

Africa's Intangible Heritage and Land Emerging Perspectives

Edited by

**Ruby Magosvongwe, Obert Bernard Mlambo
and Eventhough Ndlovu**



**University of
Zimbabwe**

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Dedication

Zvavanhu/Ilifa lethu/ Our Heritage, is dedicated to all sons and daughters of the African continent and soil, and their kith and kin scattered to the four winds. We will always cherish who God made us to become.

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Best of all, all the contributors from University of Zimbabwe and beyond, your efforts and insights will go a long way in preserving and safeguarding Africa's intangible heritage. The Conference upon which this book project is founded would not have been such a resounding success without all the attendees and contributors.

Our special thanks also go to Mr Russell Kapumha for designing the front cover to this book.

Last, but not least, we also want to thank the sons and daughters of the family of humankind who will see it fit to include this book in their budgets, reading lists and schedules and drink copiously from its pages.

Foreword

This book, *Africa's Intangible Heritage and Land: Emerging Perspectives*, is a culmination of a resounding international conference running under the conference theme: "Africa's Intangible Heritage and Land: A Multidisciplinary Approach", that University of Zimbabwe hosted between 3rd and 5th August 2015. In pursuit of the University's grand mission of making meaningful contributions to sustainable development in Zimbabwe and beyond, the book chapters provide a platform for dialogue and the exchange of knowledge and experiences, especially pertaining to strategies that can be adopted to safeguard Africa's Intangible Heritage in line with the 2003 UNESCO ICH Convention. The book acknowledges that the most invaluable asset that Africa possesses which can make a striking contribution to Africa's, and indeed humankind's sustainable development is its intangible heritage premised on the ownership and profitable uses of her vast lands.

Africa's intangible heritage has interconnectedness with a myriad of opportunities, problems and prospects for the continent, making it a central and relevant part of discourses with an ever-increasing importance of research and information for the agenda and practice of sustainable development across the African continent and beyond. Intangible heritage constitutes a critical component of everyone's cultural, psycho-spiritual, and intellectual identities that help individuals to understand themselves and their world — its demands, expectations, pleasures and duties — and how to navigate responsibly within the same. Until and unless Africa and Africans begin to appreciate and embrace this inalienable natural right, Africa and Africans will continue playing second fiddle even on development and belongingness issues that directly affect them and their posterity. Africa cannot hope to achieve sustainable development without her peoples first understanding themselves, their environment and world, its demands as well as intra- and inter-relationships among themselves and beyond. All peoples of Africa on the mainland and the Diaspora should come together in Africa's struggles for critical self-knowledge and self-preservation. Without self-knowing, we are, but a soulless people, groping in the 'dark'. And ready prey for other cultures, we become.

The new millennium marks a new twist regarding contestations for hegemony and resources for sustainable human development sustenance, especially in the developing world, Africa and Zimbabwe included. Pursuit for wealth encapsulates the root of these hegemonic contestations. Wealth in the African worldview is generally multifaceted, embracing all the aspects — material, spiritual and intellectual — that give a holistic definition of wholesome existence. Our wealth/prosperity is therefore loaded with meaning, for ourselves first, and for those with whom we share this globe.

This is why it is critical that efforts for Africa's renaissance in the 21st Century should expand and extend to primarily recover and safeguard Africa's intangible cultural heritage. China and Japan today are some of the world's biggest economies, primarily because they capitalise on their intangible cultural heritage to believe in themselves first, understand their needs from their own cultural and developmental perspectives, and then invent to meet those needs. It is therefore anomalous and self-defeating to view intangible cultural heritage as disembodied from every day practicalities, mundane needs, and the ultimate destinies that people attain.

Intangible cultural heritage embraces not only identity, ingenuity, creativity, innovation, practice, as well as opportunities involving possible significant economic value, but also creates a certain emotion within us, because it makes us feel we belong to something — a country, a tradition, a way of life. Many expressions and manifestations of intangible heritage are under threat, endangered by globalisation and cultural homogenisation, and also by a lack of support, appreciation and understanding. Preserving this heritage and passing it on to future generations strengthens it, and keeps it alive while allowing for it to evolve in line with livelihoods demands and adapt. It is my firm belief that the dialogue accorded by this book will enhance synergies across disciplines in serving Africa and African communities for self-enhancement and attainment of dignified lives on the continent and the globe.

The judicious exploitation of the country's abundant human and natural resources can never fully materialise outside the Magna Carta of our intangible cultural heritage. To that end, contributors have noted, 'Africa's Intangible Heritage and Land' are integral to growth, survival and development of Africa and her peoples, now and in the future. More poignant is the fact that land and the intangible cultural heritages that play out on this very land, remains our most cherished asset. It is no wonder that Africa's intangible heritage and land have been discussed and infused into the chapters' head arguments: African Philosophy; Religion; Management of intangible heritage; Indigenous knowledge systems; Language and Heritage studies; Climate change and development; History; Economic History; Environmental Studies; Development Studies; Peace; Conflict and Strategic Studies; Policy and Development Studies; Education management; Health Sciences and Indigenous knowledge systems; Public Administration; Political Studies; Law; Land use and management and the politics of identity and belonging; Fine and Performing Arts; African Literature and Popular Literature and the theories that undergird these disciplines.

The book thus pools together, arguably a multiplicity of competences and proficiencies, to stimulate informed debate that will help pull our country and continent forward. It is my firm conviction that the great ideas generated in the respective chapters, if judiciously applied, will make a difference towards making the fortunes of our nation, continent and the globe. Africa's unconcealed triumphalism, her renewal, and proclamations of responsibility can only take root and come to fruition once intangible cultural heritage is seriously infused in all disciplines for greater and more holistic sustainable development.

blank

Prologue

African History: An Intangible Living Force

Vimbai G. Chivaura

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate that the view of history as “the past” as taught in schools and universities throughout Africa and the world, is not African. And it is false. The African worldview sees history as a living force which, like other arts, as p’ Bitek (1986: 46) says, is an integral part of culture carried, not in books, but inside the head, to enliven the entire body of the individual and society, in their everyday economic, social, political, religious and scientific endeavours, just to mention a few. Pan-African thinkers who corroborate this view both from a theoretical point-of-view and practical living experience will be cited in this chapter for the education of the reader. Among them are Dr Henrik Clarke, Okot p’Bitek, Mazisi Kunene and Kwame Nkrumah. The conclusions of this chapter will be by way of recommendations. An important one sourced from p’ Bitek (1986: 46) is that African intellectuals and historians must endeavour to turn their historical findings into a living force celebrated in the everyday lives of men and women in society. Otherwise their history findings will continue to exist as mere lifeless corpses in their books and journals in the graveyards called libraries.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

This discussion is motivated by the realization that those who lose their history, die. History is a current affair. What happened 500 years ago? It is a compass that people use to find themselves on the world geographical space. It tells them who they are, where they came from and where they must go, and what they still must become, as well as their potential as a people. If you don’t know your history, you don’t know who you are. You don’t know what you are. You don’t know where you are, and don’t know where to go.

The children of Murenga do not want to die. One way of dying is to treat each other as tribes, ethnic groups or strangers. Knowledge of history will therefore help save us from death by knowing how to spell our proper name as a people.

“What happened to the people of Sumer?” the old traveller asked. “For all the ancient records say they were an African people. What happened to them?”

“Ah!” the old man sighed, “They forgot their history, so they died.”

“Man know thy-self,” read a sign at the entrance to the Shrine of the Oracle of Delphi in ancient Greece.

All history is a current event. The past, present and future exist simultaneously in the eternal now or permanent present. The events that happened 5,000 years ago, five years ago, or five minutes ago have determined what will happen five minutes from now, five years from now or 5,000 years from now. All history is a current affair (Clarke, 1989: 5).

History is a clock that people use to tell their political and cultural time of day. It is also a compass that people use to find themselves on the map of human geography. The role of history is to tell a people what they have been, and where they have been, what they are and where they are. The most important role that history plays is that it has the function of telling a people where they still must go and what they still must be. That is what their potential is as people. If it fails to do so, it is useless (Clarke, 1989: 29-30).

The question, "Who am I?" cannot be answered in any meaningful way, unless the relationship in question is known. "I" is not only one relationship, but numerous relationships. "I" has a history, a clan, a shrine, a country, a job. "I" may or may not be married, may or may not have children. Is "I" a chief? Then he has subjects or followers, etc. Permanent bondage to one's culture, people and history seems to be man's fate (p' Bitek, 1986: 20).

Jean Jacques Rousseau (1762) was wrong when he said, "Man is born free." Man is not born free. But Rousseau was right when he added, "But everywhere is in chains." Man is not born free. He cannot be free. He is incapable of being free. For only by being in chains can he be and remain human. What constitutes these chains?

Man has a bundle of duties which are expected from him by society, as well as a bundle of rights and privileges that society owes him. Man cannot and must not be free. Son, mother, daughter, father, uncle, husband, wife, mother-in-law, King, Priest, and many other such terms are stamps of man's un-freedom and bondage. It is by such complex terms that a person is defined and identified. They order and determine human behaviour in society.

Permanent bondage seems to be man's fate. Because he cannot escape, he cannot be liberated, freed. The so-called outcast is not a free agent. Being cast out from society for a while does not sever the chains that bind a man to society. The act is a judgment, punishment and a lesson, not only for the victim, but for all members of the society. But the outcast, the refugee, the exile soon joins another society and becomes in a defined way, a member of that group.

Even the hermit, who pretends to withdraw to a solitary place for a life of religious seclusion, is not free. He peoples his cave, forest, mountaintop, oasis, riverside, or whatever abode, with ghosts and spirits, devils and angels, etc. And, as has been reported of one St. Francis of Assisi, these cowards, hermits, who exile themselves from human society, enter into communion with these non-existent, imagery creations as well as with Nature: birds, flowers, animals, reptiles, trees, fruits, rocks and rivers (p' Bitek, 1986: 19-21).

Ukatuka amai vangu, watuka ini/ If you curse my mother, you have also cursed me. If you don't know where the rain started to beat you, you don't know where to dry your body (Achebe, 1964: 157).

If I know who I am, I am free. Who I am today is a product of history.

You carry history with you like a tortoise carries its shell wherever it goes.

If you want to know who man is, just look at his arts, self-expression, pots, pans, houses, and songs as celebrations of his philosophy of creativity in harmony with his or her universe.

Because of the belief that man's achievement must be spent for the enrichment of the earth, the Zulu paradise is not in the sky, but in the underworld of the ancestors. Man must aspire to be united ultimately with the earth, not to be separated from it. While each individual as a spirit is freed from physical impediments, he or she must still continue to live within a world which enables them to play a full social life. This alone leads to true fulfilment.

This aspiration to unite with the earth differs radically from the religious beliefs of societies in which death is seen as a separation from the earth, and as leading to the fulfilment of the individual soul in a self-contained heaven. The emphasis of the Zulu belief is on the continuity of life. After death, the spirit has to outgrow its period of infancy. At the end of a year, it is integrated into the community of all guardian spirits (*ukubuyisa* – the bringing back ceremony).

The divergence of views as to what constitutes heaven and/or paradise between the African and the European is related to the social attitudes towards the earth. One regards the earth as a friendly and benevolent world while the other considers the earth as a hostile environment from which man must escape to a sky-heaven (Kunene, 1982: xviii-xix).

History is not the study of disjointed events put in categories of past, present, and future. History is in you. You are history. You carry it in your veins. The blood of all your ancestors is in you. It pulses in your veins. Who am I links the individual with the ancestors. When a doctor wants to treat you of an ailment, he wants to understand your history. History is what you were, what you are, and what you will be.

Malcolm X says the white man came and removed all knowledge of history. He did not remove history, he removed knowledge of history. History is memory. When you forget history, you die. You can be called a Frenchman, you have no way of knowing. You can be called an Englishman, you have no way of knowing. Who are we Africans called Frenchmen? (Oyono, 1960: 4).

History is the path that the unborn come to be born, the living follow to go to their ancestors, and the ancestors use to come to the living. The path is permanent. If our world leaves its path and tumbles into the void whose world will give us shelter?

If you do not know where you started your journey, you do not know where you are. You do not know how you got where you are. You do not know how to go back, or go forward. Indeed, you do not know whether you are going back or forward, or whether where you are is where you wanted to be, your intended destination. Refer to the story of Oedipus.

"In the beginning ...", begins the first book of the Christian manifesto. "In the beginning God created the heavens and earth" (Genesis Chapter 1: 1 *Revised Standard Version Bible*). The African of tradition is not much bothered about the distant past. History to him is strictly a functional business. He remembers the past which is meaningful, that is, those events and personalities that explain, make life meaningful and justify the present.

To the African of tradition, history is not the record of all events that happened in the past. It is the living of those events, wars, droughts, famines, migrations, eclipses, floods, the founding, flourishing and decline of chiefdoms, shrines, the rise of great doctors, scientists, agriculturalists.

If in African tradition the cultured man of Africa is uninterested in the distant, he is even more utterly unconcerned about the beginning. Beginning of what? Now as the African of tradition is not bothered about the beginning of time, he is not interested in the least about the end of time (p' Bitek, 1986: 43-45).

Valuable though these works are, the history of the books exist only as corpses in the graveyard called the library. Occasionally some curious fellow would refer to them, especially for examination or research purposes. But this type of history is not lived by men in society. It has no impact, influence or importance for the living of life here and now. It is not celebrated in song and dance or in poetry.

In these books there are plenty of pictures, statues, ruins, and old coins bearing heads of some ancient ruler or other. But they do not stir me much in the way that a living history does. History, like all other arts, is an integral part of culture and should be carried inside the head to enliven the entire body of the individual in society.

William Ochieng, the Kenyan historian, has for example uttered what appears to me as arrogant words: "For some reason best known to themselves many members of the public think that anybody can study and write history" (p' Bitek, 1986: 46).

We can only say with John Dewey in (p' Bitek, 1986: 47): For historians to believe that they are endowed with unique powers giving them access to special Truths or historical knowledge is a gross piece of self-delusion. Historians are gifted with no special powers of insight into the past denied to other mortals, but unless historians recognise this, until they accept their common humanity with good grace and without any mental reservations, they cannot hope to perform any intelligent function and make history a living thing, a progressive force in our common human life.

As is obvious, the African historian appears to squander the bulk of his energy proving to some foreign audience that Africa has a history. When will our professional historians begin to be real leaders, that is, men and women who will, by their contribution, make living, here and now, meaningful to the vast majority of African peoples? For it is only then that their subject will become a living force in society.

But, I suggest that this exercise will be futile unless the concept of time and history as understood by our people in the villages is taken as the basis of our endeavours, ensuring the maximum participation of every individual in the productive activities of society here and now- in politics, economics, artistic and all other fields of human endeavour (p' Bitek, 1986: 46-49).

History, I contend, is the present. We, with every breath we take, every move we make, are History (Baldwin, 1985: xiv).

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Introduction

Africa's Intangible Cultural Heritage *vis-a-vis* Autonomy, Dignity, Justice, Peace, Empowerment, Sustainable Development, Security and Survival

Ruby Magosvongwe, Eventhough Ndlovu and Obert B Mlambo

INTRODUCTION

This is a book that attempts to expose and explore salient strategies calculated to forestall Africa's sustainable development — the total emancipation of Africa and her peoples. The real emancipation of Africans rests in their intangible cultural heritage. The invaluable asset that Africa possesses which can make a striking contribution to humankind is her intangible heritage, if mined, examined and applied expertly through African Studies. Further, Africa's intangible heritage has interconnectedness with a myriad of problems and prospects, making it a central and relevant part of discourses with an ever-increasing importance of research and information for the agenda and practice of African Studies and sustainable development across the African continent and beyond. The realities of underdevelopment and development, regional and international security, statehood, gender and human rights questions, geography and environmental pressures, policy development and public administration, peace and conflict resolutions, education and health issues, are strongly interwoven with Africa's intangible heritage and land practices. These continue to challenge various existing conceptual approaches. The debates and deliberations proffered by the book in its entirety should translate into novel analytical frameworks, conceptual approaches and empirical accounts that would catapult institutions and Africa to greater heights in terms of sustainable development. The humankind family should know more about Africa's intangible cultural heritage and land, beyond the usual myths and concocted tales of a "dark continent".

The book chapters, in giving a panoramic view of some critical challenges confronting African survival on the continent and the Diaspora, past and present, cumulatively beg for the restoration of a critical missing link in their analyses: intangible cultural heritage. Its intelligent application to the needs and demands of a changing African environment and society could see Africa and Africans re-inventing themselves and regenerating their communities, families and societies. It is admissible that we are dealing with a continent and people who were once colonised and dominated, but who have since regained political independence. The paradoxical, confounding and embarrassing question is: Why is it that most African communities and families continue being sluggish in economic development, equity, social justice and general regard for human and environmental security, languishing in poverty and also mired in a degenerating social fabric? It needs no begging that apart from its land and numerous abounding natural resources, Africa's most invaluable asset is its people and their traditions.

Yet, “[t]he importance of Africans’ cultural heritage to their sense of who they are still isn’t recognised sufficiently by them and others” (Maathai, 2010: 160). Why? This does not come as a surprise. Ways of seeing, knowing, relating, understanding and even navigating the world have all since been thrown away together with the indigenous languages that embody them. Language is a compendium of a people’s being/essence; a carrier of a people’s memory, dreams, history as ‘current affairs’ (Chivaura, 2016), culture, philosophies, worldview and aesthetics (Ngugi, 2009). The cumulative effect of attempts aimed at erasing, trivialising and dismissing indigenous languages in the country’s school and governance systems, before and after political independence, entails disinheriting most communities, especially the youths and the elite leadership, of a critical aspect of their identity and intangible cultural heritage.

Borrowed and transposed intellectual theories and frameworks often injure the recipient subalterns because they are structured from the vantage point of the proponents and their respective cultures, thereby strengthening and sharpening “the penetrative capabilities of Europeans” (Mazrui, 2002: 23). The subtle innuendos resonate with further subjugation of the African and their progeny, making them complicit in their own demise trans-generationally (Ani, 1994; Clarke, 1992). Mazrui (2002: 23) rightly observes that the owners of the language choose at will when to switch off and when not to listen, meaning that:

[t]he sovereign state system is manipulated as a method of silencing certain voices... certain messages from the dispossessed. The state is not only a medium of communication; it is also a guillotine for cutting off further dialogue [intra- and interpersonally] (Mazrui, 2002: 29).

With local languages having been deliberately undermined, impediments to communication and dialogue become commonplace, thereby fomenting environments for misunderstandings, mistrust, suspicion, and general disunity among African communities. Without the requisite and relevant local languages that should be the cultural binoculars and barometers to cement racial pride, positive self-esteem and dignity, sense of self is invariably eroded. Language humanises communication, traditions, philosophies and communal values as embedded in a people’s intangible cultural heritage. The latter yawning gap probably explains the deficiencies in leadership approaches and lukewarm commitment to a revolutionary overhaul of systems — class, economic, social, religious, political, educational and governance — inherited at independence and transposed onto the newly-independent nation-states. With cultural heritage encapsulating values, beliefs, traditions, philosophies, aesthetics, history, identity, dignity and vision of any people, Africans would have no one to blame, but themselves for abdicating responsibility to safeguard their inalienable heritage. Ideally, the latter defines their being and charts the parameters and spaces they should carve out and occupy, as well as spurring them to the destinies that they should attain.

Excuses and myths have been advanced to explain and legitimise this indefensible status quo and stagnation in almost every area of life, including aversion to social responsibility and social accountability. Politicians and elitist intellectuals conveniently lay all the blame on colonisation. Ironically, if colonisation is the sole reason for such an untenable lethargic condition, Memmi (2006: 22) begs: “Why haven’t these nations found, or tried to find in themselves, the necessary strength to advance?” Further, in the face of post-independence instability and socio-political maladies, why is it that the same

countries turn to the West for approval of programmes and other solutions? “How can a country demand independence and at the same time ask for continued subsidies/[aid]from the former coloniser” (Memmi, 2006: 22), and not from brother/sister African countries? Self-defeating double peddling and double dipping is glaringly unmistakable. More than anything else, what post-independence Africa needs is self-introspection, critical self-knowledge and best of all social accountability and admission of responsibility. How do all these link up with Africa’s intangible cultural heritage and land? A critical reader may ask.

The broad areas covered by the book chapters partially broach the answer as indicated earlier. The sub-themes include, but are not limited to the following broad areas that intertwine with Africa’s intangible heritage and land: African Philosophy; Religion; Management of intangible heritage; African Literature; Indigenous knowledge systems; Language planning and policy; Heritage studies; Political Economy; Gender Studies; Geography; History; Economic History; Environmental Studies; Development Studies; Peace; Conflict and Strategic Studies; Policy and Development Studies; Education management; Health Sciences and Indigenous knowledge systems; Public Administration; Political studies; Law; Agricultural Sciences; Land use, management and the politics of identity and belonging; Population Studies; Fine and Performing Arts; Popular Literature.

INTERPRETATIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES: BENEFITS OF SAFEGUARDING INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE

Broaching the subject of intangible cultural heritage among the literate intelligentsia paradoxically generates mixed attitudes and reactions. At the core of this subject is the premise from which intangible cultural heritage should be conceptualised. On the surface, frameworks and conceptualisations would appear to be as diversified as there are interest groups within and outside the African communities themselves. Yet, the issue of centeredness in these conceptualisations cannot be ignored, neither should it be left to conjecture. Conceptualisation is an indispensable tool to self-naming, self-defining, self-describing, self-explaining and surely self-examining, self-defending, self-projection, and ironically, as well as self-introspecting. Which lenses and which cultural mirror would Africans use to examine, understand and confront their falsified image that daily confronts them? Using which language and what philosophy? With what results and to what end? These are fundamental questions that Africans on the mainland and in the Diaspora do not have the pleasure to ignore. The late Dr Vimbai Gukwe Chivaura’s Prologue to this book, and indeed the Vice Chancellor, Professor Levi Martin Nyagura’s Foreword, could not have broached this matter in any more incisive terms. Chivaura argues:

If you do not know [who you are and] where you started your journey, you do not know where you are. You do not know how you got where you are. You do not know how to go back, or go forward. Indeed, you do not know whether you are going back or forward, or whether where you are is where you wanted to be, your intended destination.

In navigating and charting destinies for ourselves and our progeny, the cog of intangible cultural heritage cannot be ignored. The best of technologies, biomedical engineering,

commercial and economic principles, political and governance models, justice delivery systems, religious dogmas and borrowed cultural aesthetics cannot operate positively and successfully if disembodied from a people's belief and value systems that their cultures celebrate. This partially explains the multiple levels of impoverishment and instability that characterises post-independence Africa and its Diasporas, hence the call that is encapsulated in this book. The call is for African self-introspection, by self-examining African researchers, for Africans' sustainable futures as well as for humankind's common good. Cultural identities broadly define our unities, our struggles, achievements, aspirations, short-comings, life's outlook and vision, aspects that are indispensable for group survival and inclusion into the family of humankind. Without risking treacherous repetition, the book argues for recognition and inclusion of African intangible cultural heritage for Africa's survival agenda and self-sustenance. Huntington (2002: 21) rightly observes:

People define themselves in terms of ancestry, religion, language, history, values, customs, and institutions. They identify with cultural groups: tribes, ethnic groups, religious communities, nations, and, at the broadest level, civilisations. People use politics not just to advance their interests but also to define their identity.

Abdication of cultural identity increases chances of anti-social behaviour that ferment different forms of violence and abuses generally. Moral decline also results, leading to family disintegration that manifests through high divorce rates; illegitimacy; teenage pregnancies; substance and drug abuse; forced child marriages; and single-parent families. With the general collapse of the family institution, that is the base of the African society, and indeed the cornerstone to sustaining unities trans-generationally and safeguarding cultural heritage, African human and social capital weakens and collapses — “symptoms of a disintegrating society” (Maathai, 2010: 277).

Yet, as argued earlier, the human and social capital come second to none as Africa's most invaluable asset. The dislocation that has wreaked havoc on the African psyche emanates from this tragedy. The vanguard of the African revolution therefore rests with the recovery of traditional institutions upon which the African family institution in its traditional sense was anchored. No one is supposed to be free of duties and responsibilities within the African family, as these in turn would earn everyone the rightful spaces, respect, rights and privileges. Disembodiment from such then, means cultural and physical death. These aspects are variously discussed in this two tire selection of chapters.

The first section of the book generally looks into the benefits of salvaging Africa's intangible heritage, the converse of which are the foregoing pre-empted woes that contextualise the imperative to recover, restore, and regenerate Africa's intangible cultural heritage for genuine sustainable transformation. The second section of the book delves into abstractions and controversies surrounding inconsistencies relating to salvaging waning traditions and how Zimbabwe in particular can guarantee her survival using and exploiting Africa's intangible cultural heritage.

RESPECTIVE BOOK CHAPTERS CONTRIBUTIONS

From an archaeological perspective, Katsamudanga and Nhamo argue in favour of safeguarding African intangible heritage according to the 2003 UNESCO Convention. They argue that archaeological evidence remains critical in resolving issues of spatial inheritance among other potentially explosive subjects.

The second chapter by Mafongoya, Jiri, Mubaya, Gwenzi and Owen Mafongoya, focuses on the value of indigenous knowledge in addressing challenges related to climate change and food security in Sub-Saharan Africa. The chapter succinctly demonstrates that indigenous knowledge is a useful complimentary tool to modern science in weather predictions, making meteorological data more user-friendly and relevant to communal communities.

In the third chapter Bishau and Taringa highlight the centrality and essence of environmental conservation using the African concept of 'green spirituality' that dictates the interconnectedness of the inanimate and animate worlds with sustainable human survival. That they highlight taboos and sacredness of the connectivity as experienced during the armed liberation struggle further enhances this book's call for incorporation of indigenous traditional and cultural practices to be recognised and revitalised in ecological preservation.

One simple way to understand the cardinal life principles, beliefs, aspirations, history and vision of the Shona peoples of Zimbabwe is through unearthing the psychology and chronology underpinning their naming patterns. Magosvongwe, Munyoro and Mandova discuss how naming is emblematic to, and an encapsulation of Shona intangible cultural heritage. Shona names converge to locate the African in relational terms with self, others and his physical and spiritual environments, aspects that have been exploited and manipulated to alienate him from unities that have bound them together trans-generationally. The chapter further argues that African consciousness is embedded in their language and its history as embedded in the naming that is simultaneously a vanguard of identity. Naming in Shona then, is generally not disembodied from other intrinsic components of Shona inalienable cultural heritage. Therefore, safeguarding and tapping into Shona intangible cultural heritage should foster oneness/*humwe* without which stability can be sustained in our communities and societies.

In the fifth chapter, "We died for this country", Pfukwa demonstrates the centrality of pseudo names used by ZANLA armed forces during the 1970s war of liberation as very valuable sources of the history of Zimbabwe's struggles for independence and emancipation. The causes of this war could have been many, but one that still rings in the public domain and should therefore not be downplayed, is the desire to dislodge colonial rule and establish black self-rule. The chapter presents war pseudo names as indispensable intangible heritage that reflects the ideology, agenda and spirit which informed and sustained Zimbabwe's war of liberation. The same carved names should remain inspirational in re-constructing and re-building African families, communities and Zimbabwe as a nation-state founded on the spilt blood of its legendary heroes. Like David Diop's plea for Africa never to forget and negate the blood that watered the tree of liberation her liberation, Pfukwa's call could never be louder.

The sixth chapter by Mamvura and Mashiri dialogues with Pfukwa's preceding chapter. It offers insights into naming as a subtle tool that fosters and sustains political ideologies

and centres of power. Mamvura and Mashiri's point of departure is that they focus on spatial claims by political regimes before and after independence, using names of prominent historical figures of their times. This is how street names and prominent government buildings have acquired their names in order to demonstrate the centres of power. Saliency and silently, like the war pseudo names, these renamed streets and buildings after prominent and legendary heroes/heroines, strengthen the engraving and memorialisation of the country's struggles and history in people's daily lives.

Interestingly, Chirisa, Mhlanga and Bandaiko discuss imprints of urban heritage in Zimbabwe using Harare, the seat of political power, as a case study. They make references to some pioneer colonial buildings along Robert Mugabe Way in the Central Business District that have been preserved using the UNESCO heritage sites concept. This is how monuments like the National Heroes Acre, Cecil Square, now Africa Unity Square, become symbolic to authoring of the country's historical experiences, much in like manner as archaeological sites discussed in our opening chapter. They argue for an integration of this heritage in urban planning.

McClymont and Mlambo's chapter, breathing on the heels of imprints of urban heritage, discusses how African values have been disrupted by urbanisation. They argue for an integration of dominant African values into modern day town planning and environmental preservation. They point to the problematics of performing traditional rituals in the urban set-up, yet these remain a definitive aspect of intangible heritage that needs careful negotiation.

Similarly, land and ecology as critical to cultural identity and self-preservation are taken up by Marowa who discusses the displacement and disruptions to sustainable livelihoods of the original inhabitants of the Zambezi valley/*kasambawesi*. The complete silencing of some of their traditions has remained a thorn that requires attention in eradicating hunger and poverty. The call is for African governments not to remain complicit in the marginalisation of certain communities that have been robbed of their tangible and intangible heritages. Complacency is impliedly as genocidal as the original architects' design. Therefore, Government ministries, departments, institutions and organisations tasked with heritage preservation and rural development should be wary of this grave aspect tied up with their responsibilities.

Emblematic of an enduring and penetrating socio-cultural heritage, Mbira as symbol and music genre is simultaneously explored by Bwetenga. Admittedly, Mbira has gone beyond these two to also become an economic and political asset. Bwetenga's insights into Mbira's aesthetics and creativity that bridge the spiritual and material sustenance that bind and unify most Zimbabwean and Southern African families, ethnicities and communities deserve critical attention. Interestingly this aspect of heritage was suppressed and demonised by the colonial regime and their missionary agents, while making inroads in other western cultural centres. As both a musical instrument and genre, Mbira has now been appropriated and exported to other cultural centres and therefore pleads for safeguarding under the 2003 UNESCO ICH Convention.

Abstractions like justice, peace, security and reconciliation receive their fair share when Mangena uses Mawondo's contentions regarding reconciliation soon after attainment of political independence without first addressing resource inequities that underpinned the armed liberation struggle. The chapter contextualises and argues for peace and participation in national development by all races at the said time.

Zimunya, Munyiswa and Mabiri take up the discourse of equitable resource redistribution, especially land, and equality of opportunities in post-independent Zimbabwean institutions, government and organisations as instrumental towards building lasting peace and social cohesion. Their argument compliments the social justice issue that Mangena discusses in the earlier chapter. Without carefully thought-out management principles and equitable resource redistribution approaches, peace becomes extremely fragile. This chapter concludes the first section of this book.

The second section of the book opens with a chapter by Magosvongwe and Makwavarara, with a call for Zimbabwean and African education and tertiary institutions to revisit and continuously relook into the ideological underpinnings influencing post-independence curricula and its development. Central in this debate is the preservation of the African stories and their philosophies as intangible cultural heritage. Rhetoric about development programmes that are divorced from a people's sense of who they are, their life philosophy, belief systems, values and life's outlook remains what it is: Rhetoric. What is a person alienated and disembodied from his intangible cultural heritage but a phantom? The chapter argues that our literatures and indigenous languages are indispensable to self-preservation that is critical to continual cementing of African communities and societies, and should therefore be safeguarded. In doing so, Magosvongwe and Makwavarara are not in any way reinventing the wheel. Languages and their literatures are effective tools that shape consciousness, awareness, governments' vision and policies that spur sustainable national development and sustainable futures in a stable environment.

The problematics of monolithic readings of literatures are explored by Chidora and Mandizvidza in their 'mischievous' call for Africans across the board to listen to Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* on issues of intangible cultural heritage. Not only do the authors project issues of dissonance between ideology and its agents, but also the dangers of absence of social accountability and social responsibility once people are distanced from monitoring social and governance systems. Individuals are humanised by societies that nurture them. Hermits like Kurtz in *Heart of Darkness* can never be expected to retain their humanness because in isolation, they are broken from social revitalisation that makes them human. Hence Chidora and Mandizvidza's call for Africa's children not to turn their backs to the societal institutions that should continue watering and nurturing their spirits and consciousness. It is impossible to safeguard Africa as a natural heritage for posterity if it is populated with sub-humans.

'Souls of Black folks' by Muganiwa, deriving its title from Du Bois' book bearing the same title, revisits issues of Black Consciousness and cultural heritage from selected post-2000 Zimbabwean-authored English novels by Dangarembga and Marangwanda respectively. Muganiwa uses snippets that show how elitism has been instrumental towards destroying belongingness of the African personality with his ancestry and living traditions. The rekindling of fires of cultural heritage like the Negritude proponent Aime Cesaire does, Muganiwa challenges readers and critics of African literatures never to brandish the African experiences apart from their living traditions. The chapter recreates a sense of belongingness with Africa and her traditions without which commonality of vision among Africans in their struggles for emancipation can be achieved.

Languages bridge communication and are therefore an important tool in development strategies and in keeping communities glued. In discouraging inferiorisation of 'minority' languages in post-2013 Zimbabwe, Ndlovu and Chabata examine the impact of Zimbabwe's post-2000 Fast Track Land Reform Programme on mother tongue education policies, language promotion and revitalisation. Their chapter calls for a relook into the existing language and education policies to accommodate changes brought by the said programme in order to afford previously marginalised language groups mother tongue education and space to promote, preserve and revitalise their languages as inalienable to intangible cultural heritage and other human rights. Any people's rightful identification begins with acknowledging and promoting their mother-tongue.

Similarly, Mugari's subsequent chapter pleads for the recognition, promotion and development of ZimSign language, a critical intangible heritage of the deaf community. This incontestable heritage appears to continue being marginalised because of ineffectual language and education policies and the absence of monitoring mechanisms in the school system and other domains. Laxity on the part of Government and other community leaders to give space to those who are physiologically challenged further compounds, and partially accounts for the continual marginalisation of an already disadvantaged and vulnerable constituency. Yet, *Unhu/Ubuntu* as claimed to be celebrated among African communities requires that every support be mustered to empower them as fellow members of our communities. Differential human worth in policy application and information dissemination creates inequities that rhetoric can never eradicate. Silenced through denial of a recognised language makes this already marginalised community more vulnerable to multiple forms of abuse and dehumanisation.

Totemism as inalienable to intangible cultural heritage also comes under spotlight, especially in an age where technological development and urbanisation have alienated people from their traditions. Zimunya, Gwara and Munyiswa discuss the challenges associated with totemic identities and their interplay with ecological balance that suffers severe threats. A re-look and creatively mining into this critical aspect of lived African traditions could be ingeniously revitalised in order to contain ecological challenges that continue undermining environmental management. The teasing is worth exploring, especially if consciously incorporated into language and heritage studies.

Chinouriri and Marongedze make a similar call in their discussion of meteorological readings as traditionally and culturally ingrained in African communities. The interplay between human life, animal behaviours and other inanimate cyclical changes can still be used in reading, shaping and influencing development projects in certain environs, including planning of agricultural activities as envisioned from reading and interpreting natural phenomena using indigenous knowledge. This information storehouse that is rooted in people's intangible cultural heritage appears to have been ignored or sidelined in the blind embracing of modern science.

That as Africans we are earth-bound is taken up by Biri in her discussion of persistent African beliefs whose subtle penetration can be sensed in Zimbabwe's post-Pentecostal gospel and ideologies. Because Christianity has been demonised for alienating Africans from their spirituality, this chapter raises insights that buttress that belief-systems are inalienable to a people's ideology such that they are just permuted into guises that suit their new environments, yet principally remaining the same in their guiding philosophy.

Moyo and Manyeruke draw attention to the 'blue diamond' that threatens peace, security and stability if shared water courses are not given the strategic attention that they deserve in water management. The chapter uses SADC as their case study. Though a tangible resource, there are inalienable intangible aspects and attributes that derive from creative management of shared water courses for communities' sustenance. That *water is life* is a principle that cannot be in anyway downplayed, hence the call for its intelligent management. All life draws from water and land, hence the link with intangible heritage. Water mismanagement entails certain death in both literal and metaphoric terms as everything related to human sustenance depends on water. Water mismanagement is therefore genocidal and suicidal. Its mismanagement also emerges as a serious threat to ecological balance.

The Conclusion to the entire collection brings into perspective the expectations, demands, challenges, opportunities and the way forward as recommended and observed by the respective contributors. The Epilogue in the form of Mr Stephen Chifunyise's exhortation ties up the whole discussion. Mr Stephen Chifunyise is a UNESCO ICH consultant and Zimbabwe's former Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Education, Sports, Art and Culture, who has a wealth of experience.

CONCLUSION TO THIS INTRODUCTION

It is Africans' shared humanity as embedded in their intangible cultural heritage that can buoy them to inimitable heights of emancipation and empowerment. The book clearly underscores the need for a corrective, introspective, and revisionist approach that African societies and communities should adopt in order for them to wholly recover from the holocaust of colonialism and slavery. This is a process that governments should initiate with the help of those holding positions of responsibility in communities, institutions and organisations. It is only their intangible heritage that is a sure tool that they may use to recover their dignity motivated by, and using the antennae of their long-standing cultures and traditions. Borrowing from other cultures should be done intelligently without displacing their other inalienable rights. The introduction to this book therefore reiterates Karenga's (2008: 5-6) onward dialogue with Africa's intangible cultural heritage and exhortation for cultural recovery thus:

Without Cultural Revolution, there can be no real liberation of the [African] people...The struggle for national existence as a people is a cultural struggle and the struggle to defend, maintain and develop our culture is in the final analysis a struggle for national/[racial] existence, i.e., our right and responsibility to exist as a people, to speak our special truth to the world and make our own unique contribution to the forward flow of human history.

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Section A

Chapter One

Intangible Heritage, Archaeology and Land Reclamations in Zimbabwe: Towards a Usable Past

Ancila Nhamo and Seke Katsamudanga

INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the role of archaeology, both the discipline and the material remains studied by archaeologists, in the recovery of intangible heritage that is so crucial in traditional land ownership claims. The chapter demonstrates that archaeological remains are an indispensable aid in the establishment of a people's sense of identity and belonging, and extend communities' knowledge of the intangible heritage beyond individual and group memory. With reference to Africa and elsewhere beyond the continent where the written record is rather short, archaeological research and archaeological material remains have helped in the identification, preservation and perpetuation of heritage and heritage values, including intangible aspects. Some of this knowledge has been used in identity reconstruction and land ownership claims. Therefore, the archaeological record provides the link between the past and present through the active participation of remnants of that past, as both material and spiritual exhibits, in contemporary societies.

In 1999 in Zimbabwe, people in Svosve Communal Lands in Mashonaland East Province occupied a commercial farm arguing that they were repossessing their ancestral land. While this act led to the Fast Track Land Reform of 2000, the important point was the issue of ancestral lands. Several cases have followed with people wishing to return to their ancestral lands. These claims were made against the background that colonial land policies displaced African communities from places they had occupied for centuries and millennia. However, prior to this wave of ancestral land claims, some communities had been asking for permission to access sacred sites located in farms owned by white farmers. The claims demonstrate the connections between intangible cultural heritage and material remains that identify the locations. While these communities relied on oral traditions and historical sources, some of the claims may require the services of archaeology. It is in this context that archaeology can be of immediate use to communities. The 2003 UNESCO convention demonstrates the importance of intangible cultural heritage for the well-being of a community. At the same time, it has provided communities, archaeologists and heritage specialists with ways of identifying and recognising the importance of intangible cultural heritage (ICH). We therefore argue that archaeology has, and continues playing an important part in the recovery of ICH. Archaeology provides the means by which to identify and establish some forgotten ICH or just to establish the temporary depth of some recognised aspects of intangible heritage. This chapter enriches the approaches that seek to strengthen the management of ICH at archaeological sites.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIAL AS EMBODIMENTS OF INTANGIBLE HERITAGE

In 2003, UNESCO defined intangible cultural heritage in the *Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage*(ICH) as ‘the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognise as part of their cultural heritage’ (UNESCO, 2003). This recognition, however, came after years of debate among heritage professionals, including archaeologists, on what heritage really meant, especially in the context of nominating significant places or sites for World Heritage status (Munjeri, 2004). Since 1972 when the World Heritage Convention (UNESCO 1972)¹ was promulgated, criteria for nomination of heritage to the World Heritage List seemed to have ignored the intrinsic non-intangible elements in places and artefacts. In heritage management, general concern seemed to have ignored intangible heritage, especially non-material things such as dances, stories and legends that were usually relegated to folklore. Heritage management continued to focus on the physical and monumental remnants of the past, yet these tangible remnants embody intangible elements that past societies, especially in Africa, revere the most (Munjeri, 1998). The promulgation of the convention brought clarity and deliberate reflection on the significance of intangible heritage associated with archaeological remains. While the conservation and preservation of tangible relics led to the protection of associated intrinsic intangible elements, this was indirect and not thorough enough. Preservation of the tangible elements does not automatically mean safeguarding the ICH. The 2003 UNESCO convention brought acknowledgement that these intangible aspects can actually be identified and safeguarded.

Archaeologists have always been grappling with the reconstruction of intangible aspects. Much of the world’s heritage has been recovered from the archaeological record. Intangible heritage includes memories and oral traditions of what, how, why and when things were done or performed and by whom, from a social perspective. When recollection of these memories is no longer guaranteed, archaeological evidence becomes important. Memories and oral traditions are passed on from one generation to another, but with time all these things are either forgotten, or replaced with others as people die and cultures change. Yet, many of all these traditions and cultures are immortalised in material remains that define a people, a time, and a place. Archaeology therefore becomes the means by which long term memory and heritage, including intangible heritage, can be recovered.

Most of the intangible aspects of culture are usually conceptualised into the tangible, although heritage can be in formats that can also be experienced through other sensory organs. It is probably part of human nature to convert the unseen to the visible world. Dance, music, spiritual and ritual practices are often associated with material culture. Thus, the intangible concepts are appreciated, seen or identified when they are turned into tangible aspects or when they are associated with material objects. For example, among the Shona people of Zimbabwe, the concept of belonging is symbolised by burying the umbilical cord (*rukuvhute*) in the soil in the area of origin. It is also recognised

¹ The full title of this Convention is Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage

through ancestral graves (*makuva amadziteteguru*), old homes (*matongo*), clan names, totems and so forth. Most spirits such as family (*midzimu*), territoria (*mhondoro*) and wandering spirits (*mashavi*) manifested themselves either in human beings (*homwe*) or in an animal (cattle bulls, baboons, bushbucks, lions or snakes). In fact, anything could be manipulated by the spirit and the object, animal or whatever thing, would behave in unusual ways to register the presence of the spirit. Thus, for one to interrogate the intangible, especially in the distant past, they have to turn to material remains or physical manifestations which are recoverable in the archaeological record.

In most cases, it is often the 'objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated with the aforementioned intangible aspects that remain. Where memories of how these objects were used would have been lost, archaeological research helps revive the traditions associated with them through material interpretation. Archaeological sites attest to identities, support or refute arguments of belonging, ownership and so on. Consequently, the archaeological material is the tangible manifestation of the intangible heritage.

Archaeological evidence is a reservoir of cultural knowledge; skills and expressions that can help recover some of the long lost memories and provide a long-term perspective of the intangible heritage. It can push memories back in time. If analysed well, archaeological evidence reveals a lot about the beliefs, rites, rituals, meanings, and ceremonies that were associated with certain artefacts. As Greenway (1994) quoted in Wilmsen (2003: 327) said, "it only takes three generations for personal contact to be lost, and then the memory, if it exists at all, passes on to strangers, us (*archaeologists*)". It should be remembered that archaeology sits at the frontier of science and history where the tangible and intangible heritage are always interconnected.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES, BELONGING AND LAND OWNERSHIP: RECONSTRUCTING THE INTANGIBLE

Land provides the cultural spaces that are the catalysts between the material and immaterial. Both the material and immaterial are physically and conceptually located somewhere, some place. On the one hand, both the material and immaterial aspects connect people to the land. As argued by Relaki and Catapoti (2013: 1), human beings are 'inextricably connected' to a certain place. Land is the cosmological glue that holds the world together (Oliver, 2013). On the other hand, archaeological sites are used to connect people with their past, to demonstrate this intimate and emotional connection between land and people (Relaki and Catapoti, 2013: 13). The mere presence or absence of archaeological material has been used to connect land, people, and events. Visible material traces are commonly taken to denote land ownership. They maintain the human-land relationships in perpetuity (Pikirayi, 2011: 96).

Nothing says, '*I was here before you; I own this land before you*', better than archaeological remains. This is best exemplified with the archaeological remains at Great Zimbabwe. Early colonial settlers tried to discredit the indigenous people and argued that the magnificent dry stonewalls belonging to the Zimbabwe culture were built by foreigners such as the Phoenicians (Bent, 1895; Mullan, 1969) or Arabians (Hall, 1905). There were claims that Great Zimbabwe was built by King Solomon for the Queen of Sheba. Such arguments were made in order to discredit black people's claims of ownership of the land now known as Zimbabwe. However, professional archaeological research told a

different story. Since the early 1900s, systematic archaeological research has shown that the indigenous people, ancestors of present African communities, built the stone-works (Randall-Maclver, 1906; Caton-Thompson, 1931). Having sent Randall-Maclver around 1900, the Society for the Advancement of Science in the UK sent another professional archaeologist, Gertrude Caton-Thompson, in the 1930s to prove the foreign origins of the Great Zimbabwe Ruins (Caton-Thompson, 1931; Pikirayi, 2001). However, after a thorough analysis of the archaeological material, the archaeologist argued for indigenous origins of the archaeological site (Caton-Thompson, 1931). Since then, archaeologists have consistently argued for the indigenous connections exhibited by the material from the site (Garlake, 1978; Huffman 2007; Chirikure, Manyanga, Pollard and Pikirayi 2013). The example of Great Zimbabwe shows how archaeological material acts as reservoirs of the intangible aspects such as identities, ownership, and belonging.

Another example from southern Africa is the dispossession of land from contemporary hunter-gatherers by colonial settlers and other indigenous groups in the region. Colonial settlers' persecution of hunter-gatherers in South Africa goes as far back as three hundred years. The hunter-gatherers were considered backward and lacking sophistication. They were accused of being rogues and landless (Lewis-Williams, 1983:13). As with the example of Great Zimbabwe, the finest rock art in southern Africa was initially attributed to the foreigners from the Mediterranean area, most likely the Phoenicians (Impey, 1926; Breuil, 1948). These claims have not been sustained by archaeological evidence and such interpretations have been thrown out of the academic arena. Now, the rock art is generally attributed to hunter-gatherers who were there prior to arrival of farming communities and the Europeans (Lewis-Williams and Dowson, 1989; Nhamo, 2007). With the abundant Stone Age material in southern Africa, no one can dispute that hunter-gatherers were the first people of the sub-continent. In most parts of the subcontinent, archaeological evidence has also documented the initial independence and eventual subjugation, and encapsulation of the hunter-gatherers by other black people (Wilmsen and Denbow, 1990; Wilmsen, 1989; Sadr, 1997). The evidence also shows that the San, as autochthons, held special positions as those of ritual specialists even among the incoming farming communities, because of their strong connections with the land (Hall and Smith, 2000; Schoemann, 2006). Analysis of rock paintings and engravings in the Shashi-Limpopo Confluence area allude to the involvement of hunter-gatherers in rain-making ceremonies around the 8th century AD.

As argued earlier, archaeological sites are used as physical mnemonic devices to help in reconstructing identities, belonging, and memory (Insoll, 2009: 10). It is not only archaeologists who find value in the archaeological remains, but contemporary individuals and communities use them to trace their identities and reclaim their ancestral lands. In fact, a number of individuals and groups have informally solicited the services of archaeologists, historians, and archivists to demonstrate their connections with the lands in question. In the last two decades, Zimbabwe has had a surge in reclamations of archaeological and other cultural sites and land associated therein. Although these reclamations have been associated with the commencement of the land distribution exercise that was taking place in the country around 2000s, many of them had roots in the past, with some having been going on since the 1960s. Archaeological sites such as Manyanga Ruins in Silobela, Chitungwiza chaChaminuka in Seke Rural District, and Nharira Hills in Zvimba District, among others, all have been at the centre of long-standing land reclamations (Chakanyuka, 2007; Mataga, 2003; Bvocho, 2013). At many



Figure 1: Rock art showing a procession of hunters

of these places, claims and counter claims of ancestral connections or spiritual connections to the archaeological sites have been used to legitimise occupation of land around the sites.

Some individuals or groups would claim the site because for them it belonged to their ancestors. These may be termed descent communities (Pikirayi, 2011: 17). Good examples of such land claims are those associated with Manyanga and Nharira National Monuments. At Manyanga National Monument located in Bubi District, Matebeleland North Province, descendants of the Rozvi Mambo lineage have claimed custodianship of the site and ownership of the surrounding areas (Manyanga, 2003; Chakanyuka, 2007). The area used to be part of the Meikles Holdings farms, but it has been redistributed to the claimants. Similarly, until the early 2000s, the Nharira Hills were part of a commercial farm. The Nyamweda people used to reside around the Nharira Hills before they were moved to make way for commercial farms in the 1960s. Although the clan was moved 60km away from the hills, they would travel to the hills for annual rituals and rain-making ceremonies. The hills were important to them because their ancestors are buried there. They also claimed ancestral connections to the archaeological material found in the hills, including rock paintings (Tarvinga and Mutema, 1998). Since the 1960s, the late spirit medium of the Nyamweda, Sekuru Mushore, agitated for the reclamation of Nharira Hills and the surrounding area. The Nyamweda people successfully finally managed to be resettled around the hills in the early part of the last decade when the Fast Track Land Resettlement Programme commenced.

The land claims were, and still are, not restricted to conflicts with the white settlers; archaeological sites are also used in settling local land conflicts. In the Makoni District

in Manicaland, eastern Zimbabwe, archaeological material was also exploited (Dande and Mujere, 2015). Stone enclosures at Chipadze (also known as Harleigh Farm) have been used by Tandi and Chiduku chiefs to demonstrate their long history in Makoni District, beyond claims by their rival, Chief Makoni, that the two had a recent history. These chiefs, however, make selective use of some of the interpretations provided by historians and archaeologists to bolster their claims that they identify with these sites. For example, their argument that they were Rozvi would then explain the Khami material identified at some of these sites such as Harleigh Farm (See Robins *et al.*, 1966). This is despite the fact that radio carbon dates place the occupation of the sites to the beginning of the 14th century up to sometime in the 16th century (Robins *et al.*, 1996: 66, 78).

On the other hand, some groups would use spiritual claims with or without ancestral connections to the sites. If one is possessed by the spirit of the original owner of an archaeological site, the possessed may feel that they have enough ground to claim ownership and occupation of the site. By virtue of being the medium (*homwe*) of that spirit, the individual then claims the right to the archaeological site and the land around it. Such claims have been witnessed at archaeological sites associated with famous territorial spirits such as Nehanda and Chaminuka. Several individuals and groups have tried to claim the land known to be the last home of Nehanda located at the site of Shavarunzi in Mazowe (Chakanyuka, 2007). At the site of Great Zimbabwe, soon after Zimbabwe attained its independence in 1980, Sophia Tsvatayi Muchini claimed custodianship of the site based on the fact that she was a spirit medium of Nehanda (Garlake, 1983). She was just one of many spirit mediums to have done so (Fontein, 2006).

Similar claims have also been witnessed at the site of Chitungwiza chaChaminuka, a site associated with Pasipamire, the spirit medium of Chaminuka, a legendary territorial spirit in pre-colonial Zimbabwe (see Figure 2). The Chaminuka spirit played an important role in inspiring freedom fighters in the liberation of the country (NMMZ Monuments File: Chitungwiza chaChaminuka). The Nyakudya, Rwizi and Pasipamire families have staked ancestral claims to the site. However, other people have also claimed it based on possession by the spirit of either Pasipamire or Chaminuka (Mataga, 2003).

The use of archaeological sites in land reclamations is not restricted to Zimbabwe. In South Africa, archaeological sites are also used to show connections to the land. The archaeological site of Thulamela, has been a centre of land reclamations in the Limpopo Province. The site is incorporated into the Kruger National Park, but both Venda and Shangaan communities who live around the Park claim its ownership (Meskell, 2007; Pikirayi, 2011.). However, archaeologists have validated claims by the Venda who have used this evidence to gain an upper hand in land conflicts with the Shangaan communities (Meskell, 2007: 389).

In another case of land reclamations in South Africa, attempts have been made to consider archaeological evidence as corroborative evidence in court cases. In the case of S. J. Monyeke and E. M. Monyeke, the complainants demanded the services of an archaeologist to justify their claim for restitution for a portion of land, which was part of the New Belgium Farm belonging to Indunashee Game Lodge in the Limpopo Province. Even though archaeological evidence was eventually not considered in this case, it shows its potential in acting as physical exhibits of land reclamations in the courts of law. The potential of archaeological evidence to justify land claims has been greatly



Figure 2: a) Stonewalls at Chitungwiza chaChaminuka, b) Sacred structure at the site

established in North America and Australia where indigenous communities can use archaeological materials as a basis for land restitution. In court cases, archaeology is presented by opposing expert witnesses in land restitution (Ray, 2013). From 1976, Australian Aborigines could claim ownership of any land for which they could

demonstrate traditional claims (Ucko,1983). Archaeological evidence became vital in this endeavour. This is also the case in North America (United States of America and Canada) where Native Americans can use archaeological evidence to assert claims to particular areas (Ray, 2013; Ucko, 1983; Anyon, *et al.*, 1997).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES AS EMBODIMENTS OF SACRED INTANGIBLE HERITAGE

Many archaeological sites are luminal spaces bridging contemporary societies and their ancestors. Once ‘abandoned’ many prominent archaeological sites, ‘assume ritual and ceremonial’ significance as dwellings of ancestors (Pikirayi, 2011: 90; also see Figure 3). Therefore, they became places at which people came to appease ancestors. They were often deserted and had limited access; thus they present serene environments ideal for communicating with the spirit world. They link the land, the past and the living. Only special individuals and groups; relatives, autochthons or people with spiritual authorities, can bridge the gap and approach such sites.



Figure 3: The Zimbabwe type site of Shangano in Hwange is considered a sacred site

Traditional ceremonies such as rain-making are conducted at archaeological sites. Chitungwiza chaChaminuka is a good example where every year people come from all over the country to conduct rain-making ceremonies (Bvocho, 2013). Nharira Hills is also a place for rain-making ceremonies (Bvocho and Zhou, 2005). The site of Manyanga is also a ritual centre where those from the Rozvi Mambo conduct rain-making and other rituals. They used to travel more than 60 km from Silobela, where they were moved to during the colonial period, to conduct these rituals (Manyanga, 2003).

Many of the stone-walled sites of the Zimbabwe Culture are considered sacred and centres of ritual activity. Mapungubwe in South Africa was considered a sacred hill by the locals before it was 'plundered' by colonial settlers (Pikirayi, 201: 88). Great Zimbabwe has always been considered sacred with sacrifices of cattle to the ancestors having been recorded from the earliest records of the site (Pwiti and Ndoro, 1999). Rituals associated with the war of liberation (Second *Chimurenga*) were also conducted and these continue to the present (Fontein, 2006: 141-165). Rituals were also conducted at other stone-walled sites such as Tsindi in Marondera and Tere in Mutoko Communal Lands (Ndoro and Pwiti, 1999). However, at sites such as Tsindi, the rituals have been moved to other places on the landscape due to restricted access imposed on the site by the National Monuments Commission and National Museums and Monuments of Rhodesia (now National Museums of Zimbabwe).

The reconstruction of the sacred intangible heritage associated with archaeological sites is not only confined to the perceptions of living communities. Many archaeological sites can also assist in the reconstruction and understanding of sacredness in the distant past. Studying archaeological sites can be a form of digging up the intangible. Identification of special artefacts or structures assists in the identification of the sacred in the archaeological record (Renfrew, 1994: 51). One of the prominent examples of this is the World Heritage site of Osun-Osogbo Sacred Grove in Nigeria. According to the nomination dossier for the site, it is one of the few remaining examples of 'a once widespread phenomenon' among the Yoruba people where forested sacred groves were established outside settlements to honour the bond between people, their ruler and Osun the goddess of fertility (UNESCO World Heritage). In the groves, shrines, sculptures and other pieces of art were laid as expressions of this. Similar sacred places are found across West Africa, and they attest to the religious practises of the past. Archaeology research utilises such kinds of evidence to infer on past human social dynamics.

DISCUSSION: ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES, LAND, AND THE INTANGIBLE HERITAGE

The above discussion has shown the interplay of archaeological remains and living communities in asserting intangible aspects, especially those in connection with land claims and ritual. In conclusion, however, it is important to note that archaeological research has not been used to its full potential in the discourse of intangible heritage. There are limited explicit cases of the uses of archaeological material in land claims in Africa as compared to other parts of the world. This may be due to lack of knowledge on how archaeology can assist in ascertaining issues of ownership and belonging. The 'elitist' nature of archaeological research which is only introduced into formal academia at university level may explain the lack of knowledge and usable approaches amongst the general populace. However, the complicated methods of extracting the information

may also be an obstacle towards this endeavour. Archaeological material cannot speak for itself. Therefore, there is need to use expert skills to get the information correctly. In this regard, some researchers have had to call upon archaeologists to undertake research which is relevant to local communities and 'make possible new understanding of the identity of the present' (Meskell, 2007). Meskell (2007) called upon archaeological research in Africa to venture more into rebuilding the past not just from a tangible (material) point of view, but from a spiritual point as well. Archaeology can then be used in 'development, production and transformation of identities'.

CONCLUSION

The chapter concludes by noting that all efforts towards safeguarding intangible heritage are actually furthering the value of archaeology. Archaeologists are interested in the meaning and values of things to the people who made them. At the same time, by realising these past values and meanings, new values are being created in the present, thereby connecting contemporary societies to their past. Archaeology also functions to correct some fabrications and other falsified means to bolster ownership claims premised on intangible values. While the material remains can be used by anyone, it requires the archaeologist to adequately describe the material, and to establish its temporary and spatial affinities. That way the veracity of the material becomes useful in land ownership claims. Nevertheless, worth noting is that archaeology is also critical towards connecting people to past cultural values and practices that help to cement communities, thereby promoting greater social cohesion that should in turn bolster national unity.

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Chapter Two

The Role of Indigenous Knowledge Systems in Climate Change, Prediction, Adaptation and Mitigation in Sub-Saharan Africa

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INTRODUCTION

Climate change exerts multiple stresses on the biophysical as well as the social and institutional environments that underpin agricultural production (IPCC, 2007). Khanal (2009) classifies the patterns of impact of climate change on agriculture into biophysical and socio-economic impacts. Mark *et al.* (2008) highlights some of the direct impacts of climate change on agricultural systems as: (a) seasonal changes in rainfall and temperature, which could impact agro-climatic conditions, altering growing seasons, planting and harvesting calendars, water availability, pest, weed and disease populations; (b) alteration in evapotranspiration, photosynthesis and biomass production; and (c) alteration in land suitability for agricultural production.

An important feature of dry lands is the low seasonal rainfall amounts and the high rainfall variability (Khanal, 2009). High rainfall variability as manifested in variable onsets and rainfall amounts, dry spells, recurrent droughts and floods are intrinsic characteristics of many sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) regions (Ifejika, 2010). This implies that rain-fed agriculture already has to account for these various characteristics. Yet, the widespread impacts of droughts and floods often force national governments to declare a state of emergency and appeal for external aid (WFP, 2006), indicating that smallholders have yet to meet the challenge of crop and livestock production under such climatic conditions.

Ifejika (2010) indicates that, at the level of practices, there are several ways to adapt to climate change at the farm-level. These different ways are mainly complementary as they address different components of the smallholder farming system. Adaptation is a continuum of practices which ranges from activities that are predominantly developmental to those that focus on reducing climate change impacts. No one single measure is sufficient to adapt to climate change. Rather, a mix of measures is needed which targets the various farm variables — water, soil, micro-climate, seeds and crops as well as labour and capital.

Most smallholder crops are highly sensitive to climate and ecosystems will shift over space in response to climate change. For instance, research done in various countries in southern Africa has demonstrated that a 2°C rise in ambient temperature and a rise of mean temperature by 4°C would significantly lower crop yields (Agoumi, 2003). Potential effects of climate change on maize, a staple crop, using a general circulation model and the dynamic crop growth model CERES-maize in Zimbabwe, showed that maize production was expected to significantly decrease by approximately 11-17%, under

conditions of both irrigation and non-irrigation (Agoumi, 2003; Magadza, 1994; Makadho, 1996; Mano and Nhemachena, 2006; Muchena, 1994 and Stige *et al.*, 2006).

This sensitivity of agriculture in southern Africa, obtained through exposure to climatic hazards and stresses, could lead to increased vulnerability in the absence of adequate coping, adaptation and policy mechanisms, underpinned by access and use of climate information (Figure 1). How smallholder farmers respond to climate change and variability depends on the information they obtain and use to decipher appropriate coping and adaptation strategies (Gukurume, 2014). Such information can be derived from indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) or meteorological weather data or both. On the other hand, reduced vulnerability, encompassed by access and effective utilisation of climate weather forecast data, is shown by improved livelihoods and increased resilience to climate change (Figure 1).

This review covers research that has been done in Africa, particularly southern Africa, and examine the importance of climate forecasts, challenges that have been faced in southern Africa through scientific forecasts, the role played by indigenous forecasting and challenges that indigenous knowledge faces in development interventions, including opportunities in integrating scientific and indigenous forecasts. This chapter is solely based on in-depth literature review of studies that have been done on Sub-Saharan Africa, with particular focus on southern Africa, regarding climate change adaptation and indigenous and scientific forecasting.

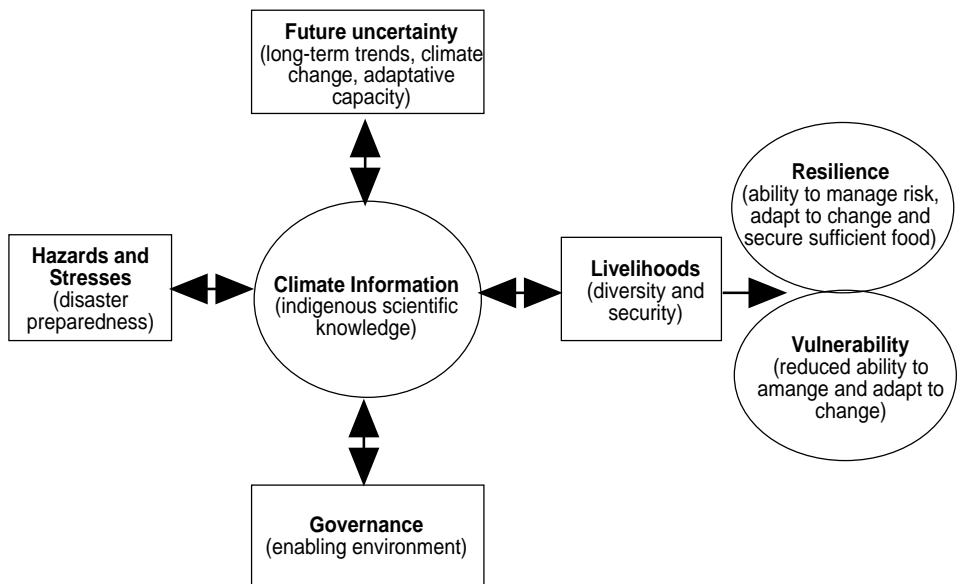


Figure 1: Framework of vulnerability and resilience based on access and usage of climatic information Modified from Pasteur, 2011.

Sustainable smallholder agricultural production cannot be achieved in the absence of local coping and adaptation capacity to current variability and change and adaptive capacities for future climate changes (Finnigan, 2009; Ogallo, 2010). Failure to adapt to climate change may lead to adverse impacts on major food crops at the farm level and in the region (Lobell *et al.*, 2008). Climate information (including observations, research, predictions and projections) has a central role to play in both adaptation and mitigation of climate change (Zillman, 2009). In SSA, however, there is limited access to climate information and relatively low capacity to meaningfully utilise the provided information that farmers have access to (Dutta, 2009; Odendo *et al.*, 2006). Farmers, therefore, tend to rely on indigenous knowledge and information from local social networks to make decisions and manage technology related risks and climate variability (Nyong *et al.*, 2007; Pawluk *et al.*, 1992).

The concept of indigenous knowledge has increasingly become topical and has been embraced by academics and development practitioners as integral to addressing multiple livelihood challenges faced by rural communities in developing countries and as a basis for locally driven adaptation strategies that transcend the planning stage and can begin to be implemented (Mapfumo *et al.*, 2015; Moonga and Chitambo, 2010; Saitabau, 2014). More recent studies have shown that resilience building for smallholder farmers in Africa is a process that starts with the ability to anticipate change and accordingly adjust farming practices and set the base for sound food security, particularly in the context of climate variability and change (Kolawole *et al.*, 2014).

SOURCES OF SEASONAL CLIMATE FORECAST INFORMATION

There is an inevitable demand for seasonal and medium-to-long-term climate forecasts to support farmers in decision making. Farmers tend to use a combination of meteorological information and indigenous knowledge in their seasonal forecasting, as they primarily rely on indigenous knowledge but are also open to receiving scientific forecasts (Mapfumo *et al.*, 2015; Orlove *et al.*, 2010; Roudier *et al.*, 2014). While smallholder farmers approach a season with a wealth of prior experience in empirical observation and traditional knowledge regarding forecasts, these farmers also adjust their practices as they seek further local information and also as scientific real-time forecasts become available (Furman *et al.*, 2011; Frimpong, 2013; Orlove *et al.*, 2010). It becomes difficult in some cases to ascertain which source of information influences what decision in the same season. It may, therefore, be prudent to assert that it is a combination of the types of forecasts that influences farmers' decision making. The trajectory of change highlights how farmers in a study conducted in West Africa more than a decade ago entirely relied on their experience and intuition to make decisions on their farms in a given season (Hansen, 2002) while currently they make use of a combination of indigenous and modern forecasts in parts of southern Africa (Mapfumo *et al.*, 2015).

Climate information appears to be particularly important and in many cases a prerequisite for coping and adapting to the negative impacts of climate variability and change, given that most of the rural livelihoods in southern Africa depend on climate and environmental dynamics (Hans *et al.*, 1996; Goddard *et al.*, 2010). What is emerging from a number of studies is that farmers tend to make decisions on farming practices based on potential evidence of climate occurrences, particularly in relation to rainfall patterns (Goddard *et al.*, 2010; Mapfumo *et al.*, 2015; Roudier *et al.*, 2014). Studies

further highlight that farmer crop management strategies (planting time, weeding, fertilizing, application of pesticides) are shaped by predictive climate information, particularly rainfall related forecasts (Moeletsi *et al.*, 2013; Roudier *et al.*, 2014). Environmental observables tend to guide farmers actions, among them soil moisture and expected weather conditions (Goddard *et al.*, 2010; Moeletsi *et al.*, 2013). Decision making is not restricted to modifications of these decisions, but also works by reinforcing what a farmer has already decided on, thereby having a psychosocial effect through encouragement to maintain good practices (Roncoli *et al.*, 2009). Farmers have the capacity to use climate forecasts to maximise benefits from anticipated favourable conditions and governments in Africa have increasingly invested in climate services to enhance farmers' adaptive capacity (Roudier *et al.*, 2014). However, farmers may not plan for an average season, but for a poor season to ensure survival. Failure to plan for a good season, but only for a poor one makes farmers miss out on profits in a good year (Goddard *et al.*, 2010).

Studies show that climate information is instrumental in improving agricultural production and ultimately dealing with food insecurity (Friesland and Lo pmeier, 2006; Moeletsi *et al.*, 2013; Patt *et al.*, 2005; Phillips *et al.*, 2001; Roncoli *et al.*, 2009). There is an increasing realisation that agro-climatological information, particularly that which provides details on climate extremes and recommendations for actions to be taken, is crucial for improving agricultural production and responsible use of agricultural resources and managing agricultural risk (Fig 1; Andre *et al.*, 2007; Friesland and Lo pmeier 2006; Moeletsi *et al.*, 2013). Agricultural productivity can be increased and costs of production minimised through informed use of weather/climate information, which makes it very important to ensure wide dissemination of this information (Balaghi *et al.*, 2010; Basco, undated cited in Moeletsi *et al.*, 2013). However, some scholars hasten to advise caution on over-generalisation of the importance of climate change based on these studies given the small-scale nature of the sample size and exclusion of other important categories of society such as gender, among other factors (Roudier *et al.*, 2014).

PROBLEMS OF SCIENTIFIC FORECASTS

Climate information has increasingly become important and available in the last decade and Regional Climate Outlook Forums have enhanced dialogue on seasonal forecasts among producers of information, researchers and different categories of decision-makers (Goddard *et al.*, 2010). Moreover, studies demonstrate that there is potential value in incorporating seasonal forecasts into the decision-making of different sectors (Cabrera *et al.*, 2007; Hammer *et al.*, 2001; Hansen, 2002; Hansen *et al.*, 2009; McIntosh *et al.*, 2007; Thonson *et al.*, 2006). However, many studies that have been done on scientific climate and weather information in Africa cite gaps that still exist between information provided and information desired, including challenges such as inaccurate forecasts, inadequate access to information as a barrier to utilisation of internet data, lack of climate data, little meaningful use of the information (policies, planning, decision making at a higher level), products not well developed (some data have not been digitised) low skills, and lack of adequate timing for information dissemination (Frimpong, 2013).

Inaccurate forecasts remain a major challenge to effective use of seasonal forecasts by farmers and other users in Southern Africa. Forecast accuracy tends to decrease with

smaller regions, locally specific information tends to be more uncertain and making this information more accurate requires sufficient observational records in order to be meaningful (Goddard *et al.*, 2010; Gong *et al.*, 2003). Inaccurate forecasts have been implicated in negative yield impacts and the opportunity costs for uncertain forecast are substantial and compromise profitability (Kolawole *et al.*, 2014; Roudier *et al.*, 2014). Farmers in Zimbabwe, and in Eastern Africa, have demonstrated that, with some help, they are able to understand and incorporate probabilistic forecast information into their decision making processes (Ingram *et al.*, 2002; Luseno *et al.*, 2003; Lybbert *et al.*, 2007; Patt, 2001; Suarez and Patt, 2004). Therefore, much more work needs to be done in engaging farmers directly on interpreting seasonal climate forecasts correctly.

Limited and inequitable access to forecast information by farmers compounds the problems of efficiency of seasonal forecasts in smallholder farming systems and is a barrier to utilisation (Kolawole *et al.*, 2014; Mapfumo *et al.*, 2015; Mberehgo and Sanga-Ngoie, 2012; Roncoli *et al.*, 2002; Roncoli *et al.*, 2009; Roudier *et al.*, 2014). Therefore, there is need to improve the effectiveness of communication of climate information through multiple channels and deliberately collaborate with the media for this cause since widespread communication failures constrain access to and therefore widespread uptake of information (Goddard *et al.*, 2010; Hansen *et al.*, 2011; Tarhule and Lamb, 2003). Access to climate information is to a large extent a function of the density of meteorological stations in an area (Ogallo, 2010).

There is little evidence to show that seasonal climate forecast information is being meaningfully put to use and embedded in policies, planning or decision-making within socio-economic sectors, even in cases where these sectors received vast amounts of information resulting from the seasonal forecasts (Goddard *et al.*, 2010; Tarhule and Lamb 2003). There is need to generate useful climate information and predictions and translate that information into usable forms for decision makers through continued dialogues among users of the information periodically. Information tends to be applicable to relatively large areas and lacks specificity: that information is disseminated late and in unfamiliar languages, with technical jargon that limits the effectiveness of uptake (Goddard *et al.*, 2010; Hansen *et al.*, 2011; Kolawole *et al.*, 2014; Van Aalst *et al.*, 2008 cited in Mapfumo *et al.*, 2015; Mberego and Sanga-Ngoie, 2012; Patt and Gwata, 2002). There is also lack of specific information about timing of rainfall and season onset or length, and late dissemination of information (Hansen *et al.*, 2011; Kolawole *et al.*, 2014).

Some of the available forecasts of extremes are not well-developed, are not digitised and are presented as typical probabilities rather than risk of these extremes, a challenge presented by the embryonic state of seasonal forecast systems at many centres (Goddard *et al.*, 2010; Ogallo, 2010). Up to date, forecasters have not accounted for shortcomings such as models not currently representing important modes of intra-seasonal-to-interannual variability, in addition to ENSO predictions that have been encouraging to this point (Goddard *et al.*, 2010). In certain situations, misinterpretation may lead to model predictions conflicting with official consolidated forecasts and the lack of easily available data and overestimated probabilities tend to reduce the actual use of many of these predictions and the usefulness of applications (Chidzambwa and Mason, 2008; Goddard *et al.*, 2010). Although there is evidence of increasing skill in seasonal forecasting in Africa, availability of seasonal forecast on the internet is likely to include statements

that may be construed through inexpert interpretation of limited inputs (Goddard *et al.*, 2010), indicating that there is need to better channel climate information. Essentially, a low relevant skills base still makes it difficult to simulate convective precipitation that produces torrential rainfall, leading to the difficulties faced by climate scientists.

The major point regarding most of the problems highlighted in this section is that these problems are symptomatic of inadequate policies and institutional processes, and are therefore amenable to intervention (Hansen *et al.*, 2011; Mberehgo and Sanga-Ngoie, 2012). Three key elements are identified as crucial for influencing action; technical quality of the information, relevance of this information to the needs of decision makers and perception that the information suits users' interests (Cash and Buizer, 2005; Cash *et al.*, 2006).

INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE SYSTEMS SEASONAL FORECASTS

Given significant gaps in scientific knowledge, ethno-meteorological knowledge plays a key role in farmers' ability to devise adaptation measures to climate variability and change adaptation measures. There is evidence to show that naturally, farmers have an inclination towards indigenous forecasts, as opposed to scientific forecasts as they value their experiences over the years (Kolawole *et al.*, 2014; Roudier *et al.*, 2012). Farmers rely on historical patterns, weather observations and signs to formulate expectations on weather and climate (Orlove *et al.*, 2010).

There are advantages that seem to emerge in studies done in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Botswana regarding indigenous forecasts, such as reliance on indigenous prediction indicators and developing agricultural strategies in response to predictions (choice of crop varieties, land management strategies, and livestock species and management strategies), sometimes without consulting any other sources of predictions (Brooks *et al.*, 2011; Orlove and Kabugo, 2005; Speranza *et al.*, 2009). Indigenous knowledge has a strong practical emphasis that is oriented towards planning and exhibits a dynamism that allows for incorporation of new elements (Flavier *et al.*, 1995; Kolawole *et al.*, 2014; Orlove *et al.*, 2010). These studies in Malawi, Botswana, and Uganda highlight the social nature of indigenous knowledge and shows that indigenous knowledge on forecasting tends to be more accessible given that elders, who are predominantly custodians of this knowledge command respect in their communities and their stock of personal experience is considered to be valuable (Briggs and Moyo, 2012; Kolawole *et al.*, 2014; Orlove *et al.*, 2010; Roncoli *et al.*, 2001). Moreover, farmers tend to share their experiences and knowledge, on forecasts with others on a larger scale, and give them a sense of the arrival and progress of the rains (Orlove *et al.*, 2010). Farmers in Malawi and Botswana highlight that indigenous forecasts tend to be more accurate and simpler to understand for farmers as opposed to scientific forecasts that require sophisticated equipment and formal education and training and financial investment (Briggs and Moyo, 2012; Kolawole *et al.*, 2014; Onyango, 2009; Ouma, 2009).

Farmers use tree phenology, animal behaviour, wind circulation, cloud cover and other social indicators to predict rains and season quality. Farmers are particularly interested in when the rainy season will start so they make preparations. They are also concerned with the quality of the season so they make decisions of what to grow.

Tree phenology indicators

Table 1 shows some of the vegetation indicators used in Southern Africa to predict rainfall. Studies have for the past decade started to show that there are already shifts in the flowering patterns of trees to El Niño events (Curran *et al.*, 1999). This brings to mind the implications of shifting tree patterns for traditional indicators that are critical for seasonal forecasting (see Table 1). Studies done in Southern Africa highlight that if certain trees bear fruit at certain periods of time then this indicates either a good or poor rainfall season, for instance, in Botswana, a certain shrub called *Morethwa* and known in English as the brandy bush/raisin bush (*Grewia flava*) bears fruit twice a year. Early fruiting (November to early December) indicates low rainfall and late fruiting (February/March) indicates a good season and no fruit at all indicates a serious drought (Kolawole *et al.*, 2014). In Zimbabwe the disappearance and delayed fruiting of trees such as the *Maroro*, *Tsambatsi* and *Hute* and on the other hand the profuse fruiting of the *Muhacha* tree, including the delayed regrowth of grasses from August to October have for a long time indicated droughts to come (Mapfumo *et al.*, 2015). Coffee cultivation in Uganda was not common until the 1940s, and so the habit of observing the flowering of the coffee tree as a sign for the onset of the rain must have developed after this time (Orlove *et al.*, 2010). Signs that there will be rain in a few weeks include the flowering of trees, especially coffee trees in Uganda (Orlove *et al.*, 2010). Hence, the shifting of tree fruiting patterns is likely to render this indicator less reliable. The reliability of the indicators that have been highlighted in reviewed studies is critical, since indigenous forecasts are a significant part of the prediction of climate parameters for smallholder farming systems. It is also important to understand the significance of the indigenous forecasts for planning purposes at this level.

It is also important to note the robustness of indigenous indicators across the region (Tables 1, 2 and 3). The commonality of these indicators across ecozones from Tanzania in the east to South Africa in the south is critical with regard to the preservation of certain ecosystems. The use of these robust indicators implies to the necessity to preserve and protect the trees and animals bearing these indicators.

Table 1: Indigenous indicators for weather and climate in Southern Africa — Tree phenology

Indicator	Country	Significance	Reference
Onset of the rains			
Flowering of the peach tree (<i>Prunus persica</i>), apricot (<i>Prunus armeniaca</i>), budding of acacia species,	Botswana Malawi Zambia Zimbabwe South Africa	Beginning of rainy season	Kolawole et al., 2014 Joshua et al. 2011 Mugabe et al. 2010 Risiro et al. 2012; Mapfumo et al., 2015 Zuma-Netshiukhwi et al. 2013

Table 1: cont.

