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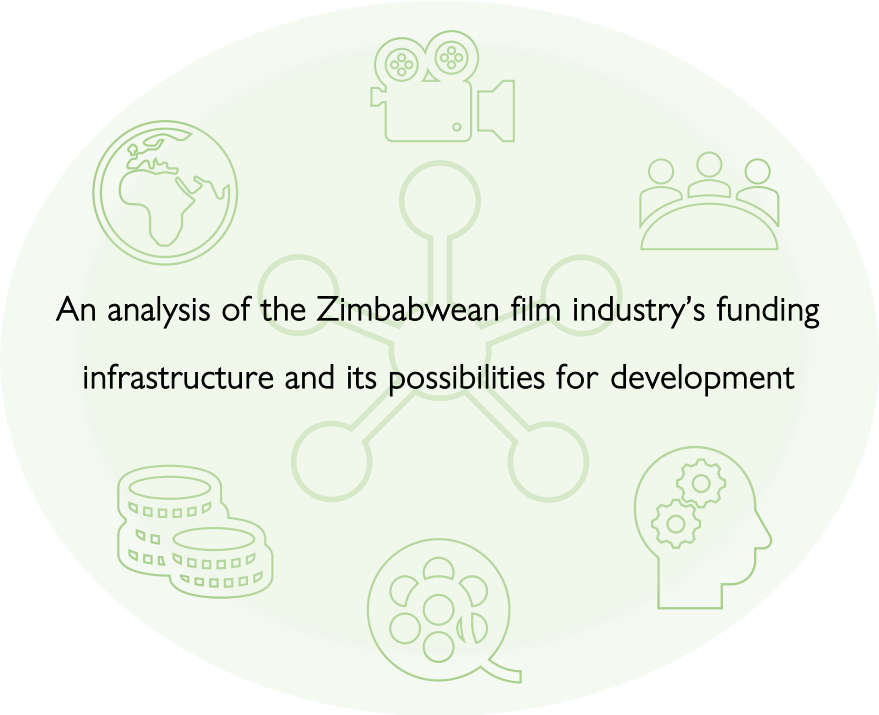

An analysis of the Zimbabwean film industry's funding infrastructure and its possibilities for development

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1. Introduction

As Zimbabwe's economy crashed in 2008, I remember thinking there was no real future for the cultural industries, much less for the film industry, which requires specialised technology and training. When censorship and corruption are common, and people can barely find daily necessities, one may expect that secondary pleasures such as art are not priorities. Zimbabwean governmental policy concerning the arts and cultural sectors was essentially non-existent until a policy document was put forward in 2007 (Mukanga-Majachani 2), meaning the sectors had little to no support. And yet, I saw that artistic production was still thriving. Most people would enjoy any opportunity to see a beautiful painting or to watch an entertaining film (both Zimbabwean and foreign productions). It was a sort of escape, and a reminder that things can be different. After a regime change in late 2017, many began to hope that the economy could begin to be rebuilt (Soy 2017) and that attitudes towards the cultural sectors would shift. One of the ways this could be indicated is through policy reform. Governmental decisions regarding how funds should be raised as well as how and for whom they should be used reflect a "government's social and economic policy priorities more than any other document" (Mukanga-Majachani 20). My interest lies in film, and I believe solving current film funding issues will allow the film industry to flourish.

The aim of this thesis is to explore **how the Zimbabwean government can implement policy strategies to establish a unified, flexible infrastructure that facilitates effective funding of films.** The continuing lack of scholarly and statistical research on the industry (Mboti 3) makes the necessity and urgency of such research very clear. In order to suggest new policy strategies, I will consider the film funding network that already exists, examine current cultural policies, and analyse the perspectives of filmmakers and industry insiders on funding and government involvement in the process. Before analysing the network, however, this first chapter will establish a historical, cultural and economic background to guide the research. This will firstly entail contextualising the Zimbabwean film industry in terms of historical development and its

place in the wider African context, followed by considering existing research, as well as presenting the research question.

1.1 The Zimbabwean film industry in context

There are many things currently requiring improvement in the film industry – formal training options for budding filmmakers are limited, and production is constrained by limited access to expensive, specialised equipment. Effective distribution has been hindered by successive big-screen cinema shutdowns (Mboti 21) and rampant piracy (*ibid.* 20), which erodes what little hopes of profit may have existed. I believe that funding, however, is the most important aspect of the film industry and the one most urgently requiring reform. Based on my knowledge and interaction with people in the industry, the reasons for this are two-fold. Firstly, Zimbabwean filmmakers have been coming up with creative solutions regarding training, production and distribution for years, but funding is much more difficult to improvise. Secondly, all other aspects of the film industry would be improved if sufficient resources, especially financial ones, were available for this purpose.

Furthermore, I believe that government policy has a key role in laying the groundwork for this. It serves as an important signal to both Zimbabweans and foreign stakeholders that the recently neglected film industry is considered an important, promising industry, one worthy of investment. While the cultural sector brings in less money than agriculture or mining (Monyau & Bandara 2017), it is a powerful driver in national identity-building processes (Daly Thompson 2013; Bisschoff 2009), could lead to innovation in other sectors (Hartley et al. 2013), and possibly attract foreign interest and collaboration.

So far, however, it has been largely neglected. *The Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation*, also referred to as Zim-ASSET, was drafted by the Zimbabwean government in 2013. It was intended as a blueprint for economic revival to be implemented from 2013-2018. The document never once makes mention of arts and culture but notes tourism as a

key sector. Although these sectors have a right to exist and be recognised as is, they are so intertwined with other sectors that it seems to be a major oversight to neglect them. If the arts were viewed as part of tourism, as a way to boost it and generate interest abroad for visiting Zimbabwe, that would re-frame the case for their place in the Zimbabwean economy. The country does not only rely on its landscapes and history to attract tourists. My personal impression over the years has been that the visual arts appear to have been doing relatively well despite a lack of solid institutional support, with no shortage of painters, sculptors, and other commonly solo professionals. Unfortunately, the film industry, which is highly specialised and usually requires at least one multi-member crew to realise a project, has suffered from the lack of institutional support, particularly in the past decade or so.

The Zimbabwean government used to be more supportive of the arts, and of film in particular. Zimbabwe's film industry has seen a lot of change since the country gained independence in 1980, immediately after which the newly established Zimbabwean government saw the industry as a "potential priority sector for economic growth" (Mboti 7) and thus worthy of investment. It invested directly in film production and sought the development of a flourishing local film scene (Hungwe 87). The government sought to promote Zimbabwe as a film location for foreign productions, in the hopes that the filming of Hollywood films such as *King Solomon's Mines* (1985) would lead to skill exchange and exposure (Mboti 7). There was not much profit made on films, if any at all (*ibid.* 9).

Whether due to the lack of growth or profit, the government ceased its initiatives in the film industry, leaving a funding void in the 1990s which needed to be filled – and was, by mostly foreign donors (Hungwe 91) and non-governmental organisations, or NGOs, concerned with Zimbabwean and southern African development (Mboti 9). This, however, came with its own set of strings attached, as these organisations would only fund films whose message was in line with the ideological mission of each donor (Hungwe 91) or NGO (Mahoso, 2000; Mboti 9), intended to "influence and modify audience behaviours" (Mboti *ibid.*). There were a number of

independent films and documentaries in this decade, some of which also had to depend on outside funding – the funds for the 1996 film *Flame*, for example, came in part from the European Union (Mboti 15). By the 2000s, however, the so-called "NGO film" was in decline, with film production no longer so restricted to the realm of NGOs and foreign donors or filmmakers (Mboti 25) which dominated the scene before then. Only recently has Zimbabwean filmmaking begun to expand from being an exclusive, privileged pursuit (*ibid.* 19) to one any budding filmmaker can explore through the much cheaper digital video format.

One must also consider the role other African film industries have had on Zimbabwe's, and what lessons may be learnt from their respective developmental histories. The Nigerian film industry, or 'Nollywood', as it is commonly known, has had an impact in Zimbabwe in more ways than one. Due to the relatively low film production levels and poor distribution channels in Zimbabwe, Nollywood video films saw a surge in popularity there in the early 2000s (*ibid.* 20). The freedom awarded to filmmakers there especially in conjunction with the ease of digital video has resulted in a proliferation of films (Igwe 1397) which have reached audiences all over the continent. Currently, Zimbabwe's issue of film distribution is being tackled by a business model inspired by Nigeria's informal distribution, similarly focused more on quantity rather than quality. The so-called "$1-for-2" model (Mboti 19) is common, where two film DVDs are sold together for just one dollar. They are commonly sold on the roadsides in city centres or areas that see a lot of traffic by vendors. As there are currently "no viable distribution and exhibition platforms by which to reach *most* ordinary Zimbabweans" (*ibid.* 20), emphasis added), this model, which promises affordable, timely and relatively portable access to Zimbabwean films has proven to be well-suited to the current economic landscape of the country.

Formal unemployment is high[1] and in any case, people regularly do not have access to cash due to an ongoing liquidity crunch (instead using mobile payments in line with the ubiquity

[1] A number of sources quote the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions' 2017 estimate that the rate of unemployment had reached 90% in the country. However, this excluded all informal employment such as that of street vendors or subsistence farmers. The reality is that most people are now simply employed in the informal economy, largely due to circumstance, and the categorisations of unemployment were changed to reflect this (BBC – Reality Check Team, 2017).

of mobile internet usage in the country – see section 1.4). To bring the focus back to the issue of funding – finding private investment in such an economic situation is difficult. Crowdfunding, while also problematic, may actually work, given the large number of people using mobile internet and payments; the question is whether it is a viable option in and of itself for comparatively expensive creative projects such as the making of a film. These are the kinds of considerations that will come into play when tracing the current film funding network and suggesting possible initiatives to create a resilient and flexible funding infrastructure.

The current filmmaking landscape can be described as a state of "coexistence where middling state and NGO support of the film industry co-exists with independent filmmaking" (Mboti 25). There are clusters of independent filmmakers in the capital city, Harare, as well as some other, smaller cities such as Bulawayo and Gweru (*ibid.* 20):

Figure 1: Map of Zimbabwe (Image: CIA World Factbook map for Zimbabwe, Public Domain)

However, it is difficult to say how individuals within the production clusters interact – with what frequency, and to what extent their social and professional circles overlap one another. The

growth of these clusters was made possible by the rising accessibility of video film, which meant that the much more expensive use of 35mm film, for example, was no longer a prohibitive factor (Mboti 20). This is just one example of the democratising nature of accessible technology in production, and I believe it could also create opportunities for other sectors of the film industry such as distribution and funding.

It should also be noted that there have, despite all of the obstacles placed in their way, been a number of high-quality, successful productions in recent years. A very recent example is the award-winning thriller *Mind Games* (2017) by filmmakers Charles and Thandiwe Mawunga (Karengezeka-Chisepo 2018). The question becomes "what is success?" in this context – the film received accolades and earned some international attention, but financially one cannot consider it a success. Mboti referred to the problem in 2016 when he remarked that "return on investment is still a pipe dream for most Zimbabwean filmmakers; a problem compounded by an underperforming national economy and repeated liquidity crunches" (22), and two years later, this still seems unlikely to change, making reform all the more urgent and necessary.

In a wider African context, Zimbabwe is one of many postcolonial countries which has had filmmaking freely accessible to its indigenous populations for just a few decades – a platform for them to tell stories that would otherwise remain untold. The Zimbabwean film industry is following the footsteps of the Nigerian and Ghanaian film industries, which really began to grow with the rise of video film production (Adjei 61). The addition of more high-quality African cinema to global screens will help bring new perspectives into a world cinema scene which has been dominated (not to revive the monolithic spectre of "cultural imperialism") by the USA's cultural products and other countries' film industries, which have had a head start in development. In sum, although the Zimbabwean film industry continues to face massive hurdles such as the poor state of the economy, lack of government support, inefficient formal distribution and lack of funding, it has driven its own progress. While the output in the last decade has been low, there have been some high-quality productions which ultimately did not

enjoy commercial success, despite signalling the industry's ability to compete on a regional and even global stage. At this point it is helpful to take account of the existing research and key points of reference for this thesis, as they elaborate on the cultural, theoretical and political contexts which have impacted the state of the industry. This overview of existing research is by no means exhaustive, but is useful for understanding both the Zimbabwean situation as well as its broader African context.

1.2 Existing research

The philologist Mawuli Adjei (2014) emphasises an important aspect of indigenous African film-making. For him, Nigeria and Ghana's bustling industries are "a phenomenon which is reversing the paradox of Africans viewing themselves from alien perspectives" (67) – a phenomenon which Zimbabwe could play a larger role in, if its film industry were to be properly supported. Nigeria's film industry or "Nollywood" provides some useful points of reference for the future of Zimbabwe's film industry, especially in relation to issues of distribution. Africanist Alexander Bud's (2014) analysis of the failed implementation of Nollywood distribution regulation in Nigeria provides valuable insight into the institutional clashes that can hamper efficient policies, but at the same time neglects grassroots or 'bottom-up' initiatives, which I believe play a huge role in any cultural industry. Igwe (2017), a cultural theorist, focuses more on Nollywood's self-driven progress towards formalisation and professionalisation, which I find is ultimately more easily reconcilable with the Zimbabwean film industry's trajectory. Like Nollywood, Zimbabwe's film industry has had to drive its own progress in the form of already-formed grassroots initiatives and informal networks; created out of necessity due to the limited financial resources at the government's disposal, neglect of film and other cultural industries in favour of agriculture and mining, and the lack of reliable institutional support.

Concerning Zimbabwe in particular, it is difficult to find research relating to film as an industry as opposed to artistic and cultural expression in colonial and postcolonial contexts. As I

have also experienced, media and communications theorist Nyasha Mboti found a paucity of data available on the Zimbabwean film industry when he wrote his paper, "The Zimbabwean Film Industry" (Mboti 2016). This is largely due to the lack of any institutions or bodies systematically collecting data, and a lack of scholarly research on film industry as opposed to its cultural products, the films themselves. He elaborates that what "little baseline data that exists is collected by the Culture Fund and the National Arts Council, organisations whose focus is not necessarily film but the generality of the 'arts'" (3). Here there is perhaps a slight distinction to be made – the Culture Fund provides support for organisations such as Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency (ZIMSTAT) to conduct such research, it does not conduct it itself.

Small technicalities aside, Mboti's paper is a particularly valuable but brief overview of the industry's history, development and most pressing current issues. He also turns his attention to the issue of film funding, decrying a lack of institutional support, particularly from the government. He notes that European countries, for example, have both governmental and private film funding institutions, and that even the government of neighbouring South Africa has provided the infrastructure for successful film funding (2). He also criticises the shortcomings of Zim-ASSET (23), which were briefly described in section 1.1, and remarks that the continued disregard for creative industries in government policy is a major pitfall (*ibid.*). While addressing issues such as these, however, he is also careful to note that Zimbabwe's economic situation is a singularly difficult one.

Kedmon Nyasha Hungwe's paper "Narrative and ideology: 50 years of film-making in Zimbabwe" provides a more historically-oriented account of filmmaking in Zimbabwe, detailing its origins in colonial times, beginning around 1939 (83), when it formed part of an agenda to 'educate' and influence the indigenous population. Hungwe's work explores important paradigm shifts in filmmaking, providing a deeper context to the historical processes and institutions involved in Zimbabwe's filmmaking history. For example, he provides insight into the age of the NGO-funded film and its ramifications for independent storytelling and representation. The

'gatekeeping role' of western donors, whose ideological biases automatically exclude films which do not align with their message (Hungwe 91), raises questions about representation, freedom of expression and creative autonomy. The dominant narrative form related to donor funding typically tackles social and political issues such as political oppression, women's rights or the HIV/AIDS epidemic (*ibid.*). While these are certainly issues that need to be discussed, consistently funding only films with these messages perpetually frames Africa in a negative light (*ibid.*). Beyond that, if conforming to these narratives is the only way to secure funding from these donors, there is significant pressure to adapt one's creative vision. This is not to say that issues of creative autonomy are *only* of concern when it comes to donor funds. Based on my general knowledge of arts funding, there will always be requirements which have to be met in order to receive funding for a project. In order to be funded, film projects are generally required to have either artistic, educational, political, ideological or commercial appeal. However, what exactly is understood and expected in each category of appeal differs from one funding source to another. Lastly, Hungwe's paper highlights the importance of Zimbabwe "developing a home-grown film enterprise that is independent of foreign donor funding" (96) – ideally, the majority share of film funds should be generated within Zimbabwe; however, the current economic situation in the country means that this remains an unrealistic goal.

1.3 Research question and relevance

Aside from the lack of any institutions or bodies systematically collecting data, and a lack of scholarly research on film industry as opposed to its cultural products, the films themselves, further assurance that this is an area worthy of research was provided by a 2012 report by ZIMSTAT. It identified distribution as well as funding as two particularly problematic areas for Zimbabwean filmmakers. But I believe one can reasonably expect that issues of distribution will be dealt with more efficiently once there are sufficient financial resources to dedicate to solving them; and once there is a relatively steady flow of high-quality Zimbabwean films to distribute in

the first place. In order to get what has somewhat exaggeratedly been described as a "virtually comatose film industry" (Mboti 20) up and running, a significant amount of funding will be required. Given the current state of film funding in the country, this is unlikely to happen without reforms which are implemented by the government.

