued to thrive and because of the hub in the interior for trade with the Indian Ocean in silk, ceramics, silver, and glassware, among other imports in exchange for gold, ivory, skins and local cloth known as Machira, woven from local cotton.

Mlambo Pg. 23

Of the Togwa (Torwa)/Rozvi

With its capital at Khami in south-western Zimbabwe, near the modern-day city of Bulawayo, the Togwa (Torwa) state, also known as Butwa, flourished between 1450 and 1685 and was ruled by a king known as Mambo. Also built of stone as Great Zimbabwe, Khami is estimated to have been home to some 7000 people at its height. Archaeologists

have found copper, iron, bronze and gold ornaments at Khami. There is also evidence of cotton spinning, weaving, soapstone carving and working of wood and ivory.
Imported pottery from China, Egypt and Europe and glass beads suggest trading activities with the Indian Ocean coast down the Zambezi and Sabi Rivers in which imports were exchanged for gold. Like its predecessors, Khami was also a cattle-rearing society in addition to owning goats and sheep and growing crops

Material Culture and Visual Traditions of the Ndebele – Ngwabi Bhebe & Pathisa Nyathi Pg. 152
"On January 8, 1874 Frank Oates attended the Inxwala (the Ndebele Great Dance…) and left us the following vivid picture of the soldiers' dress:
Over the shoulders, and continued into a sort of hood, which either surmounts the back of the head or hangs loose behind then neck, is a large fabric of jet-black ostrich-feathers. Around the forehead is a circle of tawny fur, and a single long steel-coloured crane's feather rises above, giving the most artistic finish to the picture. Around the loins are a collection of monkey and cat skins, dangling in long strips, together with a number of tails, some of the latter nearly long enough for those of leopards, which hang in thick bunches nearly to the ground. Around each arm is a graceful, wavy tuft of white ox-tail hair, sometimes the same around the legs….. The shield and the assegais complete the picture (1889:101).

Bhila Pg. 23
In …… Uteve the role of women was….. to the selection of a new king. The choice of the Teve queens was regarded as final and irrevocable. In Barwe, only the senior wives took part in the election of the new king.
In the years of Bunyoro's power and glory, this was before 1680, female territorial governors were the rule.
After consulting the semukadzi, the clan spirit medium, the king appointed one of his daughters or sisters to one of the new wards, or as a replacement to a dead ruler. Unlike the spirit medium, the[se] women were allowed to marry and live in their territorial wards with their husbands, who, as a consequence of their wives' position acquired the title of nehanda.

Bhila Pg. 81 [year – c.1580]
In Manyika, fiera trade was controlled by both the kings themselves, who occasionally visited with their councillors, and the prince or princess of the fiera areas. But in Uteve the fiera was operated to a very large extent by an *inyamasango* (village head) under whose jurisdiction the administration of Bandire fell. He was required to *pay an annual tribute to the Sachiteve in the form of a Turkish tunic, one piece of cloth, a barret, some linen, one rola (turtle dove) and some Bengal muslin. Apparently, these articles were supposed to be yellow in colour in order to symbolise the abundance of gold at Bandire*.

Dewey, **Cosentino, Feldman and Toshiko** Pg. 99
Another use of the headrests was noted by Thomas Baines, who traveled in the Shona area in 1870 and wrote that "to keep the well-oiled [hair] locks from being soiled by dust, every man carries with him a neck pillow, like a little stool, which suffers not the head come within eight of ten inches of the ground" (Baines 1877:27)

J.T. Bent, who was in the Shona areas in 1891, noted that the Shona sleep "with their necks resting on a wooden pillow, curiously carved; [for] they are accustomed to decorate their hair so fantastically with tufts ornamentally arranged and tied up with beads that they are afraid of destroying the effect, and hence these pillows" (Bent 1892:36)
Andre Fernandes, who visited the area in 1560, observed that "some [of the Shona] wear ten horns, others more, others less" (Beach, 1980: 156).
Using headrests to protect elaborate coiffeurs has therefore probably had a long history in the area.

Beach Pg. 32
…generally it seems….that the finer the cloth, the richer the wearer. The local weavers of the Plateau and the Zambezi valley were able to make both kinds of cloth, coarse and fine, and while the coarse clothes were highly durable, the finer materials were worn alongside the best imported silks and embroidered fabrics by the rulers and their relatives.
One way in which local cloth could not compete with Indian fabrics was that no local dyes seem to have been used until the seventeenth century. Thus, in the sixteenth century, Muslim entrepreneurs were importing dyed Indian cloth, unraveling it and weaving the threads into locally-made cloth for resale, which may have improved the closeness of the weave.

Beach Pg. 44
….the cloth that was imported would have included the finest silks and embroidered materials.

Beach Pg. 87
To a certain extent it is possible to look at nineteenth century Shona society as it was observed by Europeans or remembered by the modern Shona and project this picture backwards, but to do this is to risk falling into….traps laid for historians, for few societies remain unchanged over such a long period…..for nearly two centuries the northern and central Shona were under the direct observation of Portuguese traders and priests and officials…..the north and centre [then]…barred to Portuguese observers by the threat of Rozvi power after 1693, the eastern Shona and those of the Zambezi valley remained under observation right up to modern times.

Beach Pg. 98
The clothing of the rulers on the Shona and their followers was very different from that of their people. …most wore the unusual dress of the wealthy Muslims of the East African coastal cities, a cloth from their middles to their feet, tucked in around the waist, and often another cloth worn around their shoulders and hanging down as a cloak. The really wealthy had their clothes so long that they dragged on the ground and thus wore away: conspicuous consumption in a Shona society.
Men wore their hair as long as possible…the most popular fashion was for the hair to be arranged in horn-like shapes, the more the better.
The women wore similar clothes from waist to calf, with heavy copper bangles from there to their feet…some of the richest people wore silks, damasks, satins and cloth of gold, often

embroidered or decorated with ribbons, while the less well-off people wore imported Indian cottons, often dyed in stripes.