Indicator	Country	Significance	Reference
Season Quality			
Behavior of certain plants: sprouting of <i>Aloe ferox</i> ; Germination of new leaves on baobab and tamarind trees	Botswana Malawi South Africa Swaziland Zimbabwe Zambia	Indication of good rains; Abundance of wild fruits such as <i>Vangueria infausta</i> , <i>Englerophytum natalense</i> and <i>Sclerocarya caffra</i> during the months of December to February signify an imminent challenging farming season	Mogotsi et al. 2011 Joshua et al. 2011 Zuma-Netshiukhwi et al. 2013 Mugabe et al. 2010 UNEP, 2008; Dube and Musi, 2002
Mango tree (<i>Mangifera indica</i>); Nandi Flame tree (<i>Delonix regia</i>)	Malawi Tanzania Zimbabwe	Heavy flowering of the mango trees indicate a potential drought season	Joshua et al. 2011 Risiro et al. 2012 Kijazi et al. 2012; UNEP, 2008
<i>Parinari curatellifolia</i> (muchakata), <i>Lannea discolor</i> (gan'acha), <i>Uapaca kirkiana</i> (mushuku); <i>Boscia albitrunca</i> ; <i>Adansonia digitata</i>	Botswana Malawi Zambia Zimbabwe	Heavy flowering of the trees indicate a potential drought season	Mogotsi et al. 2011 Joshua et al. 2011 Mugabe et al. 2010 Muguti and Maposa, 2012 Risiro et al. 2012
Dormancy breaking in certain trees species e.g. <i>Brachystegia boehmii</i> (mupfuti)	Malawi Zambia Zimbabwe	Indicates plenty of rain in a few days	Joshua et al. 2011 Mugabe et al. 2010 Muguti and Maposa, 2012
Dropping off of young avocado fruits	Swaziland	Challenging farming season	UNEP, 2008; Dube and Musi, 2002

Animal behaviour indicators

The singing, nesting and chirping of certain birds appears to be a useful indicator for the onset of the rains in southern Africa (UNEP, 2008). In addition, there are signs that there will be a lot of rain in the arrival of migratory birds, particularly the southern hornbill (*Bucorvus abyssinicus*), in Zimbabwe, Zambia and northern parts of South Africa (Orlove *et al.*, 2010) with use of the movements of fronts to provide them with tailwinds (Liechti, 2006). Sounds from certain insects that emerge from overwintering/hibernation (Mapfumo *et al.*, 2015) tend to signal the start of a season and of planning by farmers in Botswana and Zimbabwe. Table 2 shows some of the indicators based on animal behaviour. It should be noted that there are indicators that are common in most Southern Africa countries. This assists in the preservation of various animals across the region.

Table 2: Indigenous indicators for weather and climate in Southern Africa — Animal behaviour

Indicator	Country	Significance	Reference
Onset of the rains			
Appearance of red ants, rapidly increasing size of anthills, moist anthills (October-November)	South Africa Malawi Tanzania Zambia Zimbabwe	Good rains are coming	Zuma-Netshiukhwi et al. 2013 Mugabe et al. 2010 Kijazi et al. 2012; UNEP, 2008 Joshua et al. 2011 Risiro et al. 2012
First appearance of sparrows; flock of swallows (<i>Psalidoprocne pristoptera</i>) preceding dark clouds	Botswana Malawi South Africa Swaziland Tanzania Zambia Zimbabwe	Rain is at hand and farmers should prepare for above normal rains	Mogotsi et al. 2011 Joshua et al. 2011 Zuma-Netshiukhwi et al. 2013; Mugabe et al. 2010 Risiro et al. 201; Kijazi et al. 2012; UNEP, 2008; Dube and Musi, 2002
Appearance of certain birds e.g. stock, <i>Quelia</i> Singing, nesting and chirping of certain birds	Malawi Zimbabwe Botswana Zambia Tanzania	Rain is at hand and farmers should prepare for above normal rains	Joshua et al. 2011 Muguti and Maposa, 2012 Risiro et al. 2012 Mogotsi et al. 2011 Mugabe et al. 2010 Kijazi et al. 2012; UNEP, 2008
Cry of the phezukwemkhono (<i>Cuculus solitarius</i>) bird	Swaziland	This signals the start of the wet season in August-November	UNEP, 2008
Termite appearance (<i>Ancistrotermes</i> spp and <i>Macrotermes</i> spp)	Botswana Malawi Zambia Zimbabwe	Appearance of many termites indicate near rainfall onset	Mogotsi et al. 2011 Joshua et al. 2011 Mugabe et al. 2010 Muguti and Maposa, 2012
Frogs in swampy areas croaking at night	Swaziland Zambia Zimbabwe	Indicator for onset of rains	UNEP, 2008; Dube and Musi, 2002; Mugabe et al. 2010 Muguti and Maposa, 2012
Rock rabbit	Zimbabwe	Its unusual squeaking indicates imminent rainfall	Muguti and Maposa, 2012 Risiro et al. 2012
Cicadas (nyenze), day flying chafers (mandere), dragon flies (mikonikoni)	Malawi Zambia Zimbabwe	Appearance of these signifies imminent rainfall	Joshua et al. 2011 Mugabe et al. 2010 Muguti and Maposa, 2012 Risiro et al. 2012

Table 2: cont

Indicator	Country	Significance	Reference
Season Quality			
Grunting of pigs and behaviour of peacocks, doves and ducks, indicate low humidity	Tanzania Swaziland South Africa	Rains are near	Kijazi et al. 2012 UNEP, 2008; Dube and Musi, 2002; Zuma-Netshiukhwi et al. 2013
Calves jumping happily	Swaziland South Africa Zimbabwe	Good rain season	UNEP, 2008; Dube and Musi, 2002 Zuma-Netshiukhwi et al. 2013
Certain snakes moving down the mountain	Zambia South Africa	Good rain season	Mugabe et al. 2010 Zuma-Netshiukhwi et al. 2013
Frequent appearance of tortoises	South Africa	Good rain season	Zuma-Netshiukhwi et al. 2013
Appearance of certain insects e.g. millipedes, spiders	Malawi Zimbabwe	Indicates coming of heavy rains	Joshua et al. 2011 Risiro et al. 2012; Mapfumo et al. 2015
Increased appearance of elephants (<i>Loxodonta africana</i>) near watering points meant for livestock	Botswana	Indicator of low rainfall	Mogotsi et al. 2011
Nesting of the emahlokhloko bird (<i>Ploceus</i> spp)	Swaziland	If nesting is done high up in the trees next to the river, floods are anticipated, and vice versa	UNEP, 2008; Dube and Musi, 2002
When the umfuku (<i>Centropus burchellie</i>) bird chirps during the farming season (October to April)	Swaziland	This is a sign of a thunderstorm approaching	UNEP, 2008
Increase in swarms of bees	Tanzania	Sign of a wet season	Kijazi et al. 2012; UNEP, 2008
Abundance of butterflies (<i>Danaus plexippus</i>) during the farming season, presence of army worms (<i>Spodoptera exempta</i>)	Swaziland	Indicate imminent mid-season drought and possible famine	UNEP, 2008

Table 2: cont

Indicator	Country	Significance	Reference
Goat intestines	Tanzania	If the goat intestines are empty at slaughter it indicates drought or famine ahead, and vice versa	Kijazi et al. 2012 UNEP, 2008
Libido of donkeys	Tanzania	Increased libido of donkeys (August-October) indicate below normal rain and drought in the coming season	Kijazi et al. 2012 UNEP, 2008
Mating of goats	Tanzania	Increased mating of goats (August-September) indicate more rain in the coming season	Kijazi et al. 2012 UNEP, 2008

Atmospheric indicators and indigenous forecasting

Table 3 shows some of the indicators based on atmospheric air circulation. Farmers in Southern Africa believe that there is significant merit in the sequencing of seasons as an indicator for what the coming season will be like (Orlove *et al.*, 2010; Mapfumo *et al.*, 2015). Essentially, indigenous forecasting is not solely based on personal experience, but also on trend analysis (Kolawole *et al.*, 2014; Mapfumo *et al.*, 2015). Mapfumo *et al.* (2015) cite a case of farmers in Zimbabwe who have traced the changes in five rainfall regimes that had for ages indicated the specific stages of rainfall such as the onset of the winter season at the end of May, rains coming in August after the processing of grains, late September marking the end of wild fires, hastening growth of new tree leaves in October and the beginning of the rainy season in October/November. These case studies show that the traditional indicators have also been affected by changes in rainfall patterns to an extent that they may mislead farmers and not be as reliable as they used to be. Farmers rely on these indicators for farming practices including securing marketing and trade arrangements for food security (Mapfumo *et al.*, 2015).

The onset of rains from a few days to a few weeks is indicated by an increase in night-time temperatures, shifts in direction of prevailing winds, particular phases of the moon and the appearance of strong whirlwinds, and changes in smell of the environment, all highlighted as happening just before the rains (Ajibade and Shokemi, 2003; Orlove *et al.*, 2010; Kolawole *et al.*, 2014; Mapfumo *et al.*, 2015). However, there are certain inconsistencies in one community in Uganda on the exact indications of onset of rains through wind direction, as some farmers look for a change in wind direction from easterlies to westerlies, while others look for a shift from southerlies to northerlies (Orlove *et al.*, 2010). In terms of the moon, there are inconsistencies on whether it is the dark phase of the moon or the waning of the moon that indicates the onset of the

rain. Although many farmers have expressed a high level of confidence in traditional indicators for a rainfall season (Orlove *et al.*, 2010; Roudier *et al.*, 2012), the highlighted inconsistencies give pointers to a degree of inaccuracy of some of these indigenous indicators. However, there still exists a significant level in some of these indicators that have been explained in scientific terms, for instance the Inter-tropical Convergence Zone [ITCZ] in March in the same area explains the nighttime temperature shifts and other scientific forecast (Kolawole *et al.*, 2014; Roncoli *et al.* 2002 cited in Tarhule and Lamb 2003). These temperature fluctuations are also used in West Africa as an indication of the occurrence of a rain event within days (Roudier, 2012).

Table 3: Indigenous indicators for weather and climate in southern Africa — Atmospheric circulation

Indicator	Country	Significance	Reference
Onset of the rains			
Moon phases	South Africa Malawi Zambia Zimbabwe	Moon crescent facing upwards indicates upholding water and when facing downwards is releasing water in the next three days	Zuma-Netshiukhwi et al. 2013; Joshua et al. 2011 Mugabe et al. 2010 Shoko and Shoko, 2013
Star constellation	Botswana Malawi Swaziland Zambia Zimbabwe South Africa	Star pattern and movement from west to east at night under clear skies means rain will fall in 3 days	Mogotsi et al. 2011 Joshua et al. 2011 Mugabe et al. 2010 Shoko and Shoko, 2013 Zuma-Netshiukhwi et al. 2013; UNEP, 2008; Dube and Musi, 2002
Season Quality			
Profuse halo around the moon	South Africa Malawi Tanzania Zambia Zimbabwe	Good rains Disposition of the new moon indicates more disease and erratic rainfall	Zuma-Netshiukhwi et al. 2013; Joshua et al. 2011 Kijazi et al. 2012 Mugabe et al. 2010 Shoko and Shoko, 2013 Risiro et al. 2012
Wind swirls	Botswana Malawi Swaziland Tanzania Zambia Zimbabwe South Africa	Frequent appearance is a sign of good rains	Mogotsi et al. 2011 Joshua et al. 2011 Mugabe et al. 2010 Kijazi et al. 2012 UNEP, 2008; Dube and Musi, 2002 Muguti and Maposa, 2012 Zuma-Netshiukhwi et al. 2013; Risiro et al. 2012

Table 3: cont.

Indicator	Country	Significance	Reference
Mist-covered mountains	South Africa	Signal of good rains	Zuma-Netshiukhwi et al. 2013
Temperature	Botswana Malawi Tanzania Zambia Zimbabwe	Heat in low areas in August indicate there will be more rainfall in the coming season; high temperature in October and November signifies near onset and a good rain season	Mogotsi et al. 2011 Joshua et al. 2011 Kijazi et al. 2012 UNEP, 2008 Mugabe et al. 2010 Shoko and Shoko, 2013 Risiro et al. 2012
Appearance of many nimbus clouds; appearance of red clouds in the morning	Malawi Swaziland Tanzania Zambia Zimbabwe	Indicators for rain in 1-3 days	Joshua et al. 2011 Mugabe et al. 2010 Kijazi et al. 2012 UNEP, 2008; Dube and Musi, 2002 Risiro et al. 2012
Appearance of fog/haze in the morning	Malawi Zambia Zimbabwe	Indicator for no rain	Joshua et al. 2011 Mugabe et al. 2010 Risiro et al. 2012

OTHER NATURAL RESOURCES INDICATORS

Although natural-resource-based indicators featured in reviewed studies, these indicators are not as common as the others (Table 4) in terms of predicting the coming season. However, it is noted that the natural-resource-based indicators still play a significant role in predicting the seasons (Kolawole *et al.*, 2014; Mapfumo *et al.*, 2015; Roncoli *et al.*, 2001). The nature of major rivers, springs and streams and changes in behavior of major resource pools remains important in indicating what the coming season will be (Mapfumo *et al.*, 2015). A one-directional free flow of the river indicates an abundant rains season while rivers flowing in a spiral-like manner tend to indicate a season of limited rainfall (Kolawole *et al.*, 2014). A justification for these river flow behaviours is couched in the logic that free flow indicates plenty of rains upstream while a spiral movement of river flow emanates from rivers gradually drying up when they receive less rainfall (Kolawole *et al.*, 2014)

POTENTIAL FOR INTEGRATION OF INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE WITH CLIMATE SCIENCE

While there are differences in criteria used to define seasonal phenomena by both farmers and scientists, there is a significant overlap between indigenous and scientific knowledge regarding weather and climate forecasts (Hinkel *et al.* 2007; Kolawole *et al.*, 2014; Laidler and Ikummaq, 2008), making indigenous knowledge potentially useful for scientific forecasting, particularly in tracking change. Moreover, both local and

Table 4: Other indigenous indicators for weather and climate in Southern Africa

Indicator	Country	Significance	Reference
Rainmaking ceremonies	Botswana Zimbabwe	Praying and traditional healers consulting the gods	Mogotsi et al. 2011 Vijfhuizen, 1997
Body feels increased or excessive heat during the night and day; a feeling of body pain (headache, flu, backaches)	Zimbabwe	Indicator for rain in 1-3 days	Risiro et al. 2012
Asthmatic attack, painful operations	Zimbabwe	Imminent cold weather and humid conditions	Risiro et al. 2012

scientific knowledge in weather forecasting are produced through observation, experimentation and validation, suggesting that there is a meeting point between the two forms of knowledge, although there is an acknowledgement that indigenous knowledge is devoid of any regimentation and regulations and indigenous weather forecasting entails a measure of spirituality that is absent in scientific forecast (Kolawole *et al.*, 2014). Therefore, there is need for a suitable platform where farmers and scientists can work together and to enable them devise adaptation strategies against climate change and variability.

Studies show that generally, farmers are open and willing to integrate new information into their traditional forecasting methods, as demonstrated by these farmers readiness to engage, discuss and use modern scientific forecasts (Orlove *et al.*, 2010). This openness and interest could work well for climate scientists as this could allow them design forecasts that would be in sync with farmers' priorities and more acceptable to these farmers (Nyong *et al.*, 2007). For instance, climate scientists' current system rests on a coarse spatial analysis that does not address the risks in drier sub-regions within relatively moist regions, providing an opportunity for incorporation of indigenous knowledge of spatial variability in climate patterns for the identification of areas at risk for drought (Orlove *et al.*, 2010).

Scientific forecasting information is not embraced by the smallholder farmers owing to a number of reasons. Lack of a sense of ownership by farmers and decision makers alike has contributed to the limited uptake of the disseminated meteorological information. For this and other reasons, climate scientists are increasingly under pressure to transcend their disciplinary confines and engage in a process of joint, continued and participatory learning with users of the information and encourage effective outreach programmes for the information to realise its full potential (Glatz, 2003; Glatz, 2005; Goddard *et al.*, 2010).

A tripartite arrangement between users, scientists (cross-disciplinary) and policy makers is important to create partnerships that maximise use of available climate information

through the near-universal use of indigenous climate indicators and building culturally relevant analogies of decisions under uncertainty into the climate communication process (Kolawole *et al.*, 2014; Ogallo 2010; Phillips and Orlove, 2004; Sivakumar, 2006; Suarez and Patt, 2004). This can be done through contact workshops, public lectures and through the mass media (Kolawole *et al.*, 2014). This is a more viable alternative model to that which casts climate scientists in an active role as “sources of knowledge” and the farmers in a passive role as “recipients of forecasts” (Orlove *et al.*, 2010). The social nature of indigenous knowledge presents an opportunity for national meteorological services to develop new means of communication for their forecast products, where farmers can participate as agents as well as consumers, and farmers themselves can understand and develop an interest to act on forecast information (Orlove *et al.*, 2010; Roncoli *et al.*, 2005; Roncoli *et al.*, 2009; Suarez and Patt, 2007).

CHALLENGES FACING IKS AND POTENTIAL INTEGRATION WITH SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE

It is important to highlight that it would be naïve to believe that indigenous knowledge forecasting is without its challenges. Three areas in which indigenous knowledge for weather and climate forecasting faces challenges are negative perceptions regarding indigenous knowledge, erosion due to modernisation and disruption of the traditional indicators by changes in weather and climate. There is a tendency to perceive local knowledge and practices as impediments to the success of externally funded projects related to agriculture and imposed on the poor communities. In addition, policy-makers on the continent tend to view reliance on indigenous knowledge for climate forecasting with skepticism (Briggs and Moyo 2012; Saitabau 2014). And for this and other reasons, countries in Southern Africa are still at a knowledge stage rather than at a conceptual stage where there is implementation or use of this knowledge for smallholder farmer productivity (Saitabau, 2014). Essentially, there is need for serious engagement with communities before implementation of development intervention, to take into account local knowledge for enhanced productivity, particularly deriving response farming approaches with both the extension office and farmers participating (Berkes and Berkes, 2009; Briggs and Moyo 2012; Mberego and Sanga-Ngoie, 2012; Sillitoe and Marzano, 2008).

The local systems have come under threat from modernisation, with local custodians of knowledge now viewed as ‘backward charlatans’ (Onyango, 2009; Ouma, 2009). On the other hand, scientific knowledge for climate forecasting is considered to be superior and currently enjoys a dominant position as privileged knowledge as opposed to the ‘conservative’ and ‘backward’ knowledge that farmers rely on (Davis, 2005). This explains the suggestion that there is need to document indigenous knowledge in the context of weather and climate forecasting (Goddard *et al.*, 2010; Ouma, 2009) in order to maintain its relevance in the face of accelerated modernisation. Individuals and societies tend to have short-term memories, yet they have to rely on these memories for climate forecasting (Glantz, 2003; Mberego and Sanga-Ngoie, 2012). Documentation of local knowledge in both local languages and English becomes vital for adequate information sharing and for the preservation of traditional indicators that have proven to be useful for smallholder farmers, given that few people’s indigenous knowledge is in-depth and the elders as the custodians of this knowledge are dying out without passing on the

knowledge as was the case in the past (Kolawole *et al.*, 2014; Speranza *et al.*, 2009).

Documentation becomes even more critical given that climate variability and change has affected some of the indigenous indicators, placing limits on the scope of these indicators as a basis for decision making (Mapfumo *et al.*, 2015). This emerging idea of the disruption of traditional indicators by climate change is also based on the waning of the natural resource base upon which the knowledge is built, which is worrisome given the increasing demands for adaptation to climate variability and change (Mapfumo *et al.*, 2015). For instance, biotic resources have adapted themselves to changing climatic conditions and abrupt changes in weather patterns, modifying themselves in the process and making it increasingly difficult to anticipate certain patterns in their behaviour (Boko *et al.*, 2007; Mapfumo *et al.*, 2015; Ouma, 2009).

Scientific knowledge had over the past decades increasingly taken priority over local knowledge and practice in agricultural systems research and development (Walker *et al.*, 1999). For instance, early warning systems on disasters and climate related shocks were traditionally channeled through religious and cultural methods such as oral literatures, poems and songs, which had unfortunately lost recognition and utilisation in the context of climate change adaptation in the same period. However, in recent years, particularly in the past decade, there is an emerging and dominant view that places emphasis on local knowledge as a key component of an agricultural system and the view that instead, scientific knowledge must enhance local knowledge, rather than displace it (Jain, 2014; Joshua *et al.*, 2011; Maconachie, 2012; Osbahr and Allan, 2003). Despite this shift towards recognition of IKS in climate change adaptation in agriculture systems, there is evidence to show that increased rainfall variability and temperatures have reduced smallholder farmers' confidence in indigenous knowledge, hence reducing these farmers' adaptive capacity and increasing their vulnerability to climate change (Joshua *et al.*, 2011). In addition, skewed use of scientific knowledge for weather and climate predictions has proven to be a major constraint for farm level decision-making as it does not incorporate IK, which farmers already live with. In the same context, farmers are more willing to use seasonal climate forecasts when these forecasts are presented with and compared to the local indigenous climate forecasts (Gana, 2003; Patt and Gwata, 2002). Incorporating IK would increase resilience and adaptive capacity (Figure 1).

SOCIAL CAPITAL AND INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE ADAPTATION SYSTEMS

In Southern Africa, spiritual rain-making ceremonies have been at the heart of many smallholder traditional societies and their interaction with nature when inducing rain and blessings in the agricultural enterprise (Vijfhuizen, 1997). Ritual performers would conduct prayers, use medicinal portions, brew and drink traditional beer, and dance under trees among other activities in manipulating the falling of rain. These acts were believed to yield positive results by the autochthonous people. The success of the performed rituals was guaranteed because they were conducted in a deeply rooted and synchronised cosmological condition with an intricate connection between moral geography, the whole environment and the spirits surrounding them (Vijfhuizen, 1997). Current calls by traditionalists in conjunction with politicians and social scientists to rejuvenate spiritual rainmaking as one of the remedies for current weather and climate

hazards affecting modern societies have received intensive criticism from bio-physical (pro-scientific) and Christian based standpoints (Memmott, 2010). Bio-physical scientists jettison the rituals as anachronistic and redundant practices with no tangible results. Their argument is premised on the assumption that there is no symbiotic relationship between brewing traditional beer, dancing under trees and the use of medicine objects and the falling of rain. The bio-physical views are deeply rooted in the use of science to predict and manipulate both short term and long term climate. In some instances bio-physical scientists have the power to influence weather patterns through artificial practices like cloud seeding among others.

There is need for further research, especially in providing empirical evidence to support traditionalists and farmers' current claims on changes in seasonality (Mapfumo *et al.*, 2015). This is an area in which climate (biophysical and social) scientists can collaborate with traditional farmers to provide integration of science and social capital. In addition, to date, less progress has been made in assessments of the extent and impact of forecast use, particularly among vulnerable populations, such as smallholder farmers in Africa. This becomes an interesting area for study that needs further explanation of how forecasts are used by smallholder farmers and to what extent this is really the case. Another area that needs further research and in which scientists can partner with farmers is in connecting the physical climate system to environmental indicators that farmers have highlighted in a number of documented studies (Goddard *et al.*, 2010), integrated with use of indigenous knowledge and spiritual ceremonies. This will enable climate scientists to capitalise on the possible connections.

CONCLUSIONS

Scientific forecasts have to some extent failed to make an intended impact on smallholder farmers due to the inaccessibility and inequitable distribution of this information to smallholder farmers as the primary users of the information. The issue of injustices in the context of the dominance of scientific forms of forecasting against indigenous indicators that tend to be regarded as backward should be revisited. While indigenous forecasting is not without its challenges, a lot more can be learnt and used to implement adaptation strategies that are long lasting by building scientific forecasts based on indigenous knowledge. This will likely lend legitimacy of these forecasts in the eyes of smallholder farmers. However, certain inconsistencies in indigenous indicators, including shifts in phenological patterns and changes in indigenous indicators due to changes in rainfall patterns, all point to negative implications for traditional forecasting as a reliable method of forecasting. Nevertheless, indigenous forecasting—an inalienable aspect of intangible cultural heritage—remains a sound entry point given its social nature, familiarity and acceptability by smallholder farmers. Moreover, indigenous knowledge has a strong practical emphasis that is oriented towards planning, and exhibits dynamism that allows for incorporation of new elements, where scientific forecasts can then come in to complement and add credence to indigenous knowledge.

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Chapter Thee

Shona Traditional Religions Dark Green Spirituality: An Indispensable Intangible Heritage for Sustainable Land Reforms in Zimbabwe

Nisbert Taisekwa Taringa and David Bishau

INTRODUCTION

Zimbabwe's land reform programme has drawn a lot of attention at the political level. It appears there has been little attention to the role of the religio-cultural dimension that inspires this land reform. The role of Shona traditional religious culture in the land reform seems not to have been explored deeper enough. Kriger (1992) studied Zimbabwe's Guerrilla war which is commonly referred to as Chimurenga 2 and in his second chapter, dealt with the subject of land as one of the peasants' grievances that necessitated the rise of the guerrilla war. However, his analysis was shaped by his context in Political Science and inevitably the role of the Shona or Ndebele Traditional religions in both defining and shaping those grievances about land is conspicuously absent in his analysis.

Perhaps a study that draws closer to the kind of investigation that we bemoan for its apparent absence in research of this nature and what we therefore envisage here, is that of Lan (1985). Lan (1985: 31-42) covered a subject we would want to look at in detail here and that is, the role of religion in issues of land. In the particular chapter we cite above, Lan (1985) talks about the involvement of ancestors in land issues before and during the Chimurenga 2 liberation struggle. We do not want to take away credit from Lan (1985) for his detailed coverage of the subject, but perhaps because of his particular focus on the role of spirit mediums in other spheres of the struggle Lan's analysis of the role of religion in land issues in Zimbabwe becomes unfortunately limited. Yet, the liberation struggle is presumed to be the basis of the current land reform programme and the formulation of any policies regarding land and natural resources in general. It is against this background that this study has taken its root to investigate from a broader perspective how the Shona religious and, or, cultural cosmology informs the Shona people's attitude to nature, and land in particular. It is in pursuit of a critical observation that an earlier researcher, Daneel (2001: 25) made about the guerrilla war:

..as réistance and political agitation turned into a full-scale liberation struggle, traditional religion inspired the guerrilla fighters, often informed and even directed strategic operations at the front, and did much to secure close cooperation between rural communities and fighters.

Thus, in this chapter it is our insinuation that as the land reform goes on there is need to understand how the Shona's attitude to nature has been shaped by their religious and, or, cultural view of the creation and cosmos in general. Such an exposition is necessary to explain the traditional values and beliefs of the Shona behind such giant

moves such as regaining land and hence, what role Shona traditional religio-culture can play with respect to human treatment for the environment in the light of the land reform in Zimbabwe.

Critical questions in this regard are: What resources in the Shona traditional religio-culture can be harnessed to sustain a caring attitude towards nature? What are the features of the Shona traditional religio-culture which strengthen human respect for nature? From an analysis of our research findings this chapter argues that it is imperative to acknowledge the Shona traditional religio-culture's moral teachings behind any endeavour to conserve the environment among the Shona in order to ensure sustainable land reform. To do this the public education system will have to complement the scientific approach to environment education and environmental awareness with lessons drawn from serious consideration of the Shona traditional religio-culture.

Thus, the chapter argues for the validity of core Shona traditional beliefs as complementary responses to environmental degradation. The basic conviction is that this tradition has the resources necessary to constructively respond to the carelessness and inattention that have led to ecological devastation. The chapter argues that Shona religion contains ancestral inspired wisdom about nature, and that if we pay attention to this indigenous wisdom we can learn to relate to other creatures as *Mwari* intends.

A careful reading of Shona wisdom tradition reveals that authority over things belongs to the guardian of the land; we have no authority to destroy what we ourselves did not create; destruction of a grand master's work by its onlooker, beholder, or curator may be a disgrace to their creator (Bauman, 2011: 59). The job of land reform beneficiaries is to ensure that all creatures can maintain their proper connections with members of their own kind, with the many other kinds with which they interact, with the soil, air, and water upon which they depend for their life and fruitfulness. Thus in this study we find in the Shona wisdom tradition, the ecological lesson of kinship/interconnectedness which can be harnessed to conserve the natural environment. The resources to respond to environmental degradation already exist in the Shona tradition; only that they must be heard. The response of the Shona to ecology should be a recovery of the ecological wisdom waiting to be found in the Shona worldview.

We take particular cognisance of Bauman *et. al.* (2011: 69)'s point that the goal of the kind of reformation we envisage here, strikes a middle path between assuming that the Shona tradition has the answers and that it has none. It assumes that there is validity in what is inherited but also that some dimensions of this tradition like totemism for example, will need to be rethought or reanalysed in light of contemporary reality. Thus, our call for ecological reformation is an attempt to emphasize the validity of the tradition while also leaving room for significant change in the tradition in the light of contemporary scientific ecological insights on environmental degradation. The implication of this is that Shona religion is a vital and relevant tradition, but it must change and develop if it is to remain so.

We take cognisance of the fact that Shona religion is broad and cannot be exhausted in a single book chapter. Therefore, in this chapter we sample only a few religio-cultural-environmental themes namely, to borrow Daneel's (2001: 106) terminology: sense of place, sense of community (kinship/interconnectedness), renewal of human earth relations and awareness of divine presence that can even be traced back from the role

of religion in the liberation struggle. Even with these selected themes we mainly limit our analysis of them to Shona traditional religion in and around Zimunya, what is usually referred to as Jindwi Shona traditional religion. However, be that as it may, our overall analysis draws also from certain fascinating experiences from other regions in Zimbabwe which took place either during the liberation struggle referred to above, or earlier, that we include because of their fecundity to enrich and enhance our overall thesis in this chapter.

THE ROLE OF RELIGION AND ATTITUDE TO NATURE IN THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE

When one of the first batches of guerrillas first came to Chapeyama village among the vajindwi in Zimunya, one of the researchers had the opportunity to have a recount of some of the observable steps they took. They approached one of the traditional leaders (*madzishe*), whom we latter came to know only as comrade Mambodzakupfumbira, who took them to the *svikiro* (medium) of the area, Tenzi Mavhima. The researcher was not immediately privy to what transpired at the *svikiro*'s shrine, but came to learn that at the shrine the guerrillas were given spiritual guidance regarding when and how to attack the enemy, refraining from sexual immorality, taboos to watch out for, that included taking the natural environment, both vegetation and animals, as kith and kin. It was intriguing that among the instructions to follow was the encouragement to pay particular attention to animal behaviour, including sounds and gestures they made. Also, there were some stretches of land that were sacred space where even when the guerrillas came into contact with the enemies, engagement was forbidden. The other researcher also corroborated this with similar incidences that occurred in the Marange area where he comes from.

Therefore, that there was a strict connectedness between nature and the guerrillas in the liberation struggle is something that is almost an established fact. Confirmations abound of instances where such animals as baboons and birds like *chapungu* behaved in certain ways that gave warnings to the guerrillas that the enemy was approaching. Day bases were almost always located near sacred caves (*ninga*) whenever these were available. Examples include National day base which was located in a mountain called Mawewe in Mushati Village, Zimunya and Nehanda day base, located in a mountain called Rowa in Chapeyama Village, Zimunya. Reasons for this were many and varied, but the most common belief was that the guardians of the area were resident in and around their burial sites (the *ninga*) and as expected by traditional laws and customs, vegetation around these places would be preserved religiously and hence, the areas had a two-fold protective role. Naturally because of the very thick vegetation the guerrillas easily 'took cover' in such areas and second, religiously the guardians of the land would not allow their burial sites to be 'defiled'. The belief was that even if the enemies spotted the guerrillas, somehow they would either not engage or if they did engage the guerrillas would defeat them. This kind of spirituality that guided the guerrillas is a type of spirituality that has been referred to in scholarly circles as dark green spirituality whose deposits are found in Shona wisdom traditions which we analyse briefly later below before we zero in on the role of Shona traditional religion in land distribution. For now it is congruent to get some insights of dark green spirituality and how it was at play in the liberation struggle as a way of introducing our main subject of discussion.

TAKE COVER! THE ROLE OF DARK GREEN SPIRITUALITY AND CHIMURENGA 2

Dark green spirituality is a mark of dark green religions. Taylor (2009:13) defines dark green religions as those that develop from a deep sense of belonging to and connectedness to nature, while perceiving the earth and its living systems to be sacred and interconnected. Dark green religions place sacred value in the world of nature. Such religions are rooted in ancient traditions of animism and nature spirituality. Dark green religion represents for him a willingness to develop a new spirituality for a new reality, drawing on the old only insofar as it serves the cause of environmental conservation. He writes, laying bare the gist of his definition,

By dark green religion, I mean religion that considers nature to be sacred, imbued with intrinsic value, and worth of reverence and care. Dark green religion considers non-human species to have worth, regardless of their usefulness to human beings. Such religion promotes an ethics of kinship between human beings and other forms of life (Taylor, 2008:89).

Therefore, as we show above, we can safely surmise that during the Second Chimurenga, the guerrillas were aided by a dark green spirituality. Following instructions from spirit mediums in the various areas they operated in the guerrillas respected immensely the animal life (Fauna) as well as the plant life (flora). The partnership that was created between the freedom fighters and the environment has been captured and finds its expression in the abounding traditions about the war that developed and crystallised into legends and, or, liberation myths. For example, some traditions report that the guerrillas forged a cementing partnership to the extent that animals could give warning to guerrillas about an impending danger and they would react accordingly. Various species in the animal kingdom such as baboons and snakes for example, were the most reliable among the animals that spirit mediums singled out for this function. It is believed that the animals could communicate with the spiritual world and transmit instructions that could guide the combatants. More often than not the enemy was left puzzled: how could they have been detected? (Taringa and Sipeyiye, 2013).

Communication with the spiritual world via the animal kingdom would not be possible if kinship between the guerrillas and the natural environment was absent. Even harmful animals and reptiles spared the guerrillas' lives and vice versa. The combatants would not kill these animals unless a proper ritual was conducted with the assistance of a spirit medium. This underlines the notion that there had to be a justifiable necessity to destroy the animal life.

Similarly, sacred woodlands, wetlands and mountains were used as a refuge by both the combatants and masses during enemy attacks. In the war zones it was a taboo to be seen felling trees or causing veld-fire because everyone knew that without good vegetation they were like fish out of water. The bush also availed fruits and other edibles to energise the freedom fighters and some medicinal herbs to ensure that they remain in sound health. A popular fruit and herb that the guerrillas used among the vajindwi in Zimunya include *Munengeni* (*Ximenia caffra* fruit or sour plum) which apart from being a delicious fruit, was also a very good antibiotic, especially its leaves. Another herb which the guerrillas who operated in this area used especially to treat wounds was the *Teu*, as it is known among the vajindwi, or *gavakava* (*Aloe Vera*). The guerrillas

were enriched with this profound knowledge from the mediums of the area and valued religiously this sacred knowledge.

The land itself was the stage where the interplay of all these forces took place. It gave life to animals and the vegetation as well as hiding places like caves for the guerrillas; it was and is still the abode of the ancestor spirits to whom the people gave libations from time to time for spiritual guidance. In short, the land was an invariant core in the equation of life and therefore, a precious treasure. The spiritual attachment to the land inspired by the Indigenous Religion and revered by the people, ensured a very positive environmental ethic. Overall, in the light of the traditional scenario one can argue that in the past the Shona knew how to deal with nature and the environment. They knew how to use dams; they knew how to protect forests and water sources with the use of belief and value systems attached to those places. They acted as custodians of these resources for future generations within the kinship social group and it was the Indigenous Religions then that inspired an environmental conservation culture by fostering a society that respected some order and harmony amongst all the constituents of the cosmic totality. Thus, the guerrillas' famous outcry: 'Take cover,' was a cry to identify with, and therefore, seek the protection of the land. Hence, the land was the people, the animals, the birds, the plants, the forests, the mountains and the water bodies. It was the entire earth community. The logical conclusion from this analysis is that the second Chimurenga was without doubt grounded in a dark green spirituality whose wellspring was the Shona traditional religio-cultural ecology. The ecological wisdom of kinship and interconnectedness was at play.

It is interesting that the dark green spirituality during the liberation struggle had quite a lasting grip on the guerrillas who spent long stretches of time at the battle front. In an interview recently one such ex-combatant disputed that it was genuine war veterans who were responsible for destroying the natural environment (Lovemore Tandadzayi, personal interview, Seleous Resettlement Area, Chegutu, 1 November, 2014). He was adamant that no genuine war veteran would cause veld fires and kill animals at will as seems to be the case now. Challenged by the researcher that most resettlement areas seem to be under serious environmental degradation, he insisted that many people were of the mistaken idea that most people in those areas are war veterans; yet if the truth were told there may be one or two war veterans in such areas. Whether Tandadzayi's claims are true or not is neither here nor there. Our point remains that the dark green spirituality had quite some grip on the guerrillas and what they believed about their relationship with nature constituted a reality that guided them throughout the liberation struggle.

Be that as it may, we make a very sad observation here that in taking back its land, Zimbabwe seems to have lost this dark green spirituality (Taringa and Sipeyiye, 2013). Why this is so is not immediately clear. However, it is our immediate insinuation in this chapter that perhaps more than thirty years now from the immediate context where the dark green spirituality was at play, the young generation that came out of the liberation struggle and some elements among the old generation are beginning to doubt the efficacy of this spirituality in mitigating some of the negative impact of our land reform on the natural environment. Perhaps, what may be a subject of investigation in a separate research endeavour is the impact of the absence of legitimate traditional leaders in the resettlement areas who would legitimately enforce the dark green

spirituality based on the traditional beliefs about land in the areas where the resettlements are situated. What is clear is that in most resettlement areas either the dark green spirituality is absent or there are no explicit systems in place to enforce it and as we hinted above, it is perhaps because those who are settled in the areas have limited appreciation of the role of the dark green spirituality in environmental preservation. It is in this regard that we revisit the role of some elements of the Shona traditional religion towards the environmental degradation. However, before we do this, or in order for us to do so, there may be need to make a reassessment of the magnitude of the problem we are dealing with.

THE TRAVAIL OF NATURE UNDER LAND REFORM: GREATER EQUITY WITHOUT ECOLOGICAL BALANCE?

The travail of nature under the land reform was observed by Daneel well soon after the Fast track land reform programme launched in 2000. Daneel (2001:8) observed the problem of achieving greater equity in terms of land redistribution which lacked ecological balance. He writes,

One anticipated that after Zimbabwean Independence there would be a redistribution of land and that, if properly implemented, this would contribute towards greater equity and ecological balance. One assumed that there would be control and conservation in what traditionally had been regarded as sanctuaries. It was not to be. Soon after Chimurenga a large number of squatters were allowed to settle in the catchment area of Lake Kyle near Great Zimbabwe. In no time large sections of the Musasa and Mutondo forests were gone, and the sandy soil lay bare in the sun, ready to be carried away by the ton to the watery depth of the lake where it would add to the problems of siltation and, as side effect, bedevil the sugar cane industry in the low veld.

This problem seems to have dogged the beneficiaries of the fast track land reform. The players this time are no longer squatters as during Daneel's time of writing. The new players are people who have been formally allocated land. Below we present three cases in which it is clear that the spirit of greater equity with ecological balance and the dark green spirituality that aided the armed struggle seem to be lacking among newly resettled farmers.

1. We have been allocated land in the area...

The chief was also engaged in a wrangle with farmers. One of the most worrying environmental disasters was the massive destruction of trees in the area adjacent to the Great Dyke around Kildonia area, near Mutoroshanga. Several vehicles and trucks were seen loaded with firewood going from the area to Harare. They bought large stocks of firewood for resale, which was big business in Harare. Most of the farmers said they had been allocated the land and that is why were cutting down trees so haphazardly. "We have been allocated land in the area". Deforestation was controlled by well-organised cartels that included politicians, businessmen and farmers. The chief was facing resistance. The chief's lamentation is captured in the following words: 'The farmers are now blatantly defying my orders to vacate the area, despite the promise to have land reallocated to them elsewhere. We are fighting

running battles with these farmers almost every day, but some of them are seeking protection from political leaders and this is very sad for our environment. I gave them a three day eviction notice, but they resisted eviction order.' There was also rampant cutting down of trees near a sacred shrine called Maringambizi, which had traditionally been a place reserved for ancestral worship and performing traditional rituals. Chief Zvimba has made an arrangement with ministry of lands to take over all the places that are considered sacred in the area (Bwititi, 2009: 16).

2. Clear much of the trees to farm! This section has not been used for crops.....

When Phides Mazhawidza was shown her newly allocated A2 farm in Goromonzi, she was dismayed to find that it was covered with trees. While she admired the miombo woodlands with its beautiful musasa and munondo trees, her heart sank when she realised that she would have to clear much of it to farm. Phides farm was a subdivision of a large commercial farm in a region of high agricultural potential and her section had not been used for crops" (Hanlon, Manjengwa and Smart, 2013: 175).

Land reform means unused land is being cleared and land is being used intensively, which makes trees a key issue. There is an increased demand for wood for fuel, in particular for curing tobacco and to sell to urban dwellers. So far land-reform farmers seem to be managing their trees, but they will need to be monitored. Fast track land reform and economic crisis caused by hyper-inflation have created two serious environmental problems that will not be solved by simple enforcement (Hanlon, Manjengwa and Smart, 2013: 187).

3. Cutting down trees, Veld fires

Maposa, Hlongwani and Muguti (2011:160) decry the impact of the land reform on the environment. They observe that "In spite of the fact that the Land Reform programme has posited some apparent successes in the particular provision of land as a source of livelihood for thousands of peasants who were landless, it is causing almost unmitigated environmental disaster. It is a hard reality to note that *varimi vatsva* (new farmers) are involved in wanton tree cutting in resettled farmlands. Trees are disappearing at catastrophic rapidity. This is causing deforestation, an issue that is intrinsically linked to environmental degradation. Kwekwe town is fast turning into a desert. The reasons are not far to seek. The new farmers have occupied the adjacent former white commercial farming properties such as Congela, Dunlope Extension, Milsonia Ranch and Maivalle Ranch.

Apart from the indiscriminate cutting down of trees, *varimi vatsva* have been widely accused of causing veld fires in the former white farmlands across the country. However from the onset, it must be stated that the issue of who causes the fire is a contentious one. Firstly, it is alleged that communal peasants cause veld fires. Fire outbreaks commonly occur during the dry season when conditions favour the spread of the fire from one point to the other. The communal peasants move around and smoke out bees in search of honey from the veld. Secondly, some *varimi vatsva* incidentally cause veld fire during land preparation. Despite being motivated by the practical need to survive, *varimi vatsva* are the chief culprits in the sense that they are also involved in hunting animals for game meat in their new found domains (Maposa, Hlongwani and Muguti, 2011: 161).

From the above scenarios we observe with concern that land reform and economic crisis have created serious environmental problems that will not be solved, as Hanlon, Manjengwa and Smart (2013: 187) correctly state, by simple enforcement. The first scenario reflects an attitude that the mere allocation of land gives the recipients of the land the right to only want to destroy trees without heed to calls from the traditional leaders and the chiefs. The actions of the resettled farmers display utter ignorance of the spirituality that guided the guerrillas to wrestle the land from the white settlers in the first place. It boggles the mind what exactly are the philosophical principles informing their actions. The second scenario may be a genuine quest to clear land for farming. However, it seems the farmers are limited in terms of their farming options. Is farming limited only to tilling the land? In such a scenario too, some scholars have argued for a balance between the need to clear the land for farming and the concern to preserve the natural environment. We carry this debate in some critical way later in the analysis towards the conclusion. Scenario number three is interesting. Explanation for the rapid destruction of trees is difficult to explain at first, but upon closer analysis and as with elsewhere where the new farmers have been resettled, four reasons have been given for this wanton cutting of trees and veld fires. First, clearing land for farming; second, firewood for both domestic use more occasionally for curing tobacco which has become bewitchingly popular among the new farmers; third, firewood for sale to urban dwellers who are experiencing lots of power cuts that leave them with few if not no alternative sources for energy for use in the home; and finally, though the most interesting of the reasons particularly for veld fires, trees have been cut down and veld fires initiated to clear hunting grounds for game. In the latter case then it is not just the trees and grass that are in danger of total destruction, but also the wild animals that have always enjoyed these forests as their natural habitats. The initial relationship of connectedness with nature that became manifest in the liberation struggle is completely lost.

It is in this light that this chapter calls for a crucial reconsideration of the use of Shona traditional religion to reinstate dark green spirituality that as we observe above, left a marked impression in the majority of the ex-combatants. Traditional indigenous religion has an important contribution to make. It can give meaning and motivation in the overall process of building an ecological ethos, and thus it can contribute to the foundations of an ecological ethics for sustainable land reform. For many people around the world, religious faith continues to provide fundamental meaning to many social phenomena and processes. Given the history of the involvement of religion in the struggle, it would seem that for the Shona people, especially those involved in the liberation struggle and those who value it, ecological commitment can receive its deepest grounding only at a religious level.

There are many beliefs and practices that are life-giving within the indigenous wisdom traditions, ones that can be brought forward into the contemporary world and nurture and sustain present day social development processes. Of course this is not to say this is an easy task to harness old religious traditions to answer to present day challenges. It is a hermeneutical task that cannot be ignored that easily. In fact, all religious traditions face this hermeneutical challenge, which Ferguson (2010: 35-36) succinctly articulates: asking the sacred events of their history, often written about in sacred scripture or kept alive in oral tradition, to leap forward into the present for instruction and give guidance for the future.

As may have been observed already this paper unearths both the cosmological roots and belief systems of the Shona as motivating forces in the mobilisation of an environmental ethic for sustainable land reform programme. We agree with Daneel (2001) who argues the unparalleled fecundity of the Shona religion to do so. Daneel (2001: 106) argues that,

The insight it (indigenous or as he calls it primal religion, in this case Shona traditional religion) generates may be significant for the development of a relevant eco-theology or environmental ethic in the global village. Numerous anthologies comprising contributions from all parts of the world reveal acute awareness among academics of the value of the "primal" religions, alongside other world religions, for a radical rethink of the prevailing anthropocentric ethic in industrial consumer societies with its devastating impact on natural resources. Generally they do so by giving examples of the role primal religions with a view to replacing this anthropocentric ethic, understood as an emphasis on human wellbeing at the expense of nonhuman life and the resources of the earth.

We get into the cosmological roots and belief systems that give Shona religion this unparalleled fecundity to avert environmental degradation.

THE PRIMARY UNITY: HUMAN BEINGS, SPIRITS AND NATURE

In the Shona worldview we may infer that people look out upon cosmos partaking at once the qualities of human beings, nature and God/ancestors. That which the Shona confront seems not to be three separate things. But it is rather one thing with different aspects of vitality. We note that if we compare their worldview with a triangle of the three conceptions of human beings, nature and God/ancestors- the Shona worldview is one in which the triangle itself might not be very apparent. This unitary character of the cosmos in the case of Shona people is recognised when it is said that the world of the Shona is pervaded with sacredness. So there seems to be an aspect of the primary unity which the land reform programme managers may use.

KINSHIP WITH NATURE: I-THOU VIS-A-VIS I-IT RELATIONSHIP

Contemporary environmental policies have much to learn about kinship from traditional cultures of indigenous peoples. The kinship model challenges the scientific model of domination and exploitation. The Shona people emphasise intense knowledge of the aspects of nature in the land in which one lives and have rapport with nature. Shona attitudes may be confined to one geographical region. So it may be difficult to translate to other places where different aspects of nature do not necessarily hold the same religious significance. The underlying assumption is that the Shona people identify some aspects of nature as positive and vital parts of religious life particularly providence and soteriology. Because there is kinship between ancestors, human beings and nature there is a sense in which the Shona worship nature. In the myth of creation we learn that humans and nature descended from the same ancestors. So in relation to kinship the Shona emphasise appropriate restrictions or taboos for relating to nature. There is need for an **I-Thou** relationship. Human relationship with nature is seen far more than an **I-IT** relationship. This moves from objectifying nature as an "**IT**" (Edwards, 2006:

24). There should be a relationship of mutuality. Mutuality is a central norm for Shona environmental ethics. Ferguson (2010) confirms this life-giving dimension of traditional Shona wisdom with reference to indigenous wisdom traditions in general. He states that,

[t]he indigenous wisdom traditions have tremendous respect for nature and see human life as integrated with nature rather than as exploitative. Their outlook, while not fully articulated in a scientific way, is fundamentally ecological in character. These people know that they belong to nature, heart and soul, and must live in harmony with it in ways that honor the patterns and order of the universe. The whole human family is learning this “inconvenient truth” that they must now live in ways that respect nature, given the overwhelming challenges of a deteriorating environment and global warming. Spirituality is profoundly ecological in character (Ferguson, 2010:36).

Paul Santmire rightly argues for such a truly personal relationship between human beings and nature. He takes up Martin Buber’s **I-Thou** concept, proposing that the human relationship with nature is to be seen as far more than an **I-IT** relationship. He argues for an extension of Buber’s personalism to include nature as a mysterious other to which a human I can relate. In this sense, he argues for relationships of mutuality between persons and other creatures of nature (Edwards, 2006: 24). Daneel (2001: 90) confirms the kinship model in the following words,

Traditional African ecology, like everything else in Shona society, is inseparably linked with traditional religion. Environmental protection is sanctioned by the creator God and the guardian ancestors of the land. Trees symbolise ancestral protection and/or various forms of continuing ancestral involvement in the community of the living and their habitat. Birds and animals are considered a legitimate food resource for humankind. But strict rules were laid down for the protection and survival of all species and, as was poignantly illustrated during *chimurenga*, certain animals and birds were considered to be direct emissaries from the spirit world to the community of the living. Water resources were protected through the prohibition of river bank cultivation and elaborate rules regarding the prudent use of marshlands, springs, and fountains. In the event of abuse, mystical retaliation could be expected: animal predators or snakes threatening human life at the site of the spoilt water resource, or the departure of benevolent water spirits.

SACREDNESS OF THE LAND

The Shona share with most Africans the belief in land as sacred. Land is sacred because it bears the remains of the ancestors, particularly in the form of graves of the chiefs. Shona religion is based on the grave. In the central rituals of *kumutsa mudzimu* (rituals in honour of ancestors) the point of entry is the grave. In other rituals, libations are poured on the ground. In the land is also buried the umbilical code of a people. It is the abode of the dead and when counting members of the family the Shona always include *varipasi* (those who are dead). Land is the rallying point because non-human creatures also live on the land. Although non-human creatures do not get buried when they die as humans do, they, like human beings, decompose on the land after they have died. As

a result, land is respected or sacralised in sayings such as *pasi ratsamwa*, *pasi panodya* (the land is angry, the land eats). (Taringa, 2014: 49).

The issue here is that if everything dies and decomposes, it will form part of the soil, hence *pasi panodya*. Land belongs to the living, the unborn and the dead of both human and non-human creatures. The Shona believe that if one does not relate to sacred aspects of nature according to prescribed taboos and restrictions the ancestors would be angry (*kutsamwa*) and as result some misfortune, such as drought and epidemics, might befall the community. So the fundamental attitude to land is a religious one and is based on fear of mystical sanction by the ancestors. This underlies all attitudes to other aspects of nature like animals. In fact the land is the entire earth community (Taringa, 2014: 49). Daneel (2001:107) confirms this observation succinctly. He writes:

It is not coincidental that the Shona people's overriding concern during the political liberation struggle and in our current war of trees was and is still the lost land. This concern is rooted in a religiously inspired sense of place. The land is the people, the animals, the plants, the entire earth community-unborn, living, dead. In other words, the land is the totality of known and unknown existence. Invasion of the land by foreigners and destruction of its resources for human gain or "progress" make the people living there rootless serfs and aliens. Through internal and external displacement they lose touch with the dwelling places of their ancestors, hence with their own cultures and history. Thus recapturing the land politically and restoring the land environmentally are integral processes in the individual and group experience of spiritual rebirth, revival and growth.

SOTERIOLOGY

To the Shona, both human beings and nature have intrinsic value. Furthermore, the sacredness of some aspects of nature is linked to ruling chieftdom and the fertility of the land. So life forms depend on nature. It is good to respect nature because only happy ancestors in liaison or communication with spirit creatures such as the Lion or the Python who are deemed to be guardians of the land work together to give people good rains. Thus, the Shonas' attitude to nature is a model of restraint in the knowledge that not everything we can do should be done. For instance, in order to get good rains, we must not kill terrestrial creatures unnecessarily.

Thus, human beings and nature are bound together by mutual limits and prohibitions. The interaction has both personal and ritual meaning. Shona people hear voices in sacred beings around them that guide them in living together for mutual benefit. This is based on the concept of *shura* (an mystery). The Shona way is an ethic of minimal intervention. Since ancestral spirits are part of nature's furniture, there is a sense in which nature takes care of itself.

REVERENCE FOR LIFE AND RESPONSIBILITY

Reverence for life is accepted in the worldview of traditional Shona religio-cultural worldview. It entertains the sacredness of nature. Yet the vision that seems to be driving

the land reform programme is more influenced by mechanistic thinking. The mechanistic thinking finds it hard to entertain the sacredness of nature. The Shona people believe that all life forms are important including the lives of non-human creatures. Responsibility is a principle that enables the Shona to revere nature and appreciate its trans-physical dimensions. It is an ethical principle in the sense that as the Shona understand the unity of life and the fact that they are part of nature, and one with nature then they take responsibility for life, for all life. So the understanding of the sacredness of nature implies responsibility for it. Scientific and rational land reform ethic without responsibility is monstrous to the environment. In fact ethics without responsibility is empty. Shona traditional religion is consistent with observations made about indigenous wisdom in general.

The indigenous wisdom traditions teach an ethical way of life that places value on personal character, respect for all and responsibility and duty within the social order. Other religious and philosophical traditions do as well, but there is persuasive and evocative understanding of the call to an ethical life in the wisdom traditions, one rooted in nature, story and personal experience. Again, we are cautious not to romanticise native peoples; they struggled in the ways that all humans struggle to close the gap between the **is** and **the** ought. Were there those within the communities that practised the faith of the tradition and are there hypocrisy in their current expression? Of course, but the vision of the ethical way of life in these traditions is one model for those of us who struggle to live with integrity and honour our deepest beliefs and values, pulled away by as we are by a selfish and materialistic culture, which teaches that happiness consists in the abundance of things possessed (Ferguson, 2010: 37).

ANALYSIS OF FUNDAMENTAL OBSERVATIONS: SHONA DARK GREEN SPIRITUALITY IS INDISPENSABLE

It goes without saying that ecology is at the heart the Shona Traditional Religio-Culture. The indigenous Shona wisdom traditions have tremendous respect for nature and see human life as integrated with nature rather than as exploitative of nature. Their outlook while not fully articulated in a scientific way is fundamentally ecological in character. These Shona people knew that they belong to nature, heart and soul and must live in harmony with it in ways that honour the patterns and order of the universe. Shona spirituality is profoundly ecological in character. Humanity considered as members of a larger spiritual family. Humans are not at the centre of the world or superior to the rest of creation. It is the human responsibility to respect and live in harmony with all other beings.

Human beings are members of a larger spiritual family. It is common to hear members of indigenous communities call non-human living beings “people”. For example birds are said to be winged people, trees standing people, and fish people who swim in the waters. This is not a result of a limited vocabulary in indigenous languages, but because all beings in the shared indigenous worldview are typically understood to be members of one spiritual family. From this perspective we humans live in a bio-centric as opposed to an anthropocentric, world. Humans are not thought to be the centre of the world or superior to the rest of creation. Humans are thought to have souls and other beings also have souls or spirits.

For indigenous people all life is spiritual. The spiritual world is not separate from us; we live in a spiritual world at all times, whether we are aware of it or not. Indeed as must be stressed there is, but one world from the perspective of the indigenous worldview. The indigenous worldview is bio-centric and animistic, meaning that all living beings are seen as members of one interdependent spiritual community. From this perspective, it is critically imperative that humans live in harmony with the rest of the natural world.

The traditional worldview of indigenous cultures affirms that other beings are alive and conscious just as humans and with humans, form a single ecological community. There is a sense of kinship which causes indigenous people to have a sense of kinship with all beings and approach other beings as brothers and sisters. Other animals are considered fellow people whose rights must be honoured and who have a great deal to teach those who are attentive. Stones, trees, mountains, lakes and all other natural objects also are alive and can educate those willing to listen to them. We are in one nest. The earth as a whole is alive and must be treated with respect. In the indigenous worldview, the world exists in a delicate balance, so humans must always act reciprocally, taking only that which is truly needed and replacing whatever is used. Everything done is seen as part of sacred interaction between humans and the rest of nature (Young, 2005: 283).

CONCLUSION

This chapter has demonstrated how the Shona's attitude to nature has been shaped by their religious and, or, cultural view of the cosmos and creation. Such an exposition was necessary to explain the traditional values and beliefs of the Shona behind such giant moves such as regaining land and hence, what role Shona traditional religio-culture can play with respect to human treatment of the environment in the light of the land reform in Zimbabwe.

From an analysis of our research findings in this chapter, we argue that it is imperative to acknowledge the Shona traditional religio-culture's moral teachings behind any endeavour to conserve the environment among the Shona in order to ensure sustainable land reform. Core Shona beliefs/ideas/practices are valid as a response to the environmental problem and we strongly believe that this wisdom in tradition has the resources necessary to constructively respond to the carelessness and inattention to that may lead to ecological devastation. The wisdom, as demonstrated in this chapter, is embedded in beliefs and practices related to the primary unity: human beings, spirits, nature, kinship with nature: i-thou vis-a-vi-it relationship, sacredness of the land, soteriology and reverence for life and responsibility. These are couched in the strong Shona belief in ancestral spirits and animism.

Shona traditional religio-culture contributes a dark green spirituality since it develops from a deep sense of belonging to and connectedness in nature, while perceiving the earth and its living systems to be sacred and interconnected. We need to draw from the old only insofar as it serves the cause of environmental conservation. Shona traditional religion consists of a worldview and an ethos that combine to reinforce each other. The set of beliefs that the Shona have about what is real, what spirits exist and so forth (worldview), supports a set of moral values and emotion s(ethos) and guides them as

they live and thereby confirm their beliefs about nature. It is hard to imagine that ancestors exist as part of the Shona worldview, but then in taking back the land we treat the environment as if there are no ancestors and *Mwari*.

One crucial question that may need further exploration is: Is the environmental problem a problem to which Shona religion is prepared to respond to constructively? If the resettled farmers seek to do something about this problem, are they best served by *recovering* wisdom in the tradition they have inherited, by *reforming* those traditions in light of the new situation, or by *replacing* traditional religion in favour of something new and better suited to the current crisis? There may be need to take a middle path between assuming that the Shona tradition has all the answers or that it has none; and assume that there is validity in what is inherited, but also that some dimensions may need to be re-thought or re-analysed in light of contemporary reality. Nevertheless, conservation strategies that do embrace the green religion practices could yield positive results if they are ingeniously explored and adapted.

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Chapter Four

Locating the Shona Intangible Cultural Heritage through Naming Systems and Selected Shona Names

Ruby Magosvongwe, Letricia Munyoro and Personal Mandova

INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses Shona names and the naming systems with the view that these are part of the Shona culture and intangible cultural heritage. The chapter takes culture as indispensable towards unravelling any people's intangible cultural heritage. The chapter borrows Friedman's (1994: 88) definition of culture as referring to a set of critical integral elements for self-identification of a people by themselves, rather than outsiders' identification of them. Such elements constitute of a set of qualities ascribed to, and defining a population/ethnic group, mostly stemming from their traditions, customs, practices, kinship organised systems, valorised symbols, beliefs, relationship with the cosmos, and communal values. The naming of such elements usually extends to isolating definitive characteristic traits of individuals as well, thereby ascribing personal and group identities within culturally-defined parameters.

NAMING AND CULTURE

The chapter also bases some of its arguments on the definition of culture as given by the editors in the introduction to Ali Mazrui's *Africa and Other Civilizations: Conquest and Counter-Conquest* (2002):

(C)ulture as a system of interrelated values, active enough to condition perception, judgment, communication, and behaviour of a given society. We define "civilization" as a culture that has endured, expanded, innovated, and been elevated to new moral sensibilities (Falola, Laremont and Kalouche, 2002: 5).

Culture is thus definitive of a people's sense of 'being'/humanness, including their relationship with the cosmos. In trying to defend the invaluable and unquantifiable benefits embedded within intangible cultural heritage, a common adage says that the further back we can see, the further ahead we can go. Intangible cultural heritage as currency helps the present generations to interrogate the present in line with the past in order to craft sustainable futures. This is how peoples and communities bring about transformative change using proven practicable philosophies that help shape both material culture and transformative attitudes. Further, talking about intangible cultural heritage helps to raise consciousness about "commonalities in memory" (Asante, 2011: 4), "respective victories of the continent" (Asante, 2011: 5), as well as investigating possibilities of charting practicable ways that make life more sustainable, liveable and enjoyable. "Thus, Africans are seen as creators, originators and sustainers of ethics, values and customs" (Asante, 2011: 7) — agents and actors in human history — not

objects in a world created and documented by others. Therefore, neglecting and ignoring aspects of our intangible cultural heritage “is the beginning of Africa’s crime against its own history” (Asante, 2011: 5).

Cultural identities are reminiscent of a population’s civilisation, setting them apart from other civilisations (Huntington, 2002). Though ordinarily perceived as the common rallying points, whatever distinctive elements of cultural identity could be, they are not cast in stone, but subtly evolve to embrace the material and spiritual needs of the population within certain settings, times and dispensations. For the purposes of the present discussion, it thus stands incontestable that the easiest entry-point into the Shona value systems, beliefs, customary practices, experiences, lived histories, social vision, philosophy of life and cosmology, would be the naming system that is deeply embedded in the Shona language systems themselves.

NAMING AS PART OF IDENTIFICATION AND HISTORICAL EVENTS

Among most Shona ethnic groups, naming is part of the identification system. It simultaneously socialises individuals into family and community, as it also raises their consciousness about their duties, responsibilities and expectations as members of the larger whole. The same naming process can be similarly applied to capture seasons, as well as social, economic, political, landmarks, legacies and other unfamiliar/unusual phenomena. Unusual phenomena include weather patterns and uncharacteristic occurrences like torrential rains, drought, hunger, war, pest outbreaks like locusts and armyworm. Other mind-boggling events include inter-ethnic clashes like Gukurahundi of the early 1980s code-named after the October rains *gukurahundi* that are supposed to cleanse the land of all chaff remaining on thresh floors after the winnowing of grain from the previous harvest. This ugly and infamous historic development marks a dark epoch in Zimbabwe’s post-independence experiences, captioned as ‘a moment of madness’ by President Robert Gabriel Mugabe (Ncube and Siziba, 2015). Some novelists have re-cast the events using fictional depictions. Mlalazi’s *Running with Mother* (2012) and Vera’s *The Stone Virgins* (2002), respectively, offer good examples.

Other historical events like the 2005 demolitions of shacks and illegal housing structures in most African townships were code-named *Murambatsvina*/Operation Restore Order (Vambe, 2008) by state security operators and law enforcement agents. Ironically, because history privileges the narrator as it is often times constructed for his existential advantage, or those who have the power to name, not the named, (Morrison, 1987), ordinary people named the same violent operation *Tsunami*. *Tsunami* is “an Asian term for the huge tidal waves that are usually generated as a result of an offshore earthquake or volcano” (Chinyanganya, 2015: 122). The shared violent characteristics between the hostile tidal waves and violent displacement and removals of urban town dwellers witnessed then, cannot be mistaken as encapsulated in the choice of nomenclature. Further, *Murambatsvina* from other critical circles meant that the victims were reminiscent of dirt, hence the hyperbole, ‘clean-out-dirt’ as opposed to ‘restore order’ to name the same historical process. As reflected later in the chapter, embedded within some names are also “religious statements that provide ideological, spiritual, and emotional support for the maintenance of cultural entities and help to define, simultaneously as they reflect, the definition of the collective personality of the individuals within them” (Ani, 1994: 317).

NAMING AS PART OF HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY

Also, as intimated earlier, reading Shona names and naming patterns also reveal elements of philosophy and lived historical experiences, struggles, celebrations, achievements, life mythologies, among other pertinent treasured and revered memories that should be transmitted trans-generationally. Culturally speaking then, the names are neither decorative appendages nor mere fashionable labels. The Shona name is therefore more complex than it appears at face value because of the meanings that it encapsulates and signifies. The name here is not limited to persons, but could also be extended to embrace other phenomena and broader experiences. An extemporaneous extrapolation at this juncture would pose no harm.

The name “GONAWAPOTERA” as an example, speaks of embedded ethnic histories, relations and territorial claims for the respective Karanga ethnic clan. GONAWAPOTERA is a deep pool/*dziva* on Shashe River found at Chaka in Masvingo Province. The name encapsulates Chief Chirimuhanzu’s family history. When Chief Chirimuhanzu broke away from the main Mutasa Dynasty, he was accompanied by a personal herbalist by the name Chibiku, father to Mashinyira, Muwani, Mubhonderi, Chamboko and others. After Mashinyira, son to Chibiku, prevailed against the Ndebele raiders at the Battle of Hogo, Chief Chirimuhanzu paid him tribute by awarding his father, Chibiku, the territory alongside Shashe River. Chibiku built his homestead by the deep pool on Shashe River. He summoned his family to celebrate the paradox of such recognition. He thus proclaimed: “*Kwandapiwa kuti ndigare uku, ndiko ‘KUGONA WAPOTERA, KUGARISWA KUNOBVA NEHONDO YAMUTASA.*” (I have been used as a buffer against Mutasa’s war gangs by my Chief. This indeed is the worst ‘respite’ to a subordinate seeking protection — *Kugona Wapotera*). From then on, the pool came to be known as ‘GONAWAPOTERA’. Other names like Mashinyira, Muwani, Chamboko, Mubhonderi, Rungira, Muungani and Usinachake from Chibiku’s family tree, are similarly social commentaries. The last name is the most telling. It implies and encapsulates scorn, protest and displeasure from the ‘destitute’ Chibiku who satirises Chief Chirimuhanzu for a short memory and ingratitude. The name Chirimuhanzu itself, like Mandionerepi, also derides Chief Chirimuhanzu’s diminutive height. In a later old-world Shona novel by I. M. Zvarevashe, bearing the name *Gonawapotera* (1978) set in the Chirimuhanzu District of Masvingo elaborated upon earlier, the sacred pool that is the central metaphor in the narrative is metonymic of ethnic and deep clan secrets, as well as mythology that instils collective allegiance to communal identity. This is but one among other myriad approaches to unbundling and unearthing Shona cosmology.

Borrowing Ngugi’s (2009) assertion that language is the granary of any people’s culture, this chapter argues that the naming system of many Shona ethnic groups partly embodies their worldview. In addition, Morrison, (1987); Clarke (1992); Ani (1994) and Hudson-Weems (2004; 2012) contend that “naming” is one indispensable descriptor of self, others and the environment. Further, naming un/wittingly circumscribes spaces that people can intellectually and physically occupy. As Magosvongwe (2013: 267) argues, if one stands on borrowed land, their intellectual space also becomes borrowed. The chapter, therefore, examines the naming system among the Shona as indicative not

¹ This account was given to Dr Magosvongwe by Mr Blazio Tafireyi, Chief Executive Officer of Zimbabwe Publishing House on 27th July 2016, during the Zimbabwe International Book Fair Association (ZIBFA) Indaba at the Monomotapa Crown Plaza Hotel, Great Indaba Hall.

only of their philosophy of life/*Unhu*, but also their cosmology. Among other primary texts to be used as primary sources in this chapter is G. P. Kahari's two tier *Standard Shona-English Dictionary of Names* (2016) and A. C. Pongweni's *What's in A Name* (1983). The chapter also uses A. C. Hodza's *Ugo Hwamadzinza AvaShona* (1977) as part of Shona oral culture embedding examples of encapsulated social, political and spiritual statements engraved in names of people, chieftaincies, animals, rivers, mountains, valleys, hills, dances, rituals, seasons and other phenomena. Cumulatively, they all shape the Shona perceptions and general vision about life and their envisioned destiny, individually and collectively. Exploring the world of Shona names and naming patterns could be therefore akin to examining a world of loaded metonymies and potent metaphors.

NAMING AND TOTEMIC/CLAN IDENTITIES

In Rukuni's view (2007), Africans understood the essence of branding — cultural branding — well before we were colonised or exposed to the principle of capitalism. The importance of the cultural or clan “brand” is that it bestows upon one in an instant all the heritage — tangible and intangible — of one's ancestors. While symbolically representing collective memory as identity indicators, totemic praise names also encapsulate unifying elements that demonstrate solidarity. The names mainly capture the virtues and foibles of the originators and founding fathers of the respective clan, currency of immediate family identity. A.C Hodza's *Ugo Hwamadzinza avaShona* gives a snapshot of such names. For example *Madyirapazhe*, *Mazvikongonyadza*, *Mudyandichiomba*, among others speak to celebration of self-confidence and “courage to overcome challenges and transcend difficulties” (Asante, 2011: 8) commonly expected of descendants of the Gumbo, Soko and Shumba clans respectively.

These totemic and clan branding give one a sense of identity, sense of belonging, pride and dignity in self as a human being and also humility in appreciating the weaknesses associated with the totem or clan. The strengths and the weaknesses balance the humanity of the clan people. It gives a sense of rootedness to the clan and centres the clan people as it gives them the ground upon which to stand.

This is a principal way of knowing, understanding and reading into one's present, past and future before one achieves anything in one's individual life and before one aspires or dreams about personal ambition about oneself. This consciousness is thrust upon one's psycho-intellectual and psycho-spiritual terrain from birth to death through processes of socialisation. From life's onset, all the major achievements of one's ancestors, including their foibles and clan history are inscribed onto one's memory. One carries within their psyches the celebration of their ancestors/clan's successes and the lessons of their failures, but above all, one's presence gives them the duty and responsibility to continue the great deeds of one's clan or one's people (Rukuni, 2007: 50). There could there be no smarter means and more subtle means that can be appropriated to socialise and build consciousness among family and community members.

Totems and clan names serve to distinguish one group of people from another within the Shona societal set up. They serve to hold people of the same totem or clan to a certain code of conduct that is prescribed in their hearts. For instance, the *Mbizi* (totem), *Tembo-Mazvimbakupa* (clan name), were named thus because of their generosity which Kahari (2009: 56), describes as a people who *yearn to give or offer sustenance gifts like*

food. The *Mazvimbakupa* clan will not allow marriage between those of the same totem. It becomes a taboo because of genetic considerations. This is to prevent the clan's weaker traits from being perpetuated genetically. Therefore, marrying outside the clan will submerge the weaker traits and emphasise the stronger traits.

In the Shona cosmology, a married woman assumes the honorary name of her husband's totem, for instance a woman betrothed to a man of the *Moyo Sinyoro* totem is named *Gambiza* and one married to the *Mhofu Museyamwa* totem is named *Sarirambi*. It is abundantly clear that this naming process in clans is aimed at putting Shona women at the centre rather than at the periphery of existence. Thus, these clan names are a sign of status and are aimed at honouring and recognising women.

Since Shona clan names and totems are embodiments of pride, the Shona clan name *Moyo* is Shona for heart and refers to people who have a long heart, meaning a fundamentally positive attitude to life. *Moyondizvo* comes from *Moyo* and means the heart or seat of life (Rukuni, 2007: 50). These clan names are embraced and guarded jealously by those who appreciate the value of their totems and clan names. All this totemic naming, beliefs, practices and rituals tied up in this heritage exhibit a respect for intangible heritage embedded in the values enshrined in the same praise clan names.

NAMING AND SHONA PHILOSOPHY OF UNHU

The philosophy of *Unhu* is about how people live, how they behave, what are the accepted norms of living with others, of behaving towards others (Rukuni, 2007: 21). If anyone profanes this thought pattern by engaging in murderous acts they will acquire the name *mhondi* (killer/murderer). It is a well-accepted truism that no-one has the right to exterminate/annihilate and obliterate the life of a fellow human being for human life is sacred. It is inhuman to take the life of a fellow human being. Such an act does not constitute *Unhu* (humanness).

Humanness in Shona cosmology celebrates virtues that uphold reciprocity, unity, oneness, peace, and general social cohesion that should be safeguarded. Such names include *Kudzana* (respect one another); *Rukudzo* (respect/honour); *Tsitsi* (the act of mercy; empathy); *Rudo/Danai* (a name given to an act of reciprocated love); *Ngoni* (a name embedding/showing compassion); *Shingai* (perseverance; courage); *Vimbai/Vimbikai/Tendekai* (trustworthiness); *Ruramai* (rectitude), among a myriad others. Vices such as *Manyepo* (lies), and anyone who does lie is named *Munyepi* (a liar). Chenjerai Hove's novel *Bones* (1988) symbolically typifies the saga of African colonial land dispossession, displacement, forced removals and exploitation around a notorious white settler farmer by the name of *Manyepo*, who in this case is archetypal synecdoche of deceit. "The white man was now in Africa not merely with his ship anchored in the harbour, not merely with his guns, and not merely with his technology of production, but also with his culture and art" (Mazrui, 2002: 435). Other derided vices are encapsulated in names like *Mupezino*² (the mean one); *Vengai* from *ruvengo/kuvenga/hate/hatred* — a social statement against the anti-social who loathe goodwill and companionship and are also generally spiteful, also similarly encapsulated in *Muvengi/Mhandu*. Encapsulated in

² Literally meaning one who just bears their teeth at hosting guests. Generosity is a virtue that is viewed in terms of social capital that is a prerogative of goodwill towards building relations within and outside the family.

Mupambi, avariciousness and aggressiveness are highly lampooned and have to be jettisoned and highly discouraged. Colonial land invaders came to be code-named *Mupambipfumi/vapambepfumi* in the Zimbabwean liberation war discourses. The name is rooted in the verb *pamba* that means to rob.

Egocentrism and selfishness are lampooned in the Shona way of life because one is said to be a person through others (Rukuni, 2007; Mbiti, 1969; 1975). Thus, names and definitions celebrating virtues while decrying vice respectively come about as the Shona seek to create a socially balanced, just, rational, equitable, as well as morally and spiritually upright society that adheres to humanness. Feris and Moitui (2011), and Bennett (2011) discuss at length how *Ubuntu* aka *Unhu* — unquestioned ethical, moral and spiritual code — is integral to African Traditional Religion (ATR) and African way of life as lived and practised within African communities and societies, including Zimbabwe. Even dressing is also regarded as part of *Unhu*. Costumes have relevance and dignity in their culturally and socially sanctioned settings and times. To this end, anyone who is scantily dressed violates the philosophical paradigm of *Unhu*. This is how labels like *mupengo/mbengo* (mentally challenged/deranged) and *pfambi* (one of loose morals) become coined social statements that are used to stigmatise and subtly reprimand those perceived as being wayward.

Further, in line with this unwritten code of *Unhu*, the Shona believe that it is taboo for a child to scorn or beat his/her mother. Beating or scolding one's mother attracts curses. Dangarembga explores this transgression using Tambudzai the chief protagonist in the fictional narrative that depicts contradictions of elitism and allegiance to the armed liberation struggle in *The Book of Not* (2006). Magosvongwe (2013: 122) summarises Tambudzai's plight in *The Book of Not* thus:

Tambudzai, the narrator and chief protagonist, re-configures “Rhodesia's diverse antagonistic freedoms” (p. 166) as typified in the apparent rifts between “the Rhodesians and the guerrillas” (p. 181). Because of cultural dislocation arising from “absence of anchoring” (p. 9), due to Western-based education influences of the mission, Tambudzai hates her rural background (p. 9) which she dismisses as “moribund” (p. 91) and “nothingness” (p. 9).

Tambudzai depicts “mis/identification of the elites as culturally-superior (that consolidates the (erosion and erasure) of the vital cultural organic links with the rest of the populace” (Magosvongwe, 2013: 145). The latter is what leads to the myriad misfortunes that haunt Tambudzai, a name echoing a life of tribulations. Similarly, just like in Igbo culture, where *Nneka*/Mother-is-Supreme (Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart*, 1958), Tambudzai's mother, *Mai*, warns her against trading her Mother's honour for social recognition among aliens, as well as for self-aggrandisement or any other reasons. *Unhu* philosophy views such an attitude as self-annihilating and a sacrilege. Tambudzai herself, as literally spelt in her name, thus becomes metonymic of a cursed life. She herself invites trouble upon herself by abandoning *Mai* whom she views as “unmentionable origin” (Dangarembga, 2006: 231), yet she is culturally and biologically the epicentre her human life. In this regard, Tambudzai is the primary cause of her own demise. Her short-sightedness and condescension towards her lowly beginnings make Tambudzai her own *muroyi*/witch — a harsh tag that many culturally shun.

Contrary to the demands and expectations of *Unhu*, Tambudzai's rumination tells of her misplaced consciousness: “How inconsiderate of *Mai*! How inconvenient of that

mother of mine to want to be where she was not (wanted) and produce a dilemma for her daughter!” (Dangarembga, 2006: 232). Because of acculturation and her misplaced basis of *Unhu*, Tambudzai loses her cultural anchor and the securities of the same culture, making her dysfunctional in the world that she strives so hard to be accepted and accommodated into. Yet, all efforts lead to not. The code echoes the Biblical 6th commandment that challenges everyone to respect their parents so that they would have long lives in the land that they inhabit — the first commandment to attract immediate intangible rewards. This taboo is meant to protect vulnerable mothers from their children’s possible violent conduct. It is believed that since mothers raise children at home and are more frequently in contact with them than the fathers, the chances of conflict with their children are higher. Therefore, because of the frequency of conflicts, they are prone to face more risks, hence the need for protection (Dodo, 2015: 24).

Further, *Unhu* philosophy shuns/lampoons laziness (*unyope*). As such, one who possesses the attributes and traits of being lazy will attract the name *Nyanungo* (the personification of laziness). In traditional Shona societies hard work is celebrated as it constitutes *Unhu* — “*Munhu ane hunhu haadye zvekupambara kana kuba. Anodya cheziya*”. Therefore, *Unhu* is “...a well spring flowing with (Shona) ontology and epistemology (Ramose, 1999: 35). By way of extension, the philosophy of *Unhu* entails *humwe* (solidarity); *ushamwari* (friendship) and *kubata vaeni zvakana* (hospitality) (Chimhanda in Muwati *et.al*, 2012: 173). This is how names like *Tapuwahama*, *Tawanda*, *Takura* and *Takudzwa* that celebrate the beauty of numbers or big families, oneness, collectivism and communality, come about. Again, in the Shona worldview, the bigger the family, the merrier. The prowess and strength of a clan/family has always been predicated on its large/big numbers. This is because both the material and spiritual culture celebrate interdependence and reciprocity, meaning that the bigger the numbers in any family, the wider the talents vested within the same and conversely the stronger and better that family is in its myriad versatile talents. Once positively revisited, appropriated and restored, the same philosophy could probably see Zimbabweans dealing a blow to the plague of street children, child-headed families and early child-marriages in an epoch reeling with irreconcilable contradictions of unthinkable affluence and stinking poverty, yet being assailed and decimated by pandemics of HIV, AIDS, hypertension and cancer. Old people’s homes, too, an embarrassing phenomenon, testify of a society abandoning the repositories of traditional wisdom and culture as they are exiled away from family awaiting their final exit from earthly life. Rather than viewing family, especially the young and old, as currency, the so-called ‘modern’ Shona view it as a liability, burdensome and an unbearable expense. The thinking indicates how much elitism has “mis-educated the (African)/Negro” (Woodson, 1933) and how far removed some Shona families have become from their intangible heritage. Arguing about the tragedies of colonial and post-colonial Africa that see priorities vacillating/oscillating between God and gold, Ali Mazrui rightly observes:

African values have been modified, tastes distorted, resources exploited, new needs (created and) fulfilled, and new frustrations created partly as a result of the broad intrusions of transnational companies (Mazrui, 2002: 432).

The rampant poverty characterising most families and communities within contemporary Zimbabwean Shona society, then, is indicative of the Shona having abandoned or lost, both their concept of victory/transcendence and creative thought embedded in their intangible cultural heritage.

