

Article

‘Performing Subversion’: Youth and Active Citizenship in Zimbabwean Protest Theatre

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Introduction

The paper highlights the precarious and diverging contributions of young people to the democratic processes of Zimbabwean politics. It begins by navigating the socio-political and economic conditions that conspired to confine how young people experienced their day to day lives. Faced with unprecedented political challenges to its legitimacy, the ruling party, ZANU PF undertook numerous ‘restorative’ strategies that limited the space for socio-political contestation, increasing risk for participation in challenging the master narrative and seeking to shape and regulate public debate. It is within such a political landscape that young people were forced to exist. On one hand, young people found themselves heavily aligned with the ruling party and became serious agents of its ruthless machinery to quell public debate and quench any attempts of uprising. As a constituency, young people became an important resource that helped to sustain a regime that used intimidation, violence and murder for its mainstay. Despite the overburdening regime and its desires to curtail public criticism, few young people managed to innovate ways of criticizing the regime. One such group to be discussed in this paper involves young people who contributed in different capacities to the ‘protest theatre’ movement that grew intensively in Zimbabwe after the year 2000.

This article examines the role of young people in Zimbabwean political practices and formations from an alternative cultural context. It analyses political protest theatre as it engaged and challenged political hegemony and repression in particular. Political protest theatre refers here to theatre that explicitly voiced concerns and disapproval over injustices relating to governance and democratic processes¹. The paper attempts to provide an account of youth activism against the silence and near obscurity that young people have received in the grand narratives of Zimbabwean opposition politics and protest theatre in particular. The paper is structured around concepts of nation and popular culture. Anderson² argues that a nation is an ‘imagined community’ whose existence is dependent on cultural symbols and rituals of that particular group. Therefore the existence of a particular nation is dependent on an imagination, and culture becomes the material resource useful for the molding, shaping and protection of the ‘imagined community’ through the production of cultural texts such as music, dance, narratives, folk stories among many other examples of cultural products which carry a people’s values, aspirations and dreams. Storey³ argues that cultural ‘texts’ be they in television, fiction, pop songs or novels always present a particular ‘image’ of the world which can be translated to refer to Anderson’s ‘imagined community’.

Storey argues that popular culture is best defined implicitly or explicitly in contrast to other conceptual categories such as folk, mass or dominant culture. He argues that whatever conceptual category is deployed as popular culture's absent other, it will always powerfully affect the connotations brought into play when we use the term 'popular culture'. This paper deploys dominant culture as popular culture's absent other in discussing the role of theatre in nation building processes. This is out of the fact that the paper is interested in analyzing conceptions of Zimbabwean nationhood from perspectives of citizens from 'below' rather than 'elites'. Of course the distinction is not that clear cut but for purposes of developing an argument, the distinction shall be used without problematizing it. Bourdieu's⁴ concept of field and capital interestingly points out how the field of theatre is imbued with social, cultural and symbolic capital. He points out that the field of cultural production such as theatre is generally located in a dominated position within the dominant field of power, by which he infers state power and financial influence. Morris⁵ argues that despite the field of theatre existing within the dominant field of power, it normally defines itself and its value systems which sometimes upsets or interrogates the values of the dominant culture. This resonates well with the kind of theatre being analysed in this paper by young people, which shows traces of resistance and protest.

Background: Contours of Young People's Subjectivities in Zimbabwe

The post- 2000 period represents a time frame in which Zimbabwe as a country experienced socio-economic and political challenges that accentuated discourses of nation. The ruling government responded to the critical challenges to its legitimacy by undertaking reconstructive processes in socio-economic and political spheres which had an effect of redefining the national contours. The nation was considered to be under attack from different internal and external forces that had the single mind of effecting regime change, and by extension destroy the national fabric that ZANU- PF nationalists had built since independence in 1980.