Ellert Pg. 5
[detail from the 1500]
…the Africans were conditioned to the Cambaya Indian beads and Gujerati textiles, Bertangil vermelho, red coloured cloth made in Surat and Cambay and exported to Africa mainly via the port of Diu and Damão, and were not particularly interested in the Portuguese mix of European trinkets like brass pisspots and mirrors.

Ellert Pg. 14
[c. 1570s]
The flourishing trade that quickly developed was based on the age-old commodities of Indian beads and cloth for gold and ivory. Many of the old trading places were designated by official regimento as feiras and captains were appointed to protect Crown interests, liaise with local African chiefs and to levy a tax on all Portuguese traders.

Ellert Pg. 14
A series of charts showing the Rivers of the Cuama was published in 1630 in Pedro Barreto de Resende's *Livro do Estado da India Oriental*. The maps illustrate the position of Luanze, Masapa, Dambarare and Matafuna fieras. *In a 1677 map by João Teixeira Albernaz II the more archaic name for the Zambezi river has been dropped. The maps also show a fairly accurate location of the Mazowe, Ruenya, Ruia, Nyadiri and their various tributary streams. During this Portuguese phase – lasting from 1500 to 1900 – a number of wholly indigenous industries were revived and too on greater importance for the communities in which they were practiced. Cotton cultivation and weaving were introduced – as far as can be determined – by the Muslims at the same time that they introduced intercontinental trade. The production of machira (cotton cloth woven on low wooden looms) is thought to have been marginal to the overall economy before 1505 and the minimal rate of cloth imports afterwards might well have stimulated local machira production.*

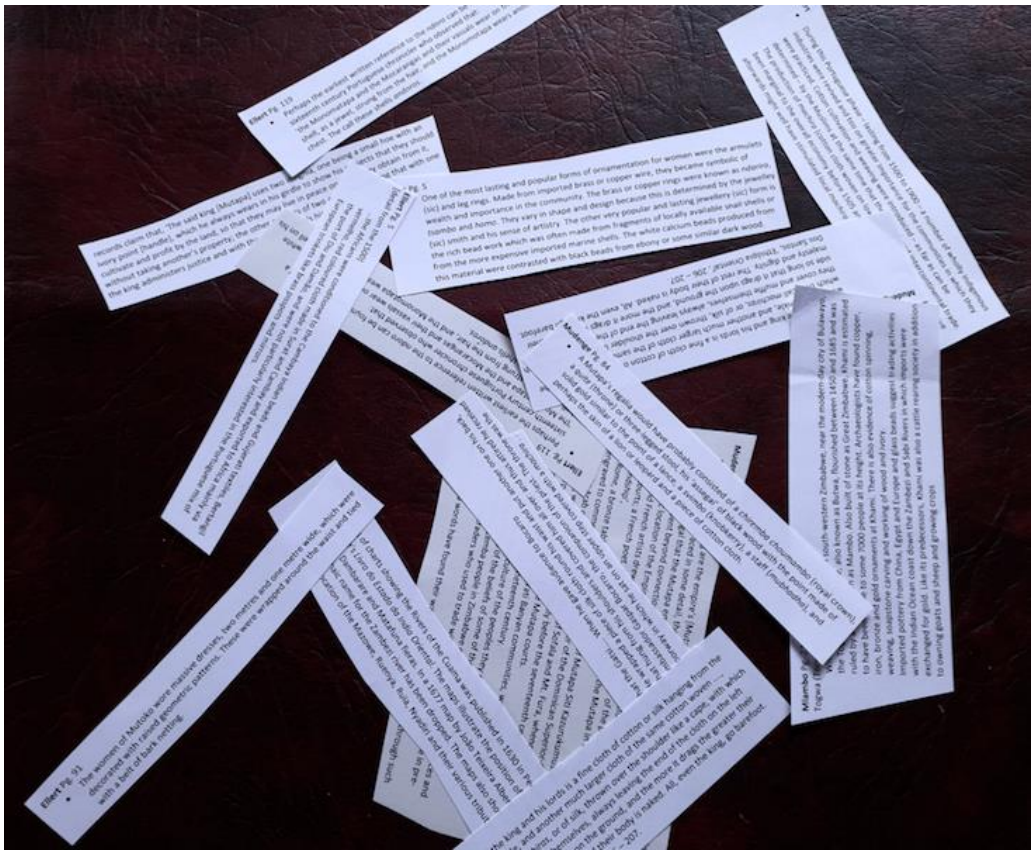
Ellert Pg. 5
One of the most lasting and popular forms of ornamentation for women were the armulets (sic) and leg rings. Made from imported brass or copper wire, they became symbolic of wealth and importance in the community. The brass or copper rings were known as ndarira, tsambo and homo. They vary in shape and design because this is determined by the jewelley (sic) smith and his sense of artistry. The other very popular and lasting jewellery (sic) form is the rich bead work which was often made from fragments of locally available snail shells or from the more expensive imported marine shells. The white calcium beads produced from this material were contrasted with black beads from ebony or some similar dark wood.