There are numerous reasons why the simple allocation of government funds to this goal is not a viable option right now. This presents a unique challenge, as the only real alternatives are problematic donor funds, which often bring infringements on creative autonomy (section 1.1). Politically, the country is in flux, still unsettled after the deposal of Robert Mugabe, and awaiting what are supposed to be the first truly democratic general elections in over three decades. Culturally, one must consider the long shadow of colonialism, which systematically suppressed and degraded indigenous Zimbabweans' creative expression (Rwafa 2014; Hungwe 2005) and positioned filmmaking as a domain of the elite– a notion that has only recently begun to be discredited in the public consciousness (Mboti 6) in conjunction with technological developments of cheaper film formats. The economy is all but completely destroyed, with most people formally unemployed, a scarcity of cash and a lack of international investors due to extensively restrictive government regulations (Hungwe 96; Tredgold 209).

Bearing this in mind, the lack of funding is the main issue facing the industry and solving it should be a priority to ensure that there are resources to pave the way for each stage of the filmmaking process. My research question is, therefore, **how can the Zimbabwean government implement policy strategies to establish a unified, flexible infrastructure that facilitates the effective funding of films, while taking the country's political, cultural and economic circumstances into account?**

In the interest of adequately answering this question, I believe that a number of sub-questions need to be addressed:

i. How has Zimbabwean film funding functioned until now?

ii. How is the current film funding network to be understood – who or what are its actants, how do these interact, where are there gaps?

iii. What role has the government played in film funding, and what policies are or were in place to facilitate governmental film funding?

iv. What recommendations can Zimbabwean filmmakers make for film funding?

Sub-question (i) relies heavily on historical, political and economic context, some of which was already provided in Chapter 1. Sub-question (ii) builds on the answers to (i), as I expect that a number of 'core' actants have remained active over the past two or so decades. Approaching the question under the assumption that the usually scope of actants' activities and the establishment of partnerships is usually limited, it should be possible to gauge the rate and type of interaction between certain actants. Sub-question (iii) allows for the identification of specific government-related actants, whether they are government departments, decisions or documents. Examining the policies in place makes it possible to assess what has already been addressed by the government and with what degree of success. This may allow for certain failed policy strategies to already be ruled out. The final sub-question, (iv), incorporates filmmakers' perspectives on film funding and their recommendations for improving filmmakers' access to funds, while addressing the key question of what role the government can and should play in this (Appendices B and D).

While formulating this research question and its sub-questions, a number of considerations about the approach to the research came to mind. These were based on my own knowledge and experience. During my master programme it became clear through both the discussion of case studies and interaction with creative professionals that, firstly, top-down, rigid reforms are fundamentally subject to the danger of being out-of-touch, because they are not necessarily informed by people who deal with the reality of that which is being reformed on a daily basis. Recognising that this thesis is but an attempt to problematize film funding and subsequently find possible solutions, I intend to combat this risk of being out-of-touch by incorporating first-hand experiences from those within the industry. Secondly, collaboration and

reform in creative sectors is most effective when relationships are formed 'organically' – this means whichever policies would be put in place cannot simply force collaboration and open exchange where no pre-existing will to do so exists. Instead, the aim should rather be to foster grassroots initiatives and organisations, as well as establish platforms which allow parties seeking collaborative partners to do so. Thirdly, networks are by nature continuously changing, being constructed and re-constructed in slightly different iterations. In order to successfully support them, then, the policies which guide them must allow for this constant change and reconfiguration. The entrance of new actants to the network, for example, such as new sources of funding, cannot be anticipated, but there must be room for them to develop and receive necessary support. These are all considerations that will have to be borne in mind in the course of this research.

Having contextualised the Zimbabwean film industry in section 1.1, explored scholarly research in 1.2 and elaborated on the research question in 1.3, it is necessary to examine which theoretical, methodological and structural approaches will be used to answer the research sub-questions in Chapter 2.

2. Theoretical, methodological and structural approaches

2.1 Theoretical Framework

The aim of this section is to attempt to articulate the theoretical framework that forms the lens through which this research is conducted. It is comprised of a number of key concepts that inform the research, and an overarching theoretical and methodological approach in the form of Actor-Network Theory (ANT). The choice to use ANT is justified at length later in this section, but the choice mainly resulted from a lack of comparable scholarly research on arts or film policy review in Zimbabwe guided by theory, and my previous exposure to ANT in coursework. More importantly, it resulted from the need for a *flexible* network analysis approach that can work on multiple levels (macro to micro) with multiple data sources, and include all human and non-human actors that have an effect on the film funding network.

The research question serves as an important orientation point here: 'how can the Zimbabwean government implement strategies to establish a unified, flexible infrastructure to facilitate effective funding of films, while also taking the country's political, cultural and economic circumstances into account?'. The question makes clear that the thesis is geared towards reviewing and recommending government policy and strategy, particularly regarding the funding of film. Any proposed funding strategies must in turn be based on a foundation of well-founded political, cultural and economic considerations and assumptions. These considerations are, firstly, essential to begin to formulate strategies that are actually suitable for a politically unstable, developing country with a poor economy[2]. Secondly, the considerations allow for an understanding of the cultural expectations regarding film and film-funding policy in the Zimbabwean context. The sub-questions i) and ii) offer a way to thematically group the concepts

[2] Referring to deposal of President Mugabe in 2017, subsequent party changes and the presidential elections in August 2018; as well as high unemployment, liquidity crunches and so forth described in sections 1.1 and 1.3 of Chapter 1.

and approaches most relevant for the thesis, while sub-questions iii) and iv) concern the research methodology.

i) How has Zimbabwean film funding functioned until now?

The colonial and post-colonial contexts, Zimbabwean cultural context, and concepts such as identity and representation, nation-building and creative autonomy are of great importance to this research. Hungwe (2005) and Mboti (2016), whose industry-review research was outlined in section 1.2 of the previous chapter, both provide an overview of the historical context and development of the industry and are invaluable to this thesis. The scholars have slightly different approaches. Hungwe's theoretical approach is essentially a discourse analysis, and particularly a narrative analysis of films from different eras in Zimbabwe's cinematic history as they reflect social and political attitudes of their time. This is an appropriate framework for exploring the paradigm shifts, ideologies and narratives that have shaped filmmaking practice in Zimbabwe since its inception, which constitutes the main focus of his research. While the ultimate aim of the thesis is not to analyse discourse, but to recommend policy, it is imperative to consider these aspects as they tangibly affect the reality of the choices governing bodies and filmmakers make regarding funding. Hungwe's historical overview supports this assertion by drawing a direct line between film funding and ideological narratives, particularly in the problematic case of donor funding.

Mboti makes use of the 'film services framework', developed by Goldsmith and O'Regan (2005). It focuses on "the capabilities – skills, infrastructures, and networks – that underwrite the capacity of a film industry in a region or locality to create and innovate" (Mboti 3) as opposed to the film as a final product. In this way he is able to focus on the developmental arc of the industry and create an overview, instead of focusing on the politics and narratives of the creative products themselves – the films. It is this approach that allows him to be able to discern what the major constraints facing the industry are. Since the approach is more of an appraisal than an analysis, however, I do not feel it is suitable to adopt the 'film services framework' for the

purposes of this thesis. Instead, I want to operate within a framework that accounts for the relationships and level of interaction between actors of the network. This is crucial to answering the research question effectively, which means that a network analysis framework is suitable and imperative.

ii) How is the current film funding network to be understood – who or what are its main actants, how do they interact, and where are the gaps?

In order to adequately answer this sub-question, a network analysis approach again seems helpful. Considering the type of information about the network which is to be analysed, Actor-Network Theory (ANT) is an ideal framework as it provides the tools to "articulate social structure and the relationships among actors" (Oehler and Sheppard 1). Mainly developed by Bruno Latour, John Law and Michel Callon in the 1980s (Chuva Costa and da Cunha 4), I believe that it is still a valuable tool for heuristic analyses as its all-encompassing approach provides a lot of room for adaptation to interdisciplinary research.

Although there is no one way to conduct an actor-network study, the productive use of ANT in other papers provided some inspiration for its use in this thesis. Such papers include Krätke's "Network Analysis of Production Clusters: The Potsdam/Babelsberg Film Industry as an Example" (2002) and Yahav's "Network analysis: Understanding consumers' choice in the film industry and predicting pre-released weekly box-office revenue" (2016). These two were particularly helpful, as they are also focusing more on industrial aspects of the film industry as opposed to creative ones.

It is useful to also define some of the more complex key terms specifically related to ANT that will be guiding the thesis, such as alignment, coordination, convergence and translation. These terms are related, and their definitions build upon each other. The degree of convergence indicates the level of agreement in a network, with highly converged networks being those most in agreement (Crawford 2). Alignment and coordination, in turn, are useful for exploring the nature of the agreement between actors in the network. In order for a network to

be highly converged, it must also be coordinated and highly aligned (Crawford 2). Alignment can be defined as describing the "degree to which networks are defined by a common history and a shared space", while coordination involves the "adoption of convention, codification, and translation regiments" (*ibid.*). Translation is thus a key concept for describing what happens to information as it is passed through the network. It is the process that leads to high convergence in the actor-network.

Translation can be thought of as the transport of information through the network with deformation (*ibid.*), encompassing how actors receiving the information interpret it, act on it or alter it before passing it along. Information in the form of an industry call to action, for example, may be criticised and modified by those who receive it, and in a final instance of translation finally acted upon or 'translated' into action. Translation thus describes how information moves through the network as well as the effect of this movement. As Crawford concludes, it "is both a process and an effect" (2). The idea that this not only applies information or knowledge but also artefacts (*ibid.*) provides some interesting opportunities. An example could be to consider how technologies may be being adopted and adapted for different purposes within the industry. This also highlights another important factor in ANT's favour – that it does not discriminate between tangible and intangible, or human and non-human, but simply considers the network in terms of action and effect, allowing for the consideration of relevant variables that might have otherwise been ignored.

John Law also describes some characteristics of an actor-network study that make it a highly suitable approach for this thesis: firstly, it is organised based on a structuralist notion of networks, without predefined links or nodes (3). This study is based on a conception of the industry as a permeable assemblage of interconnected, unequally powerful actants operating on various micro- to macro-levels. As there are no previous examples of network analyses focusing on film funding in Zimbabwe, I cannot assume the existence of specific network links. This approach is also more conducive for finding any unexpected links in the network. Secondly, two

further ANT notions are anchored in the conceptualisation of the network: that the networks are materially heterogenous and that actors can be both human and non-human (Law 3). My study assumes that the Zimbabwean film-funding network is comprised not only of humans, but of non-humans (film equipment, electricity, smartphones) and even concepts (government policy, creative autonomy, ideology, survival); and that all actants interact with and influence each other.

Finally, another characteristic of an actor-network study is its recognition of how "links and nodes in the network do not last all by themselves but instead need constant maintenance work, the support of other links and nodes" (*ibid.*). This is an important theoretical insight. It neatly mirrors the need for flexible policy frameworks which take such maintenance work and support of other links into consideration. I find that the embedded assumption in using this framework is that the film funding network will continue to change and re-configure in different iterations. This is key to avoiding unhelpful rigidity when considering possible policy reform. I am interested in finding out the ways in which the Zimbabwean film funding network "precisely depends on the mobility of all participants, of their ability to shift between different roles, different relations, between roles or links that don't fit, that are inconsistent with one another, that don't add up" (*ibid.* 7). I believe ANT's ability to facilitate this, rather than attempting to define static 'roles' which do not reflect the complex reality, is what makes it such a useful approach for a policy-based thesis.

Choosing ANT in this instance is a balancing act, as the approach is not without pitfalls. For example, there are many sources and large amounts of data involved in this research. ANT's tendency towards thinking in terms of how *all* actors are interconnected and interact makes it easier to focus on interactions conveyed in the data instead of getting caught up in other variables. At the same time, trying to find and keep track of connections between actors in the network quickly gets overwhelming, especially when collecting constitutive information from multiple sources. The thesis research may be more manageable with a more prescriptively systematic approach than ANT, but it is ANT's flexibility which makes it an appealing toolkit for

this case.

In addition, there are some inherent tensions between the theoretical assumptions behind ANT and the aims of this thesis. For example, Law remarked that actor-networks, like ANT itself, "cannot be told as a single narrative" (9), but for the purposes of this thesis, an assemblage of information about actants and interactions must suffice to provide a basis upon which suggestions for translation and transformation may be made. Ultimately, however, I do believe this theoretical approach will allow for suggesting a policy framework that is based on as complete of an industry overview as can be achieved within the confined space of this thesis.

2.2 Methodology

As has already been established, what little research is available on the topic of the Zimbabwean film industry is highly compartmentalised, and there is even less scholarly research that also delves into the realm of policy-making. To achieve a suitably nuanced overview of the industry upon which policy suggestions can be based, I intend to perform a network analysis on the current, fragmented film industry landscape using Actor-Network Theory (ANT) as set forth by Bruno Latour and John Law. ANT provides the tools to "articulate social structure and the relationships among actors" (Oehler and Sheppard 1). Since there is no prescribed way to use Actor-Network Theory I have drawn inspiration from the productive use of ANT in papers such as Krätke's "Network Analysis of Production Clusters: The Potsdam/Babelsberg Film Industry as an Example" and Yahav's "Network analysis: Understanding consumers' choice in the film industry and predicting pre-released weekly box-office revenue".

A successful network analysis depends on identifying its full range of actors or actants, "whether individuals or organizations – and what the actions or relationships are that connect the actors to one another" (Oehler and Sheppard 1). Because of this, the research would entail identifying key institutions, public and private funding or distribution initiatives, filmmaker

representatives, policymakers and so forth, as well as their relations to each other, which may in turn be informed by certain ideologies, industry standards or legislation. Gathering and visualising this information will allow us to identify the actors which generate friction or facilitate connection in Zimbabwe's film industry. It may allow for the identification of actors more on the periphery of the network, who may nonetheless provide a useful angle of approach for reform. For example, the analysis could highlight existing grassroots initiatives which are as yet underdeveloped but successful. These may then be replicated or connected, rather than replaced by one new, centralised institution.

Regarding mapping the network and eventually improving its connectivity or bridging gaps, it is useful to consider the role that geographic distance plays. It is important to note, however, that in considering a network according to Actor-Network Theory, distance is generally considered unimportant. In a lot of ways, advances in technology in particular have removed it as a concern, where any contact or information is a call or click away. At the same time, however, this remains a question of access. In Zimbabwe, mobile data usage is growing exponentially (Karombo 2018) and many more people have access to it than to home broadband. Communication via the free messaging app WhatsApp is very widespread, accounting for almost half of all internet traffic in the country (Karombo 2017), whereas e-mail is used less often. While the industry is fragmented, one can reasonably expect the largest concentrations of film industry activity to be in the two main cities – Harare and Bulawayo, which are separated by about 400 kilometres. I believe that this distance plays at least a small role in keeping actants in this network isolated from each other where they may benefit from contact or pooling of resources. For this reason, I will attempt to also consider the role of geographic distance, and how it can be bridged in line with the most commonly used communication methods.

Analyses of existing policy such as the 2015 *National Culture Policy of Zimbabwe* and a short questionnaire for Zimbabwean filmmakers (Appendix B) will provide insight into the current relations within the network. This will address research sub-question (ii) concerning how the

current film funding network is to be understood, but will also address the other three by revealing how film funding has functioned until now (i), the role of the government (iii) and the experiences and recommendations of Zimbabwean filmmakers (iv). The questionnaire will allow for the tracing of the network, to a certain extent, through each respondent. It will be distributed via e-mail and other online platforms and covers respondents' own experiences with funding in the industry, what they believe needs to be changed, and their recommendations for such changes. This questionnaire consists of open-ended questions to encourage sharing of information that could otherwise be left out by a more guided approach; and is limited to three questions for the sake of convenience for respondents and to increase the likelihood of response.

To order and make sense of the data gathered through the questionnaires I will use a combination of initial coding (Saldaña 42) and descriptive coding, followed by axial coding. Initial codes are short words or phrases capturing the 'essence' of an excerpt, while descriptive codes summarise the main subject of a particular excerpt (*ibid.* 3-4). Axial coding involves comparing and grouping existing codes into "'axis' categories around which others revolve" (*ibid.* 42), or overarching thematic categories. These categories and codes are reflected in the coding tree or scheme (Appendix C), an overview of each theme and its related descriptive codes.

This will be supported by any available statistical data on the industry such as ZIMSTAT's cultural surveys, indicating scope, growth, demographic distribution and so forth. Throughout the thesis I also rely on my own knowledge of the film industry and other cultural sectors, as well as information about life in Zimbabwe. I was born and raised in the capital city Harare and completed my secondary school education there in 2010. Having been an avid film watcher and fan of Zimbabwean festivals such as HIFA and IIFF[3] for several years, I have had the opportunity to talk to many people involved in the cultural sectors both in professional and non-professional capacities. In the past seven years I have continued to visit periodically. In 2016 for example, I had an informal work placement at two film and television production houses in

[3] HIFA: Harare International Festival of the Arts; IIFF: International Images Film Festival for Women

Harare, namely Media Matrix (MMX) and NafunaTV. There I was able to experience the day-to-day processes involved in both filming and animating projects respectively, and it is also how I met one of the respondents to the filmmaker questionnaire, MMX's creative producer Eric Witzgall. For this thesis I also made use of several newspaper articles and film industry newsletters forwarded to me by my mother, who continues to reside in the country and is also deeply interested in film and other arts and culture sectors.

The network analysis will rely on assembling information from relevant national surveys, institutional websites, newspaper articles and press releases. There are obvious limitations to this approach - not only the reliability and availability of the information, but the fact that such relations are constantly changing. However, Latour himself noted that ANT is a crude method (*On Recalling ANT*, 20), and I believe network analysis is still the most useful tool in understanding communicative or logistical issues or gaps in this dispersed, fragmented and under-researched industry.