In the face of the aforementioned 'tensions' or 'threats' to Zimbabwean nationhood, the ruling party, ZANU PF was compelled to carry out a series of socio-political and economic interventions conducted through the tropes of anti-colonial redress and an anti-imperialist critique. These interventions culminated into the post-2000 period being described as another liberation phase, 'Third Chimurenga', the final in the dethroning of colonial supremacy. Ranger (2004)⁶, contests that naming the period the 'Third Chimurenga', ZANU PF sought to draw a continuous line of struggle that weaves Mbuya Nehanda right to President Mugabe, a liberation lineage against the colonial powers. Faced with an unprecedented 'threat' to the nation's political security, the ruling elite resorted to both legal and extra-legal processes designed to contain the increasingly restless civil society and media. The government succeeded in creating a 'mediated public sphere' which it defined and dominated with its 'official' or 'national' ideology.

In order to monitor, manage, and regulate public debate and influence the 'daily plebiscite'⁷ of Zimbabwean nationhood, the government since 2000 passed various legislation such as Public Order and Security Act (POSA) (2002) which regulated the holding of 'public meetings', processions and demonstrations, Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (2002) earmarked to set parameters for

the operations of media houses in Zimbabwe. The desire to respond to internal and externally induced 'threats' to Zimbabwean nationhood the government implemented teleological and intellectual projects such as the National Youth Service and National Strategic Studies. These programmes were a direct response to the need to build renewed patriotism and national consciousness through reverberations of 'patriotic history'⁸. Cultural activists like Ngugi wa Mirri argued that young people in Zimbabwe and the rest of Africa had gone through an education that has failed to intellectually arm them into recognizing who they are and what Zimbabwe is. It is interesting to note that in the post-2000 era, the government now seemed eager to upgrade cultural policies, but unfortunately as a partisan weapon in the political contestation, to teach 'ZANU PF' patriotism, discipline and appreciation of ZANU PF (not Zimbabwean) culture.⁹

What is evident from the above nuances of Zimbabwean post-colonial crisis is the presence of a gerontocratic surveillance system that has sought to regulate, suppress, control, define, shape and thus inform the production of culture and how young people imbibe it¹⁰. Essentially young people have largely been partakers of a value system deriving from the construction of adults. "Proper" tradition and "culture" have been key gate keeping words that have seen the diffusion and maintenance of norms, values and mores that have drawn the line between what is acceptable and not particularly with regards to young people's behaviour. The notable effect of overarching government policies on young people in Zimbabwe has been their marginalization against imperatives of ruling elites. Young people during the period under review in this paper constituted a marginal group on the fringes of government's policy frameworks. This made most of them liable to exploitation in political violence and armed conflicts. Like in many cases across the world and in Africa in particular, young people found themselves at the centre of political contestation, brawled in violence and armed conflict. ZANU PF unleashed young graduates from its National Youth Service, nicknamed 'green bombers'¹¹ by young people, onto local citizens, terrorizing villages and high density suburbs. Young people functioned as important mobilizing agents for political rallies and voter intimidation programmes that ZANU PF initiated. They became part of state machinery and at times salaried agents of violence.

The MDC's youth wing responded by forming its own youth brigade to protect and also retaliate against attacks from ZANU PF youths. In fact Morgan Tsvangirai, the MDC leader is on record, encouraging his party youths to embrace 'an eye for an eye' concept to counter MDC's victimhood. This set the political space alight, causing volatility and death in both camps and increased uncertainty and fear in the general citizenry. Crime, murder and rape became prevalent and unabated as law enforcement agents were on one hand overwhelmed by the increased number of cases they had to deal with and on the other hand exhibited sheer negligence and partisanship. While a number of youths were running battles among themselves and terrorizing villages, some youths were crossing the country's borders legally and mostly illegally into neighbouring nations as political and economic refugees. The socio-economic burden was largely felt on this age group as most family structures revolved around young people as economic providers. Young people ranging from highly skilled to unskilled trooped out of the country into South Africa and Botswana and those who had the economic assets to dispose of in order to buy a ticket landed

in Europe and Australia. In South Africa Zimbabweans, mostly youths became the second largest foreign group after Mozambicans.