Ellert Pg. 17 – 21
The wooden pillow or headrest, mutsago (Sh) and umqamelo or umthiva (N) occur throughout Zimbabwe and illustrates a highly developed form of artistic expression…

They were reported to be in use amongst the vaKaranga who used them to preserve their elaborate hairstyles during sleep. The custom amongst the Karanga at that time was to allow the hair to grow quite long, tie it into curls well anointed with greases.
Yet another observation on the use of the mutsago comes from Theodore Bent, who in the early 1890s, noted 'they (the Africans) are utterly unaccustomed to postures of comfort, reclining at night-time on a grass mat on the hard ground, with their necks resting on a wooden pillow, curiously carved, they are accustomed to decorate their hair so fantastically with tufts ornamentally arranged and tied up with beads that they are afraid of destroying the effect, hence these pillows.'

Ellert Pg. 91
The women of Mutoko wore massive dresses, two metres and one metre wide, which were decorated with raised geometric patterns. These were wrapped around the waist and tied with a belt of bark netting.

Ellert Pg. 119
Perhaps the earliest written reference to the ndoro can be found in the journals of a sixteenth century Portuguese chronicler who observed that:
'the Monomatapa and the Mocarangas and their vassals wear on their foreheads a white shell, as a jewel, strung from the hair, and the Monomotapa wears another large shell on his chest. The call these shells andoros.



Presentation of archive excerpts for focus groups

Independence & Indigeneity Consent Form

The aim of this focus group is to discuss ideas about what it means to be independent and to be indigenous in Zimbabwe in 2018. The focus will be around issues of visual and material culture. We will be engaging in a series of discussions and exchanges about words, images and concepts. There will be a series of questionnaires and creative imaging exercises.
Please feel free to ask any questions regarding any specific details before, during or after the session.
Below is a list of points that need to be understood and agreed to for your consent to be part of this process.
Please take your time to read through before you sign.
Thank you for your participation

heeten bhagat
bhghee002@myuct.ac.za 0712 605 221

By signing my name below:

- I agree to participate in this focus group.
- I have read this consent form and the information it contains and had the opportunity to ask questions about them.
- I agree to my responses being used for education and research on condition my privacy is respected, subject to the following:
  - I understand that my details will be included in the research only in aggregate form, so that I will not be personally identifiable.
  - I understand that I am under no obligation to take part in this project.
  - I understand I have the right to withdraw from this project at any stage.
  - I understand that my participation is totally voluntary and I agree to share my thoughts, comments and ideas freely and to the best of my abilities.
  - I understand there is no payment or material gain for me from my participation in this focus group.

Name	Age	Gender	Signature	Date

Independence & Indigeneity Consent Form

Welcome,

My name is heeten bhagat
I am currently a PhD student at University of Cape Town, based in the Drama Department through the Institute of Creative Arts. I am in the process of building an understanding of what being indigenous means in Zimbabwe in 2018.

My specific area for research is the independence-day celebration that takes place at the National Stadium in Harare each year on the 18th April.

I am working to understand how and where we can recognise/see aspects on cultural indigeneity that are performed in this ceremony. The research expands to also look at how this ceremony of independence could be re-imagined with other ideas of being indigenous.
My research interests include elements and instances of indigenous cultural expression gathered from the archive, ranging back to the 15th century, of communities that lived along the banks of the Zambezi and Save Rivers. Some stories also come from further inland from these two rivers.

The focus group will be structured as a series of conversations and discussions, during which participants will get opportunity to share their ideas, imaginings and comments. There will also be some questionnaires to go through and then a series of creative exercises involving some art-based activities.

All information shared in this focus group will be received as anonymous, unless participants choose to want to make their identity known.
Participants will also have the option to offer their thoughts via voice recording during the time of the focus group.

The information shared will form the main element of evidence for analysis within my PhD dissertation and aspects of the questionnaires and the creative offerings will be included in the dissertation and a possibly and exhibition of the research.

None of these elements are of commercial/profit-making value.

This is an open discussion forum and also a chance to explore your own sense of creativity – there is not wrong or right. The aim is to journey through your thoughts and ideas and see what comes out.

If you have any questions, please feel free to ask.
If all is clear, please proceed to read and sign on the consent form

Thank you for your participation!

heeten bhagat

heeten bhagat 2018 bhghee002@myuct.ac.za

Online Survey

An online survey was also carried out to get a broader idea of views regarding notions of indigenousness. The question, disseminated by Kubatana.net – an online community platform – asked: 'As we celebrate 38 years of independence, what does it mean, for you, to be an indigenous Zimbabwean in 2018?'. The question was shared with members of the Kubatana platform and forwarded on through their (members') individual networks. The question was supported with the following explanation:

> *'heeten's inquiry has been inspired by the massive euphoria that greeted the movie Black Panther, especially with regards to one of its main suggestions: a country in Africa that has never been colonised before.*
>
> *Zimbabwe's recent history has been characterised by the call for indigenisation through the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act (2007), together with persistent calls for sovereignty. heeten's research is looking specifically at how these calls have registered/manifested culturally. And, additionally, if at all, this indigenisation narrative, in a cultural sense, has changed since November 2017, when we took a step into the next stage of our young country.*
>
> *heeten will be hosting and facilitating a series of workshops in Harare in the next 6 months. The workshops will be opportunities to discuss issues of culture within the indigenisation project in creative way - what it means, it's past, present and its future.*
>
> *heeten will be offering free space on his workshops for the 10 most surprising and curious responses to his question: As we celebrate 38 years of independence, what does it mean, for you, to be an indigenous Zimbabwean in 2018?*'
>
> Kubatana Facebook post[449]

This query was shared on the Kubatana platform and on their Facebook and Twitter[450] pages. 13 people responded via email. The Facebook page showed 89 likes, 17 comments and 5 shares. The Twitter pages showed 2 replies and one quote.