NAMING AND SPIRITUALITY

Among most Shona communities, spirituality permeates nearly every facet of life thereby becoming an existential franchise for meaningful existence. It is the most elastic cultural heritage that has been passed on trans-generationally. Spiritual nomenclature is thus an important franchise for meaningful spiritual negotiations. In this regard, Ramose (1999: 56) intimates that "...spirituality is concrete expression, it is the lived experience of the reality of the feeling of immanence and transcendence..." As such, names bearing spiritual connotations reflect the Shona people's spiritual aspirations and lay the philosophical basis for life. Names like *Mutumwa*, *Mukundi*, *Mutongi*, *Gomwe*, *Ziendanakuenda*; *Muwanikwa*, *Musikavanhu* and *Mutangakugara* offer good examples that show the nexus between daily existence and Shona spirituality. *Musikavanhu* aka *Mutangikugara/Ziendanakuenda* dwells in ad-infinity space and can only be accessed via the tutelary spirits.

The Shona believe that death does not mean the disappearance of the dead from being. They believe that the dead continue to exist in spirit form and as such, they are recognised as the living-dead whom they have named *vadzimu* (tutelary spirits) which Ramose (2002) has coined "the ontology of invisible beings". They are revered as the intermediaries between the people and the Supreme Being whom they named *Mwari/Musikavanhu* (he who created man). *Mutangikugara/Muwanikwa/Chidzachepe* as the Creator/Supreme Being cannot be approached directly. In the novel written by Chakaipa, *Karikoga Gumiremiseve* (1958), Karikoga triumphs in every situation because the gods, *vadzimu*, *Deus ex Machina*, (*Mudzimundiringe*), magic and supernatural powers are on his side (Kahari, 1988: 2). This shows that the *vadzimu* are irrevocably interested in the lives of the Shona. Thus, the name *Mudzimundiringe* denotes that the *vadzimu* watch over the lives of the living.

Different rites of passage that are celebrated among the Shona are accompanied by performance of religious ceremonies. These ceremonies include *bira* (ancestral appeasement/thanksgiving) from the verb *kupira* and *mukwerera* (rain making ceremony) known as *rukoto* in other dialects. The names of these ceremonies reveal the manifestation of ancestral reincarnation. By and large, these ceremonies are done in order to placate, apostrophise and celebrate ancestors. In this regard, Bourdillon (1991:13) says that the ceremonial acts are undertaken by the living for the purposes of remembering, propitiating, venerating and appeasing the ancestors. Further, some instruments that stimulate spirituality during such ceremonies are used. The Shonas have a high regard for the hand xylophone which they have named *mbira* that is often associated with and seen as inspirational basis for ancestral veneration and appeasement.

True to the notion that names do not emerge from a vacuum, names which have been given to months have very serious spiritual connotations. The month of August is called *Nyamavhuvhu* because it would be windy. It is also believed that the ancestors (*vari kumhepo*) will be very active during this month. Communication with the ancestors in this month is very easy and more effective because they will be nearby, circulating around in the form of wind. This is the more reason why most Shonas practice the *kurova guva* (bringing back the spirit of the deceased back home) ceremony in this month since the tutelary spirits will be highly active and easy to access. Harrison (in Weems, 2004: 19) can be applauded for noting that, "it is through nommo, the correct naming of a thing that it comes into existence". Thus, the correct naming of a phenomenon creates the sacred.

NAMING, QUEST FOR WHOLENESS AND PSYCHO-SPIRITUAL CONNECTEDNESS

Naming involves the recovery, reconstruction and restoration of African historical and cultural memory thus *returning to a sense of purpose and identity* (Hilliard III in Ani & Williams, 2003: 18). In the story “*Somewhere*” by Chirere (2006), an ailing old man comes back from America and is only healed when he sets his eyes *at the graying hills in the distance* (Chirere, 2006: 31). By the mere mentioning of the word *Muchekawakasungabeta*, the old man struggles *out of the car with an unbelievable zest* (Chirere, 2006: 32). Something happens within him that modern medical remedies have failed to achieve. There is spiritual and psychological healing that pervades the old man. It is only when he gets into contact with the dirt track, and not the tarmac, that he seems firm for a while. Neither the driver nor the boy has the conception of what has happened to the old man. The old man has a spiritual connection with the hills and the environs where he grew up. One might allude to the issue of his umbilical code being buried somewhere in the hills thus, enabling him to rekindle/re-establish that connectedness with the spiritual world within the hills since *the hilly region they had seen was the old man’s boyhood territory...*(Chirere, 2006: 32). Once his physical body gets into contact with the boyhood territory, the old man experiences rejuvenation and restoration of the mind. This shows that the old man’s illness has nothing to do with his body, but with the psychology of the mind and spiritual security. When he is able to take control of the car he heads straight for the hills where his power for overpowering the driver and the boy and healing had come from. The driver experimentally utters *Muchekawakasungabeta* and *he feels something in his eyes* (Chirere, 2006: 32). This, therefore serves to explain the psycho-spiritual connectedness that an African has with the land in which his umbilical code is buried/or mingled with the soil-his roots.

This psycho-spiritual connectedness shapes *the way of life of a people* and models them on how they should conduct themselves with nature (p’Bitek, 1986: 14). I grew up knowing that making funny comments at nature’s creation would result in one being punished in one way or the other. For example, in the district of Rushinga, in Mashonaland Central, there is a river named Ruya. There are rocks within the river that have a human form. We were cultured not to make comments about them lest you would feel itchy all over the body or you would be engulfed in a mysterious mist and you would lose your bearing. It is only after the intervention of the elders who knew how to go around such issues that the offender would be exonerated of the offence. This is not peculiar to Ruya. The practice is prevalent across Zimbabwe whereby naming, spirituality and taboos can be inter-linked.

NAMING, TABOOS AND CONSERVATION STRATEGIES

A taboo is a system or act of setting apart a person, an object, or a place as sacred to achieve conservation, respect and continuity (Dodo, 2015: 4). The Shona culture contains a large number of guidelines that direct conduct in particular situations. These guidelines are cultural existential tropes that are meant to influence members to conform to norms and values. Taboos which the Shona have named *zvierwa* have been commonplace in many Shona communities. They constitute a critical component of systems and Indigenous Knowledge technologies, and help to preserve the integrity of the society. Feris and Moitui (2011) discuss this subject at great length in relation to *Unhu* and

African Traditional Religion and challenges on modern environmental law in Africa generally.

In some areas it is widely believed that no one should go into the fields on a Friday, which has been named *chisi*. It is taboo to engage in agricultural activities and any manual tasks outside the home on such a day. This ethno-science of *chisi* has to be observed and those who profane it will attract calamity. The Shona philosophy is that calamity or justice is not instant. Calamity and curses can manifest even after prolonged periods, hence the saying, "*Chisi hachieri musi wacharimwa*," which is also extended to social commentary embedded in certain personal names like *Haparimwi*.

There are mountains for instance in Manicaland which are believed to be the abode of ancestral spirits and are therefore sacred. It is believed that when one is in these mountains one has to observe silence. No verbal comments on anything about the mountain are to be made and anything negative should be avoided. Anyone who does so will disappear or become dumb and blind. One such mountain is *Nyakasikana* in the Eastern Makoni District of Manicaland. The mountain is named after Ambuya Nehanda and her spirit is believed to be hovering around in this mountain. As a sign of respect for her, no one is supposed to comment badly on nature whilst traversing this mountain. Even defecating in this mountain is forbidden. Only rogues can profane or defame such places. The Masaya children went missing in the Nyangani Mountain in the early 1980s. They could have profaned the mountains thereby angering the spirits. Similarly, in early 2014, an Indian groom disappeared mysteriously from the same mountain. Air and ground search teams yielded nothing up to this day. Because Mt Nyangani is sacred, those who transgress taboos do so to their own peril according to the local community. *Nyanga* itself in Shona folktales is about *Pimbirimano* and is linked to sacredness, mysteries, myths and traditional secrets (Fortune, 1980).

The Chinhoyi Caves harbour a sacred pool and are collectively believed to be the abode of territorial ancestral spirits. No one is to profane them. It is taboo to throw stones into the pool or across it. Further, it is also taboo to say anything bad or doing anything that angers the spirits. This could be why it is *Mabweadziva*. To "*dziva*" is to forbid. Secondly, the caves and the pool could be an abode of the spirits as coined in the name. The Tonga *Nyaminyami* myth and snake of the Kariba Dam is similarly explained (Marowa, 2016). Myths surrounding *Nyaminyami* are that it is taboo to anger the snake as this will attract drought and the disappearance of people. It is also mythically reported that when *Nyaminyami* gets angry it can cause the dam wall to break thereby causing floods which kill people and animals. The myth has not been fully extracted from the Tonga of the Zambezi Valley who are believed to be closely connected to the spirits of the area.

NAMING AND SPATIAL CONTESTATIONS

Naming is a social process in which different players claim social and cultural space. Martin (in Hudson-Weems 2004: 21) avers that "names can be more than tags, they can convey powerful imagery". In this regard, naming, proposing and accepting names can be a political exercise. It is plausible to note that the wars of resistance to British hegemony were given the name *Chimurenga*. Giving the conflict this name was itself an act of reclaiming a past that had been obliterated by the colonial hegemony. It was an act of reasserting control over ideological space that had been taken by the settlers

(Pfukwa and Barnes, 2010: 210). The nomenclature, *Chimurenga*, from *murenga*, denotes rebellion and protest against the white settlers who had colonised the Shona space, enacting stifling and strangulating measures that were inimical to the existence of the Shona people.

During this period of *Chimurenga* (liberation struggle), the guerrillas who were named *vakomana* were very innovative and very dexterous as they came up with names which denote the struggle to free themselves from the militating and annihilating clutches of the settler regime. The names are expressions of how they felt about being dispossessed of their land and their desire to destroy the enemy. Dispossession was deeply resented to the point that white settlers were given names like *Vauyi* (aliens); *Vapambepfumi* (colonisers of the land); *Vasinamabvi* (the knee-less ones); and even albinos originally named *masope*, came to known as *varungudunhu* (fake/fawny white men). The names are indeed texts which carry a story about the war for space. Names such as *Pururai Mabhunu* (shred the Boers), *Mabhunumuchapera* (Boers you shall be wiped out), *Mabhunutichatonga* (Boers we shall rule) *Shingirirai Kurova Mabhunu* (persevere in fighting the Boers), *Teurai Ropa* (spill the blood), *Tafirenyika* (we have died for the country) were used by the freedom fighters as a reminder to the oppressive regime that they will pay dearly for the numerous atrocities and “crimes against humanity” (Kahari, 2009: 4) they had committed, which ultimately crystallised in the armed liberation struggle.

PLACE-NAMING

Place naming is indicative of the desire to own and possess space. It is like a spiritual security lock. When a people who had been formerly oppressed by oppressive regimes and have finally acquired their hard-earned independence, their first act of liberation would be to change their names. This is critical to consciousness-raising (Ngugi, 1993). Rhodesia was renamed *Zimbabwe* after the Great Zimbabwe Monument, derived from the name *Dzimbabwe* (houses of stones), at attainment of political independence in 1980. Similarly, provinces, districts, cities, towns, institutions, thoroughfares, buildings and towns, though some still carry colonial names, had to be renamed as a means of restoring lost dignity. Public spaces are therefore contested spaces, an area of struggle for social control. *Harare*, the capital city of Zimbabwe, replaced former colonial capital Salisbury.

Nationalist, Pan-Africanist, heroes/heroines' names like Mbuya Nehanda, Samora Machel, Robert Mugabe, Kaguvi, Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Keneth Kaunda, Nikita Mangena, Josiah Tongogara, Herbert Chitepo, Simon Muzenda, and Joshua Nkomo, among others, were appropriated to name major roads in towns and cities. These names are indicative of the new political orientation and power over African territory. Politically and psychologically, they are tangible pointers to the realisation of independence from colonial rule. Indigenous Churches in Zimbabwe are also similarly named after their prophets or founders — *Johanne Masowe Wechishanu*, *Johanne Marange*, *Mugodhi*, *Mwazha's African Apostolic Church*. Naming of Pentecostal churches/organisations like Andrew Wutaunashe World Ministries, similarly reflect the desire to own and control the doctrine and allegiances of the numbers that throng such churches. However, some Zimbabwean Pentecostal churches carry different names from their founders/co-founders, and among them are *United Family International Church* (U.F.I) which is led by Prophet Emmanuel Makandiwa, *Apostolic Faith Mission* founded by the late Sengwayo;

and Prophetic Healing and Deliverance (PHD) Ministries founded by Prophet Walter Magaya, among others.

NAMING AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

According to Kahari (2009: 54-55), families ascribe names to their children as a result of various reasons. A child may be given *zita regombwa* (name associated with one's ancestral spirits). This may be a result of the family's desire for the child to carry the name of a prominent figure of the departed ancestors. For example, one may be named Chaminuka after the great Chaminuka or Nehanda the great First Chimurenga prophetess and warrior. Furthermore, names such as *Chinzvengamutsvairo* (one who dodges the broom as women sweep the kitchen or one who does not leave the kitchen for want of food and other pleasantries); *Gararirimo* (one who is permanently drunk); and *Murwarazhizha* (one who falls ill only during the farming season to avoid field work); or *Mushambarichakwata* (the greedy one who monitors all the cooking processes for want of the best portions); *Hapanyengwi* and *Manyengavana* (usually derive from incestuous relationships within the family that should be avoided at all costs); among others, are bestowed on individuals in tandem with their behavioural traits. Others like *Mukumbodai*, *Mukumbonzvanda* and *Chapeyama* comment on defective physical stature.

Other names are also social commentaries deriving from a 'diviner's suggested name known in Shona as *zita rejemedzwa* going by different clans/families. The ancestors communicate with the living through the powerful medium of selected people whom they possess, named *homwe* (spirit mediums). Ancestors make their wishes known through these spirit mediums. These mediums come into play in various spiritual ceremonies in which the Shona seek the voice of the ancestors. Shona people seek explanations for certain happenings which cannot be explained by rational means and require the intervention of ancestors.

There are also lineage names given to a leading figure like a chief or village-head, showing insistence on passing on clan history orally. Names like *Mapanzure*, *Dangakurambga*, *Dangirwa* fall into this category. Others reflect circumstances of birth and family conditions. For example, *Chenzira* (one born along the way or one whose ancestral origins are not known). Historic events are also similarly marked as intimated earlier in the chapter. Others are taken from prominent political leaders like Saddam, Obama, Robert (after President Mugabe), Tangwena (after temporary shelters built by Chief Rekayi Tangwena's people after their forced removals from Gaerezi in Nyanga). Other names are corrupted foreign names like Montgomery who is loosely named *Mandigumbura* and Chigwell named *Chigwere* presumably from *magwere* or mealies. Campbell is distorted into Kembo.

By extension, people have given names to children in order to champion their diverse social and religious interests. Mapara (2013: 94) intimates that, "by giving names that are charged with Christian theological overtones, Zimbabwean Christians are basically claiming Christianity for themselves." Theophoric names such as *Maria* from the biblical Mary, *Rute* from biblical Ruth designate that the names reflect that the terrain of naming within the Christian movement is itself a contested ground. Not to be out done are members of the United Family International Church who are giving names of Prophet *Emmanuel* Makandiwa and Prophetess *Ruth* Makandiwa to their offsprings. The church is awash with children who bear either the name *Emanuwere* or *Rute*.

In a community, a family might face opposition in terms of farming land. They may decide to give a name to their child *Toendepi/Togarepi* (where should we go/where should we stay since this is our space). Magosvongwe (2013: 3) argues that land is “understood as finite piece of the earth surface that gives human beings authority and control over their lives and environments (and) has demarcated power across the ages. In this regard, it is very important to note that the Shona, as they sought to claim their land, came up with names such as *Mwanawevhu* (son of the soil) whilst the whites were named *Wapambevhu* (land grabbers). These names clearly show that land is indeed a contested terrain. It is also worth noting that conceptions of individual identities are deeply rooted in a people’s cultural values. Shona terms like *muuyi/mutorwa* (alien/foreigner), *mubvakure* (stranger), *mubvandiripo* (bastard/natural child), *rukuvhute* (umbilical cord/roots), *mukomana/musikana wekuseri* (tenant, tenant usually staying at he backyard) and *nyikayaramba* (ancestral spirits disapprove) among others, reinforce how conceptions of land underline individual and community identities. These terms show that dignity, social status and identities that individuals and communities acquire are based on their correlation with the land. The names impact directly on people’s sense of un/belongingness, being, self-image, sense of worth, and self-confidence, including guiding principles that may affirm or negate active involvement and contribution for existence (Magosvongwe, 2013: 2-3).

NAMING AND NAVIGATION OF RELATIONSHIPS

Naming is a critical tool in navigating and negotiating relationships within families and communities. Naming derives from the backdrop of what the person/s would have endured for quite some time and are also on the basis of their experiences and projected destiny. This is done in a more subtle manner meant to be understood by the targeted person/s without the intention to elicit direct confrontation. In a polygamous set up, competing wives can name their children to bring out their grievances against their husband or jealous against each other. A name such as *Maingeni* (you came to quarrel with me) (Kahari, 2016: xxxiv), can reflect a senior wife’s resentment of the other co-wife, and *Garikai* (let full happiness and comfort be yours now that I am leaving) can reflect that the co-wife is giving up. Normally, a subjugated wife finds comfort from an abusing husband in her father’s home. If the parents are deceased, the wife can name her child *Toendepi* (where shall we go), or *Tozivepi* (to whom shall we go), as a way of showing her lack of options or relief from suffering at the nagging husband’s brutality (Kahari, 2016: xxxiv).

Rukuni (2007: 19) points out that, “Africans know by instinct that we have the most efficient and most effective social security system in the world that is the family and the extended family”. As such, in Shona cosmology titles such as *Amai* (mother), *Baba* (father), *Hanzvadzi* (brother/sister/sibling of the opposite sex), *Mukoma* (elder brother/sister), *Munin’ina* (younger brother/sister), *Tete* (aunt/father's sister), *Ambuya* (grandmother), *Sekuru* (grandfather), *Muzukuru* (grandchild; nephew/niece), *Tezvara* (father-in-law/brother-in-law), *Mukuwasha* (son-in-law/brother-in-law) and *mwana* (child/son/daughter) are all salient pointers to the duties, roles and responsibilities within family and the extended family. The above-mentioned names attached familial ties “reflect the co-existence of men, women (and children) in a concerted struggle for the (existence) of the entire family...” (Hudson-Weems 2004: 1). These names therefore

buttress relationships to the Shona people. It is almost impossible for one not to belong to a family.

By extension, to the Shona, good relations are associated with mutual understanding and respect based on reciprocity — the way, our way (Armah, 1973) — explaining why names can be used to both denote and negotiate good relations as shown when naming children. Such names include *Hama* (genuine relations), *Sahwira* (genuine friendship) *Danai/Wiriranai* (mutual respect). The Shona people believe so much in relationships at family and community levels, hence the social commentary that names carry. For example, *Zvabiranani* (Who is your source/leave us alone), *Musiiwa* (someone born after desertion/death of a close family member), *Togarasei* (encapsulates sour relations), *Muneinazvo* (leave us alone/let sleeping dogs lie), *Mandionerepi* (one of a diminutive stature), *Mandiitei* (strong-willed character), and *Munondidii* (uncouth and unruly one/rebellious/stubborn character) that cumulatively show desirable and desired aspects of negotiation and tolerance.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has demonstrated that the naming systems among most Shona ethnic groups is a complex philosophical system and tool. Names among the Shona, then and now, also encapsulate reactions to past and current crises. Names are indicators of individual character traits for personal identity in as much as they are social statements and external symbols deployed by the community in mapping struggles, limitations, aspirations, achievements, including allegiances to higher powers than themselves. To this end, naming and names contribute significantly towards shaping people's conceptions about themselves, others and the world around them, including their existential conditions and spirituality. Undoubtedly, then, the roots, routes and sources of naming cannot be ignored when it comes to appreciation of the Shona peoples' appreciation and naming of carriers, symbols, embodiments and expressions of their intangible cultural heritage. Departure from, ignoring, and neglecting this critical tool results, not only in anomalous and tangential readings into the Shona intangible cultural heritage, but also undermines effortless 'strategies' that help to regulate attitudes and behaviours for equity and equality in families and society at large.

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Chapter Five

“We Died for this Country”: Claiming Space through the Name in the Second Chimurenga

Charles Pfukwa

INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses some war names that the guerrillas gave themselves during the second *Chimurenga*, also known as the Zimbabwean war of liberation. Every name sends certain signals about the bearer as well the namer. This discussion examines a few names from a large corpus and how they are linked to the land one way or another.

A background of the liberation war and the major players in it is given and this is followed by a survey of Zimbabwean literature in onomastics. Some aspects of onomastics theory will guide analysis and discussion of the data. The data is drawn from a corpus that was used by Pfukwa (2007). The chapter argues that the *Chimurenga* name was an important statement of identity that links the present with the past of the first *Chimurenga* as well as the distant past of Mwenemutapa, Murenga Soro Renzou, Tovera and other ancestors of the nation called Zimbabwe.

THE SECOND CHIMURENGA

This was an armed struggle against a small European community that had seized power from the African people in a series of skirmishes between 1893 and 1902 when the last prominent leader, Mappedera was finally captured. In the first half of the twentieth century the political resistance was mild, but grew into active political resistance in the late 1950s and early 1960s as nationalists demanded power. The white settlers dug in and were not willing to concede power because along with it came control of an all important resource, the land. The last straw was the election of the Rhodesia Front to power in 1962 which led to the arrest of nationalist leaders in 1963. The most prominent nationalist parties of the time were the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU). Both parties were banned in 1963 and in the face of white intransigence the nationalists decided to start an armed struggle which came to be known as “*Chimurenga*”.

The unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) by the Rhodesian Government in 1965 accelerated the conflict. The battle of Chinhoyi in 1966 where seven guerrillas died marked the start of the guerrilla war (Ellert, 1989; Moorcraft and McLaughlin, 1982). Between 1966 and 1970 the armed wings of ZANU and ZAPU crossed the Zambezi from Zambia and launched raids in the Northern and Western border areas. At some stage ZAPU guerrillas linked up with the African National Congress (South Africa) and launched joint operations in and the best known operation during this period was the Wankie campaign. However, due to poor military strategies the guerrilla armies sustained heavy casualties and the operations fizzled out in 1969 and these disasters perpetuated the myth of Rhodesian invincibility.

In 1970 and 1971 the guerrilla armies reorganised themselves with ZANU restructuring Zimbabwe National Liberation Army (ZANLA) and ZAPU set up Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA). These armies re-launched operations in 1972. These operations were more sustained and posed a serious challenge to the Rhodesian government. ZANLA launched operations from northern Mozambique and spread into the north-eastern area of the. ZIPRA crossed the Zambezi and launched operations in the north-western and western parts of the country. Increased fighting led to the *détente* of 1975, a diplomatic exercise by the then United States of America Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, John Vorster of South Africa and Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia. They brokered a ceasefire at the end of 1974 and started negotiations which collapsed at the end of 1975. The ceasefire gave all the fighting forces a chance to rebuild their arsenals. The failure of *détente* saw renewed hostilities at the beginning of 1976.

The period 1976 to 1979 saw the final and bloodiest stage of the war (Muchemwa, 2015; Beckett, 2000; Ellert, 1989). New fronts were opened along the Mozambican border and in western and southern Zimbabwe. This put the Rhodesian forces under severe strain with high levels of casualties among the fighting forces and civilians. By 1979 guerrilla armies had penetrated most of the country. After a series of abortive talks, namely the Geneva (1976), Malta I and II (1978) the Internal Settlement (1978) a cease-fire was signed at Lancaster House in December 1979. This was achieved after three months of intense negotiation. Elections were held in February 1980 and Zimbabwe became an independent country on April 18 1980.

SOME LITERATURE ON ZIMBABWEAN ONOMASTICS

The work of Marapara (1954), Sandes (1955) and Jackson (1957) mark some of the earliest studies in Zimbabwe. Most of these works resemble anthropological research by civil servants who were more of administrators than scholars and had its limitations. For example, through the process of translation much meaning was lost between interviewer and interviewee. Cultural differences and perceptions also influenced the writers' views of Zimbabwean names. However, despite these limitations, this body of research remains a valuable point of departure in Zimbabwean onomastics. The problems raised above were partially resolved by another generation of scholars, such as Kahari (1990) and Pongweni (1983) who are part of the cultural context within which the names were created and used. Their works are influenced by theoretical linguistics and are in many ways similar in some ways to Koopman (1984, 1990, 2002), Louwrens (1994) and Neethling (1994).

Contemporary studies on Zimbabwean onomastics have taken new trajectories. For example, Chitando (1998) is influenced by theology, whereas Tatira (2005) adopts a sociolinguistic approach. Pfukwa (1998; 2007) draws from narratives of the second *Chimurenga* and sociolinguistics. Mapara, Nyota and Mutasa (2005) draw from the deep well of African languages. Kadenge, Mabhugu, Chivero and Chiwara (2014); Makoni, Makoni and Mashiri (2007); Mashiri (1999); Chabata (2012) develop their onomastic interest mainly from theoretical linguistics and lexicography. Makondo (2009) combines pragmatics and semiotics as he focuses on contemporary Shona personal names and Mamvura (2014) approaches place names using geosemiotics and concepts from studies in linguistics landscapes. While this brief survey is far from complete, it shows the major trends in Zimbabwean onomastics.

SOME THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This section examines aspects of onomastics and literary theory that anchor this discussion. A useful starting point is that a name is a statement that refers to a person or entity. It distinguishes one person from another or one entity or place from another. Beyond the referential function, it carries many connotations and denotations. With time it collects other meanings and descriptions, some of which might take it far from the original meaning (Pfukwa, 2007). This reminds us of Nicolaisen's (1987: 6) marine metaphor that once a name is "...cast loose from its semantic moorings...", it loses its original attributes. Scholars have traced the movement of the name from its basic linguistic attributes into semantics, semiotics, pragmatics and beyond (Raper, 1987; Makondo, 2009). Pragmatic allows the name to collect every possible association and connotation into what name scholars call descriptive backing (Meiring, 1993; Louwrens, 1994; Pfukwa, 2007).

There is a general consensus among scholars that descriptive backing takes the name beyond the linguistic domain. The connotations and denotations in descriptive backing are not necessarily accurate or correct representations, but the important thing is their presence. Through descriptive backing, names become an integral component of the cultural and historical narratives of a community. They become new texts or narratives that carve new perspectives and new identities altogether. Descriptive backing suggests that every name has a story behind; as such, names are narratives with multiple representations offering many possibilities (Koopman, 1994; Neethling, 1994; Makondo, 2009).

FROM THE PERSONAL NAME TO THE NICKNAME

The personal name which is also known as the anthroponym is a social statement reflecting the bearer, the namer and the social environment. The personal name can be divided into two subcategories, the formal or non-formal. The formal will be the official, the name that appears on legal documents, such as birth certificates, title deeds and contracts. This name is permanent and it often takes some legal process to change it. This discussion focuses on the non-formal name which is also called the nickname. Scholars, such as McDowell (1981), Reany (1967) Neethling (1994) and Koopman (2002) build up definitions on the nickname which all point to it as an additional name, or an extra name that compliments or supplements the formal name. A nickname carries a lot of information since it reflects the most current attributes of the bearer. Within this category are war names which were also called *noms de guerre*. Guerrillas in the Zimbabwean liberation used *noms de guerre* which were commonly known as *mazita eChimurenga* (Chimurenga names) (Pfukwa, 2007).

SOURCES OF THE NAMES

Two methods were chosen for this study. The first was collecting the data from written records. The main source of *Chimurenga* names in this discussion is Pfukwa (2007). Others came from the *Fallen Heroes* report compiled by the Zimbabwean Ministry of Information in 1983. This method is common in onomastic research (Allen, 1983) and can yield a large corpus of names. The research complemented the former method with interviews to establish who named the guerrillas and to establish some variables which influenced the naming patterns and processes. The interviews yielded a substantial

amount of background information about the participants and this is useful information from the bearer of the names themselves.

The guerrillas were people of action; hence they took up names such as *No Talks, Action Mauto* (Action Soldiers) or *Kutaura Kunonetsa* (talking is a waste of time). They wrote their full narratives in the battlefield and in their war names. Each name was a rich metaphor in itself, a narrative that effectively summarised an aspect of the struggle. Each was a narrative of resistance, defiance or determination to recover a lost legacy. Out of the many categories mentioned by other scholars, such as Pongweni (1983); Makondo (2009) and Pfukwa (2007), this chapter focuses on war names that were linked to the land (*Nyika*).

In the analysis and discussion of these names we need to keep a few points in mind. Firstly, the names can have multiple meanings in line with the theories of descriptive backing as discussed earlier. Secondly, the names can be analysed and placed in various other categories depending on the approaches and purposes of the different scholars. Thirdly, the names are drawn from one liberation army, ZANLA in order to have a manageable scope for a study of this magnitude. The majority of the names are from Shona, a language spoken by about 80% of Zimbabweans. The names discussed here are given in italics followed by a gloss in brackets. This gloss should be seen as one possible meaning out of many possibilities as discussed in the theory of descriptive backing.

NAMES AS CULTURAL HERITAGE

Whereas tangible heritage is that heritage which one can touch and feel such as carvings, pictures, buildings and dress, intangible heritage cannot be touched. It is transmitted from generation to generation like tangible heritage. Intangible heritage will include language, rituals, festival performances, music, folklore and oral tradition. Intangible heritage projects a people’s identity ethos and values. Names are an important part of the language, culture and folklore of a people, and it is in this framework that the chapter examines *chimurenga* names as part of Africa’s intangible heritage.

NYIKA AS A CHIMURENGA NAME

Nyika can carry two meanings. Firstly, it can mean the political entity called the nation. This is a clearly defined space or territory, for example the country of Zimbabwe. It is in this frame that guerrillas took up the name Zimbabwe. So there would be names such as *Rwirai Zimbabwe*, *Tongai Zimbabwe*, *Tichatonga Zimbabwe*. These names expressed the dreams and goals of guerrillas that one day they would rule the country — *Tichatonga Zimbabwe*. The Zimbabwe surname expressed a yearning for a nation yet to be born. *Manyuchi MuZimbabwe* (Honey in Zimbabwe) “the land of milk and honey”, was a Biblical reference which suggested a country endowed with many resources, *Tichaitora Zimbabwe* (We shall take over Zimbabwe) suggested determination to rule the nation despite the numerous challenges. The underlying indomitable spirit behind these double-barrel names tethering bearers to Zimbabwe is unmistakable.

The second possible meaning of *Nyika* would be the physical entity, the land, the soil itself. This is the sense we encounter in Mtukudzi’s words “*Nyika ivhu, ivhu ndiyo Nyika*” (The nation is the soil, the soil is the nation.) The need to recover lost land was a key

motive of the Second *Chimurenga*. As a result, names such as *Tonderai Nyika*, *Kudzai Nyika* were a solemn reminder of the land that was lost through a series of legal edicts. These legal instruments alienated people from the land, pushing them to marginalised areas with poor soils and little rainfall. In this discussion the two meanings are used interchangeably, especially when giving the glosses for the *Chimurenga* names.

Out of the corpus of *Chimurenga* names were those that had *Nyika* either as a complete name or as the root of a name. For example, there was a group of names where *Nyika* was a surname. So there was *Tongai Nyika* (rule the country); *Rwirai Nyika* (Fight for the country); *Winai Nyika* (Win the country). Also *Torai Nyika* (Take the nation) and *Sunungurai Nyika* (liberate the nation). Others include, *Tichaitora Nyika* (We shall take the land); *Tichatonga Nyika* (We shall rule the land); *Tonderai Nyika* (Remember the land); *Pikirai Nyika* (Swear for the land) and *Kudzai Nyika* (Respect the land), among others. For others, it came as a first name, such as *Nyika yaBaba* (the fatherland).

Another group took the name *Tafirenyika* (We die for the nation) which came as a first name or a surname. Variations of *Tafirenyika* included *Tofirenyika* (We die for the nation), others had the surname *Muchatipa Nyika* (You shall give us the land). Others took up the surname *Zvenyika* meaning 'matters of the land'. This was a common surname with names, such as *Patts Zvenyika* and *Taurai Zvenyika* among others. All of these names expressed the inviolable link with the nation and the land.

Nyika was also in names such as, *Jekanyika*, a name drawn from Mugugu's Shona novel that carries the same title. In an interview comrade *Jekanyika* indicated that he was studying the novel at Ordinary Level sometime in 1974 or 1975 when he went off to the war front. Such a name was inspired by a literature text just like *Dzasukwa* took the name from Chakaipa's Shona novel *Dzasukwa Mwana asina hembe*.

RE-WRITING IDENTITIES THROUGH CHIMURENGA NAMES

When the guerrillas named themselves it was a declaration of independence from wider social control and it was a choice in identity. But a chosen name carried many connotations and denotations. This section focuses on some of the functions of these self-acquired identities. Initially, newly-acquired identities at the war front were designed to conceal identities for security reasons. The enemy could not trace a pseudonym to the home of the guerrilla. In this respect, Rhodesians could not trace a war name to any family or any village in Zimbabwe. Parents or relatives were always harassed by police or soldiers tracing guerrillas. So assuming a *Chimurenga* name became a critical act of protecting the self and the family that was left behind. In this respect, at its fiercest peak, it became mandatory to have a *Chimurenga* name in the last 5 years of the war (Pfukwa, 2007).

Another reason was to take up new identities that expressed the motives and aspirations of the liberation struggle. For example, *Sunungurai Nyika* (Liberate the nation) was a clear expression of the goals of the struggle. The bearer had taken up arms to liberate the nation. Similarly, the name *Urayayi Mabhunu* (Kill the Boers) was a clear statement of the motive of the guerrillas — Kill the Boers in order to liberate the nation. Barnes and Pfukwa (2009) discuss the names developed around the name *Mabhunu* in depth.

Another reason was to express the fierce determination to engage an enemy who had always appeared invincible. Some of these names taunted and vilified the enemy. Following Allen (1990), Barnes and Pfuikwa (2009: 428) call them “ethnic slurs”. Like other insulting war names they removed the mask of invincibility that the Rhodesians wore as part of their psychological arsenal. These names dared the enemy taunting him into a fight as seen in the deep insult in *Pfutseki Mabhunu* (Go away Boers); *Tsvairai mabhunu* (Sweep away the Boers) or the horrendous *Pisai Mabhunu* (Burn the Boers), were more aggressive advocating the complete elimination of the enemy.

Besides concealing old identities, the war names wittingly (or unwittingly) interrogated the colonial political structures and the accompanying economic, social, cultural and religious systems that marginalised the black people and relegated them to second class citizenship. All these matrixes exist in some physical space called the land (*Nyika*). The names became part of these discourses and the collective expression of a people who were ready to fight to death to recover their land which was the root of their identity. Renaming marked a stage in the repossession of political, economic and socio-cultural space. When Zimbabweans unseated the colonial power, they took it upon themselves to change the name of the *nyika* from Rhodesia to Zimbabwe. They had crossed over from political domination to the much-desired self-rule.

Some of these names also expressed collectivity and solidarity among the guerrillas and the communities that provided them with food and other basic necessities. These collective names suggested unity of purpose and that the war could only be won through a collective effort; hence there were names that expressed collective identities, such as *Sunungurai Nyika* (Liberate the nation) and *Rwirai nyika* (Fight for the nation). The collective vision was expressed in the collective will in names, such as *Tichatonga* (We shall rule) or *Tichaitora* (We shall take it back). These nicknames reflect solidarity and unity of purpose among the guerrillas, and of course the ordinary Zimbabweans who metaphorically were the waters that constituted their shelter. The prefix *Ticha-* (We shall) in *Tichatonga* expresses the collective spirit to achieve a common goal, and the verb *-tonga* (rule) denotes this goal to ultimately rule the nation. This became the first name and the surname *Nyika* — *Tichatonga Nyika* (We shall rule the nation). Sometimes the name *Nyika* was referred to elliptically where the guerrilla took up the name *Tichaitora Nehondo* (We shall take back the country through war). *Ticha...* (We shall...) expresses the collective will as expressed earlier, and *i ...in -itora* (take it) is an elliptical reference to the country/nation (*nyika*).

While some of these names were ascribed to individuals; they expressed collective consciousness and they drew their strength from the collective identity. In engaging *Sungurai Nyika* (Free the nation) the enemy was not merely engaging the individual who carried the name, but was fighting a legion behind the guerrilla. The collective in *Sunungurai* or *Tongai Nyika* suggested that even if the individual was to fall in action, the “collective” spirit would continue the struggle. Similarly, if the individual called *Mutongi WeZimbabwe* (The ruler of Zimbabwe) was to die in action, the collective spirit in the name would continue spurring the war.

A BRIEF ANALYSIS OF SOME NYIKA NAMES

The names with the root *Nyika* have numerous onomastic possibilities. This section explores some of these names to illustrate how they underline some of the motives that drove a whole generation of young people to sacrifice their lives.

Rwirai nyika (Fight for the land) was about this aggressive determination to take up arms and fight because the settlers were not going to give up without a fight. *Torai Nyika* (Take the land) and *Tichaitora Nyika* (We shall take the land) expressed the same sentiments. It was underlined by the drive to recapture/seize and reclaim the land in the same spirit that was to manifest itself in the land reform. There was no negotiation in this, but was expressing the inevitable. There was one thread in all these names which can be summed up thus: ...at some point we shall take the land whether you like or not.

Tonderai Nyika (Remember the nation); *Pikirai Nyika* (Swear for the land); *Kudzai Nyika* (Respect the land), were mild versions of the same fierce determination aggression we find in *Rwirai Nyika* (fight for the land) and in *Tichatora Nyika* (We shall take the land). These meditative names suggest an element of the spiritual in the land. It is not just some ordinary space, but is sacred; it is my father's land (*Nyika Yababa*). Such names demand deep reflection and reverence of the land, and all were asked to respect this space which so many people were dying for. Probably, *Nyika Yababa* (My father's land) should be read in the same spirit that for example, the Germans saw the fatherland.

Tafirenyika (We die for this land) and *Tofirenyika* (We are dying for this land) are clear statements of sacrifice. These aggressive names were acts of self-fortification because death for some was inevitable and yet, they were going to face it with it courage. There were young people ready to give up their lives to liberate the nation and indeed many lost their lives. Besides the thousands that died in action within the country, the mass graves in Zambia and Mozambique are sombre statements of those who died for the land: the human cost was high.

Another group carried the surname *Zvenyika* (Matters of the land). The first name could be Shona, such as *Taurai Zvenyika* (Talk about matters of the nation) or it could be an English or foreign name, such as Thomas or Patts. The surname *Zvenyika* was a perpetual reminder of the "matters of the land." *Sunugurai Nyika* (Liberate the land) suggested a people on a mission. There was urgency in the imperative, the subtle, but firm order, to liberate/free the land. *Tichatonga Nyika* (We shall rule the land) was also very clear. It was inevitable that at some point in the future the black majority shall rule the land. When that was going to come to pass was quite another matter, as we saw earlier, they were ready to die for that to be achieved.

There are several points that came out of these names. Firstly, there is the recurrent plural form in "we" which expresses the collective will and the collective spirit that reflects the unity that bound the guerrilla force despite its diversity in cultures, languages, religions and other social indices that under any other setting would tear a group apart. The collective spirit is discussed. Secondly, there is deep optimism in the future expressed in *Ticha* (We shall). Despite the huge odds against the fighters, the names expressed endless optimism that one day *Tichaitonga* (We shall rule Zimbabwe) and *Tichatora nyika* (We shall take the nation). This was clear despite the endless problems associated with any conflict. Despite the tragedy of Nyadzonya, the bombs at Chimoio and the endless fire force in the battle front, *Tichatonga Nyika* (We shall rule the land).

Joseph Chinotimba (MP) was never far from controversy during the land reform and has been the butt of many jokes over his broken English. What is significant is his passion and self-belief as he led many into farms and he acquired the title Commander during

the Third *Chimurenga*. It was at the height of this process that he uttered the statement, "We died for this country" (Sic) which is a translation from the Shona *Takaifira Nyika*. This phrase is an echo of the *Chimurenga* names such as *Tafirenyika* or *Tofirenyika* that have been discussed earlier. Chinotimba was simply expressing national sentiments that there were fighters who died for this land. Their very names *Torai Nyika* and *Tichaitora Nyika*, among others, expressed this wish. Chinotimba was therefore merely reliving the sentiments of the guerrillas of the Second *Chimurenga*, many of whom indeed died for the same land that was to be redistributed more than two decades after attainment of political independence.

CONCLUSION

Chimurenga names, like all other names, are valuable repositories of history and are part of the grand narrative of a people's experience (Pfukwa, 2007: 122). Most of these names mean different things to different people, and might not necessarily be the originally-intended meaning. The different names guerrillas chose reflect the intensity and passion of the perennial struggle for the limited resources, such as land (Pfukwa, 2007: 187). These nicknames or pseudonyms constitute Zimbabwe's intangible heritage which is a valuable source of knowledge about the war of liberation. They document the agenda, ideology, vision, challenges and unity of purpose that informed the war of liberation. They are valuable accounts that help one trace the events of the war of liberation.

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Chapter Six

Place-renaming and the Liberation War History in Zimbabwe: A Critical Discourse Analysis Account of In/tangible Heritage Creation

Zvinashe Mamvura and Pedzisai Mashiri

INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores the process of renaming the built environment in independent Zimbabwe as a way of immortalising the history of the liberation struggle. The chapter gives special attention to Harare because it is the capital city of Zimbabwe. Most of the issues of naming (and the general urban planning systems) recurred throughout the country. Place naming in Harare becomes the microcosm of the entire national naming practice. It is this chapter's submission that political transitions are often accompanied by de-naming and re-naming of places. Each ruling regime establishes its own symbols (flags, monuments, place names, and national colours, among others). Symbols of a deposed political system are erased from the landscape and new icons that are consistent with the new political order are inserted on the landscape.

Colonial Rhodesia, renamed Zimbabwe after independence, the then regimes gave European names to different places in the colony as one of the significant ways of heralding their presence and claiming ownership of the named spaces. European place names encapsulated discourses that narrated the history of Europeans. Place-renaming was aimed at erasing a European version of history and replacing it with the history of the liberation struggle, the history of the land. At the top of the agenda for the struggle for independence in Zimbabwe was the land. The post-independence black government made an effort to bring memories of the war to the fore through the re-naming exercise. The war was a collective process in which both the gun-wielding men/women and the peasants participated. Commemorating the history of the war through place-renaming was a way of inscribing the collective memory of Zimbabweans. The attempt was to mark the relation of post-independence Zimbabwe to its past. There is an inalienable relationship between the past and post-independence realities. Place-renaming was supposed to present what Huyssen (2003: 1) regards as "present past" where the past is regarded as part of the present.

Using tenets of Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth, CDA) as a theory, this chapter examines the influence of political power on place-naming. It is the chapter's submission that the sector with more access to state power has control over place names used in a nation-state. Place names are never innocent and neutral. Political players try to manipulate them so that they communicate their own version of knowledge. Thus, instead of treating renaming places in Zimbabwe as the 'spatialisation' of the collective memory, this chapter regards such memory that is determined by power holders as selective memory because the naming foregrounds strict patriotic history. This memory is never objective because political regimes always project a subjective version of it. Ranger (2004) poignantly observes that patriotic history is intended to proclaim the

continuity of the Zimbabwean revolutionary tradition. This is the authorised version of history which is consistent with the political ideology of the ruling elite of the day.

Toponomastic studies have traditionally focused on the etymology and taxonomy of place naming, collecting, classifying place names and standardisation of the same (Zelinsky, 1997; Stewart, 1954). Rose-Redwood, Alderman and Azaryahu (2010: 454) call for researchers to shift their focus to the politics of place naming practices. It is their wish that future researchers should explore “the political economy of toponymic practices as a step toward expanding the conceptual horizon of critical place-naming studies”. The ‘political’ has now become one of the central concerns of critical approaches to place-name studies. Renaming is a politically driven activity in which political regimes engage in order to engrave their imprints on the landscape.

This chapter focuses on the renaming of streets. Toponymic research has proved that the renaming of streets is one significant way of removing signs of earlier regimes and honouring a new set of heroes (Azaryahu, 1996; Yeoh, 1996; Gonzalez Faraco and Murphy, 1997; Pinchevski and Torgovnik, 2002). Several buildings underwent renaming. Mkwati, Kaguvi, Chaminuka and Ngungunyana constitute a new regime of names for buildings in Harare, replacing colonial names. The particular focus on street names follows Azaryahu’s (1996) observation that street names are significant discourses that inscribe an authorised version of history into ordinary settings of everyday lives because they introduce history into social communication. For example, people who talk about the city make reference to the streets when talking about the city scape. In that case, “history is interwoven with daily life, and thus gains the appearance of naturalness; a most desired effect in the light of the function of history as a legitimising factor” (Azaryahu, 1996: 321). Renaming of places in post-independence Zimbabwean society was aimed at memorialising the history of the liberation struggle. It is this history that creates a Zimbabwean nation with its distinct heroic identity. The set of place names analysed in this chapter commemorates war experiences. They act as commemorative discourses for the nationalist leaders and other African leaders who supported the liberation struggle. The history of the liberation struggle hinges on the control of and access to the land as a means of production, and renaming street names after the liberation struggle icons partly helps inscribing that history.

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS: CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

This chapter uses CDA as a theoretical framework guiding analysis and interpretation of the data. Central to CDA is the discourse view of language as a form of social practice (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997; Wodak, 2001b). Discourse, being a social practice, is both constitutive and constituted. It both constitutes the social world and is constituted by other social dimensions (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002).

Fairclough (1995) provides the following three salient features of CDA as an analytical framework: the object of analysis in its various manifestations, such as verbal or verbal texts; the production and subsequent reception and consumption of the object [of analysis] by human subjects; and the socio-historical factors that govern and condition the above processes. In a way, texts (verbal, written or visual) are socially conditioned forms of discourse. These arguments provide a basis for doing a sociolinguistic analysis of street names, taking into consideration the social variables that conditioned the process of naming streets in the post-colonial Zimbabwean state.

Discourse is written or spoken communication or debate. In CDA, discourses have the potential of shaping and structuring societies. This stems from the view in CDA of discourse “as the flow of knowledge-and/or all societal knowledge stored throughout all time.” (Jäger, 1993; 1999 cited in Jäger, 2001: 34). Thus, discourse is not an end in itself, but a means to an end. This dimension of CDA helps in the analysis of place names as texts which powerholders use to further their interests and communicate their ideology. Wodak (2001a) submits that texts can be defined as materially durable products of linguistic actions. A text is a composite whole of interrelated linguistic acts which come to people in different forms, verbal, written or visual.

In addition, CDA examines the social processes which motivate the production of a text, and the social structures and process in which human beings, individually or collectively as active subjects, create meanings in their interaction with texts (Fairclough and Kress, 1993 cited in Wodak, 2001a: 3). This framework is consistent with the metaphor of the urban centre as a text adopted in this study. Treating the city as text, or the city-text is at the core of the nation in political geography of viewing the landscape as a set of texts that act in unison to socially produce the landscape. This chapter treats places themselves as semiotic because people attach meanings to spaces in order to turn them into places. The process of inscribing meaning on the landscape gives places the power to communicate several meanings. In the case of this chapter, streets resonate with meanings because the history of the liberation struggle is made to become part of the present. The political atmosphere of a nation-state can be read through its street names (Azaryahu, 1996).

Wodak (2001a) characterises CDA as having three indispensable concepts: the concept of ideology; the concept of power; and the concept of history. The concept of ideology in CDA is understood as “meaning in the service of power” (Fairclough, 1995: 14). The production of ideologies takes place in a society characterised by social inequalities (racial, gender and class). Discourses occupy a central slot in hegemonic strategies in varying degrees. Ideology is used in the maintenance of relations of power or relations of dominance in societies. Van Dijk (2001) defines ideologies as the basic representations of social groups which reflect a schematic structure that represents the self-image of each group. They inform the basic principles that organise the attitudes that are shared by a group that participates in the same social domain, a social group. Power is a central tenet of CDA in so far as it examines language use by those in power who are the architects of inequalities — racial, sexual or class. The concept of history implies that every discourse is historically produced and interpreted (Wodak, 2001a).

An analysis of the de-Europeanisation of places in the post-colonial society cannot be dissociated from colonial place-naming patterns. The twin processes of de-naming and renaming, which is the focus of this chapter, can only be executed and accomplished when the concerned place already has a name. The next section discusses the process of place-naming in the colonial state.

THE TOPONYMIC CONSTRUCTION OF THE COLONIAL STATE

The colonial experience in Zimbabwe conferred on its landscape a set of place names which reflected the ideologies of the colonial establishment, constituting what some critics could consider as intangible heritage for the said regime. The colonial government exercised power over Africans through the Native Affairs Department, which comprised

of native commissioners who controlled Africans in every sphere of their lives. Among their major duties was to oversee the implementation of the Land Apportionment Act of 1931 and the Land Husbandry Act of 1951 (Sibanda, 1989). The failure to discover a second rand made it mandatory for the Rhodesian state to shift its attention to the land. The politics of Rhodesian state-making hinged on the land, on issues to do with how the land should be used, who should gain access to it, how it should be settled, and the kind of authority to be exercised over it (Alexander, 2006). State-making was basically an issue of the politics of land during the colonial period in Zimbabwe. Place-naming was an undoubted mechanism that showed control over the land, its peoples, mainstream ideology and traditions. Place-naming then, was a significant mechanism for exercising power over the land and subtly influencing beliefs perceptions.

Kearns and Berg (2002) submit that place names are significant discourses that provide normalcy and legitimacy for political regimes. It is those who wield relatively more power who have control over the process of naming places. They have power to determine the configuration of the public sphere. This chapter argues that commemorative place-naming was useful in legitimising European political power in Rhodesia. Through commemorative place names, Europeans managed to memorialise their experiences on the landscape. The colony itself was named Rhodesia in honour of Rhodes, the head of the chartered company, the British South Africa Company, which colonised Zimbabwe on behalf of Britain.

The British royal family was also honoured through naming places after them. The naming of schools such as Queen Elizabeth School, Prince Edward School, Victoria Junior and Victoria High School attests to this. Queen Victoria was also honoured through naming the first fort that the Pioneer Column established en route to Fort Salisbury after her. One of the districts in the same province was also named Victoria. This naming trend was meant to honour the British government. It was Britain which granted the Pioneer Column the Royal Charter, a document which gave it powers to colonise Zimbabwe. Thus, one of the forts established along the pioneer route was named Fort Charter, as one of the staging posts between Salisbury and the south. A road in Salisbury, Charter Road, was also named in honour of the Royal Charter. The colony had never experienced a British military or administrative presence because the Royal Charter empowered the Chartered Company to form an army and make laws, among many other powers.

The use of place names derived from the British royal family in a colonial state was celebratory of the total subjugation of Africans inhabiting the territory between the Limpopo and Zambezi rivers. Africans were supposed to recognise the new political order, because the ultimate control of political issues in the colony was no longer in the hands of African traditional leadership, but European settlers were in control of Rhodesia. The place names were conduits effectively used to communicate a radical change in the political configuration of the colony.

The capital city was named Fort Salisbury in honour of the Third Marquess of Salisbury, then the Prime Minister of Britain. A Street in the Kopje area had also been named Pioneer Street in honour of the Pioneer Column (Jackson, 1986). European place-naming patterns saw some landscapes being named after some people regarded as the 'builders of the colony'. The class of honoured figures included leaders of the BSAC, senior government officials, high-ranking military personnel, philanthropists and explorers,

and many other categories of persons who contributed in cash or in kind to the making of Rhodesia as a colonial state. The following school names suffice: Ellis Robins High School, Chancellor Primary School, Lord Malvern High School, Baring Primary School, Courtney Selous Primary School, Alfred Beit Primary School and Allan Wilson Technical High School.

Place names from different parts of Europe were also given to residential areas designated for whites only. Avondale, Hatfield, Mt. Pleasant, Highlands, Marlborough and Greystone Park were some of the names that reminded Europeans of home. Most farming areas were also given European names. Consider the following examples: Little England, Wiltshire and Lancashire. The following street names indicate an attempt to inscribe a European identity on the landscape: Birmingham, Oxford, Churchill, Stanley Avenue, Forbes Avenue, Kent, Baker Avenue, among many others. The naming trends were aimed at filling spaces with a European collective historical memory. Place-naming became a way of bringing their history to the fore. Turning landscapes in the colony into places of memory ultimately naturalised the relationship between Europeans and the landscapes in the colony. In most cases, places that were earmarked for European settlement were given European names. Thus, European place names were significant discourses that participated in the wider efforts of land appropriation. This chapter advances the view that place-naming was instrumental in alienating the land from Africans.

DE-NAMING AND RE-NAMING IN THE INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWEAN STATE

The attainment of independence saw the decolonisation of the landscapes. Most of the places that had European names were renamed. Place names have the capacity to “act like political utterances” (Thrift, 2003: 2022 cited in Rose-Redwood, 2008: 881). The attainment of independence saw the black government embarking on an extensive process of de-Europeanising the landscape. The first step in renaming places is to remove the earlier name (de-naming) and giving a new name (re-naming). Given that the European place-naming system mainly used commemorative place names, the process of revising history through place-naming in the new Zimbabwe fits well into Azaryahu’s (1996: 317) scheme of a politically motivated renaming process which involves ‘de-commemoration’ and ‘commemoration’. The inalienable and intricate relationship between place names as icons of memory and political systems makes them susceptible to changes during political transitions. Place names are instrumental in the creation of ‘sites of memory’ (O’Meally and Fabre, 1994: 3-4 cited in Alderman, 2003: 165), and a ‘memorial arena’ (Alderman, 2002:99). Place names convert ordinary landscapes into ‘memory scapes’ (Edensor, 1994: 178). Alderman (2002: 99) argues:

Commemorative place-naming is an important vehicle for bringing the past into the present, helping weave history into the geographic fabric of everyday life. Named streets, like any place of memory, can become embroiled in the politics of defining what is historically significant or worthy of public remembrance.

Place-renaming in post-independence Zimbabwe was meant to concretise the memory of the liberation struggle as defined by the ruling elite. The renaming of places in the

post-colonial state indicated that political transition had indeed happened. Renaming of places was a strategy through which the new black government wanted to assert black authority over the landscape.

CDA is concerned with the construction of meaning in the service of power. The post-colonial government used de-commemoration as a way decolonising the landscape. It was a process of onomastic cleansing aimed at revising history. Yeoh (1992) poignantly observes that the renaming of streets in post-colonial societies can help to divest the landscape of its colonial associations. Azaryahu (1996: 317) is convinced that renaming is a conventional manifestation of a “ritual of revolution” which indicates the dawn of a new political era. It is usually accompanied by the more dramatic pulling down of monuments. These efforts are motivated by the need to celebrate triumph and settle scores with the deposed regime (Azaryahu, 1996). This explains why the new black government renamed streets that had colonial names. This onomastic erasure saw the wiping out of the following names in Harare’s central business district: Moffat Street, Jameson Avenue, Baker Avenue, Victoria Street, Pioneer Street, Stanley Avenue, Forbes Avenue, Livingstone Avenue, Selous Avenue, Rhodes Avenue, Milton Avenue, and Colquhoun Street. Public spaces and buildings also underwent the same process. Cecil Square, Cecil House, Cecil Building, Cecil Hotel, Milton Building, Edward Building and Vincent Building were renamed in line with the nationalist ideology of the new government.

The place names were aimed at memorialising the history of the liberation struggle. Immortalising the first Chimurenga legends, the names Sekuru Kaguvi and Mbuya Nehanda were chosen, foregrounding their invaluable contribution as legendary heroes in fighting against the British invaders. The streets became mini-classrooms where the history of the first Chimurenga was told to the new generation. The fact that places of memory solidify history on the landscape, through bringing it to the people, compels political players to preside over the creation and subsequent management of places of memory. Agencies in charge of the place naming process decide on personalities and events worthy of public remembering (Azaryahu, 1996; Alderman, 2000). During the colonial era, Europeans suppressed African memory and mutilated it. Usually, the names of African legendary figures and heroes of both the first and the second Chimurenga were not celebrated in the public sphere because they represented a competing version of history to the one proffered by the colonial establishment.

Knowing the potential of history in inspiring the present, the colonial government suppressed names such as Nehanda, Kaguvi and Chaminuka for about 70 years, because they regarded these personalities as ‘witches’ (Pfukwa and Barnes, 2010). The names mirrored a resilient people and a vibrant African past. Ironically, the names of such historical figures have been given to streets on the periphery and margins of the city and those of later nationalists are in the CBD and other prominent thoroughfares, instead. It appears that the heroes of the Second Chimurenga overshadow those of the First Chimurenga. Evidently, it is the streets in the centre of the city that are named after heroes of the Second Chimurenga. These are Jason Moyo, George Silundika, Robson Manyika, Robert Mugabe and Leopold Takawira. Pushing heroes of the First Chimurenga to the periphery is like reducing their role to a mere folkloristic appeal. The gallantry attributable to heroes of the Second Chimurenga parallels that of the First Chimurenga, and they both constitute a protracted black armed struggle.

The attainment of national independence created an opportunity for the new black government to monumentalise the names of their icons of history. Thus, heroes of the Second Chimurenga that ultimately gave birth to independence were commemorated through street-naming in Harare. The following examples attest to this naming phenomenon: Robert Mugabe, Herbert Chitepo, Josiah Tongogara, Josiah Chinamano, Simon Mazorodze, Rekayi Tangwena and Leopold Takawira, among others. However, it is interesting to note that Robert Mugabe is the only living hero whose name is visible on the landscape. The trend that seems to prevail is to have names of fallen heroes being immortalised in the public sphere through the renaming process. This is an instance of how power can condition the use of discourses in a nation-state. Robert Mugabe was the first Premier of the newly independent Zimbabwe running under a black-led government, hence the conscious recognition that his name receives. The above naming pattern indicates a conscious strategy of maintaining one centre of power within the ruling party and nation. It would have created competing and rather multiple centres of power if some streets had been named after some of Mugabe's contemporaries who had equally contributed to the attainment of independence. This explains the conspicuous absence of liberation war icons such as Eddison Zvobgo, Ndabaningi Sithole, Edgar Tekere, Emmerson Mnangagwa, Oppah Muchinguri, Solomon Mujuru, Sally Mugabe, Ruth Chinamano, Victoria Chitepo, Lookout Masuku, and Dumiso Dabengwa, among other luminaries of the historical process of liberating the country from the clutches of colonialism who were still living when the place-renaming exercise was done.

In addition, the placement of the name, Robert Mugabe on the street that occupies a central position in the Harare Central Business District communicates that power is concentrated in the hands of a 'supreme leader', the Head of State. This is the trend throughout Zimbabwe, that all main roads, which are usually at the centre of the CBDs, in cities, are named after Robert Mugabe, even in smaller towns like Rusape. Coincidentally, the early post-independence era saw a proposal for a one-party state (yeJongwe-ZANU (PF)'s symbol). At the helm of this political structure was Robert Mugabe. In this situation, place-naming is used to immortalise the Head of State. This is in line with CDA's concern on the way language is used as a powerful tool that expresses power. CDA examines how power is anchored in social reality, who exercises it, over whom, and by what means it is exercised (Wodak, 2001b). In this case, the President is the one exercising power over his contemporaries and colleagues in the party and the general citizenry. One cannot help suggesting that the visible absence of names of other equally deserving living war heroes in the public sphere explains why numerical street names were retained to act as 'place holders'. It seems the power holders had exhausted all the names of heroes whom they perceive would deserve to be commemorated in line with the authorised version of history. In a sense, then, ZANU (PF) intends to thwart any hopes of succeeding the Head of State and Government for anyone who could have been harbouring such ambitions.

Some streets celebrate the material and emotional support that the liberation movement received from other African states and Pan-Africanists. Political leaders of African states such as South Africa (Nelson Mandela), Namibia (Sam Nujoma), Zambia (Kenneth Kaunda), Mozambique (Samora Machel), Tanzania (Julius Nyerere), and Ghana (Kwame Nkrumah) are put into the national memory through the naming of streets in Harare after them. The naming exercise commemorates the hosting of liberation movements by these

countries during the liberation struggle. They also stand as the recognition of Front Line State leaders and luminaries of Pan-Africanism that inspired the liberation struggles.

Renaming was mainly effected in the Harare's CBD for the built-up environment. The ruling elite decided to effect name changes in the CBD of the Harare because of its ideological role in communicating the dominant ideology to the general public. Racial restrictions were removed, giving Africans freedom to move freely in this area. Renaming in this part of the city was a way of making national memory part of the lived experiences of ordinary people. However, the process did not affect the naming of former European residential areas, schools and streets in former European areas. The essence of renaming is to reclaim places from the previous ownership structure. The stock of names from the liberation struggle reinforced the Africans' sense of belonging to the territory. Such place names asserted Africans' sense of ownership of the named places. Place (re)naming is an act of control and ownership over named places (Squire, 1996; Jarman, 1993 cited in Hendry, 2006: 26; Cohen and Kliot, 1992).

The process fell short of achieving this objective, because all the European names for former European residential areas are still visible to this day. Mt. Pleasant, Avondale, Borrowdale, Vainona, Oxford Street, Birmingham Street, Churchill Road, Allan Wilson High School, Prince Edward School, Courtney Selous Primary School, Malbereign Girls High School and Alfred Beit School, among many other symbols of the colonial system, are still part of Harare's city-text. The black elite moved to these former European areas at independence. These place names ceased to be colonial symbols of power, but transformed to become symbols of economic power. These are the areas that people refer to as '*Ma-dale dale*' in the informal language. This term is derived from the suffixed part of most of the names for leafy suburbs in Harare such as Borrowdale, Queensdale, Borrowdale Brooke, Greendale, Avondale, Umwinsdale.

Ironically, the same colonial names are still used for the national security institutions. Until recently, the Zimbabwe National Army Headquarters was still called KGVI, a name that was given in honour of King George VI (1895-1952) who assumed the British throne in 1937. He was very important as a symbolic leader for the British people during World War II since he visited armies at the battle fronts (www.biography.com/people/george-vi-9308937). This important role that King George VI played compelled the colonial government to honour his deeds through naming the army headquarters after him. To immortalise the sacrifices of the armed liberation cadres in their numbers, it would have been better to name such security points after some training camps for freedom fighters during the war of liberation such as Mgagao (a training camp in Tanzania), Mulungushi (in Zambia), Chimoio and Tembwe (both in Mozambique).

CONCLUSION

Place names in this chapter are an intangible heritage that memorialise the liberation struggle for Zimbabwe. They always remind the public about the liberation war history. Even generations to come will have an understanding of the liberation war. The history of the liberation struggle is part of Zimbabwe's past. Even if the history is going to be reinterpreted by future political systems, the liberation struggle cannot be erased from the national narrative.

Each ruling regime determines what constitutes national memory. The place names that celebrate the history of the liberation struggle constitute part of the ruling

government's narrative of the past, "a nationalist narrative" (Ranger, 2004: 216). Place-naming of this nature is indicative of how a ruling regime values and interprets the past. National memory should be consistent with the regime's ideology. National memory is never a purely objective entity. Rather, there is a subjective element whereby the powerful in society decide what to remember and what to forget. Issues of memory are hinged on the twin processes of remembering and forgetting. The ruling elite tries to effect a collective remembering of an official version of the past, and at the same time produce a collective amnesia of aspects of history that oppose or challenge the authorised theory of the past. Thus, history is not a constant variable. It always undergoes systematic processes of editing and re-writing. Each ruling regime interprets history to its own advantage. Place-naming is not a politically innocent activity. The ruling elite usually has ultimate control over place-naming and all the other signs and symbols that relate to the history of a nation. Thus, Azaryahu (1992: 351) regards the toponymy of an urban centre as city-text which is an 'an official text authorised by the ruling order'. Thus, the history of the liberation struggle that Zimbabweans consume through official channels such as the national broadcasting corporation is determined by the ruling elite and the ruling party.

Memory is very significant in justifying the present. Efforts are made to edit history in order to project certain forms of knowledge that communicate a regime's political agenda. The Government of Zimbabwe uses the liberation struggle as the guiding ethos for the entire governance processes. This explains why the CBD has been littered with names that echo the liberation war history as defined by the ruling elite. Throughout the CBD, the liberation war names always scream and shout for attention. The new black government wanted to project the identity of a nation that was born out of a heroic struggle against the colonial system. The set of place names used in the renaming process was useful in the social construction of such a nation. In accordance with what Stewart (1958: 3-4 cited in Alderman, 2008: 197) says about names, they "lay thickly over the land...". These names indicate a nation that underwent the colonial experience. The CBD became a discursive terrain where construction of meaning took centre stage (Daniels and Cosgrove, 1993). The place names turned the CBD of Harare into a place of memory. De-Europeanisation of the landscape was significant in bringing to the fore the memory of the liberation struggle as defined by the power holders. Place-renaming was at the core of strategies of national remembering, reviving the national liberation struggle and remobilising pan-African memory.

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Chapter Seven

Imprints of Urban Heritage in Zimbabwe: Case of Selected Landscape Texts and Artefacts in Harare

Innocent Chirisa, Dixon D Mhlanga & Elmond Bandaoko

INTRODUCTION

Although textual analysis in cultural studies, media studies, mass communication, sociology and philosophy is well-documented, its use in the interpretation of urban text with specific reference to cities in the developing world is little defined. The trap emanating from this missing dimension in the urban landscape in African cities exposes imprints of urban heritage to all sorts of (mis)interpretations. The present study is an attempt to demonstrate the usefulness of reading and interpreting imprints in the urban heritage, hence, a phenomenological inquiry into urban text with the goal of informing urban planners and designers for applying a critical mind in the conservation and preservation of heritage artefacts while seeking innovativeness for future reference of their own images and creations. This study is a phenomenological inquiry into the issues of imprints of urban heritage in Harare. It was developed through extensive documentary analysis and textual analysis, in which secondary sources such as newspapers, journal articles, research reports and government policy documents and archival material were reviewed. Case studies of historic buildings, monuments and artifacts were also discussed. The cases were purposefully selected due their purported historical and cultural significance in Zimbabwe in general, and Harare in particular.

The chapter assesses the theory of the city as text, object and materiality for analysis. It then uses Harare as a case study in which selected artefacts are analysed: houses of African nationalists in Highfield, buildings under the Building Preservation Order along Robert Mugabe Road, the Africa Unity Square (in the City Centre), the Mai Musodzi and Stodart Halls (in Mbare) and the sacrosanct National Heroes Acre. These are purposively selected as exemplars from which important lessons can be drawn for cultural urban design and conservation. The study observes that heritage is selective in the items it chooses to focus on as opposed to being holistic. Further, it notes Harare's urban heritage as colonial and post-colonial.

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The chapter is largely based on key concepts which include urban heritage, urban design, urban planning and didacticism. The literature review tries interpreting these key concepts, in this view, issues of Harare's urban heritage, tangible and intangible.

URBAN HERITAGE

There is no internationally accepted definition of the concept of urban heritage. Urban Heritage can be seen in a conceptual and institutional dimension, though both dimensions highly influence each other. Concepts represent the signified while language provides the signifier, in this case the term "Urban Heritage". Consequently, concepts

like “Urban Heritage” are constructs created by people (Graham et al, 2000: 2). In contemporary times, urban heritage is differentiated into natural, man-made, tangible and intangible heritage. All four types have attribute of “spirit” in common. “Spirit” means the impact on the spectator, inhabitant or visitor while perceiving the place or action. This becomes clear when looking, for example, at the 2001 UNESCO recommendation on sacred mountains, where the perception of nature becomes meaningful (Gunther, 2013). The concept of urban heritage can also be explained using the historic urban landscape approach. This synthesises 150 years of conceptual and institutional developments and paves the way for a contemporary adequate toolbox of Urban Heritage management approaches. The historic urban landscape approach tries to compile a broad range of ideas and definitions and project them onto urban scenarios. It defines the historic urban landscape as:

the urban area understood as the result of a historic layering of cultural and natural values and attributes, extending beyond the notion of the “historic center” or “ensemble” to include the broader urban context and its geographical setting (Bandarin and Van Oers, 2012:6).

The concept of heritage can be perceived as a process rather than a static phenomenon; it is constantly redefined in the predominant social and cultural context. It signifies an interpretation or a reconstruction of the past to fulfill the needs of contemporary society and upholding the institutionalisation of a collective memory. Lowenthal (1997: 15) describes heritage as a practice that “clarifies pasts so as to infuse them with present purposes. The social and cultural consequences of such a definition of heritage have some democratic implications; it has to respond to certain standards of legitimacy and representation. Heritage is a frequent issue on the political agenda and “a bigger range and number of people are becoming more involved in a much broader and a deeper array of heritage phenomena than ever before” (Harvey, 2001: 336). Urban heritage is now recognised as an important contribution to the historical continuity and complexity of our cities. There is, today, a methodological urge to develop new parameters for the assessment of heritage, including not only aesthetical and historical qualities, but also social values and other aspects that contribute to the complexity of the concept of heritage, and to the enhancement of its democratic legitimacy.

The focus of heritage discourse has been gradually shifting from the extraordinary and unique to the typical, inspired by the reorientation in landscape heritage discourse where the ordinary landscape — natural areas — are now subject to conservation interests (Hökerberg, 2013). “Heritage resources” on the other hand, are defined as “any place or object of cultural significance” (RSA 1999: 659). Thus, tangible physical resources can fulfill non-tangible or psychological aspects of regeneration, which include education, healing and symbolic restitution. Within urban studies, heritage has played several roles, from links to tourism (Chang, 1999; Richards & Hall, 2000), to the commonalities (like inheritance) shared with sustainable development (Fyall & Garrod, 1998). Politicians particularly see heritage as a nation-building vehicle (Cheung, 2003). At the opening of Constitution Hill, the Premier of Gauteng called on residents to “join hands in preserving the country’s heritage and advancing social integration to build a new nation, which is non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous.” Urban heritage is closely linked to the concept of urban design, in that urban design has to preserve urban heritage.

URBAN DESIGN

Urban design is the discipline through which planning and architecture can create or renew a sense of local pride and identity. It has great potential for enhancing the visual image and quality of neighbourhoods by providing a three-dimensional physical form to policies described in a comprehensive plan. It focuses on design of the public realm, which is created by both public spaces and the buildings that define them (City of Baton Rouge, 2009). Urban design is essentially about place-making, where places are not just a specific space, but all the activities and events which make them possible (Montgomery, 1998). Thus, we can now see that successful urban places must combine quality in three essential elements: physical space, sensory experience and activity. Urban design views these spaces holistically and is concerned with bringing together the different disciplines responsible for the components of cities into a unified vision. Compared to comprehensive plans, urban design plans generally have a short time horizon and are typically area or project specific. Key elements of an urban design plan include the plan itself, the preparation of design guidelines for buildings, the design of the public realm — the open space, streets, sidewalks and plazas between and around buildings precincts and the public interest issues of buildings. These include massing, placement, sun, shadow and wind issues. Urban design plans are formulated for many areas which include downtowns, waterfronts, campuses, corridors, neighbourhoods, mixed-use developments and special districts. Issues to be considered include existing development, proposed development, utility infrastructure, street framework and sustainable development principles. Urban design plans require interdisciplinary collaboration among urban designers, architects, landscape architects, planners, civil and environmental engineers and market analysts. Urban design is about relationships, the character of buildings and spaces and how people perceive and use both (Holmes, 2003).

URBAN PLANNING

The American Planning Association defines urban planning as a dynamic profession that works to improve the welfare of people and their communities by creating more convenient, equitable, efficient and attractive places for present and future generations. Planning enables civic leaders, businesses and citizens to play a meaningful role in creating communities that enrich people's lives. Urban Planning refers to the application of tools that can be used to ensure sustainable development of cities. Planning makes the urban order, providing tools to contain and manage deeply unequal urban societies (Yiftachel, 2009). Urban planning can facilitate sustainability in land use. Planning has to consider social, economic, political and environmental issues to come up with rational decisions on land uses and activities. The intricate connection between urban planning, urban design and urban heritage is that planning leads to the creation of the built environment, in which urban design has to conserve and protect heritage in the city.

THE CITYSCAPE AND CULTURAL HERITAGE

To the astute observer the question of why city scape in most the developing countries, Zimbabwe included, is usually so dilapidated, uncoordinated and un-aesthetic will always flare up in the intellect. The use of this environment seems to be one of a parasitic nature, intent on extracting maximum benefit without regard for tomorrow. The central

business districts have become or are slowly becoming “ghost” locations with corporations and major business activity opting for more quieter and aesthetic suburban office parks. Within the social sphere there seems to always be a perpetual need to search for better space, space that is comfortable, aesthetically attractive, coordinated and relevant to needs and wants of respective players. Any space that does not demonstrate these qualities is usually devoid of a permanent population. Planners have for a long time struggled with the attempt to create sustainable, aesthetic and socially-owned urban spaces. Efforts to clean up the city, re-develop and enforce by-laws have clearly failed to achieve this. How can spaces be made relevant? How can the public feel a true sense of ownership of every square metre of the city? How can concepts of sustainability be truly realised? The answer is as follows: the city must be viewed as a phenomenological sphere in which the local cultural heritage, in terms of both the physical and intangible artefacts, must be enshrined into its design. History, as is the case with any other activity, takes place on the land and our cityscapes are full of texts documenting historic events and sites, but urban planning has hardly ever developed a specialisation to succinctly incorporate the awareness, conservation and preservation of historic sites within its mainstream agenda. The existing emphasis within spatial planning has been physical infrastructure planning, with the phenomenological aspect of the cityscape being excluded.

Max-Neef (1992) in his matrix of needs and satisfiers defines understanding as a need that must be realised. As a component of this need, it is imperative that an indigenous population is cognisant of its historic cultural heritage, and this understanding must not be confined merely to institutionalised learning and text, but must be a day-to-day physical experience of interacting with the cityscape. From a historic documentation perspective, the cityscape offers one of the most unparalleled opportunities to translate archival data into tangible everyday readable experience for the widest and most diverse audience. Instead of society only reading text in historic manuscripts about sites and characters, through innovative historic planning, they could be afforded the opportunity to live within the city as part of the past, present and future experiences of that landscape.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The most critical historic monuments and artefacts to be discussed in this chapter include Mai Musodzi Hall (Mbare), Africa Unity Square (Harare CBD), Stodart Hall (Mbare), National Heroes Acre and the historic buildings along Robert Mugabe Way in Harare Central Business District (CBD). These selected few partly provide an outline of some of the historic monuments, historic buildings and artefacts in the City of Harare.

Mai Musodzi Hall: Mbare

This recreational hall in the oldest black township of Mbare in Harare, owes its name to a one Mai Musodzi (Elizabeth Musodzi) who was also, interestingly, a niece to Mbuya Nehanda. She was born in about 1885 and spent the major part of her adult life in the township of Mbare, where she championed women’s rights beyond the typical household and child rearing activities and was one of the founders of the Salisbury African Women’s Club (Yoshikuni, 2008). She was involved in charity work and social welfare programmes within the suburb of Mbare. As a historic figure, she is iconic in that she was championing

women's rights in this country decades before the much publicised Beijing Conference of 1995 and other feminist activism projects. She stands as one of the champions of the woman empowerment movement in the country, and was one of the earliest advocates for girl child education. **Plate 1** represents Mai Musodzi Hall in Mbare.



Plate 1: Mai Musodzi Hall in Mbare

National Heroes Acre

This iconic national monument and shrine is the resting place for those Zimbabweans who have dedicated and committed themselves to the nation, those who were selfless (DIPOPC, 2002). National Heroes' Acre is synonymous with values seen as freedom, the collective, revolutionary spirit, liberation and sovereignty. Within this national monument is a mural that depicts the struggle for liberation from the First Chimurenga to independence. The true value of the National Heroes' Acre is in its ability to keep Zimbabweans grounded in the reality that they are a free people who fought for the right to determine their own present and future with the commensurate authority to do so. With the National Heroes Acre, it is not just the aesthetic of the site, but the emotions and values that it stirs up within the people of Zimbabwe. It also signifies struggle, sacrifice, unity of purpose, the coming of an oppressed people to fight colonial domination, and an indomitable spirit of resilience among other cherished values. **Plate 2** shows the National Heroes Acre of Zimbabwe.



Plate 2: National Heroes Acre of Zimbabwe. The artefact depicts the front of a gun and this represents the liberation struggle that brought independence to the country

Source: Google Images

Historic Architectural Buildings in Harare's Central Business District

Historic buildings are property that appeared in history. Keeping such property serves the purpose of enriching the image of the city. In some cities historic buildings are now endangered, that is, on the verge of non-existence. Legal acts are passed to protect such buildings. Buildings declared National Monuments in terms of subsection (1) of 20 of the National Museums and Monuments Act (Chapter 25:11) are protected from demolition and alteration. Any work done in violation of the building preservation order, Sections thirty-two, thirty-three, thirty-four and thirty-seven apply *mutatis mutandis*. The occupier or owner of the building must not perform any alteration on his or her own. Where demolition of the whole building is involved, he or she has to notify the Registrar of Deeds of the intention, who approves or disapproves on certain grounds. Historic buildings are jealously guarded from any potential dangers that can destroy them. Generally, the historic buildings are useful and still usable for originally intended functions and new ones in the contemporary world. The Central Business District of Harare has a large concentration of architecturally historic buildings from the colonial era. The design and use of materials that make up these buildings is a testament of how European architecture of that period was adapted to suit the climate and materials available to early European settlers at that time. Within the Central Business District of Harare, Robert Mugabe Way and South Avenue have the largest concentration of such

buildings (Jackson, 1986). These locations which the historic architectural buildings occupy, hold significant importance in that the buildings are not only structures of architectural significance, but also within these buildings life played out its drama, and thus memories and experiences are part and parcel of these walls. With proper awareness, these historic building districts have the potential to thrust one's imagination decades back, to the 1950s or 1930s, to a time where social and cultural trends were different from what is there today. The colonial era is inextricably part of our heritage, and the value of this colonial architecture is that it holds memories and emotions of the past decades. Most of the buildings, for example those along Robert Mugabe Way, are under Building Preservation Orders (BPOs), which means they are protected by the Regional, Town and Country Planning Act (Chapter 29:12) under section 30. This section of the Act recognises that such buildings are of special historic or architectural merit. **Plate 3** shows some of the historic buildings along Robert Mugabe Way in the Harare Central Business District.



Plate 3: Some of the historic buildings along Robert Mugabe Way, Harare CBD. Shown in this picture is the Standard Chartered Building, one of the buildings that are under BPOs and represent coloniality and historic significance.

Source: Google Images

Stodart Hall: Mbare

This iconic centre of the African liberation movement was constructed in 1958 and used for political gatherings. During the years 1957 to 1961 politics transformed from being reformist to revolutionary, a fight for socio-economic and political freedom.

Stodart Hall was built at the inception of this phase, and logically grew in influence with this new revolutionary approach. Today all national heroes ceremonially pass through Stodart Hall on their way to rest at the National Heroes' Acre.



Plate 4 : Stodart Hall in Mbare, one of the historic monuments in Harare: This image shows the body of a late national hero arriving at Stodart Hall in Mbare.

Africa Unity Square

Africa Unity Square was formerly known as Cecil Square during Zimbabwe's colonial period. Africa Unity Square is a place of significance in the literary history of Zimbabwe. It has the shape of the British Union Jack, and thus represents British Colonialism (*The Herald* 02/06/12). The Africa Unity Square has generally been described as the square which lacks African symbols and is still a significant colonial imprint (see **Plate 5**). The indelible British Union Jack embedded in stonework in the Square was originally designed to stamp permanent British rule and presence in Zimbabwe. This historic irony echoes the former Rhodesian Prime Minister's pronouncement against the possibility of Black rule: "Not in a thousand years" — one of the greatest recorded ironies of history.



Plate 5: The satellite aerial view of the Africa Unity Square in Harare whose design was modeled on the Union Jack (A symbol of colonial conquest).