Young People's Cultural Responses

Before discussion focuses on the theatre practices of young people, it is important to analyse some of the cultural responses undertaken by young people in Zimbabwe. This is in a bid to show that theatre was not the only cultural product used to contest hegemonic tendencies in Zimbabwe and to also align a cultural discourse of youth agency within the broader African spectrum. In Zimbabwe, as in the rest of Africa, popular music was and continues to be "one of the key ways in which political crises from colonialism and the demands for independence, to political assassinations, to ethnic cleansing have been documented"¹². It has been a thorn in the flesh of the powerful and an inspiration to the powerless¹³. For example in Zimbabwe, young people created a musical genre called 'urban grooves' which resonated well with youth aspirations and used subversively to counter state policies and criticise gerontocracy. Within this music which seemingly reflected western values and embodied western musical beats, there were pointers to the resistance of young people to imagine themselves within the confines of a pan-Africanist ideology that ZANU-PF was forcing upon Zimbabwean imaginary. From a post-nationalist perspective, the 'urban grooves' music reflected how young people aspired to become equal parties to the global community and wanted to contribute culturally as Zimbabweans through music.

In some sense, they continued to bring back the global within the local which government imaginary was trying to resist¹⁴. This is also true in Kenya where music has been part of the resistance movement that challenged the undemocratic regime of Arap Moi through mockery of its authority and borrowed power¹⁵. Outside music, young people also contributed to counter-narratives of Zimbabwean nationhood through visual art. One prominent visual and installation artist to come out of Zimbabwe was Owen Maseko, from the ethnically marginalised Matebeleland region. In March 2010, he was arrested after his new exhibition opened at the National Gallery in Bulawayo. His works referred to the massacres of Ndebele civilians during the 'Gukurahundi' (*early rain-wash out*) in the 1980s, carried out by forces loyal to Robert Mugabe. The exhibition, called "Sibathontisele" ("Let's Drip on Them"), consisted of "three installations and twelve paintings". Maseko was charged, under the *Public Order and Security Act*, with "undermining the authority" of President Robert Mugabe. He was also charged with "causing offence to persons of a particular race or religion"¹⁶. The charges carried a possible twenty year prison sentence. Maseko as a young man has been at the centre of judicial debate as to whether criminalizing creative arts does not infringe on the freedom of expression and freedom of conscience guaranteed by the Constitution of Zimbabwe. Maseko is just example of the many young people who used visual and installation art to challenge the hegemonic tendencies of Zimbabwean government and exhibited their works at prominent galleries such as Delta Gallery, Alliance Françoise and National Gallery of Zimbabwe. These works have contributed immensely to the representation of Zimbabweans' lived experiences throughout the socio-political crisis.

Furthermore, there have been excellent counter-discourses produced by young

people through the use of multi-media appliances and distributed by the new information and communication technologies. These skits distributed as cartoons, videos and voice recordings on internet platforms such as YouTube and social network sites have been instrumental in destabilizing the seat of power in Zimbabwe and accentuated discourses of the need for change and democratization. These multi-media products critique individuals like Robert Mugabe and his ministers and poke fun at some of their speeches and policies, showing that despite young people's marginality, they have agency and are not mere subjects and recipients of elite discourses of national development.

Theatre, Youths and Civic Participation: 'Organized Agency'

Civic organisations have been very instrumental in demanding socio-political and economic rights on behalf of the Zimbabwean populace. In a highly politicized environment, Zimbabwean civil society faced immense strains in its operations as the government promulgated laws that heavily sanctioned their work. Civic organisations were identified by the ruling government as the avenue that the political opposition party Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) was gaining unlimited access to the general populace, especially in rural constituencies, which have traditionally been the preserve of ZANU PF. Local and international civic organisations had to therefore innovate ways of continuing their work without necessarily running the risk of being deregistered. One of the ways they innovated was through identifying a vibrant alternative voice in young people's theatre organisations to connect with their objectives. The partnership with young people performing theatre strengthened civic duties of holding authorities accountable for their actions through processes of "corrective" campaigning against abuses of power and for the protection and promotion of human rights. The use of theatre was identified as highly effective as both medium of information dissemination and at the same time a participatory communication process.

Such attributes of theatre practice in Zimbabwe were important considering the closed sphere in which the public was forced to operate under. Alternative spaces had to be created to challenge the hegemony of state power and its attempts to dominate and limit public discussion on issues that were affecting them directly. Theatre therefore began to articulate alternative narratives of Zimbabwean memory and desire. If history may be defined as the dominant narrative of a country and its rulers, young people's theatre in Zimbabwe has been an important agency for narrating plural counter-memories to those histories, fragmenting and destabilizing the master narratives. Theatre told stories of silenced people from different communities and perspectives to recreate the public sphere, civic culture and civic engagement.