John Law described some characteristics of an actor-network study that make it a suitable approach for this thesis: firstly, it is organised based on a structuralist notion of network, sans predefined links or nodes (3). This study is based on a conception of the industry as a permeable assemblage of interconnected, unequally powerful actants operating on various micro- to macro-levels; because there are no network analyses concerning film funding it is easier to approach this without assuming the existence of specific links. Secondly, the study is approached under the assumptions that the networks are materially heterogenous and that actors can be both human and non-human (*ibid.*) – this study assumes that the network is comprised not only of humans, but of non-humans (film equipment, electricity, smartphones) and even concepts (government policy, independence, survival); and that all actants interact with and influence each other. Finally, another characteristic of an actor-network study is its recognition that "links and nodes in the network do not last all by themselves but instead need constant maintenance work, the support of other links and nodes" (*ibid.*). One of the admittedly ambitious aims of this thesis is to suggest

a *flexible* policy framework that will allow for constant maintenance work and stabilisation even as the network inevitably continues to change.

2.3 Thesis structure

This final section of the second chapter is dedicated to presenting a structural outline of the entire thesis. The scope of sources consulted for the thesis is so wide that planning a logical and comprehensive structural approach proved to be quite a challenge. The choice of using ANT also complicated things in this regard, as it encourages one to see links between things as opposed to how they can be separated. Nevertheless, I find that the eventual structural approach that was settled upon is logical, balanced and easy to follow.

I do believe that providing context for the Zimbabwean film industry was essential in the first chapter, as the rest of the thesis builds on the information provided in sections 1.1 and 1.2. Section 1.3 of the first chapter provided important points of orientation by laying out the research question and its four sub-questions. The decision to separate the theoretical and methodological frameworks from the introduction was unorthodox, but I found it necessary for keeping the focus of each thesis chapter clear. In this case, the historical background, overview of existing research and overview of the research question provides crucial introductory context for the rest of the paper, whereas the theoretical and methodological framework provides more specific plan of action as to how the actual thesis research is to be carried out.

Chapter three, concerning the different funding and mediation bodies, gives insight into the various roles of certain grassroots organisations, mediation bodies, government bodies and parastatals. In this chapter I also attempt to trace some interactions between these institutions, resulting in a preliminary overview of the links and nodes of the film-funding actor-network. Some of these will have already been mentioned in the first and second chapters, however chapter three provides a comprehensive overview. This will also highlight some main issues of

the film funding network, namely what is missing and where are there gaps that could be filled by new or existing institutions.

In the fourth chapter I examine the Zimbabwean government's policies related to film funding. A brief overview of the government's involvement in the film industry in the 1980s and 90s sets the stage for more detailed analyses of the effects of legislation, whether directly or indirectly linked to the film industry. Examples include the directly-related Censorship and Entertainments Control Act of 2001 which limited broadcasting freedoms, or the more indirectly-related Land Reform and Resettlement Programme Phase II of 1998 which drove out many NGOs and thus film industry 'donors'. In the fourth chapter I also take an in-depth look at Zimbabwean cultural policy, by examining the 2007, 2013 and 2015 cultural policy documents. Aside from examining which strategies are set out in these documents, how sector-specific they are and which areas of concern they address, I also intend to examine to what extent these policies failed or succeeded in their implementation and why. This will provide the key to understanding where there is room for improvement and what the priorities of the government have been over the past decade in supporting arts and culture sectors. Furthermore, it allows us to see how non-human actants, in this case policy and policy documents, have had an impact on other actants in the film-funding network.

In chapter five I present and examine the findings of the questionnaire (Appendix B) sent to filmmakers. Given the open-ended nature of the questionnaire, answers will also be quite broad in terms of subject matter covered. The responses will likely address filmmakers' individual experiences regarding living and working in Zimbabwe, observations about the process of finding film funding and working on previous projects, as well observations and criticism concerning the government's role in film funding and other film industry-related processes. This provides a first-person perspective that not only allows for a deeper understanding of the way interactions discussed in Chapters 1, 3 and 4 impact everyday processes, but may identify actants overlooked in the macro-style approach of the previous chapters.

The final chapter before the conclusion, chapter six, provides a closer look at the relationship between the current film funding network and future government policy strategies. In this chapter I will first assess the filmmakers' recommendations for the Zimbabwean government. Next, I present an alternative way of approaching all data collected up to that point of the thesis, namely through a network visualisation presenting the actants of the film funding network and their links. This not only allows for a visual overview that summarises the findings, but could also yield new insights concerning processes of alignment and translation within the network. Lastly, I present my policy strategy recommendations for the Zimbabwean government based on all information gathered, such as structural weaknesses in government, gaps in the film funding network, or current policy shortcomings. The conclusion presents the key findings as well as possibilities for further research.

3. Key institutions and mediating bodies

As discussed in section 2.3 of the previous chapter, it is necessary to take account of the key institutions which have shaped the industry and continue to drive it forward. These institutions form nodes of interaction in the film funding network, and are a useful point of departure when considering which actants are in this network. The overview provided by presenting the institutions and an accompanying preliminary analysis of their interactions contributes to two important elements required to answer the research question. This is encapsulated by sub-questions (i) and (ii) as stated in section 1.3 of the first chapter, namely:

i. How has Zimbabwean film funding functioned until now?

ii. How is the current film funding network to be understood – who or what are its actants, how do these interact, where are there gaps?

It is important to note that this chapter is essential to (ii) as the preliminary answers provided here form a foundation for the network analysis. Considering key institutions and their main intra- and inter-industry roles and initiatives allows for a better understanding of how film funding in Zimbabwe has functioned until now (i). It provides an idea of what options filmmakers had for applying for funds. In relation to both (i) and (ii), it provides an idea of whether there are any, or many, mediating bodies facilitating the finding of funds. In addition, it indicates who may be advocating on behalf of and with filmmakers, to provide a more attractive environment for funds or promoting industry collaboration. These are all interactions at the 'peripheries' of the network that allow us to better understand its dynamics.

3.1 Grassroots initiatives

The most exciting, relatively recent development has been the establishment of the Zimbabwe Film Industry Development Platform, also known as ZFIDP. The platform was founded in 2014 (ZFIDP 2018) and has provided a united front for Zimbabwean filmmakers to overcome key development hurdles and drive industry-relevant reforms. ZFIDP has led a

number of initiatives crucial to the industry. In 2016, for example, it set up open calls for film/TV concepts for regional production and content for distribution (ZFIDP 2018). If nothing else, this shows an industry-driven initiative to stimulate local production as well as local and regional distribution. Furthermore, it engaged actors in the film industry network and collectively 'enrolled' them into their cause with their call to action to work towards this goal. As discussed in section 1.2 of Chapter 1, distribution is a major issue at the moment in the country, and the first step to growth is arguably a need to reach a wider audience to really establish a sustainable local market in the first place.

In another industry-driven initiative in December 2017, the platform petitioned the government to finally establish a film commission which would, among other things, be responsible for a film fund to support production, maintenance of film archives, promotion of Zimbabwe as a film location for international filmmakers, and infrastructure for formal film training (Kachiko 2017). This initiative, this time involving extra-industry ties, was a call to action addressed specifically to the government and indicating the ways in which the industry believes the government should and could support it. This confirms that there is undoubtedly a desire and need for government support from filmmakers and other industry stakeholders. It is clear from the decisive action that ZFIDP has taken so far, and its calls for action on the part of the government, that the platform has managed to give a singular voice to the film industry. I believe that at this rate the platform will have managed to enact major changes in the industry in just a handful of years. However, in order to do this the government must engage with it, and the ZFIDP must be supported by other film industry initiatives and organisations.

3.2 Funding bodies

One of today's most relevant institutions to consider in relation to film funding is the non-governmental Culture Fund of Zimbabwe Trust, commonly known as the Culture Fund. The "independent, not for-profit, non-partisan and development-oriented civil society

organization" (Culture Fund 2018) was founded in 2006 by Zimbabweans with a vested interest in arts and culture, in collaboration with the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida). It "focuses on investing in Zimbabwean cultural, artistic and heritage initiatives" (*ibid.*) in the form of much-needed grants and technical assistance; while simultaneously acting as an important mediator between NGOs, government bodies, companies, community-based cultural organisations, collectives and individual stakeholders (*ibid.*). This means in terms of interaction within the film funding network, the Culture Fund is a very large node and functions as a hub of interaction involving many different actors. Importantly, its funding partners are foreign and contribute on the basis of international development projects. Major partners include Sida, the European Union, UNESCO, meaning the main source of cultural funding is not independently Zimbabwean, and thus may carry the spectre of the 'NGO/donor-films' lack of creative freedom.

Arguably, the Culture Fund's large number of contributors promotes transparency and accountability. The fact the fund it is aimed at nurturing bold and creative ideas should go at least some way in mitigating the risk of having outside agendas inserted into filmmakers' projects. In addition to questions of independence, Mboti draws attention to the precariousness of the fund, pointing out that if these foreign "funders pull out, it has no leg to stand on" (24). Lastly, the fact that the Culture Fund is the go-to source of funding for *all* Zimbabwean cultural sectors means its resources are stretched thin and relatively few film projects are able to secure the funding they need. On one hand, I believe this may mean only exceptionally good or high-quality endeavours receive support, mitigating the risk of over-saturating the market with low-quality productions as has been the case in Nollywood. On the other hand, I believe it limits room for filmmakers' experimentation and testing of boundaries, and us unlikely to result in significant growth in production quantities. In my view, a thriving film industry ideally is a growing spectrum, from high-end, high-budget films to amateur short films which collectively improve in overall quality with time. The current circumstances may help in some instances with quality, as the ability to

afford better equipment, hire more crew and so forth can be said to relate to higher production value. But they do not help the industry to grow. The question of quality versus growth is not easy to answer, and ultimately should not play a role in an ideal, well-developed funding infrastructure which serves all kinds of filmmakers.

3.3 Advocacy and mediatory bodies

Although not directly involved in film, the National Arts Council of Zimbabwe (NACZ) is essential for film funding as it strives to promote and improve conditions for cultural funding and investment as a whole. It has an important role to play in the promotion of the film sector as a source of wealth generation to the Zimbabwean public. As such, it occupies a mediatory role within the film funding network and may be considered a hub of interaction. It is one of the older organisations relating to the arts, having been established by an Act of Parliament in 1985 (NACZ 2014). NACZ's National Arts Merit Awards (NAMA) have been a part of the cultural scene since 2002 (*ibid.*), a particularly hard time for all cultural sectors, including film. NAMA features film-related awards and thus provides a platform, however small, to showcase talent in the industry. The awards have seen their fair share of controversy, however, with incidents such as a film being nominated for an Outstanding Screen Production award before its release (Zimoyo 2018).

While NACZ is only tangentially involved in film funding, the Institute of Creative Arts for Progress of Africa (ICAPA) Trust, founded in 2009 (ICAPA Trust 2018) is wholly focused on it. The trust is the result of a merger of Women Filmmakers of Zimbabwe (WFOZ), founded in 1996 (*ibid.*) and production company Nyerai Films. WFOZ has been responsible for a number of initiatives aimed at encouraging innovation and promoting the participation of Zimbabwean women in the film and other audiovisual industries; while at the same time raising awareness of women's issues through film and TV productions (*ibid.*). ICAPA nurtures partnerships with arts and culture initiatives, other women's organisations as well as democratic foundations (*ibid.*). The

trust is responsible for a number of activities vital to the development of the film industry as a whole, such as training programs, exhibition opportunities and networking events (*ibid.*). Because of the scope of activity and the number of actors in the network it engages, it forms another large node of interactions in the film funding network. It fulfils both advocacy and mediatory roles.

The Nhimbe Trust is a non-profit NGO which has relationships with NACZ (advocating its role as promoter of the arts and culture sectors and attempts to drum up funding), as well as a number of cultural institutions and organisations, human rights organisations and NGOs. The trust strives to "advocate for public policies that recognise, enhance and foster the contribution that cultural industries make to the socio-economic development of Zimbabwe" through legislative action and grassroots initiatives (Nhimbe 2015). It has led development programmes in arts and culture geared towards freedom of artistic expression and the empowerment of women and the youth (*ibid.*). Its relationship of collaboration with NACZ is an important example of coordination between industry institutions and government parastatals, and demonstrates levels of high alignment.

Another key film institution which plays a role in attracting funding and investment is the Zimbabwe International Film & Festival Trust (ZIFFT), established in 2000 and developed from a festival initiative launched in 1997 (ZIFFT 2018). Like the Nhimbe Trust, it is a non-profit organisation. It focuses on promoting creativity, sustainability and innovation in Zimbabwean film, as well as the "discovery and development of independent filmmakers, artists and audiences" (ZIFFT 2018). ZIFFT works with a number of other organisations in to achieve these goals and has launched a number of programmes geared towards the development of film and the creative industries as a whole. These programmes include Outreach to Educate (O2E), Film Forum (FF), Short Film Project (SFP), The Innovation Hub (Zi-Hub) and ZIFF Tours (*ibid.*). From this we can conclude that ZIFFT is peripheral in the film funding network, but nonetheless is an important connecting element in relation to other actors.

On a continental scale, the non-profit Arterial Network Zimbabwe, launched in October

2010 and headquartered in Côte d'Ivoire, plays a major mediating role in the arts across Africa. It is a "dynamic Pan-African, civil-society network of artists, cultural activists, entrepreneurs, enterprises, NGOs, institutions, and donors active in Africa's creative and cultural sectors" (Arterial Network 2014). The nature of Arterial Network's role both inside Zimbabwe and as a connector between the Zimbabwean and wider African contexts means it forms another large node of interaction. This 'node' is at the periphery of the funding network, however, as it does not specifically and directly focus on either film funding or film.

The Arterial Network focuses on five main areas: information dissemination, advocacy (via their *Artwatch Africa* project), capacity building, market access, and knowledge management (*ibid.* 2018). These five areas are directly vital to any creative industry, and I find them particularly useful for addressing underlying issues which impede the overall development of the Zimbabwean film industry. In terms of information dissemination, the industry benefits from high levels of interconnection to allow everyone to be kept up-to-date with the latest developments and opportunities across the continent. In terms of capacity building, I believe more needs to be invested in establishing good training centers for aspiring creative professionals.

Moreover, the capacities to handle growth, collaboration and experimentation need to be expanded. Advocacy is of particular importance in Zimbabwe, a country that has faced a number of issues regarding the violation of human rights and suppression of the freedom of expression. Market access is a major hurdle for the Zimbabwean film industry because of the lack of well-developed and affordable film distribution methods and the low number of screening opportunities. Although some filmmakers have had success at foreign film festivals over the years, accessing markets abroad remains one of the key hurdles for Zimbabwean filmmakers.

3.4 Non-governmental organisations

The past and present roles of the Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) or foreign donors (Hungwe 88) discussed in the first chapter cannot be underestimated. The most prominent ones, such as the Media for Development Trust or MfDT (Mboti 10), were instrumental in the 1990s rise of the 'NGO film'. Although many NGOs, such as MfDT itself, were then driven from the country in the 2000s amidst political violence[4] and hyperinflation (Mboti 17), the remaining donors continue to play a large role in Zimbabwean film today, because they are often some of the only sources of adequate funding. Such organisations include *Sida*, the Swedish International Development Agency, and the United Kingdom Department for International Development, DfID.

Understandably, and yet regarding creative freedom also worryingly, NGO films are generally contingent on how much their message aligns with the NGO's guiding ideology and values. This may seem like a small price to pay for two reasons. Firstly, the causes are crucial issues and worthwhile causes such as the "promotion of democracy, human rights and the rule of law" (Hungwe 88), and secondly, filmmakers simply have so few other options. However, it is not sustainable in the long run. The limits of donor funding mean that particularly once film has become firmly established enough for filmmakers to be able to push the envelope creatively, it is a system that would either cease to be of use or that must be changed. Filmmakers experimenting and pushing boundaries would entail risks, whether financial or social, which NGOs will likely not want to take. In addition, these NGO funds come from outside the country, and this means much more uncertainty than if the funds were locally sourced. If the NGO funding a project withdraws from that country, the projects will likely be left without a leg to stand on.

Another issue with donor funding is that the dominant African donor film narrative positioned Africa and Africans as a 'problem' (Hungwe 91) by its focus on themes of oppression,

[4] A 2001 report by the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum details the circumstances, stemming from the government's disastrous land reform policies, and incidents of political violence:
http://hrforumzim.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/06/Politically-motivated-violence-2000-1-1.pdf

starvation and disease. This is an observation made by renowned Zimbabwean filmmaker Tsitsi Dangarembga, who was dissatisfied with her 90s donor-funded debut *Everyone's Child*, an educational film about HIV/AIDs (*ibid.*). She did not want to reinforce stereotypical narratives, remarking: "I didn't want to make another AIDS film on Africa. I was not empowered to make the narrative that I wanted to make" (*ibid.*). The problematic donor film narrative is harder to break or counter when the funding for films that could present *alternative* narratives comes from the very same agenda-setting foreign donors. Arguably, if the fund is not effectively facilitating the realisation of a filmmaker's vision, the final film is not a form of creative self-expression, but rather a mere audiovisual tool – commissioned by the donor.