SIGNIFICANCE OF SITES WITHIN THE CULTURAL HERITAGE CONTEXT

Zimbabwe as a country is filled with historic and living characters that have defined the socio-economic spectrum that exists today. Their input and influence in shaping our society at local and national levels is usually readily visible through the lifestyle and freedoms that are enjoyed today. The “intangibles” that have led to the freedoms, virtues and general expressions of life that the country enjoys today have gradually submerged into the background of obscurity. It is the potent nature of the cultural heritage sites explored in this discourse that is the key to a socially empowering spatial planning agenda. These sites have the potential value of becoming landmarks that can ground social attitudes and perceptions, and perpetually educate generations to come on what the true cultural heritage values of *Unhu/Ubuntu* among Africans were, and how the future generations can play their part in ensuring its continuity.

Tulvin (1982) describes a component of memory that he terms “episodic memory”, and how this component of the human consciousness is referenced by time, place, contextual knowledge and the emotions associated with the former stated parameters. It therefore seems from the foregoing description that in essence, the life of a culture or society is comprised of a string of “temporal episodes”, each having a highlight or highlights of its own. Enshrined within the materiality of the sites given as examples are vivid descriptions of episodes within the course of time that stood out because of the enshrined values and outcomes that the “main actors” believed in and achieved.

The examples cited in this chapter are powerful spatial planning tools in two ways. Firstly, these sites may be used as social value focal points for neighbourhood redevelopment. Secondly, they may be used as examples of metaphoric physical infrastructure which must be integrated into modern neighbourhood model design and supported so as to achieve the desired socio-cultural and behavioural output.

The fundamental difference between Mai Musodzi Hall and any other community centre within the environs of Harare is that it is named after a woman who pioneered women's equality and brought about a transformation to the socio-economic status of women. The character and the site dedicated to her have the potential to be transformed from a mere memorial into a feminine concept that represents gender equality at a national level. This concept then has the potential of being integrated into land use planning policy.

Stodart Hall is synonymous with the liberation struggle, as one of the places where the African political and liberation movement gained momentum in Zimbabwe. Hubbard and Kitchin (2011) put forward the definition of a place as a space that is a product of historic events and is a pivotal component of social identity. In terms of the freedom movement at urban grassroots level, Stodart Hall references itself to the struggles and quest for free expression, equality, good governance and self-determination. These are the values that such a site evokes relating in essence, to the perpetual struggle to be free. The historic and socio-cultural emotive value of Stodart Hall can be used to influence locally-driven development and redevelopment by simply focussing the social mind towards common obstacles, possible ways to overcome them and the expected result of collective action, a potentially powerful tool for the spatial planning agenda. Freedom, tolerance and self-governance are some of the highest ideals that a society can achieve, and this is what such landmarks as Stodart hall represent.

As a national monument, the National Heroes' Acre is a symbol that transcends many clusters of identity within a society. It transcends local culture, ethnicity, customs and gender. The duration of the liberation struggle was an experience shared by all within the country. It represents the evolutionary transition to self-rule and governance; it signifies the breaking away from primitive models of rule and governance, and it demonstrates the sacrifice and effort it takes to achieve this feat. Such profound symbolism and idealism is in its own right suitable for representation on one site physically, but the values and ideals must be dissipated through informed urban design throughout the broader cityscape.

In contrast to the above given examples, the historic architecture to be found in the buildings within Harare's Central Business District has mainly a pure materialistic and aesthetic feel. Richardson (2008) defines place as a product of materiality, imagination and perception. The value from a cultural perspective of the historic buildings within the Harare Central Business District is that they bring written history into tangible form through the visual perception of the artefacts themselves.

CONCLUSION AND POLICY DIRECTIONS

This chapter has argued that historic buildings, monuments and artefacts in Zimbabwe's Harare, as an example, have very critical roles that they can play in urban planning and development. The major observations are that these monuments are sources and reminders of social values that can promote neighbourhood redevelopment or regeneration. For example, Stodart Hall and Mai Musodzi Hall in Mbare are located specifically in residential neighbourhoods, and hence can be engines for the promotion of urban regeneration. What is critical is to identify and map how these monuments can be used as focal points for urban tourism. Urban heritage needs to be jealously

guarded, as it reflects the history and culture of citizens, original and local inhabitants. Other monuments such as the National Heroes' Acre can promote a culture of identity and national pride. The historic buildings along Robert Mugabe Way in Harare's CBD form part of a metaphoric physical infrastructure that is very important in defining the history of the city, a former colonial city. Policymakers at all levels should make sure that conservation bills, regulations, rules and passed laws are strictly followed to ensure that such historic monuments and artefacts are protected and safeguarded.

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Chapter Eight

African Values and the Modern City: Threats and Benefits

John Douglas McClymont and Obert Bernard Mlambo

INTRODUCTION

Africa as a continent consists of over a billion people of diverse ethnicities, cultural paradigms, languages, tribes, traditions and customs. Ethnic groups in Africa speak more than two thousand distinct languages, making Africa very culturally diverse in comparison with other continents (Osho, 2011: 5). Osho comments further on African societies:

Most Africans live in rural communities. Many raise livestock or engage in farming. Relatively few people live in cities. But Africa has many big cities that are growing rapidly. They include Lagos, Nigeria (with a population of 18 million); Abuja, ...Cairo, Egypt (with a population of 15 million); Casablanca, Morocco; and Cape Town, South Africa... (2011: 6).

With the rapid rise of cities in Africa, an influx of indigenous Africans into cities in search of a “better life” has affected the place of traditional customs and religion in Africa. This raises the problem of whether African tradition has values that can be adopted in the modern city. In the wake of the colonial legacy, urbanite psychology seems to have passed over, to some extent, the fact that African values do subsist in indigenous customs and religion. Thus, this chapter stresses a vital point, that a rural setting is more than the sustainer of African traditional beliefs and practices. In essence, it is the basis of the continuity of people’s identity and group consciousness as Africans. Not only that, but rural life provides orientation for the individual’s identity as a part of the group.

Modern urban people spend their life in an environment where African tradition seems to have little to say. This is in line with some noted indications that certain traditional beliefs and practices, which made sense in a rural environment, do not suit an urban setting (Bourdillon, 1993: 26, 27-28, 56). A contentious debate continues to haunt academic circles regarding the relevance of African indigenous customs and religion in the face of contemporary life, which is punctuated by the urgency of modernisation or development. Thus Ciaffa (2008: 121) asks: “Do traditional modes of thought and behaviour constitute resources for or impediments to the projects of development and modernization in Africa?”

Hountondji (1996: 48) contends that there is “no glory” in embracing the notion of a nostalgic past, as it is a mere utopian hope. For Hountondji (1996: 48) it appears there is little or no relevance in trying to “resurrect” the African societal traditions of the distant past, as they are not commensurate with the mental orientation of an African urban society. Yet, although it appears to Hountondji that there is little hope for the place of African traditional values in urban Africa, we maintain that the picture is not

altogether bleak. The West was once in a similar situation: under Christian influence the pagan ways of the ancient Britons had to go. Yet, the pre-Christian culture of Britain left its traces in many ways, of which aspects of the popular celebration and perhaps even of the spirit of Christmas may be an example. There is a sense in which old religions never die under the impact of history, but only go underground: and therefore good reason to hope that “the dynamic and joyful quality of African spirituality will survive in whatever future reincarnation it appears” (Zuesse, 1993: 142-143).

This chapter is not bent on a blind and desperate sentimental call for the revival of African traditional values in the modern city, but provides an opportunity for demonstrating the particular and unique features of African traditional values as normative rather than descriptive concepts, that should be explored in order to address some of the problems of African urban society, which may perhaps lead to the realisation of a more functional modern city. To address the subject under review, a preliminary approach is adopted through an exploration of the linkages of areas such as: conflict resolution, celebration of life, esteem for nature, communication and formal education and tradition.

LIFE: TENSIONS AND RECONCILIATION

Life in traditional rural Africa is all about struggle and conflict. De Rosny (1985: 248, 249) interprets a certain traditional initiation experience in terms of increased awareness of the violence and conflict in one’s world, which rages on even under the appearance of peace. Any appearance of rustic placidity in the rural life of traditional Africa merits reexamination in the light of De Rosny’s imagery of violence under the façade of peace. For such life exhibits many instances of conflict.

An agricultural lifestyle brings one into confrontation with natural forces like the weather, and with problems with plants and animals, which can affect one’s very livelihood. Dealing with the psychological insecurity of a subsistence farming lifestyle is an important motivation for African traditional religion, and the awareness of untamed nature is represented in religious symbolism involving the Supreme Being (Maquet, 1972: 22; 63-64).

The conflict of humanity and untamed nature is therefore a basic problem in rural African society, the more so when modern conveniences are in short supply or absent. On top of this comes the element of social tensions between humans themselves (Mbiti, 1989: 200). African traditional religion tries to resolve the conflicts of life in various ways.

Firstly, the use of myths — including the traditional animal stories, where animals behave like humans (Mbiti, 1989: 23; Elliot, 1949) — makes the hostile forces of nature seem familiar. The mythical stories perhaps help one deal with ‘nature-shock’. Humanity overcomes the psychological threat of nature in the raw by telling stories about it, making it seem familiar.

A second form of conflict resolving is the use of ritual. In Africa ritual marks important stages in human life, like birth and marriage and helps one adjust to death (Mbiti, 1989: 145). Disruptive influences in human life — birth, death, and sexuality — are thus smoothly integrated into an ongoing life-stream. Ritual among the Taita in Kenya is made use of to resolve social conflicts by the purgation of anger (Zuesse, 1993: 140).

Indeed ritualised religion in traditional Africa may be generally viewed as oriented towards conflict resolution, in so far as it aims to create bonds with the spirit world or other humans in place of alienation or separation.

There are also rituals to bring the spirits of dead relatives back home. Through such rituals people seek to settle the emotional trauma of losing their loved ones; the dead are believed to be “living” and watching over the affairs of their families. It must be noted that African families bury their loved ones in nearby cemeteries or even in the homestead. This practice has been and is aimed at allowing people to perform necessary rituals in the graveyard and it also gives people a sense of being with the departed. This is the reason why families find it difficult to be relocated or to leave the graves of their ancestors.

The coming of urbanisation, however, and the subsequent rural-urban migration, has seen some African families becoming alienated from the practice of burying their family members in their rural homes. Cemeteries in urban areas have become multiracial burial sites, so that they no longer carry the spiritual meaning and significance of family burial sites as in the rural areas. The performance of rituals such as *kurova guva* (bringing back the spirit of the dead), is no longer observed, as it is not convenient and easy to carry out the rituals in an urban setting. In most cases, the bond with rural life and ancestry no longer exists. Some families who have left their rural homes to live in urban areas do not agree with the traditional practices which may still be practiced by their relatives in rural areas, with whom they have lost ties. Modern families may prefer to have their parent buried in a Harare cemetery, in opposition to family elders living in the rural areas. It will be impossible for the rural elders to perform rituals for their dead relative, as his/her grown-up children may choose to have their parent buried in Harare.

A third means of conflict resolution lies in the observance of moral behaviour, laws, values and ethics, which serve to deal with the tensions of society (Mbiti, 1989: 200).

How does all this relate to urban life? In the case of morality, we in the city still have to follow laws and so forth. But what do myth and ritual mean in an urban society? Under the influence of science and urban life, are we not freed from confronting untamed nature? Well, not really. People still get born and die, they still have to find an appropriate way to deal with sex, and our technology is not perfect. Nature-shock tends to creep back in, whenever our machines break down, our electrical power fails during storms, and our water supply is affected during droughts. We still depend on nature in many ways and may keenly feel this dependence when technology breaks down.

Moreover, in the city, rites of passage are still observed even by Western society: there are marriages and funerals, concessions to our biology. In a sense, even myths are needed by the modern city-dweller: For example, science fiction, a sort of future-mythology, fulfils the need to psychologically adjust to future developments — for example, by exploring dramatically the threatening conflict of humanity with nature in a technologically developing society (Aldiss, 1973: 11).

The need for conflict resolution in myth and ritual is an African insight that needs some thoughtful application to modern urban culture. Will the precise myths and rites of rural Africa fit the needs of urban humanity? This is debatable. But more important than the individual myth or rite, which may come and go, is the conflict-resolution mindset we may find in traditional Africa, whence we may learn that myths and rites

are more necessary to us than we suspect. We should not be deterred from recognising this by assuming all legends must be fictional. It is certainly not desirable to treat something fictional as true and to be totally uncritical towards mythology. Yet, mythical life-adjustment functions do not require a fictional medium, but can be performed by stories that are actually true. Examples are drawn from anecdotes about famous achievers found in motivational literature or stories about real religious personages or historical events involving one's people.

Humans battle with natural forces, on which they depend and must somehow resolve this conflict, at least by psychological adjustment. Humans are biological beings whose birth, death and reproduction cannot be simply ignored. The urban human is inclined to ignore his or her biological and natural dependencies to a great degree, reveling in an illusion of freedom from nature. The African conflict-resolution mindset reminds us that we are not really free from natural dependency and conflict and that we need some myths and rites — even if they are not the traditional ones. Africa reminds us that, although particular myths and rites may change, the general human need for them remains.

ENJOYMENT AND CELEBRATION OF EVERYDAY LIFE

The description by Davies (1972: 343-344) of secularised worship serves as a stimulus for further reflection on the need for rites in society. Davies (1972: 343-344) stresses that 'secular' worship has a festive character, expressing involvement with the world rather than rejection of it. He also indicates that worship in secular society should express love and commitment and, in a context of change, should be used as a vehicle for social criticism and for providing stimulus for change.

Africa's contribution to urban life lies not so much in particular ceremonies, as in the attitude reminding us that a secularised world needs ceremonies. Humanity depends upon nature in an important respect — namely, that we have to live in the space and time of the natural world and therefore, if our lives are to have meaning, something sacred and worthy of celebration must be found in the fabric of ordinary life itself. Yet it is through ritual that we formally recognise parts of the universe — space, time, food, water, wine, whatever we may use in the ceremony — as being sacred and meaningful to us. Physical ritual reminds us that nature and our life in the world, is special. Eliade (1959: 20ff, 68ff, 116ff) indicates that space, time and nature are sacralised in a wide variety of ways in world religions.

Yet, in the city certain rituals which depend on nature are very difficult, if not impossible, to carry out. In the environs of a city, a long gaze into the mountain or forest, which can bring memories of the serenity of rural life, may be disturbed by visual pollution. Natural features in the city environs may be depleted and polluted visually and literally. The Mukuvisi River flows with lots of chemicals deposited by industries, making it impossible for Africans to perform certain rituals which require clean water for them to become meaningful. The mountains of Zimbabwe are also invaded by satellite stations, boosters and overhead telephone and power lines, which desecrate the environment which certain rituals depend on. Most of these forests and mountains in the urban environs are cleared off, and they are no longer as dense as they used to be. Certain rituals require cover for them to become meaningful. Industrialisation has therefore

deprived African ritual of space, context and meaning. Yet, this is surely not a reason to forget the sacred significance of nature, but to realise how modern concerns about ecological degradation are linked to religious values, in the sense that both in some way recognise the importance of unpolluted nature.

There is also a need in urban life to value biological relationships. Western religion shares with African tradition esteem for certain family values, such as marital fidelity. These values are threatened as modern society questions or even abandons traditional sexual ethics. But here again the Western belief in independence from nature and biology is an illusion. Humans learn to love each other through socialisation in the family. The family is the backbone of society as much in urban contexts as in rural ones. Values stressing respect for marital fidelity, particularly if African or Western ritual can offer an incentive to observe them, are important for children's welfare in both the city and the country. As we question African practices like polygamy, we should not mistakenly assume that traditional values, like faithfulness in marriage and reverence for one's relatives, are also irrelevant to modern life. The fragmentation of urban life makes it more essential, not less so, that family values and kinship ties should remain strong.

To return to the theme of enjoyment and celebration of everyday life: along with recognition that life in this world is special, comes an optimistic adjustment to life. Zuesse (1993: 142) mentions this "dynamic and joyful quality" as Africa's principal contribution to the world, which will survive when earlier forms of traditional religion may have gone. Even in the city our pursuit of contentment may prove more satisfying if it is grounded in a positive conviction of the goodness of life, rather than a nervous flitting from pleasure to pleasure in the midst of an otherwise alienating and hostile universe.

Davies (1972: 342) argues that with technology humanity is to some extent liberated from nature. But his description of secular ritual as a celebration of involvement with the world implies that humanity, being intertwined with the world, is thereby ritually intertwined with material nature which is the underlying basis or substratum of society. It is arguable that the independence of nature which urban humanity believes itself to have attained is actually not so simple a matter — Davies' calling this independence "precarious" is an understatement. In fact, in the very secular need to celebrate involvement with the world, a dependency on nature, perhaps not consciously realised, seems to be faintly discernible. Why should we need to celebrate involvement with everyday life, if not because we are intertwined with material nature, which is the basis of everyday life? This brings us to the African value which recognises the dependence on nature.

WORKING WITH NATURE

An important difference between European and African culture is that in the technological West the emphasis is on dominating nature. In Africa, there is more willingness to leave nature be, not to dominate it. Whatever may be the failings of traditional society, or the problems with traditional farming methods, the production of industrial, nuclear or toxic waste is not one of them.

The African ideal stressing dependence on nature rather than mastery (Somé, 1999: 70) is not necessarily retrogressive in all respects. It can be related to Francis Bacon's

saying — *natura non vincitur nisi parendo*, or “Nature is not conquered save by obeying.” The technology we depend on is itself dependent on nature and a perspective stressing such dependence may allow us to take a new look at ecology, and question our mechanically dominated lifestyle. Although the placidity of the agrarian lifestyle in Africa is an illusion, the lifestyle nevertheless does not suffer from unneeded technological excess. We may well look at all the machines we possess and ask whether we need them. Do we need to be dominated by the TV and the radio? Do we need motor transport to a place two blocks away when we could walk there, thus minimising to some degree our contribution to air pollution? Traditional Africa learnt to survive without many modern conveniences, and perhaps it is not too late for us to learn how to do the same. A simplified lifestyle can have valuable lessons even when one lives in the city. It is very tempting for the mover to the cities to see the simple life as a badge of weakness, which one should be longing to abandon speedily. But there is an alternative to the extremes of discarding traditional values on the one hand, and going to excess in the practice of virtue on the other. The African value of the simple life can be accepted in a less extreme or more extreme fashion. One can totally reject all new technologies. On the other hand, one can adopt intermediate appropriate technologies (McRobie, 1981: 33f) as a form of modernisation adapted to Africa, in such a way as not to devalue the benefits of a lifestyle uncluttered by technology in excess of a culture’s real needs and maintenance capability. Traditional values can be adapted without abandoning their basis.

TRADITIONAL COMMUNICATION SYSTEMS

African indigenous communication systems should not be downplayed, as they can play a pivotal role even in the modern city. Although this is often neglected in terms of relevance by urbanites, Osho (2011: 2) stresses the importance, in his view, of traditional communication as the foundation of all communication of the contemporary world. Africa, in his view, is the cradle of not only civilisation, but communication, which originated from the earliest Africans of old Egypt and spread to China, Greece and Rome (2011: 2) African means of communication persist and remain relevant to the contemporary world, despite the emergence of mass communication in the form of books, newspapers, magazines, radio, television, fax machines, the internet and social media (2011: 2).

African oral and non-literary media like gongs, drums, town criers, puppet shows, dance, singing and masks actually influenced the Greek and Roman civilisations to imitate and modify them to suit their communication models (Scannell, cited in Osho, 2011: 2).

According to a Canadian economic historian, Harold Adams Innis (in Osho, 2011: 3), “... the civilization of the Greeks is underpinned by the oral tradition, while the Roman imperialism is underpinned by writing...” Osho (2011: 3) articulates that oral cultures are praised for their power and vitality, their freshness and elasticity, in contrast with the dead written tradition that threatens to destroy the spirit of the “Western man”. Such sentiments are significant, as they appreciate the place and value, especially in terms of durability of traditional communication systems in the modern world.

Even the UNESCO Commission on Communication acknowledges the age-old introduction of indigenous media and their relevance to the contemporary world, despite

some of their obvious limitations. In support of this, Osho stipulates that oramedia are lucratively advantageous in the modern African city, as they are more highly effective than all other means of communication, owing to the fact that they are interactive and inter-personal, combine verbal and non-verbal codifications and are simple, natural and less expensive. In terms of simplicity, oramedia are less sophisticated than other media in application; yet even the most elite people still do not know how to manipulate many things like their handsets and laptops (Osho, 2011: 12). Another important feature of oramedia is its non-verbal aspect, which is more effective than the verbal aspect dominating modern communication systems. Hall (1959) asserts that non-verbal codes speak louder than words and shout. Mehrabian (cited in Osho, 2011: 9) confirms that "... 93 percent of meaning in a conversation is conveyed non-verbally; 38 percent through voice and 55 percent through the face." Oramedia, being culturally based, are naturally in sync with the tradition and customs of a people. Thus, "... when you seek to separate a people from the oramedia, you are attempting to exterminate them from the faces of the earth" (Osho, 2011: 11).

Indigenous media in Africa still have a place in modern Africa as alternative communication. This is because traditional rulers across Africa even in big cities like Lagos, Cairo, Cape Town, Nairobi, Abeokuta and others, still make use of village criers to announce festivals, restrictions and traditional ceremonies (Osho, 2011: 11). Oramedia are less expensive compared to modern gadgets such as laptops, handtops or handsets, which can be used on-line or through talking. One has in addition to part with cash for utilising certain modern media.

FORMAL EDUCATION AND AFRICAN TRADITION

African traditional values should be inculcated in the modern education curriculum in order to bridge the gap of urban-rural disparities. The modern education curriculum in Africa today is dominated by Western appendages. For this reason, Rodney (1981: 263) stresses that

education is crucial in any type of society for the preservation of the lives of its members and the maintenance of the social structure . . . The most crucial aspect of pre-colonial African education was its relevance to Africans in sharp contrast with that which was later introduced (that is, under colonialism). . . . [T]he main purpose of colonial school system was to train Africans to participate in the domination and exploitation of the continent as a whole . . . Colonial education was education for subordination, exploitation, the creation of mental confusion and the development of underdevelopment.

In a similar line of argument, Mazrui (1978: 16) talks about the cultural discontinuity associated with Western education in Africa which in actual sense he describes as a process of psychological de-ruralisation as "... the educated African became... a misfit in his own village... when he graduated..." In this regard, Woolman, (2001: 27) argues that in a modern context, education should function as an agency of cultural transmission in order to aid the dynamic process of African nation-building.

Julius Nyerere provides vital observations on the place of African traditional values in modern Africa. He argues that, among many other weaknesses that book knowledge and the diploma syndrome are "cancers" that instill the belief that all worthwhile

knowledge is found in books and not life experience. This attitude, according to Kadenyi and Kariuki (2011: 16), prefers African local traditional wisdom and experience to book learning. We concur with Nyerere that the modern type of educational system has to balance both academic book knowledge and African traditional values. It is as serious a mistake to over-value book learning at the expense of African traditional values as it is to undervalue it (Kadenyi and Kariuki, 2011: 16).

CONCLUSION: A CODE FOR THE URBAN AFRICAN

The above discussions of African values have concentrated mainly on points where they coincide with what the West values in theory. It should not be thought, however, that this makes the African contribution a mere shadow of Western ideas; for there is a considerable difference between what the West values in theory and what it puts into practice. The gap between theory and practice in the areas described above seems much less in traditional Africa than in the West. In traditional Africa urbanisation does not give the illusion of independence from nature, and so dependence on nature and kin is recognised more evidently in practice. People have to stick together in their families, and the need for coping with dependence on nature through story, ritual and celebration is brought home by confrontation every day with untamed nature. As for the simple lifestyle, it follows naturally from the absence of technology.

We can propose — not necessarily legalistically, but with allowance for adaptation — the following code for preserving some African values in urban society.

1. You need some form of ceremony or religion, to adjust to life and deal with the tension between you and the universe.
2. You should have a positive and celebrating attitude to everyday life in the world
3. You should also keep your family connections and your marriage as stable as you can.
3. You should not allow excess technology to deprive you of the benefits of a simple life, close to the nature on which you depend.

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Chapter Nine

Land, Ecology and Water: Debating Change in Rengwe Communal Land, Northwestern Zimbabwe

Ivan Marowa

INTRODUCTION

Studies on the colonial period in Zimbabwe focusing on land and water have emphasized histories of violent land seizures and the production of electricity and irrigation schemes. There has been less focus on understanding the people's skills in relation to the environments they occupied and their agro-ecosystem perceptions (Scudder, 1962; McGregor, 2003a; 2009). Such questions, in contrast, are exactly what have interested researchers since the 1980s, following the line of "ecological history," at least for Eastern and Southern Africa. In this context, environmental determinism has been discredited for its cause-and-effect approach, with scholars, giving more attention to interaction between human beings and their environment and to be more specific, water and ecology (Beinart and McGregor, 2003: 4-5).

This chapter draws on the memories of displaced peoples, memories which appear to be somewhat displaced themselves by forced removal, to explain the different perspectives about the ecology of the Zambezi Valley. It adopts a human-environment relations approach which it uses to analyse what happened before relocation. The ecosystem of the middle Zambezi Valley presented particular challenges to its occupants, who included the Dandawa *Gowa* dwellers occupying Marongora, Mana Pools (Nyakasikana, Rukomeshi, Kanyare, Nyakasanga), the Sapi Hunting Area, and, the Chewore Safari Area (Refer to Map 1).

The ecosystem did not support good agriculture and life within the confines of the Zambezi Valley and its escarpment was difficult. However, the way former valley dwellers talked about life in the Zambezi Valley sidelined any perception of it as a land of hardship; they talked of it only as a land of plenty and opportunities. It is the same environment that was regarded as unfit for human occupation by the colonial state, but whose former inhabitants considered it a landscape of home, a landscape littered with the footprints of both their tangible and intangible heritage and a landscape of connections. For them, the ecological difference between the mountainous Rengwe, and the hot, dry Zambezi Valley and its escarpment was not the only crucial point of comparison, but also the effective connection between the living and the dead.

Managing life in a stressful environment seemed to produce a sense of pride and heroism. It meant they carried unique skills and knowledge that differentiated them from peoples in "easier" environments. For instance, the Tonga people of Northwestern Zimbabwe are one such group that took pride in their skills and knowledge of the crossing of the Zambezi River, which was not only very wide, but was also infested with crocodiles and powerful water currents (McGregor, 2009: 3,6). Some groups from outside the Zambezi Valley, such as the Ndebele, who carried out raids in the valley, were at times left stranded



Map 1: Zambezi Valley & Escarpment (Surveyor General, 1975).

on the Zambezi River islands, unable to cross in pursuit of the fleeing Tonga (McGregor, 2009: 3). Tonga oral traditions indicated that the name ‘Zambezi’ derives from the phrase *kasambavesi* which means “crossing depends on knowledge” (McGregor, 2009: 3). Knowledge of the Zambezi River gave the Tonga the ability to navigate the dangerous and fast-flowing river, connecting with landscapes and peoples across it, while those who lacked its knowledge viewed it as a barrier. McGregor has revealed that there is much to be studied about the Zambezi Valley which goes beyond mere focusing on the inhospitable environment and extends to studying its relationship with its dwellers.

This chapter therefore attempts to take a fresh look at the environmental history of the Dandawa *Gowa*, who formerly inhabited the Zambezi Valley (*Gowa*) and the Escarpment (*Matinhari*), by listening to their displaced memories. These memories are not only about life in the Zambezi Valley, but also relate to land, intangible and tangible heritage, and the composition and legitimacy of the Dandawa Chiefdom. It examines concepts of livelihood and human-environment relations by ascertaining how the Dandawa *Gowa* related to and understood *Gowa* ecology before forced relocation and how it indicated relations and connections between and among the different groups of people in the Zambezi Valley. Consequently, it addresses the question: What memories have the Dandawa *Gowa* retained about their former life in the Zambezi Valley? It begins by discussing the composition of the Dandawa chiefdom today. It does this to explain why primary focus here is given to the former valley dwellers.

Memory is used to assist in establishing the relationship to, and knowledge about the land. Isaacman (2005: 206), from whom the concept of “displaced memories” is borrowed, used memory to denote the way dominant narratives have dislodged and silenced those of African groups who were victims of certain colonial developments. This chapter deals with memories that relate to a situation that has subsequently been superseded by other developments. Thus, displaced memories stand for recreations of a past that is now spatially distant and with which interactions are no longer possible.

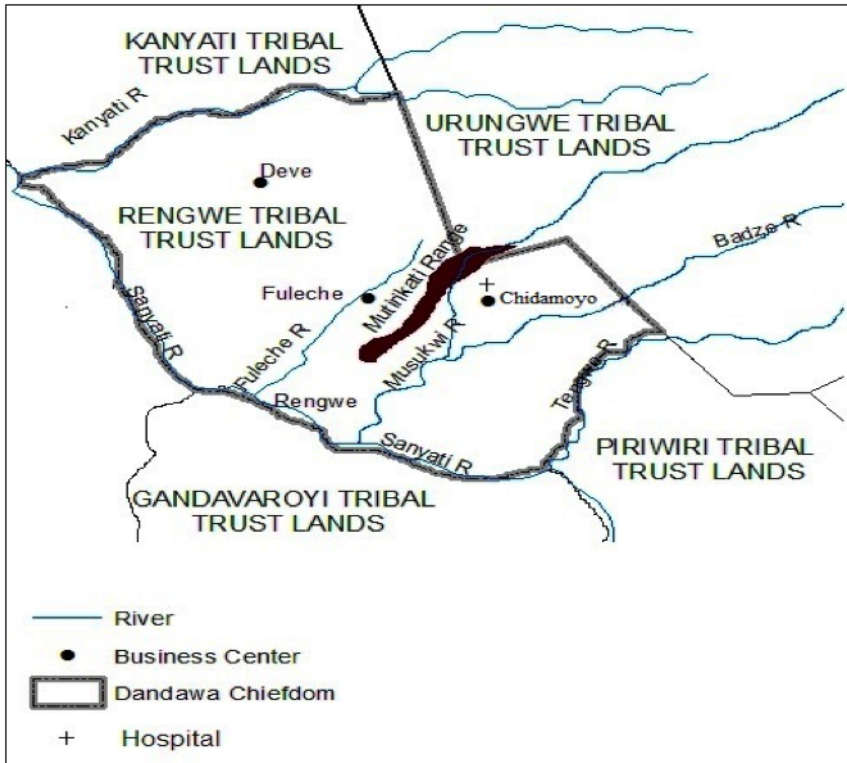
Such an approach, however, is fraught with constraints, particularly in terms of reliability and validity, because there are few published documents relating to the area and people under study, save only for colonial reports. There are also problems of memory decay, limited factual data and telescoping of events owing to particularly stressful conditions. The resultant gaps are mitigated, as far as possible, by using material from other groups that shared similar environments and pasts, and can therefore be compared to or contrasted with what was obtained from former Dandawa *Gowa* dwellers.

RENGWE: A MERGED CHIEFDOM

The territory known as Rengwe Communal Land is also known as Dandawa Chiefdom. During the colonial period, it was first known as Urungwe (or Rengwe) Special Native Area (SNA) and later as Rengwe Tribal Trust Land (RTTL). The former Dandawa Chiefdom before forced removal in 1958 comprised of people who identified themselves as MaKorekore, who occupied the Zambezi Valley (Nyakasikana, Mana Pools, Nyakasanga, Kanyare) and the Zambezi Escarpment (Nyamakati, Hwiyo, Chitake, Urungwe Mountain). By the beginning of the 1950s the Native Affairs Department in Urungwe was not yet ready to implement the plan to resettle the people who occupied the Zambezi Valley and its escarpment under Chiefs Nyamhunga, Mudzimu, Dandawa and Chundu and Headman Matau. It was only after the decision to build Kariba Dam in 1955 that hasty preparations to move the people of Dandawa and other chiefdoms from the Zambezi Valley were made. In the new territory, Dandawa chiefdom was located between Kanyati TTL to the northwest, Urungwe TTL stretching from the north to the northeast, Piriwiri TTL to the southwest and Gandavaroyi TTL to the south (Refer to Map 2).

Rengwe is found in Urungwe District and is located 100 km to the southwest of Karoi town. Although it had been developed for the resettlement of Chief Dandawa and his people from the Valley, it emerged in 1955 that Sipolilo District could not find enough land to accommodate its African population. As a result, the “excess” African population that occupied the *Gota* area in Sipolilo which had been declared a European farming area, was also moved to Urungwe and resettled in Rengwe SNA in 1957, before Chief Dandawa and his people joined them in 1958 (NAZ S2827/2/2/4, 1956: 1). Thus, Rengwe which was originally meant for the sole resettlement of Chief Dandawa and his people, came to include other Africans from Sipolilo District. Both groups considered themselves MaKorekore. Rengwe therefore became a merged chiefdom owing to the 1957 and 1958 resettlement programmes which brought people from different chieftainships under a combined chiefdom.

Although the environs of Rengwe had now been opened to human settlement, Rengwe remained unknown and regarded as a remote area or backward part of the country. Between 1957 and 1980, Rengwe continued to be a sparsely populated region. Whereas



Map 2: Dandawa Chieftom Boundaries, Adapted from Surveyor General, 1975.

other African reserves such as Gokwe had started to participate in the country's economy through the agricultural market, selling crops such as maize, groundnuts and cotton, very few of Rengwe's inhabitants farmed beyond subsistence. The Karoi region developed into a successful farming area of Urungwe District after the establishment of the K-Block farms that were owned by White ex-servicemen of the Second World War.

There was immigration in the post-1980s of the so-called *Mavhitori* (people originally from Fort Victoria (now Masvingo) and its environs) which resultantly turned Dandawa into a chieftom of a hybrid nature. Interestingly, the non-*Gowa* groups, that are the former *Gota* and *Mavhitori*, described former *Gowa* dwellers as people who initially did not know "modern" methods of agriculture, preferring instead to stick to hunting and following their cultural traditions. The former *Gowa* people, on the other hand, still speak very highly of their former homeland. It is on this basis that the next section examines how life and the land in the Zambezi Valley are remembered, and how the *Gowa* ecology is perceived several years after forced removal.

RECOLLECTION OF LIFE IN GOWA

Compared to the Zambezi Valley, the Zambezi Escarpment features less prominently in oral memories of the local population and in reports by the colonial NCs. However, both sources described and judged the valley landscape differently because they

perceived it differently. The most remembered and narrated areas of the valley were Mana Pools Game Reserve and areas surrounding it. This was perhaps because it seemed to have been the portion of the valley floor that was inhabited by the majority of the Dandawa population. However, there were also other areas that were occupied by the Dandawa *Gowa* dwellers, such as what are now Nyakasanga and Sapi-controlled hunting areas.

Lan (1985: 9) has observed that the heat in the Zambezi Valley is fierce, “a remorseless 90° or 100°F in summer before rains come”, and the rain is less than reliable, with an annual average of 650mm (see also Pwiti, 1996: 3). In Mana Pools the mean annual temperature is 27°C, July being the coldest month with mean minimum temperature 11°C and November being the hottest with mean maximum temperature 39°C (Mana Pools National Park, 1988: 2). Dande, Lan’s area of research, shares the same ecosystem with Mana Pools, as they are both located in the Zambezi Valley. It is characterised by poor soils with few fertile tracts and unreliable rain, conditions that suffocate agricultural production.

Despite the uncomfortable weather conditions, the Zambezi Valley boasts of a high concentration of mammals such as elephants, buffaloes, wild dogs, cheetahs and antelopes among others. Cultivated areas in the Dande and the Zambezi Valley are always at constant risk of destruction by elephants, baboons and wild pigs (Lan, 1985: 12; see also Mana Pools National Park, 1988: 3). Scudder (1962: 7) has noted that:

To enter the valley from the Northern Rhodesian Plateau (3,000-4,000 feet), one must descend the so-called ‘escarpment’ by travelling about 15 or more miles of deeply dissected broken country which make up the Plateau margin. ... the traveller loses between 1,000-1,500 feet of altitude before he reaches the outer margin of the Valley floor at approximately 2,000 feet. Approaching from the Southern Rhodesian side the same general pattern holds, although here the Plateau margin is less sharply defined and a wider belt of broken country must be traversed before reaching the Valley floor.

In 1927, J.R. Desmond Evans visited Mana Pools and luckily got a lift to the top of the Zambezi Escarpment, but his carriers had to be given four days’ start in order to meet with him where the road ended on the escarpment. He also observed that the valley was very dry and hot, with vast stretches of Mopani and large patches of Jesse bush (Black, 1976: 43-44). Nicolle, the Townships’ Officer, held the perception that the Zambezi Valley had limited possibilities for “native” settlement; it was infested with tsetse fly and had little permanent water except in the Angwa and Chewore Rivers (NAZ S3402, 1954: 5). Lancaster (1981: 23) has defined the Zambezi Valley as “a low-lying, flat-floored rift valley which is enclosed by steep escarpments of rugged mountains and much dissected country,” and this terrain proved a major obstacle to communications during the colonial era. Unfortunately, the foregoing researchers did not comment on the escarpment, preferring rather to stick to the valley, its conditions and the dwellers’ perceptions.

These were the ecological and physical descriptions of the Zambezi Valley and its escarpment by outsiders. Mere consideration of these descriptions of the Valley environment leave one convinced that the environment was inhospitable and unfit for human settlement. However, that was not the perception of the people who used to

occupy it. The observation of this chapter is based on the understanding that African environment is culturally constructed and perceived, and therefore agrees with Tuan's (1979: 5) and Pwiti's (1996: 4) position that different people or cultures read or perceive the environment in different ways. For instance, soon after the removal from the Kariba basin, Chiefs Nyamhunga and Mudzimu complained of stomach trouble, coughs and other ailments and impressed on the NC that they did not like their new home and preferred the Zambezi Valley in spite of its heat, tsetse flies and remoteness (NAZ S2827/2/2/5, 1958: 3). These responses indicate the different ways of seeing and appreciating the Valley environment. Of great significance, however, is the meaning of the land in terms of ethnic identity and connection between the living and the dead, and also with regard to cultural traditions and practices.

The importance of memories of the valley was impressed on the author by former *Gowa* people's continuous references during interviews, such as "If it was in *Gowa*...." Other groups of people who have settled in Rengwe since the 1980s also gave their own perceptions about these former valley-dwellers which stimulated the desire to find out more about what life and land were like in *Gowa*. One research participant from among the latecomers stated his impression of the former valley-dwellers at the time of their first contact as:

These Korekore people liked hunting and practised little farming. They interacted more with the forest and did stream-bank cultivation. When we cleared large tracts of land, they panicked thinking forests were being destroyed, but we told them that this is how farming is done (Interview with Tavs Mati, 2012).

Removal from the valley landscape did not mark an end to the people's former land use practices, and some are still practised to this day. Despite the challenges offered by the *Gowa* ecosystem, former *Gowa* dwellers still recall the good old days to which they dearly crave to return. The Tonga, who lived on the southern shore of Lake Kariba, claimed the same, saying that "in the valley life was good, much better than it is today, that they always had plenty of food and that they were never hungry..." (Weinrich, 1977: 19). *Gowa* was described by its former Dandawa dwellers as "the land of plenty, milk and honey" where people lived at liberty and feared nothing and kinship relations were highly valued. Such were the retrospective perceptions that emerged from discussions with elders, both male and female.

The concept of *nyika* (land) was the prime reference in talking about and describing *Gowa*. The concept carried different meanings or perspectives. At some point it identified territories, while at other times it referred to the environment, ecology or land, but it was never used to denote a political boundary. The physical outlook was captured in descriptive expressions such as "the soft land" and "the flat and even country" (Interviews with Kenso Deks, 2011; Ruu Sisiki, 2011). The former description contradicted the real known ecological conditions and the latter emphasized a particular physical outlook. The valley, according to Lancaster, has three main soil types which are escarpment soils, soils developed on karroo sediments and alluvial soils (Lancaster, 1981: 28).

In 2012, some elders and I visited Mana Pools and surrounding areas. Our two and half hours' drive from the Marongora gate through the Nyakasikana gate to Mana Pools on the Zambezi River proved that the country was flat and had loose sandy soil. Wild

animals, especially elephants, wild pigs, antelopes and zebras were a common feature as we toured part of the valley floor. Baobab trees were also common and their presence indicated that the territory was dry and an area of low rainfall. Around Mana Pools, the huge *Mitsangu* trees dominated that section of the valley floor. During discussions with participants, narratives about *Mitsangu* trees were common. The tree produces *tsangu* seeds (beans of *Acacia Albida*). These were relied on, the elders emphasized, during hunger, famine or drought periods. Apart from *tsangu* seeds, they also gathered *manyanya*, *musonde*, *chiriya*, honey and various wild fruits and roots.

Memories about their livelihood indicated that valley dwellers had a mixed economy of gathering, hunting, fishing and agriculture. Because of the nature of the valley economy, they generally developed an intimate relationship with its ecology. The Zambezi Valley enjoys two seasons, that is, the *zhizha* (summer/rainy season) and *chirimo* (dry season). The dry season is long, stretching from April to December, which causes the valley dwellers to rely substantially on hunting and gathering to complement the harvest of their subsistence farming. Women also told stories of abundant yields from small acreages of sorghum and millet (Interviews with: Ruu, 2011; Kashe So, 2011; Nyams ET, 2011; Kabo Tse, 2011). Memories relating to agriculture and the challenges caused by locusts, wild pigs and baboons among other animals that destroyed their fields, were obtained mostly from women's narratives. They frequently compared and contrasted today's agriculture with what they did in the valley. They noticed changes in their livelihood patterns as impacting their economic role as women and providers for their families. Their failure, as they explained, was associated with the forced relocation which removed them from a "land of plenty" to a land that required much more attention and value-addition in terms of fertilizers and manuring. Women emphasized that in Rengwe one requires many hectares, to apply fertilizer and remove "witch weed" in order to get a good yield, and without that, hunger greatly and constantly affects households. Nonetheless, this may also have to do with the changing agricultural economy and gendered division of labour as much weight and importance are being placed on cash cropping, which tends to be a conflation of the effects of resettlement and of the ailing economy.

In *Gowa*, people relied on the *temwa* (singular) or *mitemwa* (plural) form of cropping which is known as the slash-and-burn method of cultivation, which allowed them to practise shifting cultivation for subsistence. These *temwa* fields were common among most, if not all, of the Zambezi Valley dwellers, as has been described by Lancaster (1981: 61) and Scudder (1962: 42-43 for the Banamainga *Goba* and Gwembe Tonga respectively). *Temwa* fields were found either on the main land, where they relied on summer rains, or along streams and rivers where they benefited from both the alluvial soils and moisture absorbed from the river or stream flooding. These fields were harvested between May and June. *Temwa* fields were solely tilled using hand hoes, a practice known as *kutema makaha* (tilling using the hoe). Among the Banamainga, Lancaster (1981: 61) has observed that they maintained two types of agricultural plots, that is, the *temwa* which was planted on large but irregular clearings which depended on summer rains and smaller gardens watered by natural rivers and streamside flooding.

These Dandawa *Gowa* dwellers distinguished themselves as follows: those who were closer and relied on the Zambezi River, and those who were located more into the interior of the valley floor. Stream-bank cultivation and cultivation of *temwa* fields were

practised by these interior groups of Dandawa *Gowa* dwellers. As a result of depending on the hoe, they preferred cultivating loose soils and small acreages, a situation totally opposed to and untenable in Rengwe. Rengwe soils are dry and hard and require the use of draught power. Thus, forced removal greatly affected women, together with children, who previously supplied much of the labour in the fields. Furthermore, in Rengwe, agriculture has become much more market-oriented; hence it means clearing and cultivating large tracts of land.

In the early years after relocation, women's positions were badly affected because they did not own any cattle. Hoe-tillage became an unfavourable practice in Rengwe because it also entailed repeated weeding something they claimed was never the case in *Gowa*. The only challenge they faced in *Gowa* was protecting their fields from birds, locusts and large mammals. Lan (1985: 12) and Scudder (1962: 23) have noted with concern the damage and destruction in the fields caused by birds and wild animals like elephants, baboons, vervet monkeys and wild pigs. In Dandawa's area, for example, seven elephant bulls were reported in 1936 to have caused excessive damage and permits had to be issued to kill them (NAZ S1619, 1936: 2), and the same happened in 1937 and 1946 (NAZ S1563, 1937: 4; 1946: 7).

Surprisingly, this damage and the destruction of fields were not presented as a matter of serious concern by research participants. In fact, their talk of birds and locusts focused on how they relied on them as a snack. However, the same could not be said of elephants. The Dandawa people's livelihood now depends extensively on farming, but unfortunately, men have literally taken over farming, which used to be the preserve of women. Women have continued to be sidelined and no longer have control over their economic roles, and this partly explained their fond memories of the *Gowa* ecology. Firstly, their memories seemed to lament and protest against the suppression of their potential; and secondly, they debated change and the uncertainties of the future.

During the dry season, some villages were privileged to maintain gardens on the banks of Zambezi River. The gardens, known as *matoro*, were fertile because of the alluvial soils that were deposited on the banks of the Zambezi River during its flooding. The river had pronounced seasonal flows with flooding reaching its peak in February and March, then receding slowly until November, thereby impacting positively on Zambezi riverine communities (Isaacman, 2005: 208). However, only a few villages of the Dandawa *Gowa* dwellers benefited from these fertile banks of the Zambezi River during the dry season. For instance, Patsikadova, a renowned village of fishers on the Zambezi River and skilled manufacturers of canoes, benefited tremendously. Others included Goremusandu and Chidoma who were found in Kanyare, Nyamahwe on the Zambezi River, and villages located at the confluence of Rukomeshi and Zambezi rivers.

Villages that did not practise recession agriculture supplemented their diet mostly by gathering and hunting during the dry season. Plants, grasses, wild roots, tubers and fruits, honey and hunting of mammals such as antelopes and bush pigs contributed significantly to the people's diet during the dry season. The valley landscape had a variety of plants that were eaten as vegetables and wild fruits that were gathered by women and children, while men collected honey and hunted wild animals. In times of hunger, famine or drought, the NCs emphasized the same, that although the Zambezi Valley usually suffered from shortage of cultivated food crops, it was fortunate that the people had a wide choice of wild fruits, grasses and roots on which to rely, averting the

effects of serious food shortage (NAZ S1619, 1937: 20; N9/4/25, 1912: 485). The NC stated in 1912 that he saw women scouring the country away from their homes looking for wild fruits. Although some of the plants were poisonous, many were medicinal and contained vitamins and minerals that were crucial to the people's health.

Similarly, Lancaster's detailed anthropological study of Banamainga *Goba* has revealed two points about the valley agricultural economy and settlement patterns, which have also been supported by Pwiti's archaeological research in mid-Zambezi Valley. Former *Gowa* dwellers perceived valley soils to be fertile, contradicting the agro-ecological classification which puts the Zambezi Valley in Natural Region V. According to Pwiti (1996: 4), early farming communities' settlement sites were located on river or stream banks, an observation that was also made by Lancaster (1981: 97) among the Banamainga *Goba*. Rivers or streams were favoured sites of settlements because of two things: namely the presence of water for domestic use and the availability of alluvial loam soils. Lancaster (1981: 76) has observed that "such largely political population movements and redistribution always depend on ample supplies of good *temwa* soils and the availability of sufficient all-year round drinking water." Similarly, Pwiti's (1996: 4) archaeological research has emphasized that the early farming communities' settlement sites revealed the importance of water for domestic use on the one hand, and the occurrence of suitable agricultural soils, alluvial sandy loams on the other, in the local decisions of such communities. Pwiti (1996: 4-5) further observes that the general distribution of sites was rarely more than one kilometer from sources of water, allowing the dwellers to exploit both water and alluvial soils within convenient daily walking distances, as also indicated by Lancaster (1981: 97).

In addition to that, the rivers and mountains, whether big or small, were not perceived as boundaries, barriers or divisions; rather, they were seen as connecting points and unifiers. Those who have considered rivers such as the Zambezi Rivers as divisions or boundaries are trying to manipulate the presence of these water bodies to inscribe a divisive meaning into these river landscapes. They were never, at least according to narratives I gathered, markers of political and territorial identity. Instead, they indicated kinship and group relations, and barter trade and cultural interactions. Thus, water bodies did not mean total separation of lands located at each side of the river banks, but rather the river banks and the people who occupied the land were connected by the water body. The river banks allowed people to be united through exchange or barter trade, as well as allowing the movement of people to either side of the river in line with the people's everyday life and practices. At the end, it should be borne in mind that meanings to the land, landscape, environment and rivers are socially-constructed and thus, are not cast in stone. It depends on who is seeing and whose perception is plausible.

These rivers and mountains were also significant in describing the *Gowa* ecology and in the reconstruction of memories. They proved indispensable in mapping social networks, kinship relationships, livelihoods and in the description of the distribution of villages on the *Gowa* landscape. It was through the acts of walking across and dwelling on the valley floor that knowledge of the *Gowa* ecology was gained. Questions relating to the spatial distribution of villages were answered with reference to rivers or mountains. Female participants did not only name and locate villages, but they also networked the villages, rivers and mountains with social ties.

Kashe So recalled that:

In our area we had *Mudzongachiso*, *Chagadama*, *Matengaifa*, *Zunza*, *Nyamhandu* and *Manzungu*. We were surrounded by Rukomeshi and Chitake Rivers, Chitake was the tributary of Rukomeshi. Mudzongachiso was close to Muunga River, and Dzvukwa was near the local bridge. These villages were in the same locality but separated by rivers. Across the river lived my aunt, sister to my father, where Nyangaire lived. After that river you went to Goremusandu [Dandawa] village and you passed through Mangwavava, where Gaya (a White hunter) was killed by an elephant. Then there is Chisuku River at the other side of Goremusandu village where this lion spirit lived uhm [name forgotten]... who healed my cousin Tuzi, whose wife was from Kanyare. I travelled to all these places even to *matoro* gardens in the Zambezi River, where my aunt was killed by a crocodile while fetching water from the river, (Interview with Kashe, 2011).

The knowledge of both the *Gowa* ecology and landscape grew out of a strong process of socialisation and movement across the breadth of the valley floor. The result of that has been the production of interactive memories in hindsight. The spatial distribution of rivers in the valley also represented the spatial distribution of villages and with this information one can estimate the distance that existed between villages. It was this distribution that was also used by NCs to argue that the Zambezi Valley was sparsely populated. This description of the distribution of villages matched what was diarised by the Assistant NC of Lomagundi in 1901 as he visited villages situated in the Zambezi Valley. He recorded his journeys as follows:

... 4th (July 1901) left Nyamkaiwa's [village] travelling 8 miles South-Southeast through palms and tropical growth reached Tshidoma's (sic) kraal on the Chiwawa river... left again and going 7 miles South-Southeast reached Dandawa's kraal on the Rukomitchi (sic). ... 5th left Dandawa at 8 am and travelling 18 miles South-Southwest reached Nyagasigana's (sic) on the Rukomitchi(sand) [sic]. ... 6th left Nyagasigana's (sic) and proceeding for 13 and half miles Southeast along Chitaki River reached Gandawi's (sic) kraal. ... 17th left for Dandawa's kraal at 8 am proceeded 12 miles North-Northwest along Chitaki to its junction with the Rukomitchi (also junction of footpath with path leading to Nyagasigana's) then 13 miles North-Northwest along the old footpath to Dandawa's kraal (NAZ N3/1/9, 1901: 7-8).

Such a close interaction between rivers and villages provided a strong aid to memories of the valley ecology and landscape. It also has come to assist greatly in describing people's movement patterns as well as their social ties. As indicated in the NC's movement diary, there was no doubt that villages were scattered across the valley landscape. It also revealed the importance of water and rivers in creating nucleated settlements. Although villages seemed to have been physically separated by the rivers, they were in actual fact connected by them.

As a result of this intimate interaction between *Gowa* ecology and its inhabitants, it produced a strong socialisation which Tonkin (1992: 105) has described as "the ways and means by which we internalise the external world" where the ability to remember is developed interactively. The excerpts used here were not only telling the story of the

spatial distribution of villages, but also implicitly suggesting that the country was dry and rivers were the only possible sources of water, as has also been stressed in researches by Lancaster and Pwiti. It is plausible to argue that memories of rivers have remained vivid because of two things, firstly, the act of dwelling along or closer to rivers, and secondly, the central position played by the water bodies.

Undoubtedly, research participants possessed an enormous knowledge of *Gowa* ecology, much broader than what they possessed of Rengwe. The ecological cycle of everything that mattered to their livelihood, whether in the wet or dry season, proved to be the kind of knowledge they still carried at their fingertips. The most talked about things included *tsangu* [beans of *Acacia Albida*], grasses like *mhande* and *musonde*, and tubers like *katunguru*, *hona*, *tsitsi* and *manyanya*. Seeds from grasses like *mhande* and *musonde*, for instance, were pounded to produce a cereal that was used to prepare hard porridge. *Tsangu* were regarded as poisonous and so they had to shell and boil the whole day, emptying the cooking water three or four times to remove the poison, before they were cooked for consumption. Among the Gwembe Tonga, wild food plants served not only as a cereal substitute during hunger and famine periods, but also an important source of vitamins and minerals (Scudder, 1962: 209). Wild food supplies were resorted to in order to cover the time between the exhaustion of grain supplies and the next harvest.

Another way to mitigate stressful conditions was to rely on a fruit known as *masawu/masao* (*ziziphus mauritiana*). The fruit played a critical role both in stressful and normal years. *Masawu* were mostly obtained from the north, across the Zambezi River because it was claimed that on the Zimbabwean side elephants uprooted the tree hence it could not grow very well (Interviews with: Kashe So, 2011; Chams Yoo, 2011). Thus, both *masawu* and the Zambezi River connected peoples on both sides of the Zambezi, who saw themselves not as divided, but united by the river. The significance of *masawu* was even acknowledged in NC reports which explained how the fruit was crucial in hunger periods. In October 1912, it was reported that:

In the valley food is very scarce, Dandawe's [sic] and Chiundu's [sic] people are in a bad case, the former because even their crop of green mealies is already eaten, the latter as they have only the masao fruit to fall back on (NAZ N9/4/25, 1912: 617).

And in 1916 it was again remarked that:

The macao [sic] has again saved the situation in the Zambezi Valley. Natives from across the river come over in canoes and gather large quantities of this fruit, which grows thickly along the river banks (NAZ N9/4/31, 1916: 102).

Crossing the Zambezi River did not only require skills and knowledge, argued McGregor (2009: 3, 22), but also required the ability and craft of manufacturing canoes that were essential in maintaining livelihoods. *Masawu* fruit is endowed with nutrients and vitamins, and thus is very important to the human body. It can be eaten as raw fruit or it can be pounded, mixed with water and left to ferment a bit and then be served as dessert or some kind of beer. *Masawu* is one fruit that was carried along during forced removal, and it has since grown to become an important feature on the Rengwe landscape and most significantly, a source of income in this rural economy.

Thus, no matter how harsh the *Gowa* environment was, or how intense hunger, famine or drought proved to be, *Gowa* ecology had the potential of providing a much larger variety of foods, and thus prevented hunger in times of crisis, but the same cannot be said of Rengwe ecology. Today, relief in stressful periods has to come from the government or Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs); there are no locally based strategies to mitigate hunger, famine or drought, as was the case in *Gowa*.

SPIRITS OF ANCESTORS: THE INTANGIBLE HERITAGE

In discussions about their history and culture, the Dandawa *Gowa* expressed huge anxiety as they took a journey into their past. They drew illustrations from everyday practices, challenges and tensions to develop views about the past and the present. They not only saw themselves in the past, but their memories also located them in history. One striking aspect in their narratives was the consistent use of the possessive form *kwedu* (ours). Close analysis revealed that the possessive form was used to legitimise the idea of ownership and belonging to those lands, and also making land rights claims. One participant commented that “nothing is good about a land that isn’t yours. Our land is in *Gowa* from where we were removed, where we were born, where our ancestors are and where we left them”, (Interviews with: Tsumwa Tsu, 2012; Ruu, 2011; Stayz Ziw, 2011; Muroo Roo, 2011).

Land in Zimbabwe in general has a basic importance in the socio-cultural and political activities of a community. It is significant for its materiality, its fertile soils and its abundant resources such as fruits and honey, and it features prominently in debates of attachment and belonging. Attachment and belonging are not visible, neither are they tangible; rather they are expressed in relation to land, identity and relationship with the departed reputable ancestors. Shipton (2009: ix) has described human attachments as something that has “no feeling or texture like twine but would seem somehow to tie persons to other persons....”

On another level, claims to the land by the Dandawa *Gowa* touched on a crucial, but difficult question: can spirits of the ancestors relocate? By emphasizing that their land was “from where they were removed and where their ancestors are,” participants were making a clear statement that spirits of ancestors could not be relocated. It, however, remained difficult to identify the point at which graves and spirits of the ancestors could be treated as separate. Research participants only made a clear distinction regarding who relocated and who did not. Spirits of ancestors represent the intangible heritage of the Dandawa *Gowa*. Such spirits can only be invoked when need arises, and this can be done by direct descendants. It was stressed during discussions that the ancestors did not relocate and that they could not be relocated. This belief has caused the continued existence of the feeling of connection to their former homelands.

The discourse of attachment and belonging goes beyond people to include attachment between people and things (Shipton, 2009: ix). Dandawa’s forced resettlers (the older generation) maintained that Rengwe was not their *nyika*. They employed this concept to reveal the socio-cultural and political changes that had emerged as a result of eviction and resettlement in another land. For instance, some people have lost influence in traditional matters, such as succession to the Dandawa Chieftainship and leading or conducting ritual ceremonies. On top of that, the checks and balances on abuse of

traditional authority are no longer useful. This has caused the emergence of tensions within the chiefdom.

Thus, reference to land is not only meant to make connection with the past and lost territories; it is also a way of explaining new ties and relations that have developed. It is also about highlighting the challenges and the tensions which are present in the chiefdom. As one tries to understand how Dandawa's forced resettlers got established in Rengwe, one is also asking how other ethnic groups found their way into the chiefdom. Nonetheless, it should be noted that belonging and identity construction are not cast in stone, they are very flexible. The ethnic groups that now form the Dandawa Chiefdom have built new relations through intermarriages, totems and other forms of identities.

The past and the land therefore become the theatre where struggles and frustrations are mapped, and where contestations and claims of belonging and change are illustrated and debated. The land is the frame on which projections about the past on the present are made. This is exemplified by the different accounts of nostalgia found among Madheruka in Gokwe, Tonga in Binga and Dandawa in Rengwe. People reveal and debate changes in their territories by referring to what used to be there, what is no longer there and what is now there.

The relationship between the forced resettlers and the ancestors did not end with relocation, despite their graves remaining behind in *Gowa*. Tsumwa narrated the fate of their ancestors and ritual sites:

We left our ritual sites just like that but after informing the ancestors of our forced movement. What could we have done? Our elders performed rituals and they told the ancestors that the whites wanted us out of that land. The ancestors did not refuse and neither did they relocate. Our desire today is to go back and perform the rituals. However, we are facing resistance from the Chief because he does not support that idea. It's a stalemate; we are in dispute there...., (Interview with Tsumwa Tsu, 2012).

People who were responsible for performing rituals in Rengwe strongly maintained that relocation only affected them, but not the ancestors and their sacred ritual sites. The most revered rituals in *Gowa* were the *Chidzere*, *Siyanyanga* and *Kapepe*. Participants emphasized that a community consisted of two halves: human beings and the spirits of the ancestors. They believed that only one half was moved to Rengwe, and the other half, which was the powerful one, remained behind in *Gowa*. This same idea is also found among the Tonga, but in a different context. The Tonga believe that two snakes which represent the Zambezi River goddess and god known as *Nyaminyami* were separated during the construction of Kariba Dam wall. As a result, the tremors that occur on Kariba Dam wall are explained as the fight by the male *Nyaminyami* which needs to be reunited with the female *Nyaminyami*. *Nyaminyami* is the river god of the Tonga, so their desire for the water to follow them is a call to reconnect with their spiritual world. Thus, claims about former homelands are not only about belonging to the land; they are also calls for the reunion of the halves. Tsumwa expressed that their desire is not to return to the valley per se, but is about returning to perform their rituals and reconnect with their ancestors.

CONCLUSION

Memory, in this chapter, has been treated in two interlinked contexts; firstly, as a source of information about the past, and secondly, through assessing them as displaced memories. In the first context, narratives were viewed as vividly describing and assessing past experiences and what life was like in *Gowa*. These memories yielded the perception that *Gowa* was not a land of hunger, but of plenty, which contradicted the fact that the Zambezi Valley has always been a dry land. This chapter has also shown how people were attached to their environment and how they have become over-enthusiastic about their past. What emerged centrally was the question of the reliability and validity of these displaced memories. "Displaced" has been used to mean being removed or detached from the real situation in both spatial and temporal senses. Displaced memories produced contested memories because of the physical removal of the people from the environment owing to the emergence of different perceptions about the past. On the other hand, displaced memories due to forced removal tended to present a positive image of the past. Central to this chapter has been the argument regarding the connection and unity brought by land and water as opposed to division. The knowledge of the ecology has been the prime point that aided memories to map kinship and group relations and to express the significant position of the *Gowa* landscape in the social history of the Dandawa *Gowa* people. Displacement and forced removals are characteristic of most African experiences, hence the call to study these as a means of salvaging Africa's unities and intangible heritage and adapt it to meet contemporary demands.

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Chapter Ɛn

Mbira Music: A Pertinent stewardship of Zimbabwe's Intangible Heritage

Tsitsi Roselene Bwetenga-Gonzo

INTRODUCTION

Mbira is a traditional musical instrument common among most Southern African indigenous communities. The name Mbira is given to both the instrument and the music it produces. As long as the history of Zimbabwe bears record, mbira has played a fundamental and intrinsic spiritual and social role, particularly in the Shona society. Traditionally used by diviners, herbalists and oracles that linked the metaphysical and mystical spirit world with the natural and physical realm, the mbira bore the codes that entreated the deified and formidable unseen cosmos. Though denigrated by white Christian missionaries who interpreted it as evil, it survived clandestine use during the colonial era until it was transported into post-independent Zimbabwe via the melodies strung by Zimbabwean popular mbira legends such as Stella Chiweshe, Thomas Mapfumo and the late Dumisani and Chiwoniso Maraire. The significance of Mbira music has evolved over time, from its primordial use at the rain-making and death ceremonies, to a social commentary tool touching on vast issues from pertinent political questions, to mundane socio-moralistic affairs germane to Zimbabweans today. This study seeks to investigate and validate the role of Mbira music as a significant weapon in the preservation of black intangible cultural heritage in Zimbabwe. The study aims at developing a methodology based on critical discourse analysis to contribute to the appreciation of Mbira music as a relevant custodian of the memory of Zimbabwean culture.

MBIRA-PLAYING, SPIRITUALITY AND INTANGIBLE HERITAGE

Intangible heritage manifests itself in different forms of expression. Orality is one of them with music being a very spiritual facet of oral expression. Jones (2008) aptly describes the importance of the Mbira in the spiritual life of the Shona in which it allowed for humans to interact with their ancestors:

In the mbira-playing regions, two or more *gwenyambira* accompanied by traditional gourd rattles (*hosho*) perform a centuries-old repertoire of songs associated with the ancestors. Participants of both sexes sing, dance, clap and ululate in a communal atmosphere which is both festive and serious in intent. If the music is performed well and if ritual procedures have been carried out properly, one or more spirits will possess their mediums. In a possession trance (which may last several hours), the medium takes on the personality and voice of the deceased, and commands the authority of the spirit in accordance with his or her rank in the patrilineage. The music stops while the gathered descendants greet the *vadzimu* and ask for guidance (2008: 129).

Music has played an integral role in the traditional African societies as long as history bears record. From a mother who sings a lullaby to calm a crying and restless infant, to field workers chanting a rhythmic melody in order to lighten the burden of laborious work, music played, and continues to play an important role in the social life of many African communities. Chitando (2002) rightly affirms that Zimbabwean music is an integral part of the country's very rich and proud heritage. With music accompanying individuals from the cradle to the grave, it occupies an important place in the cultural life of the people of Zimbabwe. The Shona people have a history of actively participating in their communication processes; instead of plunging a pacifier inside a crying baby's mouth, they sing a berceuse, a soothing and reflective tune to quieten the infant. Contrary to playing the clarinet or piano in a quiet and depressive funeral environment, they accompany their music with canticles and choruses to console the bereaved.

Most communication systems in pre-literate and oral African societies were musical in one way or another (Kwaramba, 1997: 2). Songs served various purposes: to entertain, to exhort, to reprimand, to protest, to ridicule, to warn, to edify and to praise. The tangible was the sound and rhythm produced, while the intangible was begotten from the profound expression of a people's persona, ethos and way of life and being.

For the Shona people, the mbira and its music had a place of paramount importance. At religious ceremonies the mbira sound drew the ancestral spirits down to earth to possess spirit mediums and convey long-awaited messages to the mortal realm. Used more for spiritual observances, and therefore revered as sacred, the mbira was usually played by a mature, older member of the community who had experience and mastery, not just of plucking the chords, but of manoeuvring the incorporeal links between the intangible unseen world and the tangible physical realm. It is worth pointing out that because of this attachment to the spiritual and metaphysical realms, the mbira was mostly entrusted to men.

Due to their menstrual cycles, women, especially the younger ones, were considered spiritually and ritually unclean to handle the mbira. However, more and more women have become custodians and practitioners of this instrument. Women such as Ambuya Stella Chiweshe and Ambuya Beauler Dyoko have challenged this gendered use and handling of the mbira. Such challenging has shown that it is not just up to men to transmit the intangible heritage of the people. In fact, women, like men, are equal and important partners in curating, archiving and transmitting indigenous knowledge systems, cultures and ways of being. Hope Masike has coined the term "*gwenyambirakadzi*" to refer to female mbira practitioners and their role in safeguarding the integrity and vitality of the musical instrument. This is essentially captured in the late Chiwoniso Maraire's album *Rebel Woman*, in which she eloquently broaches the centrality of women in not just Zimbabwean societies, but other African countries as well. In the title track of the album, Maraire sings that as Africans weep because of the struggles they face, they should in the same vein "remember that they are strong". It should nonetheless be highlighted that marginalisation of women in music circles is not only confined to *mbira*, but to other musical art forms such as *sungura* which are heavily dominated by men. Women usually come into focus when it comes to dancing performances, and not the production of the music itself.



Figure 1: The 24-key Mbira instrument.

Source: www.afropop.org

Mbira music, in so much as it is a product of Zimbabwean culture; is a consummate tool from which memory can be derived. From an anthropological perspective, “human beings are able to remain in the present by their ability to differentiate between the past and the future” (UNESCO, 2010). The condition that is essential to maintain this temporal presence or existence is memory. Reflections on the mbira and its music drive towards the memory of the Shona people’s modes of communication, forms of expression, and models of interaction. As for Magosvongwe (2008), she contends that “[m]usic is a fluid, dynamic element of culture”. This implies that diverse aspects of social life and human interactions are expressed richly through music. In its very essence, in much as music has the power to permeate and influence, it can similarly be permeated and influenced by various sociocultural phenomena. Music, as such, allows for communication and a description of a people’s culture, way of being and way of living.

A mbira song, in the past, could be a means of ridiculing and therefore reprimanding an ill-behaved member of the community, or a medium for expressing contempt due to unfair treatment. Similarly today, a modern pop song can be an enunciation of the human condition and experience, therefore perpetuating the memory of music, in this case, traditional Zimbabwean mbira music, as an apparatus conjoining the past with

the present. This way of objectifying our traditional musical expression helps to regulate memory, which when transmitted from one generation to another; results in the establishment of heritage, which is principally intangible because of its ethereal nature (save for the mbira instrument itself). An example would be the 1974 song *Kuyaura* by Thomas Mapfumo in which he recounts the difficulties that were experienced during the struggle for the liberation of his country, Zimbabwe:

Kuyaura kweasina musha

It is the plight of the homeless

Kuyaura kweasina musha iwe

It is the plight of the destitute

Vakuru vepano varipi vatiudze zano?

Where are the elders to give us advice?

Chembere dzekuno dziripi dzatiruma nzeve?

Where are the old women to bite our ears?

Harahwa dzekuno dziripi dzatibayire zanzi?

Where are the old men to prick the leaf?

Baba vangu vakafa vachitambura

My father died a painful death

Amai vangu ndokufa vachiona pfumvu

My mother died suffering

Mukoma wangu akafa achitiza hondo

My brother died trying to escape the war

Hanzvadzi yangu ndokufa ichiona pfumvu

My sister died suffering

Kuyaura kweasina musha iwe

Mhondoro dzekuno dziripi dzatitunagamirira?

Where are the guardian spirits to lead us?

Mashavi ekuno aripi atiruma nzeve?

Where are the spirits to bite our ears?

N'anga dzekuno dziripi dzatipa makano?

Where are the traditional herbalists to give us charms?

Kutipa makona toona kuuraya mhandu

To give us charms to kill the enemy.

Varoyi vekuno varipi vatipe zvitsinga?

Where are the witches to give us their evil powers?

Kutipa zvitsinga toona kutsingisa mhandu

To give us those powers to combat our enemy

Tarisa uone nyaya dzauya kuipa

Look! the issues are getting bad

Kana zvakadaro vakomana kwogezwa ropa

If that is the case then, we will bathe in blood

VaParirenyarwa varipi vatitungamirire?
Where is Mr. Parirenyatwa to lead us?

VaChitepo varipi vatitungamirire?
Where is Mr. Chitepo to lead us?

Kuyaura kweasina musha iwe
It is the suffering of the destitute

Chembere dzekuno dziripi dzatipa makano?
Where are the old women to give us axes?

Kutipa makano toona kutemesa mhandu
We need the axes to chop the enemy

Harabwa dzekuno dziripi dzatipa matemo?
Where are the old men to give us axes?

Kutipa matemo toona kutemesa mhandu
We need the axes to chop the enemy

Kuyaura kweasina musha
This is the plight of the homeless

The song vividly describes the suffering experienced by Zimbabweans as they left their homes and decided to lead a protracted war to liberate themselves from white rule. The song encapsulates the spirituality of the Shona people through the revered powers of guardian spirits, herbalists, witches and the wisdom of the elders. It enlightens on the evils suffered during the struggle for independence from colonial rule, hence the need to look for the elders and spiritual leaders of the Shona people for guidance. Such music thus accomplishes the role of entertaining, whilst also educating and transmitting vital and important information about the history and reality of the country including the founding nationalists behind the armed liberation struggle. Unlike Western history that is transmitted through the written and transcribed word, indigenous history and knowledge systems are transmitted from generation to generation through living oral artistic ways. Although it might be argued that such artistic methods of transmitting history and knowledge cannot be compared to the written word in withstanding the ravages of time, I contend that music, dance and other artistic forms were effectively used in African societies before the arrival of the Europeans on the African continent.

What is also worth highlighting about Thomas Mapfumo is the fact that his recounting of difficulties faced by the country moves beyond the colonial period. In fact, he has used his genre of Mbira music, *Chimurenga*, to critique postcolonial problems that have bedevilled the country. For example, in his song *Corruption*, he laments the massive rampant corruption in post-independent Zimbabwe. This is particularly relevant because I argue that our intangible and tangible heritages should not be used only to celebrate what is good and admirable about our culture and civilisation. Tangible and intangible heritages should also be used in such a manner that they offer a self-reflexive moment to societies. As is the case of Thomas Mapfumo's songs, as well as those of other mbira practitioners, there is need for tangible and intangible heritages such as mbira to be used to correct societies. This is also made evident in the song *Iwai Nesu* (Be with us) by Chiwoniso Maraire in which she sings about the glaring divisions that exist in post-colonial Africa:

Vamwe vaparara nenzara
Some are perishing from hunger

Vamwe vachifa nekuguta
Whilst others are dying from over-eating

Kumwe vaparara nemvura
In other places people are perishing from floods

Kumwe vachipera nezuva
Whilst in other places others perish from droughts

Kutungamira nekungamirwa
Whether we are leaders or being led

Tirivana venyu
We are your children

Mukufunga nemukurota
In our thoughts and our dreams

Tirivana venyu
We are your children

This song is fascinating in that although it criticises the divisions that might occur in the societies, between the obscenely rich and the pathetically poor, Maraire continues to praise the Maker and acknowledge that be that as it may, we are still his children. This song strikes an interesting balance between offering a scathing critique of the society whilst maintaining a strong connection to the spiritual fibre that holds together the same society.

The Shona language is diglossic. In addition to an everyday Shona language, there is a “high” or “deep” Shona that is used in communicating with the ancestors and in didactic themes. Because of the mbira’s place in Shona spirituality, deep Shona, which is rich in proverbs and has a vocabulary of its own, is the language of much mbira singing (Berliner, 1993). However, contemporary mbira practitioners such as Hope Masike have been able to maintain the deep spiritual roots of the Mbira, whilst re-visioning the Shona language they use. In fact, Hope Masike and other practitioners such as the late Chiwoniso Maraire dared to mix Shona with English, the language of the foreign other. Such linguistic merging is important in making mbira music accessible to other cultures and peoples. This inevitably makes it possible for the indigenous and intangible heritage to be shared across borders and cultures. Such sharing is particularly relevant given that we live in a globalising village in which national and cultural boundaries are not only shrinking, but are progressively being erased as cultures and heritages are merging to give way to new and vital forms.

The Mbira songs summarised human experience and condition, thereby transforming themselves into a powerful social commentary tool. Along the course of our history, mbira music has echoed the reminiscent memories of Zimbabwean quotidian life and some pre-eminent experiences. The Mbira songs underscore matters pertinent to the interpretation of reality for the Shona people. The story of men who go hunting and are victorious having caught game is narrated in the song *Nyamaropa* (meat and blood), a mbira composition considered to be the first to have been composed specifically for

the mbira instrument (Berliner, 1993: 77). The Mbira song *Nhemamusasa* (temporary shelter) symbolises the theme of warriors or hunters who build a temporary shelter in the woods to have a makeshift home, away from home (Berliner, 1993: 42). Memories of the song *Nhemamusasa*, a very ancient Shona song, were ushered into the twenty-first century by the late Chiwoniso Maraire when she released her own Mbira remix in 2008.



Figure 2: Chiwoniso Maraire performing *Nhemamusasa* with Mango Sakaki featuring Yuji Matsuhira Sukiyaki festival in Toyama, JAPAN in 2009. A perfect example of Mbira and electric fusions characteristic of modern-day mbira performances.

Source: www.youtube.com

The United Nations Scientific, Educational and Cultural Organisation posit accurately that:

Music is tied to society.... [And] the function and place of music and musicians in society have been greatly modified in the course of time. As old forms disappeared, new ones were created. The modern musician is heir to all the musical traditions that existed before, and for the first time he utilises them fully, adapting them to the needs of the [present era] (UNESCO Report, 1973: 10).

This musical adaptation is mirrored in Zimbabwe's present reality. With particular reference to the Mbira, there has been, over the centuries and decades, marked shifts in its use and appreciation.

Whilst during the colonial era, the Mbira was demonised by the white settler regime, its music knew greater appreciation outside the country, particularly in Western countries. This was through the work of the likes of Dumisani Maraire who ushered the Mbira into the American academic sphere and Ambuya Stella Chiweshe who popularised it in Germany through her fusion of the instrument with other African musical instruments such as marimba, drums and rattles. After the advent of independence, the Mbira has continued to garner increasing appreciation within the country, especially considering the work of young mbira practitioners such as Hope Masike who have modernised mbira by fusing it with other urban genres such as hip hop, sungura and even gospel.

Improvements in information and communication technologies have seen some Zimbabwean musicians who produce traditional types of music achieving global prominence by virtue of their ability to travel overseas with great facility. Subsequently, there has been resurgence in the appreciation of mbira music due to mbira legends such as Thomas Mapfumo, Ambuya Stella Chiweshe and the late Chiwoniso Maraire who succeeded in presenting the Mbira on international arena while fusing it with modern electric instruments.

This fusion is principally seen through the recording *Thomas Mapfumo: Live in New York* (1991) which captures the Blacks Unlimited Band playing mbira music accompanied by the hosho with muted electric instruments. Thomas Mapfumo challenged his guitarists, horn players and keyboard players to accommodate themselves to the mbiras, and he challenged his mbira players to learn the African jazz, and "jit" songs that were also key elements in the Chimurenga sound. The acclaimed Chimurenga music by Thomas Mapfumo is a befitting symbol of Mbira as a representation of the Zimbabwean spirit employing anecdotes of the seasons the nation has lived, from the colonial to post-colonial times.

Zimbabwean Mbira artists, namely Chartwell Dutiro, Forward Kwenda, and Ephant Mujuru have also had a legacy of electric fusions and music enterprises beyond borders, bringing mbira music to the cosmic stage. Emerging European and American mbira music artists such as Michael Williams and Paul Berliner attest to the globalisation of traditional mbira. Mbira music's achievement of global standards echoes its apt representation of Zimbabwean aesthetics and spirituality. While some artists earn a living out of fully exploiting their expertise in mbira; through exhibitions, galas, construction and assembling of the instrument, they are able to narrate the story of Zimbabwe's Shona traditional modes of communication with each other, as well as with their ancestors.

The legacy of oral history is a vivid feature tied to the story of Shona mbira music. The anecdotes behind the *Njari dzavaNjanja* is reflective of the *ngano* (folktale) stories that *dzavaNjanja* were narrated to eager grandchildren round a fire by the grandfather or grandmother storyteller. From the history of the *Njari* is told the story of intermarriage between a Portuguese trader and the daughter of a Shona chief. Of this marriage was born two boys who met with men playing the *Njari* when they visited their extended family in present day Mozambique. Having learnt the art, they returned to Buhera with

one *Njari* instrument where the local blacksmiths borrowed it to manufacture clones of it. The two boys earned the nickname *Manjanja* from the exotic sound that was produced by the instrument. This narrative bears proof of early Shona trading relations with the west, and of Shona blacksmiths who worked iron to manufacture tools. When talking of Mbira music, the socio-economic realities tied to this traditional music are also represented, as portrayed by the story of the *Njari dzavaNjanja*.

In recent historical developments, Africa and the East have followed the western lead in music, and some have ascribed this to the superiority of western music (UNESCO, 1973: 9). New kinds of music have appeared on media arena and traditional music genres have suffered threats of acculturation. The young generations are deterred from appreciating new songs in the traditional styles because of the 'new' music composed by fellow young people under western influences. This clash of interests in cultural musical expression is also a mirror of the struggles between generations. It is also a struggle between the idealism of the past and present, and the materialism of the present (Katsamudanga, 2003).

The Zimbabwean Government's position apropos traditional cultural expression is meticulously demonstrated by the statutes of the Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation (Zim-Asset) consolidated in the National Culture Policy. The Policy affirms that Zimbabwe promotes and encourages "full participation of all Zimbabweans in cultural activities and creative industries to the best of their abilities and to realise full material and economic gains embedded therein" (*Draft National Culture Policy*, 2015: 2). Although such statutes are important, they are useless if they do not translate to tangible use in the different societies of the country. As long as these statutes remain nothing but written regulations, then they will remain useless. What is therefore important is to ensure that people in the grassroots are educated of such statutes and that they fully understand what cultural heritage is and what role they have to play in safeguarding it and transmitting it to future generations. There is presently a yawning gap between de jure and de facto practices relating to statutes and regulations relating to culture and tangible and intangible heritages.