The history of Zimbabwean theatre practice reveals a semi-professional conduct. In the early 1980's theatre was mainly undertaken by out of school and unemployed youths as a past-time activity. This resulted in many groups disbanding as the mobility of young people was high to other 'serious' sectors of the economy. Furthermore, the socialist-oriented government failed to sustain youth activities against a background of other 'urgent' social responsibilities such as health and

education. Youth concerns continued to suffer inadequate attention as young people were no longer viewed as a vital social capital resource by the new government which had utilized youth agency in dislodging colonial rule. The new government seemed afraid to invest in young people and empower them socially, economically and politically. However, the increased attention to transform the education system was instrumental in laying the foundation for youth agency in Zimbabwe. In the 1990's a vibrant student movement arose led by University of Zimbabwe students. The student movement organized protests and resistance against both economic challenges and the entrenchment of authoritarianism in Zimbabwe¹⁷.

The establishment of the strongest opposition political party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) was directly related to the University of Zimbabwe led student movement. In the same breath, cultural organisations in the post-2000 era in Zimbabwe navigated their responses to the crisis through reorganizing their organisations into well -structured entities as the student body had done within a formalized political party. In attempts to contribute to the growth of a conscious and responsible citizenry in the present circumstances arts organisations led by young people modelled their organisations along the civil society structure. This was essential to build and sustain participation of communities in issues of governance, health, and other policy deliberations through the arts. This enabled other mainstream civil society organisations to begin partnering with young people's arts organisations which increased sustainability. For example, the Swedish Embassy through SIDA, the Norwegian embassy through NORAD and the British embassy through the British Council were forthcoming in providing material and financial support for protest theatre¹⁸. The new approach provided a broad basis for the development of resistance to unpopular state policies, and certainly in the urban areas, they became part of the structures of the opposition politics that emerged at the beginning of the new millennium.

Patsime Edutainment led by Jason Mphepho, Savanna Trust led by Daniel Maphosa, Edzaiisu Community Arts led by Tafadzwa Muzondo and Shooting Stars Community Arts led by Patrick Tembo are a few shining examples of arts organisations that transformed themselves within the civil society model. The strengths of this approach included sustainability, programme dynamism and innovation. The arts organisations led by these young people increased their organisational capacities, developed networks of, and alliances between, social organisations (both within and between various sectors), capacitated themselves for (policy) advocacy, with the aim of strengthening vertical, intermediary channels between society and the state and/or the market and strengthened citizenship, social consciousness, democratic leadership, and social and political responsibility, with the aim of increasing the participation of citizens in the public sphere. The transformation of arts organisations as highlighted shows the shortfalls of the practice and concept of citizenship which are conventionally separated from entertainment, leisure and consumption activities. The practice of theatre in Zimbabwe was hugely transformed from henceforth. Theatre was used by these arts organisations to reach 'new' constituencies in Zimbabwe. These 'new' arts are represented by rural areas in Zimbabwe in which the ZANU PF party had a strong stranglehold, not allowing any opposition political activities. Theatre companies

dared into these rural areas and devised 'HIV and AIDS' plays as entry shows into the rural areas but still managed to communicate subversive information about the need to change the government and encourage community members to register for voting.

Within the rural and urban environment, young people's theatre became an alternative voice which attempted to engage the state machinery which had closed the majority of spaces for debate and criticism against government policies. Young people's contribution towards an alternative movement is testimony of their commitment to ensure that democratic transition would succeed. Theatre practice became an avenue to meaningfully contribute to the democratization process by positively engaging in the transition process, risking limb and life. Artists were arrested and some spent nights in police custody for staging plays that had subversive content or had not been given the green light by the Censorship Board for staging. A case in point was the arrest of Silvanos Mudzova and Anthony Tongana, two prominent artists, accused of attempting to cause disorder and chaos by staging a play entitled '*Final Push*'¹⁹, derived from the Movement for Democratic Change's planned march to unseat Robert Mugabe.