Responses that were sent via email primarily deferred the notion of being indigenous to the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act which indicates they all related indigenousness to an economic and/or political process. A common characteristic of these

[449] Facebook: Kubatana. Available: https://www.facebook.com/Kubatana/posts/as-we-celebrate-38-years-of-independence-what-does-it-mean-for-you-to-be-an-indi/1934925466518843/ - retrieved 12 May 2018
[450] Kubatana's Tweet. Available: what does it mean, for you, to be an indigenous Zimbabwean in 2018? https://www.trendsmap.com/twitter/tweet/985854845658779648 - retrieved 12 May 2018

responses was a sense of disappointment in the indigenisation process, most expressing dismay that it had not benefitted them in any tangible way. Very few of the responses addressed the cultural aspect of the question. As such, while these responses are a useful barometer of the sense of disillusionment in the indigenisation process, they also indicate, albeit tacitly, a gap in the awareness as to the cultural potential of indigenisation. A full record of the responses is available upon request.

The comments on the Facebook page also failed to address the cultural question. Instead, the flow of the discussion centred around racial issues and failed expectations. The two responses on the Twitter page spoke to economic and political issues.

Seeking permission to access information

A key aim of this research study was to get access information about how the independence day ceremony is constituted. Enquiries made at the National Archives of Zimbabwe for any information about the conceptualisation process and coordination of this seminal event were unfruitful. The librarian on duty, however, suggested contacting the Ministry of Home Affairs.

Heeten Bhagat
28 Bath Road
Avondale
Harare

To: The Permanent Secretary
Ministry of Home Affairs
11th Floor Mukwati Building,
Corner Fourth Street and Livingstone Avenue,
Harare

30th October 2017

Re: Independence Day Celebrations at the National Sports Stadium, Harare.

Dear Sir,

I am requesting information about the Independence Day celebrations that take place each year on the 18th of April at the National Sports Stadium in Harare.

The reason I am requesting this information is that I am currently researching national celebrations of independence as part of my PhD dissertation that I am undertaking at the University of Cape Town.

My dissertation topic has in turn been driven by work I have done on various events as part of the work I do in the realm of the arts.

I am interested in understanding the various and interesting elements that make up such ceremonies, namely the performance elements. This includes the traditional dances, the marching band, the police and army displays, the drum majorettes and more. From the research I have done at the National Archives, specifically reading through The Herald newspaper, I have found the ceremony and its reception by the attending audience fascinating and would like to learn more about how the event is planned each year.

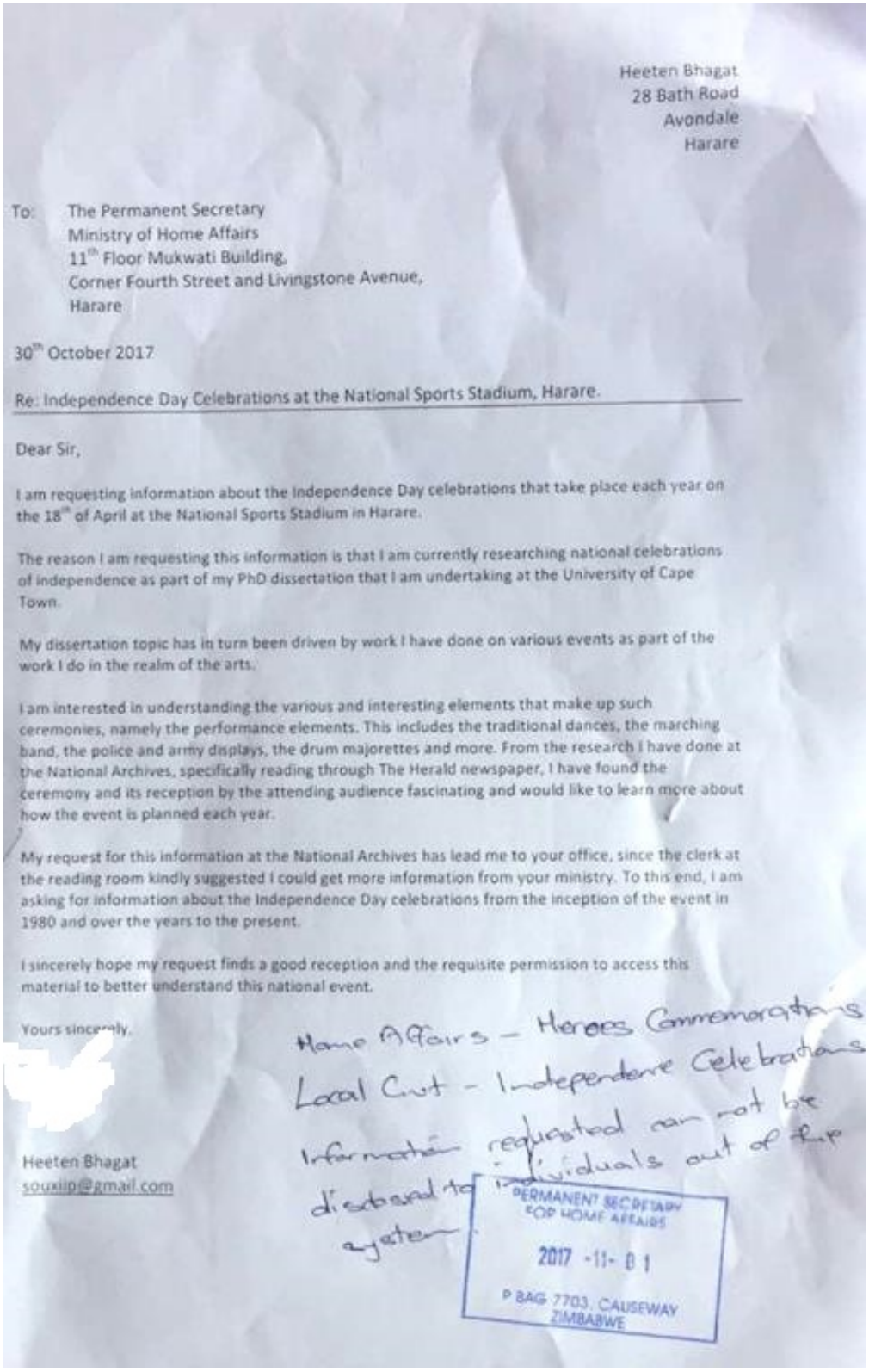
My request for this information at the National Archives has lead me to your office, since the clerk at the reading room kindly suggested I could get more information from your ministry. To this end, I am asking for information about the Independence Day celebrations from the inception of the event in 1980 and over the years to the present.