The President of the Republic of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe, maintains that

the commitment to [Zimbabwe's] Pan-African goals is paramount as we jealously guard our political independence, alongside our tangible and intangible cultural and natural heritage...with all stakeholders, including all Government Ministries, all state institutions, organisations, churches, civil society, associations, and public and private agencies [urged] to embrace this policy for safeguarding and upholding values, practices and strategies that promote cohesion, mutual social accountability and responsibility that our African Unhu/Ubuntu philosophy articulates, for the common good of the entire Zimbabwean society (*Draft National Culture Policy*, 2015: 3).

The civic stance of the government in relation to our tangible and intangible cultural heritage led to the proclamation in 2005 and subsequent inscription in 2008 of the Mbende dance on the representative list of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity for UNESCO. With further confirmation of the political commitment with regards to the nation's tangible and intangible cultural and natural heritage, it rests with the Zimbabwean citizen to proclaim Mbira music as national intangible heritage.

In a bid to find relevance as a civilisation with a rich cultural heritage, the story of the Mbira is undeniably an apt representation of a profound cultural antiquity. Beyond the Mbende traditional dance, Zimbabwe has aesthetically rich intangible heritage embedded in Mbira music which is demonstrated not only by the music that is peculiar to the Shona people, but also through the stories chronicled by the underlying anecdotes attached to the compositions. It has to be understood that Mbira as intangible heritage should not be detached in any manner from the socio-cultural contexts from which it derives its vitality. What this means is that Mbira transmits the history, the hopes, the lives and ideologies of the societies in which it is considered not only sacred, but also an essential part of the culture and the livelihood of the people.

As perceptions towards cultural heritage in Zimbabwe are evidently changing from generation to generation, the preservation of the rich tangible and intangible cultural heritage is threatened by emerging foreign interpretations of aesthetic value and reality. It is therefore the duty of Zimbabweans to play their own tunes, sing their own songs, and sway to their own Mbira before all the indigenous forms of expression disappear under subjugation from foreign promenades that thrive on undermining the value of the native soul. Whilst it is important to jealously safeguard local heritage, it is also worth acknowledging that local heritage that is transmitted through the Mbira cannot survive in isolation. As such, whilst safeguarding intangible local heritages, there is also need to embrace positive elements of foreign cultures. Such embracing of otherness should not be at the expense of our culture, but should be done in such a manner that it enhances our own culture, way of being and heritage.

CONCLUSION

Management of cultural heritage has since shifted from a restrained focus on only monumental and physical elements, to a more holistic view of heritage as both material and immaterial elements that attest to cultural identity. Mbira is both tangible and intangible, demanding serious consideration for inclusion on Zimbabwe's cultural intangible heritage list in line with the 2003 UNESCO Convention. The identification and inscription of components of culture to be preserved as intangible heritage partly rests with the Zimbabwean citizen. Upon realising the importance of safeguarding one's cultural identity, it subsequently rests on the individual to appreciate and proclaim indigenous cultural components as worthy of conserving. As Katsamudanga (2003) posits, the professional heritage manager is essentially irrelevant, given that the one that ought to initially preserve culture is the individual who inherited it from the forefathers. The Mbira and its music will find room among national and international cultural discourses when, first, the Zimbabwean has declared it laudable as a cultural element that should be preserved, a befitting intangible form of Zimbabwean cultural heritage. I conclude by stating that even though there have been numerous studies on cultural productions from the African continent, and Zimbabwe in particular, there is certainly still more work that needs to be done to critically evaluate the impact of the tangible and intangible heritage that we have, and which we can share, promote and export to other cultures beyond the borders of our country and continent.

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Chapter Eleven

Re-visiting Simon Mawondo's Problem of 'Reconciliation without Justice' Thesis in the Context of the Land Question in Zimbabwe

Fainos Mangena

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, we reflect on Simon Mawondo's thesis that the pronouncement of reconciliation without justice at independence in Zimbabwe was pre-mature. We divide the chapter into four sections with the first section focusing on the aims of the liberation struggle as presented by Mawondo, while the second section looks at Mawondo's disaffection with the idea of extending the hand of reconciliation to the erstwhile enemy before addressing the imbalances in land distribution in Zimbabwe. The third section looks at Mawondo's understanding of social justice which he limits to *restorative* justice and *distributive* justice. Mawondo argues that these two components of social justice should have been sought before pronouncing reconciliation at independence. The fourth section is our critical reflection on Mawondo's submissions.

We argue that Mawondo's thesis, while it is to some extent defensible, is not quite plausible. We provide strong premises to that effect with our underlining argument being that it would not have been possible for Zimbabwe to extend the hand of reconciliation to the white minority groups in Zimbabwe at independence and at the same time addressing the colonial injustices of the past, as this would have further delayed the process of nation-building. We argue that the pronouncement of reconciliation at independence was quite strategic as it was meant to bring people together, thereby destroying racial tensions. It was important to prioritise re-building the nation first, given that the nation was smarting from more than fifteen years of ruin, and all races were to participate in this re-building exercise.

We draw our examples from the South African experience where, in our view, the premature establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), following the atrocities of apartheid, did not yield positive results. We argue that South Africa is what it is today because the timing of the commencement of the process of national healing was not right. A grace period should have been given to allow the victims of apartheid and their relations to heal. Some of the effects of the failure of the premature pronouncement of the national healing process in South Africa, in our view, is the recurrent spate of xenophobic attacks targeted at black foreigners as well as violent crime.

MAWONDO ON THE LAND QUESTION AND ZIMBABWE'S WAR OF LIBERATION

Intangible cultural heritage is difficult to safeguard in borrowed spaces, hence this chapter's consideration of social justice concerning land inequities and reconciliation

soon after Zimbabwe's independence. Simon Mawondo's chapter entitled: "In Search of Social Justice: Reconciliation and the Land Question in Zimbabwe," which is found in the book: *The Struggles After the Struggle: Zimbabwean Philosophical Studies I* (pp. 9-19), edited by David Kaulemu and published in 2008 by *The Council for Research in Values and Philosophy* in America, makes interesting reading. Mawondo begins this chapter by making the claim that "a deep sense of injustice caused by the inequalities and deliberate dispossession of Africans by the white settler regimes was amongst the fundamental causes of the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe" (2008: 7). Mawondo argues that racist laws which were meant to protect the interests of the whites and to control the native Africans resulted in the latter being deprived of their heritage in the form of land, as the former took all the fertile land and forced the latter to occupy infertile land (2008: 8). This would sow the seeds of resentment from the native black Zimbabweans who would later fight against the white man in order to get back their land and other intangible resources (2008: 7).

For Mawondo (2008: 8), it was therefore crystal clear that the unequal distribution of land was one of the reasons why Zimbabweans had taken up arms to fight the coloniser. This position is corroborated by one of the former commanders of the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA), the late Josiah Tungamirai, who remarked that the unequal distribution of land was the main reason why the African people fought the settler regime. But to reduce the liberation struggle only to the need to re-claim land, will be grossly unfair as some of the reasons for the war of liberation, for Mawondo (2008: 8), were that:

- (a) Politically, the act of conquest and the setting up of the colonial administration had deprived Africans of the right to set up their own government as they were reduced to mere subjects.
- (b) Economically, Africans had been reduced to manual labourers dependent on subsistence wages in their own country.

It is important to note that apart from owning land, having the right to form your own government and, indeed, being treated not merely as a subject with limited rights and freedoms, are veritable assets that one cannot be denied, and so the native blacks were justified in taking up arms in order to re-claim these veritable assets or intangible heritages. Thus, for Mawondo, the liberation struggle was about the right of the citizens to claim their heritage from the coloniser (2008: 8). But were the goals met? It is far-fetched to think that Mawondo denied the fact that Zimbabwe's independence meant that some goals of the struggle were met while others were not. What is clear in Mawondo's mind is that, during the time he was writing this chapter, the main goal of the liberation struggle had not been fully met, that is, land was still to be shared more equitably between the black majority and the white minority groups. The reason, for Mawondo, is that reconciliation was pre-maturely pronounced before this goal had been fully realised. Below, we explore Mawondo's views on the reconciliation gesture at independence and how, in his opinion, this reconciliation gesture failed to bring about social justice in Zimbabwe.

MAWONDO ON THE GESTURE OF RECONCILIATION AT INDEPENDENCE IN ZIMBABWE

Mawondo (2008: 9-10) argues that after attaining independence, most Africans expected the historical imbalances of the past, especially those that involved the inequitable distribution of land, to be addressed before any talk of reconciliation and unity. But, this was never achieved in the post-independence era, especially in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe. In particular, Mawondo questioned the logic behind the gesture of reconciliation that was extended to the white population in independent Zimbabwe without first addressing the historical imbalances of the past. To this end, he quotes the then Prime Minister Robert Gabriel Mugabe saying:

We are called to be constructive, progressive, and forever forward-looking, for we cannot afford to be men of yesterday, backward looking, retrogressive and destructive... If yesterday I fought you as an enemy, today you have become a friend and ally with the same national interest, loyalty, rights and duties as myself. If yesterday you hated me, today you cannot avoid the love that binds you to me and me to you. Is it not folly, therefore, that in these circumstances anybody should seek to revive the wounds and grievances of the past? The wrongs of the past must now stand forgiven and forgotten (De Waal, 1990: 48-49).

As Mawondo (2008: 10) maintains, "Zimbabweans were told to forgive past wrongs and seek reconciliation." For Mawondo (2008: 10), the question that must be asked is: "What did the ordinary Zimbabweans gain at independence?" Here Mawondo seems to be taking a cue from John Locke (Cited in Laslett, 1994) who argues that people who are suffering under the yoke of oppression have a right to liberate themselves using whatever means at their disposal. While this cannot be disputed, we argue that it is the timing that matters. We shall make our submissions in detail, in the last section of this chapter.

But just what is reconciliation, according to Mawondo, and how is it connected to truth-telling and forgiveness? For Mawondo (2008: 11), reconciliation "can be regarded as a process that re-establishes love and understanding between two or more estranged parties." For Mawondo, "reconciliation presupposes estrangement, enmity or conflict, and its objective is to overcome this conflict so that there can be harmony" (2008: 11). Reconciliation expresses the result of a restored relationship (Baum and Wells, 1997: 2). The assumption here is that a relationship between two or more people had earlier broken down before it was restored by the process of reconciliation. Mawondo argues that before any attempts are made to search for reconciliation or to pronounce it, it is important to establish, first, the source of the conflict that should warrant reconciliation, and it is this whole process of establishing the source of the conflict that Mawondo calls *recollection* (2008: 11).

For Mawondo, the danger with *reconciliation* without *recollection* (that is, truth-telling and forgiveness) is that latter on, the victims will retaliate. Mawondo (2008: 10) quotes Walter Wink (1998: 13) who observes that, "unresolved hatred can lead to acts of revenge by those newly empowered." The problem with reconciliation without justice is that unresolved hatred or issues will always crop up, open old wounds on the part of the victims and cause turmoil (2008: 10).

MAWONDO ON RECONCILIATION AND SOCIAL JUSTICE IN ZIMBABWE

In this section, the idea of social justice is understood by Mawondo, in two senses namely; in the *restorative* sense, as well as in the *distributive* sense, and this is notwithstanding the fact that social justice and more so justice, is “a contested concept” (2008: 15). So, what is *restorative justice*? Many philosophers have defined *restorative justice* distinguishing it from *retributive justice*, and linking it with the idea of *Ubuntu* and African Indigenous Justice Systems (Mangena, 2012a, 2015; Gade, 2013), but Tutu (1999: 51) has provided the most classic of definitions on *restorative justice* as, “the healing of breaches, the redressing of imbalances, the restoration of broken relationships.” For Tutu (1999: 51-52), restorative justice (which is characteristic of traditional African Jurisprudence) is not concerned with retribution or punishment, but is aimed at rehabilitating “both the victim and perpetrator who should be given the opportunity to be re-integrated into the community he or she has injured by his or her offence”. Applied to the Zimbabwean context at independence, this form of *restorative justice*, at least according to Mawondo, should have been attained before or alongside the pronouncement of the reconciliation gesture.

Mawondo (2008: 15) argues that for the victims of colonial injustice, and those who are disadvantaged today because of these colonial injustices, there is need for the wrongs of the past to be righted, and reparations paid. But two things must be done before restorative justice is realised:

Firstly, those who violated the rights of others should admit that such violations took place... The second thing that seems indispensable to the process of restorative justice is that both sides of the story must be told.

Mawondo (2008: 15-16) maintains that it is not possible to have restorative justice without the truth being told, implying that truth is a necessary condition for restorative justice, while restorative justice is a necessary pre-condition for reconciliation. For Mawondo, restorative justice without truth cannot produce genuine reconciliation.

Coming to the notion of *distributive* justice, Mawondo (2008: 17) argues that “there is also another sense of justice that seems to be linked to the possibility of reconciliation.” This is distributive justice. For Mawondo, distributive justice looks at how goods and services are distributed in a given community. Mawondo further argues, “distributive justice entails finding ways of resolving conflicting demands and the search for resolution generally derive from the moderate scarcity of the available goods” 2008: 17). In Mawondo’s view, distributive justice means that each individual’s demands are considered equally.

Mawondo argues that since land is the basis for one’s livelihood and is a limited resource, any attempt to deprive a person of this vital resource is unjust as it will deny him or her the means to meet his or her basic needs such as food and shelter. Mawondo further argues:

Recognising the existence of past injustice and its effects on the present raises the question of what should be done about it. How to achieve a just society from the ashes of an unjust colonial system remains one of the struggles that post-colonial societies like Zimbabwe must face. Such a society

must seek ways to transcend the conflicting claims to resources and to create a sense of common citizenship between former foes.

CRITICAL REFLECTIONS ON MAWONDO'S THESIS

In our reflections, we are going to look at both the merits of Mawondo's argument as well as its demerits. Beginning with the merits; it is important to observe that no liberation can be achieved anywhere in the world, before people can lay claim to their heritage. Mawondo is therefore justified in arguing that reconciliation without justice is meaningless. Taking the model of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), one can argue that Mawondo was justified in his call for reconciliation that is buttressed on truth-telling, forgiveness and memory. The TRC operated from the premise that it was important for victims to narrate their ordeals and perpetrators to confess their sins, and be given amnesty. This process obviously involved both the perpetrator and the victim telling their stories and an amicable solution, in the spirit of *Ubuntu*, being sought (cf. Tutu, 1999: 81).

Taking a cue from the TRC, Mawondo probably was worried with any further delays in healing the wounds of those who had been hurt by the colonial injustices as most of these now had bottled up emotions. Borrowing from Bishop Desmond Tutu (1999: 82):

They had been silenced for so long, sidelined for decades, made invisible and anonymous by a vicious system of injustice and oppression. Many bottled their feelings up for too long and when the chance came for them to tell their stories, the floodgates were opened.

Mawondo is, therefore, probably right to argue that reconciliation alone without addressing the historical imbalances of the past was not enough as, later on, this would open up the wounds of those who were treated unjustly in the past. Mawondo is also probably right to argue that, the hand of reconciliation was extended to the whites when in fact they did not need it. To Mawondo, this could mean that these whites were not repentant for they continued to own seventy five percent of Zimbabwe's land, while the blacks were still overcrowded in infertile lands. It is easy to understand Mawondo's frustrations here. To underline his frustrations, Mawondo quotes Moyo (1995: 11) who remarks:

A reasonable climate for white-black reconciliation can only be achieved through a more balanced redressing of the variety of land demands in Zimbabwe, in a manner which is transparent, equitable and focused on the productive use of land for agro-industrial and development purposes...

Mawondo argues that reconciliation without re-dressing the variety of the land demands cannot be genuine. For Mawondo, "what is remembered and for what purpose, is always significant to understanding who we are. We form ideas of who we are in the light of what we think we were in the past..." Elsewhere, we argue (in support of Mawondo) that in order to form these ideas [of identity and belonging], we need space, and/or territory. Land provides this space and so the concepts of identity and belonging make no sense without owning land (Mangena, 2014: 83).

But, while we agree with Mawondo that reconciliation without both restorative and distributive justice is empty and vacuous, we argue that Mugabe was right in allowing

the country to heal by extending the hand of reconciliation, to the white minority at independence before re-visiting the issue of recollection, and land re-distribution. In acting the way he did, Mugabe was probably guided by the English proverb: 'Time heals!' Below we provide premises to this claim. As we earlier on intimated, while Mawondo may, to some extent, be justified in claiming that the process of reconciliation should have factored in the issue of both restorative and distributive justice, given that more than fifteen years after Zimbabwe had attained its political independence, the majority of the blacks still did not have land, our position is that the decision to reconcile with the erstwhile enemy without, first, addressing the historical imbalances of the past, was quite strategic as it was meant to allow for the re-building of the nation and the healing of the national body politic. The latter processes required the efforts of everyone — black or white.

If Zimbabwe had embarked on the process of reconciliation, truth-telling and forgiveness of past wrongs at the same time, it was probably going to take about five to ten years before one could talk of racial harmony and nation-building. Without racial harmony, nation-building is almost impossible. Let us briefly define racial harmony in order to make our point clear. Munyiswa (2015: 71) defines racial harmony as "any situation where people of different races come together to work and live harmoniously as one big family in the state, and underpinning racial harmony is equality and the absence of any form of racial stereotyping."

Besides, the Lancaster House Constitution had made it clear that equitable land redistribution was only going to take place ten years after independence. Before that, the whites who owned the biggest tracts of the land were free to let go their land using the "willing buyer, willing seller" arrangement.

As Mawondo (2008: 10) would put it, "the political context of the Lancaster House constitution as well as the enunciation of the reconciliation policy simply signaled ZANU-PF's desire to make that constitution work." At face value, one is tempted to agree with Mawondo that the reconciliation policy and the Lancaster House Constitution considerably protected the interests of the white minority in terms of land ownership and control in Zimbabwe, railroading the majority of the people of Zimbabwe without their due consent. The fact of the matter is that after more than fifteen years of the destructive war of liberation, the then Prime Minister Robert Gabriel Mugabe was right to pronounce reconciliation and adhere to the stipulations of the Lancaster House Constitution in order to re-build the nation. It is highly likely that the perpetrators of these colonial injustices were going to resist any moves to try to make them account for their misdeeds, especially when the wounds were still fresh in the minds of the victims. In fact, evidence elsewhere shows that perpetrators do not normally co-operate when it comes to these issues. The observations of the South African TRC aptly confirm this position:

The commission was not universally welcomed and popular. There were those who were passionately opposed to it, particularly those who felt the Commission threatened to expose their nefarious past, and those who had convinced themselves that it was really a smart ploy for engaging in a witch-hunt against Afrikaners (Tutu, 1999: 84).

The same scenario could have happened in Zimbabwe if Mugabe had rushed to investigate and try to address the colonial injustices of the past before extending the hand of reconciliation to the erstwhile enemy. This was most probably going to plunge the nation into further conflict which would, no doubt, have taken long to resolve since some of the confessions (which, if they were to be done the TRC style, were to be done publicly and in full glare of the media) were going to arouse anger from among the country's black population. To show that a premature approach to national healing could have caused serious problems, and to show that Mugabe's strategy was well thought-out, we will reflect on THREE public-hearing cases that were conducted by the TRC in South Africa, which, had they not been handled carefully, could have plunged the nation of South Africa into further conflict:

Case 1

Five police officers, in amnesty applications which detailed the killings of dozens from the Pretoria region, described how they tortured their terrorist quarry and how they had then disposed of the bodies. Giving suspects electric shocks was such a widespread form of torture that one of the police officers could say matter-of-factly, 'we interrogated Sefolo in the same way as the other two (Jackson Maake and Andrew Makupe)...We used a yellow portable Robin generator to send electric shocks through his body and to force him to speak...There were two wires. One was attached to his foot and the other to his hand. When we put the generator on, his body was shocked stiff...He admitted being a senior ANC organizer in Witbank (Tutu, 1999: 94)

Case 2

Dirk Coetzee was once head of 'Vlakplaas' near Pretoria, which turned out to be the notorious headquarters of police death squads. Coetzee, Almond Nofomela and David Tshikalanga applied for amnesty for murdering Griffiths Mxenge, a prominent Durban lawyer who defended political activists. Coetzee told the Amnesty Committee:

The decision was made by brigadier [Jan] van Hoven...from...Port Natal security police and he told them that he [Mxenge] was a thorn in the flesh...because he acted as instructing lawyer for all ANC cadres...and he stuck by the law. So they could not get to him...I had never heard of the name before, until that day, when I was instructed to make a plan with Griffiths Mxenge. It means one thing only. Get rid of the guy. Kill him. Nothing else but murder him. Kill him...The killing was planned so as to appear to have taken place in the course of a robbery...Tshikalanga stabbed first...and he could not get the knife out of Mxenge's chest...Then apparently Mxenge...took the knife out of himself and started chasing them with the knife and that is when Almond knocked him down with a wheel spanner (Tutu, 1999: 95-96).

Case 3

One of the captured ANC activists, Joe Mamasela, who agreed to work with the police for fear of imprisonment or even death, was involved in the killing of hundreds political activists. Below is his testimony after killing a group of youths who were known as KwaNdebele:

In the KwaNdebele Nine, the people were ambushed in a house and they were shot, all nine of them. They were shot and massacred with AK-47s and then one lieutenant [Jacques] Hechter...came with a big twenty-five litre [drum] of petrol. He poured in (sic) all these corpses

and then he lit the fire. Some of the people there were still alive, you could hear their shrill screams and they were all incinerated.

No doubt, these spine-chilling accounts by the perpetrators of apartheid in South Africa can also be compared to the heinous acts of the Rhodesian forces in Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) which left many blacks maimed, permanently disabled and thousands dead. Had these heinous acts been re-visited through public hearings soon after independence, this could have caused mayhem or instability in the country.

The heinous acts of torture and murder cited in cases 1, 2 and 3 above, would require people with the soberest of minds, to forgive and move on with life. The good thing about having a grace period when dealing with such emotive issues is that this grace period, though it may not completely erase the memories of the victims and those of their relatives and friends, it, no doubt, allows them to gradually heal such that when the same issues are brought back after some time, the issues would not have the same effect as when the same could have been brought back immediately after the violent episodes.

Therefore, Mugabe's strategy took cognisance of this high probability and that is why he had to delay the whole process and pick it up more than 15 years later. While the work of the TRC is lauded in some quarters as having united South Africans, and as having brought about the desired national healing and integration of the different races in South Africa, we believe that it did not, given that black South Africans and white South Africans are always at loggerheads when it comes to issues of national importance such as land re-distribution and the economy.

The prevalence of Xenophobia in South Africa is a clear indication that the TRC did not succeed in bringing South Africans together. The issue of inequitable distribution of land has not yet been addressed in South Africa and opposition politicians like Julius Malema of the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) have been making a lot of noise about it. Black South Africans, because of the injustices that they suffered during the apartheid era (which the TRC purports to have addressed but, in essence, did not), are now throwing their anger to fellow black foreigners.

Violent crime is also the order of the day in South Africa, which again is a sign that there is no social cohesion in the country. We are quite convinced that if South Africa had followed the Zimbabwean model by delaying the process of recollection, chances are that there would be stability in the country. This point is also corroborated by Maluleke (1997: 324) who argues that the TRC only dealt superficially with what he calls "the deep and glaring wound of South African people," but did not effect healing, as the response of the black people was "absent" and "silent." The point is that most of the victims who submitted their grievances, and some of whom had testified before the TRC, received no compensation for their suffering and loss (Maluleke 1997: 324). The probable reason for this mishap is that the TRC was pre-maturely established before enough research had been done to find ways that would address the problems that had been brought about by apartheid, especially the magnitude of the atrocities that had been committed.

Thus, while Mawondo was right in arguing that the idea of reconciliation should have followed the process of recollection, it was pre-mature to do this at the dawn of independence as it was going to cause unnecessary racial tensions, thereby delaying

the whole process of nation-building. Therefore, Mugabe's strategy, under the prevailing circumstances, was the most ideal. We, thus, maintain the position that:

The fact that...Mugabe extended a hand of reconciliation to his erstwhile enemies at independence, should not be underestimated to mean that he and the rest of the Zimbabwean black population had no memory of what had happened in the past. He and the rest of the Zimbabweans had recollected the memories, but were prepared to live peacefully with their white counterparts for as long as the latter cooperated on issues of nation-building (Mangena, 2014: 93).

Some people might ask: "Were the aggrieved people (in this case the landless blacks) consulted before reconciliation was pronounced at independence?" Our response to this question is the same: had the people been consulted at this earliest phase of Zimbabwe's independence, it is highly probable that the situation was going to be volatile given the fact that the wounds were still smarting and the desire and temptation to revenge was still very high. So, Mugabe was right in pronouncing reconciliation without attending to the issue of recollection in order to allow the nation's body politic to heal.

CONCLUSION

This chapter, is a philosophical reaction to Simon Mawondo's thesis that questions the logic of extending reconciliation without justice to the remnant of the white Rhodesians at the dawn of Zimbabwe's independence. The chapter begins with looking at the major aim of Zimbabwe's liberation struggle, which according to Mawondo, was the reclamation of land from the colonial master. It is important to observe that without land, aspects of relating to tangible and intangible heritage would be nullified. Land spells space on which these aspects genuinely play out, and Mawondo's observations are justifiable. The chapter then reflects on Mawondo's thesis in detail, focusing on his displeasure with the "failure" by Mugabe to address the colonial injustices before pronouncing reconciliation. The chapter then looks at Mawondo's understanding of social justice. The last section of this chapter, provides a critique of Mawondo's thesis by noting that while Mawondo's position is, to a considerable extent, justified, it has its own shortcomings and problems.

Our considered position is that Mugabe was right in pronouncing reconciliation at independence as this would allow the nation to heal while focusing on nation-building. We argue that the gesture of reconciliation that was extended to the white minority at independence was quite strategic as it was critical to prioritise first on re-building the nation which had been ruined by war. In our reflections, we compare the Zimbabwean experience with the South African experience whereby national healing processes spearheaded by the TRC had taken place immediately after South Africa's attainment of political independence in 1994. We observe that the racial tensions in South Africa today, as well as relentless xenophobia, frequent racial discrimination cases and violent crime, indicate that the pronouncement of the national healing process was premature. It also failed to bring about lasting peace and greater social cohesion.

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Chapter Twelve

Social Justice as a Foundation for Sustainable Peace in Zimbabwe

Clive Zimunya; Isaiah Munyiswa and Francis Mabiri

INTRODUCTION

Peace is a state of affairs every generation desires to leave for posterity. We understand peace to be a desired intangible heritage, which every society seeks. In this chapter we argue that peace at national level which we define as a state of stability, progress and freedom from civil disorder is founded upon social or distributive justice, i.e. the way wealth (including land), positions and liberties are distributed among citizens. We argue that sustainable peace requires equal, or at least fair distribution of these resources unless inequality or unfairness arises by voluntary choice from an initial situation in which everyone has equal opportunities. In essence, we argue for equality of opportunity/opportunities in the distribution of wealth, positions and freedoms as a prerequisite for sustainable peace in Zimbabwe. Our view is that the many social groups that exist in Zimbabwe have had the tendency to impact negatively on social justice and ultimately on social stability. The Zimbabwean society is currently divided along tribal, ethnic, class, religious, political as well as regional affiliations, and while these divisions have not led to any full-scale civil unrest in the past two decades, the potential remains there, particularly if they (the divisions) determine distributive patterns in the country. Disparate opportunities in accessing wealth and positions are always a source of instability and sometimes these are engendered by the inclusions and exclusions of our identity racial and social groups.

Most political conflicts in Africa are a result of inequitable distribution of wealth and positions. The civil wars, terrorist attacks and electoral violence that Africa has experienced in the recent past can all be linked to issues of social justice, as people compete for the so-called *limited* resources and positions. Popular examples are those of Libya, Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Sudan, Kenya, Somalia, Mozambique and the DRC. Resources need to be allocated using a method that is acceptable to all members affected, otherwise arbitrary allocations or allocations based on participation in the military, or on religious, tribal, ethnic and regional affiliations, breed conflict. The case of participation in the military is less clear and therefore needs more fleshing. Serving in combat or serving generally in the military, in the African context, has been another divisive criterion used in the allocation of top government and political positions, and it is observable that such positions are usually occupied by military veterans. Indeed, it is still customary in much of the world that service in the military, especially with a high rank, is a trajectory to being rewarded with a top government post in future, a prevalent practice in the colonies after World War 1 and World War II (Hanlon, Manjengwa and Smart, 2013). This is why some top political and government positions in some African countries are still being exchanged among veterans of the liberation struggle, or those who successfully executed some foreign military operations. To this end, those without a military background as a result of factors beyond their control, like age and gender for example, feel marginalised. This for Becker (1992: 16), results

in “[a] government that is dominated at many key points by a few men and women who have been in the military rather than being open to all citizens: we have in large part a “militocracy” rather than a true democracy”.

Our argument is therefore that, whenever distribution is patterned by military service, or religious, ethnic, class, gender and tribal affiliations, civil strife becomes inevitable. Whenever some people feel marginalised for any of the factors listed above, civil unrest or instability ensues, and where there is instability, there is no peace. The connection between peace and social justice is therefore clear; social justice is a foundation for peace while lack of justice breeds conflict. To discuss these issues in detail, we have divided this chapter into two parts. In the first part, we define peace and distributive justice — the key concepts that we are using in our argument. In the second part, we analyse the inter-play of peace and social justice in Zimbabwe. In particular, we highlight three critical areas that require distributive justice as a pre-requisite for sustained peace.

PEACE AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

The concept of peace is difficult to define. In some instances, it is described rather than defined, as desirable psychological or spiritual state of an individual. We will however not be using that peace in that sense. We are interested with peace as an inter-relational concept at the level of communities and the nation-state. Setting aside contestations associated with the concept, we define peace at community, institution and national levels as a state of stability, progress and freedom from civil disorder. We have avoided defining peace as the absence of conflict because conflict is difficult to end completely. At the minimal level, peace means stability, freedom and harmonious relations among people. The Shona *Unhu* philosophy and principle for instance, approximates such an ideal premised on reciprocity.

According to Kerren-Paz (2013:5),

Distributive justice...is a mechanism to distribute benefits and burdens among the members of a relevant group in proportion to some criterion for distribution, such as merit, needs, equality, status, and so on. [This]...formulation is based on a 'geometrical' proportion between two (or more) participants, regarding their possession of the criterion/criteria for distribution and their respective share in the thing distributed (the benefit/burden). For example, if the relevant criterion for distribution is merit, and one person is twice as meritorious as another, the former's share in the good distributed should be double the latter's.

The basic structure of distributive justice, therefore, is comprised of: (1) the participants in the distribution; (2) the thing to be distributed; and (3) the criterion/criteria for distribution.

Most of the debate in the distributive justice literature is dedicated to the question of which criterion or criteria should control the distribution of a country's wealth. Monist approaches emphasize criteria such as entitlement, equality, needs or desert. According to Robert Nozick's libertarian-patterned entitlement theory, individuals are entitled to what they acquired in a procedurally fair manner. Entitlement can be obtained either through a transfer from a rightful prior owner or by a first acquisition. The government has no justification in engaging in redistribution of what was acquired according to the

procedural rules, regardless of the desirability of the end-result of the holdings. *Egalitarian programmes* all share the idea that the participants in the distribution should get the relevant good according to the concept of equality. What the demands of equality consist of is a hotly debated question. Nonetheless, egalitarian theories share some commitment to performing the distribution in a way that will diminish existing disparities in holdings among the participants in the relevant entitlement. For example, John Rawls' difference principle demands that, subject to the lexical priority of the equal right to the most liberty compatible with a similar liberty to all, social and economic inequalities should be arranged to the greatest benefit of the least advantaged.

Needs-based programmes 'are premised on the moral priority of supplying individuals with certain basic needs — such as food, shelter and minimal self-respect — over and above the satisfaction of the preferences of any other individual in society, including, according to some theorists, those of the needy themselves.' Needs as a prominent criterion for distribution is embedded in the Marxist (and French socialist) principle of 'to each according to his needs'. *Desert-based* claims are premised on the idea of giving each person their due. Adherents of desert disagree on the scope, origin and details of desert-based claims. For example, there are different approaches regarding the question whether the proper basis for desert should be effort, talent or outcome. Many view desert as necessarily based on the subject's autonomous decisions.

These principles of social or distributive justice provide moral guidance for the political processes and structures that affect the distribution of economic benefits and burdens in societies. A principle that a society adopts determines the economic framework that each society has — its laws, institutions, policies, etc. and these in turn result in different distributions of economic benefits and burdens across members of the society. In this case, this chapter adopts the equality of opportunity principle. Each person by virtue of being a country's citizen, is entitled to an equal opportunity in getting the benefits that the country offers regardless of race, gender or economic status.

JOHN RAWLS AND EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY

Rawls takes a practical approach in dealing with inequalities in society. He acknowledges that inequalities can exist in any society. But such inequalities should only exist insofar as they promote the welfare of the least advantaged member of society. Rawls's Second Principle of justice requires that if some people in society have more wealth, income, and/or power than others, then first, those goods are the rewards for social positions they occupy that are open to all under the terms of "fair equality of opportunity," and second, giving the occupants of those positions greater benefits is in the long run better for the worst off members of society. The second part of this principle is called the "difference principle." According to the difference principle, an inequality in the distribution of wealth or income is unjust whenever it does not benefit the poorest members of society. The difference principle requires a system of distributing wealth and income that over time is in the best interests of the worst off members of society.

THE ZIMBABWEAN SITUATION

Zimbabwe is a country that was born out of a war for liberation where blood was spilt and lives lost, including innocent blood, to attain independence from colonial rule.

The oppressive colonial regime was replaced in 1980 by a new government that sought to serve the interests of the majority. Amongst the government's ideals were peace, reconciliation and development in the land through nation-building. It is important to note here that any other ideal that the government had would have only been made possible if peaceful conditions prevailed. The question may be asked, who would care about nation-building in the middle of a raging war? When peace flourishes all other ideals are given conducive grounds for flourishing too.

Zimbabwe, just like most sub-Saharan countries, is a very peculiar country, with many ethnicities finding themselves as one country, chief amongst them the Shona and the Ndebele. To control such a heterogeneous state requires that all people from all the various ethnicities do not feel left out in the governance of the state and the benefits that result therefrom. All people in the land feel they have a right to benefit from their country's wealth and the distribution of the country's resources becomes a key factor in securing peace. If part of the country feels left out on the distribution of wealth, then this becomes a ticking time-bomb, where a time shall come when the parties that feel left out will vent their anger in (often) violent protest, ending all prospects of peace.

In Zimbabwe, the period leading up to 1987 from 1980 was a very turbulent one. The infamous Gukurahundi incidents, whereby the government sought to silence dissidents and uprisings, especially from the Matabeleland area of the country, is evident of this fact. Once a group in a heterogeneous setting like Zimbabwe feels left out in the governance of the land, which usually (but not ideally) determines the distribution of wealth, then uprisings are inevitable. This finally ended when the divided political power centres signed a unity agreement in 1987 which saw the two major political parties in Zimbabwe at that time, ZANU PF and PF ZAPU becoming one united party. The hope was that a merge at the top would cascade into a merge of the various groups that the parties represented. It was also hoped that the country's resources were going to be redistributed more equitably in all the regions that the parties represented.

Although it can still be debated on, the signing of this accord brought about a good level of peace in Zimbabwe, and Zimbabwe today is renowned as one of the most peaceful countries in Africa. Notwithstanding the benefits of peace that have been enjoyed in the country, there still remains some elements of our 'intangible' traditions and customs that pose a potential threat to the peace that the country enjoys. People still do not identify themselves as one people, but as belonging to this or the other group in Zimbabwe. It is commonplace for people to pride themselves as belonging to this or the other tribe, clan or totem, but becoming one people is still an ideal mostly preached by politicians in times of crisis. The next section seeks to explore the various 'intangibles' that have the potential to influence biases towards how the country is governed, which in turn has an effect on how wealth is distributed, which then cascades into factionalism, suspicion and the absence of peace.

ETHNICITY

Commenting on the effects of tribalism in Zimbabwe, Nomazulu Thata describes it as a deep hatred among ethnic groups, non-tolerance of tribal and racial co-existence (<http://nehandaradio.com>). She highlights that the unity agreement of ZANU PF and PF ZAPU

in 1987 was very far from creating a unified nation that respects diverse ethnicities, upholding the dignity of human beings of all ethnic groups and races. Whilst political analysts claim that no political party in Zimbabwe today is explicitly committed to eradicating these ethnic differences and that political parties themselves are usually divided on ethnic grounds, intermarriages continue diluting ethnic intolerance. Nevertheless, nicknames that slight some ethnic identities speak of a suspicion that exists across the divide of people of different ethnic groups, even among the general populace. Even within the same ethnicity, people are always finding ways of distinguishing themselves from the rest of the world and identifying themselves as unique.

Oftentimes in Zimbabwe, we hear people identifying themselves as Zezuru, Manyika, Korekore, Ndau, or Ndebele, not as Zimbabweans. These identifications create ties amongst people of the same ethnicity, while at the same time separating them from the rest. For instance, a Manyika person — *wasu*, meaning one of our own, literary ours/*wedu* — will readily identify with another Manyika person if they meet in Matebeleland or in an area mostly occupied by people belonging to other ethnicities. They see themselves as brothers, tied together by the geographical space from which they (or their ancestors) came from. This is all well and fine until a deep analysis of these micro-cases spiral to the macro-situation.

Some regions in Zimbabwe are not developed because of the idea of belongingness to one tribe or another. Even the armed liberation struggle faced these challenges at the war front, leading to purges that almost aborted the desired political independence. To understand why this is so, there is need to understand some fundamental African beliefs and traditions. In African tradition, a person's success is usually thought to be the success of the place from which they come. Children are usually taught from an early age to 'remember' the place from which they come when they make it in life, which may range from getting a decent job or landing a political position in government.

In African tradition, a person who remembers where they come from, by developing their home area or channelling the resources at their disposal in that direction, is usually deemed to be a good person (*munhu chaiye*), while those who shun where they come from are usually deemed bad and/or useless people (*munhu pasina*). Given this background, once a person lands a political post, the first thing that they think of is developing where they come from, channelling the resources at their disposal (including state resources meant to benefit the country as a whole) to their home areas. This being the case, some areas remain in perpetual underdevelopment, while represented by politicians in government enjoy a good level of being developed. Such infrastructure as roads and bridges are good in some rural places in Zimbabwe insofar as a prominent and outspoken politician comes from that particular place. Further, such areas get priority on getting benefits and amenities such as electricity and food aid.

The 'good-child' mentality cascades even to securing employment. In a country where unemployment is at over 90% (<http://www.thestandard.co.zw>), children and relatives of people in political office do not face the same challenges as those who do not know anyone in government. Getting a job in such difficult times becomes an issue of who-you-are not what-you-know. The situation becomes even more complicated as people in Zimbabwe are linked by such things as totems. People who are not related in any way, but happen to have the same totem view themselves as brothers and sisters. If the

hiring person belongs, for example, to the Monkey (*Soko*) totem, then their chances of getting hired become greater. Totems and totemic relations are also deemed as part of Zimbabwe's intangible heritage that cannot be easily dispensed with. Yet, if these have the potential to separate and segregate people this way, then the question becomes: How pertinent are some of these 'heritages' to ideals of peace and sustainable development?

We are all familiar with the popular saying that the rich get richer while the poor get poorer. According to Daniel Rigney (2010: 2), though it oversimplifies reality considerably, this saying captures an important insight into the workings of the social world. In many spheres of life, we observe that initial advantage tends to beget further advantage, and disadvantage further disadvantage, among individuals and groups through time, creating widening gaps between those who have more and those who have less. The distinguished sociologist Robert K. Merton called this phenomenon the Matthew effect, from a verse in the Gospel of Matthew (13:12), which says that for whosoever hath, to him more shall be given, and he shall have more abundance: but whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken away even that he hath.

The existence of Matthew effects in social life may seem obvious. Yet, the more closely we examine the phenomenon, the more complex and less obvious it becomes. In the first place, it is not universally true that the rich get richer while the poor get poorer, whether the riches in question are money, power, prestige, knowledge, or any other valued resource. Sometimes it happens that the rich and poor both get richer. Sometimes, as in deep economic recessions, the rich and poor both get poorer. And sometimes, though rarely, we find the rich getting poorer while the poor grow richer. Initial advantage does not always lead to further advantage, and initial disadvantage does not always lead to further disadvantage. But, it is our take that initial advantage in a country like Zimbabwe, usually leads to further advantage, especially if this advantage is of a political nature. Like the proverbial snowball that grows larger as it rolls down a hillside, resources tend to attract and accumulate more resources, which in turn accumulate still more resources.

Peace at the national level *ought* to be a function of social or distributive justice. We emphasise 'ought' here for this is a normative approach to defining peace, since on the ground peace is very elusive. In order to avoid the Matthew effect as given above, peace requires equal or at least fair distribution of wealth (including land), positions and liberties among citizens, unless inequality or unfairness arises by voluntary choice from an initial situation in which everyone has equal opportunities. In essence, equality of opportunity (ies) in the distribution of wealth, positions and freedoms is a prerequisite for sustainable peace in Zimbabwe. In Zimbabwe, the distribution of the country's resources is marred by many biases, especially towards the political elite and those who participated in the war of liberation. The next section explores these biases.

THE LAND REDISTRIBUTION

In the period from around 1998 onwards, the government embarked on a fast track land reform programme that sought to reallocate white-owned land to the black majority. According to Matondi (2012: 55), prior to this, the government had to design new models in response to the scale of the programme. A key characteristic of the project

was that it placed people of different backgrounds and abilities of land usage into A1 and A2 categories. The A1 model was envisioned as comprising small, integrated communities using locally-evolved norms and rules to manage resources and people. The A2 model, with its generation of black commercial farmers, was seen as having the potential to increase the number of commercial farmers from around 4,500 to 54,000 at its optimum level (Matondi, 2012: 55). Economically, the idea was that, as they were allocated land, they would also unlock resources from the private sector to support agriculture. Based on this, there was a belief that, had this happened, agriculture would not have staggered fundamentally.

The underlying idea of the land reform programme from the year 2000 onwards was that there was supposed to be a redress of an imbalance that had been created by the colonial regime, whereby the black majority had a disadvantaged position in land possession. However, noble as this idea might have been, the distribution ended up not being fair to all people that were supposed to benefit from the programme. The distribution was not a meritocratic one; one that was to be based on who was best suited to utilise the land so that the worst off members of society would benefit from such a programme. Instead, land was distributed along criteria that had the potential to divide rather than unite the country. War credentials were, and still appear, key in the distribution process. The war of liberation veterans in Zimbabwe spearheaded the taking of land, citing that this is what they had fought for in the first place.

When war veterans forced the state and President Mugabe to the negotiation table in 1997, they agreed that white commercial farms would be 'seized' and distributed to the land-hungry, with 20 per cent of the land reserved for the war veterans. Government reacted by immediately designating 1,471 commercial farms for compulsory acquisition (Moyo, 2001). This was contested legally by white commercial farmers and no land redistribution materialised (Moyo, 1999). War veterans reacted in isolated group initiatives by mobilising peasants, labourers and traditional leaders across the country (Sadomba, 2011), leading to more than 30 war veteran-led occupations (Sadomba, 2004; Marongwe, 2003; Moyo, 2001), including the most outspoken Svosve occupations in mid-1998. The veterans-led land occupations were qualitatively different from previous peasant-led land occupations in a number of ways, but mainly because this new leadership intensified the land struggles to a level of deep class antagonism and strategised its organisation. First, the occupations were militant — being confrontational where white farmers resisted — clearly borrowing 'aggressive' and surprise attack tactics from the guerrilla experiences of the armed struggle. Second, the land occupation movement became potentially more socially inclusive, by destroying the rural/urban divide that characterised previous land occupations and by incorporating state organs where war veterans were concentrated, such as the uniformed forces. In this sense, the 'local orientation' of the peasant land movement was 'transcended and peasants entered national politics', developing an 'alliance with the workers' (Das, 2007: 10). Thirdly, war veteran leadership introduced new ideologies, liberation war metaphors and symbolism and guerrilla tactics. These tactics included operating in small independent units that were autonomous, politicising the masses and establishing bases as command centres. Fourthly, war veteran leadership was vital in challenging the monopolisation of the cultural capital of the liberation war and history by nationalist politicians and ZANU PF. All in all, the war veteran leadership of the land movement radically shifted 'grassroots agency' from being merely 'confined to and aimed at a power structure within its own

immediate vicinity' to challenging the 'state at the national level' where class 'power is concentrated' (Das, 2007:8).

Anyone who was not a war veteran therefore, in principle, would not have access to the land. War credentials were an important factor in the distribution of land during this period. Politicians, especially in the leaders of the ruling party ZANU PF, saw this move by war veterans as having the potential to gather support for them in elections in the face of new comers MDC. Hence they allowed the war veterans to have their way in the taking of previously white-owned farms. The politicians themselves also participated in the land-taking, which saw these individuals taking the biggest and most productive farms, as well as having multiple ownership of these farms. In the end, although the redistribution of land was supposed to benefit the majority of the black people in Zimbabwe, it ended up being a partisan affair, with people coming from the 'wrong' side of the political divide not benefitting from the redistribution. Further, others were marginalised on the basis of physical and natural handicaps that prevented them from actively participating in both the war and subsequent land take-overs.

Further, there are people who have the potential to utilise the land for the benefit of the majority, but who unfortunately never went to the war front because they were not yet born or were still too young to partake of the war. This group, as well as the other groups who belong to opposition political parties became marginalised in a programme that is supposed to benefit the whole country. This had the possibility of causing disgruntlement on the part of people who feel left out and hostility towards the powers that be, causing, in turn, potential for instability. Then there are also white people, who were born into the new Zimbabwe and never partook of the injustices of colonialism. They too are not beneficiaries of the land distribution programme and face similar marginalisation.

INDIGENISATION PROGRAMMES

The fast track land reform programme opened up a new mind-set in Zimbabwean leadership. The need to empower its people became a much needed and much welcomed ideal. According to the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act [Chapter 14: 33],

indigenisation means a deliberate involvement of indigenous Zimbabweans in the economic activities of the country, to which hitherto they had no access, so as to ensure the equitable ownership of the nation's resources;

And

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

The indigenisation programme was initiated, as cited above, to redress the imbalances in the distribution of the country's economic resources during the colonial period. Just like the land reform programme, this was targeted at benefitting all of the country's

people, regardless of their gender, age or sex and to put such people in an empowered position. However, apart from the ambiguous nature of the process (Matyszak, 2016), with many ordinary people not understanding how the indigenisation process is undertaken, the process itself has also been criticised for being based on biases of a political nature. It appears that the people who are benefiting the most from this process are the wealthy political elite who are linked to the ruling ZANU PF party. Although in principle, all people are supposed to benefit, a culture of cronyism and divisions along political lines has seen the majority of people missing out and watching as the political elite engage in an emerging culture of amassing wealth at the expense of the ordinary person. This has led to ministers and members of the ruling party having access to major company shares and in the process, widening the wealth gap between themselves and the ordinary citizens, especially in the mining sector, which is characterised by secrecy as evidenced by President Mugabe's questioning of the missing 15 billion United States dollars from that industry (<http://www.thestandard.co.zw>).

Further, the country faces an indirect disadvantage in investment. According to a report by Matyszak (2006: 5), Zimbabwe is currently an extremely unattractive destination for foreign investment. Yet, such investment is thought by many as the only means by which the country might halt its continued and steep economic decline. Zimbabwe is presently listed at number 155 out of 189 countries by the World Bank on the ease of doing business index and the inflows in the form of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) are a small fraction of those of its neighbours and regional competitors in this regard. From our discussion of fair economic distribution above, inasmuch as inequalities in holdings are possible, these should not disadvantage the worst off members of society. Any distribution of wealth that makes the poor members of society poorer becomes unjust. This appears to be the case with the indigenisation programme where the fate of the poor has become very gloomy. In this gloomy state of affairs, and an already non-performing economy, peace cannot prevail for long since the majority of people will feel left out in benefiting from their country's resources. The inevitable outcome will be conflict, either of a violent nature (as evidenced by the recent *Tajamuka/Sesijikile* (We've revolted) violent protests in Harare and other towns), or some other vent of anger by the people who feel left out. We argue therefore, in line with John Rawls' difference principle, that any distribution of wealth can result in an imbalance between beneficiaries, but such an imbalance should always ensure that the worse off members of society are in a much better position because of such distribution.

CONCLUSION

Social justice is a prerequisite to sustainable peace. Peace is prerequisite to sustainable development. Fair and equal distribution of rewards and burdens in the Zimbabwean society presently can be the foundation of a culture of peace. We have argued for peace as intangible reality to be cherished and inherited by all generations. Although the government of Zimbabwe has made great strides in trying to redistribute wealth in order to improve the livelihoods of its indigenous population, this has however, in most cases, dealt a big blow to its poor members. In the land redistribution programme, for instance, which was supposed to benefit all members of the indigenous population, this was not to be. Instead, claims are that it was mostly the political elite that benefitted the most, with many having multiple farms which are not very productive. Although an

imbalance in the distribution was inevitable (as the government could not possibly find land for everyone), such redistribution activities were supposed to benefit the worse off members of society so that peaceful conditions could prevail with no one feeling left out. The same is true of the indigenisation policy implemented by the government to economically empower the black majority. In the layperson's view, this ended up being a leeway to making the rich richer and the poor poorer. This has the potential to destroy the peaceful conditions that prevail in the land, for as the adage goes, "a hungry man is an angry man."

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Section B

Chapter Thirteen

Reinventing the Wheel? Intergenerational Transmission of Intangible Cultural Heritage through Literary Arts in the Zimbabwean School and Tertiary Systems

Ruby Magosvongwe and Zifikile Makwavarara

The linking of those gone, ourselves here, those coming; our continuation, our flowing not along any meretricious channel but along our living way, the way: it is that remembrance that calls us (Armah, 1973: xiv).

INTRODUCTION

The chapter does not reinvent the wheel in terms of the multiple uses of literature in education as a socialisation tool that safeguards or negates cultural intangible heritage. It argues that art and its aesthetics in the African worldview remains a crucial entity of intangible heritage as it deals directly with consciousness and value systems that society should valorise, uphold and safeguard. To this end, it would be self-deluding to view both the art and its aesthetics passed on through the school and tertiary systems as void of meaning, neutral and innocent. Using snapshot references to the Zimbabwean broad experiences, it also observes that the education and tertiary systems are subtle tools used to systematically engrave, shape and influence race, class, group, religious, and political consciousness and ideological awareness in society. Education as a socialising tool is a double-edged sword. While it inculcates into some participants and recipients, attitudes and skills to “muster the courage to exercise one’s critical intelligence in order to understand and change one’s self circumstances” (West, 2008: viii), it simultaneously misdirects others and erodes their aspirations. “The so-called school, then, becomes a questionable factor in the life of (a) despised people” (Widdowson, 1933).

Because it deals with mind processes, literature passed on through the school and tertiary systems is more potent than gunships and air-raids. Embedded philosophies therein simultaneously reinforce the ‘proper place’ that individuals should occupy and standards that they should uphold and safeguard. As Magosvongwe (2013: 58) observes, “literature/(art) as a social science is not a disembodied subject. (It constitutes a greater part of any civilisation’s/culture’s value-cum-belief systems, and therefore an integral part of its intangible heritage.) It draws from society and the ideas that it generates also find their way back into society”. This is why it is critical to interrogate what it is that our schools and tertiary systems are passing on. It is how communities and societies have reinvented and transformed themselves over the ages.

For example, Wasamba (2013: 1) argues: “Oral genres in Africa are alive and dynamic. Technology too, is not at a standstill. It is changing rapidly and altering the way verbal art is composed, performed, documented and conveyed to a wider audience.” The art forms that are transmitted through the educational and tertiary systems, especially to

the youths and others in our respective institutions, then, should be critically considered. To check continuous and further “mis-education of the Negro/(African)” (Woodson, 1933), modes of transmission, content, aesthetics and underpinning ideologies cannot be left to chance/conjecture. Conversely, then, accrued benefits or damage, including their long term effects, would remain with our country for the foreseeable future.

The chapter thus examines the invaluable and intangible heritage that is encapsulated and embedded in folklore of classical Africa, the modification of its form, transformation and integration into the present-day literary creative works, transmitted through the school and tertiary systems in Zimbabwe. This is critical because “(t)he battle to hold and expand (Africans’) intellectual turf (for Africa’s renaissance and sustainable development) has been unremitting” (Carruthers, 1999: ix). The intrinsic strategies deployed to socialise and integrate the young into family, institutions, community, and broader society should, thus, never be left to chance. When examining the value and invaluable role that literary creative works embody, the chapter is therefore not necessarily reinventing the wheel. It just seeks to buttress the indispensable role that African art takes towards shaping and influencing consciousness, vision and ultimate destinies that peoples should strive to attain and foster.

SETTING THE PREMISE

The 2016 ALA South East African Languages and Literatures Forum (SEALLF) calls for discussions on how Language, Education, and Liberation in Africa and the African Diaspora can be used as a forte to empower and liberate Africans. Language — its philosophies, traditions and taboos — has always been at the center of interrelationships between individuals, society and culture. Thus, the area calls for considerable interdisciplinary research and the societal and philosophical dynamics that it captures. Using Zimbabwean experiences as the epicenter, the latter explains the interest that the present chapter has in researching and acknowledging “the critical role that African languages and literature have played and continue to play in various facets of people’s lives on the African continent and in the Diaspora. Africa’s multilingualism and multiculturalism represent the continent’s linguistic and cultural richness and they remain critical to Africa’s own development, survival, and liberation” (2016, ALA).

Worth noting in this discussion is that the dispersion of the Africans within and beyond African continental borders entails co-existence with other peoples and cultures. Despite these interfaces and interactions, it is critical to examine the ethnolinguistic treasure that has kept Africans allegiance to their roots, heritage and survival routes. To argue that the area offers a rich opportunity and invaluable wealth in Africans’ quest for sustainable development would thus be an understatement. The need for knowledge preservation, exchange and transfer among and for the Africans’ continued survival can therefore not be over-emphasized. Without situating African languages, their cultures, art forms, folklore, customs and traditions into perspective when charting developmental projects for Africa and Africans can be hazarded to mean ‘de-centering’, ‘de-civilising’ and perpetually disinheriting the continent and its peoples of a rich and invaluable source of wealth, self-determination and dignity. This explains why the present discussion takes a closer look at how African languages, cultures, and literatures as embodied in the folklore traditions, literatures and languages should be seriously considered and fused into education and tertiary curricula in order to establish and

determine how Africans can re-appropriate the original African philosophies to wholly liberate themselves and their lands. This can be successfully achieved through knowledge transfer and 'literacy' among Africans with a view to promoting peaceable co-existence, radiating outwards from the hearth to respective local communities, locally, regionally, internationally and globally.

African folklore as enshrined in communally-owned folktales, proverbs, idioms and related socio-culturally-inscribed taboos dealt with the psychology, mind, intellect and spirit from infancy right through to adulthood. Life was a learning process from the cradle to the grave, hence the different genres of folklore enchanted to chime in well with respective stages of development, especially as enshrined in Shona folklore traditions. Its role has not changed. P' Bitek (1986) delves deep into enunciating the roles and responsibilities of the African artist in the African worldview — to legislate society. The game is to decisively deal with the spiritual and intellectual inner persons in order to safeguard and foster continual collective survival from a vantage point. With socio-spiritual consciousness inculcated from infancy, then, allegiance to ideological and philosophical persuasions were almost a given. The psycho-intellectual-spiritual outlook undergirding a people's culture/civilisation was therefore almost always guaranteed for generations. This is what magically kept communities philosophically and conceptually glued trans-generationally.

However, that literary creativity, innovation, originality and versatility, like the folklore tradition, continues shaping and influencing attitudes, beliefs, ideological persuasion and consciousness, cannot be doubted. To this end, P'Bitek (1986) argues that artists in the African worldview, especially that they are participants and stockholders/stakeholders, are rulers and legislators of their communities. From the foregoing premise, that, indeed artists, particularly literary inventors, make invaluable contributions towards influencing the philosophical and ideological direction that society should take, including aesthetical preservation and invention, is hardly contestable. This is how classical African societies have managed to self-regenerate, self-police, self-censor and self-preserve (Chihuri, 2016: 1-54). This also explains the venerated cliché, "catch them young" that is ritualised in practical daily experiences through approaches to education. The latter is a sure and potent tool in the making and shaping of minds.

The present discussion therefore compares the psycho-intellectual effect of traditional folk narratives in shaping individuals' life outlook, formation and appreciation of values as part of a celebrated and venerated invaluable intangible heritage. The discussion also acknowledges the shifts in packaging and format, especially how the intellectual influences that the present-day African literature canon has on shaping conceptions and perceptions about individual and collective identities, dignity and humanity, as well as contribution thereto. Worth noting from the outset is that wittingly or unwittingly, the present-day literary output, including its consumption, makes unquantifiable inroads towards preserving or breaking Africa's intangible heritage perpetually.

In view of the critical role and envisioned responsibility that the traditional African artist was charged with towards packaging, selling and transmitting people's intangible heritage, present-day African artists cannot divest themselves of such a responsibility. Therefore, the packaging of fictional narratives' subject matter, embedded societal

concerns, aspirations, and moral vision, including the envisaged outcomes, become central in this chapter's analysis of how the contemporary creative writers can contribute towards safeguarding Africa's intangible heritage. This is how Classical Greek and other western societies have succeeded in preserving their respective civilisations that are fundamentally instrumental towards retaining western hegemony in other parts of the world today.

THE INDISPENSABLE CRITICAL CULTURAL LINK

African literary outputs should not be divest of principal African values/philosophies. Outputs steeped in other civilisations and values that are contrary to African self-preservation, would be both self-destructive and morally irresponsible. This is especially critical in view of the fact that most of these 'good' fictional narratives end up finding their way into the school and tertiary systems. As intimated earlier, cumulatively speaking, our schools and tertiary systems are fundamentally indispensable in intellectually shaping the minds of the continent's inhabitants. "For example, (if) much of Africa has been conquered and subjugated to (civilise and) save souls, how expensive has been the (African)/Negro's salvation!" (Widdowson, 1933: 132). Misrepresentations, misinterpretations and misinformation that the education and tertiary institutions inculcate create formidable consciousness that can permanently maim and dis/empower peoples for generations. The much-desired sustainable human and social development, peace, tolerance, unity of purpose, togetherness, security and stability, now and in the future, cannot magically implant themselves.

In this vein, it is critical, for instance, to explore how issues of identity, loosely referred to as group/individual cultural belongingness deriving from connectedness with the land and its traditions and values as generally regarded in the African worldview are projected and depicted by the various Zimbabwean writers across languages. Again, what memory as encapsulated in our folklore/literature and nomenclature is being transmitted from generation to generation through the school system that has largely replaced traditional socialisation modes? Which language is used in the socialisation process, and whose and which values are valorised and to what end? These intricately intertwined questions are critical in the phenomenal debates about self-preservation, identity, and destinies that people eventually master for themselves.

Scholars such as Talib (2002) and Ngugi wa Thiongo (2009) among others, continuously raise debates about language as the indispensable granary that embodies and preserves a people's cultural memory and identity. Nomenclature and naming, that are largely ethnographically based, constitute one linguistic tool for preserving cultural memory that has withstood the test of time. In a paper presented at the 2009 Zimbabwe International Book Fair Association (ZIBFA) Indaba, Magosvongwe explored how best our people's literacy can be measured. She likened the educated elite to Okot p' Bitek's Ocol in *Song of Lawino* and *Song of Ocol*. Ocol's inability to adapt and aptly apply western education in an African environment makes him a caricature, and therefore a misfit in his family, community and environment. Ocol could be likened to some educated elite's misapplied abilities and competences expended on memorising foreign theories and trying to apply them wholesale in an unsuitable African environment and cultural set-up. Borrowing p' Bitek's image, in her presentation Magosvongwe lampoons uncritical aping whereby people cram their minds with theories, principles, philosophies and

visions that are antithetical and tangential to their own existential and survival conditions. P' Bitek's *Song of Lawino* symbolically likens this to 'crushing one's own manhood' or exterminating the seed that carries one into the future. In this regard, literacy levels that are 'bookish' and divorced from problem-solving and self-preservation become not only too costly, but irrelevant since education should generally aim at improving the quality of human life.

For continual survival and self-preservation, Africans should therefore be conversant in the values and philosophies that distinguish them as a people. This is the unique contribution that they can offer. This is what the traditional folklore, in its simplicity, is all about — close acquaintance with one's moral and physical geography. In the traditional society, one needed not to go far to learn. The natural school was embedded in the traditions surrounding interdependence with and preservation of the immediate environments that included rivers, streams, dams, springs, fountains, wells, mountains, hills, valleys, plains, plateaus, animals, birds, forests, trees even (if they are to survive the current rampant deforestation that has been sanctioned by individual 'freedoms'). The latter was extended to include histories and traditions of own clans, families, villages and other cultural institutions that ensured social cohesion and mutual dependence. Worth noting is that the physiological environment as depicted in folklore and other cultural traditions has labyrinthine connections with people's spirituality and conceptions of identity, potential and vision of life that cumulatively cannot be measured in material terms.

Outside the field of onomastics, Magosvongwe reinforces the view that Shona names tell a story about their lived experiences and about the place that they occupy, their reality — things that are relevant in their lives and their focus about the future. They succinctly encapsulate the "*sarungano* story-telling tradition and literary criticism (that) is as old as humanity itself" (Kahari, 2009: 389). They preserve knowledge that defines who we are — that classical knowledge that is being fast-tracked out of the reach of many through other popular systems of education that society has embraced in response to contemporary demands. Take for example our indigenous knowledge about fauna and flora, insects, birds and other creation that we share our world with, was critical in regulating relationships with others and the environment. If revived in earnest, this aspect of intangible cultural heritage could help salvage the waning efforts to conserve and respect nature in general.

Because of the colonial legacy of massive land displacements, dispossessions and removals (Palmer, 1977; Thomas, 1996; Mungoshi, 1975; Chigara, 2004; 2012a; 2012b), mostly young generations have difficulties tuning their minds and relating in a personal way with their geophysical environment. Because of their forebears' subjugation, many have long been uprooted and transplanted into alien physical and intellectual places that they can hardly relate with. This tragedy is further compounded by the nature of education that reinforces and consolidates spaces — that people should occupy. For example, the knowledge that the singing of a certain species of birds; animal behaviours like their sounds and mating patterns; insect chirrups; moon and star formations; and even vegetation patterns across certain periods, can actually be used to foretell impending weather patterns like rains/flood, or drought. This knowledge has been either suppressed/pushed to the periphery; or thrown away as backward and 'unprogressive', and lost.

Yet, today massive investments are made in researches on climate change. If such traditional indigenous knowledge could be preserved and integrated into science and cultural studies, chances are that conservation and sustainable human/social development would most likely talk to people's real life experiences and cultural outlook. The UNESCO shift in policy on preservation and safeguarding of cultural intangible heritage is a welcome development. To this end, African universities, researchers and writers in Africa, should embrace the development and make every conceivable effort to acquaint themselves with the cultures and values of the communities that they are supposed to serve. This is how relevance is achieved. A 'correctionist' approach to education and our literatures in schools should include African ways of 'knowing', 'reading' and 'understanding' values relating to the individual, family, community, society and the world. Clarke (1999: 35) rightly argues: "What we are going to have to do is to reclaim those things that belong to us, ... and we must learn some lessons from history that lead to our liberation. We must locate ourselves on the maps of human geography."

Without acknowledging and recognising how the respective African communities inscribe values, memory, self-definition and life's outlook, all labyrinthine aspects of intangible heritage, education and tertiary institutions' approaches to learning, teaching and research would further entrench the widening schisms that separate the 'modern' day African from his intangible heritage. In essence, the very basis of "civilising and humanising those" (Carruthers, 1999: 26) for which such institutions are established would be severely undermined, unless the converse is true in which case these subversive nuances should be dealt a blow. Over time, this is how self-consciousness, cohesion and stability have been partly preserved and safeguarded in most communities and nation states. Mind and memory form an essential element of any people's consciousness, also revealing identities, dreams, aspirations and destinies.

Ngugi (2009a: 59) has this to say in terms of conceptions of 'landmarks', 'places' and memory:

Even at the very simple level of our daily experience, we get excited when we visit, say, the place we were born, and recall the various landmarks of our childhood. Sometimes we feel a sense of loss when we find that the place no longer holds any traces of what it once meant to us.

The ethnography of place in shaping consciousness can thus be hardly ignored. In practical terms, what it means is that daily survival and spatial presence, naming and occupation are by nature not just material, but also political. The politics of survival can therefore not be estranged from the intangible cultural heritage that undergirds a people's sense of being, beliefs, systems and values. The latter point calls to mind Mashiri's (2010) article where he defines and describes a country with four names — Southern Rhodesia, Rhodesia, Zimbabwe-Rhodesia and Zimbabwe to show the importance embedded in inscriptions and place names and the memory that they carry. Un/wittingly in the said article, Mashiri projects ideological or consciousness contestations surrounding land and belongingness and the values that such naming embodies, especially whose agenda and memory such nomenclature advances. As Pobebe (2014: 14) rightly observes, "When you talk of memory, we are revisiting our identity", which is a critical component of intangible heritage. How best such intangible heritage can be safeguarded cannot be left to chance. Pobebe (2014: 14) avers: "Without memory

of our history and experiences which constitute our memory and identity, we run the risk of shipwreck and going astray". This explains why it is critical for people to appreciate their intangible cultural identity, nurture and safeguard it.

OUR LITERATURE AND LANGUAGES

Now coming to our writers, artistic images as part of memory, consciousness and self-awareness are a matter of concern to every critic. How African writers and ourselves name and package the experiences that constitute an essential element about who we are and how we envision ourselves; constitute an essential part of our being in the world. It also informs how we get to where we should go, the path that we should follow, and what we should become. Ngugi argues that language constitutes 'discovery' and 'recovery' as was the case with the European Renaissance (Ngugi, 2009b: 62). "Language is an index and measure of identity... more than syntax and morphology; is the weight of a worldview and culture" (Pobee, 2014: 28). This chapter similarly argues that the language and literatures of our communities and societies encapsulate memory/consciousness, constituting one critical element of Africa's, and indeed Zimbabwe's, intangible heritage. Concerning the centrality of language in self-discovery and self-recovery during the European Renaissance Ngugi (2009b: 62) observes:

By *discovery* I don't mean the voyages of exploration and conquests or the creation of colonial otherness, but, rather, Europe's encounter with its own languages...the movement through which the literary languages of the various European peoples finally shook off Latin. Before this, Latin had occupied a position not too dissimilar from that occupied by European languages in Africa today: (I)t was virtually the sole vehicle of intellectual life and written communication...a foreign language that had to be learned...cut off from the spoken language.

If Africans are serious about having an African Renaissance the first anchor/port of call should be discovering and recovering their cultures as embodied in their local languages. Some critics could be quick to ask how the above preceding arguments relate to African Literature that the title foregrounds. They are rightfully justified. Language encapsulates ways of seeing, reading, relating with, and understanding one's relationship with self and the broader social and ethno-physiological surroundings. Naturally, these cannot be divest from how people want to distinguish themselves and how they should relate among themselves, as well as with the broader world beyond their geophysical, cultural and intellectual boundaries.

Language and Literature become labyrinthine twins in this regard leading to looking into the question of how language as 'recovery' and 'discovery' relate to African literature as part of intangible heritage passed on in the Zimbabwean educational and tertiary institutions. Language constitutes an integral part of self-identity, self-knowing, self-naming and self-description in the family of humankind. For all practical intents and purposes, then, from a cultural standpoint, renouncing one's own language and claiming another's as one's very own, would, thus symbolically imply thrashing one's identity, being and consciousness.

It is common knowledge that language partially constitutes self-knowing. It has its sacrileges and taboos within the given culture, a reflection of intrinsic values that

distinguish and identify a group of people. Thus, inability to use one's language could also imply inability to relate with self and live meaningfully with others in the particular cultural community and environment that one should identify with. Ironically, this intrinsic part of intangible heritage cannot be traded with the incumbents hoping to self-preserve and continue into the future as a people. Without self-knowing, we are, but a soulless people, groping in the dark.

Our African literatures can therefore enrich themselves by drawing from the local African idiom that is closer to the reality and demands of respective unique African contexts, experiences and aspirations. Such language, idiom and form has greater potential to renew and enhance African intellectual life and written communication, especially if examined using African lenses and conceptualisation of what good literature constitutes. Using other people's lenses often leads to "misrepresentation and misinterpretation of African people's lives. (The latter in turn) undermines Africa's sustainable development, considering that such (lenses) arise from foreign cultures and worldviews which more often than not are inimical to Africa's development" (Makwavarara, 2016: 32). To this end, the synergy between language and African Literature as disseminated through the education and tertiary institutions is critical towards the much-desired African Renaissance, social transformation and trans-generational memory.

The latter takes the discussion to the key to understanding a people's soul and philosophy of life which can best be done through studying their literature, especially that which is in their local languages. The issue of the use of African languages to express African experience and enhance African self-worthiness and pride has attracted the attention of African scholars like Ngugi wa Thiongo (2009a; 2009b) and Chinweizu, Jemie and Madubuike (1985). Language, particularly its images and idioms that derive from distilled wisdom from lived experiences, is the granary that safeguards memory and values that partly constitute a people's identity and desired destiny. It becomes tricky to talk about memory in language without talking about memory in literature because the two appear to be inseparable twins. Also, to talk about literature and its functional uses in society from an Afro-centric perspective is to talk about intergenerational transmission of intangible cultural heritage, shared values, cherished vision and desired destiny etched in a people's memory as encapsulated in their local languages. Indispensable and intricately intertwined, then, the two — language and literature — bear the people's individual and collective memory.

African literature constitutes a site of trans-generational memory as intangible heritage and its transmission. Yet, it also constitutes a contested site of contradictions. On one hand, it represents the vigour, creativity, imagination, ideas, desired ethics, aesthetic vibration and impetus for growth and renewal, especially as part of decolonisation and deconstruction of colonial ideologies that undergird the neo-colonial impetus characteristic of post-independence Africa. On the other hand, it represents the tensions, contradictions, anxieties and conflicts that have the potential to gnaw at the core of the people's conscience, cherished values and ideals and undermine social fabric without which stability and sustainable social and human development can be achieved. African literature as a forte, then, has the potential to ignite the fires of re-discovery, discovery and recovery of classical knowledge that is critical for "restoration of humanity to the world" (Clarke, 1999: 34) and modernising Africa (Rukuni, 2007: 111).

In delving into African Literature as intangible heritage, if well-managed and thoughtfully designed, the chapter argues that post-independence Africa cannot modernise on the basis of borrowed philosophies and technologies that dispense with the local philosophy of life, languages and memory. Yet, research in Zimbabwe's African languages literatures has pointed at the preponderance of literary images that are distanced from the lived experiences of the African people (Chiwome, 2002; Chiwome and Mguni, 2012, Furusa, 2003). This comes as no surprise considering the establishment of a state censorship board in the form of the Rhodesia Literature Bureau, whose major responsibility was to promote the publication of literature that would not ruffle government feathers. The end result was an emphasis on formal aspect of literature, at the expense of philosophical issues that point at a people's identity and their central concerns. That culture, which developed into self-censorship, is unfortunately very much alive, as the post-independence dispensation conveniently inherited it to ensure the non-publication of subversive literature which is perceived as being inimical to the interests and therefore the continued existence of the political and economic elite. Unfortunately, government interests do not necessarily translate to those of the generality of citizens. The challenge of the contemporary writer therefore is to produce literature that confronts "a novelistic tradition (born, bred and nurtured in the colonial period) which was silent on contemporary socio-political crises" (Chiwome, 2002: 38).

A LEAF PLUCKED FROM INDIGENOUS AFRICAN FOLKLORE

It is important to note and acknowledge the invaluable role that trans-generational transmission of consciousness and memory was fostered through folklore in families, villages and communities (Finnegan, 2012; Kahari, 2009). Folklore and the language in which memory is encapsulated and packaged is an essential tool that countries and nations continue to use to safeguard memory as an irreplaceable asset constituting any people's intangible heritage. In traditional communities of yesteryear, folklore was culturally used to instill values, agency, creativity, cultural awareness, and historical memory trans-generationally "because culture counts and cultural identity is what is most meaningful to most people" (Huntington, 2002: 20). Gambahaya and Muwati (2010) show the vibrancy of Tonga oral literature in the form of songs, and how this literature is the storehouse for Tonga memory, and hence a continued source of inspiration.

Culturally, as shown in fables, folktales and oral poetry, society's attitudes and individual extreme conduct/behaviour could be exhorted using satiric images (Finnegan, 2012). Further, its use of animal characters in far-away countries/lands, in some timeless epoch. For instance, "*Kare kare kwazvo, kune nyika iri kure kure, mhuka nemiti zvichataura, makomo nenzizi zvichafamba, vanhu nemhuka zvichakumbidzana moto, kuroorana nekusvutidzana fodya*" (Long, long ago, in far-away lands, when animals and trees would speak, when mountains and rivers would move, when people and animals would lend fire to one another, as well as marrying and exchanging snuff, trained the target audience not just to imagine and recreate, but to also self-introspect because no human names, or specific localities were used. George Fortune's *Ngano Volumes One and Two* offer good examples. Ironically, these sources usually used in studies on Shona traditional literature, but only at Advanced Level, seem not to be available to primary school and lower secondary school pupils. It is regrettable that this wide constituency is not readily exposed to this rich socialising tool in the absence of the traditional story-tellers found in yesteryear grandparents and mothers.

The far-away lands and distant experiences could be transposed onto the moral geography and cultural needs of contemporary communities to re-form social fabric without causing discernible offense. The fable/folktale becomes a site for moral reconstruction. The timelessness of the folktales also provided an all-time tool that could be appropriated for collective censure and up-building by any member of the family/community. No human being was also untouchable in these stories. *VanaShumba/Osilwane/Lions* and *vanaNzou/oNdlovu/Elephants*, naturally kings of the jungle and therefore fearsome, received censure through recreated incapacity to subdue little creatures like *masvosve/ubunyonyo/ants* and *vanakamba/ofudu/tortoises* in the folktales and fables, for example. The world of the folktale therefore acknowledges human weaknesses irrespective of class or ethnic group.

Naturally, human nature is defensive and digs in when directly confronted, so folklore used indirect, but loaded images to bring wayward individuals, including errant leadership into line. Fables about *Tsuro naGudo/Umvundla loNdwangu/Hare* and Baboon could check untoward behaviour in subtle ways unlike the direct confrontation embedded in most 'modern' literature. 'Modern' writers who are patent holders to their creativity, and award winners at international competition platforms could pluck a leaf or two from the image-construction and packaging afforded in oral literature. Ngugi wa Thiongo's *Matigari* and George Orwell's *Animal Farm* offer good examples of such timeless fables. Depictions in these fables, images and language capture lived reality with its complexities in subtle, yet bold form to rein in society on abuse of office and privilege driven by self-aggrandisement. The depictions show the triumph of creative imagination, celebrating values of togetherness, oneness, unity, honesty, transparency, hard work, focus and commitment to collective survival to reinvigorate cultural renaissance, while at the same time exposing pitfalls of avarice, corruption, selfish ambition, egotism, strong-headedness, forgetfulness about past collective lived realities and present societal demands, and also deliberate departure from social accountability and social responsibility by centres of power.

In the area of form and complexity, Ngugi's *Matigari* appropriates the oral tradition forms, establishing continuity with established traditional story-telling trends, images, packaging, and yet still manages to capture specific historical realities within a given African socio-cultural, political, economic and financial post-independence context. Ngugi wa Thiongo addresses the real issues as far as the ordinary people are concerned — issues of subsistence, sustainable livelihoods, resources redistribution and mobilisation in a post-independence context, land redistribution and care for vulnerable women and children. Ngugi wa Thiongo is not reinventing the wheel. His creative imagination recognises the essential cultural link that appears elusive in the emerging literatures of the post-independence era. Integration of artistic creativity and imagination, and cultural demands of our African societies is critical.

Pede Hollist's *So the Path does not Die* (2012) shows similar sensitivity to integrating and subtly weaving artistic creativity with cultural demands and expectations. Hollist and Ngugi wa Thiongo are critically aware of the values and traditions of their respective cultural centers from which they draw images, advancing and advocating an African cause for their respective communities and the African society at large. Despite being geographically distant from their respective countries and traditional homes, and conscious of the geophysical displacements that many an African has lived through for

a myriad reasons and causes, their writings offer trans-generational dialogue and memory by revisiting cultural routes and roots that can empower individuals and communities to consciously confront the challenges of their respective generations. Their writings demonstrate that criticism that is not culturally grounded in terms of technique could raise excellent and pertinent thematic issues, but still miss the desired goals because it misses the cultural expectations of the target audience — (*Tisu vanaani? Zvinokosheswa nevanhu zvii? Magariro edu neukama hwedu zvinoti kudii? Tinoda kuzovei mune ranhasi neramangwana?*/Who are we? What are our values as a people? What does our social engineering hold dear? What destiny do we envisage for ourselves as a people?).

Hollist (2012: v) writes:

Villagers sit under their tree according to the shade it casts. Only a fool...cuts down the baobab in her/his village and replaces it with one from the neighbouring village. If the tree does not die, the shade it casts changes and the village changes forever.

Loosely rendered in Shona, Hollist's message to a black Zimbabwean audience would sound like: *Tisu vanani? Zvatinokoshesa sevanhu vatema zvii? Magariro edu neukama zvinoti kudii? Tinoda kuzovei mune remangwana redu nerevana vedu?* (Who are we? What life values are essential for our continued survival as blacks? What do these values say about our relationships, links and ties? What and where do we wish to be now and in future, and that of our progeny?). Poebe (2014: 16) argues:

To appreciate our identity (identities), we must bless our origins... In the exploration we build on the achievements of our forebears. The African disease of denouncing and destroying the contributions and achievements of forebears is not healthy and conducive to creative work and healthy development. You do not affirm yourself by denouncing and denying the other person and identity.

To this end, whilst it is good to borrow from other cultural centers when it comes to artistic creativity and imagination, it is foolhardy to discard one's cultural center. Cultural context and applicability should never be missed if maximum dividends are to be achieved from artistic creativity and literature. From an African-cultural perspective, Gambahaya (1999: 4) argues: "Artistic excellence is measured in terms of the appropriateness of techniques in building an image" with a view to reaching out and addressing real needs while at the same time keeping relationships and society functional. Armah (1973: 205) warns against the carnage wrought in blindly embracing newness for its own sake:

Dangers like the headiness of too quick, abundant faith from those too long sold to despair, the pull of old habits from destruction's empire; the sour possibility of people helping each other turning in times of difficulty into people using each other to create a selfish ease.

Similarly, Magosvongwe (2013: 46) citing Huntington (2002) observes that Huntington explores the current clashes between the West and the Moslem world as a clash of cultural identities that have seen peoples creating enemies and adopting alliances in

the interest of collective survival. Huntington (2002: 20) argues that “cultural identities, which at the broadest level are civilisation identities, are shaping the patterns of cohesion, disintegration, and conflict in the post-Cold War world”. He further argues: “In the post-Cold War world, the most important distinctions among peoples are not ideological, political, or economic. They are cultural” (Huntington, 2002: 21). Cultural preferences, commonalities and desired destinies advance any people’s interests and their identities.