In any case, donor funds have been steadily decreasing in popularity. As African historian Diana Jeater notes, artists from film and other creative sectors have been "utterly demoralised by their experiences of donor funding" (2011). An account of one of Jeater's interviewees, producer Arthur Chikhuwa, highlighted that "donors had always determined the agenda and had provided support only for the product. There was never any money to invest in new kit, or to give the Unit space to develop its own products or market" (Jeater 2011). This once again highlights the importance of eventually having access to independent, private funds that ideally come with more creative freedom and more space for experimentation. In addition, Chikhuwa's comment points to a need for investment in the industry's development, as opposed to a need solely for production funding.

From this overview of the key funding and funding-related bodies it is clear that while there are not many of them, there are well-established attitudes of collaboration driving key institutions in the industry. This must be fostered if any meaningful change is to take place within the industry. More importantly, the government or Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture in particular must have open lines of communication with these institutions and be open to hear their grievance sand suggestions.

Tellingly, only two institutions are directly involved with funding, and neither is

specialised in film funding. In terms of the second research sub-question, "How is the current film funding network to be understood – who or what are its actants, how do these interact, where are there gaps?" this is a very clear gap in the film funding network. The lack of funders makes the chance of receiving funds vanishingly small for most Zimbabwean filmmakers. This means very low creative flexibility and no chances for the industry to grow. Most importantly, it means that any substantial funding is likely funding from foreign donors, who bring their own set of problems relating to representation and creative autonomy. Altogether this must amount to a rather demoralising effect on filmmakers.

As a final note, other potential sources of film funding and investment, such as Zimbabwean banks, have so far maintained their distance from the film industry (Mboti 23). However, it is possible that this may change, as they are not fundamentally opposed to a relationship with the arts. This year's Harare International Festival of the Arts (HIFA), was able to secure investment from, for example, local banks, insurance companies and tourism-related organisations (HIFA 2018). This does indicate that corporates are not completely against supporting the arts, and hints at the possibility of improved inter-industry support if encouraged. This could also have a significant impact on the institutional landscape, as institutions may have to adapt to the large-scale entrance of new actors to the film funding network.

In sum, it is clear from this overview of key institutions and mediating bodies that the 'raw material' for a highly efficient film funding network is already there, but needs support if it is to develop to the point where it can function without outside help, be it from foreign donors or the government. New players, such as corporate bodies, may in time become part of this institutional landscape, but they will not be able to thrive if the good communication between existing bodies is not extended to accommodate them.

4. Government policy concerning film funding

Having considered the role of key institutions, a logical next step is considering the Zimbabwean government's role in film funding through its policies. This provides context for the previous analysis of key institutions, their scope of action and interactions, allowing for further answers to research sub-question (ii). This will also allow some understanding of what governmental-political factors have affected how film funding has functioned over the years (sub-question i), as well as provide context for the following chapter, 5, on filmmaker perspectives. Most importantly, however, this is intended to answer sub-question (iii) of the research: What role has the government played in film funding, and what policies are or were in place to facilitate governmental film funding?

Government policies affect funding in direct as well as more indirect ways, such as through knock-on effects of foreign trade policy. If industry initiatives such as those of ZFIDP are any indication, the industry does feel that the government is or should be more involved. An important step is to therefore consider how the government has been involved so far. Have they tried to address these concerns before and how? And if so, why are the issues persisting? I will try to maintain a chronological approach, as I believe it helps to relate the information better to the chronological industry overviews by Hungwe (2005) and Mboti (2016). Assuming that recent policy is more relevant to the industry's current state, I will take a closer look at it than pre-2000 policies.

4.1 Background: 1980s to mid-2000s

As briefly touched upon in section 1.1 of Chapter 1, the 1980s saw a period of heightened interest from the Zimbabwean government in the film industry and its potential as a sector for economic growth (Mboti 7). The country was promoted to foreign directors as a film location by the Ministry of Information, which resulted in a number of films, such as *King*

Solomon's Mines (1985) being filmed there (Mboti 7.; Hungwe 87). The goal was to benefit the economy, facilitate the skills-transfer from visiting studios to local filmmakers, who would in turn then be equipped to establish a Zimbabwean film industry (Mboti 7-8). The government even invested directly in film production in the case of the 1987 film *Cry Freedom*, in partnership with Universal pictures (*ibid.*). However, the financial benefits were disproportionately low and the government's attitude towards film grew more apathetic (*ibid.*), prompting it to cease film funding efforts or even its previous policy of actively encouraging foreign productions and co-productions (*ibid.* 9).

The vacuum left in the film funding infrastructure when several NGOs left Zimbabwe in the early 2000s (as previously discussed in section 2.1) did not prompt the Zimbabwean government to re-think its stance on involvement. In a prime example of the knock-on effects of government policy and legislation, this mass exodus was partly set in motion by the government's 1998 "policy framework on the Land Reform and Resettlement Programme Phase II" (Centre for Public Impact, 2017). It resulted in the initiation of a controversial land redistribution programme in 2001, which sought to redistribute the farms of white commercial farmers to economically disadvantaged, landless indigenous Zimbabweans (*ibid.*). The programme was accompanied by "political violence and unprecedented hyperinflation" (Mboti 17), which plunged the country into a political and economic crisis. This resulted in NGOs and other donors as well as investors leaving the country.

Around the early to mid-2000s, issues with broadcasting freedoms painting a worrying picture of the future of the arts. The Censorship and Entertainment Control Act, last amended in 2001, has had a lasting impact on most arts and cultural sectors, including Film. Chapter 10:04 of the act reveals the scope of control anchored in the Act and granted to the board of censors. It covers the role of the board in regulating and controlling the public exhibition of films, the importation, production, dissemination and possession of undesirable or prohibited video and film material" as well as regulating "theatres and like places of public entertainment in the

interests of safety" (Mukanga-Majachani 19). In combination with the ruling party's well-documented reputation for corruption and propaganda[5], it is unsurprising that some incidents of unwarranted censorship occurred. Private broadcasting was blocked, leaving state-controlled public broadcasting services unchallenged. Hungwe notes that this was the state of affairs "despite a Supreme Court ruling that the ban is unconstitutional" (96), leaving no legal options for private broadcasting within the country. This is still the case, although from experience I know many Zimbabweans, at least those who can afford it, simply subscribe to a satellite television service such as the South African DStv or the new Zimbabwean online streaming service Kwesé[6]. This gives them access to hundreds of otherwise unavailable channels and, in part, has allowed the blockade on private broadcasting in Zimbabwe to continue to exist for so long. If there is no widespread protest about the lack of broadcasting diversity, the government can turn a blind eye to the pitfalls of such an underdeveloped media landscape.

4.2 Cultural Policy of Zimbabwe (2007)

Fast forward to 2007, when the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture set forth a document on the Cultural Policy of Zimbabwe. Strategies for development of the arts and culture sector were laid out in a 38-page document, which resulted from dialogue with a range of "arts and culture institutions, arts associations, youth and women organisations, organisations for the physically handicapped and the whole spectrum of the education system" (Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture 4). In the policy paper, the ministry outlines the importance of supporting the arts and key issues that need to be addressed, and attempts to put forth strategies for development of the various cultural and creative sectors.

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[5]Corruption: Piers Pigou (2016), "Zanu PF: Corruption and Patronage".
Propaganda: Norma Kriger (2005), "Zanu (PF) Strategies in general elections, 1980-2000: Discourse and Coercion".
Censorship: Andrew Meldrum (2010), "Freedom of Press in Zimbabwe".
[6] Kwesé also offers satellite television: https://www.kwese.com/

In a foreword by Minister of Education, Sport and Culture, Aeneas Chigwedere, the economic and socio-cultural value of the arts and cultural industries is acknowledged. Chigwedere notes that in recent years the industries had "emerged as one of Zimbabwe's major sources of foreign currency, employment and a tool to assert the people's national identity" (Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture 4). This suggests that the government believes the country would and should tangibly benefit from a thriving arts and culture sector. He further notes that the artistic efforts on the world stage by Zimbabwean artists must be supported, recognising that a "smart partnership between the Government and corporate sector has to be built to increase funding levels to the cultural sector" (*ibid.* 5). In the current economic climate of the country, where the government cannot afford to financially support many industry initiatives, turning to the private corporate sector seems to be a pertinent and sustainable solution.

In the body of the policy paper, explicit reference is made to film and the issues that the industry has been facing, such as the impact of 75% local content stipulations and a chronic lack of funding (*ibid.* 23). In terms of strategy, the paper even sets out a number of strategies to specifically address the issue of film funding. Examples include:

- Support efforts by the private sector and other Stakeholders initiatives [sic] to develop the industry through the provision of an enabling environment and the provision of tax rebates.

- Mobilise private sector investment for film production, skill improvement and distribution of Zimbabwean film both at home and abroad. Tax incentives should be rewarded. (*ibid.* 24)

Some other strategies addressed the need to support development of the industry, to encourage more high-quality film production and to encourage a culture of film appreciation. The policy paper clearly addresses key issues particular to the film industry and sets forth strategies to address these issues. So why does it appear that these problems are still rampant? A good indication is presented in the form of a 2013 thesis review of the policy by Midlands State

University student of African Languages and Culture Kudzanai Chakwamba. Chakwamba collected data from a number of policymakers, artists and cultural practitioners through interviews and questionnaires (Chakwamba 17). The findings point to fundamental issues within the formulation of the policy itself, a lack of a communication infrastructure to ensure the policy was informed by the diversity of Zimbabwean cultures, the absence of adequate resources for the process and a lack of inter-ministerial cooperation (*ibid,* 48-49). All of these factors meant that the policy largely failed in the implementation stage.

4.3 Policy criticism in the early 2010s

The early 2010s saw a period of uneasy tensions in an economy that was still suffering from the after-effects of hyperinflation and withdrawal of foreign investment and trade, but had managed to achieve some degree of stability since the economic crash of 2008 with the adoption of the US dollar in lieu of the failed Zimbabwean dollar (Moyo 2010). Around 2011, the political climate was "characterised by both a clamping down on freedom of expression, and at the same time, increased assertion of governing frameworks, such as regulations for festivals, by authorities" (Eveleigh 16). The government was facing high criticism for its failures of the previous decade, such as the infamous land redistribution programme, and there was a need to temper negative reports without raising more concern in the international community.

Awaiting elections in 2013, government activity was split between control of expression to manage public opinion and attempts by authorities to acknowledge the importance of the arts and cultural sector (*ibid.*). Whether due to scrutiny or other motivations, incidents of outright censorship and intimidation of artists decreased in the period up to 2013. From 2013 onwards, the country experienced some measure of economic stability if not yet recovery; but the government only addressed sectors other than arts and culture as potential sources of economic growth to be supported. As briefly discussed in section 1.2 of Chapter 1, this was in the 2013

policy framework Zim-ASSET, which prioritised economic sectors to receive support from the government and excluded the arts and culture sectors.

A cultural policy review and overview from 2013 by independent researcher Florence Mukanga-Majachani identifies some larger structural issues hindering the effectiveness of government policy. Perhaps on the most fundamental level, the distribution of arts and culture-related governance is spread out over around 11 ministries. Mukanga-Majachani illustrates this distribution in a simple organogram (Appendix E), which drives home how fragmented and unstructured governmental administration of the arts and cultural sectors currently is. The 'main' ministry responsible is the Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture, but various duties and roles are delegated to the Ministry of Health and Child Welfare, the Ministry of Higher and Tertiary Education, the Ministry of Information and Publicity, the Ministry of Small and Medium Enterprises and Cooperative Development, among others (Mukanga-Majachani 6). The Nhimbe Trust, one of the key institutions in the film industry, also makes note of this, remarking that government support for the arts is "currently spread across eleven ministries, undermining NACZ's[7] role as the lead agency responsible for arts promotion and development" (Nhimbe 2015). There is therefore evidently a need to review how the government has chosen to approach arts and culture. That it is largely grouped with education and sport is not a problem in and of itself. However, if so many key roles are being covered by other ministries, having a ministry in charge of the entirety of arts and culture seems unnecessary and perhaps even redundant.

Mukanga-Majachani is also concerned with the lack of infrastructure to facilitate the exchange and collection of knowledge and industry statistics. There is no co-ordinational oversight between the government and arts groups to promote the sharing and consolidation of information (Mukanga-Majachani 11). Even with involvement from so many different governmental bodies, there are some gaps in terms of necessary institutions. She notes that "one of the major challenges of creative industries in Zimbabwe is the absence of a central authority

[7] NACZ: the National Arts Council of Zimbabwe

that is empowered to show statistically the contribution of the Creative Industry to GDP" (*ibid.*), which hinders successful tracking of industry trends and market growth. The government cannot accurately consider the role of arts and culture in the economy if no systematic preparation of indicative data is being undertaken.

It is of vital importance to the film industry and other creative sectors for such data to be collected and made available, as it not only allows for better policy planning but also provides a basis for investors to make informed choices about where to direct funds. The lack of data concerning the film industry emphasises the idea that film is not worth investing in, as it is not relevant enough to track. Whether made explicit or not, the notion of 'industry' implies a certain level of formality, scale and profitability. Industries are generally regulated in one way or another, and their output is significant enough to warrant its categorisation as well as measurement of its economic performance. What appears to be a straightforward and everyday term, then, is perhaps murkier than one might expect. In the case of the Zimbabwean film industry, some may question whether the Zimbabwean film industry can in fact be called such.

It is dispersed, a mix of formal and informal, and its performance in the last two decades has been abysmally low if measured solely in terms of profitability or returns on investment. Mboti inquires: "Does the local film industry produce enough volumes to satisfy a significant percentage of the 15 million Zimbabweans? Do the films made by local filmmakers reach a majority of the 15 million Zimbabweans? Is money being made from making films?" (3) . He raises some key issues which complicate the categorisation of recent film production in Zimbabwe as an 'industry'. Although funding has been hard to come by, the production of films has continued over the years. Understandably, the supply has not been high or particularly steady. As mentioned previously, distribution is a thorn in many filmmakers' sides as they try to find ways which do not necessarily entail cinemas or broadcasting to reach their audiences, so films generally have a small reach. And finally, what appears to be the crux: as is, making a film is a passion project requiring great amounts of dedication and effort, and filmmakers generally do not

see a return on investment. If barely any money is being made, can it really be considered an industry? It is clear that, especially if one is taking well-established film industries as points of reference, Zimbabwe's film industry is not so much an industry as a potential one; its activity is currently more cultural than economic or commercial. Systematic collection of data is an absolute necessity if the industry is to make significant progress in coming years.

Mukanga-Majachani also attempts to outline the main features of the government's cultural policy model, remarking that this is a difficult undertaking because of the minimal level of government support (3). Government action and initiatives indicate it has a more passive approach, likely driven by the lack of financial and other resources (*ibid.*). The government sometimes provides tax incentives for artists through parastatals such as the revenue authority Zimra indicating a kind of facilitatory role as well as a regulatory one. Regarding its regulatory role, the government is supported by a legal framework, as well as its statutory bodies and parastatals, in making and managing public policy (*ibid.*). If the government model relies so heavily on facilitation and regulation, it is imperative to focus on the problems facing each industry, not just the general sector. This will allow for tailored and targeted solutions to industry-specific issues. It is not surprising that a dancer, for example, will face some difficulties that a filmmaker or photographer will not and vice versa.

4.4 National Culture Policy of Zimbabwe (2015)

Most recently, 2015 saw the release of a new national cultural policy draft by the Zimbabwean Ministry of Sport, Arts and Culture. Although it was not clear from the actual draft document, it was apparently the result of a policy review exercise on the 2007 paper which was started in 2009 (Chifunyise, 2015). Consultants who had not worked on the first draft re-worked the draft and produced a second one which was subsequently presented to sector stakeholders in the major Zimbabwean cities (*ibid.*). The new draft addresses issues which had led to the plagued

the first draft and ultimately resulted in its failed implementation. For example, the new paper was effectively the result of much wider consultations than in 2007, this time building on the already conducted consultations and gathering new insights from "stakeholders such as academia, investors, strategic players in the culture, heritage and arts sector, Zimbabwe Chiefs Council, among others" (Ministry of Sport, Arts and Culture 17).

Furthermore, it specifically addresses the issue of "strengthening implementation coordination" (*ibid.* 34-35) across ministries and between governmental and non-governmental bodies. Some of the proposed policy interventions include attempting to rally funds for the parastatals bound to the implementation process, establishing mechanisms for the networking and coordination of governmental and non-governmental bodies on macro-and micro-levels, and developing and maintaining a database and effective knowledge management system for the arts and culture sector (*ibid.* 35). Overall, the policy paper pays less attention to the minutiae of industry-specific needs, instead adopting a broader approach which is intended to address the "major needs, concerns and opportunities within the sectors, while enhancing their contribution to national development goals" (*ibid.* 17). Perhaps this framework allows for a more comprehensive approach to tackle major barriers and needs first, by collectively improving the state of the arts and culture sector in the scope of available resources. Once the sector gains a bit of momentum, then it may be more possible to attend to industry-specific needs and essentially fine-tune industry performance. This revised version of 2007's cultural policy was eventually approved in 2016[8]. However, so far there does not appear to have been a comprehensive evaluation of its effectiveness.

In sum, I believe the consideration of government policy and administrative bodies, regulations and their relation to the wider economic and political context demonstrates that there have been at least some significant efforts on the part of the government to ensure the arts and culture sector receives recognition, support and opportunity for development and

[8] Winstone Antonio (2016), "Govt. approves revised national culture policy", *Newsday.* https://www.newsday.co.zw/2016/11/govt-approves-revised-national-culture-policy/

professionalisation. Limited resources and deeper governmental-structural issues such as the fragmented governance approach to arts and culture as well as a history of censorship, propaganda and corruption in the ruling party complicate and hinder progress in this regard. However, there is a process of reflection by the government and a willingness to remedy gaps in previous policy approaches.