I sincerely hope my request finds a good reception and the requisite permission to access this material to better understand this national event.

Yours sincerely,

Heeten Bhagat
souxiip@gmail.com

My request was rejected on the reasons that this inquiry should have been lodged with the Ministry of Local Government and also that 'Information requested cannot be disbursed to individuals out of the system'.



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Yours sincerely,

Heeten Bhagat
souxiip@gmail.com

Home Affairs – Heroes Commemorations
Local Govt – Independence Celebrations
Information requested can not be disbursed to individuals out of the system.

PERMANENT SECRETARY FOR HOME AFFAIRS
2017 -11- 01
P BAG 7703, CAUSEWAY ZIMBABWE

A few weeks later, given the changes that had taken place in light of the resignation of Robert Mugabe, another request was made, this time to the Ministry of Local Government. This time round, the request was well received. The representative at the ministry, Ms. Ivy Chazuka, requested copies of my university admission letter and student visa.

Heeten Bhagat
28 Bath Road
Avondale
Harare

To: The Permanent Secretary
Ministry of Local Government
Makombe Building,
Herbert Chitepo Road,
Harare

20th November 2017

Re: Independence Day Celebrations at the National Sports Stadium, Harare.

Dear Sir,

I am requesting information about the Independence Day celebrations that take place each year on the 18th of April at the National Sports Stadium in Harare.

The reason I am requesting this information is that I am currently researching national celebrations of independence as part of my PhD dissertation that I am undertaking at the University of Cape Town.

My dissertation topic has in turn been driven by work I have done on various events as part of the work I do in the realm of the arts.

I am interested in understanding the various and interesting elements that make up such ceremonies, namely the performance elements. This includes the traditional dances, the marching band, the police and army displays, the drum majorettes and the other performance aspects of the event. From the research I have done at the National Archives, specifically reading through The Herald newspaper, I have found the ceremony and its reception by the attending audience fascinating and would like to learn more about how the event is planned each year.

My request for this information at the National Archives has lead me to your office, since the clerk at the reading room kindly suggested I could get more information from your ministry. To this end, I am asking for information about the Independence Day celebrations from the inception of the event in 1980 and over the years to the present day.

I sincerely hope my request finds a good reception and the requisite permission to access this material to better understand this national event.

Yours sincerely,

Heeten Bhagat
souxiip@gmail.com

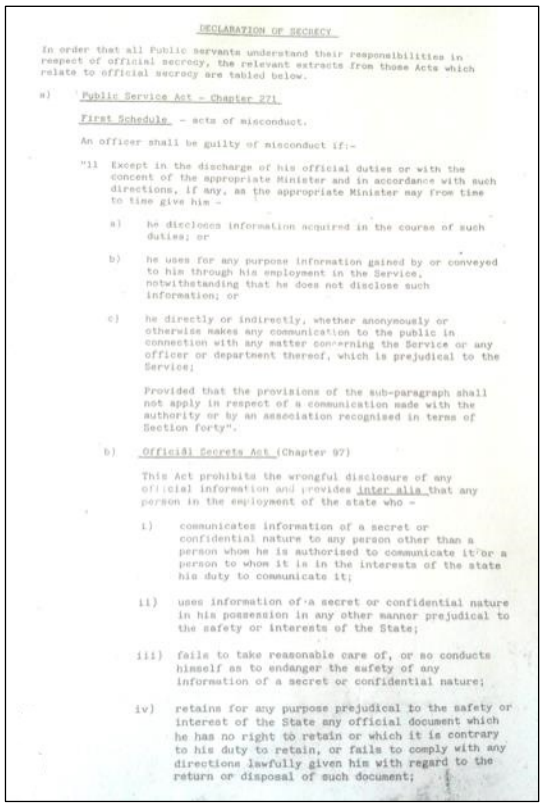
On the 2nd of February 2018, I received an email indicating that my requested had been approved.

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: ivy chazuka <ivychazuka@gmail.com>
Date: Fri, 2 Feb 2018 15:45:22 +0200
Subject: Re: UCT Phd student research
To: heeten bhagat <souxiip@gmail.com>

Please kindly note your application was approved by the Head of Ministry. You are therefore mandated to complete the Official Secrecy act and embark on the research.

Best wishes.

I completed and returned the Official Secrecy Act.



DECLARATION OF SECRECY

In order that all Public servants understand their responsibilities in respect of official secrecy, the relevant extracts from those Acts which relate to official secrecy are tabled below.

a) Public Service Act - Chapter 271

First Schedule - acts of misconduct.