Thus, missing this fundamental truth on the part of authors of African literature as creators and keepers of memory culminates in unquantifiable losses. For example, what defines wealth and prosperity in the African worldview does not necessarily collude with what defines wealth and success in a different cultural context and worldview. Respect, discipline, love, family, hard work, honesty, social accountability and responsibility and honouring one’s roots define wealth. Ironically, it is by these attributes from the traditional African cultural barometer that prosperity in an African context is measured. Our prosperity is therefore loaded with meaning, for ourselves, and not for those from alien village(s)/alien cultural centres. As Kahari (2009: 392) concludes: “There is, therefore, an interaction between the kind of social world represented and techniques of the fiction which presents it”.

THE DESIRED MISSING LINK IN POST-INDEPENDENCE AFRICAN LITERATURES AND ITS DISSEMINATION

Whose memory do the literatures generated for most of our country’s education and tertiary institutions bear? Further, how is this memory created and nurtured? After almost a century of conditioning, Africans appear to be resigned to a situation whereby educational institutions have remained the major vehicles for the transmission of memory that either build or undermine African interests and African dignity. For example, reading the *Sunrise Readers*¹ Books 1-20 by V. Jenkins and C. Lewis that forms the anchor of supplementary English reading and vocabulary training and learning in most former Group A and other public schools, one senses a subtle “planting of European memory in Africa” (Ngugi, 2009b: 1-22) through the stock images that stereotypical characters depict. It is so apparent who the land-owners and who the labourers are. In the series, agents are the white characters. They are owners of land and property. David and Jenny are the ones who visit their grandparents’ farm at the weekends while Chipu and Tatenda wait to listen to and learn about the adventures and activities at the farm. Very subtly, and with long-lasting effects, stereotypes of white land-ownership and African

¹ Jenkins, V. and Lewis, C. *Sunrise Book Series Books 1-20*. The series was commissioned in 1986 by Longman Publishers, with the approval of the then Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education, to meet the needs of L2 speakers in the country. The then existing Ladybird series was “too foreign” in its content and most Zimbabwean children could not identify with the experiences and cultural values promoted by them. *Sunrise Readers Book 7 A present for Tatenda; Sunrise Readers Book 8 David’s News; Sunrise Readers Book 5 At the Farm; Sunrise Readers Book 11 Grandfather’s Farm; Sunrise Readers Book 3 My Bicycle*, show the white characters as agents and owners of land and property. Further, playthings like bicycles are gendered. In the African worldview, focus is on roles and responsibilities within family and community set-ups. The big question on my mind is what cultural values are being promoted by *My Bicycle*, let alone the other Sun Rise Books?

consumerism are reinforced. African land and African labour benefit the other, while the African remains the labourer and the dependent consumer.

The reality that the images recreate is that whites are not only land-owners and producers, but also the think-tanks behind a successful agriculture-based economy. The images in these readers, ironically, buttress this 'reality' that millions of school children unconsciously regurgitate intellectually. Educationists tell us that children in early years of Primary education are very impressionable. By extension, most children in public and private schools are therefore ideologically caught/trained to respect whiteness and English when they are very young. And attitudes so developed are likely to persist throughout their lives. Ngugi (2009a: 57) laments: "(F)ear not those who kill the body but those who kill the spirit". Despite being politically independent, the question of consciousness in post-independent Zimbabwe, and Africa in general, remains a site of intense struggle.

Wittingly or unwittingly, the memory that our country's education and tertiary institutions carry has undermined not only the indigenous institutions and values that glue our society into one cohesive whole, but also the very essence of our being as an African people. This is where, when and how we lose our collective memory if we continue not to tread with caution. However, some critics may beg to differ, asking: What has memory to do with intangible heritage? Yet, others may still ask: In whose image are we raising our progeny to become? This is where we win or lose the battle for memory, identity and being/humanness. Bedtime stories, nursery rhymes, readers' series at ECD and primary schools, set-readers and literature fictional works at lower and upper secondary school, and finally the reading materials in our tertiary and professional training institutions all cumulatively build the memory we wish to nurture and cherish as an African people. A simple question then arises: From which source and from which cultural centre are these materials incubated, with what underlying philosophy of life and ideology, and packaged in what form of images? This aspect of Africa's intangible heritage cannot be left to chance to incubate, nurture and develop on its own accord haphazardly without conscious monitoring and deliberate safeguarding strategies. Most Teacher Training Colleges in Zimbabwe are affiliated to the University of Zimbabwe, with graduates receiving certificates from the same University. Impliedly, University of Zimbabwe has been actively involved in curriculum development, setting benchmarks, quality assurance, monitoring and evaluation of programmes at these respective colleges. These efforts remain invaluable.

Furthermore, whilst it was and is noble that the national examinations body, Zimbabwe Schools Examinations Council (ZIMSEC), weaned itself from collaboration with the University of Cambridge as mentor and quality assurance body, ZIMSEC should seriously consider being affiliated to a local university for purposes of quality assurance monitoring, ideological mentorship and accountability. Examination bodies are by nature necessarily ideologically pitched and are designed to safeguard the memory of their respective centres of power, nation, and principal institutions. In the case of Zimbabwe, with the considerable lull of the Curriculum Development Unit (CDU) since the 1990s, ZIMSEC's ideology as an examination body is left to be interpreted by each institution, each educator and each teacher's whims. It is critical that education policy articulates clearly what values institutions ought to inculcate, how, and where these should come from, in line with the needs and vision that society should meet and achieve respectively.

The ideological and philosophical bases of literature and other subjects therefore call for serious re-evaluation in line with the growing demands of a decolonising society that should recreate itself, like ours. It is common knowledge that, of critical significance in any education system as a socialising tool, are the early stages of value-formation in life. This is when people should be well-rooted in their intangible cultural heritage that will become an inalienable companion and guide as they navigate their way throughout life:

Teach a child the way he should go when he is still young, when he grows he will not depart from it (King James Version Bible Proverbs 22 verse 6).

As a nation we are forgetting this basic principle. We have lost our traditional institutions, and we have no desire and perhaps no capacity to explore them, because we have no cultural rootedness. As a result it becomes a challenge to come up with anything that takes us into the future as a people — as a collective.

CONCLUSION

This discussion on Africa's intangible heritage on intergenerational memory as identity can just, but rightly end with the invaluable exhortation from Ayi Kweyi Armah's timeless novel, *Two Thousand Seasons*:

There is no beauty but in relationships. Nothing cut off by itself is beautiful. Never can things in destructive relationships be beautiful. All beauty is in the creative purpose of our relationships; all ugliness is in the destructive aims of the destroyers' arrangements. The mind that knows this, the destroyers will set traps for it, but the destroyers' traps will never hold that mind. The group that knows this and works knowing this, that group itself is a work of beauty, creation's work. Against such a group the destroyers will set traps for the body, traps for the heart, traps to destroy the mind. Such a group none of the destroyers' traps can hold (Armah, 1973: 206).

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Chapter Fourteen

Listening to Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* Speaking to Africa: An Open-minded Approach

Sheunesu Mandizvidza and Tanaka Chidora

INTRODUCTION

Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* and the land question in Zimbabwe have both been victims of monolithic scholarship. Conrad is viewed, and with reason too, as "a bloody racist" (Achebe, 1975), yet that is far from being his whole story in the novel. In the same vein, discourse on the land in Zimbabwe has insisted on the centrality of transferring land ownership to the black majority, but has been largely silent when it comes to dealing with the unwritten and written values of human relationships that are enacted on that land. Consequently, having land without taking a cue from Conrad's (unfortunately racist) portrayal of the value of invisible and visible institutions of human relationships is tantamount to turning the land from a blessing into a curse. This chapter argues that *Heart of Darkness* can be rightly read as a warning from a foreign/white 'mad man' on the importance of those intangible and tangible institutions that govern human relationships and conduct. While a study of institutions is mainly concerned with the visible ones like law enforcement, justice, decision-making bodies, state, church and family, this chapter posits that even those invisible institutions that make one accountable to his/her neighbours are equally important. While getting back the land is crucial, the retrieval of a people's value systems is equally as important. Equally important are tangible systems that enforce accountability on people and respect for the values enshrined in these invisible systems. Only then can land cease to be a curse.

BRIEF BACKGROUND TO THE LAND QUESTION IN ZIMBABWE

The colonisation of Africa (colonialism) has left an indelible mark on the physical, human and economic geographies of the continent. The plunder of natural resources on Africa's physical geography has transformed the lush green hills into the 'red hills of home' and in the process telling the black people that 'this is home no more' in multivalent ways (Chenjerei Hove, *Red Hills of Home*, 1985). During colonialism, the black indigenes of the continent were reduced to 'waiting', both literally and symbolically, 'for the rain' (Charles Mungoshi, *Waiting for the Rain*, 1975). Land has featured prominently in many discourses as the most central issue to account for the prevailing conditions during that time. This was rightly so because everything of import happens on the land. If this is so, it then follows that alienation from that land was bound to have grave consequences on the black people whose livelihoods mostly depended on it. The most timeworn example of such consequences in Zimbabwean Literature is Mungoshi's Manyene in *Waiting for the Rain* and its ennuï-ridden inhabitants whose displacement from their land to a colonially created reserve takes away from them the necessary space to exercise their agency.

Having failed to realise Rhodes' dream of a Second Rand in the region, whites turned to the next best thing, the land, in the process making it the Magna Carta to racial economic domination (Palmer, 1977; Moyana, 2002). This injustice set up land to be the decisive factor in both the attendant ruptures to afflict the country and also in any possible solution to these same problems. Such a state of things had to be changed through a revolution that, ironically, is said not to have ended on the eve of African independence. This is ostensibly true because 'independent' African nations had to endure extended periods of neo-colonialism, which, simply put, means a continuation of colonial imbalances (chief of them being land, and by extension, economic imbalances in the Zimbabwean situation) with black watch-men as puppets of absent colonial masters, or in some cases black people, not in themselves puppets, who behave in the same way as the departed colonial master. This argument is also a well-worn one with prominent practitioners like Kwame Nkrumah and Ngugi waThiong'o.

One fact that one would come across in the discourse of land in Zimbabwe is that the land is the economy. Further to that, he who has land has the economy, a position that successive Rhodesian settler regimes have entrenched and legislated (Ranger, 1970; Moyo and Yeros, 1995). To make matters worse, what was introduced as economy in Africa was a capitalist economy (capitalism) which was and continues to be segregationist (Astrow, 1983; Rodney, 1973). Zimbabwe was no different, and having crossed over to independence with a capitalist agrarian system as its economic backbone, the country had the unenviable position of at times ignoring this injustice of skewed land ownership for the sake of the state's stability and prosperity, while all the time aware of its enervating effects on the majority, landless blacks. Historically then, land has been used to entrench hegemony of settler establishments; it has been a tool for the pursuance of oft selfish, self-serving interests which had little to do with beneficiating the needy majority.

The question is how far this has persisted and how far the independent Zimbabwean government's efforts to change this have gone? Colonialism and global inequalities are the most conspicuous examples of the pernicious consequences of capitalism. In this state of affairs, Africa (unfortunately) is at the lower end of those inequalities. However, it is also true to say that inequalities within Africa also exist and to expect the ordinary African to believe that his poverty is due to 'global inequalities' is to ask for too much, especially when he sees some of his own living a life 'immune' from those inequalities.

DEALING WITH PRESENT REALITIES: THEORY AND/OR PRACTICE

It is in this context of neo-colonialism and an 'empty' independence that Africa has to deal with a glaring irony: it is endowed with both natural and human resources (some of whom are moving out of Africa in what is called the brain drain). Yet, the gap between potential and performance remains discouraging. Of course, a number of factors can be readily availed to explain this disparity and deflect blame from Africa's own people. Ironically, despite acknowledging these factors which hinder Africa's development, as many reasons for the failure to realise Africa's potential can also be traced back to the African people themselves. However, a few encouraging examples of positive performance can be found if we do not resort to emotions and also if we do not stay angry and bitter for too long.

The answer partly lies in restoring what the coloniser has done and continues to do on the human geography of Africa. The human geography is the most warped. In a scathing attack on independent African leaders, Achebe (1984: 1) contends that "The trouble with Nigeria is simply and squarely a failure of leadership". Granted, as noted earlier, there are other factors besides leadership to explain the situation Africa is in now; but Achebe helps critics to start introspection, to start looking inward first to what Africans themselves have failed to do, and to what they can do, to shape Africa's destiny. It is a wonder how a century of colonialism (with its associated mental colonialism) can make people forget who they are and what their ways are like! (Armah, *Two Thousand Seasons*, 1985).

The coloniser is said to have taken the African culture, thrown it onto the dung heap and thereafter introduced his own as the **the** culture. In this, Africans in most cases have been complicit, lapping up the new ways while relegating their own (Oyono, 1966; Achebe, 1974; Mungoshi, 1975). It was a systematic mental annihilation where missionaries performed more efficiently than mercenaries, where Bibles 'out-killed' bullets, and where prayers overshadowed prisons in rehabilitating the African to the ways of the European (Chidora, 2013). Contrary to its avowed intention to save the African, Christianity used the Bible to 'save', but only to 'kill' thereafter, both physically and psychologically (Samkange, 1975).

The church's role in people's lives is as an extension of such imperial designs. Instead of helping, instances of the church abetting exploitation abound: the Chishawasha missionaries in the person of the Father Superior were cruel and much afraid than even the armed settlers, and the church's actions were the catalyst to the death of African value systems (Vambe, 1972). African efforts to withstand this onslaught could not have been helped by the attractiveness of the new ways, especially during colonialism, what with the attendant princely economic positions, an adoption of the new ways would guarantee relative to the penury the majority of black people had to endure. From the top end where Babamukuru the mission headmaster drives a car and can give his family a decent meal to attack daily with forks and knives (Dangarembga, 1988), to the lower end where Chisaga and Toundi feed on the leftovers, but are still way better than everyone else around them (Hove, 1988; Oyono, 1966), black people are lured into white ways. Relevant too, at this moment, is to accept that African 'ways' were themselves not perfect and did push the people to new ways as is the case with Achebe's *Arrow of God* (1964).

Fanon's discourses (*The Wretched of the Earth*, 1961); Rodney's argumentations (*How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, 1973); Cabral's manifestos (*Return to the Source*, 1973) and Ngugi's radical attempts to move the centre (*Moving the Centre*, 1994) all enlighten us on the dangerous effects from a people losing their culture. Colonialism led to some loss of culture, the African philosophy of *Ubuntu/Unhu* and reciprocity which Armah in *Two Thousand Seasons* (1985) calls 'the way.' Africa's liberation struggles were therefore partly the fight for culture. In fact, it was culture. Fanon's message was that culture can only be restored through a revolution, only a revolution could expiate centuries of settler lies and black people's penitence in worshipping other people's gods and ways. Only a revolution could make the people 'African' again. But this call for revolution needs not be confused with movement towards a radical, nostalgic retrieving of the past. Even the Sankofa spirit asks one to reach back and gather the best of what the past has to teach, so that one can achieve his/her full potential as he/she moves forward.

This is about looking into the past to obtain that which defines the African and which he/she can use in the new realities that colonialism has foisted on the people. In the same vein, even independence, which is the aim of the revolution, need not lull people into thinking that they have arrived. If anything, this is the start of another tortuous journey to fight new challenges, which, unfortunately, now include most of all having to fight ourselves, having to fight each other. This level of self-introspection, of fighting oneself, is crucial, especially set against a background when Africans had stopped being themselves in many respects.

Literature takes a leading role in this Cultural Revolution. That revolution began at the stage of restoring the pride of African people which had been destroyed by Eurocentric figures of the Hegelian and Conradian nature whose belief was that African history began with the coming of white people into Africa. Before that, Africa was perceived as “the heart of darkness” (Conrad, 1899). The first novel to respond to this racist perception was *Things Fall Apart* by Chinua Achebe (1958) and that is where we locate our cultural nationalism. Criticism of literature also took this up and together, the writer and critic sought ways of restoring the pride of African people. Before that of course was the negritude movement (negritudism) with Senghor and Césaire as its godfathers. Senghor’s mystic affirmation (something that reminds us strongly of the Harlem Renaissance) dominated the space for a while and extended to Diop’s affirmative affirmation. It was Soyinka (cited in Achebe, 1990; Fardon, 2014) who later warned readers that the tiger needs not write a thesis about its tigritude. Soyinka said this at the expense of the authenticity of his Africanness being seriously questioned of course. He met with a fair share of criticism for derailing efforts by his African brothers to restore African pride through the negritude movement.

Our point is that cultural nationalism has its pitfalls as testified by the gap between ‘isms’ and action. The danger comes in ‘isms’ becoming just diversified versions of *kongism*, a philosophical parody of postcolonial African leadership by Wole Soyinka in his 1965 play, *Kongi’s Harvest*. Like Soyinka, this chapter argues that the tiger of course needs to growl and paw the earth to warn others of its presence and its potential, to mark its territory even, but its simulation is as good as the action it will take when real challenges come, when mere notifications of its presence can no longer work, when concrete action is needed to deal with present dangers. In such cases, a dog is only good as its bite, not its bark. Far from belittling the efforts at instilling African values in the people, we submit that Africans need to start to act to assert that Africanness, to show it through action for the good of the continent.

Negritudism logically paved the way for nationalism; various African nationals in various African countries agitating for the independence of their national territories in a revolutionary paradigm that asserted the right of black people to have and to enjoy their sovereignty. After one country got its independence, it helped other African countries in a process known as Pan-Africanism. It should be noted, however, that nationalism also waved another magic word before the African masses suffocating from the evil stench of European capitalism-socialism. Theories emerged, arguing that Africa had always been socialist since time immemorial, that socialism was apparent in the communalism of African social life. The past thus spoke of a united people, reciprocally united. This socialism rested fundamentally on the principle of morality. This principle is best captured in the philosophy of *Unhu/Ubuntu (Ntu-ism)* which stands dialectically on the other side of capitalism.

Morally, socialism looked very much like it offered the best option, but practically, in a capitalist reality, instituting it was always going to be difficult. Whereas negritudism had run the risk of trapping Africans in 'isms' bereft of a clear, forward-thrust of action for the continent's regeneration, this call for a socialist Africa was not without its hindrances too. If insisted upon, but not aggressively followed up, it comes with a clear risk of retreating into a time-warp and with the possibility of having little use in a changing world, a world hostile to it, and a world in which Africans, frankly, have little influence to enforce it.

Theories also began to emerge concerning the role of art in Africa. The most recurring role concerned the restoration of African pride. This restoration consisted of the correct depiction of Africa's history in order to use it to define Africa from within. That is where Conrad is guilty as charged — "a bloody racist". African literary criticism therefore can be understood through the categorisation of all criticism and scholarship on African literature into two polarised camps: first, the foreign, white scholar, critic and writer; and second, the native black African scholar, critic and writer (Jeyifo, 1990: 36).

The dichotomisation we have just done has reduced criticism of African literature, understandably, to a witch-hunting exercise premised on this question: is this African or not? This search for Africanness or un-Africanness in a text is an emotionally charged exercise. One example can illustrate this: "The average published writer in the first few years of the post-colonial era was the most celebrated skin of incompetence to obscure the true flesh of the African dilemma" (Soyinka, 1988: 17). The implication is that the African writer has an obligation to Africa. The African critic is there to make sure that that obligation is satisfactorily met. That, basically, is what we can safely call cultural nationalism.

All these 'isms' were and are meant to provide theoretical foundation for the redemption of Africa from the negative consequences of European colonialism. Let us at this stage look for the implications of this for creative writing and criticism in Africa. Africanness is a privilege. The Africanist critical fortress from which a 'true' African critic stands is a privilege. That privilege is what Senghor gave himself in generous measure and ended up confirming Europe's suspicions instead of refuting them. When he said "emotion is Negro just as reason is Greek", Senghor's African becomes an irrational object, "one of the worms created on the third day" (Reed and Wake, 1976: 29-30). What completes a person is a balance between emotion and reason, just like emotion and reason are hollow without concrete action ultimately. The greatest folly of humanity has been to insist on one while neglecting the other, of treating these complementary entities as if they are incompatible or alienated.

Some of Senghor's negritudisms have, if we might say, been pushed too far to a point where they were pushed out of relevance because Senghor ended up merely "hypostatizing an hypostasis and reifying a reification" (Jeyifo, 1990: 39). We cannot give ourselves serious critical and evaluative rights on the basis of Senghor's claim and get away with it. 'Emotion', 'mysticism', 'feeling', 'intuition' and other negritudinal 'keywords' cannot stand on their own eminently. When shorn of real action, they are marginal and they soon lose lustre in real life situations. What Africa needs is a dose of shrewdness which can be deployed to carve a niche in what is unavoidably a 'global village'. Let us, for a moment, forget all the sentiments we have against the so-called 'global village' and its hypocrisy. Dissertations have been written exposing this hypocrisy,

but regardless of the critical finesse with which they have expressed the hypocrisy of the term, they have not yet relegated it into obscurity.

What really stops Africans from fighting for their rightful place in this 'global village', and dare we say it, a just and powerful position also? After all, Africa has the potential to be a game-changer in this space, what with its vast, unparalleled resources and its human capital. This place is however not secured by the number of times Africa blames the West or cries foul; rather it is time Africa rids itself of the curse of the legendary boy who cries wolf all the time only to realise when the real wolf is there that people have long stopped listening.

Re-reading Conrad's *The Heart of Darkness* in the context of Zimbabwe's Land Question

Since its publication, Conrad's work has been cast in different ways and in light of the definition above, this chapter seeks to re-read *Heart of Darkness* in relation to Zimbabwe's land question, paying particular attention to how the moral lessons that the novel gives can be harnessed to help move the country forward with the land question.

Literary criticism has, in the African context, continued to look for evidence of a positive African consciousness as a point of departure from an enslaved mentality, to a mentality of freedom and agency. This is a good start, but the problem is in remaining in the 'start' and fetishising it. The problem is in rejecting everything considered 'un-African', regardless of the relevance to current situations. This is why Conrad, that "bloody racist", has failed to be heard. His racism is obvious, and like the other 'isms' discussed before, it has its limitations and in a living world, it will destroy both the blacks and the whites (Memmi, 1967). At the same time, Conrad's message is obvious and true too, if only the reader chooses to see beyond Conrad's 'racist' overtones — *human beings have immense capacity for evil and unaccountability, which can be made worse by a certain callousness that has diseased the hearts of men*. That message is lost in our cultural nationalism because sometimes cultural nationalism is fetishised beyond rationality.

Staying too long in retrospection without prospection may convert literary criticism and creative writing into artistic endeavours devoid of that edge that has made the pen more powerful than the gun. Orientation towards the future is not just based on "meditative reflections on past moments of insight and harmony" (Royle, 2003: 103). While a curative pilgrimage into Africa's past is commendable, the restoration of old times' grandeur **only** will not justify such a painstakingly executed process. Such clinical historiography should not be unreasonably selective. One of the questions we need to ask ourselves in our attempt to retrieve Africa from the rubbish heap of European greed concerns why this past culture we want to retrieve made European invasion possible? Nyamndi (2006: 569) makes a very important observation:

A solid culture is one that stands its own against external attack, one that protects its people against exploitation, hunger and disease, but especially one that provides its people with the tools for qualitative existence along the norms of the moment. Nowhere in the history of the continent, particularly so in West Africa, is the African image painted in positive strokes. On the contrary, wherever one turns, one is confronted with narratives of betrayal and collusion on the part of African elders and chiefs.

An exaggerated glorification of the past without taking these things into consideration is bound to make this clinical historiography mere romanticism as opposed to knowledge. Knowledge looks at many angles; one of the angles seeks to explain why this glorious past is difficult to confirm using an inglorious present. This means the past also needs to take full responsibility for the present. The impression is that colonialism is responsible for all the ills Africa is facing, but we also have to bear in mind that colonialism's seeds fell on the fertile ground of our culture's own weaknesses (Nyamndi, 2006), which made it blossom even beyond what we called independence.

Achebe's call is a patriotic one: "The writer's duty is to help (his people) regain (their dignity) by showing them in human terms what happened to them, what they lost" (1978: 8). The danger is in the retrospective element in this call. According to Nyamndi (2006: 569):

The second element of ambiguity in Achebe's call is its retrospective emphasis. The call invites the writer to reach back into history for pedagogical remedies to the people's collective trauma. That is why he sees the writer's duty as one intended to help the people regain their lost dignity by showing them in human terms what happened to them, what they lost. The danger in this attitude is that it fills the aggrieved with excessive, not to say unfounded, pride in their culture, and lures them into seeing strengths where they should deplore weaknesses. In emphasizing *what* Africa lost rather than *why* it lost what it lost, Achebe's exhortation creates an obsession with a past that, either then or now, has really not given anyone much reason to defend it.

The point here is that despite the social functionalism of our past, something in it made colonialism possible. These ethical inadequacies must be taken into consideration. These will provide the answer to why we lost. When Achebe said, "the past, with all its imperfections, never lacked dignity" (1978: 9), our suspicion is that he was misread, so that subsequent criticism and creative writing might have underlined the culture's social functionalism and failed to excoriate its ethical inadequacies. In this, it is our belief, creative writing and criticism might have failed to take a leaf or two from Achebe's call: "any serious African writer who wants to plead the cause of the past must not only be God's advocate, he must also do duty for the devil" (Achebe, 1978: 9). Many seem to be reluctant to (ad)venture into the devil's territory. Emphasizing the damage done to African culture and glossing over how that damage might have been aided by insufficiencies within that culture "has done a great deal to quagmire the continent in the paradoxes and ambiguities that today make take-off almost impossible" (Nyamndi, 2006: 570). Our analysis of *The Heart of Darkness* is an attempt to (ad)venture beyond that.

Granted, Conrad was a racist. Even if we were to let Conrad off that easily and argue that *Heart of Darkness* operates from several 'subsequent' points of view, thus it is hard to tell between Conrad, Marlow and the narrator, it remains true that even if the narrators are not necessarily racist, the novel is (Chirere, 2013). Yet in his own unique way, although hardly meant for the African people, Conrad has drawn humanity to the fact of the very evil and ingrate disposition of white people despite their affirmations to the contrary. If this was the only thing *Heart of Darkness* does, it would have been nothing, but an affirmation of what Africa has always known and suspected of white people. The novel however transcends this to show that Africa can also learn something from the story of

Marlow and Kurtz, something that Zimbabweans grappling with the land question today can put to use. If Conrad had the sole intention to castigate Africans and to pour scorn on their potential, in that he surely did succeed.

What the author of *Heart of Darkness* probably did not reckon with is the unintended effect the novel has on those who choose not to follow the classical 'Europe-is-evil-and-nothing-will-ever-come-out-of-its-unjust-relationship-to-Africa' thinking. It is the capacity to learn from even the most hostile, the most evil and degrading, that should set open-minded thinkers apart. It is the shrinking from white evilness that should ensure that black people do not re-enact it amongst themselves. In as much as the brutality of Kurtz sticks in our minds when the narrator draws our attention to the black heads spiked on sticks to 'ornament' Kurtz's abode, most of our recriminations are however aimed at a civilisation that professes good, yet is this despicable, a civilisation that claims superiority, yet is reprehensible. In that same breath, what is questioned is the whole system of white values and white structures that allow a human being to sink so low, to become this barbarous. Is Kurtz a classic example of what white people are like? If not, what then drives man to such animalism?

In chasing riches, Kurtz loses contact with the basic tenets of humanity and his ending is part of that horror that this disengagement leads to. First and foremost, what he lacks now are the values that make him human, that make him see others as human and to treat them as hunting trophies. As a result, he has become hollow inside and what consumes him is the overbearing desire for ivory and the status it will accord him. Whether such barbarous dispositions are what define white people during this period is not our brief here, but Kurtz certainly is proof of how whites in Africa were wont to act. What redeems the white race in Conrad is the fact that Marlow at one point (maybe just momentarily) is appalled at how blacks are treated, proof that not every white person is a Kurtz. Fresh from home, Marlow still has human, societal values etched onto his mind and they are the values that make him see Kurtz's actions as abhorrent.

It is the system of values that determines society back home that then act as a censor for people like Marlow, which values make him frown on Kurtz's disposition and what he has become, which values also make him acutely aware of right and wrong. Removed from these values and far away in the deep forests of Africa, Kurtz becomes a brute. The fact that he cannot make it home must be symbolic then; he has become an animal who cannot be part of society, he has lost that constituent element that is the prerequisite for involvement and acceptance in society. That Marlow lies to Kurtz's fiancé about the kind of person he had become also shows how much of an embarrassment he had become to his own society. Kurtz had trodden upon the very values, the standards that he has to measure up to. Even the oft used justification that Kurtz is amidst barbaric Africa so he is expected to act that way does not save him from sinking in the estimation of his own society and that of today's readership. Value systems and having knowledge of them act as a censure, a restraint and a standard without which society regresses, without which people are turned into brutes.

In themselves, these values might also not be enough. Surely Kurtz, although in a different environment, could not have forgotten all the morals and values of his people. If this is so, then what else can account for the change he undergoes? Maybe the realities he has to contend with in the forests of Africa? Quite possible actually! Or maybe it is because he simply can do what he wants, act with impunity knowing very

well that no one can stop him or make him accountable? Most probably! This leads us to the second point worth mentioning, the fact that even if he had an awareness of these values, in the absence of institutions to enforce them, to make him accountable, there was nothing to stop Kurtz from being the brute that he becomes. We would like to argue that while values are crucial, equally important (if not more so) are the institutions of accountability. How often have we known the right thing, and still gone on to do the opposite simply because no one was watching, simply because we know we can do what we want and not be held accountable? Conrad expresses how one is kept in line, not just by values, but by institutions and by the environment around him/her, by "solid pavement under your feet, surrounded by kind neighbours ready to cheer you or fall on you, stepping delicately between the butcher and the policeman, in the holy terror of scandal and gallows and lunatic asylums" (Conrad, 1989: 64).

Without such structures, factors like a penchant for power, human greed or mere present realities may entice people to disregard the right morals. In such cases, even an awareness of values, of right from wrong, might not be deterrent enough. In any society, these institutions are both at a local level and at a national level. For Kurtz, there is little doubt that the fiancé would have acted as a deterrent to his excesses, just like the barber at the corner, the butcher in the next street and the baker he would have visited every day, would have helped. Their presence and their opinions of his daily life would have kept him in check, would have mellowed him, and in his desire to please them and to be worthy of their approval, he would have remained human. These are the things that make all the difference.

And then there are the larger institutions which are expected to maintain law and order and which would keep him in line through laws and the threat of incarceration if such laws are broken. Back home, where the oversight institutions are there, Kurtz would not have killed. But under the depraved colonial office, he knows he can do what he wants and get away with it. Values in this instance are crucial, but to expect them to be enough deterrent is suicidal, thus the need for institutions to help, to ensure that people treat these values as sacrosanct. If these institutions are compromised anyhow, how tragic things will be! In the absence of these institutions, Kurtz has to fall back on values, on self-policing, on his "innate inner strength, upon (his own) capacity for faithfulness" (Conrad, 1989: 64), something which, as we have seen, is hardly enough for human beings

The point is this: the need to redeem our intangible heritage is crucial. Reference to eminent figures, theories and ideologies in discourses that have to do with this intangible heritage has very well-placed intentions, but our worry is that reference to these may end up becoming a fetishised gesture to a classic and exceptionally radical standpoint that may fail to read as a discourse of emancipation, especially if it is fetishised. Let the values we espouse be lived values, enforced by a centre that can hold and that is exemplary. As highlighted before, these values are not, cannot and must not, be an end. Nationalism, despite its perils and limitations, can proudly point to independent Africa as its baby, its progeny. It is an idea that got fruitful, that was actualised through the liberation struggles. The value systems we advocate for today with regards to land reforms should find expression in, among many other things, institutionalisation of equity and tenure systems that empower the blacks that promote productivity, profitability and sustainability.

Liberating consciousness caught in the white man's artefact is important, but the axiological fixed discourse, spiced with Manichean madness, may, in the long run, be hypnotic and make us fail to see that speaking the same discourse, and having the same skin colour does not confer oneness. Speaking together is easy, but being structurally together is not. There comes a point when saying, "We, Zimbabweans, are one family", may sound like the hollow echoes of uninhabited space. After all, examples abound of how society is divided today and how some use notions of oneness to hoodwink others. Zimbabweans are not pulling in the same direction today. Values of a people are often pointed to as a gelling catalyst for society. This, however, needs a complete buy-in of the people. Often, in land issues, the language of oneness lacks sincerity. It is not extended to embrace how people act on the ground. Values, tragically, have become the preserve of rallies, policy chapters and academic conferences only, and have not been insisted upon in the lives of the people.

If the black people do not stay bitter and angry for too long (Mungoshi, 1981), then they might just learn something from their past, be it through recourse to values and ways that help them face the future, or as this chapter argues, through lessons that can be learned from even the not so glorious past which brought the continent into contact with people like Kurtz. Long considered to be the source of all livelihoods, land has been central to Zimbabwe. The Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) should have returned land to the previously marginalised majority, and that should have signalled for remarkable change in the fortunes of the blacks. Indeed a lot of positives have emerged from black land ownership and usage over the years (Hanlon, Manjengwa and Smart, 2013; Scoones *et al*, 2010), but the full potential of Zimbabweans has not been realised even with the land in their hands.

Questions have been asked on how land owners have related to, and used their land. In some instances, what has been done on the land and in dealing with land and land-related issues has mocked the black people's potential. Often the media have highlighted how inputs earmarked for farms have been abused, how struggles over farm ownership have forcibly ejected the ordinary man in favour of the well-placed and well-heeled in society. The people have lost value systems and will do anything for money and quick profits; those with power will readily exploit the weak, the hungry and the landless, just so to make more. In the absence of forcible accountability, it is the law of the jungle that informs how society operates. Has society not bred Kurtzes who will die with their ivory (riches), yet leave society riven with no centre that holds? Land ownership in this regard without the human values that unite people, that make people sensitive and considerate to others, means little and will little benefit the nation.

Further to that, emphasis has been on restoring these values in people. This, no doubt, is crucial to ground the people as to whom they are and on what is expected of them as human beings. Crucial too is to have structures and systems that enforce adherence to these values. This can help the country move forward. Has the leadership given this guidance? What signals are emanating from high offices? The right noises have to come from high offices, from those in charge of land issues. Their proclamations and practice should be in sync with the type of people Zimbabweans are today and hope to be in the future. These values and policies should then be seen to be practised and to undergird the land issues. Only then can Zimbabwe fully benefit from the land, only then can the land stop being a curse and be the blessing that it should be.

Without direction from above, without fear of recrimination and punishment for wayward behaviour and for transgressing from a people's set standard, there is little that can hold people to the right paths. To be aware of values and to even hold them is not the same as practising them. Practise involves a lot more; it needs an environment of public opinion, it needs tangible institutions, and it needs direction from above. In the absence of these, little good will come; it is like expecting Kurtz and Marlow in the middle of the African forests, with no institutions to check them (and yet with all the power at their disposal) to act with restraint, with propriety. Kurtz does not, and that is one lesson that should not escape us in *The Heart of Darkness*. Europe has created people like Kurtz. Zimbabweans/Africans should stand warned.

To say the coloniser/colonised dichotomy is the problem is true. To say surely we are not stupid enough to continue being pawns is four times true. However, that realisation that we are not a stupid bunch of lost souls, only comes when we rationally move beyond the Manichean delirium to a point of diversified thinking that not only results in our labelling Conrad as a lost soul, but also admitting that Kurtz is a lesson to us. This admission is not meant to give superiority to a European; it is meant to give superiority to our thinking because remaining in the coloniser/colonised dichotomy and getting drunk from it is in no way superior.

Things Fall Apart is an example of this diversified approach beyond Manichean entities. Things fell apart when the white people came. The question is how could a culture of *Unhu/Ubuntu* that we need to go back to, be so porous as to allow invasion by foreign elements and to be annihilated in the process? Yes, leaders and the led have lost *Unhu*. Because of colonialism? Certainly if colonialism is like that, why not throw our puny hands in the air and give in? To say colonialism is at the centre of Zimbabwe's disease is nothing, but a reification of Senghor's keywords; it is to say Zimbabweans and, by extension, Africans are not rational, but mere pawns in the hands of a rational white master. Are we that irrational? Are we that irrational to continue to dance to the tune of colonialism even after we have taken what we have always perceived as the most central heritage — land?

Such discourse certainly exonerates corrupt leadership, or the Teacher's wife in Chirere's *Tadamuhwa* who jeopardises her conjugal duties for many quickies with the butcher ostensibly to get a few pieces of leftover meat. In extreme cases, the man wetting the blankets is impotent because of colonialism (Memory Chirere, *Somewhere in this Country*, 2006)! This is the price we pay for being monolithic in our search for the cause of the problems that afflict us. Where a country is going through a lot, is it far-fetched to try to think in a way that liberates criticism from Africanist obsession to the point of calling a spade a spade? The secret is, maybe, not to let the 'isms' get our heads out of gear. Colonialism has contributed its own fair share of damage. The hard reality is that *Unhu* is not a magical state of things. It is a reality enforced by tangible, visible institutions. Corrupt leadership should not be exonerated by blaming colonialism alone.

How do we go back to this glorious past we so often speak of, this glorious past disturbed by colonialism? We think that it is a past that can be lived by acting rationally now. The simple fact is that when there is a problem, it needs to be solved. This, we believe, does not come by missing the past, but by doing what we are supposed to do now. Once upon a seminar, a student asked, after an intelligent exposition of the African

philosophy of life, why the contents of that exposition sounded alien. The answer was that they were no longer there. A hard fact! With industrialisation and land reform eating our forests (farmers cut down trees to get firewood to cure tobacco for sale at the auction floor in order to make lots of money), Senghor's African who is close to nature and harmoniously exists with it certainly sounds like a myth. With styles of governance that do not contain a single iota of our cherished past, the invocation of intangible heritage discourses in governance is certainly bound to be treated with suspicion. Take *The Last of the Empire* (Sembene, 1984), for instance. Purchasing a private jet for the president because "our culture encourages us to honour our elders" is certainly a bastardisation of our culture for personal expediency. The same applies to the naïve wisdom of Nigerian elders in *A Man of the People* (Achebe, 1966) who believe that they should let Nanga eat because it is his time; theirs would come. There is danger that the fetishisation of the past may end up being just another *kongism*. There should be a distinction between criticism and political rhetoric, whether foreign or local, just as there should be a dividing line between retrieving our values for our good and just fetishising them.

There are a lot today who say that the problem is cultural and therefore we need to go back. The problem of culture is that it is not an abstract goal that can be reached through a revolution. Culture is not the problem, but the space that enables it is. Space is not abstract too. In fact, it is not just physical. This is why taking the physical space called land does not confer freedom. Space is a social construct; it is socially produced (Lefebvre, 1974). When the requisite space is produced, culture will come to its own. Structural differences between the rich African politician and the poor African voter mean that even if we give them small parcels of land while the politician gets huge chunks of it, culture in the sense of *Unhu* will remain a mirage.

CONCLUSION

To say this *Unhu* needs a backward looking revolution is to overstate our case. Kitching (2003) in *Seeking Social Justice Through Globalisation* supports the cynical tradition that is sceptical about revolutionary processes. He alludes to the fervour that is detectable in people whose advocacy is dedicated to the struggle against imperialism, against inequality and poverty, for 'real' independence and, consequently for some, socialism. And yet it is premised upon a vision of 'the enemy', of imperialism, of Multi-National Capital which endowed 'it' with apparently all conquering power, total clarity and unanimity of purpose and almost omnipotent casual potency. Kitching (2003: 18) sneers:

Now, logically, a commitment to such a conception of the enemy should be productive of simple fatalism and hopelessness. After all, if imperialism really is like that, the only thing to do is to give up, 'lie back and enjoy it,' throw down one's pun arms and bow to superior forces' insight and power.

If we forgive the sneering tone, there is substance in this. To say Europe has thrown Africa into groping darkness from which it is difficult to emerge is to give Europe undue credit. Liberated thinking, it is our argument, should go beyond Manichean binaries to a level where even Conrad, the 'bloody racist', can be read with a certain open-mindedness without fetishising him either. In fact, we do not need to fetishise anything.

What we reckon to be prospective creativity and criticism is best captured by Soyinka:

It is about time that the African writer stopped being a mere chronicler and understood also that part of his essential purpose is to write with a very definite vision... he must at least begin by exposing the future in a clear and truthful exposition of the present (Soyinka 1968: 58).

Such a writer and critic are not ready to let go of this sublime job for political correctness. In other words, they can "(rip) open the fetid boils of mismanagement and misdirection in today's Africa, and (cause) the future to veer into sight on a cleansed pedestal" (Nyamndi, 2006: 571). Any solemn call to return to the past only has value if that call is meant to empower Africans to build a future away from the shortcomings of the past. To continue being trapped in the self-righteous indignation that emanates from stories of exploitation, first by others, then by our own, and finally by both, is not, in our view, prospective enough. It can become a stumbling block to the pride and the development of Africans even in cases where they are given the land.

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Chapter Fifteen

Souls of Black Folk: Spiritual and Cultural Heritage in *The Book of Not* and *Shards*

Josephine Muganiwa

INTRODUCTION

The chapter addresses the question of whether there is a predominantly black identity or all humans are the same. The analysis is guided by the storylines in the selected texts with main characters who are raised in predominantly Zimbabwean 'modern' culture, but their past catches up with them. In *Shards* (Marangwanda, 2014), spiritual possession empowers a young woman whose life has been nihilistic. *The Book of Not* (Dangarembga, 2006) highlights mainly what Tambu loses in her pursuit of "Englishness" as opposed to her people's cultural upbringing. This discussion is pertinent within the context of globalisation that calls for a more fluid identity. In other words, how much of one's original culture is retained in order to fit in the modern world or as an economic refugee in the Diaspora? The selected texts enable one to look at the grey areas between the cultural binaries in terms of the authentic African who understands the values as opposed to one who has consciously adopted Western ways. The African values are the intangible heritage that requires rediscovery and preservation as highlighted by numerous scholars (Achebe, 1975; Ngugi, 1986; Appiah, 1992; Asante, 2003).

Issues to do with the 'soul' of a people invariably touch on identity and intangible aspects that underscore that very identity. This is where cultural intangible heritage comes into play. The first part of the title is derived from W.E.B. Du Bois' essay of the same title that deals with the double consciousness of black people in America resulting from years of slavery under white people. African-Americans have a dual heritage of the Western model thrust upon them within an alien set-up and their African heritage. This is relevant to the texts under discussion as they reflect the influence of colonisation on the psyche of Shona people. It then affects how characters view indigenous customs and values. Zimbabwe, a former British colony, experiences conflicting cultural paradigms in a world that has chosen to follow the 'modernist' approach to development. The modernist approach to development is premised on recognising the western worldviews as the only authentic ways of viewing life. The texts chosen for this chapter are set in Zimbabwe after regaining independence from the colonial conquest from 1890 onwards. The main characters are raised in 'modern' culture which results in their fractured worldview. This is largely because it negates their natural heritage.

By natural heritage we refer to cultural heritage. It is expedient at this point to turn to various definitions of culture. P' Bitek (1986: 13) declares:

Culture is a philosophy as lived and celebrated in society. Human beings do not behave like dry leaves, smoke or clouds which are blown here and there by the wind. Men live in organisations called institutions: the family and

clan, chiefdom or kingdom or an age-set system. They have a religion, an army, legal and other institutions. And all these institutions are informed by, and in fact built around central ideas people have developed, ideas about what life is all about, that is, their social philosophy, their “world view.”

The above definition emphasizes ideas that shape a people’s interaction in everyday realities. Hofstede (1997) gives several definitions, but for purposes of this chapter the following three suffice.

- Culture refers to the cumulative deposit of knowledge, experiences, beliefs, values, attitudes, meanings, hierarchies, religion, notions, roles, spatial relations, concepts of the universe, and material objects and possessions acquired by a group of people in the course of generations through individual and group striving.
- A culture is a way of life of a group of people... the behaviours, beliefs, values, and symbols that they accept, generally without thinking about them, and that are passed along by communication and imitation from one generation to the next.
- Culture is the sum total of the learned behaviour of a group of people that are generally considered to be the tradition of that people and are transmitted from generation to generation (www.tamu.edu/faculty/choudhury/culture.html).

All the above definitions feed into each other, and basically have the same meaning. They point to culture being specific to a particular group of people and determining how they relate to each other harmoniously. Slavery and colonialism sought to negate the humanity of African people by purporting to ‘civilise them so that they acquire culture’. Babu (1981: 54) notes the difference between African and European cultures:

On the cultural front the traditionalists say African culture differs from European culture in that, whereas European people organised their societies on the basis of safeguarding ‘rights’, our African ancestors organized their society on the basis of invoking ‘duties’.

This difference becomes the source of internal conflict when an individual has to make choices. Both Tambu, in the *Book of Not*, and the nameless narrator in *Shards*, experience difficulties making choices because they view their actions from both an African and European perception. This is what Du Bois (Franklin, 1965: 215) refers to as double consciousness:

It is a peculiar sensation, this double consciousness, this sense of always looking at oneself through the eyes of others, of measuring one’s soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness, an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.

During the struggle one decides what to abandon and what to carry forward. Danger lies in that what may be discarded is the core intangible heritage that clearly marks out one’s identity and that enables one to unashamedly contribute uniquely in a global world.

DANGAREMBGA AND THE UNMAKING OF A BLACK GIRL IN RHODESIA: *THE BOOK OF NOT* (2006)

The Book of Not (2006) is a sequel to *Nervous Conditions* (1988) which focuses on Tambu's experiences at Sacred Heart, a school meant for young white girls. She is part of the window dressing to enable the school to be termed multi-racial. At the end of *Nervous Conditions*, Tambu is warned by her mother not to adopt too much Englishness as it leads to death and cultural shame. She then makes the following observation:

It was a warning, a threat that would have had disastrous effects if I had let it. When you're afraid of something it doesn't help to have people who know more than you do come out and tell you you're quite right. Mother knew a lot of things and I had regard for her knowledge. Be careful, she had said, and I thought about Nyasha and Chido and Nhamo, who all succumbed, and of my own creeping feelings of doom. Was I being careful enough? I wondered. For I was beginning to have a suspicion, that I had been too eager to leave the homestead and embrace the 'Englishness' of the mission; and after that the more concentrated 'Englishness' of Sacred Heart..... But term-time was fast approaching and the thought of returning to Sacred Heart filled me with pleasure. The books, the games, the films, the debates—all these things were things I wanted. I told myself I was a much more sensible person than Nyasha, because I knew what could and couldn't be done. In this way I banished the suspicion, buried it in the depth of my subconscious, and happily went back to Sacred Heart (*Nervous Conditions* p.207-208).

The sense of foreboding in this passage prepares the reader for the anticlimax experience in *The Book of Not*, a sequel to *Nervous Conditions*. Tambu is warned by her mother to remain grounded in African values so that she is not destroyed by Englishness. She heeds the warning, but unfortunately she finds the European environment at Sacred Heart attractive. She does not realise that the books, games and films are not neutral, but persuade her to accept a particular ideological stance. It is also the same books that exclude African experiences that lead to Nyasha's destruction. Tambu believes she understands *unhu/ubuntu/botho*.

The basic idea behind *unhu* is that one's well-being is communal and not simply individualistic. This is embedded in the phrase '*Tiripo, makadiwo*', a common response to greeting loosely translated to "We are well and how are you?" The plural "*Ti*" (We) is not honorific, but reminds one that they are a representative of a community. Manda (2009) notes that *Ubuntu* as a philosophy is central to the well-being of African communities. He quotes several leaders, including the South African Nobel Laureate Archbishop Desmond Tutu who describes *Ubuntu* in the following words: It is the essence of being human. It speaks of the fact that my humanity is caught up and is inextricably bound up in yours. I am human because I belong. It speaks about wholeness, it speaks about compassion. A person with *Ubuntu* is welcoming, hospitable, warm and generous, willing to share. Such people are open and available to others, willing to be vulnerable, affirming of others, do not feel threatened that others are able and good, for they have a proper self-assurance that comes from knowing that they belong in a greater whole. They know that they are diminished when others are humiliated, diminished when others are oppressed, diminished when others are treated as if they were less than who they are. The quality of *Ubuntu* gives people resilience, enabling them to survive and emerge still human despite all efforts to dehumanise them (www.africafiles.org).

Mboti (2015) critiques the above definition as being vague and cohesive as it assumes that every African must know what *Ubuntu* is and practise it for the well-being of his or her community. This implies that one who has not lived in a community practicing this philosophy may not fully understand it and hence the need for further research than assuming it is clear.

Tambu misunderstands and misapplies the concept as a result of her double consciousness. She badly wants to be accepted by the white people, and hence she accepts the humiliation of her own people. This is clearly illustrated in the incident of the ablution blockage. Tambu is aware that she is black, belongs to the Sigauke family and has a rural background. She however considers herself 'civilised' due to her mission experience. When the African girls are blamed for the blockage in the ablution system, Tambu agrees with the system as she considers herself to be fully potty-trained courtesy of her European educated aunt and uncle who adopted her. She resents the other girls and believes the black girls are not allowed to share ablutions with the white girls simply because they lack skills. Tambu refuses to see the racism underlying the assumption and identifies with her oppressors. Unfortunately, Tambu spends most of her holidays at the mission rather than with her mother. With time she loses respect for the indigenous knowledge her mother possesses. Her mother becomes more sarcastic the more she realises she is losing her daughter. Unfortunately, *Babamukuru* encourages Tambu to toe the line in order to receive good reports from the Head, Sr. Emmanuel. To discourage Tambu's defiance against the rules, the Head writes the following;

Tambudzai has a complex. This makes it difficult for her to adapt to the spirit of the Young Ladies' College of the Sacred Heart. She believes she is above convent rules designed for the welfare of the pupils. Her inability to be part of the college causes her considerable distress. If she is not happy here, perhaps it is best to remove her. Constantly she wears a supercilious expression (p.89).

Babamukuru dictates a letter of apology to Sr. Emmanuel because he considers having a daughter thrown out of any institution for any reason as shameful. He does not take the time to understand what the problem really is and therefore fails to understand how the supposedly best school in the country is destroying Tambu. Nyasha is the only one who understands Tambu's experiences from her own in England. She helps to edit Tambu's letter, in her words, "making my phrases of self-depreciation, yet more annihilating" (p.92). Their behaviour does not reflect the general political awakening that was taking place in the general populace in the mid-1970s. The letter becomes a form of selling one's soul for Tambu. She becomes convinced that *unhu* is making peace with the whites and obeying those in authority without questioning. The warning from her mother is thus abandoned. Consequently, her desire to please the white teachers and gain approval of fellow white students leads her to board the bus to the city hall to knit hats and gloves for the soldiers fighting 'terrorists'. This is evidence that Tambu's sense of belonging is terribly skewed. She does not realise how much her behaviour distresses the other black girls until Ntombi breaks down and shouts at her:.

Before she could take a grip on me again, our roommates jumped up and surged towards her. They caught her arms, then tried to bring her to the bed once more. They made little impression on Ntombi who was shouting about

the limbs we would miss, the nature and temperature of rods that would be inserted into our various orifices. 'Oh, you, Tambu! What's making you do this! As if you don't know some things are cursed! Oh, just jump into a pot of hot oil! Or just water, go on, water will do it too if it's boiling! Just jump in, *usvuuke! Usvuuke!* Then you will be what you want. It will make you look like them, all pink like a European!' It was very horrible, what she was saying, and as she did so, Miss Plato burst in (p.141).

Ntombi's words show that Tambu is clearly acting like a white person despite the fact that her actions endanger all the black girls at the school. Ntombi's advice sounds cruel, but echoes the cruelty of discrimination that leads to the use of skin lightening creams exhibiting self-hate. Tambu hears the warning, but the appearance of an irate Miss Plato makes her re-identify with her teacher as she believes *unhu* is knowing what makes people around you angry and desisting from such behaviour. The other black girls do not count and they stop talking to Tambu. She does not reflect on why they stop talking to her, but is worried about her self-image in the context of her supposed *unhu*. The whites realise that she is thoroughly destroyed and steal her trophy and work knowing that she will not fight back. They also view her with contempt in the end in preference for the authentic African, Ntombi.

Tambu's challenge is that she is not groomed into her culture. She remembers *unhu* from her interaction with her grandmother. Unfortunately after the demise of the grandmother no one takes on the role of nurturing Tambu. Her mother is preoccupied with fighting *Maiguru* and *Babamukuru* for taking her children away from her. *Maiguru* is busy pacifying and pandering to *Babamukuru's* whims, as well as taking care of the mentally unstable Nyasha. Tambu is then left at the mercy of the nuns at Sacred Heart. It is therefore not surprising that she fails to fit in both the black and white worlds. Terrence Ranger, in an editorial review of the book, says it is

A most intensely felt and remembered book that reproduces the feel, sight, sound, and emotion of an African convent boarding school a quarter of a century ago ... No book I have read conveys so powerfully and truthfully the wounds of cultural colonialism (www.amazon.com)

The telephone conversation between Tambu and her mother is evidence of lack of continuity between the generations. The mother had expressed the desire to visit Tambu in town, but she had not responded. On being questioned about it, Tambu says she was waiting for Mai and her sister Netsai to come. *Mai/Tambu's* mother states that she spoke of the desire and expected those with the money to mention it and send it, implying that Tambu needed no one to coax her in taking care of her mother and siblings. This is cultural sensibility that she has not been taught and the real expression of *unhu* in the Shona family. The mother concludes that Tambu is still a child and rants at *Maiguru* for failing to raise her daughter properly after stealing her from her biological mother. According to p' Bitek (1986: 19),

Man is not born free. He cannot be free. He is incapable of being free. For only by being in chains can one be and remain 'human'. What constitutes these chains? Man has a bundle of duties which are expected of him by society, as well as a bundle of rights and privileges that the society owes him. In African belief even death does not free him.

Tambu owes her mother filial piety, which is respect for one's parents, elders and ancestors. It is her duty to provide for her mother and siblings in the same way *Babamukuru* takes care of the whole Sigauke family. Colonial education enables him to earn a salary which in turn enables him to provide for the basic needs of the family. Tambu is adopted by *Babamukuru* and sent to a good school so that she can raise her branch of the family. However, her socialisation among the whites has made her very individualistic and ashamed of her identity and people. The irony is that she believes she practices *unhu* and therefore has not been sucked into English culture.

SPIRITUAL HERITAGE IN SHARDS

Shona people are very spiritual and relate their actions to ancestors (*kune vari kumhepo*). However, there are special people chosen to interpret the desires of the spirits — ancestors (*vadzimu*) and alien spirits (*mashave*) (Gelfand, 1999). Spirit mediums are essential in Shona communities and closely linked to key rituals and ceremonies for the well-being of the community. While everyone is expected to practice *unhu*, not everyone is called to be a spirit medium. It is a special calling. The colonial era decreased the value of spirit mediums by calling them witches, charlatans and evil. With the spread of Christianity, spirit mediums at times became synonymous with the manifestation of the devil himself. However, Arnsten (1997: 49-50) describes the role of spirit mediums as follows:

Communication between the living and the dead is taken care of by the spirit mediums who are vital parts of Shona culture and religion. The role of the spirit mediums and their communication with and appeasement of the ancestors were considered by many, missionaries and colonialists in particular, to be ancestor worship. However, the spirit mediums were instead acting as intermediaries between *Mwari/uMlimu* and the living, carrying messages, prayers and thanks from the human being to God. Where ancestors are subject to appeasement by human beings, it is believed that God is appeased as well. It must be noted, however, that it is not the ancestors themselves, the *vadzimu*, who are worshipped, but rather God through them. In the words of one of my sources, the spirit mediums “intercede between you and the ancestral spirits. The ancestral spirits will intercede who will carry it forward to God, because we also believe in God.”

Spirit mediums, therefore, have the special gift of seeing and conversing with the spirits that everyone else only assumes exist.

The setting of *Shards* is contemporary Harare, Zimbabwe. The narrator is affluent as her parents are business people who own a number of cars. Her mother is a trader travelling to Dubai and other nations to bring exclusive wares. Their house is a double storey with a spacious kitchen downstairs. Their swimming pool has no water due to Municipal water shortages which locates the story in the post-2000 era. In this era Zimbabwe experienced the peak of economic hardships and systems break down. The narrator is forced to attend university by the parents, but would rather hang out at the Art gallery or Book Café with other disillusioned youths whose ennui reminds one of Turgenev's *Fathers and Sons*. Turgenev's novel focuses on the restlessness and ennui before the October Revolution in Russia. The narrator in *Shards* is a widely read poet and also enjoys painting graffiti as an art form of protest against the status quo. She

receives a substantial allowance from her father that she uses for cigarettes and alcohol. Cynthia Marangwanda, the author, said that she wrote the novel in order to depict characters that reflect middle class lifestyle. Her concerns are similar to Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's (2009) in her speech on the danger of a single story for Africa.

The single story creates stereotypes, and the problem with stereotypes is not that they are untrue, but that they are incomplete. They make one story become the only story. (...) The consequence of a single story is this: It robs people of dignity. It makes our recognition of our humanity difficult. It emphasizes how we are different rather than how we are similar. (www.ted.com)

The dominant image of Africa in media is of poverty stricken, war torn Africa. This denies voice to those with a different story. Similarly, Zimbabwe has acquired a Christian identity that pushes to the periphery a traditional Shona outlook that is defended in this text.

The narrator is visited several times by her late grandmother requesting that she takes over her role as a spirit medium. The narrator tells us,

A hologram of my deceased paternal grandmother emerges out of the still air. Her eyes are fixated on my rottenness and I feel the irresistible pull of uprooted family trees. She is calling me without uttering a word and I feel powerless to resist her forces. She is dressed in her *svikiro* robes. Billowing black fabric shrouds her body like mist over Mount Nyangani. ... I greet my grandmother softly and respectfully with eyes cast down but she shakes her head disapprovingly. I have disappointed her by consistently refusing to answer when I am summoned. I ask for forgiveness for what seems like the thousandth time but she does not respond. Her obstinacy is an indictment I cannot bear and I begin to whimper despairingly. (p.30)

The spirit has clearly chosen her and rituals must be carried out to fulfill this. Kazembe (2011:92) defines the various spirits as follows:

Clan spirits are *Mhondoro*, the spirits of dead ancestors who were leaders of the clans, including founding leaders of the clans ... The word *vadzimu*, to most people include the clan spirits and family spirits. Spirit mediums say that *Mhondoro* is a term for clan spirits: The *Sadzinza* or *Sadunhu*. Family spirits (*vadzimu*) are spirits of parents, grandparents, great grandparents, and other family members, and clan spirits may also be referred to as *vadzimu* although clan spirits are more appropriately referred to as *mhondoro*. *Vadzimu* chose their descendants as mediums. The spirits look after the interests of their descendants and other people living in areas of jurisdiction.

The narrator does not have much choice in her selection because she is meant to serve her family and community. This is in line with the African worldview on personal freedom as reflected in the quotation from p'Bitek earlier cited in this essay. While a spirit medium (*svikiro*) might wield social power it is usually at a cost. This is illustrated in the narrator's grandmother.

My grandmother died when I was 15. I remember a bespectacled teacher from the boarding school I attended up to Sixth Form pulling me aside and

gravely relaying the fatal news to me. I recall him watching me closely as the words sank in, probably waiting for an anticipated outburst of violent grief but it was not forthcoming. I had not known my paternal grandmother well enough to feel anything but a curious rocking motion inside my head when I heard she had passed on. The news destabilised me for, at most, a minute before my normal state of numbness resumed. What I knew of her was that she was a Head Nurse at a rural district clinic, she possessed remarkably long and thick, ink-black natural hair, she was a *svikiro* (a spirit-medium) in her spare time and the one time we spoke for longer than the customary greetings, she swiftly launched into a lengthy explanation about the parallels between Shona spirituality and Christian theology as well as those between the sacrificial martyr deaths of the messianic figures of Nehanda Nyakasikana and Jesus Christ. Growing up I heard unsavoury rumours that she deserted her children, my father included, when they were still infants only to appear when they were fully functional adults and such talk always caused me to survey her with a wary eye. Her marriage to my paternal grandfather had not lasted many years and she never sought to remarry after that ill-fated union. I remember her as being a very inward, taciturn woman who seemed to have taken great pains to insulate herself from the emotional level of human contact. I think I am certainly her granddaughter in this regard (p.31-32).

The grandmother loses her marriage and a close relationship with her children during the years of apprenticeship to the spirits to enable her to carry out her mandate. According to Kazembe, the spirits confer different powers to different mediums. The spirit of Nehanda is skilled in war and nation building while the spirit of Chaminuka confers skills in peace, national wealth and rain-making. The narrator is considered mad by her family and community to the extent that she is admitted in a mental hospital. Visitations by her grandmother are termed hallucinations. The maid believes the narrator is possessed by evil spirits that require exorcism. The grandmother seems to have picked the narrator as a successor while she was still alive as evidenced by the lecture on the parallels between the Shona worldview and Christian theology. It seems to have been preparation against the opposition the narrator faces in a predominantly Christian world. The reference to martyrs also encourages her to endure suffering. It is only when she answers the call that her life falls into place:

I let my instinct guide me. I'm following the call of something primal. This urge to move is coming from my deepest part, from my underworld. It is undeniable. I find myself wondering if I'm in a trance but I keep going. Then I hear music. Its sound strikes me like lightning. I feel drawn to it. I start searching for its source but I find I can only move in circles, a confused whirling dervish. I recognise the music — it's the sound of the *mbira*. But there is no-one else around. At least no-one living. Fear will not deter or distract me. After a while I stop in front of a large cave and I am convinced I have arrived. In a dark corner lies a heap of objects. A clay pot, a reed mat, a multiplicity of beads, cowrie shells, animal bones and skins, birds' feathers, cloths, a pair of carved rods and a few more similar implements. Grandmother shows herself. "These belong to you. You have work to do. It is good you have finally chosen to accept. One cannot flee one's origins and expect to avoid the consequences. You have been summoned and must answer summons. You will be taught what you need to know about the ways of

those from beyond, the unseen ones. You will be instructed and after learning you will go back and convey the messages. You are a conduit for those who chant in whispers, a channel for them to speak and be heard in these contemporary times. Some will call you a madwoman, pay them no mind. You have been called, you have no choice but to answer. There are profound things one can learn from one's beginnings. Receive what is handed to you and yours. It may be the cure for your collective ailment, it may relieve your wanderings and wondering." After these words she disappears. I take the cloths from the heap on the ground and wrap my nudity. A seismic shift has occurred deep within. I pick up the other objects and step out (p.86-87).

The long quotation serves to capture the dramatic acceptance of the call to be a spirit medium and the transformation it brings to the narrator's life. Though seeming cataclysmic, the pull of the cosmic world is real, defining and charting the new path that the nameless narrator should take. The struggle up the mountain reminds one of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (1987) showing that a journey of faith is never easy. The temptation to turn back always exists. The fact that the narrator follows instinct may point to the fact that she was predestined to be a spirit medium. Consequently, she has direct spiritual contact with her grandmother who instructs her on what to do without any human agency. Kazembe (2011) argues that spirits that have such autonomy are divine angels (*gombwe*) rather than ancestral spirits (*vadzimu*). He however says that they cannot be inherited citing that the mediums of the Chaminuka spirit are not related. Marangwanda's portrayal of the spirit becomes problematic as it is not clear whether it is a *gombwe* (divine spirit), *mhondoro* (clan spirit) or *mudzimu* (family spirit). Mbira music is associated with Shona spiritual ceremonies and it is usually the mbira that ushers a possession. The fish eagle is an omen of great events that are about to happen such as death or installation of a chief, the beginning or ending of a war. In the context of this story it points to the narrator's installation as a spirit medium that takes place in the cave. The mystery captured in the passage above may be pointing to the fact that not much is known now on African culture due to the distortions of colonialism. However there is hope in that the spiritual beings will tutor those that are willing to learn. This validates the African worldview where death is a rite of passage into another form of existence. The narrator finds healing and justification of her existence and hence repeats that she is not mad, but chosen.

CONCLUSION

Dangarembga's *The Book of Not* and Marangwanda's *Shards* have shown that African culture is in danger of being eroded. Tambu's misunderstanding of the concept of *unhu* is reflected in daily life with the misappropriation of proverbs to justify immoral behaviour as Shona culture. There is need for thorough research on African concepts and the norms and values that inform them so that future generations are not lost. *Shards* reflects that Shona cosmology is vibrant even within contemporary Zimbabwe. There is need to accept all cultures and seek to understand them rather than to interpret them using borrowed lenses. Natural science and Christianity cannot account for all experiences among Shona people, and by extension African people. There is need to research further on this as well because not everyone receives the special calling like the narrator in *Shards*. It is imperative that intangible cultural heritage be preserved

trans-generationally so that Africans can contribute significantly towards their own sustainable development.

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Chapter Sixteen

The Impact of the 2000 Fast-Track Land Reform Programme on Mother Tongue Education and Language Maintenance

Eventhough Ndlovu and Emmanuel Chabata

INTRODUCTION

In 2000, Zimbabwe engaged in the Fast-Track Land Reform Programme. This was a resettlement scheme spearheaded by the country's government where families from overcrowded communal areas across the country were allocated land on farms formerly owned by white settlers. Generally speaking, the allocation of land under the programme did not follow any defined linguistic considerations. People from different ethnic backgrounds found themselves settled together on government acquired land. Whilst some areas received a few immigrants, some received huge numbers of people from other regions, districts and/or provinces. The obvious result of bringing people from different ethnic backgrounds together are challenges relating to smooth socio-cultural and linguistic integration.

This chapter examines the impact of the fast-track land resettlement programme on the socio-cultural lives of sections of the population in Gwanda South, Matobo and Beitbridge districts of Matabeleland South Province. Specifically, the chapter considers the language question as it manifests itself in schools located in the resettled areas. Education is a key instrument for language revitalisation and where the local language is taught, it is an essential complement to intergenerational transmission of intangible cultural heritage since language is a carrier of a people's culture, philosophies and aesthetics (Ngugi, 2009).

An observation is made that some new settlements in these districts have become linguistically heterogeneous and fragmented, with smaller numbers of once-marginalised language speakers co-existing with huge numbers of Ndebele and Shona speakers who 'invaded' these district during the land reform exercise. Owing to their small numbers and the history of domination and marginalisation, speakers of the once-marginalised languages tend to lose their linguistic space since their languages are now being replaced by Shona and Ndebele in all public spaces. In some way, this new development has tended to negate the process of resuscitating the once-marginalised languages that had gathered momentum over the years. The Gwanda South, Matobo and Beitbridge districts have been selected for this study owing to the fact that minority language speakers in these districts are worried that their languages may soon be under threat. With language loss, they are afraid of also losing their cultural heritage and identity.

The loss of linguistic space is a cause for concern in the current discussion, especially given the centrality of language as a form of individual and group identity, as well as its role in the preservation and transmission of intangible cultural heritage of all communities. This is especially the case if one realises that language fragmentation

and eventual loss predictably leads to the permanent loss of the concerned speakers' oral traditions and expressions. The use of these oral expressions in public spaces helps in the maintenance of the concerned language(s). Language is mainly important to once-marginalised and sometimes discriminated language communities that are trying to maintain their distinct group and cultural identity. In this case, its loss will be the primary vehicle of acculturation. As the medium for teaching and learning, the language plays a major role in transmitting culture through the literary canons and knowledge base sanctioned by the language-in-education policy.

Although it would be desirable to look at the language question from a variety of angles as well as its manifestations in many institutions, this chapter mainly focuses on the language practices and challenges in schools located in selected resettled areas where it has become difficult, if not impossible, to offer mother tongue education in the country's once marginalised languages. Many studies have come in support of mother-tongue learning, especially at the elementary level of education. Suffice to note that without mother-tongue education, knowledge is difficult to access; learning levels remain low and school dropout levels rise. It is probably upon this realisation that the Education ministry has prioritised mother-tongue education over the past few years. Through the *Secretary's Circulars Number 1 and 3 of 2002* and the *Director's Circular Number 26 of 2007*, the then Ministry of Education, Sport, Art and Culture made provisions that promoted the use of the country's indigenous languages as media of instruction in the country's education system.

However, the situation in some resettlement areas shows that children who speak the country's once-marginalised languages as their mother tongues are 'forced' to learn in languages that are not their mother tongues or heritage languages. Given this linguistic landscape, the implementation modalities of existing mother-tongue education policies might need to be reviewed in order to ensure that smaller groups are not disadvantaged in terms of enjoying their constitutional right of accessing education in their mother tongue(s) and that they are not threatened with language shift and eventual death in resettled areas. It becomes imperative that the composite classroom set-up in many satellite schools in resettlement areas be examined in order to understand the obtaining teaching and learning environment.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In examining the impact of the 2000 fast-track land reform programme, this chapter adopts the tenets of the ethno-linguistic vitality model propounded by Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977). The choice of this model is premised on the understanding that it helps to account for the factors that make a group of people and their language survive as a collective and distinctive group in inter-group situations. The model is helpful in projecting the likelihood of a group to ensure its vitality. According to the ethno-linguistic vitality model, the more vitality a linguistic group has the greater the likelihood that it will survive as a viable, collective and distinctive group, even when in contact with a bigger ethnic group. With more vitality, the group is more likely to promote mother tongue education and avoid language shift.

The model provides structural variables that influence the vitality of ethno-linguistic groups, and these include status, demographic and institutional support factors. Through

these variables, the model accounts for some of the challenges encountered in implementing policies that prevent language shift. Each of these factors is discussed below.

Status Variables

Status variables relate to the configuration of prestige variables of the linguistic group in intergroup contexts. It is argued that the more status a linguistic group has, the more vitality it has as a collective and distinctive entity in intergroup set-ups. Four factors should be considered under status variables, and these are economic, social, socio-historical and linguistic. The economic status variable relates to the degree of economic fiat a language group has over the economic life of its nation, region or community. A language group that has a sound or meaningful control over its economic destiny succeeds in maintaining itself as a distinctive and collective entity in intergroup situations. Such a group is more likely to support all that goes into its maintenance and mother tongue education.

The social status variable is the degree of esteem or prestige a linguistic group affords itself or is afforded to it by the out-group. In most cases, though not always, the amount of group self-esteem a linguistic group affords itself closely resembles that attributed to it by the out-group. High social status on the part of the in-group can positively affect its ethno-linguistic vitality.

Socio-historical experiences can inspire and empower or discourage and disempower linguistic groups to hide or express and assert their linguistic identity, leading to either low or high ethno-linguistic vitality. In cases where the past of a linguistic group offers few mobilising symbols, the concerned group will lack a supporting basis for positive feelings of group identity and solidarity, and this leads to low ethno-linguistic vitality. Such a linguistic group will have a clearly marked negative social and cultural character. It will also lack the prerequisite ethno-linguistic awareness to struggle for the promotion of mother tongue, and this eventually leads to language shift.

The language status variable relates to the functions allocated to a language within and without the boundaries of the linguistic community network. It closely relates to issues of diglossia where one variety enjoys the (H)igh status and the other(s) are relegated to the (L)ow status. The H variety has prestige and enjoys a wide functional space in high function domains while the L variety has limited functional space mainly in low level/status domains. Linguistic groups whose language enjoys the H status are advantaged in terms of group vitality when compared to their counterparts whose language is a L variety. A language's level of development in terms of corpus, prestige, acquisition and status planning can be a source of pride or shame for its speakers, and as such may facilitate or inhibit the vitality of a given ethno-linguistic group (Cartwright, 2006; Webb, 2010; Ndlovu, 2013; 2014). Language status determines the amount of support that the H or L variety speakers can give to mother tongue education and to ensuring language maintenance.

Demographic Variables

Demographic variables relate to the sheer number of group members and their distribution in a territory. Linguistic groups with favourable demographic trends are

more likely to have vitality as distinctive and collective groups in intergroup situations. There are eight demographic variables that are identified in the ethno-linguistic vitality model as influencing the vitality of ethno-linguistic groups. These variables are discussed under two categories: that is, group distribution and group numbers factors.

Group distribution factors include issues relating to national territory, group concentration and group proportion. In this case, national territory relates to notions of ancestral homeland. Due to compelling economic, political, social and religious reasons, be it pull and push factors, linguistic groups have been divided or enlarged. Among other things, the divisions or amalgamations of territories create linguistic minorities or majorities. In the process of being disposed, displaced or resettled, linguistic groups may be split apart or relocated from their ancestral homeland. In the case of weaker groups, this leads to low ethno-linguistic vitality, linguistic fragmentation and heterogeneity. Ethno-linguistically weak language groups easily assimilate into the ethno-linguistically stronger groups resulting in cases where the weaker group loses its language.

The level of concentration of ethno-linguistic group members across a given territory, country or region also determines group vitality. Linguistic fragmentation and linguistic heterogeneity may discourage group solidarity, while linguistic homogeneity affords a linguistic group a better chance of surviving as a collective, distinctive and dynamic group because the group members are in frequent communication and can maintain feelings of solidarity and common language.

As argued in Skutnabb-Kangas and Garcia (1995: 240) and Garcia (1997: 419), the pupils' mother tongue should be used as a medium of instruction and taught as a subject in linguistically homogeneous groups. Mother tongue education is easily operationalised in those areas in which the groups have reached a certain level of concentration. The higher the number of mother tongue speakers of the concerned language and the more linguistically homogeneous the school is, the easier and more suitable it is to implement mother tongue education in the concerned language. In areas of extreme linguistic fragmentation where classes are often mixed, mother tongue education requires creative and innovative classroom organisation.

In terms of group proportion, the number of speakers belonging to the ethno-linguistic in-group compared with that belonging to the relevant out-group is another factor likely to affect the nature of the intergroup relationship. A one-to-four proportion between in-group and out-group speakers is likely to produce a different intergroup relation situation than a fifty-fifty proportion or a three-way split.

In cases where a group is numerically inferior, language accommodation, language shift, diglossia and expansive language contact takes place leading to the group's low ethno-linguistic vitality and awareness, as well as marked bilingualism and lack of a communicative need in the form of the in-group's first language.

Group numbers factors relate to absolute numbers, birth rate, mixed marriages, immigration and emigration. Absolute numbers refer to the number of speakers belonging to an ethno-linguistic group. The more the number of speakers in a group the more vitality the group will exhibit and the better its chances will be to survive as an active, dynamic, collective and distinctive group. Higher speaker numbers promote an attitude of pride and high ethno-linguistic vitality. Strength in numbers is a useful

legitimizing tool to empower ethno-linguistic groups with the institutional control to shape their own intergroup situations. When the absolute numbers of a linguistic group fall below a certain minimum threshold; the potential for survival drops significantly.

The population size of an ethno-linguistic group plays a legitimating role in determining the specific demands that a group can make to the state. For example, the state tends to provide education in a language if the language group has reached a certain level of concentration (Adegbija, 1994: 97).

In terms of birth rate, the number of children born in a group determines the group's vitality. In cases where the in-group's birth rate is lower than that of the out-group, chances are that the in-group's vitality will be under threat.

An increase in the proportion of ethno-linguistic mixed marriages between in-group and out-group also influences the group's vitality. In the case of mixed marriages, the (H)igh status variety has a better chance of surviving as the language of the home, and hence of child bringing, compared to the (L)ow status variety. This is especially true if the female spouse, whom society views as the traditional carrier of the culture and language in the home, is from the high status variety. Fishman, Hayden and Warshauer (1966: 53) state that the resultant effects of exogamy on language behaviour are measured in terms of language retention ratios. Ethnolinguistic minorities are likely to have more vitality when their language retention ratios in mixed marriages are favourable to them or if exogamy is low among them.

Immigration patterns have the effect of either enhancing or decreasing the vitality of a linguistic group. The huge influx of one or more linguistic groups in an area may swamp the host group numerically, thereby weakening the ethno-linguistic vitality of that group. Immigration is also a source of linguistic heterogeneity or fragmentation, which negatively affects the subordinate group's ethno-linguistic awareness and its social and cultural character as well as the implementation of mother tongue education policies.

Huge immigration rates of dominant language groups into areas where marginalised languages are spoken tend to force the marginalised language groups to adopt dominant languages because of the perceived opportunities and incentives associated with proficiency in these languages. This ethno-culturally threatens the marginalised language groups.

Like immigration, emigration also affects the ethno-linguistic vitality of linguistic groups. Push and pull factors can force vast numbers of economically active groups to leave their traditional communities in search of greener pastures. Emigration affects the emigrating group's distribution and contributes to its numerical inferiority, resulting in the group's low vitality. It also perpetuates marked bilingualism and language shift.

Institutional Support Factors

Institutional support variables relate to the extent to which a language group receives formal and informal representation in various institutions of the nation, region or community. A linguistic group has vitality to the extent that its language is used in a variety of institutional settings, such as the government, the church, in business, at school, etc.

Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977: 316) stress the critical importance of a linguistic group's language in the state's education system. Skutnabb-Kangas (2006: 275) further notes that a minority group whose children attend school where the dominant language is the main language of instruction, usually cannot reproduce itself if its right to mother tongue education is not guaranteed. Given the power of education in the production and reproduction of cultural identity, the use of one's language in education is indispensable in the quest to maintain or promote the group's vitality.

Consequently, if a language does not have a place in the curriculum, efforts to promote and maintain it are fraught with challenges and efforts to reverse and avert language shift are not easy to implement. Lewis and Trudell (2008: 271) argue that the influence of nationally organised institutions, such as schools, government institutions and non-government organisations with local representation is significant in language teaching, learning, maintenance, revitalisation and promotion.

THE ZIMBABWEAN LANGUAGE-IN-EDUCATION POLICY

Zimbabwe does not have an explicit language policy. However, it has a language-in-education policy that is enshrined in the *1987 Education Act as Amended in 1990 and also in 2006*, the *Secretary's Circular Numbers 1 and 3 of 2002* and the *Director's Circular Number 26 of 2007*. These provisions, which were mainly meant to promote the teaching of the country's indigenous languages, spell out the geographical areas in which the respective languages may be taught. Section 62 of the *1987 Education Act as Amended in 2006* stipulates that;

...all the three main languages of Zimbabwe, namely Shona, Ndebele and English shall be taught on an equal-time basis in all schools up to form two level.

...In areas where indigenous languages other than those mentioned in subsection (1) are spoken, the Minister may authorise the teaching of such languages in schools in addition to those specified in subsection (1).

...Prior to Form one, any one of the languages referred to in subsection (1) and (2) may be used as the medium of instruction, depending upon which language is more commonly spoken and better understood by the pupils.

Courtesy of the circulars referred to above, the teaching of Tonga, Venda, Nambya, Sotho, Shangani and Kalanga was introduced in 2001. The languages are supposed to be taught as mother tongues in their respective areas in addition to Shona or Ndebele. Worth noting is the fact that the language-in-education provisions have not been aligned with developments introduced by the land reform programme, particularly in view of changes in the linguistic geography of districts where land redistribution took place.

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The analysis of data gathered for this chapter showed that the 2000 fast-track land reform led to significant changes in the linguistic geography in resettled areas. In some areas, the land reform programme led to linguistic fragmentation and heterogeneity. The data showed that the programme is impacting negatively on the mother tongue education policy adopted as a means to maintaining and revitalising the once-marginalised languages in the country.

Immigration

Due to high immigration patterns, previously marginalised groups are highly ethno-culturally and ethno-linguistically threatened in two ways. Firstly, most previously marginalised groups have re-linguified. Secondly, Ndebele and Shona groups are importing and imposing their 'integrative' languages. In some areas immigrants, particularly the Ndebele and Shona speakers who were resettled in Matobo, Gwanda South and Beitbridge areas now constitute a sizeable number in the districts. The high rates of immigration have caused linguistic heterogeneity and also affected group distribution in the affected districts.