5. Filmmakers' perspectives on film funding

In considering any changes to the structures currently in place in the film industry, it is important to consider the experiences, wishes and criticism of those who work in the field. Their perspective is invaluable and allows for insights into the reality of day-to-day film production on the ground. Without direct input from filmmakers, any suggestions run the risk of being out of touch with what is actually needed, and what can realistically be implemented. Having reviewed the key institutions as well as government policy, it is time to consider the perspectives of the filmmakers who are impacted by these institutions and policies. This will be done on the basis of responses (Appendix D) to the questionnaire (Appendix B) which was sent to a number of Zimbabwean filmmakers. The three open-ended questions on the questionnaire explore how filmmakers have benefited from private and public funding sources so far; how, if at all, they think the government of Zimbabwe should support filmmakers in the process of finding funding; as well as any other recommendations as to how Zimbabwean filmmakers' access to funds can be improved.

In a minor setback, the overall response rate was lower than I had hoped for, with a total of four out of twenty-two as opposed to the goal of eight. However, the few responses I received provided a number of insights into respondents' professional experience, industry concerns and dynamics, and a number of recommendations that are geared towards improving funding, both directly and indirectly. The four respondents are creative producer Eric Witzgall, director Thomas Brickhill, producer Olaf Koschke, and lastly, production manager and designer[9] Carine Tredgold.

As explained in more detail in the methodology section in Chapter 2, to make sense of the responses to the open-ended questions I used a combination of open and axial coding, allowing me to process and link the data. The coding tree's (Appendix C) structure provides a

[9] Tredgold, while not having been directly involved in the financial sourcing for the film projects she has worked on (Tredgold - correspondence) nevertheless shared a slightly different perspective and some useful insights.

guideline for grouping the data thematically within this section, although there is naturally some overlap between themes. Many statements by the respondents covered more than one theme, so I will attempt to categorise them according to their area of emphasis if possible.

Concerning the structure of this section, I would therefore like to explore filmmakers' comments and observations concerning economic issues and factors first, as they are the most general. After that, I will consider their responses on the state of the industry together with professional motivation and experience (background). Thirdly, the difficulties and opportunities being faced by filmmakers, followed by a look at their thoughts and observations about non-governmental funding. Next, their views on the government's role in the industry. Lastly, having considered similarities and differences in responses concerning all these areas, I would like to explore their recommendations for the government and other filmmakers.

5.1 Economic factors

That the state of the Zimbabwean economy is dire at the moment goes without saying for most Zimbabweans, as it has been the reality for over a decade. The fact of the matter is that until the government succeeds in stabilising and rebuilding it, things will continue to look grim for all industries, including film. With public funding not available, filmmakers look to the private sector. Unfortunately, the entire "private sector is burdened with the general economic hardship of the country" (Witzgall 010) and the economic climate makes it "difficult to attract commercial sponsors" (Brickhill 065). The economic climate also makes developing a local market for film particularly difficult, a step which, for Witzgall, would organically contribute to improving availability of funds. From his perspective, the real issue is not so much a lack of funding as a lack of a local market for film (Witzgall 017). Thus, it is imperative to develop local markets first, and once filmmakers can "attract viewership, private funding will come" (*ibid.* 036-38). As discussed in section 1.1 of the first chapter, distribution is as much of an issue as funding for the film industry. However, if Witzgall's assumption is right, systematically tackling the issue of

distribution first would kill two birds with one stone, so to speak, and is therefore an approach worth exploring.

5.2 Film Industry Development

The responses provided a wealth of data I believed should be grouped under the admittedly broad umbrella of film industry development. The content concerns public perception of the film industry, industry development, connectedness and communication in the industry, industry initiatives, formal and informal distribution, as well as film quality or popularity.

Brickhill describes the overall state of the film industry as "depressed" (089), which mirrors the current state of the economy. From my general understanding of investment, public perception of the potential investment target has a strong influence on whether it is chosen or not. If public perception of the industry is that it is not worth investing in, that is a message that carries weight and affects not only direct investment but general attitudes towards supporting its development. Currently, the private sector "sees no advantage in funding film" (Witzgall 008), and the 'obvious' solution is to find ways to make it more attractive. If this attractiveness is not based in financial reward, one can try to develop appeal in other ways. This could be through, for example, pitching the public appeal of a corporate entity which supports the community through the arts, or advertising exposure in the form of product placement, which is discussed more in the next section on "Difficulties and Opportunities".

Koschke describes an important aspect of the perception of film and the industry, namely how the government and more precisely how the ruling party perceives it. The ruling party, known as ZANU-PF, has been at the helm since the country gained independence. Its reputation for censorship, corruption and propaganda is well-documented[10], and this has had an impact on

[10] Censorship: Andrew Meldrum (2010), "Freedom of Press in Zimbabwe".
Corruption: Piers Pigou (2016), "Zanu PF: Corruption and Patronage".
Propaganda: Norma Kriger (2005), "Zanu (PF) Strategies in general elections, 1980-2000: Discourse and Coercion".

the development of the creative sectors for years. Koschke's view of the impact of the ruling party's perception on the developmental progress is definitive: "As long as film and media is not seen as a welcome form of creative expression, but a tool of propaganda or "telling the right stories", the film industry will not develop at all" (189,192). As this approach is so entrenched in the party's ways, I do not believe tackling this particular problem is possible without a partisan shift. The Zimbabwean general elections of 2018 are drawing near[11], and this might be a chance for a different party which does not view film as a propaganda tool.

As previously discussed in this chapter, distribution is as much of a challenge for the industry as funding. The film industry would benefit greatly from more TV stations (Witzgall 018), as there is currently only one TV channel which is that of the state broadcaster ZBC. In terms of informal distribution, some projects could turn to solutions such as uploading their content to YouTube or locally distributing DVDs (Brickhill 076, 081). Indeed, the informal distribution of DVDs has already established itself according to a "$1-for 2" model (Mboti 19).

The issue of distribution was often mentioned in connection with that of the quality of production or popular reception. Brickhill describes the case of current television shows, further illustrating how difficult the film funding situation is at the moment. Even the highest-rated TV shows in Zimbabwe at the moment are having trouble finding funding for further seasons), and in fact, the top-rated show, *Wenera*, is only able to continue largely due to the director's resourcefulness in cutting his production costs (Brickhill 060, 072.). If it is so difficult for top productions to secure funding, there is no hope for experimentation or growth right now.

In addition, the issue of quality is important to filmmakers seeking funding in competitive international environments. Witzgall notes that there are currently "very few filmmakers that are good enough to meet the quality levels" (033-34), pointing to a need for development of the industry in terms of professionalisation and training. As Brickhill notes:

[11] Reuters – "Zimbabwe sets first post-Mugabe elections for July 30". https://www.reuters.com/article/us-zimbabwe-election/zimbabwes-mnangagwa-calls-for-elections-on-july-30-idUSKCN1IV0WI

> Whilst we have a wealth of stories and raw story telling talent in Zimbabwe, we need to accept that there are very few instant genius film makers, and writing and directing are skills that are acquired after years of practice. (146)

He is a major proponent of formal training, skill building, and practice, emphasising that while filmmaking has become more accessible, "a cheap digital camera and some edit software are no substitute for 'learning the craft'" (Brickhill 157-58) and there should be some focus on developing training capacities.

The respondents also revealed some insights about connectedness and communication within the industry and between the industry and other entities. Brickhill, for example, describes a recent massive industry-internal argument on Facebook surrounding mismanaged film funds (153-4), suggesting that there are important debates happening in the industry that play out on social media. If this is an efficient way for the industry to communicate and ensure knowledge exchange, I believe perhaps they could also be used to facilitate efficient communication between industry stakeholders and governmental bodies or possible investors. In terms of connectedness and solidarity, Koschke mentions the grounding of the Zimbabwe Film Industry Development Platform (ZFID), a "real government-and party-independent filmmaker's organisation" (194) whose actions can help to "improve the working environment for filmmakers" (202), for example.

Lastly, it seems that to pursue a filmmaking project at the moment in Zimbabwe at the moment is a labour of love – Brickhill recounts how on a project, remuneration was well below usual daily rates but he and fellow crew went through with it because they wanted to support the project (052). On one of his own projects, crew worked on deferred payment contracts and he notes that they "were only able to entice them because of a decent script and the fact that no one had any other paid work" (Brickhill 088). Having considered many of the issues facing filmmakers today, it seems clear that passion and resourcefulness are an absolute, driving necessity in the industry.

5.3 Difficulties and Opportunities

This section is intended to provide an overview of the things that are missing from the industry infrastructure, frustrations and hindrances. It will also consider any opportunities that have arisen to combat these difficulties in terms of facilitators, new approaches, and new technologies, for example.

The main difficulty is the simple fact that "funding for film whether private or government is basically non-existent" (Witzgall 001), an observation also made by Brickhill (066) and Koschke (174). In addition, projects that have acquired funds may not be able to continue to rely on them despite the project being a success (Brickhill 061), and the competition for outside funds is high (Koschke 175). Even if all should appear to go well, there is still a chance a project can suffer if the sponsor unexpectedly is withdrawn from the equation due to unforeseen and indirectly related circumstances (Brickhill 079).

In addition, there is the problem of mismanagement of funds. This is such a common issue that Brickhill remarks that while it would be nice to have local funds, he cannot "foresee a situation in the short term where such funds are not either plundered or misused" (120). His scepticism seems to be well-founded, as he recounts a recent incident where funding was given to industry entrants with as good as no training, instead of to "aspiring film makers and film school graduates already being in the country without funding" (Brickhill 155).

The issue of distribution, as has been discussed, is a major hindrance. Witzgall's remarks aptly capture the limited options available, noting that there are "no TV stations to air films, at least not stations that actually pay for it, and there are no online opportunities with high data costs and low accessibility" (019-20). Cooperation with the state broadcaster ZBC and the funding body behind it, the Broadcasting Authority of Zimbabwe (BAZ), is frustrating and unreliable. Regarding a failed project, Brickhill describes how BAZ was "delaying funds and/or changing prospective broadcast dates" (049) which inevitably had an effect on how well production went. To date, it appears the project has not been aired (*ibid.* 053). ZBC's low- to

non-existent paying rates for TV content also mean that production on commission "is not really a viable option" (Brickhill 070).

Lastly, Tredgold notes another aspect of difficulty, regarding fees, processes and regulations. She describes "prohibitive Media Commission and ZIMRA fees[12] as well as long and cumbersome Ministry of Information application processes" (209), which if addressed would allow for industry growth.

In terms of opportunities, the possibility of acquiring funding from outside the country has somewhat alleviated the film funding shortage. Tredgold notes most projects she has worked on were only possible because of it (208) and Koschke also acknowledges outside funds' role in occasionally providing substantial funding to Zimbabwean projects (172). Witzgall notes that the NGO sector plays a role in alleviating the shortage too, but notes that it this support is highly problematic and contingent on alignment with the NGO's agenda (005). Brickhill mentions product placement as he had a deal with a local chilli sauce company on one of his projects (085) – more such arrangements could possibly entice corporates to collaborate with the film industry.

Opportunities in the form of new approaches are also revealed in the responses. Koschke describes ZFIDP, the first real organisation of its kind, and how it has been at least attempting to tackle major issues, such as curbing the "influence of the ministry of information and the further development of a media monopoly controlled by the ruling party" (196). Or in another example, how the organisation has been rallying pressure for the government to ease its grip on the media, which might encourage foreign funding sources to look into funding creative projects (Koschke 201-3). Brickhill describes a new approach that had been pitched to attract investment – approaching a large international production company to 'gamble' on a slate of locally produced films by various directors. The idea was basically if 10 different directors each had to work with a budget of $50,000 to produce a film, it is more likely that at least one of these projects would be a success (141-2). New approaches are vital to the advancement of the industry. Even if they fail

[12] ZIMRA: The Zimbabwe Revenue Authority

when tested, they provide valuable lessons that can be incorporated into future approaches, increasing chances of finding one that is successful.

5.4 Non-governmental Funding

Regarding the role of non-governmental funding there were a couple of key observations about the unpopular option of donor funding, instances of corporate sponsorship in relatively recent production projects, and the experiences and problems with finding and securing private funding.

As has been previously discussed, donor funding has major pitfalls, including limiting creative autonomy of the filmmaker and promoting problematic narratives. Witzgall acknowledges the important role donors/NGOs fill in providing some funding to Zimbabwean films, but notes the major caveat of funding only being granted "if they are heavily biased towards the message of the organisation" (006). Brickhill makes it clear that he is not a fan of donor funds (136) and in his own search for funding for his projects, he deliberately avoids them (092). At the same time, he realises that avoiding them means that attracting much more investment funding is even more crucial to ensure continued production (137). Interestingly, in discussing the lack of commercial success of some donor films, he does not posit that it was because of their message or necessarily because the filmmaker's vision was distorted. Instead, he believes that "removing the financial pressure to make a 'commercially successful' film detracted from the final product of those projects" (097-99). This seems to suggest that a sort of constant tension in this regard is a positive thing, which helps drive filmmakers to strive for a higher creative level.

Regarding non-governmental funding in the form of corporate sponsorship, there is a potential for growth. Although it is difficult to attract sponsors, a recent production of a local TV cooking show was sponsored by multiple corporate entities, one of which was a major supermarket chain (Brickhill 067, 055). This indicates that the interest and willingness on the part of some of these enterprises is certainly there, and their sponsorship should be encouraged

(Tredgold 212). A slightly different aspect of non-governmental funding, namely private investment, is also discussed. As Brickhill recounts, his film 'Cook Off' was "entirely funded by private investors (6 in total who collectively invested $7,000)" (086), indicating that it can and does work as an option. However, the budget is still comparatively small, indicating that as budget needs increase this may be an inadequate option on its own. Koschke notes that this form of funding is often not accessible to those without the necessary social and economic capital:

> A few young filmmakers from an affluent or influential background have had access to some private funding or raised interest of some individuals in the development aid sector, but these films are often support for personal reasons and mostly of very poor quality… (180)

This relates back to Brickhill's argument in section 5.2 on film industry development, that skills and knowledge of the craft are more relevant than available funds. It also illustrates the importance of facilitating contact between filmmakers, especially those from less privileged backgrounds, and potential sponsors and investors.

5.5 Government involvement

The question of the government and its role in the film industry was framed in different contexts. There were a number of criticisms of the government's problematic current relationship with film and media, characterised by restriction and instrumentalisations, as well as accounts of its (failed) direct and indirect involvement in production.

The first problematic aspect of the government's relationship with the media is that it generally has too much control over it and "needs to open the media landscape" (Witzgall 012). In relation to film in particular, Tredgold finds that the current regulatory landscape makes it unnecessarily difficult to set up a production house base (215). Regarding the relationship between regulation and perception of the industry, Koschke notes that the government, or rather the ruling party, mainly sees it as a propaganda tool and as such it is "governed by the Ministry of Information and Media and not by the various forms of the Ministry of Arts and Culture" (168).

As such, the Ministry of Information and Media approves content which is then supported by ZBC and the Broadcasting Association of Zimbabwe (*ibid.*). Also, disconcertingly, there has been the gradual "development of a media monopoly controlled by the ruling party and (recently by extent the military)" (197) which is being challenged through efforts by the ZFIDP.

Brickhill provides an account of some of the failed attempts of state broadcasters, which cast industry doubt on their ability to see projects through to the broadcast stage. There is the case of the TV show *In My Shoes* which was financed by BAZ but failed to move forward due to unreliability on the part of BAZ (Brickhill 048-53), and of the failed Ministry of Defence-funded *Chinhoyi 7*. Brickhill also draws attention to the fact that the Zimbabwean government tried its hand at film investment in the 1980s, attracted by the prospect of producing a profitable blockbuster (Brickhill, 127-29).

The responses to the questionnaire provide a view into these filmmakers' key concerns, observations and wishes as professionals in the film industry. Their statements on the economic constraints that they've had to face drive home the hopeless atmosphere that Zimbabwe's poor economy has evoked, where it seems there can be no progress. This is compounded by the hurdles placed in the industry's way by the government. However, there is nonetheless talk of filmmakers' resourcefulness, willingness to try new approaches, willingness to work on projects for the love of the craft, an internal drive to continue filming no matter what it takes. The drive and resourcefulness, channelled through grassroots initiatives like ZFIDP, can lead to real changes for the industry. The filmmakers also put forward a number of recommendations in their responses which could lead to easier business for filmmakers and the development of a local industry. Chapter 6 discusses these recommendations from filmmakers first, then visualises the entire film funding network as based on the data collected so far in the thesis to provide an alternative view of the data. Lastly, I present my policy strategy recommendations, based on all sources.

6. The film funding network and future policy

6.1 Filmmakers' Recommendations

As discussed in Chapter 5, the filmmakers' responses to the questionnaire provided a wealth of useful information to consider about the Zimbabwean film industry. Key to this thesis, however, are the filmmakers' recommendations for what can be done to improve conditions for the industry, whether the recommendations address other filmmakers, other shareholders in the film industry, or the government. Their recommendations draw on the views and insights discussed in sections 5.1 to 5.5 of the previous chapter. I am particularly interested in the scope of each respondent's recommendations and in where they overlap, as well as in the differences in focus.

Witzgall's recommendations for other filmmakers and film industry shareholders include to look for funding on international platforms, pursue co-productions and attempt to develop local markets (030, 035). As the government would have to improve the economic situation before it can consider funding film, filmmakers now need to look to the private sector (043). As for the government, he finds that it "needs to open the media landscape by allowing more TV stations to air" (011) and consider the bigger picture. By facilitating easier production and opening up markets for distribution the government can benefit from the success of a working film and TV industry (023).