Destabilizing the Master Narrative: Content Analysis of Zimbabwean Protest Theatre

The cultural movement involving young people as actors, writers and directors produced works of art that were critical in complementing the other socio-political movements which were subjugating and putting pressure towards democratizing society. The dramatic presentations represented a counter-narrative to the master-narrative of Zimbabwean nationhood which was made available to the generality of the populace by state media. For example on state television, Zimbabwe Television (ZTV), numerous documentary and drama productions have been aired chronicling the history of the development of the Zimbabwean nation. These broadcasts have been essential in creating master identities of personalities like Robert Mugabe as the principal founders of the nation, who have earned their right to rule the nation. As Hawkina, quoted in Muwonwa, has written about Cuba's authoritarian state: 'to oppose Fidel meant to oppose national sovereignty'²⁰, which is the revolution's central legacy. So to oppose President Robert Mugabe was also synonymous with threatening the nation's existence. The representation of self as a metaphor of nation and belonging co-opted such identity constructions as the founding father identity to legitimate a regime that uses fatherhood to foreclose political debate²¹.

Young people's theatre began to contest, parody and challenge these constructions of Robert Mugabe as a benevolent author of Zimbabwean nationhood. Plays such as *Election Day*²² (2009) performed by a relatively young cast and *The Crocodile of Zambezi*²³ (2006) effectively staged the President as out of touch with the day to day running of the nation. 'Staging' the head of state in such a fashion was extremely subversive according to the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act, which sought to protect the person of the President from public caricature. State media had established an uncontested identity of Robert Mugabe which young

people were not afraid to ‘upstage’ and reconstruct in order to align it with their lived experiences and future aspirations. The plays contest the discourses of nationalist jargon to create dissonance against the homogenised unity, identity and politics as constructed by other narratives in state media. The plays attacked the opulence of the First Family against the deprivations of ordinary citizens. Theatre as discourse coming from ‘citizens from below’ and especially young citizens became an important avenue to attack and fragment the construction of the nation which official sources desired to circulate. Instead of agreeing with the notions of external forces as responsible for the suffering of ordinary citizens, Election Day for example identified the over spending of the First Family, their arrogance and ignorance of how ordinary citizens were living from day to day.

‘Staging the Fate of the Common Man’

Interestingly, in Zimbabwean protest political theatre, the “common man” features prominently in fierce struggles against political coercion and repression. For example, in “*Decades of Terror*”²⁴ (2007), Brian, an unemployed young man is persistently engaged in fierce demonstrations and struggles against ideological and political manipulation. In *On the Seventh Day*²⁵, Tafi, a young theatre artist who has been imprisoned for his daring and critical play, stands out heroically against police brutality and corruption. Chivandikwa argues that ideologically, protest political theatre connected with the needs, and aspirations of the middle class, particularly disenfranchised civil servants, middle managers, the civil society and academics. It also attracts influential members of the diplomatic community, some of whom provided funding for such productions. Consequently, the efficacy of theatre emerges from the recognition that its ideological thrust resonated with the hopes and aspirations of these “progressive” and “democratic” forces and movements. Chivandikwa²⁶ points out that an analysis of post-performance discussions of plays like, *The Good President*²⁷, *Decades of Terror*, *Super Patriots and Maroons*²⁸, *On The Seventh Day* and *The Orange Revolution*²⁹ shows that they were all inflected with political rhetoric which inspired spectators to voice open defiance against political intolerance, disrespect for human rights, political violence and suffocation of the freedom of expression and movement.

Furthermore, youth plays explored the ‘powerlessness’ and ‘subjectivity’ existing within young people as a category and attempted to challenge this marginalisation. Plays such a *No Voice, No Choice* (2010) and *High Rate, High Risk* (2010) both by Tafadzwa Muzondo and produced by his theatre organisation, Edzaiisu Theatre Company, explored the state of young people in Zimbabwe. Both plays circulate around the urban challenges of young people in an economy that does not accommodate them as equal contributors to the development of the nation. On one level, the plays show how youths are subjected to abuse and exploitation at the hands of politicians who use them as economic pawns for their underhand dealings and as thugs during political campaigns. On another level, the plays show the symbolic victories young people score when they actively participate and force their way into the ‘adult’ world of politics and begin to demand their rights as a means to contributing effectively to the democratization processes by way of exercising their right to vote and refusing to be used as economic and political pawns.