Almost 15 years after the land reform programme, expansive and integrative language contact and cultural mingling with more dominant language groups have weakened the marginalised language groups' ethno-linguistic vitality and awareness and is eroding their culture. Responses from some study participants showed that marginalised groups do not fully recognise, appreciate and accept the value of their languages and cultures. Language contact has resulted in marginalised language groups failing to retain their unique ethno-linguistic identity; instead they are accommodating, shifting and assimilating into the dominant groups.

The influx of Shona and Ndebele language speakers into areas where Kalanga, Venda and Sotho were once dominant had the effect of changing the ethnic configuration of pupil numbers in schools. Study data showed that Shona and Ndebele speaking pupils now constitute huge percentages in some schools. As a result, attempts to promote mother tongue education in previously marginalised languages in these areas are strongly resisted by the immigrants, especially the dominant and hegemonic Shona and Ndebele groups.

The table below shows the language profiles of the selected satellite schools gathered through a language survey questionnaire.

Table 1: Linguistic profiles of selected satellite schools

School	Kalanga	Sotho	Tonga	Ndebele	Shona	Shangani	Venda	Total
1	48-37%	19-15%	8-6%	39-30%	16-12%	—		130
2	—	79-54%	—	47-32%	3-2%	—	17-12%	146
3	—	9-6%	—	31-20.6%	27-18%	22-14.6%	61– 40.6%	150

To compound the challenges caused by immigration, there is a huge emigration of Sotho, Venda and Kalanga people to South Africa and Botswana. Education officers and parents in the district also indicated that there is a dearth of teachers who are mother tongue speakers of Sotho, Venda and Kalanga in the affected districts because they migrate to South Africa and Botswana in search for better salaries. In such a situation, mother tongue education is difficult to implement.

Language status

Giving their views on challenges associated with the promotion of mother tongue education in marginalised languages some participants argued that the efforts are stifled

by the low status accorded to their languages at national level. They pointed to the government's overt and covert attempts to promote, entrench and protect the linguistic hegemony of Ndebele and Shona. The participants expressed the sentiments that the government gives a lot of prominence to English, Ndebele and Shona. They also indicated that the prevailing status differentia enshrined in the Zimbabwean language-in-education policy is an attempt to promote language shift and assimilation into the dominant languages. Some participants also argued that the division of the country's provinces along the two national languages is a politically engineered decision meant to create linguistic majorities and minorities. They argued that their being classified under Matabeleland entails that they are counted as Ndebele. They revealed that this division has forced many marginalised language speakers in the province to identify themselves as Ndebele, leading to low ethno-linguistic vitality of the marginalised languages. The participants argued that the division of the country's main provinces based on Ndebele and Shona language tags promotes the marginalisation and exclusion of other language groups.

Participants argued for language equality and dismissed Section 6.1 of the new Zimbabwean Constitution, which stipulates that "The following languages, namely Chewa, Chibarwe, English, Kalanga, Koisian, Nambya, Ndau, Ndebele, Shangani, Shona, sign language, Sotho, Tonga, Tswana, Venda and Xhosa, are the officially recognised languages of Zimbabwe". In this case, the participants noted the semantic difference between being 'officially recognised' and being 'official' and argued that the constitutional provision is evidence of government's unwillingness to promote and raise their languages. The participants noted that in the *July 2012 Draft Constitution* the 16 now officially recognised languages were accorded the status of official languages.

They grappled with the question relating to the cause for this change in status. They wondered whether or not this was not a well-calculated and politically engineered decision. Commenting on language policies of African countries Bamgbose (1991: 111-121) notes that they are characterised by one or more of the following problems: avoidance, vagueness, arbitrariness, fluctuation and declaration without implementation. The phrase "officially recognised languages" in the Zimbabwean Constitution is a classic example of a policy that is couched in sufficiently general terms. It goes down well with everyone, since it is a "catch-all" formula that can be interpreted in a flexible manner.

The phrase has been interpreted in two ways, namely that the 16 languages are official languages and that these are languages that merely enjoy official recognition, but they are not necessarily official languages. According to Bamgbose (1991: 113), implementation of vague policies is not likely to be a burden since it may not happen. The likelihood in Zimbabwe is that we will continue with the previous policy where English, Shona and Ndebele, in this order, are the hegemonic languages which enjoy official language status.

It is tempting to conclude that this decision was arrived at to promote, entrench, perpetuate and sustain the nationalist ideology through Ndebele and Shona and the nationalist ideology of the Zimbabwean government through English. This policy decision does not alleviate the plight and vulnerability of marginalised languages since they remain caught in the cross-fire of nationalist, post-nationalist discourses and minority language education debates.

However, it is commendable that in the change from 16 official languages to 16 officially recognised languages, whoever effected the change overlooked Sections 6 (3) (a) and (b) and (4) of the Constitution which states in obligatory, binding, forceful, positive and firm terms that;

The State and all institutions and agencies of government at every level *must* — (a) ensure that all officially recognised languages are treated equitably; and (b) take into account the language preferences of people affected by governmental measures or communication. (4) The State *must* promote and advance the use of all languages used in Zimbabwe, *including Sign Language*, and *must* create conditions for the development of those languages.

Clauses (a), (b) and (4) of this section are expressed through the deontic use of the legal *must* which expresses the mandatory and compulsory need for the use of the officially recognised languages as per the policy guidelines. The directives create obligations and contain demanding formulations where the State and all institutions and agencies of government at every level are obliged to act in order to ensure that the provisions of the Constitution are implemented. This description fits well a language accorded the status of an official language.

MARKED BILINGUALISM

The marked bilingual and/or multilingual nature of some resettled areas where Venda, Sotho and Kalanga are spoken has become too pervasive and detrimental to the etholinguistic vitality and awareness of these groups. These groups' bilingual or multilingual character has led children who are speakers of Venda, Sotho and Kalanga to lack a communicative need in their home languages. The bilingual or multilingual character of these communities is thus to the children's disadvantage since it is not the balanced type; a case where Shona and Ndebele children are reluctant to learn the Venda, Sotho and Kalanga languages. Consequently, the rationale for using the home languages of the in-groups is giving way to the use of Shona and Ndebele as the 'integrative' languages. This is a potential threat to the development, promotion, teaching and learning of the in-group languages since Shona and Ndebele have assumed the role of *de facto* languages of communication and learning.

FORMAL INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORT FACTORS

Field research findings and documentary analysis shows that Kalanga, Venda and Sotho fare badly in the education system. Kalanga and Sotho are only taught in primary schools, and the latter is not yet examined at Grade 7. Interviews with officials from Joshua Mqabuko Polytechnic indicate that efforts to teach Kalanga, Venda and Sotho in the college have been derailed by lack of qualified personnel despite the fact that it is now policy that the college should teach these languages. Of these 3 languages, only Venda is taught at tertiary level at Great Zimbabwe University. This is courtesy of an arrangement that the University has with the University of Venda in South Africa which provides it with teaching staff. In light of this, one can conclude that efforts to promote, revitalise and maintain Kalanga, Venda and Sotho remain under threat and efforts to curb and avert language shift among Kalanga, Venda and Sotho speakers remain low since these languages are faring badly, especially in the important sector of education.

Study participants stressed the need for creative and innovative classroom organisation to facilitate mother tongue education which in turn aids in language maintenance, promotion and revitalisation as well as alleviating language shift in these linguistically heterogeneous communities.

Study participants also revealed that the Kalanga, Sotho and Venda groups are widely represented in strategic, influential and key levels of decision-making of the state. However, these people are not charismatic leaders who have a passion for their languages. It emerged that the problem of elite closure is prevalent and efforts to protect, promote and maintain these languages do not have the support of the elite from these language groups. It was reported that these elite have a low affective stake and emotional investment in the promotion, development and survival of their languages. Among the Kalanga, Sotho and Venda elites, development of their languages was said to be not a priority and loyalty to local languages and cultures does not seem to exist among them.

INFORMAL INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORT FACTORS

Field research findings showed that unlike the Tonga, the Venda, Sotho and Kalanga speakers show some reluctance to fight for their language. Study participants revealed that speakers of the three languages in question seem to have developed a sense of surrender, complacency and passive acceptance of the language situation as immutable. The participants expressed the feeling that the speakers are comfortable with the *status quo* in a non-conflictual manner. The speakers are inactive in resisting any attempt, overt and covert, to assimilate them into the Ndebele/Shona group and defend their identity which is embedded in the language. Dominant language groups were also said to be resisting the teaching and learning of these local languages and some parents and teachers were even questioning the desirability of teaching and learning them in their contexts and expressing comfort and preference to continue with the *status quo* where Ndebele serves as a Language Wider Communication.

CONCLUSION

Findings of this study show that the 2000 fast-track land reform programme has a negative impact on mother tongue education policies and language maintenance, promotion or revitalisation in view of previously marginalised language groups. It was noted that huge immigration rates into Gwanda South, Matobo and Beitbridge districts are promoting language shift into dominant groups where the Kalanga, Venda and Sotho language groups are integrated into the Shona and Ndebele immigrant groups. With resultant linguistic heterogeneity and fragmentation witnessed in the areas studied, one can conclude that the land reform programme has led to a serious threat to mother tongue education in previously marginalised languages. There is therefore an urgent need to review the language-in-education policy and its implementation modalities in the wake of the land reform in order to ensure that marginalised groups enjoy their indispensable educational, linguistic and human rights and maintain their vitality. This will also go a long way in preserving language an intangible heritage which is also a rich reservoir of other various types of intangible heritage such as culture, customs, values, philosophy, traditions and other oral art forms among others.

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Chapter Seventeen

Language as an Intangible Heritage: A Case of Sign Language

Victor Mugari

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

This chapter appreciates the universal resource that identifies with humanity, language, as an indispensable intangible and critical heritage resource. We focus on the non-oral and non-auditory variety, Sign language which is usually classified under minority languages in most linguistic communities worldwide. The chapter advances a motivation which calls for informed activity concerning its planning, acquisition, research, standardisation, harmonisation, maintenance and pedagogy. The chapter seeks to conscientise the populace on the need to understand that Sign language is an equally important and capable linguistic resource that is native to most people in the Deaf community. It is the Deaf people's only primary mode of communication. The lack of development or its slowness has a direct impact on the psychosocial development of the Deaf, including their ability to learn a second language and access to national resources.

We avow that Sign language is not the language of the non-hearing only, but of the speech capable ones as well since the Deaf live among the hearing and the hearing sire Deaf children while the Deaf sire hearing children. Our research and evidence-informed position hopes to enlighten policy makers, especially those in critical sectors, such as education, health, industry, commerce and judiciary on the need to have personnel with basic knowledge and or competence in Sign language. We wish to make a case that may inspire the rolling out of compulsory programmes within the education system, an exercise that might promote attitude change, tolerance and even education inclusivity.

This chapter focuses on the status, role, challenges and development of Zimbabwean Sign language (also called ZimSign¹) as an equal and independent linguistic system. The major objective is to extend motivation for the development and appreciation of Sign language as justified by the challenges that the language users face and to proffer possible solutions. The major research questions that the chapter intends to answer are: What are the challenges faced by Sign language users? Does the current language policy in Zimbabwe promote Sign language? Are the Deaf people catered for in the current inclusive education framework? What are the implications of (not) developing ZimSign?

1 The term ZimSign was first used in a dictionary published by the King George IV School and Centre. The acceptance of the term is still sketchy with some scholars proposing ZSL. This study, however expresses reservations in the use of the two abbreviations because there is no unified and homogeneous Sign language that can be identified for the whole country. Unless some standardization protocol is pursued, the use of the label Zimbabwe Sign Language would be superficial and baseless. We use the identity however in anticipation of the realisation of a standard Zimbabwean Sign Language that would assume national status and language of education for the Deaf.

The thesis advanced here views the said language as a complete and able candidate of language universality equipped with principles of universal grammar that characterise the widely studied spoken languages in terms of grammar and the features of language that makes it unique to the Sapien species.

Sign language can be defined as a visual-gestural system of communication characteristic of the Deaf. The language is characterised by hand movement, hand shape, hand orientation and facial expressions. According to Hickok, Bellugi and Klima (2002:48), 'many people mistakenly believe that Sign language is just a loose collection of pantomime-like gestures thrown together willy-nilly to allow rudimentary communication.' This, however, is misleading because signed languages are exceptionally ordered linguistic systems, which possess all the grammatical complexity of the extent afforded by spoken languages.

Yule (2010: 201) and Fromkin, Rodman and Hyams (2003: 20) argue that signing is similarly primary as speech. Echoing similar sentiments, Kadenge and Musengi (Forthcoming: 1) also note that ZimSign is a complete and legitimate language whose grammar and vocabulary are independent (not dependent on) of any other language in Zimbabwe. The independence referred to here is meant to correct the widely mistaken view that Sign languages are based on a spoken variety. Sign language of course is influenced by the languages that it is in contact with. Kadenge and Musengi (Forthcoming: 1) further note that ZimSign users are normally residents within Zimbabwe and are influenced therefore by the Zimbabwean culture. It is a complete and legitimate language whose grammar and vocabulary is not determined by any other language spoken in Zimbabwe. Its visual-gestural units of communication are not dependent on these spoken languages, with a bulk of the signs developing in response to cultural and environmental needs just like any other language. Consequently, there is no Shona Sign language, Ndebele Sign language etc. (Kadenge and Mugari, 2015: 28). ZimSign is one of the many different and mutually unintelligible Sign languages of the world which as Akach (2008: 10) notes, share some features and signs although there is no universal Sign language. It has its own variations that are peculiar to it. Thus, ZimSign is a natural language of Zimbabwe's Deaf people which is sometimes used by their hearing siblings, offspring and teachers.

In the same vein, Mabugu and Mugari (2014: 5) argue that the Deaf community's language has not been seriously acknowledged as a language constitutionally or socially in Zimbabwe for a long time as witnessed by the slow development of the language in tertiary institutions. However, in the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education, Sign language is given priority of place in the education of the Deaf as stated in Section 62 of the *1987 Education Act as Amended in 2006*. It is however, not being studied as an examinable subject at both primary and secondary school levels. Despite the provisions of the *Secretary's Circular Number 2 of 2001* which accorded it the status of an optional subject, Sign language has also not been taught as a subject, compounded by the challenge that even specialised schools for the Deaf have drifted towards spoken language instruction as in the case of *Tauramwana* Programme currently being pursued at Emerald Hills School for the Deaf (Katiza, 2016: 3). Schmaling (2000: 40-42), however shows that this may be predictable since Sign language is viewed as only able to convey basic information and concrete things, but inadequate to convey abstract and complex ideas. Low levels of proficiency of the teachers is quite predictable considering the

variations that exist, that is, it is possible for the teacher to be proficient in a different variety to that of his/her students. The analysis pursued in this chapter will need to ascertain this.

Kadenge and Mugari (2015: 27) postulate that “a cursory study of the officially recognised languages inventory in the current Zimbabwean Constitution shows that there is no easy fix to certain soft issues to do with perceptions and attitude towards some of the recently officially recognised languages.” Of notable instance is the fact that Sign language is written with an initial small letter ‘s’, same for ‘san’ language included in Khoisan, which represent two distinct language groups as resolved by *The Penduka Declaration on the Standardization of Ju and Khoe languages of 2001* (WIMSA, 2001: appendix 3). The goal of this chapter therefore is to bring to the fore research driven arguments that promote attention, visibility, development and solutions to challenges of the Deaf through ZimSign as their first language.

SIGN LANGUAGE CHARACTERISATION

The hand, body and facial movements that characterise signing makes up the articulators of this linguistic system which though based sometimes on iconic and referential meaning is quite abstract and arbitrary. Four general parameters are used to describe the chorology of signs, with some analysts, such as Koch (2015) and Strazny (2011) adding the fifth one as respectively shown below:

- Hand shape
- Location
- Movement
- Palm orientation
- Facial expressions/non-manual markers.

Metaphorically, they speak with their hands while listening with their eyes and any attempt to teach them otherwise is inexcusable ignorance and abuse to their person and culture. Just like spoken languages which have active and passive articulators, the same obtains for Sign language. The hands are in most cases the active articulators and the upper part of the body, including the face constitutes the passive articulators. In some signs one of the hands acts as the passive articulator. Just like spoken languages which have grammatical markers, facial expressions and other body movements are considered grammatical markers of mood, manner, intensity, etc.

DEAF CULTURE

In order to understand and appreciate Sign language as a linguistic variety, one needs to be aware of the intricacies of the Deaf as a culture and the characteristics of its *dramatis personae*. There are three categories of Deaf people manifested through three forms of deafness, namely; the profoundly deaf, post-lingual deaf and hard-of-hearing (Shemesh, 2010). The profoundly Deaf people are those who were born deaf and have never been able to decode linguistic sounds. The post-lingual Deaf may have been born hearing, but lose the sense of hearing due to diseases, such as meningitis. Post-lingual Deaf people may still exhibit instances of residual hearing and are good at lip-reading, and they can, in some cases actually speak to a signing hearing audience. The

hard-of-hearing have challenges decoding linguistic sounds and through hearing aids; they may be able to hear through effort (Middleton, 2010: 13).

The Deaf community nucleus therefore comprises of the above-mentioned three categories. In addition, it includes hearing parents of the Deaf, hearing children and siblings of the Deaf. Included in the same community are individuals fitting the characterisation of deaf, deaf and dumb and dumb. All these people use Sign language or at least they are supposed to because they are all deficient in speech though sometimes there is need to characterise the relationship between deafness and dumbness and dispel some of the widely held assumptions of synonymy and relation of implication.

PROBLEM STATEMENT AND RATIONALE OF STUDY

One of the qualities of being human is the instinct and ability to communicate. Under 'normal' circumstances, people within the same community exchange information with ease because of a shared linguistic system. This is not the case with the Deaf as they not only have a different language, but a different mode of execution as well. As such, they face a myriad of problems, which if not meticulously addressed, ultimately alienate them from the general society in which they dwell.

Imagine a hypothetical situation where you walk into an institution where the receptionist is Deaf or can only communicate in Sign language. Desperation, unpreparedness and anxiety constitute what the Deaf people experience every time they walk into a non-signing person. This happens on a daily basis to them and there is nothing that they can do because in the end, everyone says, 's/he is not the only client or customer'. However, visualise the emotional torture and obliteration of self-confidence and self-esteem that they endure each day, yet they do not 'speak' about it.

Personally, I had an awkward moment when I got to an institution where we were supposed to meet the Deaf for research/data gathering, they looked very happy to meet us and we could decipher that from facial and bodily expressions, but all we could do was smile non-stop to uncomfortable regions of the face. The morale of this is that, there is need to understand the communication challenges that the Deaf populace face and how they can be mitigated, especially through the promotion of ZimSign as their native language.

The promotion of Sign language would therefore directly benefit the Deaf in the learning of English as they face significant difficulties as highlighted by Mubaiwa (2014). They need a first language in the form of ZimSign, which they naturally acquire for them to internalise and appreciate the universal principles and parameters of language. Since parameters are language specific, they will need to reset them during the learning of the second or foreign language, even after critical age of acquisition.

RESEARCH ON SIGN LANGUAGE IN ZIMBABWE: A REVIEW

Within Zimbabwe, research on Sign language is minimal. Existing research focuses on special needs matters as well as general disability issues. The linguistic structure of this language has not been clearly articulated both in descriptive and theoretical realms (Musengi and Chireshe, 2012: 114). The Deaf are excluded in some national and

community programmes mostly because of the invisible nature of their disability and the general lack of recognition of Sign language. The challenges mentioned here are prevalent in non-televised community programmes. We should, however, note that there has been efforts in the media, particularly news and drama as well as courts to use the language whenever it is necessary. Of late, there has been increased activity towards Sign language in teacher education colleges and universities' teacher education departments.

The Ministry of Education has been trying to promote the acceptance of Sign language given the issue of inclusive education. The *Education Director's Circular Minute Number 2 of 2001* lists Sign language as one of the optional subjects in secondary school level (Musengi and Chireshe, 2012: 114). The *1987 Education Act as amended in 2006 Section 62(5)* and the *Secretary's Circular Number 2 of 2001 Section 3.2.1* state that Sign language is a priority medium of instruction for the Deaf and those hard of hearing.

The *Secretary's Circular Number 3 of 2002* cancels Sign language out of the curriculum as evidenced by its absence in the list of subjects in Appendix C and in the list of optional subjects. The current *Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (No. 20) Act* includes Sign language among the officially recognised languages of Zimbabwe and categorically stating in Chapter 1:6:4 that, 'The State must promote and advance the use of all languages used in Zimbabwe, including Sign language, and must create conditions for the development of these languages.' This is further buttressed through Section 6(3)(b) which states that 'the State and all institutions and agencies of government at every level must take into consideration the language preferences of people affected by governmental communication and measures.' Beside all these initiatives including Chapter 1:6:3a, which demands that the State and government agencies must, 'ensure that all officially recognised languages are treated equitably', it remains that Sign language assumes an inferior position, exacerbated by the unavailability of a standard, nationally identifiable and agreed variety.

Matende (2015) focuses on the Zimbabwean language policy with regard to Sign language, the practices obtaining in higher education, and the challenges that the users of Sign language face in this domain. This is a crucial attempt to unravel the predicaments of the Deaf community and the lack of opportunities that Sign language users face in pursuit of education. The conclusions reached here buttress our position that there are a myriad of language and communication challenges faced by the Deaf which if not brought to the fore may never be remedied.

ZimSign is most likely to have evolved in specialised schools for the Deaf. Pioneer schools for the Deaf include schools, such as Pamushana Mission near Masvingo, which is now Henry Murray School for the Deaf was established in 1947 by the Dutch Reformed Church and Loreto Mission near Kwekwe which is now Emerald Hills School for the Deaf was founded by Catholic missionaries in 1947. Barcham (1998) cited in Musengi (2014: 4) reports that later in the 1960s a national disability welfare charity, Jairos Jiri, opened another school in Gweru, referred to as the Naran Center and the Red Cross opened two schools: King George VI in Bulawayo and St. Giles in Harare. The emergence of these boarding schools for the Deaf brought together many Deaf children from isolated rural communities and their need to communicate with each other gave rise to a natural Sign language. Most Deaf children learn ZimSign upon entry into school from peers (Kadenge and Musengi, forthcoming: 2).

METHODOLOGY

Data gathering was triangulated owing to the diversity of the nature of the challenges that the research addresses. Documentary analysis was utilised on issues of policy through critical discourse analysis of the policy documents. Documents targeted include *inter alia* the *Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (No. 20) Act* as the country's supreme policy document, the *1987 Education Act as amended in 2006*, the *Secretary's Circular Number 2 of 2001*, the *Secretary's Circular Number 3 of 2002* and the *Director's Circular Number 2 of 2001*. Data on challenges faced by Sign language users was obtained through focus group discussions carried out with the Deaf through an interpreter. Questions were asked, allowing the research to be way-led by the responses of the participants, accommodating new insights and directions to the concerns of the research to be captured. Consultations on the validity of information obtained from the Deaf was also carried out through a round table discussion involving the directorate responsible for disability education from the Ministry of Primary and Secondary education, special education teachers from King George V1 School for the Deaf, Emerald Hills school for the Deaf, Deaf Zimbabwe Trust School for the Deaf and University and college lecturers in Departments which offer Sign language.

Data on variations of Sign language was collected as part of a larger project that investigated the variation of Sign language in Zimbabwe (Mugari, Mabugu and Nyangairi, 2015: 5). Participants were shown basic words and were asked to provide respective signs that they use in their communities. All data collection sessions were recorded with a video camera for future audio-visual analysis and corroboration. An interpreter was helping in terms of questioning, instructions and explanations of unclear questions and responses.

CHALLENGES AND SOLUTIONS

This section delves into the challenges that the signers face in communication with the hearing counterparts, service providers and social services providers. The goal is to examine the magnitude of the challenges that the Deaf people face due to the lack of development and standardisation of their language.

Acquisition Matters

The majority of Zimbabwean Deaf children do not acquire Sign language as a home language because of the lack of a signing environment in their immediate community. Thus, their language acquisition is delayed and in some cases language develops way after the critical age of acquisition ordinarily pegged at 12 years. Deaf children, especially those born to hearing parents do not acquire any language at all before school. They create basic homey and iconic signs for instructions, most of which form the non-verbal communication gestures repertoire of the hearing. These are neither systemic nor systematic, as such may not suit the scientific definition of a language.

Their ability to learn a second language is vitiated by non-acquisition or delayed acquisition of a first language. Literature on second language learning (Samway and McKeon, 2007; Collier, 1995; Collier and Thomas, 2009) is awash with arguments that the first language is crucial in the development of the second language. According to Collier and Thomas (2012: 155), "students who continue developing their thinking

skills in their first language until the age of 12 do well in their second languages.” The promotion and development of Sign language would therefore directly benefit the Deaf in the learning of English or any other language as they presently face significant difficulties. Mubaiwa (2014: 30) highlights that the Deaf people’s English language skills are punctuated by gross tense and word order errors to the extent of incomprehensibility, especially to non-Deaf people. The Deaf need a first language in the form of a standardised ZimSign which they naturally acquire in order for them to internalise and appreciate the universal principles, which they could use in learning a second language, and for their cognitive development.

Variations of Sign Language

While the Constitution accords Sign language the status of an officially recognised language, there exist regional and intercity variations of Sign language in Zimbabwe. As indicated in the latest dictionary’s foreword by Miti (2011: v) there are many regional variations which lexicographers could not ignore since these were significant. Mugari, Mabugu and Nyangairi (2015: 5) corroborate this, observing that there are instances where the variations are not mutually intelligible. The following figures illustrate the magnitude of these lexical variations, wherein the arrow indicates direction of hand movement:



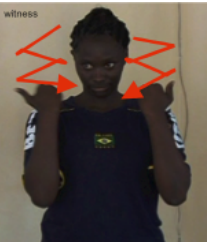
<p><i>Witness</i></p>	<p>Mutare and Bulawayo sign in the same manner, that is, they initialise the letter /w/ moving from the ear going forward.</p>	
<p><i>Witness</i></p>	<p>Masvingo initialises the letter /w/ and circular movement with both hands around the face as sketched.</p>	
<p><i>Witness</i></p>	<p>Chinhoyi is radically different, with three hand movements close to the face.</p>	

Figure 1: Variations of the Word ‘witness’.

Mutare, Bulawayo and Masvingo, initialises the alphabetic /w/, but Chinhoyi has a different sign. What is significant is that the face is a focal point; the difference is the hand movement from the face.




<p><i>Testify</i></p>	<p>Chinhoyi and Bulawayo use the same sign where the index finger taps against the thumb.</p>	
<p><i>Testify</i></p>	<p>The second sign for Bulawayo makes a tapped alphabetic /t/ demonstration, where the index finger taps two times against the tip of the thumb as in the alphabetic /T/ sign. Masvingo and Mutare have a similar sign; produced through initialisation of the alphabetic letter /t/ on the forehead, which is the place of articulation.</p>	
<p><i>Testify</i></p>	<p>Gweru, the passive hand with fingers together and the active makes an alphabetic S-like sign movement.</p>	

Figure 2: Variations of the Word 'testify'

Figures 1 and 2 are just a demonstration of the magnitude of the differences in the signs that characterise different regions and provinces. From the data analysed of 250 words in ten provincial capitals of Zimbabwe, less than a tenth of the total number of the words investigated showed minor or no variations and the rest manifested substantive differences that may neither be predictable nor comprehensible by other signers of different geographical identities. Thus, in order for Sign language to be effectively developed as a language and to ensure increased access to information, mobility and socialisation, there is need for the harmonisation and codification of Sign language in Zimbabwe. This will lead to the creation of a distinct Zimbabwean Sign language which must be accepted by all stakeholders. It should be noted however that harmonisation comes with its own challenges as witnessed in ChiShona language which has had problems with the spelling system, non-consideration of other dialects purported to be dialects of the language, bias towards one variety, among other challenges.

The variations evident in Sign language may be emerging from diversified sources and conditions. Earlier pioneers of teachers of Sign language in Zimbabwe came from a multiplicity of backgrounds such that according to Barcham (1998) cited in Musengi, Ndofirepi and Shumba (2013: 63), the earlier schools used teachers and communication methods from South Africa, England and Germany with which the Catholic sisters and the Dutch Reformed Church had connections. Chimedza, Sithole and Rinashe (1998: 1) explain that these pioneers believed in teaching the Deaf learners to listen and speak. This is not surprising given the long tradition that Deafness is a pathological ailment that requires some medical attention, and hence resulting in the suppression of Sign language (Akach, 2008: 10). The multiplicity of origins is one of the factors that led to the existence of different varieties of Sign language in Zimbabwe. Each mission or boarding school was introduced to Sign language that originated from the associated European countries. In addition to this, there is also the influence of different cultures and languages in contact. It is important to reiterate the point that Sign language is an autonomous language like any spoken language which would inevitably influence some aspects, but not exclusively determining the structure.

There is also evidence of generational gaps, that is, the signs of the elderly generations is different from that of youngsters. Although this may be treated as an intermittent lingo characteristic of younger generations elsewhere, or the case of education for young signers, there is concern that there has been no continuity in Sign language generations. This is primarily because the Deaf may be born of hearing parents and the Deaf may also give birth to hearing children, therefore, the signs known already have no way of being transmitted to the next signer, because in most cases there is no documentation of those signs to cater for intergenerational gaps.

The variability of signs may lead to varied conclusions or possibilities. It shows that there are indeed many dialects or Sign languages in existence since the variations may actually be representing distinct regional forms or autonomous Sign languages. Should that be the case, it may mean that there are many undocumented and dying Sign languages, wherein some are possibly already extinct. There is therefore need for a comprehensive research that goes beyond lexical variations to determine the level of variation and possibly typology in order to make a determination of whether or not we have autonomous Sign languages or related and distinct dialects. There is need for an all-inclusive socio-historical study on the origins of Sign language and the variations.

To compound the predicament of the Deaf, most hearing people assume that Sign language is uniform. This has resulted in lack of efforts to come up with a standard variety which in turn leads to lack of generational continuity and perpetuity of signs.

MOTHER TONGUE EDUCATION

Educationists have since 1951 been involved in debates that support the use of the mother tongue as the language of instruction in early child education and even beyond. UNESCO (2003) encourages the use of the mother tongue in early childhood education. Scholars such as Obanya, 1985; Fasold, 1997; Kennedy, 1989; Kamwendo, 1999, agree that initial literacy is generally successful through the use of a mother tongue as the medium of instruction. The value of Sign language in this context cannot be over-emphasized. Thus, there is need to promote its visibility and use for the guaranteed

access and success of early age Deaf learners. As such, it is a requirement as espoused in the *1987 Education Act as Amended in 2006* Section 62 that Sign language is a priority medium of instruction for the Deaf. More so, it is an officially recognised language in Zimbabwe as enshrined in the *2013 Constitution Amendment (No. 20) Act*. Government institutions and agencies are expected at every level to take into consideration the language preferences of people affected by governmental communication and measures. Consequently, the Deaf's preferences are thus on Sign language. Bamgbose (2000: 76-78) observes that language use as a medium of instruction is a powerful strategy for language empowerment and he further points out that these strategies are vehicles for reducing the burden of inequality and exclusion in society.

ACCESS TO HIGHER EDUCATION

In Zimbabwe there are no special Advanced Level schools and this therefore entails that there is no university education for most, if not all, profoundly Deaf individuals. Specialised secondary schools relegate some of the Deaf learners to vocational training classes (albeit after vetting) at the expense of academic subjects that are required for education furtherance, especially in universities. There is absolute unavailability of education opportunities beyond the Ordinary Level for the Deaf, especially considering the average pass rate of 10% at Ordinary Level as reported by the Directorate of Disability Education in the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education. This constitutes an exclusionist tendency of the purported inclusive Zimbabwean education. Teacher training colleges should be commended, however, for introducing Sign language into their curriculum, but they need to increase the targeted levels of proficiency that they expect from their student teachers. Various university departments of education have also taken Sign language on board. This is highly commended.

On another note, the current model of inclusivity being sold to the populace has a fair share of limitations and challenges. A better model, which has the concerns of the minorities at heart, is that which aims at including the majority, who has all abilities, into the system of those who do not have. In other words, the hearing have all the abilities/articulators that are needed to sign, so including them into the Deaf people's language would be relatively easier given the right attitudes. Nelson Mandela rightly once said: "If you talk to a man in a language he understands, that goes to his head and if you talk to him in his language; that goes to his heart." This constitutes a very important approach to the promotion of Deaf culture wherein hearing people are encouraged to learn Sign language in order to include the Deaf in their communities. However, the inverse may not yield the same results since the Deaf do not have the working organs for encoding and decoding speech, rendering efforts to include them into the hearing's world futile and in some cases callous.

ACCESS TO NATIONAL RESOURCES AND PROGRAMMES

The Sign language issue is a peculiar one because it has its own medium, i.e., without signing, the Deaf have no way they can communicate with anybody outside their Deaf culture. The only way that they can use to communicate, other than signing, is when they write English, a medium that is not primary in all instances. Their level of integration is therefore very low and a cause for concern in view of their human rights, linguistic human rights and educational linguistic human rights awareness and respect. In a country

where there is so much activism for equitable resource redistribution and empowerment, one wonders how this community maneuvers, for instance in land redistribution, community empowerment, indigenisation and general body politic. The Deaf are excluded in most national and community programmes mostly because of the invisible nature of their disability and the general lack of recognition of Sign language.

An analysis of the interview responses by the Deaf indicate that they suffer in silence in as far as health issues are concerned, with some even living with Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STDs). In politics, they have no information about the candidates, so they cannot exercise informed decisions for their votes to be meaningful, if they do vote of course. They also indicated that they face challenges with the law, even when they are the complainants because they believe that their explanations are not clearly understood. For example, in cases of assault, they claim that they are assumed to be guilty because most hearing people consider the Deaf to be extremely temperamental. In some cases, they have no say in the settlement of their cases by their guardians, for instance, when they get abused or raped. They cannot readily access information on politics, economy, current affairs and disaster preparedness because in most conferences, rallies and community meetings there are no Sign language interpreters during the proceedings. We advance a thesis that challenges the system of avoidance and strategic omission by the powers responsible. In other words, there is need for specialised resources and properly trained personnel to deal with the needs of the Deaf.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

We have presented the challenges that the Deaf populace face in view of their language and proffered some solutions that may be adopted to ease the magnitude of their suffering. There is incontrovertible evidence that the Deaf in Zimbabwe have been sidelined in developmental projects and socio-political involvement because they cannot communicate orally. The language which is primary to them has not attracted enough attention to warrant standardisation and has, until recently, not been officially recognised. Furthermore, even with the current status, the situation on the ground limits inter-regional cooperation because of the variations between varieties. There is exigent need for the 'construction' of a distinct nationally accepted version of Sign language in Zimbabwe that can be used in giving instructions in schools and ultimately all the formal contexts possible. Thus, for Sign language to be effectively developed as a language and for increased access to information, mobility and socialisation, there is need for the codification of Sign language in Zimbabwe to create a distinct Zimbabwean Sign language which is accepted by all stakeholders, and which can be developed and standardised. The following recommendations can be considered:

- Encourage the Government to introduce a sound, legally binding and forceful policy backed by resources and monitoring mechanisms to encourage compliance. We need watch-dogs and clear implementation procedures and guidelines in view of Sign language use and promotion.
- Increase awareness and psychosocial support and counselling for parents of the Deaf in order to equip them with knowledge of why Sign language is essential to their children and why it is important for them to have some proficiency in the language too.

- The rolling out of compulsory programmes of teaching Sign language across the education system, an exercise that might promote attitude change, tolerance, individual bilingualism, institutional multilingualism and inclusivity in education.
- Promote post-Ordinary Level Sign language teaching and learning through special Advanced Level schools or admission waivers at institutions of higher learning.
- There is need to train the Deaf in various service industries, like the police, nurses, teachers, among others, so that they in turn help their language folks.
- Discourage oralism since most Deaf people who pursue their education further do so through manipulation of lip reading, an exercise that is tedious and not very efficient.
- There is need to introduce Sign language as a core subject in the education system.

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Chapter Eighteen

Africa's Animals: Inferences to be Drawn from the Totemists Claim

Clive Tendai Zimunya, Joyline Gwara and Isaiah Munyiswa

INTRODUCTION

In a bid to come up with an authentically African theory that will help in conserving animals as part of Africa's tangible and intangible heritage, scholars have put forth the view that animals should be protected, not on the basis of their instrumental value, but on the basis of their inherent worth. In a highly anthropocentric environment, African writers point to totemism as a yardstick that can be used to conserve animals in Africa. Most Zimbabweans (and Africans in general) belong to one totem or the other, and there are several taboos against harming one's totem. This has been used as a basis for safeguarding the lives of animals by some animal rights theorists in Africa (Taringa; Shoko cited in Feris and Moitui, 2011). However, there are some loopholes in this approach which scholars in this area have over-looked. What happens, for instance, to those animals that do not have any human representation? In the traditional world, where Western influence had not affected much of our cultural thinking, intermarriages between different totems created relations that would ensure that both parties respected the totem of the other. However, nowadays, because of the diffusion of African culture with Western culture, there is the danger that a person who belongs to one totem is not under any serious obligation to respect the totem of another person, including their spouse's, which might lead to a vicious cycle of non-respect for animals.

Africa is a place rich in traditions and diverse cultural beliefs and practices. These beliefs and traditions act as guides concerning how people deal with problems or how they act on the world around them. From birth, these beliefs are inculcated into young minds like a clay-maker moulds their clay into uniform pots and these beliefs come to form what can be called a person's conceptual scheme. In Africa, emphasis is usually placed on following the norm and it is these norms that regulate what an individual does and does not do. Put into a rule form, this can be formulated as, do what others normally do and avoid what others normally avoid. This unwritten code has been the core of the African moral system. In Sub-Saharan Africa, issues to do with animal rights have not yet taken root as part of everyday belief systems. In an era where women and other marginalised groups like the disabled are still trying to forage their way into getting recognition as equals to their able-bodied male counterparts, animals have been left behind, if not totally ignored. Yet, quite a number of animals on the African plain are on the brink of extinction if a change in mind-set is not put in place. This chapter offers insights into the place of animals in a typical African society, how totemism has been put forward as a possible means to getting animals to be accepted in the moral realm, as well as highlight the challenges that totemism creates when it comes to animal welfare and animal rights theories. Finally, the chapter offers some suggestions concerning how these problems can be circumvented in light of the need to conserve animals for posterity's sake.

The chapter argues that it is important for African people not only to maintain and uphold the beliefs in totems as they have them at present, which is believed to be a good way to ensuring animal conservation, but also that such beliefs need to be taken seriously if they should have any impact towards such an end.

ANIMALS AND THE REALM OF ENDS

Talk of the recognition of animals as important members of the natural ecosystem has a long history that will be briefly spelt out in this section. It should be noted that although recent scholarship claims that many of these ideas are foreign to African thought systems, traces of them can still be found in some of Africa's intangible beliefs. Feris and Moitui (2011) explore in depth the interrelatedness of animate and inanimate worlds within the African cosmos. Nevertheless, readings among other non-African scholars view this aspect about the African world differently. In their view, human beings from the beginning of documented history up to the mid-20th century have always had an anthropocentric view of the universe. According to this worldview, human beings take precedence over everything else in the created universe. According to Gaader (2011: 16):

anthropocentrism refers to the traditional orientation of Western thought about and attitudes towards humans' relation to nature....The underlying assumption is that humans are at the centre of things: either apart from nature as a different order of being altogether or at the top of a hypothetical species hierarchy or ladder.

Although Gaader was commenting from a Western viewpoint, and is not an authority in African traditional beliefs, such an anthropomorphic trend can be noticed even in African views towards animals, where animals are seen as having lesser value than human beings. Generally, anthropocentrism means that human interests, needs and desires are all that matter and that it is only human beings that possess *intrinsic* value. The anthropocentric view of the universe sees mankind as having not only the right over other things, but also a God-given obligation to use everything else to their advantage. Because many Africans, and Zimbabweans in particular, have embraced Christianity as their religion, distancing themselves further from their traditional African beliefs, the Biblical story of creation in Genesis does not make the welfare of animals any easier. In Genesis 1: 26, the Bible says:

And God said, let us make man in our image, after our likeness: and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth.

This view, which has come to be known as *dominionism* (Bekoff, 1998: 47) seems to suggest that even the God who created the universe, from a Judeo-Christian perspective at least, had an anthropocentric end to creation. Everything was created for the satisfaction of mankind and human beings in turn have a duty to control everything. In other words, everything in the created universe has instrumental value, existing only to serve the needs and interests of humans. Dominionists think of nature as a boundless storehouse of resources.

However, it should be noted here that the God-given 'right' over all other creatures should not be misunderstood as a licence to careless use and abuse of the created world. Mankind was made a custodian of the universe, and custodians are ordinarily thought to be responsible people. As a parallel, imagine a scenario in which before a person dies, they write a will giving their fortune to a custodian of their choice. Assuming that the person was under no influence or prejudice, it is the case that such a custodian would be someone trusted to make the most of the fortune. Obviously the drunkard nephew who has been known to be reckless in their life will not be a possible candidate for custodianship or heir. Rather, the people trusted to be responsible are the ones usually left as custodians of important things. Likewise, that God put human beings as custodians and stewards entails that human beings has the potential to be responsible due to their endowment with reason, which allows them to distinguish between right and wrong.

This view, known as the *stewardship view*, is also found in other religions such as Islam, which holds that humans are nature's caretakers, the vice-regents of Allah, for whose glory all acts are performed (Bekoff, 1998: 47). The stewardship view is also manifested in such ideas as husbandry, wise management and the conservation and preservation of nature. Within this view, human beings are still seen as more important than the rest of the universe, but other species also matter and possess *some* value as well.

Early Greek philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle, whose works have come to form the core of philosophical thinking today, also did not make the situation any better. Because much emphasis is placed on reason as the mark of importance, animals and the inanimate universe were generally deemed to be unimportant. In Aristotle's works, such as the *Categories* and *Biology*, animals are placed at a lower level on the hierarchy of being since they are not rational. It is from such perspectives that moral theories have been formulated in such a way that they only apply to human beings. This 'civilised' view of morality generally outlaws violence as a mode of human interaction: we should not humiliate, torture, rape or even kill another human being. Such a moral standing is not extended to non-human entities. Immanuel Kant's categorical imperative, which states that we should treat other human beings as we would want to be treated ourselves and that each human being should be treated as an end in themselves and not a means to an end, is reminiscent of this position. It is only human beings who ought to be considered in the realm of ends or as beings that are important in themselves. Animals are only to be considered insofar as they have instrumental value to human beings. It is from this background that animal rights and welfare activists have come into the picture, to try and save animals from rampant killing by their so-called 'custodians', the humans.

ANIMAL RIGHTS AND ANIMAL WELFARE

In 1975, the publication of Peter Singer's book *Animal Liberation*, ushered in a new perspective through which animals could be considered (Sunstein *et al*, 2004: 4; Frankli, 2005: 2). Likening the plight of animals to that of women and the black race, who had been victims of segregation and victimisation in America, Singer seeks to show that animals also need their liberation from the oppressive human race. Singer's theory is based on the belief that if anything possesses any interests, then those interests should be respected. He notes that all sentient beings (animals included) have one common interest, that is, the avoidance of pain (Franklin, 2005: 2). All sentient beings can feel pain, hence their happiness would imply the absence of any pain.

From this ground, Singer argues that for humans to ignore the effects of their actions on the interests of other animals simply because they are non-human is morally arbitrary. It is on this point that his analogy between animal and human oppression rests: just as racism and sexism are morally wrong because a human being's race or gender is generally irrelevant to whether we ought to consider the effects of our actions on him or her, so too is ignoring a being's interests solely because of its species, or speciesism. As Singer defines it, Speciesism is a prejudice or attitude of bias in favour of the interests of members of one's own species and against those of other species (Franklin, 2005: 4)

According to Singer, "if a being can suffer there can be no moral justification for refusing to take that suffering into consideration. No matter what the nature of the being, the principle of equality requires that its suffering be counted equally with the like suffering — insofar as rough comparisons can be made — of any other being." If so, Singer concludes, it follows that the various forms of animal exploitation that ignore animal suffering (for example, intensive "factory" farming and scientific experiments that inflict pain on laboratory animals), must be viewed as seriously immoral (Fellenz, 2007: 62). As it is apparent from the foregoing, Singer does not advocate for the complete non-use of animals as means to humans' ends, instead, he only advocates that more humane methods be used when dealing with animals. This is what can be called animal *welfarism*.

The chief difference between animal welfare and animal rights is that whereas animal welfare advocates insist on a more humane treatment of animals, animal rights advocates insist on the stronger position that animals and human beings should be accorded equal respect. Some animal rights advocates reject any use of animals, no matter how humane the treatment. According to Newkirk (2011, <http://furcommission.com>), "there is no rational basis for saying that a human being has special rights. A rat is a pig is a dog is a boy. They're all mammals." Some animal rights advocates have even suggested that animal welfare reforms impede progress toward animal rights because they improve the conditions under which "animal exploitation" occurs, making it more difficult to stimulate public opposition to animal use. When the interests of humans and animals come into conflict, animal rights advocates put the animals first. According to Newkirk, (2011, <http://furcommission.com>), "even if animal research produced a cure for AIDS, we'd be against it." Hence, animal rights advocates have a more aggressive stance towards the recognition of animals as equal members of the realm of ends. This has just been a short outline of the major highlights in the animal rights debate as it appears in Occidental discourses. It now remains the task of this chapter to examine how the animal rights debate has been handled from an African perspective, which forms the core of this chapter.

THE PLACE OF ANIMALS IN AFRICA

Africa, and Sub-Saharan Africa to be specific, has lagged behind in the recognition of animals as important members of the realm of ends. Although such novel initiatives such as the Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE), and the the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES), have tried to conserve animals, the welfare of animals still leaves gaps that need urgent attention in the contemporary world. CAMPFIRE, for

instance, offers incentives of a steady income from trophy hunting. From this incentive, rural people, who used to view animals like lions and elephants as a threat to their crops and livestock, are now motivated to conserve and manage their wildlife, and have the funds to protect their villages and crops (Bedford, 2013). However, it is to be observed here that animals are conserved, not because they are seen as important in themselves, but because there is a monetary incentive. Animals then are seen as having instrumental value, serving only to meet the financial needs of man, but do not have intrinsic value.

A variety of reasons can be given as to why there has not been a paradigm shift from this way of viewing animals. Chief amongst these is the way a person's conceptual scheme is structured in a typical African set-up. Animals are generally given instrumental value in Africa, serving mostly to fulfil the carnivorous desires of mankind. Historical anecdotes capture the African people as having their well-being founded in the hunting and rearing of animals for meat. Animals that do not offer any edible flesh, such as dogs and cats, also have instrumental value in that they are kept only to preserve the household from prowlers or protect agricultural produce from vermin. The extent of this non-recognition of animals in the realm of ends can be graphically exemplified by a hypothetical comparison. In Western countries, where some milestones have been achieved in terms of achieving some animal rights recognition, domesticated animals such as dogs and cats are treated differently from the way they are treated in Africa. It is difficult to imagine an African person who allows their dog or cat to sit on the couch or share the bed as happens in Western countries. Most pets are relegated to the outdoors, where they are left to ravage the garbage can or pit for food or thrown-away treats.

Although the situation is slowly changing, it is also difficult to imagine a typical African person getting into a grocery store and actually buying food for their dog or buying ingredients for their pets' meal. Apart from diminished resources, the mind-set of the typical African person takes the form of the anthropocentric dominion view outlined earlier, viewing animals as inferior to human beings. In the Shona worldview, animals and the land are seen as gifts from *Musikavanhu* (Bourdillon, 1976: 76) and left in the custodianship of human beings, usually through the chief, for their use in the perpetual existence of the clan. This ushers in the instrumental value mentality present within most Shona people's conceptual schemes.

The natural environment is also seen by most Shona people as an abundant resource which cannot be depleted. Although this is also true for other parts of the world, it is especially true in 'modern' Shona society that most people are not aware of the dangers of ozone depletion or environmental degradation, with most people discarding such talk as myths or outright falsehoods. In this regard, to bring a change in the mind-set requires instances in their own culture that can be utilised to raise awareness and bring about a much needed change in the attitude towards conserving both animals and the environment. Foreign theories such as utilitarianism as has been outlined above in the writings of Singer, would not be taken seriously as foreign theories are usually viewed with suspicion. In the face of global warming and animal extinction, there is a serious need to unearth parts of Shona culture that can be used in the conservation of animals and the environment.

TOTEMISM IN THE SHONA CULTURE

The Shona people believe in the existence of spirits that are typically invisible and intangible, but have power to affect the lives of the living as causal factors of illness and disease. Such spirits include ancestral spirits, vindictive spirits, witch familiars and stranger spirits (Shoko, 2007: 57). It is believed that these spirits monitor the observance of the various taboos that exist and any break of these taboos attracts a punishment of some sort. It is interesting to note that Shona culture is rich in taboos that have significant elements which have the potential to be used in the fight for the recognition of animals as important members of the realm of ends.

Taboos on hunting excessively or fishing excessively have been recorded, with heavy fines being met out by chiefs where such excesses have taken place. In an attempt to come up with an authentically African basis for respecting animals as ends in themselves (as opposed to using Western ideals as proposed by Regan and others), African scholars have recognised the anthropocentric attitudes towards the environment and animals in particular, and have sought the need to recognise some aspects in African belief systems and practices that may lead to the conservation of animals in a sustainable way.

The answer has been found in the idea of totems as an African practice that can influence how we perceive and handle animals as part of our intangible heritage. Totemism is belief in the kinship of a group of people with a common totem. The word totem is derived from the Ojibwe (Chippewa) word 'odoodem' meaning "his kinship group" signifying a blood relationship. Totemism was the practice of having a natural object or animate being, such as a bird or animal, as the emblem of a family, clan, tribe or individual. Totemism encompassed a system of tribal organisation according to totems. A totem was believed to be mystically related to the group and therefore could not to be hunted.

A totem is as a rule an animal (whether edible and harmless or dangerous and feared) and more rarely a plant or a natural phenomenon (such as rain or water), which stands in a peculiar relation to the whole clan (Freud, 1950). The totem is thought to be the common ancestor of the clan; at the same time it is their guardian spirit and helper, which sends them oracles and, if dangerous to others, recognises and spares its own children. In Zimbabwe, totems (*mitupo*) have been in use among the Shona people since the initial development of their culture. Totems identify the different clans that historically made up the dynasties of their ancient civilisation.

Today, up to 25 different totems in which various animals, such as the Lion (*Shumba*), the Monkey (*Soko*) and the Antelope (*Mhofu*), as well as environmental landscapes such as the Lake (*Dziva*), can be identified among the Shona, and similar totems exist among other South African groups, such as the Zulu and the Ndebele. Members of the same totem are not to marry, and several taboos exist to promote respect and at the same time prevent harming one's totem. Sometimes it is even claimed that one of the causes of droughts is that people of the same totem would have committed sacrilege by marrying each other. It is also claimed that if people of the same totem marry, then they may have some misfortunes befalling them. Such misfortunes include barrenness, giving birth to disabled children, or general bad luck in all areas of life. As such, great care is to be taken so that members of the same totem do not marry each other.

THE PROBLEM

Inasmuch as totems may help in the conservation of animals through the observance of taboos associated with totems, there are several problems that this chapter seeks to highlight which may pose a problem in the successful implementation of totemism as a guide to human relations with animals. It is important to note that individuals belonging to one totem, for example the *Mhofu* (antelope) totem, are not under any strict obligation to respect the totems of other people. Members of this totem, for example, may be forbidden from hunting or eating this animal, but they are under no strict obligation to respect the *Soko* (monkey) totem. The reverse is also true. Perhaps in cases where one person marries a person from another totem, both parties may respect each other's totems, but they are still not bound to do so. A *Mhofu* who marries a *Moyo* (heart) will still eat the heart since it is not their totem.

Although the taboo is clear that people of the same totem must not marry, the boundaries of avoidance and indulgence are not clearly spelt out and this causes serious problems. Because either party in the union of marriage is at liberty to eat the other person's totem, this transcends to the macro-level where the general population is generally married in this way. If all people in the land are not under any obligation to respect the totems of their spouses then, assuming that there are equal numbers of men and women who are evenly distributed in the number of totems that exist, this is the same as saying that all totems are at risk of extinction from non-members. This challenge will be difficult to circumvent, unless a new taboo (which is difficult to formulate and to get accepted) is created, specifying that once a person marries a person of a different totem, then they automatically are now under the obligation not to harm, or eat that particular totem. This way, the principle may cascade to the macro level where all people would now be obliged to treat the totem of their spouses as their own. At the end of the day, a person ends up having two totems instead of the conventional one; one from their side and the other from their spouse.

However, it should be emphasised that because of the conformist reasoning patterns that characterise typical African societies, it is difficult for such a change to be accepted. Some things are done, not because they are founded on good reason, but because they have always been done that way. A person has always been given one totem and never have they been able to 'adopt' their spouse's totem. This may even be called a taboo. But the potential such a novelty has on improving how animals are viewed in Africa is enormous.

ARE ALL ANIMALS REPRESENTED?

Apart from this challenge, it is also interesting to note that not all animals are totems or can be totems. Some animals such as the owl, the hyena, snake, vulture and some nocturnal animals are considered taboo in themselves. Because of the common belief in witchcraft, nocturnal animals are usually associated with witchcraft activities. To bring the problem into perspective, people would consider a typical Shona person as a witch (or someone involved in witchcraft at least) if the person in question is found in possession of an owl or snake, whether dead or alive. Christianity, which has found a home in the hearts of many Shona people, does not make it any better for some animals, such as snakes. The moment a snake is seen, its death is an imminent occurrence since the Bible declares in Genesis 3:15:

And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy heel, and thou shalt bruise his head.

The snake becomes an open target for killing based on this Bible verse. In Shona tradition, the snake is also usually symbolically associated with children's sex at birth. If a person has only female children and seeks to have a male child, they can go to a spiritual healer who will be able to "turn the snake" in the womb so that it produces a male child instead. However, despite this symbolic significance, there are very few people in Shona culture who take the snake as their totem. The snake, just like the owl and hyena, for example, are deemed to be vehicles for *varoyi* (witches and wizards). It is hard to come by a person who has these animals as their totems, yet several species of the owl, for example, are endangered species that need protection. Such animals, then, suffer a difficult blow if totemism is to be used as a yardstick for the recognition of animals into the realm of ends.

ANIMAL BODY PARTS FOR TOTEMIC IDENTITIES?

There are some totems that are in the form of animal parts. Such totems as *Moyo* (Heart), *Gumbo* (leg) do not specify which animal's heart or leg should be avoided by the bearer of the totem. The taboo does not specify which animal leg should be avoided. In the end, such people only avoid eating the leg or the heart of animals like cattle, though they are under no obligation not to harm the animals where the heart or legs come from. For example, animals such as cows, antelopes, rabbits or elephants all have legs and hearts. The taboo says a person is not to harm their totem or eat their totem animal. What would stop the person from killing the animal (possibly by striking parts of it, such as the head, that are not the heart or the leg depending on the totem to which the person belongs), then eating the flesh from other parts of the animal's body, leaving out only those parts that are their totem? As far as the avoidance taboo goes, nothing would stop the person from harming the animal.

Some may argue that because no specific animal is mentioned under this type of totem, then all animals with hearts and legs are represented. Because all animals have a heart, then the heart totem-bearers would be the most respectful of all animals and therefore in principle would not eat the flesh of any animal. However, the reality on the ground is that avoidance of especially eating the flesh of the animals, is restricted to the heart only in the case of people who bear the heart totem. Such people may even be the most dangerous to animals since they are under the obligation to avoid only a part of the animal, and not the rest of the animal.

HOW ABOUT LANDFORMS AS TOTEMS?

There are some people with natural landforms and waterbodies as their totems. The *Dziva* (dam/lake) totem quickly comes to mind. In principle, it looks as though members of totems that are of a landform in nature ought to respect all life-forms that dwell within the landform. However, several difficult questions arise concerning members of such totems. For instance, are members of the *Dziva* totem, for example, under any obligation to respect the fish species that exist in these dams or lakes? Are they in a position to champion the safeguarding of the dams/lakes from members of other totems? Is a *Dziva* person in any position to stop a *Soko* (monkey) person from excessive fishing

for example? This chapter's research findings amongst those who belong to the *Dziva* totem seems to suggest otherwise. They are not under any obligation to protect any dams/lakes, for most of them have never been anywhere near a dam/lake.

Like the members of the animal body parts totem discussed above, these people are not obliged to respect any particular animal but the landform in which the animals dwell. The totem does not say "avoid the fish in the dam/lake", but simply says respect the dam/lake. This vagueness in the rule creates loopholes in which people belonging to such totems can adequately defend the harming of creatures that dwell in the dam/lake. Comparatively, suppose a hypothetical situation in which a person belongs to the mountain totem. Nothing would stop them from hunting and eating the animals on the mountain, but perhaps they would be under the obligation not to burn the forests on the mountain. Like the animal body parts totem, such people too can be considered to be very dangerous to animals.

TOTEMLESS PEOPLE

Our discussion thus far has focussed on people that actually do have totems. It is usually taken for granted that all members within indigenous communities belong to one totem or the other. However, a close inspection of the situation on the ground reveals that there are a good number of people who do not belong to any specific totem. Usually, such people are immigrants who migrated into the country from neighbouring countries and became assimilated into the Shona culture, marrying a Shona person and ending up being an authentic *citizen* among the Shona population. The offspring of such people end up having no totem since their father, from which side totems are handed down to children, would have no totem themselves. Other situations include children from parents who just impregnated each other and never married. Perhaps the people in question would not have known each other long enough to know each other's totem. In the end, the children born end up being *totemless* as their genealogy or clan cannot be traced.

In today's world where promiscuity even among married people has become commonplace, children are even given their rightful totems, but not without its own difficulties psycho-spiritually. It is often said that it is only a woman who knows the real father of a child. The perceived father may just be fake or a cover-up father for someone else's children. If a child goes about as belonging to this totem, yet they really belong to a different totem, then hypothetically, they are as good as someone without a totem. Because such cases exist, a new level of vagueness comes to light as members of the totemless society are not under any obligation to respect any totemic animal or species.

HOW SERIOUSLY ARE THE TABOOS TAKEN IN TODAY'S MODERN WORLD?

The last challenge to be looked at is how seriously people in today's society take the taboos on totems. In a world that is fast becoming 'scientific', people are appealing more to scientific justification rather than traditional taboos. It is commonplace to hear people argue that it is no longer very significant that people ought to marry people of a different totem. Instead, what is important is that they love each other

enough to want to live together. The totem taboos themselves even give some leeway to those who may want to marry even if they share the same totem. A cow known as *mombe yechekaukama* (cow of cutting relations) can be paid to the family of the bride to allow the people to marry. Notwithstanding this observation, it still remains true that a majority of people in the Shona society today have been influenced by the globalising world to such an extent that some taboos, though still present, do not carry much weight in changing people's perspectives. This is tragic on issues of identity that are critical to intangible cultural heritage.

POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

In light of the foregoing problems, several possible solutions can be suggested. A close look at some of the ethnic groups that value totemism as part of their cultural heritage gives us important insights. The native Indians of America, for example, offer good insights into how some of the problems highlighted in this chapter can be circumvented. Among American native Indians, culturally, totems are not only given at birth, but individuals have a choice of nine animals which they are free to choose from. Native American tradition provides that each individual is connected with a possible nine different animals that will accompany each person through life, acting as guides. The rationale is that different animal guides come in and out of our lives depending on the direction that we are headed and the tasks that need to be completed along our journey

Though people may identify with different animal guides throughout their lifetimes, it is this one totem animal that acts as the main guardian spirit. With this one animal a connection is shared, either through interest in the animal characteristics, dreams, or other interaction. This Animal Guide offers power and wisdom to the individual when they "communicate" with it, conveying their respect and trust. This does not necessarily mean that you actually pet or spend time with this animal, more than that you are open to learning its lessons. Knowing what one's totem animal is, is considered an almost an innate process. It's as if they've always known, inexplicably drawn to the animal or having a special feeling for the animal's energy.

It is the conviction of this chapter that it is not enough for people to pride themselves in belonging to one totem or the other (or several for that matter). Positive and active steps need to be taken by totem bearers to ensure that their totems are protected, lest they end up with an extinct totem. Lastly, certain beliefs have to be changed in order that some other animals not previously considered as possible alternatives for totems can have the opportunity to become such. Such beliefs related to the use of animals in witchcraft activities have to be modified in accordance with evidence and new understandings of animal behaviour, especially nocturnal animals, so that future generations can better protect (and adopt as totems) all animals which form part of Africa's tangible and intangible heritage.

CONCLUSION

From the foregoing discussion, it is apparent that Totemism has the potential to be one of the most powerful tools in the African belief systems that can aid the fight for the recognition of animals as important players in the realm of ends. However, the chapter highlights several challenges that totemism faces in light of an ever-changing world

that we live in. The Shona society has been used as a test case, although it can safely be argued as being representative of a typical Africa society. Nevertheless, the anthropocentric view of the universe imported and adopted as a result of the Africans contact with other cultures, leaves animals at the mercy of human beings. In view of the need to conserve animals and the natural environment, not only as part of our intangible heritage, but also for posterity to enjoy, totemism, if carefully harnessed and aggressively advocated for, may yield some positive steps in the right direction.

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Chapter Nineteen

Meteorology among the Shona: An Interpretation of Weather Science through Indigenous Knowledge Systems

Bridget Chinouriri and Reggemore Marongedze

Introduction

Indigenous knowledge system (IKS) is locally based knowledge that is unique to a given culture/society (Mapara, 2009). Shoko (2012) defines IKS as knowledge forms that have originated locally and naturally, and despite the racial and colonial onslaughts that they have suffered at the hands of Western imperialism, they still exist. The indigenous knowledge systems in Zimbabwean's colonial history became ideological. This means that Zimbabwean IKS were sidelined and global perspectives were considered more than the views of the local people. A 'them-and-us' attitude emerged with regards to relations with the peoples of other non-European lands, who were assumed to be 'primitive' and hence needed to be civilised. The hierarchy of knowledge and races emerged, with Europeans being regarded as the 'genuine' human species, while the rest, especially Africans, were seen as being closer to the lower animal species (Ruparanganda and Landa, 2014). Arnfred (2004) and Miller (1986), cited in Ruparanganda and Landa (2014), write and elaborate that the colonisation of Africa was a result of 'Otherisation' and this concept focuses on how experiences, beliefs and existence in general, of other people in society were stereotyped and marginalised.

Generally, knowledge involves some form of power. Mararike (2012: 56) argues that powerful organisations that have knowledge which may be needed by others for their survival use it to exert their will and influence over others, whether they like it or not. Colonialism discouraged the forms of knowledge of African peoples and substituted them with forms of knowledge which represented the world as it was for the colonialists. Mararike (1998) argues that such an enslavement of the mind precedes the looting of material resources by the colonial power. It creates willing partners who cooperated in self-enslavement and participated in their own exploitation and destruction of their own IKS. Thus, the political ecological approach to meteorology in general forced the integration of local societies into colonial systems with almost a near total annihilation of local IKS.

What is evident from the above is that there is every need to intellectualise African cultural resources, an inquiry represented by the case of the Shona people on weather forecasting. The research seeks to center the efficacy of the IKS of the Shona and intergrate it critically with conventional meteorology in the interpretation of weather in their geographical space and time. This is one way that Africans can realise the centrality of [their] agency, versatility and creativity in the interpretation of data relating to [their meteorological phenomena] (Asante, 1998). Thus, this summons all African scholars to share the goal of introspecting the intelligence that we, as a people, have, and continue to produce, in the pursuit to create approaches of interpreting diverse

subjects such as meteorology. For this reason, this chapter invests in a cultural reclamation of the cultural science knowledge produced by the Shona relating to meteorology with the aim of integrating it critically with the 'modern' meteorological approaches. The chapter articulates the ways in which meteorology readings were deduced among the Shona, and presents the need for integration with conventional methods. The chapter explores the interpretation and readings of weather through the environmental indicators such as birds, flora and fauna, and astronomical features such as the sun and the moon. This intangible cultural heritage has been used to ensure sustainable livelihoods in some local Shona communities. Meteorology has been globalised to a large extent, but we advocate the validation or a contribution of the cultural interpretation of the local space and time. Thus, this chapter is theoretically sensitive to Afrocentricity (Asante, 1998, Wa Thiong'o, 1993) with the awareness that this paradigm does not only give precedence to the treasured experiences of Africans, but is also cognisant of the knowledge systems produced by people of African descent, making them agents in their own right.

CONVENTIONAL AND SHONA METEOROLOGY

The Shona community has a long and ignored history of the knowledge of how to identify and diagnose weather-related issues which they have managed to do through experiences, innovation and adaptations over many generations. Acquisition of this knowledge is collective and community-oriented and benefits all members. It has developed over the centuries of experimentation on how to adapt to local conditions. It therefore, represents all the skills and innovations of a people and embodies the collective wisdom and resourcefulness of the local community (Mapara and Mpofu-Hamadziripi, 2014). Among the Shona people of Zimbabwe, IKS is context-based, highly specific and emerges from localised practical experiences. To the Shona, the term *nzvimbo yatigere* or *mamiro ekunze* (environment) encompasses all things through which the human life is sustained (Mararike, 1996). The meaning given to the environment was a collective responsibility of members of the community. This ranges from the land itself, the flora and fauna, birds, celestial objects and the spiritual world of the inhabitants. Thus, IKS play an important role in defining the identity of the community. It is in recognition of the increasing loss of useful indigenous knowledge systems that measures must be taken to research and document what the local people still know, and use, and preserve it for posterity.

Zimbabwe's economy is mostly agro-based and agriculture provides employment for 70% of the population (Shoko, 2012). There are various factors which control agricultural production. Weather is one important factor which has an overwhelming dominance over the success or failure of an agricultural enterprise. In simple terms, weather forecasting is a scientific estimate of the weather conditions which are measured in variables such as temperature, rainfall, the wind and others. Conventional meteorology is basically a branch of science that uses globally-established methods of interpreting the processes and phenomena of the atmosphere as a means of forecasting weather. Conventional weather forecasts are processed and disseminated from meteorology departments and at times are not accessible to most rural people. In order to reduce risks of loss in food production and security due to the vagaries of weather, weather forecasts or readings should be taken into account in all agricultural planning to ensure

sustainable livelihoods. Conventional meteorology is founded on weather interpretation based on Western praxis. This poses a dilemma for farmers, especially those in the rural areas, as they fail to get information since conventional meteorology is not documented in ways that the farmer can understand (Zuma-Netshiukhwi, *et al.*, 2013). Besides poor methods of information dissemination, there is also inadequate meteorology equipment in Zimbabwe. As a result, there is a tendency of generalising the weather findings. Risiro *et al.* (2012) observe that in conventional meteorology there is use of high technology such as satellites and radar. The Meteorology Services Department in Belvedere, Harare, conducts these complex tasks. The processes are expensive and require high technology and expertise. Risiro *et al.* (2012) conclude that in least-developed countries, including Zimbabwe, problems range from inadequate weather stations, financial problems and rapid degradation of the environment.

Shona meteorology readings are based on endogenous experiences. As highlighted before, Shona meteorology is an endogenous branch of knowledge which gives an insider's perspective on methods of interpreting the processes and phenomena of the atmosphere as a means of forecasting weather. The Shona since time immemorial have developed these indigenous weather forecasting systems which have been used in the planning, informing and execution of their agricultural activities. But the treasured experiences of Africans and their IKS have not been fully harnessed in agro-meteorology, hence the need of tapping and conserving this knowledge. Shona meteorology relies heavily on the environment to forecast weather, but vegetation and some animals are fast disappearing due to human activities and also the effects of climate change. For example, there are indigenous trees which have been cut down for fuel. Bird species have also migrated to other places owing to destruction of their natural habitat and weather exigencies. Therefore, it is mandatory that the two methods be integrated for authentic weather forecasting and predictions. Shona meteorology is reliable for a particular culture and therefore, cannot be used for the whole nation or region, as weather can be interpreted differently for different areas. Therefore, the strengths of Shona and conventional meteorology methods can produce authentic weather forecasting.

WEATHER INDICATORS AMONG THE SHONA

The Shona people's conceptualisation of weather patterns methodically conform to biotic, acoustic and spiritual systematic observations of the atmospheric conditions in the quest to calculate a weather season favourable for diverse agricultural activities. The Shona people derived their meteorological readings from astronomical or celestial bodies as well. The phases of the moon and its orbit around the earth affect the rising and falling of tides, and are believed to affect air currents and the occurrence of thunderstorms (Zuma-Netshiukhwi *et al.* 2013). Spiritually, Africans generally believe that spiritual entities and the spiritual world would control, determine and influence what happens to the physical entities and the physical world (Chinouriri, 2014). From a biotic perspective, the Shona people habitually use a method of deliberately and regularly observing living organisms' behavioural signs in the effort to relate them to specific seasonal atmospheric conditions. These living organisms include birds, insects, animals and vegetation. From an acoustic standpoint, the Shona people systematically observe the sounds produced usually by birds, animals and insects and deduce meaning. The

indicative behavioural changes of these acoustic entities, correspondingly signal the incoming of a seasonal type of atmospheric condition. This reveals that the Shona people make meteorological sense out of the sounds that are produced by the aforementioned acoustic entities. It is also pertinent to mention that the Shona people methodically monitor the influence of people's nature and well-being in the society with regard to the changes in weather conditions. They scrutinise the correspondence between prevailing qualities of mind that characterise people in their society vis-à-vis changes of atmospheric conditions.

BIOTIC INDICATORS

The Shona people use numerous biotic components such as insects, frogs, birds and trees to project weather conditions. Biotic components among the Shona have behavioural signs which correspond with the shifts in the atmospheric state. Taringa (2014: 251) rightly observes that the animals in African traditional religion function very much like antennae, relaying or downloading information from the outer world to the inner world. Thus, people see living spirits behind birds and animals and observe the protocols for interacting and sharing land with them. For instance, "when insects like *zviteza* or *majuru*/termites begin to surface and continuously move around collecting grass for storage", (Muguti and Maposa, 2012) it methodically signals that the rainy season is coming. Habitually, *zviteza* emerge for two or so days and continuously collect grass in large quantities for storage. After the collection of grass (food), these insects vanish and hibernate, but will not be threatened by starvation should the rains continue falling non-stop. The behavioural signs of these insects signal that the farming season will be good so much so that people are expected to work hard just like the *zviteza* insects. In addition, some insects like *mikonikoni* (dragon flies) and *sharara/ishwa* (flying termites) are regarded as good indicators of the imminence of rainfall, especially when they fly past a certain area in swarms. *Mazongororo* (millipedes) are also associated with the imminence of rainfall, especially when seen in large numbers in a given locality.

The Shona people would sometimes suffer from bouts of drought and there are insects that signify the coming of such periods. For instance, drought was forecast by *harurwa* if they appeared in large numbers. This is confirmed by Taringa (2014: 261) who conducted field research among the Duma of Bikita. He informs that the local people described *harurwa* as very important insects as they signal whether the farming season will be good or bad. Thus, the Shona people had to develop techniques of curbing hunger during drought seasons. Through their *matura*/granary concep, granaries were used to store grain in case of hunger. What is evident from these indigenous biotic indications is that the Shona people methodically observed the magnitude of the biotic components to systematically predict the seasonal atmospheric condition, especially the rainfall season.

It is also imperative to highlight that diverse types of birds among the Shona are characterised by particular behaviour signs which were a 'helpful barometer in predicting the arrival and intensity of a particular rainy season' (Muguti and Maposa, 2012). For instance, the advent of migratory birds such as *mashohori*, *fudzamombe*, *haya* and *shuramurove* (all referred to as stock) signals the imminence of the rain season. Mararike (1999) informs that when a *haya* bird sings in early summer, the Shona believed that it heralded the start of rains. This bird rarely sings, but when it does sing in a particular

way, rain comes within a few days. Conversely, the desertion of the migratory birds from a specific locality conjectures rainfall reduction and eventually rainfall setting off. Moreover, when birds such as *zviremwaremwa* (bat birds) 'are seen flying past a certain area, it is a pointer that rainfall would be erratic' (Muguti and Maposa, 2012). If these bats fly around and occasionally land on the ground, particularly as a swarm, it signals a good rainy season. Mapara (2009) articulates that through observing the fowls and other birds, people can tell whether the rains are going to stop or not. If the birds and chickens venture out to feed when it is raining, people can foretell that for at least the next few days there would be a *mubvumbi* (continuous drizzle). If the birds and poultry do not venture out to feed, the significance was that the rains would not last the whole day.

Among the animals which produce meteorological acoustic suggestive sounds is the *mbira* (rock rabbit). The *mbira* is popularly known among the Shona for its acoustic sounds which are meteorologically suggestive. In this context, when the *mbira* squeaks in ways that are unusual, it habitually conjectures 'the imminence of rainfall in a particular area in a particular season'. Similarly, when *mandere* (day-flying chafers) make incessant singing, it signals the imminence of rainfall. Insects are also part of the acoustic components. A typical insect in this regard is *nyenze* (*Cicadas*) which habitually sings two or three weeks before the start of rainfall. Similarly, birds like *hwidzikwidzi* (black or blue birds) usually incessantly sing to signal the commencement of the rainy season. In the same vein, Mapara (2009) affirms that people could also foretell whether rains are going to fall in the next hour or two if they hear the sound of *dzvotsvotsvo* (rain bird). Among the Shona the grunting of pigs indicates low humidity and increased temperatures. Increased libido in goats and sheep with frequent mating especially in the month of November is deemed a sign of good rains. November on the Shona cultural calendar is known as the month of the 'breeding' of goats. Furthermore, frogs are also useful indicators of rainfall intensity. For instance, the appearance of big and brown frogs known as *machesi* or *madzetse* (bull frogs) in large quantities particularly in *gandwa* (water pond), signal high rainfall. Once frogs begin croaking continuously, people come to realise that the rainy season is nigh.

Trees are also part of the biotic indicators. In this regard, the behavioural signs of trees, especially fruit trees, systematically correspond with seasonal changes of the state of the atmosphere. Fruit trees such as *Muchakata* (*Parinari curatellifolia*), *Gan'acha* (*Lannea discolor*), and *Mushuku* (*Uapaca kirkiana*) are methodically "used to predict the imminence of the rainy season and the quantities of rainfall in any given agricultural season" (Muguti and Maposa, 2012). In this respect, prediction of weather centres on the systematic observation that if the trees bear an enormous amount of fruits, it signals low rainfall. Conversely, if the fruit trees bear very few fruits, likewise it signified high rainfall. Hence farmers would mitigate the challenge of inadequate rainfall by planting short-season maize varieties, small grains such as sorghum, millet and *rapoko* using ground water reservoirs. In the same vein, Muguti and Maposa (2012) articulate that when the fruits ripen earlier than usual, this would mean that the season would experience a good rainfall pattern. Mararike (1996: 61) avers that when certain types of grass such as reeds decreased in size, or when certain types of trees such as *Mitondo* (*Julbernardia globiflora*) changed their blossoming time, it meant that there were changes in seasons. The Shona people also methodically observe the behavioural signs of specific non-fruit trees to read the state of weather. In this respect, the *Mupfuti* (*Brachystegia*

boehmii) tree is a typical example because “when its leaves begin to wither, but not peeling off, people normally predict plenty of rainfall to come in a matter of days” (Muguti and Maposa, 2012). Conversely, when leaves wither and peel off, it signals that a dry spell is looming.

CELESTIAL/ASTRONOMICAL INDICATORS

Among the Shona people, when the moon crescent face upwards that was a clear indication of the withholding of a *dziva remvura*, or pool of water. That was a sign of rain inadequacy. That would be accompanied by a slight change in the position of the stars called *mutatumutatu* and a group of other stars called *gwararakurumbi*. But when the moon faced downwards that signified the coming of rains within three days. When the moon was surrounded by moisture (profuse halo), that indicated a season of good rains. The Shona people also believed that the larger the ring of moisture around the moon, the more the rainfall to be expected for that particular season. It was also believed that the first rains should occur before the appearance of the new moon, and that the full moon (*jenaguru*) covered by clouds indicated a good rainfall season. During the off-harvest period, when the moon was very bright it indicated the approaching of the winter season. When a quarter-moon appeared or the moon was not visible (*mwedzi wafa*) it meant rain was expected during that period, especially during the planting and weeding season. The sun is another celestial object that the Shona studied in order to deduce meteorology readings. It was established that when the rains were about to commence, the sun would not bring heat directly on peoples' heads. When the sun was very hot that was a good indication that rain would fall within the coming few days.

The stars were also utilised in the meteorology of the Shona people. Zuma-Netshiukhwi *et al.* (2013) report that a star pattern and the movement of stars from west to east at night under clear skies is an indication of the onset of rainfall, and these patterns can also be used to deduce the cessation of rainfall. High frequency in the occurrence of wind swirls is a sign of good rains. Risiro *et al.* (2012) writing about weather forecasting in the Chimanimani District of Manicaland, indicate that winds blowing from the east often brought good rains concentrated on higher grounds such as Chimanimani Mountains. On the other hand, westerly winds brought heavy rains that covered a wider area. Mararika (1996) avers that change in the direction of winds such as *nhurura*, the North-Easterly wind, indicated change in seasons. The wind was observed to bring the first rains, but if it did not blow from the North-East to the South-East, no rain normally fell and that season was likely to have below-normal rainfall. The appearance of the rainbow was very significant to the Shona people; when the colour red of the rainbow appears very bright it signified the coming of rain, and if the blue colour shone brighter in a clear blue sky that meant that the rainy season had passed.

THE SPIRITUAL DIMENSION OF SHONA METEOROLOGY

Before the introduction of Christianity and other foreign religions there was no separation between religion and other human activities. The Shona people were, and still are, very religious. If they needed any assistance or wanted answers to issues that perplexed them, they would resort to the spiritual world. The Shona people engaged in seasonal activities such as rain-making and thanksgiving ceremonies. This was done to ask for adequate rainfall and bumper harvests. The rain-making ceremonies were

also a platform to ask *Mwari*/God for protection during the rainy season through ancestral hierarchy protocol. There were many dangers that came along with the rains such as floods, lightning, drowning and so forth. It was traditionally mandatory for the Shona to engage the spiritual realm for guidance and protection during the rainy season. Land was sacred and revered among the Shona as it represented a person's birthright and identity. The *rukuvhute* (umbilical cord) of every child born among the Shona had to be buried in the ground to symbolise that the child belonged to this geographical space as a 'child of the soil' (Dzvairo, 1982; Chinouriri, 2014).

Among the Shona the real owner of the land and all on it was the tutelary spirit, *Mwari* and the territorial ancestral spirits. *Mwari*, as the creator of all things, was the highest authority regarding land, followed by the ancestral spirits who were buried in the land (Taringa, 2006). Among the living there was a hierarchy on land authority and ownership which ascended from the family, the village, the ward and chief to the king. Therefore, among the Shona the land belonged to God, the living-dead, the unborn and the living (Chinouriri, 2014). Land and everything in it in the Shona society was used to promote economic growth and human development. Mararike (1996) aptly writes that rivers, hills, trees and a number of places were not just physical features, but were also symbols which epitomised the peoples' relationship with a world beyond.