An officer shall be guilty of misconduct if:-

"11 Except in the discharge of his official duties or with the concent of the appropriate Minister and in accordance with such directions, if any, as the appropriate Minister may from time to time give him -

a) he discloses information acquired in the course of such duties; or

b) he uses for any purpose information gained by or conveyed to him through his employment in the Service, notwithstanding that he does not disclose such information; or

c) he directly or indirectly, whether anonymously or otherwise makes any communication to the public in connection with any matter concerning the Service or any officer or department thereof, which is prejudical to the Service;

Provided that the provisions of the sub-paragraph shall not apply in respect of a communication made with the authority or by an association recognised in terms of Section forty".

b) Official Secrets Act (Chapter 97)

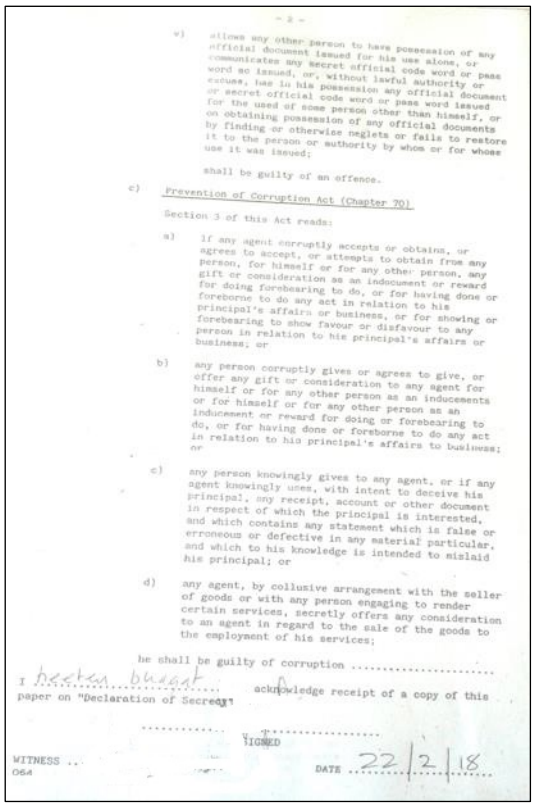
This Act prohibits the wrongful disclosure of any official information and provides inter alia that any person in the employment of the state who -

i) communicates information of a secret or confidential nature to any person other than a person whom he is authorised to communicate it or a person to whom it is in the interests of the state his duty to communicate it;

ii) uses information of a secret or confidential nature in his possession in any other manner prejudical to the safety or interests of the State;

iii) fails to take reasonable care of, or so conducts himself as to endanger the safety of any information of a secret or confidential nature;

iv) retains for any purpose prejudical to the safety or interest of the State any official document which he has no right to retain or which it is contrary to his duty to retain, or fails to comply with any directions lawfully given him with regard to the return or disposal of such document;



- 2 -

v) allows any other person to have possession of any official document issued for his use alone, or communicates any secret official code word or pass word so issued, or, without lawful authority or excuse, has in his possession any official document or secret official code word or pass word issued for the used of some person other than himself, or on obtaining possession of any official documents by finding or otherwise neglets or fails to restore it to the person or authority by whom or for whose use it was issued;

shall be guilty of an offence.

c) Prevention of Corruption Act (Chapter 70)

Section 3 of this Act reads:

a) if any agent corruptly accepts or obtains, or agrees to accept, or attempts to obtain from any person, for himself or for any other person, any gift or consideration as an indocument or reward for doing forebearing to do, or for having done or forborne to do any act in relation to his principal's affairs or business, or for showing or forebearing to show favour or disfavour to any person in relation to his principal's affairs or business; or

b) any person corruptly gives or agrees to give, or offer any gift or consideration to any agent for himself or for any other person as an indocements or for himself or for any other person as an inducement or reward for doing or forebearing to do, or for having done or forborne to do any act in relation to his principal's affairs to business; or

c) any person knowingly gives to any agent, or if any agent knowingly uses, with intent to deceive his principal, any receipt, account or other document in respect of which the principal is interested, and which contains any statement which is false or erroneous or defective in any material particular, and which to his knowledge is intended to mislaid his principal; or

d) any agent, by collusive arrangement with the seller of goods or with any person engaging to render certain services, secretly offers any consideration to an agent in regard to the sale of the goods to the employment of his services;

he shall be guilty of corruption .....