Recreating Public Sphere

As alluded to earlier, space for discussion and contesting official narratives of Zimbabwean nationhood were limited after the year 2000. The public sphere was highly mediated and discussions controlled and monitored. During the period, one of the most burning issues in Zimbabwe which was not allowed to be discussed openly was the land reform and the displacement and murder of Zimbabwean white farmers. However, theatre productions by young people were able to open up the issue and provide alternative readings of the land reform that the government of Zimbabwe was not willing to accept. Plays such as *'Allegations'*³⁰ written by Mandisi Gobodi and *'Whose Land?'*³¹ by Born Free Community Theatre were produced as counter-memory to the narratives and debates of land reform in Zimbabwe.

Returning to *Allegations*: it is a play that bravely deals with the displacement of white farmers and the political disturbances in rural areas. It is one of the few plays which create white characters within the Zimbabwean terrain, thereby legitimating their existence. The theme is directly related to issues of interest to the white community and helps in the process of negotiating the contentious issue. The second character in the play is a black man from the rural areas, *Reason*. This characterization is a very important technique in attempting to institute race relations within the imagined community. The production manages to break the binaries of race and race relations. By placing the two characters in the same space, the play envisions new social relations and challenges the bigotry and narrow mindedness of both races in relation to each other. The white and black characters interaction in the script represents an important staging of diversity that has been limited, denied or discouraged in other socio-economic and political cultural contact zones.

'Whose Land?' follows the same terrain as *Allegations* as it questions the 'authentic voice' of Zimbabwean ruling elites which claims that land belongs to the black majority. The play challenges the concept of narrow citizenship which creates blacks as the authentic and rightful owners of the land, and criticises the violence that the white community suffered at the hands of government hired youths. The creation and staging of these plays by young people was important in showing solidarity and also a way of challenging elite conceptions of Zimbabwean nationhood which they attempted to impose on the youths. The plays opened up debate on the nature of society the governing elites were creating and it seems young people did not accept their conceptions. These plays were disregarded and criticised by government cultural activists as 'unpatriotic' and misguided as they deviated from the agenda of aligning young people especially to ZANU PF and their 'chaotic' land reform.

Conclusion

The paper attempts to reflect on the extra-ordinary range of theatre as a cultural activity in which young people actively participated. It is evident that theatre and performance were essential instruments to enable youth action and advocate for change. Theatre was therefore an important but dangerous form of youth civic participation which young people risked their lives to be involved in as committed

participants to the democratization process of Zimbabwe. Debates about the effects of the 'cultural nationalism' that accompanied the so-called 'Third Chimurenga' in Zimbabwe have often portrayed youths as pawns of official ZANU PF ideology³². However, what this paper has shown is that youths gained agency through innovating cultural practices outside the mainstream media in order to find space to challenge, critic and offer their 'own' solutions to the problems the nation was facing. Such efforts were integral as they contributed the critical voices that were coming from the few existing and brave quarters of Zimbabwean opposition to challenge the hegemonic dictates of the ZANU-PF led government. Young people made theatre productions that reflected their everyday challenges and contextualised them within the socio-political domain as a way of contesting powerlessness imposed on them, to offer alternative identities of Zimbabwean nationhood through destabilizing the master narrative. The protest theatre practice and plays produced within the discourse constitute fragments in the narrative of change pointing to the contemporary power of popular culture³³. Furthermore, the paper has shown that theatre space is potentially significant space from which ordinary young people can actively recover and collate memory and negotiate stories and identities for themselves outside the formalized historic narratives of nation building or the divides of their historically and geographically segregated communities.

Notes

¹ N.Chivandikwa, 'Theatre And/As Insurrection in Zimbabwe' (2000-2008), *Journal of Studies in Theatre and Performance*, Vol 32, 1, 2012 pp 30-45

² B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, London, Verso Publications, 1999.

³ J Storey, *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: An Introduction*, Pearson Education, UK, 2009.

⁴ P. Bourdieu, *The field of Cultural Production*. Johnson, Randal (ed and intro). Cambridge: Polity, 1993.