Brickhill's position is very clear: simply throwing money at it will not solve the problem (152). This is referring to the need for systematic and effective development and advancement of filmmaking capacities to drive the professionalisation of the industry, which will make it competitive. Brickhill recommends the development of local markets and believes the intention should be to establish a Zimbabwean audience, then recoup the film budget from local distribution (110, 106). In terms of the scope of production to feed that audience, Brickhill believes "making a handful of $50,000-$100,000 films per year seems like a realistic and attainable goal for our industry" (108). In order to make the films in the first place, Brickhill recommends investment funding as he personally views it as an essential step in establishing a viable and

sustainable industry (102). In order to attract more investment funding, and escape the hold of donor funds, it is important that Zimbabwean filmmakers demonstrate their talent to produce commercially successful films (137-40). Brickhill finds that donor funds are not ideal, primarily because "writers, directors and producers must have some financial pressure to balance the artistic choices made in order to lead us to a situation where there is a viable commercially sustainable film industry" (102). Concerning the government, Brickhill finds that "lobbying around tax incentives, international co-production agreements and other things like waivers on tax for professional film gear are the best we can hope for, for now" (126).

Koschke's recommendations are challenging and largely geared towards the government, with some emphasis on the new role of the ZFIDP in driving industry change. He thinks that the government of Zimbabwe "should change the culture of relying on party affiliation and nepotism for any funding decisions or support in the creative arts" (186), a culture that is deeply entrenched in the ranks of the ruling party. Koschke believes the ZFIDP initiative "might be able to put some political and public pressure on the government to ease the tight control on all media, to improve the working environment for filmmakers and might also encourage funding sources from outside" (198-205).

Lastly, Tredgold believes that corporate sponsorship should be encouraged (213) but does not indicate by whom. Concerning recommendations for the government, less prohibitive Media Commission and Zimra fees and a streamlined application process at the Ministry of Information would improve the situation greatly (211). Furthermore, she recommends tax incentives and provisions for the easier establishment of production house bases, which she believes will contribute significantly to the development of the industry (216).

In sum, the recommendations for others in the film industry are:

1. Look for funding on international platforms and in the private sector (Witzgall 030; 043)
2. Pursue co-productions (Witzgall 030)
3. Develop local markets (Witzgall 035; Brickhill 110)

4. Attract investment funding by demonstrating talent to produce commercially successful films (Brickhill 137-40)
5. ZFIDP's continued efforts may put enough pressure on government to ease their control on media, improve working conditions and encourage funding from outside the country (198-205)
6. Encourage corporate sponsorship (Tredgold 213)

These recommendations point towards the adaptability of the industry, particularly when it comes to funding. There are new sources (such as investment funding, corporate sponsorship) that have not been fully pursued yet and may provide a working model to fund film projects in the long term, and methods such as co-production not only pool financial resources but encourage knowledge exchange and the improvement of professional skills. Grassroots initiative ZFIDP has the potential to enact massive changes for the industry as it has 'enrolled' so many actants in the industry to its common goal of better working environments and so forth. The importance of such an actant, which links so many others, cannot be underestimated and I believe the government should make a concerted effort to work together with the ZFIDP to reach those goals which are within reach.

The recommendations for the government, on the other hand, include:

1. Ease broadcasting restrictions – allow more TV stations to air (Witzgall 011)
2. Facilitate easier production and open up markets for distribution (Witzgall 023)
3. Provide tax incentives or tax waivers for professional film gear (Brickhill 126; Tredgold 216)
4. Promote international co-production agreements (Brickhill 126)
5. End misappropriation of funds by changing the culture of relying on party affiliation and nepotism in designation of funds (Koschke 186)
6. Encourage corporate sponsorship (Tredgold 213)
7. Reduce Media Commission fees and Zimra fees (Tredgold 211)

8. Simplify the application process at the Ministry of Information (Tredgold 211)

Given the state of the country's economy, nobody in any arts or culture sector can really expect governmental support in the form of public grants at the moment. However, as these recommendations show, there are a large number of steps the government can take to make life easier for those working in film. It is clear that in order for funding film in Zimbabwe to be attractive for outsiders, a burgeoning local market is crucial. This in turn can only happen if the government eases its grip on media, which it has had for decades. Many of these recommendations are very simple in principle, but made near-impossible by depth of entrenchment of the government's way of doing things. The fifth government recommendation, calling for the end of reliance on nepotism and party affiliation, seems to me to be the least likely to be put into effect at any point. Nevertheless, steps such as encouraging media sponsorship (6.) and simplifying application processes at the ministry of information (8.) are within reach and can go a long way in improving conditions for the film industry.

Now that an adequate overview of key institutions, government policy and filmmaker perspectives has been developed, it is possible to continue to section 6.2, which visualises the Zimbabwean film funding network based on all data collected so far.

6.2 Visualising Zimbabwe's film funding network

The previous chapters 1, 3, 4, 5 as well as section 6.1 provided key information in at least four areas: the general state of the current network and how it came to be that way, key institutions' interactions as well as their scope of influence, government policy and issues, as well as the perspectives of the filmmakers who responded to the questionnaire. Therefore, key actants have already been established and the nature of their actions within the network has been investigated. I believe some visual representations or visualisations of the information gathered thus far about the industry will provide a final opportunity to consider the data from a different angle before moving on to policy recommendations and the concluding key findings. These visualisations, generated using open graph visualisation platform Gephi, provide an overview of a complex system with many facets to be considered and provide a point of reference for understanding the

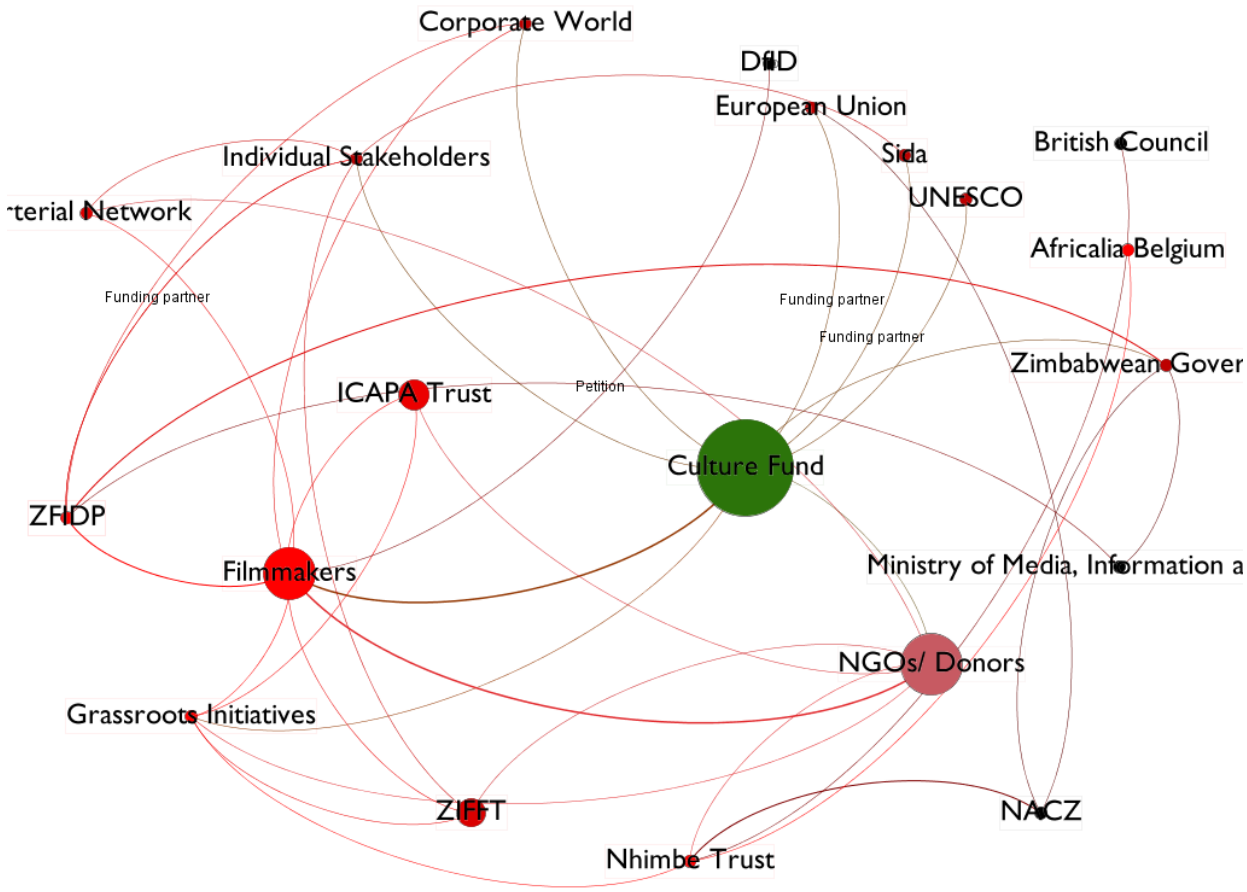

Figure 2: Simple visualisation of key institutions and their relations within the film funding network. Green indicates a funding source, whereas red (left) roughly indicates recipients or those furthering the goal of receiving better funding. Purple (bottom right) indicates funding sources with mediatory roles.

current bridges and gaps in the network. Firstly, a relatively simple representation (Fig. 2) of the relationships between key institutions as mentioned in 2.1 is presented. The thickness of the connections indicates the strength of the link based on the information I managed to gather, whereas the size of the node correlates to the relative importance and concentration of interactions within the film funding network. Fig. 2 emphasises how dire the film funding situation is in Zimbabwe, with a small choice between the Culture Fund and donor funding. The ZFIDP is an important initiative and has, among other things, engaged the government via a petition to the Ministry of Media, Information and Broadcasting Services (Kachiko 2017; Mutambira 2018). It is a key actant at the moment, as it is successfully enrolling other actants such as the government and filmmakers to work towards a common goal: reinvigorating the film industry (Mutambira 2018).

Such an alignment of agendas both requires and triggers the translation of knowledge (industry knowledge, policy) and resources (time, money) into meaningful action. The fact that that the network's institutional core is small has both benefits and disadvantages. On the positive side, a small network usually means greater ease and efficiency of communication, which means successful translation of knowledge. On the negative side, this means that the resource pool is smaller for everyone, and that institutional shortcomings are magnified due to lack of actors in the network to pick up the slack.

Figure 3 below adds more actants to the visualisation as based on the rest of the information found. There is no hierarchy, just concentrations of power in certain nodes. The visualisation provides an overview of human and non-human actants and how they are linked. The true extent and impact of the action of some of the actants cannot be fully known (such as government corruption). The role of non-human actants such as the economy or communication infrastructure is recognised and cannot be underestimated.

The proliferation of foreign players such as the British Council, Africalia Belgium and Sida in the film funding network is also emphasised. Losing any of them would have major

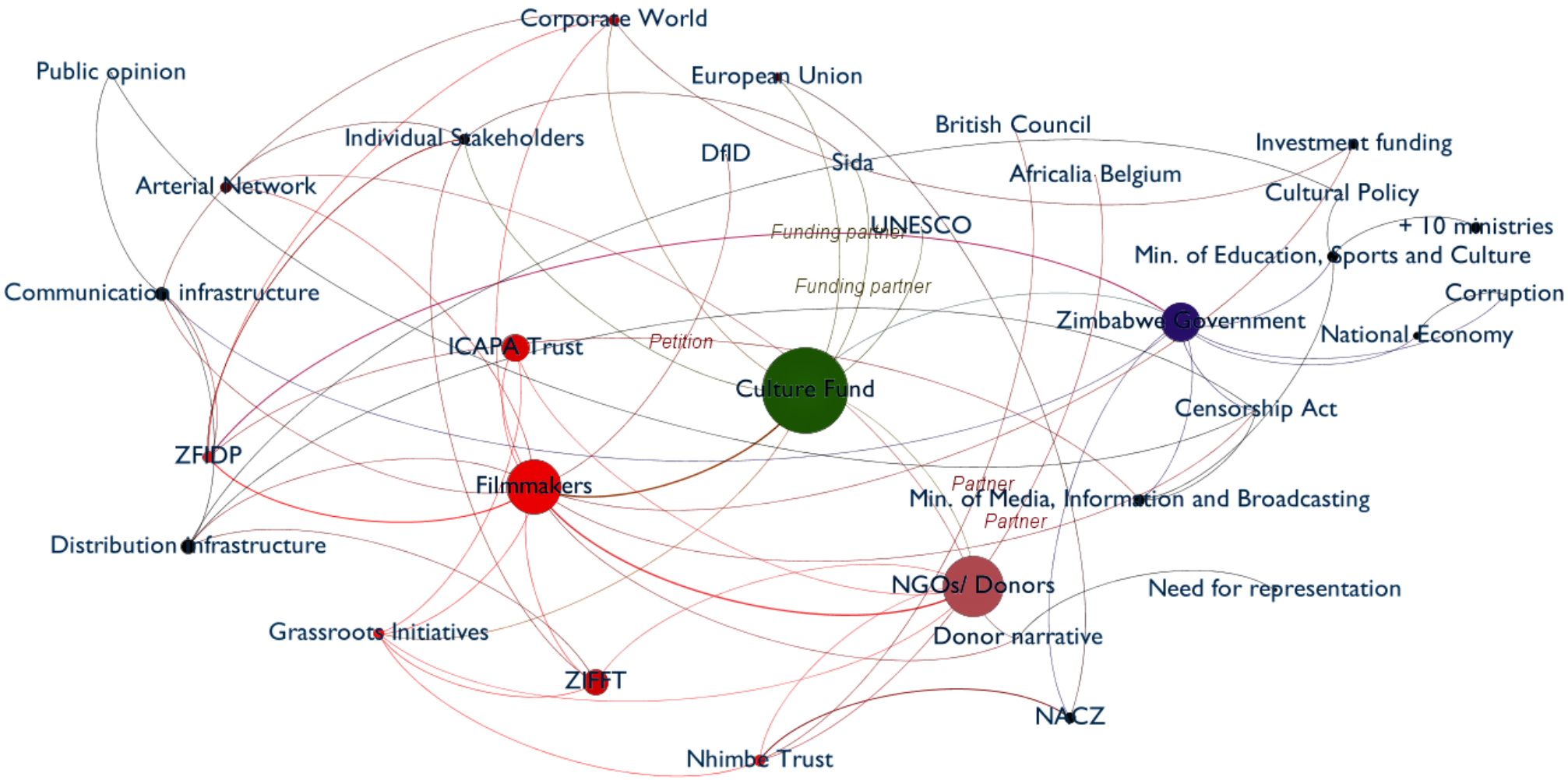

Figure 3: Full film funding network based on all information gathered. As in Fig. 2, green indicates a funding source, whereas red (left) roughly indicates recipients or those furthering the goal of receiving better film funding. Purple (bottom right) indicates funding sources with mediatory roles. Blue (right) indicates a government actant.

repercussions on the industry, stressing the need for Zimbabwe-internal avenues of funding. In addition, the inter-connectedness of initiatives such as ZFIDP with both industry-internal and industry-external actants must be noted. It is currently one of the key aligning actants, mediating between other actants and triggering a series of translations which will crystallise in industry-transforming action. For example, the petition sent by ZFIDP to the Ministry of Media, Information and Broadcasting Services in late 2017 (Mutambira 2018) was a series of proposals to reinvigorate the industry. The petition, as it moved through the network, was translated as it was amended to reflect new insights and interacted with the actors who signed it. It is further translated as it interacts with government bodies, potentially being translated into policy.

As it stands, the film funding network could benefit from some simplification (through translation) regarding the government's involvement. There should be a focus on the Ministry of Education, Sports, Arts and Culture instead of involving eleven different ministries in total to deal with different aspects of arts and culture matters. The 2017 petition from ZFIDP, for example, was addressed to the secretary of the Ministry of Media, Information and Broadcasting Services, but also necessarily to representatives of the Ministry of Sport, Arts and Recreation as well as the Ministry of Home Affairs and Culture (Mutambira 2018). It appears the ministries have recently been reshuffled yet again, which creates unnecessary confusion regarding realms of responsibility for those not directly involved in government affairs.

I find that key initiatives and organisations such as the ICAPA and Nhimbe Trusts and ZFIDP are already well-established and must be supported in any way possible in their undertakings. Such 'hubs' of communication bring together players from all fields of the industry and allow for new cooperation and idea exchange. I believe this is vital to encouraging an organic, unforced growth of the industry, and that the importance of such mediating organisations should not be underestimated.

6.3 Policy strategy recommendations

The previous chapters have highlighted several issues which hinder the advancement of the Zimbabwean film industry: a poor economy, the paucity of data on the industry, and poor implementation of policies, prohibitive taxes and procedures, as well as more industry-specific issues such as lack of varied broadcasters, lack of a local film market, and issues with formal distribution. These are in turn compounded by government corruption and censorship, which create hurdles in an already burdened system. Having taken all of this into account, I will present my policy strategy recommendations for the Zimbabwean government in this section.