Knowledge about the soil and the general ecosystem was a prerequisite to survival (Mararike, 1996). The essence of land was also linked to the cosmology of the Shona society and its beliefs. This provided a relationship or link between seasons of music-making and cosmology. Most indigenous societies in Africa are agricultural communities and have calendars for cultural events which are marked by environmental and cosmological factors which influence the scheduling of these events. In Shona indigenous society, the *chirimo* (winter season) had a high incidence of musical arts performances, as there was less strenuous work, meaning that there was ample time for performances. Cosmologically, the time of *jenaguru*, when the 'moon was full', was an ideal time for *mbende* music and dance, a courtship dance that was performed among some of the young Shona people. This was a platform for socialisation for those seeking suitors such as the young adults, the divorced, widows and widowers. The *zhizha* (summer season) was a period for intensive agricultural work resulting in minimal scheduling of the performance of musical arts. There were some occasional or seasonal activities such as *bira remvura* (rain-making ceremonies) or *maguta* (bumper harvest celebrations). Music-making was equally organised and performed for incidental musical events such as curing an ailment or a funeral occurrence. Though music could be performed for relaxation or for any seasonal purposes, the functionality aspect of music was always present either as didactic, correcting social ills, bonding, socialising or strengthening physical and psychical wellness.

THE SHONA RAIN-MAKING CEREMONY

The rain-making ceremony was conducted seasonally as part of the agricultural calendar among the Shona. It was a societal prerequisite for elderly members of the local community to attend. If one was to refrain from such an activity they would be punished or receive public ridicule. The main focus of the ceremony was to ask for abundant rainfall which would result in bumper harvests. There were other pertinent issues which the people would want to request from *Mwari* through the ancestral hierarchy and

protocol. The Shona would request fortification against evil vices such as floods, drowning and lightning. If the ancestors were not happy about certain issues in society, such as moral decadence they would communicate through spirit mediums. The Shona would then conduct a cleansing of the community so that their petitions would be acceptable to *Mwari* and the ancestors. The *mbira* instrument and its music have been a strong religious symbol among the Shona people of Zimbabwe, which have acted as a catalyst in linking the living and the living 'dead'. The *mbira* instrument and music was the medium or the connection used to evoke and link up with *vari mumhepo* (those in the spiritual realm) so that they could act benevolently upon the lives of their progeny. The lesser deities of most African societies have been described as music-loving (Nketia, 1966) beings that were propitiated and eulogised through the medium of music. Among the Shona people the ancestors would be propitiated and activated through music.

In the indigenous *mbira* religious music genre, the experts were known as *vanagwenyambira* (the virtuosos in *mbira* music). The *mbira* music activated, influenced and inspired a 'spirit' to possess its *svikiro* (entranced spirit medium). The term *bira* was derived from the verb –*kupira* (to propitiate). The indigenous religious rain-making ceremony was performed to provide a spiritual connection between the world of the living and the world of the ancestors. In the rain-making ceremony, *bira remvura*, there were many tasks which had to be performed by different members of the community to make the event a resounding success. In the village set-up, everyone participated in any aspect where they were obligated, and had the liberty to participate in areas where they were most competent. The people present at a *bira* gathering would either be the *homwe* (literally the 'pocket' in which the spirit was to come and be contained), spirit mediums or non-spirit mediums.

The *homwe* personality would come to the ceremony with an expectation of being possessed if a *gokoro* or the sacred *mbira* music for his *mudzimu* (spirit) was played. In this case, the role of the *mbira* was to act as the *gokoro*, a catalyst for the spirit medium who in that state of altered spiritual consciousness acted as the 'mouth piece of the community'. The spirit medium had to be possessed by the spirits of the community for the rituals to be successful. The whole community gathered for that purpose at a prescribed location, usually at a *banya*, a special hut built for the spirits, or any other location such as caves or under trees where it is believed that spirits abide (Manatsa, 2006). Or it could be a special rain-making ceremonial location which is determined by the spiritual authorities of a particular area. The performance of the musicians would be critical for inciting and evoking ethnic spirits to come and overshadow and take over the medium's psyche. It was also critical for the unconscious medium to willingly welcome the spirits through the agency of music for the good of the community, and to accomplish the whole mission. *Doro*, a home brewed beer known as 'seven days' (due to the duration it took to be brewed), was prepared by women who were past the age of childbearing, as they symbolised purity according to indigenous lore. That was a sacrosanct regulation that had to be followed in preparation for the ceremony. A number of animals such as goats and oxen were slaughtered for the public occasion. There were also rituals performed on the animals to ascertain whether the ancestral spirits were in tandem and were happy with the on-going procedures (Manatsa, 2006) As indicated elsewhere, a successful rain-making ceremony usually heralded a good rainy season.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

We recommend and proffer a multi-dimensional approach to meteorology in Zimbabwe and elsewhere in Africa. It is pertinent that there be an involvement of local peoples in the development, implementation and evaluation of the indigenous weather knowledge systems for the improvement of seasonal weather forecasts. If such a liaison with community elders is created this will in turn expand IKS on weather and climate for use in the decision-making process locally and regionally. The meteorological services of Zimbabwe should partner with other agencies such as Universities and UN agencies such as UNESCO to share knowledge and promote understanding of the rationality of their essence. These can help to develop a database on indigenous weather knowledge for further analysis. Indigenous Shona meteorology has not been documented much, as its experiences have been passed on orally from one generation to the other. Thus, documenting this data and systematising it is a prerequisite. Researchers and community must collaborate in terms of information dissemination. The elders are familiar with the relations between weather, crop suitability, crop selection and the planting schedule in a particular season from lived experiences. Indigenous communities have survived for generations using local knowledge, and conventional meteorology cannot ignore this. However, our societies are not 'closed,' thus today's farmers must learn and adapt to the application of scientific information. Owing to climate change and other changes, some of the traditional indicators have disappeared from the ecosystem. It is therefore, important that modern-day scientific enquiry on meteorology establish dialogue and partnership with Shona meteorology if local communities are to be part of the national development plan such as the Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation (ZIMASSET). This approach can be similarly applied across the whole African continent

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Chapter Twenty

Stubbornly Earthbound¹: Pentecostalism in Zimbabwe and the Resilience of Shona Traditional Religion

Kudzai Biri

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is a critical examination of prosperity messages in African Pentecostal churches², utilising neo-Pentecostal churches in Zimbabwe where the messages of prosperity are central. The chapter argues that the prosperity messages are a mark of the resilience of the Shona traditional religion and culture among Christians who ironically theoretically advocate for 'a complete break from the past'. While the Bible talks of prosperity, the teachings on prosperity in Zimbabwean Pentecostalism betray them of their continued interaction and operation within Shona traditional milieu. The chapter also argues that the emphasis in the 'here and now', and the quest for accumulation is more in line with the traditional concept of health and well-being that is not eschatological, but earthbound. This chapter therefore argues that the message of prosperity is a demonstration of the resilience of the Shona religio-cultural heritage that has refused to be written off by Christianity, modernity and forces of globalisation.

Studies on Pentecostalism in an African context have gained momentum. Specific attention has been given to the teachings on prosperity. Teachings on prosperity have been given different names that include, dominion theology (Gifford, 2009; 2004); ideology of prosperity (Van Dijk, 2001); prosperity message (Chitando, 2012); health and wealth (Togarasei, 2011), among many other names. Most of the sermons emphasize that God is with those who make progress in life and that Christianity is about prosperity and not poverty. Sometimes the traditional cultural and religious are seen as barriers. There is need to note some of the contradictions and paradoxes inherent in Pentecostalism concerning African traditional religions and cultures.

The teachings have attracted a lot of attention both in the Church and the public space, hence soliciting diverse responses. Uka (2012) dismisses the teachings of prosperity as a charade. This off hand dismissal has to be criticised in view of some of the positive developments that have emanated from the prosperity teachings. How do these Pentecostal churches mediate this prosperity? Through several means and ways, different Pentecostal denominations in Africa and Zimbabwe show an uncontested bias towards

1 I am indebted to Amos Young (1996) for this expression. He makes reference to the bringing back home ceremony as he argues that the ceremony is a sign that Africans always want to be on earth and do not want to depart from this world.

2 The study acknowledges a variety of Pentecostal churches in Zimbabwe. It does not intend to present a monolithic picture of these Pentecostal churches. However, the theology of dominion is one area that has commonalities that runs through these Pentecostal churches although there might be differences in beliefs and practices.

prosperity and/or aspects that the congregants are familiar with in the traditional religion and culture in particular, especially the newer religious movements. Methodologically, the chapter makes use of information gathered over the years of research in Pentecostalism, particularly through participant observations in different Pentecostal denominations. Critical analysis is therefore based on the information gathered, particularly the sermonic discourses, aspects in neo-Pentecostalism and published literature on Pentecostalism.

THE NAMING SYSTEMS OF THE CHURCHES

The names of the churches emphasize prosperity. A good example is Victory International Ministries. Prosperity is captured in 'victory' over things that hinder progress and development in life. The idea of family is important in the traditional religion. Hence some new Pentecostal churches like the United Families International (UFI) and Family of God (FOG), capture the idea of family in the traditional religion and culture mould. Pentecostalism in this case re-defines it within the Christian praxis, to give a new identity to the congregants. Also, churches like Zimbabwe Assemblies of God Africa (ZAOGA) emphasize the concept of fatherhood and motherhood among the believers. Ezekiel and Eunor Guti of ZAOGA are regarded as father and mother of ZAOGA congregants. This enables Guti to make decrees to his "children" without resistance or protests.

The family is one of the institutions that have been negatively impacted by external forces of modernity, globalisation, urbanisation and many other western influences. All these external pressures have contributed to the destruction of the traditional family structures, particularly the extended family. Hence, Pentecostals re-invent the concept of family within their Christian movements. The underlying belief in ZAOGA and many other neo-Pentecostal churches is that obedience and honour to parents invites God's blessings and prosperity. Hence, it enables ZAOGA to carry out entrepreneurship programmes known as Talents (see below) successfully. Apart from churches that capture the aspect of prosperity and the family, some churches draw the attention of people by names that point to health and well-being in African traditional religion. The Prophetic, Healing and Deliverance (PHD) Ministry of Walter Magaya is a good example. Deliverance speaks to miracles and ministering of those in the world beyond, hence the popularity among those seeking instant power, wealth and other gifts that only the spiritual leaders can impart.

It has to be pointed out that prophecy, healing and deliverance are at the heart of the African worldview (Kalu, 2008). As aptly put forward by Shoko (2007), health and well-being are central among the Shona people (the dominant ethnic group in Zimbabwe). The nomenclature of Magaya is significant from an African perspective because divination (which resonates with prophecy), healing and deliverance characterise the core of 'salvation' in African traditional religions. These are necessary in order to curb negative vicissitudes of life that hinder progress, offer protection and ensure guaranteed security from all evil. Thus, the name PHD speaks volumes of what is at the heart of African salvific agenda which translates to wholistic health and well-being (prosperity). Therefore, this chapter argues that the naming system within the Pentecostal fraternity is not ordinary, but influenced by African traditional religion and culture that focuses on the needs of the here and now and not the eschatological aspirations. As pointed out by Banana (1991), the Christian teachings of heaven and hell and salvation through

one man Jesus Christ are garbage to an African because the needs of an African have to be fulfilled in this life.

This chapter construes this as the quest for all that is fulfilling in the here and now, and not the hereafter, thus justifying the worldly orientation of Pentecostalism. It has to be pointed out that there is a relationship between the missionary gospel during the colonial era and that of Pentecostals in post-colonial Zimbabwe. While missionaries emphasized joy and wealth in heaven, African Pentecostal leaders, and in particular Zimbabwe, have emphasized prosperity that has to be realised here on earth. I argue that the negative effects of colonialism, particularly the deprivation of land and other resources has seen the emergence of the reverse of prosperity theology in post-colonial Zimbabwe. Also, it points to how African Pentecostal leaders reverse the theology of prosperity and advance the teachings that are influenced by the indigenous spirituality that believers are familiar with. While the traditional religions have the concept of the hereafter, it is not the focus as the focus is on accumulation and protection from evil which are marks of prosperity in the here and now. Apart from the naming system, the section below examines the focus on prosperity that is mediated through print media.

PRINT MEDIA

Different Pentecostal churches have ways of mediating success through print media. These include printed regalia but most important are stickers that are put on cars. These car stickers should not be taken for granted. They show the believers' quest for health and well-being. Some of the car stickers read: 'Victory'; 'I am a winner'; 'Unstoppable Achiever'; 'I will make it in Jesus' name'; 'Jesus is able'; 'I am a stranger to failure'; 'Richly and Seriously Blessed'; 'More than a conqueror'; 'My God is able; ' 'If God is for us who can be against us'; 'My year of divine intervention'; 'My year of Newness'; 'Fulfilment'; 'My year of taking territories', among many other declarations. These stickers show what the Pentecostals decree in their daily prayers. The language of warfare is common (Adogame, 2004) and Pentecostals are aware that they need to wrestle with spirits that hinder prosperity.

In UFI, the phrase "back to sender" is common in prayers, declarations and song. The idea is that witches who cast spells on other people hinder their prosperity. Belief in witchcraft is very common and deep rooted in many African cultures. The Bible talks of forgiving the enemies and "back to sender" has attracted criticism in some Christian circles. Critics argue that praying for revenge is not Biblical. Yet, in African traditional religion and culture, the *n'angas* (traditional sacred practitioners) can revenge on the enemies by sending back the intended negative effects to the witch. UFI sources from the traditional understanding of witches and deploys the same mechanism of prayers for revenge against the enemy as practised by the Shona. Apart from these declarations, printed regalia show that prosperity is at the centre of Pentecostal theology, with the doctrine teachings also reflecting the same.

SERMONIC DISCOURSES

The themes of the deliverance sessions, conferences and business forums also show that Pentecostals strive for prosperity here on earth. This quest for success through accumulation is called 'penny capitalism' (Maxwell, 2002). Biri (2013) argues that this

quest for accumulation is a mark of the same beliefs and practices among the Shona. Among the Shona, many wives, children, large heads of cattle and abundant grain ensure a big name and is a sign of prosperity. The orientation is not in the life after death, but here and now, tied to the land and what it gives (earth-bound). With the coming of colonialism, the way of life of the Shona was disrupted and in post-colonial Africa, this traditional quest for accumulation takes on new forms that mainly include money and houses. This is quite problematic because this quest for accumulation enhanced by the teachings on prosperity by Pentecostals blurs the divide between greediness and God's intended blessings. Common sermons in Pentecostal churches centres or include; 'taking your possessions, abundance is my portion, Come and possess your promised land, from captivity to restoration, Taking new territories, Breaking the yoke of poverty'

While I am aware that different Pentecostal churches espouse different theologies on prosperity, I have bunched them together because of the underlying feature and concern — the ideological programme of development and progress. For example, Makandiwa of UFI emphasizes that a child of God should never die poor while Guti of ZAOGA teaches that many righteous children of God will die poor. Guti appears to be sensitive to the socio-economic situation because he acknowledges the challenges in Sub-Saharan Africa can hinder prosperity, which is a right to the believers. However, in most Pentecostal churches, it is taught that God transcends the economic challenges and prospers his children even in harsh economic times, thus, affirming the observations that are made by Paul Gifford (1988). Gifford is critical of the Pentecostals on the prosperity messages. He says that the Pentecostals lack sociological awareness, hence they continue to emphasize prosperity regardless of economic realities that militate against believers. Togarasei (2011) argues that the prosperity messages make sense in contexts of poverty that have gripped Southern Africa. While all these observations are true, this chapter emphasizes that this focus and emphasis on prosperity is a sign of being "stubbornly earthbound" that is heavily influenced by the traditional religion and culture. It is therefore important to briefly comment on the traditional rituals that are associated with the land and identity.

TRADITIONAL RITUALS AND THE LAND

Traditional rituals such as burying the umbilical cord a few days after birth, and eating the foreskin among other ethnicities are rituals that should not be taken for granted. They emphasize the aspect of belonging: "This is where you belong and where you will return to be buried". Bakare (1993) spells out the significance of the land among Africans and how this significance is tied to belonging in the here and now. Rituals of bringing back home the spirit of the deceased are carried out (*kurova guva*) to bring back disrupted unity between the spirit of the deceased and the living. This is where Yong (1996) argues that Africans are stubbornly earthbound because they do not want to go elsewhere (after life) but to be on earth! In post-colonial Zimbabwe, members of the family who die abroad are brought back home for burial. The ritual spells out the practical side of the traditional rituals of identity and belonging. Being tied to the land of belonging means that it is in this land that one has to be either sustained or experience life in abundance. It has to be mentioned that the Pentecostal emphasis on prosperity in the here and now does not mean they totally ignore the future. While they teach about heaven and the future, this is not the pre-occupation of the Pentecostals in Zimbabwe. Rather, the focus is on the here and now and this focus has raised criticism

on the ethical credentials of some leaders and their congregants. This criticism has been advanced in the light of lack of accountability that characterises most of the Zimbabwean Pentecostal churches and shady deals that some Pentecostals have been involved in. For example, the misuse of believers funds through lavish lifestyles, externalisation of funds and illegal economic deals.

Guti (1994) states that heaven belongs to God's children and that people need to be saved from their sins. However, heaven cannot be claimed every day, what matters is what we do here on earth. This is in direct contrast to missionary gospel that encouraged people not to care about earthly riches, but to focus on life in the hereafter. Biri (2015: 42) argues that ZAOGA's Guti encouraged his church to participate in land-takeovers that were initiated by war veterans and peasants, and supported by the ruling ZANU PF regime of Robert Mugabe. In one of his sermons Guti said; "*Toraivo ivhu sezviri kuita vamwe. Ivhu hariruzi* value (Grab the land like what others are doing, soil does not lose value). Guti was encouraging his church to grab and own land because possession of land is tied to belonging and wealth-cum-progress as opposed to land dispossession that took place through colonisation. In the light of the above, it can be noted that prosperity is at the heart of Pentecostal teachings. This prosperity hinges on protection, accumulation or possession.

The gospel of prosperity has become popular in Zimbabwe and the entire African continent because there is resonance with what prosperity entails in the African map of the universe. The latter explains the continuity of the African map of the universe among Pentecostals in terms of perceptions about health and well-being. This is evidence of the persistence and resilience of a heritage that has refused to be written off. As pointed out by Anderson (2004), a particular characteristic of success that is guaranteed in these churches is that it is to occur 'today, now, before I finish speaking'. In most cases, prosperity messages do not emphasize the afterlife. Achunike (2001) adds that the prosperity gospel has eroded the initial impetus of Pentecostalism as an escape from this world in view of the other world. Also, that attention has been catapulted to the bliss of materialism and sentimentalism of this world. This chapter therefore contests the claims of 'a complete break from the past' as this connection between neo-Pentecostalism and African traditional religions and culture shows that the break is not complete. This is because the prosperity messages in Pentecostalism in post-colonial Zimbabwe is a direct reversal of what Christian missionaries taught and emphasized. Hence there is need to periodise when engaging Pentecostal attitudes towards African traditional religions and culture, and also the teachings on prosperity need similar periodisation. In fact, there are strong elements of cultural continuity in terms of perception and attitude towards health and well-being among most Zimbabwean Pentecostals.

STUBBORNLY EARTHBOUND?: CRITIQUING ASPECTS OF THE WORLDLY ORIENTATION

When Young used the expression, he referred to the notion of 'bringing back home' ceremony (*kurova guva/umbuyiso*). When Africans depart, some rituals have to be carried out so that the departed soul comes back to make the presence acknowledged among the living (see above section). The living dead (Mbiti, 1969) or the timeless living (Bakare, 1993) are part and parcel of the family and the lineage. Therefore to Young, they want

to continue in this world. The present chapter therefore borrows and widens the scope of application in terms of prosperity messages. It is important to give attention to some of the Pentecostal entrepreneurship programmes. ZAOGA's Talents are an example of how Pentecostals encourage accumulation in the here and now. At a ZAOGA National Youth gathering, one of the pastors declared that; those who are poor on this earth will give us problems in heaven because they never had money, *vachakwatanura tara dzegoridhe kudenga!* (They will destroy the golden roads in heaven) (5-08-2006).

The Birthday Gift in ZAOGA and partnering in UFIC and PHD are a way of accumulating wealth. Members claim that the contributions are used to advance the gospel although popular criticism rests on how the leaders abuse the hard-earned cash of poor congregants. However, the positive aspects of these acts should not escape attention. Guti's contributions from the Birthday Gift are used to finance the ZAOGA churches and those outside Zimbabwe (Forward in Faith (FIFI), where there is need. Equally in UFI there are contributions that are made for Makandiwa which have been used for charity purposes. For example, the donations made to hospitals, the old people, orphans and many others. In doing so, the Pentecostal leaders have dethroned the traditional sacred practitioners. In this manner, then, they embody multiple titles and assume the role of a traditional chief who mediates in the affairs of the community through the chief's storehouse/*zunde ramambo* (Biri, 2012). While we talk of grain and cattle in the traditional religion and culture, in modern Pentecostal movements it is money, clothes and other resources. These leaders teach that believers have to sow into the life of the man of God for them to prosper. Believers in turn receive prayers for success. Thus, there is a sense in which the Pentecostal leaders assume the role of a traditional leader and healer who is at the centre of enhancing the health and well-being of the community.

The PHD Ministry mainly focuses on health and well-being through deliverance sessions, healing the sick, and giving prophecy to members of the church. Many flock to these churches and this has been a subject of concern among critics. As pointed by Kalu (2008), the Pentecostal worldview continues to source from the traditional paradigm as there is continuity and discontinuity. Areas of continuity are those that speak well to the African because of resonance with the African cosmology. For example, the leaders are believed to have powers that enable them to prosper in life and this explains why believers sow their wealth into the lives of these leaders. In the traditional religion, people are accustomed to divination. Sundkler (1961) points to the confusing similarities between the ways in which the prophetic leaders of these healing Pentecostal churches and local traditional diviners perform in rituals. Sundkler sees a continuation of traditional divining in the Pentecostal churches under the guise of prophecy as "new wine in old wineskins".

The so-called prophecies in Pentecostal churches, particularly UFI and PHD, are therefore important and have a twofold significance. First, the prophecies mostly centre on prosperity. One can be told that there are spirits that hinder progress therefore the person needs deliverance and protection. Second, prophecies are closely linked with divination because the Pentecostal prophets forthtell and foretell. The centrality of the prophecies on prosperity and the remedying of spirits that hinder prosperity testifies to the worldly orientation of the Pentecostal movement. As observed by Mbiti (1969), prayers concentrate on various aspects of health, healing from diseases, barrenness, success in undertakings, protection from harm, death, petitions for peace and blessings

and prayers of thanksgiving. This captures the nature of Pentecostal prayers. The healing in Pentecostal churches provides an alternative to where Western medicine has failed because like in the traditional religion and culture, healing goes beyond mere physical healing in as much the causes of sickness are always assigned to spiritual forces.

Rijk van Dijk (2001) says Pentecostals take seriously the powers, spirits and occult forces that the missionary churches choose to ignore. The theology in these churches also shows an emphasis on the material things of the world-You cannot go to the man of God empty-handed! Traditionally, one would carry a token to give to the *n'anga*. Pentecostals have modelled their beliefs alongside that of Shona traditional religion and culture with an emphasis on the here and now. This is in spite of the fact that they demonise aspects of traditional religion and culture and also some independent churches, called by Daneel (1980) *makereke omweya* (churches of the spirit). Yet, this chapter argues that the Pentecostals build on the liturgical innovations of *vapositori* and also source and are informed by the traditional religion.

The health and well-being comes first and foremost, not the hereafter. This has in turn bred an ethos of accumulation and this ethos of accumulation in Pentecostal denominations should be understood within the traditional milieu where success is tied to this world and not the hereafter. Hence accumulation takes on new forms which makes the messages of prosperity significant. It is also important to note the significance of artefacts in the traditional religion and culture. The protective charms and amulets are common among the Shona people. Pentecostals have demonised and castigated these traditional practices as demonic. However, this study argues that the Pentecostals have re-invented the use of amulets and artefacts as in Shona traditional religion. Most Pentecostals nowadays wear wrist amulets. Some are put on fingers and have some inscriptions. UFI has bands that read: *Ndiri mwana wemuporofita* (I am a child of the Prophet). Some bands have the name of the church, for example, PHD Ministries. Most members of the church who possess such bands argue that the latter mark their new identity and belonging. Even though these bands take on new meanings for these Pentecostal believers, they are reminiscent of traditional amulets and artefacts that are worn for protection. Members of the churches deny that these bands are put on for protection purposes. Yet, these bands are prayed for. Hence it can be argued that whether conscious of it or not, it appears the bands have the same function of protection and blessing that guarantee success of the believer.

There is need to note the difference with North American Pentecostalism. North American Pentecostalism is not pre-occupied with deliverance as most African Pentecostals do. Although it is argued that prosperity theology is an American import, this study questions that. In Africa Pentecostals have a well-developed or elaborate demonology which appears to be informed by traditional belief in witches and witchcraft activities that fight human progress. Every day the born-again Christian wrestles with the devil's agents and witchcraft and curses feature more in sermons and deliverance sessions. Salvation is therefore more of the physical and the material and status on earth than about going to heaven. Any study on Pentecostalism is not complete without reference to relations between African spirituality and centrality of prosperity.

CONCLUSION

The chapter has pointed out that Pentecostals in Zimbabwe value prosperity. The significance of the prosperity message is expressed in different ways and means in different Pentecostal denominations. Aspects of African traditional religions and culture find avenues of expression among Pentecostals through different means and ways. The issue of health and well-being which the study construes as prosperity continues to be informed by the traditional religion of their forebears. The here and now is the priority of most Pentecostal churches and it appears the whole orientation in these churches is earthbound. This orientation is influenced by continued interaction with the traditional religion and culture as shown in prosperity messages that emphasize this worldly as opposed to the other worldly. It is also possibly a sign that the two religions exhibit striking similarities.

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Chapter Twenty One

‘The Blue Diamond’: A Critical Component of the Southern African Development Security Community

Sibusiso Moyo and Charity Manyeruke

INTRODUCTION

Though difficult to measure and quantify, peace and security are an intricate aspect of intangible heritage that any people cherishes. The intricacies of peace and security hinge on multiple factors and this chapter focuses on shared water courses in the SADC as a pertinent subject. Southern Africa is a region endowed with multiple trans-boundary river basins. As a source of life, energy, hydropower and national power, water has become a ‘blue diamond’ over which matters of security and insecurity emerge. This chapter makes a case for water as a growing security and defence concern in the Southern African Development Community. The chapter contends that despite the existence of protocols, agreements and conventions concluded by the SADC security community, tensions have still risen concern the region’s water resource. This chapter examines some of these tensions and how they have impacted upon the security of the region. It also assesses the SADC security community’s attempts in resolving these tensions. In particular it examines the cases of Lake Malawi, the Okavango River Basin, and the Olifants River Basin. The central argument of the chapter is that water resources, if not managed carefully have the potential to lead to conflicts, which can escalate into wars, whether of low or high intensity.

WATER AS A SECURITY ISSUE

Many of the factors relevant for human well-being and development are directly or indirectly linked to fresh water resources. Water, be it fresh or not, plays a pivotal role in economic development and food security and the implications of a water crisis are alarming. Currently water supplies are threatened by an increasing world population, climate change and pollution. These are some of the factors which affect both the quality and quantity of water, not only in Southern Africa, but globally. So central to human well-being and development is water that the possibility of future conflicts being fought over freshwater has been seriously considered. Regarding this possibility, Sandford (2011: 10) states that;

Though it is not possible to predict the future, emerging hydrological trends suggest that tensions and conflicts over water of the kind that have typically occurred in the past will soon represent only one of the many emerging explosive hydro-climatic issues that are likely to bring sovereign nations into internal and external discord that could erupt in violent conflict or warfare.

Water, especially fresh water, has increasingly become a ‘blue diamond’ over which resource-based conflict can occur. It is a precious commodity as shall be noted, and as

such, has the potential to be the subject of resource-based conflict if not managed well. The use of water, its quality, its quantity and its distribution are indeed security issues in the SADC security community, as shall be evidenced by various case studies in this chapter. Aware of the security implications of water, the SADC has established various conventions, protocols and agreements to ensure that the region's heritage concerning this 'blue diamond' is preserved.

SECURITY THROUGH CONVENTIONS, PROTOCOLS AND AGREEMENTS

The Southern African Development Community Protocol on Shared Water Courses

The first Southern African Community Protocol on Shared Water Courses was signed in 1995, and came into force in 1998, when a two thirds majority had ratified it. The revised Protocol which was signed in 2000 came into force in 2003, when Tanzania became the ninth member to ratify it. It has been ratified by Tanzania, Botswana, Mauritius, Mozambique, Malawi, Namibia, Swaziland, Lesotho and South Africa. The protocol is meant to bring water use in the SADC into line with international water law, and particularly the United Nations Convention on Non-Navigational Uses of International Waters. The protocol obliges member states within a shared water course system to undertake to establish close cooperation with their neighbours in all projects likely to have an effect on the water course system and provides that member states shall utilise the shared watercourse system in an equitable manner. It also states that the shared water course shall be used and developed by member-states to attain its optimum utilisation and for the benefits consistent with the adequate protection of the water system. This protocol promotes cooperation among member states sharing a water course system, but as rightly argued by Mbaiwa (2004), much depends on the political will of states to implement this protocol. At present, Angola has not ratified this protocol, thus making it difficult to enforce it in Angola. SADC has therefore a long way to go, with some of its members delaying for too long to ratify such important protocols which would strengthen the security of the community. However, not all is in vain as efforts are clearly under way. What is important is the political will to cooperate on shared water courses.

The Permanent Okavango River Basin Water Commission of 1994 (Okacom)

This agreement was signed by Angola, Botswana and Namibia on 15 September 1994. Unfortunately, Zimbabwe is not part of this agreement, yet it contributes water to the Makgadikgadi Pans. This is an issue which Zimbabwe may want to follow up, because its decisions to use water for that Pan should not offset the existing agreements. The three riparian states have been on course in terms of their updates and cooperation. They, however, have still to establish a secretariat which can increase efficiency in terms of their operations. They do, however, have the 3 Commissioners who meet regularly, and they have a Steering Committee to manage projects and offer necessary advice.

The United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity

Angola, Namibia and Botswana are signatories of the United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity (UNCBD). The Convention, which was signed by 150 governments

at the 1992 Rio Earth summit, notes the importance of cooperation by all states involved in the case of shared water courses, so that no state should cause damage to the environment and biodiversity of individual states. This ensures cooperation under international law. However, Ashton and Neal (2003) correctly observe that while international law, has good intentions, the major weakness with international law is that countries can choose to ignore it if it does not promote their socio-economic agendas. International law lacks the compulsory jurisdiction and enforcement that characterise domestic legal systems. It relies on its acceptance by the affected states and the opinion of the wider community. Despite this limitation, it is also true that it generally promotes peace and security. In the case of the Okavango River Basin, the political will to promote sustainable development, not negating the development of the people and their livelihood, is of paramount importance; This should, however, also take biodiversity into account. Humanity must exist with the environment peacefully, but not at the expense of each other.

Policy and Legislative Framework for Water in SADC

According to SADC (www.sadc.int.int.Regional_Water_Strategy.pdf), the Regional Water Policy of August 2005 governs water in SADC. The policy is aimed at providing a framework for sustainable, integrated and coordinated development, utilisation, protection and control of national and trans-boundary water resources in the SADC region, for the promotion of socio-economic development and regional integration and improvement of all people in the region. The policy framework for the regional water policy is anchored on the following principle tools which SADC member states have formulated over the years:

- 1) SADC Declaration and Treaty (Declaration by the Heads of State or Government of Southern African States “Towards the Southern African Development Community” adopted in Windhoek, Namibia, on 17 August 1992, and the Treaty of the Southern African Development Community, which entered into force on 30 September 1993). The original declaration calls upon all countries and people of Southern Africa to develop a *vision of a shared future, a future within a regional community* that will ensure economic-well being improved standard of living and quality of life, freedom and social justice and peace and security for the peoples of Southern Africa.
- 2) The Southern African Vision for Water, Life and Environment adopted in March 2000, aimed at “*equitable and sustainable utilisation of water for social and environmental justice, regional integration and economic benefit for present and future generations*”. Water is therefore seen as a driving force to a better future for the peoples of Southern Africa.
- 3) The Revised SADC Protocol on Shared Watercourses, which entered into force in September 2003, whose overall objective is “*to foster closer cooperation for judicious, sustainable and coordinated management, protection and utilisation of shared watercourses and advance the SADC agenda of regional integration and poverty reduction*”.
- 4) The “Dublin Principles” of integrated water resources management (IWRM) (enunciated in the 1992 Dublin Statement on Water and Sustainable development promulgated by the International Council of Water and Development) commonly accepted as representing best water resources management practice.

The SADC recognises water as an instrument for peace, cooperation and regional integration. To this end, SADC has committed to the development of water resources through joint planning and construction of strategic water infrastructure, in order to rectify historical imbalances and promote water supply for irrigation and poor communities. The SADC is guided by several policy principles in relation to water resources management. These include but are not limited to; the recognition of the environment as a legitimate user of water as well as a resource base, the efficient use of water through demand management, conservation and re-use and the efficient use of water for agriculture.

The policy has nine thematic areas which are:

- 1) **Regional Cooperation in Water Resources Management:** including policy provisions on water for regional integration and socio-economic development; cooperation in water resources management of shared water courses; inter-sectoral and international cooperation; and the harmonisation of national policies and legislation.
- 2) **Water for Development and Poverty Reduction:** containing policy provisions on water for basic human needs and for industrial development: water for food and energy security.
- 3) **Water for Environmental Stability:** containing policy provisions on water and environment, water quality management and control of alien invasive species in water courses.
- 4) **Security from Water-Related Disasters:** including policy provisions covering people's protection from water related disasters; disaster prediction, management and mitigation.
- 5) **Water Resources Information and Management:** covering data and information acquisition and management; and information sharing.
- 6) **Water Resources Development and Management:** including policy provisions on a river basin approach, integrated planning, dams and dam management, water demand management and alternative sources of water.
- 7) **Regional Water Resources Institutional Framework:** including policy provisions covering institutional arrangements at regional and national levels and Shared water Course institutions (SWCIs).
- 8) **Stakeholder participation and Capacity Building:** including provisions focusing on participation and awareness creation, capacity building and training, gender mainstreaming, research, technology development and transfer.
- 9) **Financing Integrated Water Resources Management in the Region.**

A few policy statements based on the above policy structure and policy principles and policy statements are grouped under each thematic area and sub-theme. A few of these policy statements in their thematic areas are elaborated below, since they are directly related to this study.

a) Regional Cooperation in Water Resources Management ***Water for Economic Integration***

- (i) Water resources shall be developed and managed in an integrated manner to contribute to regional and national economic integration and development on the basis of balance, equity and mutual benefit for all Member States.

- (ii) The Southern African Vision for Water, Life and the Environment shall be the reference point for the water resources contribution to achieving regional integration, development and poverty eradication.

Water for Peace

- (i) Regional Cooperation in shared water courses shall be guided by the Revised SADC Protocol on Shared Water courses.
- (ii) Water course States shall participate and co-operate in the planning, development, management, utilisation and protection of water resources in the shared water courses.
- (iii) Member States shall endeavour to promote and exploit opportunities for joint water resources development in shared water courses to consolidate regional cooperation.

Conflict Management

- (i) Member States shall pursue all avenues for amicable prevention and resolution of conflicts, in accordance with the principles enshrined in the SADC Treaty.
- (ii) Where amicable resolution cannot be achieved, conciliation, mediation and arbitration mechanisms should be pursued, with use of the SADC Tribunal or other recognised international arbitration structures only as the last resort.

Shared Water Course Institutions (SWCIs)

- (i) Appropriate SWCIs shall be negotiated in all shared water courses by agreement between the Water Course States.
- (ii) A Water Course Commission shall be established on each shared water course to advise and coordinate the sustainable development and equitable utilisation of the associated water resources for mutual benefit and integration.
- (iii) The development of Water Course Commissions may be phased to enable gradual development of cooperative arrangements and capacity requirements.
- (iv) Water Course Commissions must efficiently fulfil the institution's responsibilities considering sustainability.
- (v) Water Course States are encouraged to jointly plan the development of water resources through Water Course Commissions and undertake the development and operation of joint water resources infrastructure on behalf of two or more countries for mutual benefit through Water Authorities or Boards.
- (vi) Policy and strategy level decision- making within SWCIs should be through consensus between Water course States.
- (vii) All SWCIs must enable the SADC Secretariat to fulfil its coordination and guidance responsibilities in terms of the Regional Policy and Strategy and the (Revised) Protocol on Shared Water courses.
- (viii) Stakeholder participation in decision- making shall primarily be through Member States government representatives, while any SWCI shall ensure stakeholder consultation at a joint project level.

- (ix) In the interests of IWRM, SWCIs are encouraged to foster cooperative relationships with non-governmental and civil society groupings within the shared water course.

It is clear from the above outline that there is a SADC policy on water which is similar to other water policies in other regions and internationally. However, the utility of this policy in so far as contributing towards a security community is concerned, can be tested using cases of water conflict in SADC.

CASE STUDIES ON WATER CONFLICTS WITHIN SADC MEMBER STATES

Lake Malawi's More than Blue Gold

Lake Malawi, or Lake Nyasa in Malawi, or Lake Nyasa in Tanzania, or Laago Niassa in Mozambique, is located at the junction of Malawi, Mozambique and Tanzania. It is the eighth largest lake in the world. It contains an estimated 168 000 tonnes of fish of nearly 1000 species, and is able to provide sustenance for nearly 600 000 people (www.thinkafricapress.com, Meyer, 2012). It is in the southernmost lake region in the East African Rift system. It is 560km long and has a width of about 75km at its widest point. It consists of a single basin with greatest depth of about 706m. This lake, the third-largest in Africa, is also the second deepest lake in Africa. Malawi and Tanzania have supported each other, most notably during the struggles for their independence. Since Malawi is a landlocked country, she relies on the ports of Tanzania for her economic activities. Both share a lot of economic interests (www.blogg.fn.no, Mongo, 2012). Lake Malawi is a tourist spot, a source of revenue and food for local populations in Malawi, Mozambique and Tanzania. The border dispute between Malawi and Tanzania was rekindled in July 2012, when it was discovered that the lake could potentially be a lucrative oil and gas source (www.ipsnews.net, Mutch, 2013).

It is generally argued that the conflict between Malawi and Tanzania over Lake Malawi led to the 1890 Heligoland Treaty where the British and Germans agreed that Malawi own the entire lake up to the Tanzanian shoreline. Tanzania, however, is arguing that according to international norms and practice, the border should be demarcated in the centre of the lake. Tanzania also claims that this should also be the case between Mozambique and Malawi. Malawi, however, argues that the Portuguese, who ruled Mozambique before its independence, bartered a portion of Mozambican territory in the 1950s in exchange for a piece of the lake. Malawians also argue that the Heligoland Treaty was a give and take where the Germans got something and the British the same. In their view, then, the Heligoland Treaty is valid. On the other hand, Tanzanians argue that the Treaty was not rational; it was as bad as colonialism.

In the 1960s, Malawi's first President, Hastings Kamuzu Banda, claimed that Lake Nyasa was part of Malawi, as suggested by the Heligoland Treaty. This treaty was reaffirmed at the 1963 Organisation of African Unity summit, where it was accepted reluctantly by Tanzania. The disputes reignited in 1967-8. Malawi also alleges that the 2002 and 2007 African Union resolutions upheld the agreement, since member states agreed to uphold borders inherited at independence.

In October 2012, it is confirmed that Malawi's former president, Bingu waMutharika awarded a contract to British Surestream Petroleum to start gas and oil exploration on the eastern part of the lake. In July 2012, Tanzania announced plans to purchase a new \$9 million ferry to cross Lake Nyasa's waters. Malawi's Ministry of Lands responded by

claiming that Tanzania had no legal right to start operating on Lake Malawi, since the ownership and border dispute had long been unresolved. Tanzania also responded that Malawians were also encroaching on Tanzanian waters through their tourist and fishing boats (Meyer, 2012).

Bilateral Efforts to Resolve the Conflict

On July 27 2012, ministers of foreign affairs and borders and security experts held a meeting in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. It was agreed that oil and gas exploration should be halted by prospecting firms. Ephraim M'ganda Chiume, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Malawi responded at a press conference that Malawi would not give "an inch of its land". The statement was interpreted by Tanzanians as a provocation. The President of Tanzania, Dr Jakaya Kikwete and President Joyce Banda of Malawi met in Maputo, Mozambique and agreed to resolve the issue diplomatically, and they argued that their misunderstanding was being exaggerated. They, however, said that if the diplomatic course failed, they would take the matter to the International Court of Justice (ICJ). In that meeting, Tanzania and Malawi indicated that the two countries had a long history which should be preserved for future generations. Tanzania's Attorney General also saw the ICJ as a possibility when all diplomatic efforts failed. Solving the issue bilaterally was considered less absolutist, seeing as two million families from some of the most vulnerable countries in the world depend on the lake for food, shelter, water and income (www.clubofmozambique.com). When he was campaigning for the May 2014 tripartite polls, Peter Mutharika said Lake Malawi belonged to Malawi and the issue was non-negotiable, and hinted that Malawi was ready to defend the lake border if necessary. It is understood that his predecessor, Joyce Banda, purchased seven patrol boats for the army from the Paramount Group of South Africa (www.thezambeian.com).

SADC'S Efforts to Resolve the Conflict

When Malawi assumed the Chairmanship of SADC in August 2013, it considered this border issue with Tanzania. President Joyce Banda gave an ultimatum to the Forum for Former Heads of State and Government, calling for a resolution of the matter by September 2013. The SADC panel set up to study the issue under Mozambique's ex-President Joaquim Chissano. The panel heard Malawi's argument on maintaining the colonial borders and Tanzania made her submission.. In his remarks at the opening of the 2014 SADC Council of Ministers Meeting on 10-11 March 2014, Honourable Ephraim Mganda Chiume, Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, said, "I wish to assure you Honourable Ministers that Her Excellence the President Dr. Joyce Banda, the Government and the people of Malawi, would like to see a peaceful, but speedy resolution of this long- standing border dispute so that our two peoples can continue to co-exist in a peaceful environment" (www.sadc.int).

Through the above statement, Malawi showed that she was hopeful of co-existing peacefully with Tanzania, a cooperating member of the SADC security community. In August 2014, the new SADC Chairperson, President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe announced the revival of the SADC Tribunal, which was an interstate body which would only deal with cases between member states, and not individuals or juristic bodies. The 34th Summit of SADC Heads of State and Government, held in Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe, 17-18 August 2014, signed the Protocol on the Tribunal in the Southern

African Development Community, among other legal instruments, which included the Protocol on Environmental Management for Sustainable Development, the Protocol on Employment and Labour, and the Declaration on Regional Infrastructure Development. The continued dispute over Lake Malawi makes it clear that the mediation team by former Heads of State had failed to resolve the Lake Malawi dispute.

The head of the economic diplomacy programme at the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA), Catherine Grant, however was not optimistic on the efficacy of this Tribunal in resolving SADC disputes when she said, "African countries have shown great reluctance to use any dispute settlement systems that require them to directly tackle the actions of another government so I would not expect that the SADC Tribunal will be used much at all if it is only limited to member states.. This is already a problem in SADC as there are limited compliance mechanisms in place to ensure that leaders deliver on what they promise." Mugabe disagreed stating that: "The decisions that we have made will only be meaningful to the people if we implement them. We therefore need to improve our scorecard on that front" (Mtika, C. 18 August 2014, www.thezambesian.com). Two contrasting views are expressed here, one hopeful by the Chairman of SADC, and another pessimistic by a member of civil society. If the Heads of States and civil society can join hands with the objective of improving the livelihoods of the people, that is, by resolving conflicts and stopping conflicts from escalating, then a strong SADC security community is possible.

The Possibility of the International Court of Justice Solution

While Presidents Kikwete and Banda mentioned that they would resolve the potential dispute amicably, they also hinted that if there were problems, they could still refer the matter to ICJ for arbitration. Professor Baregu of Tanzania said that Malawi should take their dispute for an amicable solution to the International Court of Justice since the problem has existed for a long time. However, referring the dispute to ICJ would not have been favourable to Malawi since this would mean a delay in exploration. This would also undermine the authority of SADC, which was supposed to be the body of first mediation. In this way, local remedies would have been sought first. ICJ, also seemed preferable when the SADC Tribunal was suspended, but at the moment, member states are hopeful about the SADC process although at least SAIIA's Catherine's Grant is not.

The Okavango River Basin

The Okavango River Basin is located in the Kalahari Desert of Botswana. It is a trans-boundary river course which covers the riparian states of Angola, Namibia and Botswana. Its origins are in the highlands of Angola where Cuito and Cubango Rivers eventually become the Okavango River near the boundary of Angola and Namibia. The river then flows across Namibia's Caprivi Strip and finally drains in north-western Botswana. The catchment area of the Okavango River Basin is estimated at about 348 954 km². Angola contributes the most water to this river basin. The river basin supports the socio-economic livelihoods of people from the afore-mentioned three countries, contributing to their rich biodiversity and to the tourism of Botswana and Namibia. It is estimated that about 122 064 people live in the basin in Botswana, with 179 000 people in Namibia, and 140 000 in Angola's portion of the basin, and 204 024 unconfirmed internally displaced people there.

Potential Source of Conflict: The Proposed Hydropower Station

The Namibian Government is mooted a plan to establish a pipeline starting from the Kavango River at Rundu and will link with the Eastern National Water Carrier at the town of Grootfontein. Ashton and Neal (2003: 34) note that for the Government of Namibia, the 'pipeline is seen as a form of insurance policy that will enable existing (internal) water sources to be used when available, secure in the knowledge that if they fail, the Okavango River would always be there as a reliable backup'. In addition to the Rundu-Grootfontein pipeline, preliminary studies by the Portuguese Government in 1969 showed that it was possible to develop a 40MW hydropower station at Popa Falls in the Caprivi Strip in Namibia (DWA, 1969). Namibia imports more than 50% of its power from South Africa at a high cost (Couzens, 2014).

The Government of Namibia has made a similar proposal and it has created conflict with the other two riparian states. It has been argued that the hydropower station will create blockage or damming of sediments. Damming of these sediments will result in destruction of vegetation and an increase in depth of some river channels, thereby affecting tourism, fishing and other sustainable livelihood practices in the Delta (Mbaiwa, 2004). The Tswana are opposed to this project, since in Botswana's north-west, over 90% of the people living there directly or indirectly rely on the natural resources found on the Okavango system to support their livelihoods. They engage in floodplain crop cultivation, livestock farming, fishing, and hunting and gathering of veld produce. In the last 10-15 years, the Okavango River Delta in Botswana has become a centre for tourism development. The presence of a vast body of permanent water in a predominantly dry and harsh environment attracts a variety of animals, birds, reptiles, insects and vegetables that are a source of attraction to tourists. Botswana's tourism industry is currently their second largest economic sector contributing 4.5% to GDP (Mbaiwa, 2004: 4).

Thirty years of war in Angola have displaced people and left the upper Okavango Delta thinly populated. The dominant economic activities in the basin in the Kuando-Kubango Province are subsistence agriculture and animal husbandry. Current water usage from the Okavango River Basin in this province is limited to supplies to small regional centres and some small-scale floodplain irrigation. This province could not be further developed for many years, because it was the traditional stronghold of Jonasi Savimbi's UNITA rebel movement until 2002.

Because the war has ended, there are a number of proposed developments, including resettlement of the displaced communities, thereby negatively impacting one of the last pristine river systems, according to Green Cross International 2000, which has produced a number of documentaries arguing against any modifications or disturbance of the environment. Resettlements are being delayed as the place has landmines from the war. It has been noted that in the colonial period, studies by the Portuguese Government indicated potential for hydropower generation of about 350MW and for the development of irrigation of about 54 000ha in the Angolan portion of the Okavango catchment. These plans have been again criticised for having negative impacts on the ecosystem. It was noted that the Okavango River basin in Angola is therefore likely to be affected by population growth, mining, hydropower, urbanisation and industrialisation which have the potential of leading to pollution, reduced river flow and water quality (Mbaiwa, 2004:4).

The Olifants River Basin

The Olifants River basin covers an area of 54 600km² and is located within three provinces of north-eastern South Africa, reaching the border with Mozambique. It rises near the small town of Bethal in Mpumalanga, then flows north through the Witbank and Loskop dams, through the Drakensberg Mountains and through the Kruger Park and joins the Limpopo and Rio Changane rivers, becoming Rio dos Elefantes and then flows into the Indian Ocean at Xai-Xai, north of Maputo (www.southafrica.net, "The Olifants River"). The basin is used for irrigated and dry land agriculture, grazing, hydropower, mining and for a major national park.

There are about 200 mines in the basin which use about 90 million m³ of water per year. The mines provide a high risk of pollution to the basin. For example, in January 2014, the South African National Parks (SAN Parks) announced concern over water pollution threats from the Bosveld Phosphate operation near Phalaborwa. Unauthorised discharge of polluted water from the fertilizer production plant into the Selati River between 30 December 2013 and 5 January 2014 caused the death of large sums of fish. Bosveld Phosphate, however, made commitments to rectify the situation (www.africagreenmedia.co.za, "On-going concern for the Selati and Olifants Rivers"). A relatively small amount of water is sent downstream from the Arabie Dam to Pietersburg for domestic use. Water used by power stations is about 2008 million m³ per year. Ecological use was estimated at 200 million m³ per year. Irrigation farming used about 500 million m³ of water per year in the late 1980s. This figure has gradually declined over the last decade although irrigation is still the major water use in the basin (Kite, G. January 2002 www.iwmi.cgiar.org).

The De Hoop Dam conflict occurred between 2003 and 2006. The construction of this dam was approved by South Africa as if Mozambique, did not matter or did not exist. There was no consultation with Mozambique and other protests, including those from within South Africa, were not considered.

According to Couzens (2014), the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry in South Africa (DWAF) proposed to build the De Hoop Dam in 2003 on the Olifants River, which runs into the Kruger National Park and then into Mozambique. The Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) then provided authorisation by way of a Record of Decision (RoD) in November 2005. The RoD was handed down despite objections (including SAN Parks, and a Mozambican NGO, GeaSphere). Couzens (2014) emphasizes that this matter could have resulted in an interdepartmental crisis, with SAN Parks (an organ of the state) threatening litigation against both DWAF and DEAT (its own principal), as well as involving an international dispute between Mozambique and South Africa. DWAF was authorised to build the proposed dam after taking into account the final Environmental Impact Assessment Report (EIAR) and Environmental Management Plan (EMP) of October 2005. Comments were received from the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) and the Department of Health and Social Services in Mpumalanga, the Department of Minerals and Energy in Limpopo, the Department of Economic Development, Environment and Tourism in Limpopo and Agriculture and Land Administration in Mpumalanga.

According to Couzens and Dent (2006) *Business Day* reported that:

Conservationists object to the project on the grounds that an interruption of the flow of the Olifants would endanger several game reserves downstream,

including Kruger Park, and would have a significant environmental and economic effect. They are in good company, internationally it has become acceptable that the detrimental effects of large-dam projects outweigh the benefits. But the Steelpoort area, for which the dam is planned, is among the poorest in the country, where even subsistence farming is largely no longer possible. The land degradation due to poverty is already an environmental disaster, the effect on the people is an escalating tragedy. Government's failure to act would be as great a violation of the constitutional rights of the Steelpoort people to live in an environment that is not harmful as would be a rash decision to build a dam and be damned. Whether building a large dam is the appropriate action is another matter.

Wray, writing in the *Kruger Park Times*, is cited by Couzens and Dent (2006) as having said:

The De Hoop Dam is intended to supply water primarily to help mining companies to utilise the platinum reserves in the area, with a lesser percentage of the stored water being earmarked for agriculture and primary human usage.

Wray's statement is actually contrary to the first rationale given in the RoD that there was need to provide the previously disadvantaged communities with potable water. Water Affairs stated that it was building the dam in order to supply three local municipalities with domestic water. Vera Ribeiro, a coordinator with the Mozambican environmental NGO GeaSphere (engineeringnews.co.za/article/freshenvironmental-concerns-over-de-hoop-dam) said that:

...the two governments must adhere to the Southern African Development Community's protocol on shared watercourses, with close cooperation to ensure the sustainable use of shared water bodies.

What is critical in the case of the De Hoop Dam on the Olifants River is that a SADC state, South Africa, chose to set aside compliance with its own resolution which it ratified. Did South Africa ratify it for other countries to implement? This case demonstrates lack of political will to conform to regional protocols which are meant to promote security and peace within the region. It is possible that Mozambique may choose to go to war with South Africa on the basis of this water conflict. Security is therefore not so much a matter of guns, but signifies the prevalence of peace, and water is one such important element which can easily result in war or peace and security in the region, depending on the commitment of member states in implementing their own protocols.

CONCLUSION

From the foregoing, it can be noted that water, the 'blue diamond', is indeed an important component of SADC's security community and Africa's heritage which houses a variety of Africa's intangible heritage. Possible conflicts related to shared water courses are deep-seated because of the link water has with Africa's intangible heritage. Consequently, shared water courses disputes must consider this said dimension as well. Disputes concerning the resource threaten the stability of the security community. Within SADC, there are many shared water courses, which create trans-boundary issues and concerns.

SADC has, through a number of conventions, protocols and agreements, managed to express commitment to managing these water bodies in a peaceful and transparent manner in order to secure and defend its heritage. Member states that have ratified the protocols and conventions have really shown interest in cooperating and consulting on the shared water courses. Yet, cases analysed in this chapter, relating to Lake Malawi, the Okavango River Basin and the De Hoop Dam construction, show that, in as much as SADC has good intentions of establishing a tight security community, it has threats which hinge on purely national interests, sometimes at the expense of regional cooperation. South Africa gave priority to its platinum mining activities rather than to avoiding environmental effects, including real negative effects to Mozambique, who is a major shareholder in the Olifants River Basin. If Namibia goes ahead with its hydropower project and Malawi with its oil exploration, a possibility of two wars hangs in the balance.

SADC has produced good conventions, protocols and agreements, but its member states continue to flout the provisions, giving priority to countries respective national economic interests. Maybe being a poor region has implications here. All the reasons for breaking the laws seem to be bordering around the need to economically develop countries, provide energy, provide clean water, provide water for mining and sell oil and gas. At the moment, consultation is important and also understanding the need to balance environmental interests and economic development. Certainly SADC must take a cautious approach as it undertakes transformations on its heritage. Water can strengthen SADC's security if consultations and balance on the management of trans-boundary water sources are taken seriously by member states.

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Conclusion

Emerging Perspectives on Africa's Intangible Heritage and Land

Ruby Magosvongwe, Obert B. Mlambo and Eventhough Ndlovu

This book makes a modest contribution to existing literature on Africa's Intangible Heritage and Land, Cultural and Heritage Studies on Africa in general, and Zimbabwe in particular. The chapters take the issues of intangible cultural heritage to a level higher than the 2003 UNESCO ICH Convention. More importantly is that common view that intangible cultural heritage is mostly tied up with the securities embedded in the land. There is no doubt about the relevance of issues discussed in this volume to the development of Africa as a continent. This concluding chapter makes some remarks pointing to what different stakeholders ought to understand in order to promote and preserve the rich intangible cultural heritage of African communities. The concluding remarks also highlight the need to reassess the role and influence of African cultural heritage on Africa's development in light of various perspectives offered in this book.

MARKETING THE AFRICAN BRAND

The documentation, publication and application of indigenous knowledge approaches to interpretation and readings of the environment, plant formations, animal behaviour, including celestial formations have been variously used to read weather patterns, much to the advantage of rural communities in their preparedness for agricultural and other activities (Mafongoya *et al*; Magosvongwe *et al* and Chinouriri and Marongezde). These admissions partly demonstrate how much communities and humankind have generally been disadvantaged till now on account of taking a monolithic view of science and scientific knowledge and its application. Mafongoya *et al* further demonstrate that issues of climate change and readings into weather patterns, if incorporated into and augment meteorological systems, could help to forestall food scarcity in sub-Saharan Africa in that weather readings that speak to indigenous people's ways of seeing and knowing could help them plan agricultural activities more meaningfully and strategically. Thus, 'western'/'modern' communities could obtain food security by applying and using the vast expanse of untapped knowledge on different aspects of African life.

Though, despite not having received direct attention in the contributions in this book, indigenous herbal knowledge could be similarly applied to curtail spread of ailments, curtail mal-nutrition and even cure non-communicable conditions and diseases like cancer (*imvukuzane* in Ndebele/*nhuta/gomarara* in Shona), migraine headaches, ulcers, eczema, and hypertension, among many others. Modern science and medicine continue ruling out these remedies despite proven records of success stories in this regard (Mlambo and Zimunya, 2015: 317). These mixed reactions show the dualisation of medical practices, especially among most indigenous communities. In the African worldview, disease are mostly symptomatic of dystrophic spiritual conditions, hence the intervention and use of indigenous approaches when dealing with ailments and physical maladies (Mbiti, 1969). Such knowledge was meant to benefit the community and the immediate community benefitted most. The indigenous knowledge was

therefore transferred trans-generationally among trusted individuals within families or clans. Sadly, such knowledge seemingly remains being trivialised by modern medical science and pushed to the periphery. This explains the reason why most African Christians and educated elites visit the herbalists and traditional healers under the cover of darkness.

After gaining political independence, the black-led Government supported the recognition of traditional healers which culminated in establishing and licensing this brand of 'medicine' through Zimbabwe National African Traditional Healers Association (ZINATHA). Nevertheless, notwithstanding Government efforts to protect unsuspecting citizens from fawn herbalists, some renowned herbalists could not register with ZINATHA as they perceive the latter more to be commercially-driven than offering service to 'struggling' community members. Hence the disadvantaging of local communities witnessed today since ZINATHA demands and insists that only registered practitioners and herbalists be the only ones recognised as legitimate. The negative legacy of colonialism in making the African mind not only suspicious of indigenous science and technology, but also lethargic to invention must be noted. The negative impact on development through undermining and erasure of this unquantifiable wealth embedded in indigenous cultural heritage remains to be explored.

While understanding progressive uses of Western science and the complexity of its socio-political role, this book has highlighted in this context the problematic nature of Western science and its power-saturated relationship with indigenous knowledge. This must be emphasized. Western modernism has often understood the experience of various "others," including the indigenous other, from a narrow Eurocentric perspective. The story of the Scientific Revolution in Europe itself is framed in the ethnocentric West-is-best discourse of colonialism. Now efforts by Africans to create things that have a Western precedent are met with hostility and suspicion (Mlambo and Zimunya, 2015: 317). The 'you cannot-reinvent-the-wheel' syndrome has gripped Africans such that they do not invest in indigenous technological advancements, but would rather import Western ideals. How good would it be to have African patented cancer drug? And who would not want to buy a book on spells and African magic? Apart from the health and wealth benefits as discussed by Biri's earth-bound, the opportunity would promote medicine tourism in Africa, for humankind's greater good. Maathai (2010: 160) rightly observes:

Culture is the means by which a people expresses itself, through language, traditional wisdom, politics, religion, architecture, music, tools, greetings, symbols, festivals, ethics, values, and collective identity. Agriculture, systems of governance, heritage, and ecology are all dimensions and functions of culture — for instance, "agri-culture" is the way we deal with seeds, crops, harvesting, processing, and eating. Whether written or oral, the political, historical, and spiritual heritage of a community forms its cultural record, passed from one generation to another, with each generation building on the experience of the previous one.

In this regard, engaging these knowledge frameworks and embracing them helps researchers to appreciate what needs to be done to address the challenges which have affected the development of African science and technology. Mararike (2012) argues

that the Africans, especially the elite, need to be expunged of such self-annihilating mindsets. Invaluable knowledge remains untapped for fear of being labelled backward or traditional. Yet, it is such intangible cultural heritage that influences architectural and engineering designs, aesthetics as expressed through artefacts, music and art in general, as well as development and business models that answer to local needs. Wholesale embracing of alien civilisations as was the case during the colonial era meant that the Africans ended up complicit in dwarfing their own life-giving elements that the colonial rulers relentlessly demonised. Bwetenga in this book raises the issue of demonisation of African aesthetics when she discusses the endurance of Mbira as both musical aesthetics and enduring spirituality. In this regard, Western science and technology as variously transmitted through education and tertiary institutions, is deployed as a tool of oppression, underdevelopment and disempowerment.

In our efforts to remake the African brand, we should also unpack the challenges associated with the concept of indigenous knowledge. The term indigenous, and thus the concept of indigenous knowledge, has often been associated with the Western context of the primitive, the wild or the natural (Mlambo and Zimunya, 2015: 318). Such representations have courted condescension from Western observers and elicited little appreciation for the insight and understanding these might provide. But for the others, especially the millions of Africans, indigenous knowledge (or what others have called the native ways of knowing) is an everyday rationalisation that rewards individuals who live in a given locality (Semali and Kicheloe, 1999: 3). In part, to these individuals, indigenous knowledge reflects the dynamic way in which the residents of an area have come to understand themselves in relationship to their natural environment and how they organise that folk knowledge of flora and fauna, cultural beliefs and history to enhance their lives (Mlambo and Zimunya, 2014).

TRANSFORMATIVE POWER OF AFRICA'S INTANGIBLE HERITAGE

The central tenet of this book involves a quest for the realisation among Africans, the transformative power of Africa's intangible heritage; the different ways that such knowledge can be used to foster empowerment and justice in a variety of cultural contexts (Magosvongwe *et al* in the fourth chapter of this book). A key aspect of this transformative power involves the exploration and understanding of the role of history (Chivaura in this book) and also the exploration of human consciousness, the nature of its production, and the process of its engagement with cultural differences. Indigenous knowledge is a rich social resource for any justice-related attempt to bring about social change (Freire and Faundez, 1989). In this context indigenous ways knowing become a key resource for the work of academics in universities or teachers in elementary schools. Intellectuals should soak themselves in indigenous knowledge and they should assimilate the feelings, the sensitivity epistemologies that move in ways unimagined by most Western academic impulses (Freire and Faundez, 1989). Chapters in this book have detailed the richness of African intangible heritage in terms of cultural beliefs that have cemented communities over the ages despite the disruptive colonial legacies. Some of these beliefs, if put to good practical use, would engender lasting peace and promote sustainable development; promote ecological balance and bio- and linguistic diversity; and also arrest food scarcity in a peaceful environment, in addition to benefitting these countries economically. In his opening remarks at the General Assembly

in New York in June 2013, the United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon acknowledges:

too many well-intended development programmes have failed because they did not take cultural settings into account...development has not always focused enough on people. To mobilise people, we need to understand and embrace their culture. This means encouraging dialogue, listening to individual voices, and ensuring that culture and human rights inform the new course for sustainable development.

It is against this background that Ndlovu and Chabata in this edition call for the re-examination of mother tongue education policies in the wake of the fast track land reform programme in order to effectively and successfully implement mother tongue education in previously marginalised languages. Ndlovu and Chabata demonstrate that the success of the said policies largely rests on the need to take into account the contexts in which these policies are to be implemented to guarantee their successful execution. Similarly, Mugari's cry for the recognition, promotion, use and development of ZimSign language is made out of the deeper understanding of the dire consequences of marginalisation and exclusion of linguistic minorities. Both chapters make clear the value of language an intangible heritage in human development and emphasize the need for policies to take into consideration the contexts in which they are to be operationalised.

Despite continuous disruptions caused by land dispossessions and land occupations over the years, the African intangible cultural heritage in certain instances seems to be endowed in their DNA. Rukuni (2007: 50-51) notes:

The importance of the cultural or clan 'brand' is that it bestows upon one in an instant all the heritage of your ancestors. ... I carry within me a sense of identity that gives me a deep sense of self-confidence because I have an automatic sense of belonging.

Rukuni's observation explains why Africans in the Diaspora can still share and relate to continental Africa in terms of culture and spirituality. The reason why Black Studies in American universities today focus on Africa-centred approaches is to try and restore and maintain the vital links and connections with mainland Africa (Asante, in Mazama, 2011). Therefore, it is no wonder that displaced and dispossessed communities can still celebrate their cultural heritage and identities.

It therefore goes without saying that the major driver and bedrock of sustainable socio-economic development is a people's culture and language. Culture and language are also the antennae into the kind of future that any people envision for themselves, providing guidance, the barometer, parameters and the reference points within which stakeholders can interplay. Without cultural and linguistic heritage, Africans are weak, vulnerable and susceptible to all forms of manipulation, discrimination, exclusion, marginalisation, exploitation and abuse by peoples of other cultural centres. The latter is in addition to losing dignity, identity, respect and being permanently dislodged from their collective destiny as a people.

As long as we lose confidence in our intangible cultural and linguistic heritage, we become adept at embracing the status of second class citizens. Yet, as a people we are

second to none because God did not make a mistake by assigning us to this part of the globe and all the resources that it embraces. Need we reiterate then, that we can only get our true sense of who we are, the world around us, our physical and spiritual environments, including relationships with other peoples, from the one irreplaceable asset that gives us unwavering grounding — our intangible cultural and linguistic heritage in its multiple forms and expressions. As Africans we have so much to contribute to modern day civilisations and the world through our indigenous knowledge that embodies distilled philosophies on social and environmental engineering that no other people can offer.

For the transformative power of Africa's intangible heritage to flourish, this book has made clear that the colonially inherited education system in Africa does not support the development of indigenous knowledge frameworks. It was not an education system that grew out of the African environment or one that was designed to promote the most rotational use of material and social resources. Such a type of curricula must be changed and reviewed to give room to an education of African indigenous knowledge frameworks and philosophies so as to counter the epistemology of modernism which continues deploying its lethal tentacles against Africa's intangible heritage. Western modernist ways of producing knowledge and constructing reality is one among a multitude of subtle tools that have been used to dislodge people from local ways of knowing, reading, understanding and building thereby resulting in paradigms that deny family institutions; education programmes; governance systems and structures; development approaches; medical practices; as well as politics and economic approaches, locality, seeking to produce not local, but trans-local knowledge. Essentially, these paradigms compound the scourge of African alienation and underdevelopment as people continue embracing frameworks that are tangential to their existential realities as formerly colonised and enslaved subjects (Rodney, 1981).

This edition also brings to the fore that in as much as colonialism is a force that continues to be blamed for the erosion of Africa's intangible heritage, it is also emerging that lumping together all ills facing Africa's intangible heritage to colonialism without getting into the finer details of how cultural and linguistic imperialism takes place in Africa is a very dangerous and misleading generalisation. It is also coming clear through this discussion that Africa is also playing a critical role in the erosion and denigration of her intangible heritage; hence why Chidora and Mandizvidza make a sobering call to Africa, to listen to Conrad with a clear, sober and unbiased mindset.

The influence of general disregard for Africa's intangible cultural heritage is pervasive. Yet, anxiety and the nervous condition, are evident. This is despite loud acclaims of political independence. Borrowed paradigms and the persistent desire to have programmes approved and sanctioned by foreign governments and communities remains a major drawback. As observed earlier, such tendencies sacrifice the needs of local communities that would benefit more from tried and more user-friendly stratagems. This book has indeed ably demonstrated that the indigenous African people can produce knowledge that can compete with any other if a conducive environment is created and nurtured. By embracing her intangible cultural heritage, Africa and her peoples would contribute mightily in humanising the world today and the much desired African Renaissance. Borrowing Asante's acclaim and plea (Asante, 2011: 14), we conclude thus:

[We] are ready to see us establish ourselves at the centre of the world stage... where the ideas, energies, and concepts that have made us creative, resilient, and capable are used for moral and political leadership...set aside all neuroses that are associated with the legacy of colonialism, discrimination, and enslavement... to...*accept our culture, as a heritage to be shaped and molded, rather than a baggage to be thrown to the side...* We can do this, we must do this for our children.

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Epilogue

Challenges to Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage at National and International Levels

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INTRODUCTION

The opening of a vibrant international dialogue on the importance of intangible cultural heritage and the role of communities, groups and individuals (as custodians and practitioners in the safeguarding of their intangible cultural heritage), was initiated during meetings on the development of the Convention on the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage that was adopted by the UNESCO General Conference in 2003. Africa was well represented in these meetings as well as in subsequent biannual meetings of the Convention's General Assembly and the annual meetings of the Convention's Intergovernmental Committee.

Globally, interest in the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage (that is demonstrated by this international conference) has been phenomenal since 2003. However, in the case of Africa and Zimbabwe in particular, challenges to the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage have remained so dominant that to expect progress in the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage (as anticipated by the Convention) without dealing with these challenges, is to be naïve and unreasonable. It is at platforms like this international conference that these challenges should be articulated, thoroughly analysed and solutions to them offered. I am grateful for this opportunity to address what I consider as the serious challenges to effective safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage in Zimbabwe. It is my hope that this discourse will contribute to research on effective ways of promoting the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage in Zimbabwe and its continued use in national development.

CHALLENGES TO SAFEGUARDING INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE IN ZIMBABWE

I believe that the most critical challenge to the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage in Zimbabwe is the absence of platforms, structures and media for raising awareness of all communities about the Convention on the Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage. The convention is actually a vital instrument that assists in describing what intangible cultural heritage is, what approaches can be taken to safeguard intangible cultural heritage at national and international levels, what is the nature of the international assistance that can be secured by communities of custodians and practitioners of intangible cultural heritage in countries that ratified the Convention as well as the collaboration that is required among communities in handling elements of intangible cultural heritage existing across national boundaries.

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

One of the critical obligations of states that have ratified the Convention is to ensure the widest possible participation of communities, groups and individuals that create, maintain and transmit intangible cultural heritage and to involve them in its management.

It is not possible to get effective participation of communities in safeguarding their intangible cultural heritage without effectively raising their awareness about their intangible cultural heritage. We need to ensure that the enactment of elements of intangible cultural heritage is done in a manner that allows the community to meet the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs and their appreciation of the fact that those who participate in the practice or transmission of intangible cultural heritage elements and those who consider the elements as part of their heritage are aware of current problems that may be hampering the enactment and transmission of their intangible cultural heritage.

If intangible cultural heritage are “the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills as well as instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces that communities, groups and individuals recognise as part of their cultural heritage,” efforts in safeguarding such heritage without effective participation of concerned communities, groups and individuals are ill-conceived, ineffective and in the long run, unachievable.

The biannual meetings of the General Assembly of the Convention and the annual meetings of the Assembly’s Intergovernmental Committee on Safeguarding Intangible Heritage, have become vital platforms for reminding States Parties to the Convention of their rights and obligations as well as an opportunity for sharing with each other what they have done to safeguard intangible cultural heritage in their territories through their periodic reports about the implementation of the Convention. Making communities of custodians and practitioners of intangible cultural heritage aware of decisions and recommendations of these platforms is as important as making the nation consistently aware of the importance of its intangible cultural heritage and its safeguarding.

NATIONAL STRATEGIES

The second most critical challenge to the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage in Zimbabwe and in many countries in Africa is the absence of national strategies for producing inventories of intangible cultural heritage that exists in their territories. An inventory of a nation’s intangible cultural heritage is a database of what the people in that nation consider as their intangible cultural heritage. This is why UNESCO has prioritised the provision of financial assistance from the International Fund for Safeguarding Intangible Heritage to national efforts aimed at inventorying intangible cultural heritage that exist in the territories of States Parties to the Convention.

The production of such databases requires the existence of structures that coordinate activities and approaches to the inventorying of intangible cultural heritage which are done with the effective participation of custodians and practitioners of the concerned heritage. This is an area of safeguarding intangible cultural heritage in a nation where research institutions and universities can play a leading role. The most common structure or platform that has been established by many African countries are national intangible cultural heritage committees comprising representatives of government departments

and statutory bodies, cultural organisations and institutions concerned with heritage preservation; communities of custodians and practitioners of intangible cultural heritage; research institutions and the mass media. Here again, making the existence of such committees known to all communities of custodians and practitioners of intangible cultural heritage is as important as making the nation aware of the importance of intangible cultural heritage and its safeguarding.

INFORMATION PLATFORMS

Equally critical a challenge is the lack of a national platform for sharing information and experiences in safeguarding intangible cultural heritage by communities, organisations and individuals concerned and involved in safeguarding intangible cultural heritage. Such forums, like this international conference, ensure that the safeguarding being undertaken at national level are comprehensive enough to include **research, recognition, documentation, protection, promotion, revitalisation, preservation, conservation, identification, enhancement, awareness raising and transmission of intangible cultural heritage**. It is vital that this international conference on intangible cultural heritage is used to determine whether the scope of safeguarding intangible cultural heritage is not limited, but encompasses all the critical safeguarding measures indicated above.

One of the forms of assisting States Parties to the Convention with resources towards efforts of safeguarding intangible cultural heritage in their territories was the establishment by UNESCO of the International Fund for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage. The fund that is administered by the Intergovernmental Committee responds to requests by governments, cultural organisations and institutions, communities and individuals involved in safeguarding intangible cultural heritage. The fund prioritises provision of financial assistance for the following purposes:

- a) the safeguarding of heritage inscribed on the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding;
- b) studies concerning various aspects of safeguarding;
- c) the provision of experts and practitioners;
- d) the training of necessary staff;
- e) the elaboration of standard setting and other measures
- f) the creation and operation of infrastructure;
- g) the supply of equipment and know-how;
- h) the elaboration of inventories of intangible cultural heritage;
- i) support for implementing programmes, projects and activities carried out at national, sub-regional and regional levels aimed at the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage.

Each year, the Secretariat of the Fund calls for submission of applications. Those applications requesting for up to US\$25 000 can be submitted any time of the year. Decisions on such applications are made and communicated to applicants three months after they have been received by the secretariat of the Fund. Requests for funding that are greater than US\$25 000 should be received by the Secretariat of the Fund by the end of March each year. Decisions on such requests are made after a year of receipt

because of the processes that are undertaken to ensure that such application are relevant and useful to the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage. Since Zimbabwe ratified the Convention in 2006, only two applications were received by the Secretariat of the Fund. These were from a statutory body in cultural heritage and from a cultural organisation. While both applicants received funding, one of the project could not be implemented. The funds had to be returned to UNESCO in 2014.

What is critical in this regard is that organisations, institutions and individuals involved in safeguarding intangible cultural heritage as well as communities of custodians and practitioners of heritage, are not aware of the existence of this Fund.

RECOGNISING INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE EXISTING IN TERRITORIES

A major international assistance to the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage of the world is the establishment of a process of recognising intangible cultural heritage existing in territories of States Parties to the Convention, through the publication of the Representative List of what countries declare to be their intangible cultural heritage. Nations nominate elements of intangible cultural heritage that exist in their territories to that list. Another world list is that of elements of intangible cultural heritage that is need of urgent safeguarding because they are in danger of disappearing.

It is critical to note that all elements of intangible cultural heritage that are nominated to these two International Lists should be in the inventories of States Parties. Zimbabwe's element of intangible cultural heritage that is on the Representative List is the mbende/ Jerusalem Dance that was achieved through the UNESCO exercise of declaring selected elements as masterpieces of human creative genius. Zimbabwe has not nominated any element of intangible cultural heritage to either of the two international Lists even though researchers and communities are able to demonstrate many elements as their intangible cultural heritage because such elements must be contained in the inventory of elements of intangible cultural heritage that exists in Zimbabwe.

COMPREHENSIVE MEASURES

Another serious challenge to effective safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage in Zimbabwe is one where a wide dimension of the domains of intangible cultural heritage is not a concern of those involved in safeguarding exercises. It is important that in all safeguarding measures undertaken, the measures are comprehensive enough to ensure that they deal with the widest spectrum of domains of intangible cultural heritage which are: a) oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle for communicating intangible cultural heritage; b) performing arts; c) social practices, rituals and festive events; d) knowledge and practices concerning nature and e) the universe and traditional craftsmanship.

It is at forums like this international conference, where one can tell what domains of intangible cultural heritage are the main pre-occupation of researchers, communities, custodians and practitioners in terms of safeguarding activities. The challenge here is in finding ways of encouraging communities of custodians and practitioners, and researchers who may be concentrating on safeguarding elements in one domain to be

concerned with other domains, especially where there is significant reduction in the numbers of people directly involved in producing the intangible cultural heritage; where intergenerational transmission chain is breaking up; where custodians and practitioners of the intangible element are encountering difficulties in ensuring its continuity; where an insignificant number of custodians remain and where new generation no longer identify with that heritage.

Research findings that indicate this state of affairs help the nation and concerned communities, groups and individuals in designing effective safeguarding measures and the prioritisation of safeguarding measures to be instituted. Measures of revitalising elements of intangible cultural heritage through the restoration, reactivation and strengthening of intangible cultural heritage practices and expressions that are vulnerable, threatened and in need of safeguarding, benefit from researching on the viability and continued practice of an intangible cultural heritage. It is therefore crucial to take a conference on intangible cultural heritage, like this one, as an important platform for sharing ideas on what safeguarding measures are needed; what elements of intangible cultural heritage should be prioritised in terms safeguarding activities and what communities need urgent assistance to effectively safeguard their heritage. This platform can also be used to identify researchers who can take on board research to identify and document intangible cultural heritage that is in urgent need of safeguarding as well as researchers who can be enticed into participating in critical national efforts of inventorying intangible cultural heritage that exist in Zimbabwe.

Since 2008, UNESCO has been inviting cultural organisations, institutions and research centres involved in heritage to apply for accreditation as specialist agencies that can be used to assist the Intergovernmental Committee in evaluating requests for international assistance and in reviewing periodic reports on the Convention and carrying out other associated technical assignments. Sadly, not even a single Zimbabwean organisation or centre of research and study so far has applied to UNESCO for accreditation. This is a challenge of enormous proportions as it denies the region the participation of experts in heritage in activities of evaluating the implementation of this Convention.

The challenges I have intimated can be dealt with effectively by all those concerned with the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage, making themselves known by the national entity responsible for the implementation of the UNESCO 2003 Convention on the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, the Ministry of Sport, Arts and Culture (now the Ministry of Rural Development, Promotion and Preservation of National Culture and Heritage) and making known what safeguarding projects and activities they are undertaking. This November 2015, our neighbour, Namibia, will host the annual meeting of the Convention's Intergovernmental Committee on Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage. It is critical that some of our researchers in intangible cultural heritage from our universities explore means of attending that meeting to learn how other nations are handling the safeguarding of their intangible cultural heritage and to establish international links with researchers and institutions involved in the promotion of the subject of safeguarding the intangible heritage of the world. Having been a participant at such a meeting in 2009 in Abu Dhabi in the United Emirates, I strongly urge researchers in heritage in general and in intangible cultural heritage in particular, to endeavour to attend the meeting as observers.

Many communities in Zimbabwe share common elements of intangible cultural heritage with communities in Zambia, Namibia, Botswana, South Africa, Mozambique and Malawi. It is vital that inventorying of these elements is done together with communities in these neighbouring countries so that we can together nominate common elements of intangible cultural heritage to the two international Lists. It is forums like this meeting of the Intergovernmental Committee to be held in Windhoek, that contacts with those concerned with safeguarding intangible cultural heritage in neighbouring countries, are made and strategies are developed on how to safeguard those cross-border elements of intangible cultural heritage.

CONCLUSION

I would like to conclude my remarks by congratulating the University of Zimbabwe for realising the critical role institutions of higher learning can play in promoting national awareness of intangible cultural heritage and for recognising those who are undertaking research, analysis and documentation of intangible cultural heritage existing in Zimbabwe and Africa and for offering them this opportunity for information sharing and exchanging of ideas, experiences, techniques and approaches to dealing with issues of intangible cultural heritage. It is my hope that papers presented at this conference will be accessed by members of communities concerned with the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage of Zimbabwe, Africa and the world.

THANK YOU.