⁵ G. Morris, *Own-Made in the (post-) new South Africa: A Study of Theatre Originating From Selected Townships in the Vicinity of Cape Town*. PhD Thesis, University of Cape Town, South Africa, 2010.

⁶ T. Ranger, 'Nationalists Historiography, Patriotic History and the History of the Nation: Struggle over the Past in Zimbabwe'. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 30(2):215-234, 2004.

⁷ Renan, E. 'What is a Nation?' in Bhabha H. (ed) *Nation and Narration*, Routledge, London, (1881)1990.

⁸ Ranger, 'Nationalists Historiography, Patriotic History and the History of the Nation: Struggle over the Past in Zimbabwe'

⁹ M. Palmberg, 'Music in Zimbabwe's Crisis', in Thorsen, S.M (ed) *Sounds of Change: Social and Political Features of Music in Africa*, Sida Studies No 12, Amsterdam, Sweden, 2004.

¹⁰ G. Siziba, *Redefining the Production and Reproduction of Culture in Zimbabwe's Urban Space: The Case of Urban Grooves in New Frontiers of Child and Youth Research in Africa*, CODESRIA, 2009.

¹¹ 'Green bombers' is a derogatory term that refers to large green houseflies that are attracted to filth

¹² J. Nyairo and J. Ogude, "'Popular Music, Popular Politics: Unbwoagable and the idioms of freedom in Kenyan popular music'", *African Affairs* 104(415), pp. 225- 49, 2009.

¹³ W. Mano, Popular music as journalism in Zimbabwe, *Journalism Studies*, 8:1, 61-78, 2007.

¹⁴ N. Muwonwa, *Representation of Nationhood in Zimbabwe Television (ZTV) Documentaries and Dramas* (2000-2008), Unpublished M.Phil Thesis, University of Zimbabwe, 2011

¹⁵ J. Nyairo, 'Popular music, popular politics and idioms of freedom in Kenyan Popular Music'

¹⁶ 'Gukurahundi Art Exhibition: Banned.' *Newsday*, 25 May 2010

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- ¹⁷ A.R. Chamunogwa, 'The Youth Movement and Democratisation in Zimbabwe: Youth Bulges, Contentions and Democratic Transitions in Zimbabwe', in Murithi T and Mawadza A (ed) *Zimbabwe in Transition: A View From Within*, Jacana Media, South Africa, pp. 127-145, 2011.
- ¹⁸ Interview: Matsa Leonard (Playwright, Savanna Trust) 19-26 ,April 2008.
- ¹⁹ S. Mudzvova, *Final Push* (2007), unpublished.
- ²⁰ N. Muwonwa, *Representation of Nationhood in Zimbabwe Television (ZTV) Documentaries and Dramas*.
- ²¹ K. Muchemwa, *Why don't you tell the children a story?: Father figures in the Zimbabwean short stories*, in Muchemwa, K. and Muponde, R. *Manning the Nation: father Figures in Zimbabwean Literature and Society*, pp. 23-44, 2007.
- ²² M. Christopher, *Election Day*, 2009, unpublished.
- ²³ R. Baya, *Crocodile of the Zambezi*, unpublished.
- ²⁴ D. Maphosa, *Decades of Terror*, unpublished.
- ²⁵ Daniel Maphosa, *On the Seventh Day*, unpublished.
- ²⁶ N.Chivandikwa, 'Theatre And/As Insurrection in Zimbabwe'.
- ²⁷ C. Mhlanga, *The Good President*, unpublished.
- ²⁸ R. Baya, *Super Patriots and Morons*, unpublished.
- ²⁹ R. Baya Orange, *Revolution*, unpublished.
- ³⁰ M. Gobodi Allegations, 2008 unpublished.
- ³¹ Born Free Theatre, *Whose Land?*, unpublished.
- ³² C. Mate, *Youth, identity and music in Zimbabwe*, CODESRIA publications pp 107-127, 2012.
- ³³ I. Abdullah, *Popular Culture, Subaltern Agency and People's Power: The 2007 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections and Democracy in Sierra Leone*, CODESRIA BULLETIN, NO1 & 2, 2009.