It has been firmly established that the state of the national economy currently still hinders commercial endeavours, particularly ones requiring high-level investment and coordination such as the production of films. As such, the government cannot reasonably be expected to divert more financial resources towards the arts and culture sector. However, as the responses from filmmakers make clear, there are a number of other ways the government can support the film industry. Based on the findings of this thesis, my recommendations are as follows:

1. Establish a film commission as requested by ZFIDP, to administer a fund and help maintain archives (Kachiko 2017) while promoting co-production and other growth and skills-exchange initiatives. The fund could function in a traditional sense, relying on partners in government or abroad; but it could perhaps take a new approach, facilitating private investment instead, be it from individual or corporate sponsors.
2. Engage and develop close ties with the Zimbabwe Film Industry Development Platform (ZFIDP). This will allow for a focused, prioritised tackling of problems by taking advantage of ZFIDP's alignment capabilities and high industry engagement.
3. Allow the local film market to grow by encouraging the establishment of private broadcasters, thereby finally ending the state broadcasting monopoly.
4. Streamline the governmental structures responsible for arts and culture activities by concentrating the administrative responsibilities within the Ministry of Arts and Culture.

Issues which also concern another ministry should be approached by an arts and culture ministry representative and a liaison from the other ministry.

5. Simplify bureaucratic processes related to establishing production houses and receiving permits.
6. Issue tax waivers for expensive film equipment.
7. Promote co-production agreements with other countries, particularly on the African continent.
8. Provide incentives for businesses to support local projects in unrelated sectors, financially or otherwise. This can provide new opportunities for investment or funding, and be mutually beneficial.
9. Create a platform for intra- and inter-industry knowledge exchange and collaboration to open up new avenues for investment funding.
10. Reduce Zimbabwe Revenue Authority fees as well as Media Commission fees.
11. Establish legal mechanisms to allow corruption to be targeted on every level. Given how rampant corruption is in Zimbabwe this seems like an impossible task, but it is key to ensuring that any eventual funds reach their intended destination.

These recommendations address the role of grassroots organisations such as ZFIDP, establishment of a local market, improvement of government structures, reduction of government corruption and the efficiency of bureaucratic processes. They highlight the need for co-production agreements which widen the available resources and encourage knowledge exchange; the need for incentives to encourage inter-industry cooperation, and lastly, the need for tax waivers and incentives to allow filmmakers the chance to bring in specialised equipment. Having considered all data gathered, I believe that these are not unrealistic goals for the government to achieve. However, a willingness to engage must be there, and communication is

key. The 2018 general election results indicate the old party will maintain its grip[13], rather than herald a new government bringing in 'new blood'. It is of course too early to say whether things will be different under the rule of the new president, but the fact is that the old party, ZANU-PF, remains in power. This likely means that its mechanisms and structures of influence which have hindered progress for so long are still in place and will remain alive and well.

In any case, I am certain a number of these recommendations can be implemented if ZFIDP maintains pressure on the government. Especially if those government officials who have shown interest before in film and other arts and culture sectors now also use their positions to advocate for these changes. Some recommendations, such as the second one, which requires the freeing of the broadcasting landscape, will be more difficult to achieve than others. At the same time, the progress of change cannot be outrun. I believe that eventually the need to step into the 21st century and have more than one television channel will outweigh the benefits of having a single state propaganda tool.

[13] At the time of writing, the results had just been released:
Ray Ndlovu, "Zanu-PF's Emmerson Mnangagwa wins Zimbabwe election". *TimesLive*, 03 August 2018.
https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/africa/2018-08-02-zanu-pfs-emmerson-mnangagwa-wins-zimbabwe-election/

7. Conclusion

The research yielded many key findings concerning the state of film funding itself, the efforts and shortcomings of government over the past two decades or so, and any industry-external factors which have bearing on any efforts to overhaul the film funding infrastructure. I am confident that all four research sub-questions have been addressed. These were, as stated in the first chapter:

i. How has Zimbabwean film funding functioned until now?
ii. How is the current film funding network to be understood – who or what are its actants, how do these interact, where are there gaps?
iii. What role has the government played in film funding, and what policies are or were in place to facilitate governmental film funding?
iv. What recommendations can Zimbabwean filmmakers make for film funding?

Sub-question (i) was addressed in chapters 1, 3 and 5, which all provided insight into the funding options available, institutions involved, as well as the benefits and pitfalls of certain sources. Answers to question (ii) were provided in chapters 3, 4 and 6, while the visualisation of this data in section 6.2 provided an overview. Question (iii) was addressed in section 1.1 of chapter 1, supported by more background information, evaluation and analysis in chapter 4. The final sub-question, (iv), was partially answered in the fifth chapter and fully addressed in section 6.1 of chapter 6.

The bottom line is that film funding in Zimbabwe is tough - there are too few options, and the few options that are available are not ideal. The Culture Fund is in high demand, already stretched thin, and cannot provide for everyone. Filmmakers can only rely on private funding, the majority of which is currently from outside Zimbabwe. This, as in the case of the donor funds which rose to prominence in the 90s, comes with a set of problems regarding adequate representation and creative autonomy. This lack of options has been demoralising for the industry, although it has continued to drive itself forward, finding new avenues of funding such as corporate sponsorship and investment funding.

Initiatives such as ZFIDP demonstrate an industry drive towards self-determination that cannot easily be stopped. ZFIDP's petition calling for the establishment of a film commission, for example, is an industry-driven answer to the calls for dedicated film funding sourced from inside Zimbabwe. There are multiple film industry organisations engaging the government in their work, a collaboration which must be recognised and acknowledged, even if more could be done on the part of the government.

The government, which has seen much political strife in past years, has shown some interest in 'jump-starting' the cultural/creative industries. The failed 2007 cultural policy indicates extensive research was done. Issues facing the various arts and culture sectors were thoroughly investigated and grievances represented. The revised version of the policy paper from 2015 adopts a broader approach than the 2007 document. The 2015 policy paper acknowledges the crucial role arts and culture play in promoting national identity, but the policies are less specific and the effectiveness of their implementation has yet to be determined. As with the implementation of the 2007 policies, the coordination of activities across multiple ministries may prove to be an insurmountable hurdle. The general delegation of arts and culture duties across eleven ministries is not only inefficient when it comes to disseminating information, it also undermines the activities of parastatals such as the National Arts Council of Zimbabwe (NACZ). These government-adjacent bodies would benefit from a more centralised approach. Among other things, it would mean more governmental 'weight' behind their industry activities.

The government or ruling party's attitude towards film and other media has been highly problematic. Besides acts of censorship and the distribution of propaganda, the state has effectively been enjoying a broadcasting monopoly instead of growing the market. What little does get produced with government support sometimes does not even reach the air. Public perception of the film industry is also key to its development – it remains underdeveloped because people, especially investors, currently do not see any advantage in funding film. Finding ways to challenge such perceptions can mean new avenues of investment funding may open for

filmmakers.

Filmmakers have had to remain resourceful in order to avoid donor funds, leading some to try out novel approaches. An example is Brickhill's mention of multi-project funding by a large international production company (141), with all parties counting on the fact that at least some of the projects can then go on to enjoy commercial success. Such experimentation is essential if a way of funding that really works in a Zimbabwean setting is to be found. Corporate sponsors are another relatively new addition to the scene, with some having been willing to sponsor recent projects. Such endeavours should be encouraged by both the government and the public. Ultimately, the source of the funding for Zimbabwean films should come from Zimbabwean sources. This is, of course, partially because of the aversion to and issues with donor funding. However, it is also because in the long run, a domestic funding infrastructure must be established for film funding to be sustainable and contribute to real economic growth in the country.

I believe the policy recommendations drawn from this thesis research reflect all of these findings and limitations. As a reminder, here are the recommendations, grouped according to their main area of concern:

Concerning grassroots initiatives

1. Establish a film commission as requested by ZFIDP, to administer a fund and help maintain archives (Kachiko 2017) while promoting co-production and other growth and skills-exchange initiatives. The fund could function in a traditional sense, relying on partners in government or abroad; but it could perhaps take a new approach, facilitating private investment instead, be it from individual or corporate sponsors.
2. Engage and develop close ties with the Zimbabwe Film Industry Development Platform (ZFIDP). This will allow for a focused, prioritised tackling of problems by taking advantage of ZFIDP's alignment capabilities and high industry engagement.

Concerning market growth

3. Allow the local film market to grow by encouraging the establishment of private broadcasters, thereby finally ending the state broadcasting monopoly.
4. Provide incentives for businesses to support local projects in unrelated sectors, financially or otherwise. This can provide new opportunities for investment or funding, and be mutually beneficial.

Concerning improving efficiency of government processes

5. Streamline the governmental structures responsible for arts and culture activities by concentrating the administrative responsibilities within the Ministry of Arts and Culture. Issues which also concern another ministry should be approached by an arts and culture ministry representative and a liaison from the other ministry.
6. Simplify bureaucratic processes related to establishing production houses and receiving permits.
7. Reduce Zimbabwe Revenue Authority fees as well as Media Commission fees.
8. Establish legal mechanisms to allow corruption and nepotism to be targeted on every level. Given how rampant corruption is in Zimbabwe this seems like an impossible task, but it is key to ensuring that any eventual funds reach their intended destination.

Concerning film industry growth and professionalisation

9. Issue tax waivers for expensive film equipment.
10. Promote co-production agreements with other countries, particularly on the African continent.
11. Create a platform for intra- and inter-industry knowledge exchange and collaboration to open up new avenues for investment funding.

These recommendations are by no means exhaustive, and are intended to be taken as suggestions and a basis for further discussion. However, I do believe that they fully meet the requirements initially set out by the research question, namely that the policies should aim to result in a flexible funding infrastructure that takes the political, economic and cultural circumstances of the country into consideration.

Firstly, the recommendations are measures which are focused on changes that, once established, provide a framework of communication which is flexible and non-dependent on any single actant. Such goals include long-term change in the nature of government-industry interaction (recommendation 2), the promotion of initiatives or causes beneficial to the industry (4; 10), and the establishment of a platform for knowledge exchange and collaboration (11). These are steps which will facilitate many of the interactions that are missing from the film funding network right now, resulting in its lack of progress in terms of funding and other areas affecting the film industry at large. The streamlining of government structures and intensified engagement with ZFIDP, for example, means more efficient collaboration and communication. Issues can be dealt with as they arise and solutions which do not work for one side or the other can be put aside more quickly, replaced by ideas which work for all parties. The promotion of co-production agreements is another key to a flexible film funding infrastructure. With such agreements in place, filmmakers can share the risk of their projects and try out different partnerships and collaborations. The point is to provide mechanisms in the infrastructure which allow for other sources and new approaches, but without trying to lock the filmmakers into a particular pattern of action.

Secondly, the recommendations do not ask that the government direct its own funds towards the industry, being mindful of the poor economic circumstances, but rather encourage alternative forms of funding such as investment funding. The recommendations also reflect an awareness of political circumstances, acknowledging that streamlining government structures is a much more realistic goal than targeting government corruption which has been entrenched in the

government for decades. Still, however low the chance of aspects such as this corruption changing for the better may be, I believe it is necessary to continue to demand better of the Zimbabwean government. Especially regarding issues such as corruption, which impact every aspect of daily life in the country, there should be no complacency merely because the task ahead is difficult.

Of course, merely suggesting policy changes is easier than making them a reality, but I do believe that with the help of grassroots organisations such as the ZFIDP and others, as well as a simplification of the government administration of arts and culture, that many of these policy recommendations can soon be made a reality.

Naturally, there were many limits on the scope of this thesis. It was conducted by one student, without extensive experience in either the film industry or government, in Europe instead of Africa. While the questionnaire responses yielded many important insights, for example, direct input from more filmmakers through interviews or questionnaires could have yielded different insights and more data for comparison. More qualitative research on new ways of funding drawing on these insights could have yielded more specific policy recommendations on how to support such new ways of funding.

Direct access to local archival data may have also provided unexpected insights. In terms of finding ways to improve access to funding, I believe a comprehensive study on internet availability and usage may reveal new options for both funding (crowdfunding, for example) and for distribution of films. Despite Witzgall's assertion that there are no online opportunities (019), I believe that there will be in the foreseeable future. As noted by the Arterial Network, "internet access and use has expanded rapidly in recent years. Internet content is rarely blocked or filtered, very important as the internet is increasingly vital in promoting the arts" (2014), and some recent indicators show internet usage is still growing in Zimbabwe (Karombo 2017; 2018).

However, the quality of research also depends on the amount and quality of information available. Comprehensive industry statistics must be compiled on at least an annual basis, for

example by ZIMSTAT. Not only would this provide a reliable starting point for further scholarly research, this would also allow for the tracking of industry progress and more timely identification of any policy pitfalls.

Ultimately, even with the limitations of this research, I believe that this thesis can contribute to bringing about real collaboration between the Zimbabwean government and the film sector, as well as the stimulation of more research by both independent and institutional researchers. Maybe ten years on from a random thought in 2008 about the fate of the industry, there will finally be concerted efforts elevate the Zimbabwean film industry to where the world can see and appreciate the stories it brings to life.

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Appendix A

Glossary ot Key Terms

Actor/Actant A cornerstone of Actor-Network-Theory. Actors or actants generate the network through their interaction and association. These actants can be human or non-human, animate or inanimate, as long as they have an effect on the network. Actor and actant will be used interchangeably, but 'actant' will be favoured to avoid the direct association to actors in a professional theatre and film sense.

Actor-Network The actor-network is, as its name suggests, a network comprising of actors or actants as previously defined. The 'network' component is what requires definition in this case – like all networks, its essence is the 'web' of interconnected elements. Unlike technical networks, however, there are no predetermined positions within the links of the actor-network (Latour, *On Recalling ANT*: 2). Furthermore, actors are not locked into place and the entire network is constantly being constructed and re-constructed by interactions between its actants. Latour notes that the "technical network in the engineer's sense is only one of the possible final and stabilized state of an actor-network" (*ibid.*), emphasising the myriad configurations the actor-network generates.

Alignment This refers to the extent to which actants occupy the same area and have had similar experiences, or as "the degree to which networks are defined by a common history and a shared space" (Crawford 2).

Coordination This refers to the "adoption of convention, codification, and translation regiments" (Crawford 2), so the extent to which actants begin to act in accordance with a common agenda and established strategies to achieve the aims of said agenda.

Convergence Can roughly be described as the extent to which actants in the network are in agreement or are harmonised. A network which shows high convergence, then, is one which demonstrates both close alignment and high coordination (Crawford 2).

Film What exactly counts as a 'film' is particularly relevant to a nascent film industry like that in Zimbabwe: "a story or event recorded by a camera as a series of moving images and shown in a cinema or on television" (Stevenson 531). The first part of the definition is unproblematic enough, but the second half presents a few problems. Stipulating that the showing of the film in a cinema or on television is part of what makes a film what it is, assumes robust and well-established distribution channels and automatically excludes a significant portion of films in the process.

Part of the reason why distribution is specified is because official statistical film outputs are usually measured this way. This presented an interesting situation for Nigeria's National Film and Video Censors Board (NFVCB), which decided to include films which were not shown in cinemas (Bud 92), namely the vast numbers of informally distributed video films that make up the majority of Nollywood. This caused a number of issues as their film production statistics were no longer comparable with those of countries with traditional formal distribution

such as Britain (*ibid.*). This is relevant because of the comparable rise of video films in Zimbabwe which came with the more accessible digital video format. A significant number of productions would necessarily be excluded by adhering to the formal distribution requirement. Nollywood is evidence that these films are popular and lucrative, so they should not be discredited or overlooked.

At the same time, Bud notes that accepting this lack of distinction means "straight-to-video films should be included in the figures for all countries, and possibly made-for-television movies, as well as films created for online distribution" (*ibid.*). For the sake of comparability of statistics this may be the case, but the focus of this thesis is on the Zimbabwean film funding situation. All talented filmmakers should be able to benefit from funds, and that is why the employed definition of film will include those not shown in cinemas or on television. For the purposes of this paper, 'film' refers to a scripted audio-visual story recorded by a camera as a series of moving images. This does mean that everything made in this medium is a film, but it would not follow that all projects would be eligible for funding as there would be additional criteria taken into consideration.

Grassroots initiatives or organisations

These are initiatives started by people in the industry who saw a gap or issue that needed fixing, generally with no expectation of financial gain. Radu and Radišić provide a useful and concise definition: "grassroots organizations are defined as 'self-organized groups of individuals pursuing common interests through volunteer-based, non-profit organizations, that usually have a low degree of formality but a broader purpose than issue-based self-help groups, community-based organizations or neighbourhood associations" (7).

Translation

The final term which I believe requires clarification is another ANT-related one. It has to do with the transfer of knowledge (or other actants) from one actor to another, which alters or adapts the knowledge. To put it differently, one can understand translation as "transport with deformation" (Crawford 2), which is in opposition to diffusion, or "transfer without distortion" (*ibid.*). John Law describes the translation of an object that was "passed from hand to hand" (4) – in this case a machine. The machine was well-suited to its original environment but needed to be adapted (by other actors in the network) to a new set of circumstances. Through a series of negotiations between actors this adaptation was achieved and the object was translated. The previously defined notions of alignment, coordination and convergence are linked directly to the process of translation – successful translation can involve transformation and simplification of a network, which would result in high convergence. The translation of several actors into one node (such as that of a dispersed group into an initiative) requires efficient coordination, which in turn is based on high levels of alignment. All of these terms are useful concepts in understanding and tracing the dynamics of the network.

Appendix B

Questionnaire distributed via e-mail to 23 Zimbabwean Filmmakers

RE: Film Funding in Zimbabwe – Research on Possibilities for Reform

Dear [name],

Film funding in Zimbabwe is an issue of vital importance to the film industry, and I am interested to know what your experiences with film funding have been in the course of your career. Surprisingly, little to no research has been done on how to stimulate and improve film funding in Zimbabwe, and on what role the government could play in achieving that. I am a fellow Zimbabwean, currently completing a master's degree in Creative Industries at Radboud University in the city of Nijmegen, the Netherlands. This research on film funding in Zimbabwe is the focus of my master's thesis.