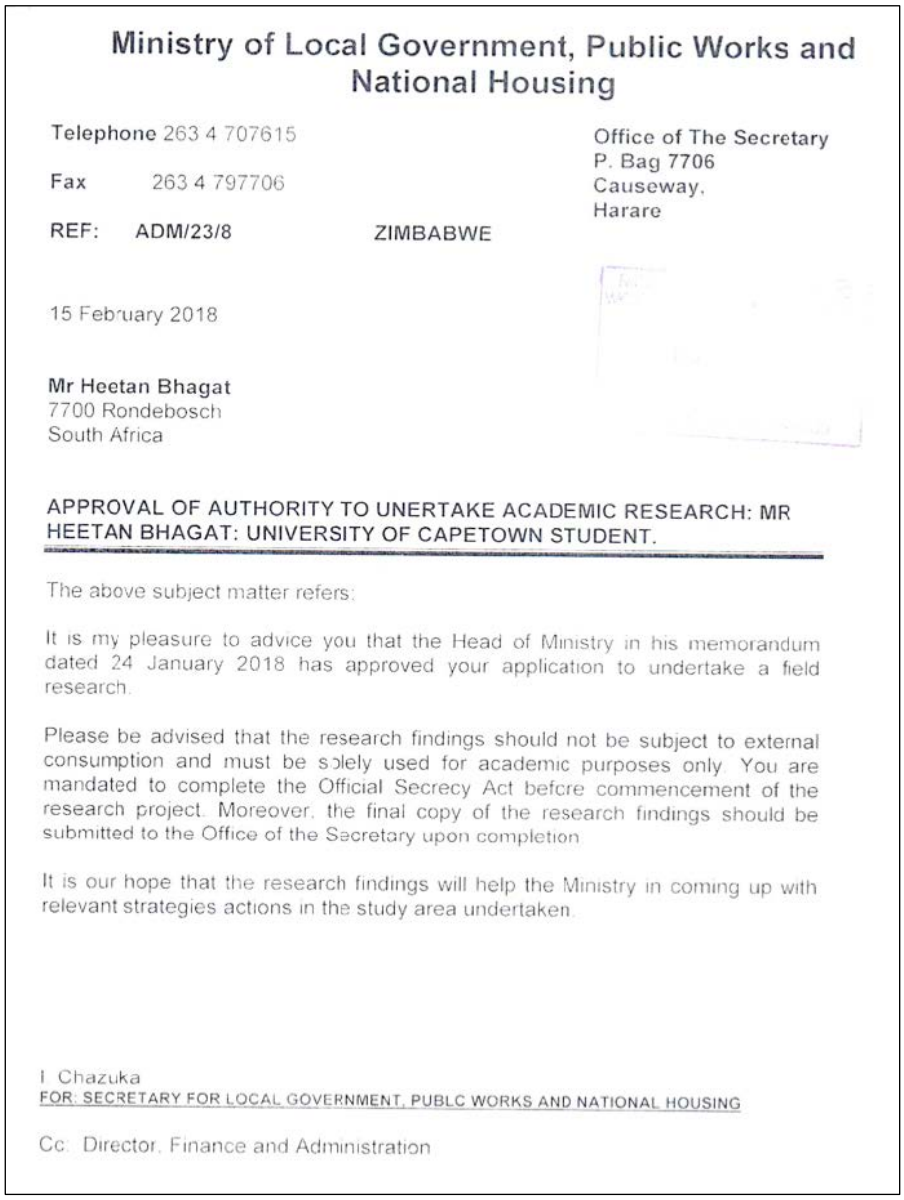
I heeten bhagat acknowledge receipt of a copy of this paper on "Declaration of Secrecy"

SIGNED

WITNESS ..

DATE 22/2/18

Ms. Chazuka then sent the approval letter.



Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing

Telephone 263 4 707615
Fax 263 4 797706
REF: ADM/23/8

ZIMBABWE

Office of The Secretary
P. Bag 7706
Causeway,
Harare

15 February 2018

Mr Heetan Bhagat
7700 Rondebosch
South Africa

APPROVAL OF AUTHORITY TO UNERTAKE ACADEMIC RESEARCH: MR HEETAN BHAGAT: UNIVERSITY OF CAPETOWN STUDENT.

The above subject matter refers:

It is my pleasure to advice you that the Head of Ministry in his memorandum dated 24 January 2018 has approved your application to undertake a field research.

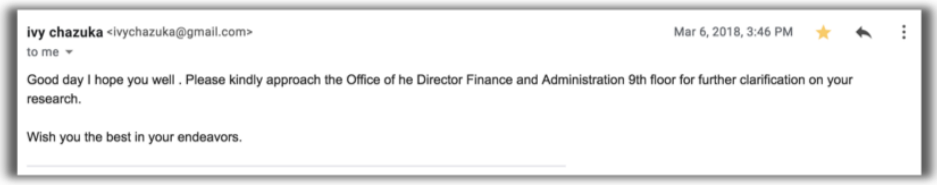
Please be advised that the research findings should not be subject to external consumption and must be solely used for academic purposes only. You are mandated to complete the Official Secrecy Act before commencement of the research project. Moreover, the final copy of the research findings should be submitted to the Office of the Secretary upon completion.

It is our hope that the research findings will help the Ministry in coming up with relevant strategies actions in the study area undertaken.

I. Chazuka
FOR: SECRETARY FOR LOCAL GOVERNMENT, PUBLC WORKS AND NATIONAL HOUSING

Cc: Director, Finance and Administration

She also sent the following directive:

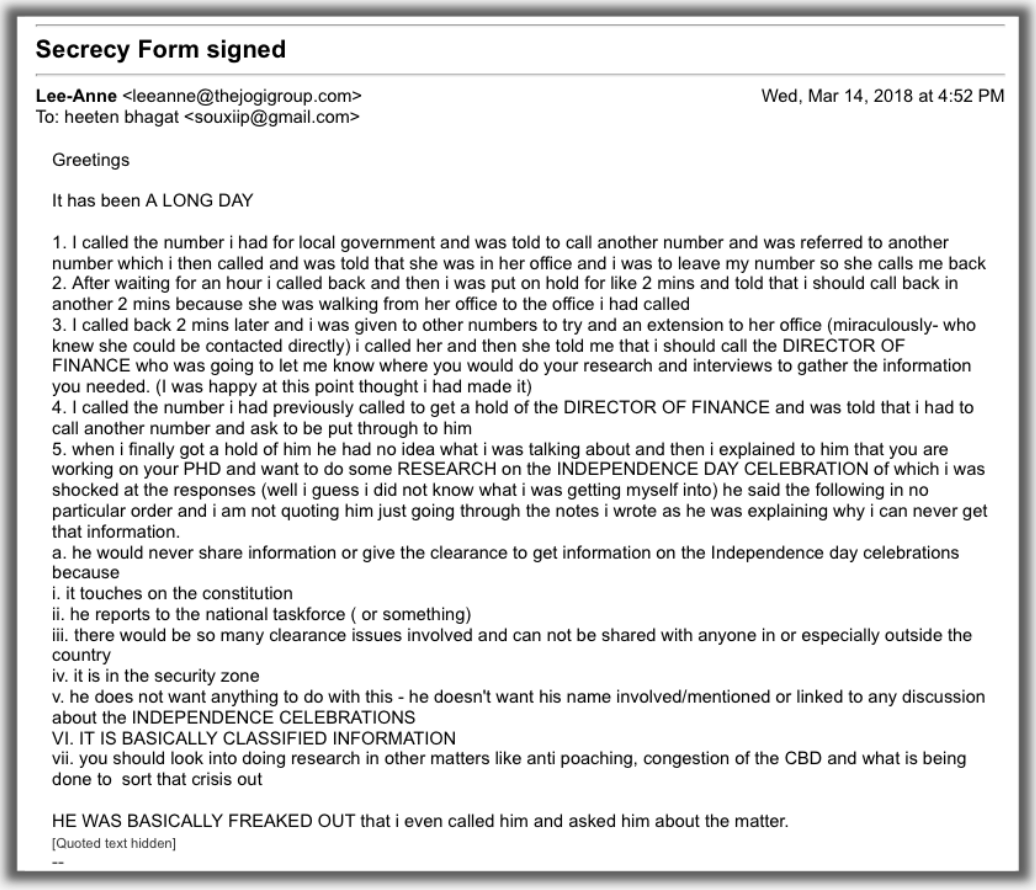


ivy chazuka <ivychazuka@gmail.com> Mar 6, 2018, 3:46 PM
to me

Good day I hope you well . Please kindly approach the Office of he Director Finance and Administration 9th floor for further clarification on your research.

Wish you the best in your endeavors.

My assistance/colleague, Leeanne Gumbo contacted the Director of Finance and Administration. Our request for this information was met with the following response:



Secrecy Form signed

Lee-Anne <leeanne@thejogigroup.com> Wed, Mar 14, 2018 at 4:52 PM
To: heeten bhagat <souxiip@gmail.com>

Greetings

It has been A LONG DAY

1. I called the number i had for local government and was told to call another number and was referred to another number which i then called and was told that she was in her office and i was to leave my number so she calls me back
2. After waiting for an hour i called back and then i was put on hold for like 2 mins and told that i should call back in another 2 mins because she was walking from her office to the office i had called
3. I called back 2 mins later and i was given to other numbers to try and an extension to her office (miraculously- who knew she could be contacted directly) i called her and then she told me that i should call the DIRECTOR OF FINANCE who was going to let me know where you would do your research and interviews to gather the information you needed. (I was happy at this point thought i had made it)
4. I called the number i had previously called to get a hold of the DIRECTOR OF FINANCE and was told that i had to call another number and ask to be put through to him
5. when i finally got a hold of him he had no idea what i was talking about and then i explained to him that you are working on your PHD and want to do some RESEARCH on the INDEPENDENCE DAY CELEBRATION of which i was shocked at the responses (well i guess i did not know what i was getting myself into) he said the following in no particular order and i am not quoting him just going through the notes i wrote as he was explaining why i can never get that information.

a. he would never share information or give the clearance to get information on the Independence day celebrations because
i. it touches on the constitution
ii. he reports to the national taskforce (or something)
iii. there would be so many clearance issues involved and can not be shared with anyone in or especially outside the country
iv. it is in the security zone
v. he does not want anything to do with this - he doesn't want his name involved/mentioned or linked to any discussion about the INDEPENDENCE CELEBRATIONS
VI. IT IS BASICALLY CLASSIFIED INFORMATION
vii. you should look into doing research in other matters like anti poaching, congestion of the CBD and what is being done to sort that crisis out

HE WAS BASICALLY FREAKED OUT that i even called him and asked him about the matter.
[Quoted text hidden]
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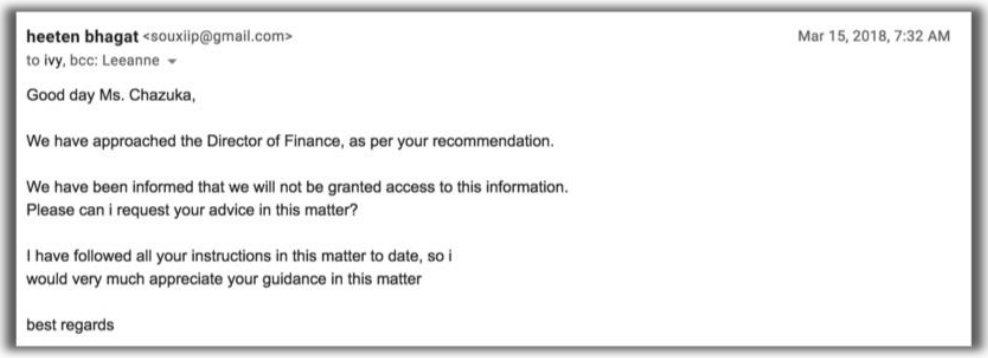
I then sent the following email to Ms. Chazuka.



heeten bhagat <souxiip@gmail.com> Mar 15, 2018, 7:32 AM
to ivy, bcc: Leeanne

Good day Ms. Chazuka,

We have approached the Director of Finance, as per your recommendation.

We have been informed that we will not be granted access to this information.
Please can i request your advice in this matter?

I have followed all your instructions in this matter to date, so i
would very much appreciate your guidance in this matter

best regards

There was and has been no response this email.

Having discussed this outcome with my supervisors and trusted advisors in Zimbabwe, it was decided best not to pursue this matter and further. Given the political sensitivities within the country and also potential sensitivities regarding this research investigation, the decision was taken to work with the information available. This is explained in the Methodology chapter of the dissertation.