Your input as a filmmaker who has dealt with finding funding first hand is highly valuable and will be included in research directly relevant to the future of the industry.

For this purpose, I kindly ask you to take just 3-5 minutes of your time to answer the following questions:

1. How has your filmmaking practice benefited from private and public funding sources so far? Have there been any gaps in the process of finding sources or applying for and acquiring funds?
2. How, if at all, do you think the government of Zimbabwe should support filmmakers in the process of finding funding?
3. Do you have any other recommendations as to how Zimbabwean filmmakers' access to funds can be improved?

Your responses may be as long or short as you feel comfortable with, and of course more detailed responses are much appreciated. Please respond before Friday, the 4th of May 2018 to allow adequate time for processing.

Please note that your participation in this study is completely voluntary and that if you do participate, you can still retract your answers at any time. If you wish to remain anonymous, please state this clearly and your responses will be anonymised.

If you are interested, once the thesis is complete I can send a copy to you.

Thank you very much for your time!

Kind regards,

Melissa Bongai Kohlmann

Appendix C

Coding tree used to code questionnaire data

Thematic Category	Code	
1. RECOMMENDATION	Filmmakers Government Personal: preference	
2. NON-GOVERNMENTAL FUNDING	Donor; Private sector; Self-funding;	Motivation; Disadvantage;
3. GOVERNMENT	Policy (formal/informal); Corruption; Motivation;	Support; Other role
4. ECONOMY	State; Sustainability;	Benefit; Market;
5. INDUSTRY	Distribution (formal/informal); Resourcefulness; Perception (of the industry); Connectedness;	Development; Initiatives; Communication Quality/popularity
6. DIFFICULTY	General; Main; Failed attempts;	Mismanagement; Lack; Hindrance
7. OPPORTUNITIES	Alleviation; New approach; Co-production;	Product placement; Global; Local
8. BACKGROUND (Professional)	Projects; Experience;	Motivation; Observation

Appendix D

Overview of Questionnaire Responses from Zimbabwean Filmmakers (Coded)

Response 1: Eric Witzgall, Creative Producer at MMX Productions (Harare), 19th of April 2018

1. How has your filmmaking practice benefited from private and public funding sources so far? Have there been any gaps in the process of finding sources or applying for and acquiring funds?	
Funding for film whether private or government is basically non-existent. There have been attempts by the Culture Fund at some point, but as far as I know this has not led to any films. The NGO sector is funding some films, but only if they are heavily biased towards the message of the organisation and the private sector sees no advantage in funding film – also the private sector is burdened with the general economic hardship of the country.	001 General 002 Failed attempts 003 Donor 004 Donor 005 Alleviation 006 DF motivation 007 Private sector 008 Perception 009 Private sector 010 state
2. How, if at all, do you think the government of Zimbabwe should support filmmakers in the process of finding funding?	
I think that government needs to open the media landscape by allowing more TV stations to air. There is no point in funding films as long as they are not being seen anywhere, so I think the real problem is not funding as such, but lack of market for films. DVD market is controlled by pirates, there are no TV stations to air films, at least not stations that actually pay for it, and there are no online opportunities with high data costs and low accessibility. Rather than looking at funding, Government should look at the entire picture of the benefits of a working film and TV industry by making it easier to make films and to open up markets to show them.	011 government 012 Other role 013 Distribution 014 Motivation 015 Hindrance 016 Distribution 017 Market 018 Dist. 019 Lack 020 Hindrance 021 Policy 022 Benefit 023 government 024 Market 025 Distribution 026 Hindrance

Film is expensive, and in order to make it sustainable, film needs to have outlets to sell in order to produce more and in order for the filmmakers to improve their skills.	027 Sustainability 028 Distribution 029 Development
3. Do you have any other recommendations as to how Zimbabwean filmmakers' access to funds can be improved?	
I think it would be necessary to look for funding on international platforms and to try to get co-productions going. But there are only very few filmmakers that are good enough to meet the quality levels required. I think Zimbabwean filmmakers need to try to develop markets for their films locally first – once they can attract viewership, private funding will come and quality will improve. Government needs to improve the overall economic situation first, before it can afford to look into funding for films, I think, so for now one should not look at government, but private players.	030 Filmmakers 031 Global 032 Co-production 033 Development 034 Quality 035 Filmmakers 036 Market 037 Local 038 Market 039 Private sector 040 Quality 041 Other role 042 State 043 Filmmakers 044 Support 045 Private sector

Response 2: Tomas Brickhill, Director (CP Cook Off – The Movie), 19th of April 2018

1. How has your filmmaking practice benefited from private and public funding sources so far? Have there been any gaps in the process of finding sources or applying for and acquiring funds?	
Whilst I have worked on filming jobs that have benefited from 'NGO funding' (promo videos, short documentaries and video documentation of meetings, discussions etc), I personally tend to focus on commercial film making. I have worked on music videos, adverts, tv shows and 2 feature films here in Zimbabwe (I did work extensively in London before I returned to Zim). Of these, only the TV shows* had what you might consider 'funding' - 'In My Shoes' is a low budget documentary TV show for ZBC financed by BAZ (Broadcasting Association of Zimbabwe), I only worked on 2 episodes because the schedule was frequently revised due to BAZ delaying funds and/or changing prospective broadcast dates. BAZ provided fuel monies, cameras/equipment and crew payment (about 30% of normal daily rate but we did it because we wanted to support the project). To date I am not aware of this show having actually been screened yet.	046 Donor 047 projects 048 Support 049 Failed attempts 050 Support 051 Lack 052 Motivation 053 Failed attempts *why only TV?
The other show is Battle of The Chefs, a local reality TV cooking show. This show was sponsored by TM Pick'n'Pay for the two seasons I worked on it and was broadcast on ZBC and uploaded to YouTube. There were also additional corporate sponsors, however in spite of this being one of the highest rated shows on TV, the producers are still struggling to secure a sponsor for further seasons. The problem here as I understand it, is that TM Pick'n'Pay do not feel that it is worth sponsoring further seasons although they were very happy with the show. This is due to the current economic climate in the country making it difficult to attract commercial sponsors even to high	054 Projects 055 Private sector 056 Distribution 057 Support 058 Global 059 Private sector 060 Quality 061 Lack 062 Private sector 063 Main 064 Quality 065 State

profile popular shows. ZBC have a long history of not paying or paying very little for TV shows and so producing something on commission for the channel is not really a viable option. The top-rated show on TV currently is a soap called *Wenera* which receives only about $1800/episode (I'm not directly involved so I don't know the exact figure), but the only way the show continues is because a very resourceful producer has the entire set, accommodation for cast and crew, and post production located at his house to cut costs.	066 Main 067 Private sector 068 Quality 069 Support 070 Lack 071 Quality 072 Resourcefulness
The first feature film I worked on as Cinematographer was sponsored by a startup creative arts college Global Academy (which has since closed down). The film is called Dust & Fortunes and has been uploaded to YouTube although it was never distributed. The college paid for the production hoping to use it to entice new students but unrelated financial issues with the college's main benefactor lead to the college being closed before the film was distributed. Personally, I believe this film could easily have recouped its budget had it been distributed locally on DVD as per the original plan.	073 experience 074 Private sector 075 Projects 076 Inf. Distribution 077 Global 078 Motivation 079 Failed attempt 080 Benefit (?) 081 Distribution 082 Local
The second film I worked on is my writing and directing debut feature 'Cook Off'. This film was entirely funded by private investors (6 in total who collectively invested $7,000), and a product placement deal with Dr Trouble chilli sauce which brought in an additional $1000. Worth noting that the cast and crew worked on deferred payment contracts so the actual budget of the film is just under $50,000 - we were only able to entice them because of a decent script and the fact that no one had any other paid work as the film industry is so depressed at the moment.	083 Projects 084 Private sector 085 Product placement 086 Private sector 087 Experience 088 Motivation 089 Perception
Whilst I did apply for a couple of film funds, I was actually deliberately avoiding making a 'donor funded' film and trying to instead woo 'investment funding' because I personally view this as imperative to establishing a viable and sustainable film	090 Experience (F) 091 Motivation (F) 092 Donor 093 Private sector

industry in the country. In the last 10 years I know of donor funded features made with comparable budgets which have never 'made' any money, mainly I believe, because removing the financial pressure to make a 'commercially successful' film detracted from the final product of those projects. As much as I do consider myself an 'artist' within the filmmaking discipline, I believe that writers, directors and producers must have some financial pressure to balance the artistic choices made in order to lead us to a situation where there is a viable commercially sustainable film industry in the country. Of course, if the intention is to recoup the budget from local distribution (which I believe it must be), that limits us to budgets which would be considered low or micro in the US or Europe, but making a handful of $50,000-$100,000 films per year seems like a realistic and attainable goal for our industry in the present economic climate and we can always look to bigger budgets for films marketed to a wider Southern African or Pan-African audience once the local Zimbabwean audience is established.	094 Personal pref. 095 Sustainability 096 Experience 097 Donor 098 Benefit (?) 099 Disadvantage 100 Quality 101 Motivation 102 Filmmakers 103 Sustainability 104 Benefit 105 Distribution 106 Pers. 107 Hindrance 108 Filmmakers 109 State 110 Filmmakers
2. How, if at all, do you think the government of Zimbabwe should support filmmakers in the process of finding funding?	
OK realistically here. The main way we would want support at the moment is through policies to encourage Co-production agreements with other countries. This works in SA, in Brazil, etc where filmmakers are able to attract funds from Europe or Asia by co-producing their movies with partners from those countries. Obviously, it would be great to actually have funding locally to support less commercial films but I can't foresee a situation in the short term where such funds are not either	111 Main 112 Supp. & Policy 113 Co-production 114 Global 115 Co-production 116 Local 117 Development 118 Benefit

plundered or misused resulting in zero gain to the actual film makers in need of support. The only film I am aware of having been funded by government in Zimbabwe is their troubled 'Chinoyi 7' project which was funded by ministry of defence [with a budget of $400 000 according to rumour] although I have not heard the official budget. The trailers for the film look like a very badly executed project and I doubt this will inspire the government to throw more money at films directly any time soon, hence my thinking that lobbying around tax incentives, international co-production agreements and other things like waivers on tax for professional film gear are the best we can hope for, for now. It may be of interest that as I understand it, the government of Zimbabwe did dabble in film investment in the 80's and put money into Attenborough's 'Cry Freedom' Steve Biko film. Allegedly they were sold on the idea that this would be a money-making blockbuster, and although the film was well received, it never turned into the 'money-spinner' they were expecting and took longer than expected to recoup its budget.	119 Observation 120 Main 121 Development 122 Observation 123 Support 124 Quality 125 Policy 126 All 127 Support (F) 128 Project 129 Motivation 130 Benefit 131 Quality 132 Failed attempt 133 Benefit 134 Motivation
3. Do you have any other recommendations as to how Zimbabwean filmmakers' access to funds can be improved?	
This is a difficult one. As is probably clear from my previous responses, I'm not a fan of 'donor funds'. However, this means we need to attract a lot more investment funding in order to get films made. I don't really see a way to do this without first showing that we have the talent to produce commercially successful films. Some ideas I have heard tabled include approaching a large international production company to 'gamble' on a slate of locally produced films by various directors. The idea was basically if 10 different directors each had to work with a budget of $50,000 to produce a film, it is more likely that	135 Experience 136 Donor 137 Private sector 138 Development 139 Filmmakers 140 Benefit 141 Global 142 New approach 143 Benefit

at least one of these projects would be a success and that $5 million is the kind of monies that one of those studios would usually be happy to 'gamble' on a non-commercial art house project at home.	144 Observation 145 Experience
Obviously there are other factors... when I was at film school the first thing I learnt was that the 3 most important things to consider before even starting on a project were 1. The script, 2. The script, and 3. The script! Whilst we have a wealth of stories and raw story telling talent in Zimbabwe, we need to accept that there are very few instant genius film makers, and writing and directing are skills that are acquired after years of practice. My 'debut' feature has so far been accepted to IFFR (Rotterdam) and SIFF (Seattle), but the script is my 3rd feature script I have written and was on draft 7 and had taken 18 months to be written by the time we commenced production. Furthermore, although this was my first outing as director of a feature, I have directed various shorts, music videos, and TV shows over the last 10 years and prior to directing was already an accomplished DoP/camera person/editor/sound recordist.	146 Observation 147 Development 148 Project 149 Global 150 Experience 151 Project
My point is that simply throwing money at it will not solve the problem. We recently had a massive inter-industry argument on Facebook in Zim when it transpired that 'funding' for promoting film making had been given to former street vendors after a 1-day crash course in film making in spite of several aspiring film makers and film school graduates already being in the country without funding to realise their projects.	152 All 153 Connectedness 154 Communication 155 Mismanagement 156 Observation
Of course, modern digital technology has made filmmaking more accessible but a cheap digital camera and some edit software are no substitute for 'learning the craft' and we need at least some focus on that. I recently saw 'Supa Modo', the latest Kenyan film to be made under their mentorship partnering program with Germany and it really got me excited about this kind of idea. You may be aware of 'Nairobi Half Life' which I	157 Quality 158 Development 159 observation 160 Global 161 Development

believe was the beginning of the project, anyway the point is just to stress how much the skills are equally if not more important than money. I used to tell students when I taught film at Global Academy and UZ, 'you make your film on the latest camera and I will use a PD150 and I will still make a better film than you because my experience and knowledge of the craft of filmmaking is worth more than the difference in quality between the cameras.'	162 Experience 163 Quality 164 Development

Response 3: Olaf Koschke, Producer at Nyerai Films & Technical Director at Institute of Creative Arts for Progress in Africa (ICAPA) Trust, 26th of April 2018

1. How has your filmmaking practice benefited from private and public funding sources so far? Have there been any gaps in the process of finding sources or applying for and acquiring funds?	
Government (public) funding for independent filmmakers is and has been more or less non-existent, due to the fact that film is mainly seen by the ruling party as a propaganda tool, not a creative art, and is governed by the Ministry of Information and Media and not by the various forms of the Ministry of Arts and Culture. Therefore, only audiovisual media with content controlled or approved by this ministry is supported (via the state broadcaster, the broadcasting authority e.g.) and all other content is basically seen as unwanted.	165 Support (F) 166 Lack 167 Perception 168 Motivation 169 Policy 170 Support 171 Perception
Funding from outside the country via cultural or developmental NGOs or broadcasters is very rare as these funding applications compete with thousands of others from all over the world and the stagnating situation in Zimbabwe is for many not very interesting. The only substantial funding for high quality creative productions that we have experienced so far has come from the EU-ACP cultural funding initiatives. A few young filmmakers from an affluent or influential background have had access to some private funding or raised interest of some individuals in the development aid sector, but these films are often support for personal reasons and mostly of very poor quality and therefore not seen outside Zimbabwe.	172 Global 173 Donor/private 174 Lack 175 Main 176 Observation 177 Perception 178 Quality 179 Experience 180 Donor 181 Experience 182 Donor 183 Motivation/ dis 184 Quality 185 general

2. How, if at all, do you think the government of Zimbabwe should support filmmakers in the process of finding funding?	
I think the government of Zimbabwe should change the culture of relying on party affiliation and nepotism for any funding decisions or support in the creative arts. As long as film and media is not seen as a welcome form of creative expression, but a tool of propaganda or "telling the right stories", the film industry will not develop at all.	186 Government 187 Corruption 188 Support 189 Perception 190 Policy 191 Motivation 192 Development
3. Do you have any other recommendations as to how Zimbabwean filmmakers' access to funds can be improved?	
With the recent establishment of a real government- and party- independent filmmakers' organisation, the Zimbabwe Film Industry Development Platform (ZFIDP), attempts are made to curb the influence of the ministry of information and the further development of a media monopoly controlled by the ruling party and (recently by extent the military). This initiative might be able to put some political and public pressure on the government to ease the tight control on all media. to improve the working environment for filmmakers and might also encourage funding sources from outside to look into funding real creative skillful productions that could actually establish a professional film industry in Zimbabwe.	193 Connectedness 194 Communication 195 Initiatives 196 New approach 197 Corr. / Policy? 198 Initiatives 199 All 200 Policy 201 Alleviation 202 Development 203 Global 204 Quality 205 Perception/Development

Response 4: Carine Tredgold, Production Manager, Harare International Festival of the Arts (HIFA), 17th of May 2018*

1. How has your filmmaking practice benefited from private and public funding sources so far? Have there been any gaps in the process of finding sources or applying for and acquiring funds?	
My role as Production Designer has been possible over the years in most instances because the productions were financed from outside Zimbabwe.	206 Experience 207 Projects 208 Global/ (non-gvt.?)
2. How, if at all, do you think the government of Zimbabwe should support filmmakers in the process of finding funding?	
Prohibitive Media Commission and Zimra fees as well as long and cumbersome Ministry of Information application processes are a big deterrent to outside investors in the industry.	209 Hindrance 210 Policy 211 Government; pers.
3. Do you have any other recommendations as to how Zimbabwean filmmakers' access to funds can be improved?	
Sponsorship funding from local Corporates should be encouraged, tax incentives and ways to easily set up a production house base would go a long way in building our industry.	212 Private sector 213 All? 214 Market 215 Policy 216 Government; pers. 217 Development

Appendix E - Policy excerpts; relevant policy criticism

1. **Organogram depicting spread of arts and culture governance across ministries**
   Source: Mukanga-Majachani (5)