

**THE THEME OF PROTEST IN THE POST-
INDEPENDENCE SHONA NOVEL**

by

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DECLARATION

Student number: 4310-988-8

I declare that **THE THEME OF PROTEST IN THE POST-INDEPENDENCE SHONA NOVEL** is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Mazuruse
(Mazuruse Mickson)

28-06-2010

DEDICATION

I dedicate this study to my wife Jowana and son Edmore for enduring loneliness and emotional constraints while I furthered my education. I also dedicate this dissertation to the memory of my late father, Samson Justinus Mucherowei Mazuruse, whose unforgettable inspiration helped me to realize the full potential of education.

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I take this opportunity to thank my supervisor, Professor D.E.Mutasa whose constructive criticism and guidance gave direction and shape to this research. Special thanks also go to Dr.J. Mapara, who has been a constant pillar of support and encouragement when all seemed too difficult for me. My gratitude also goes to the University of South Africa which offered me a bursary that enabled me to pursue my post-graduate studies.

ABSTRACT

The study discusses selected Shona novels' depiction of the theme of protest in the post-independence era in Zimbabwe. The ideas that these novels generate on protest are examined in the context of socio-political and socio-cultural issues in post-independent Zimbabwe. The study is an investigation of the extent to which protest literature is indispensable in the struggle of African people to liberate themselves from imperialist servitude. Novels on socio-political protest show how the government has failed to deliver on most of its promises because of neocolonialism and corruption. Novels on socio-cultural protest show how cultural innovations in post-independence Zimbabwe brought problems. The study comes to the conclusion that for literature to be reliable and useful to society it is not enough to highlight weaknesses in criticizing, but it should go beyond that and offer constructive and corrective criticism. This shows that protest literature is a vital tool for social transformation in Zimbabwe.

Title of Dissertation

The theme of Protest in the post-independence Shona novel

KEY TERMS

Socio-political protest, socio-cultural protest, constructive criticism, cultural heritage, cultural assimilation, post-independence disillusionment, economic independence, neocolonialism, unfulfilled promises, women empowerment.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 PREAMBLE

Literature contributes much to society if it is critical enough to stimulate debate and discussion on developmental issues. Society can only thrive dynamically and achieve mature fruition with the aid of criticism. Since art is always confronted with complex social, political and cultural contradictions, there is need for art to be a leading force in responding to these contradictions and challenges. A study of the Shona novel is part of the process showing the ability of literature to redress a society's challenges through protest. This study investigates the importance and effectiveness of post-independence Shona novels in highlighting and correcting Zimbabwe's socio-political and cultural problems. The study shows how the novels can be a contributing factor towards socio-political and cultural development in Zimbabwe through protest.

Protest literature has existed in various forms throughout literary history, awakening people to the injustices around them. To Marshall (2000:1), protest happens when there is something in the society that people do not like; it may be the law, institutions, cultural traditions or practices that are not right or fair. According to Abrams (1941:168):

Protest literature derides and ridicules disorders in the society evoking attitudes of contempt, moral indignation and scorn in order to correct human vice and folly.

This shows that protest literature is a vital tool for social transformation because it articulates people's grievances and challenges unpopular government policies thereby being the voice of the voiceless. The voice of protest should be directed towards changing a wrong system, not individuals, and should point to areas of growth and renewal.

Protest literature is not propaganda for war, incitement for imminent violence or advocacy of hatred based on ethnicity, gender or religion. It should offer constructive and corrective criticism since no literature of note would just stop at cultivating cynicism, helplessness, disillusionment and alienation to its readers. Lukacs' (1963:10) argument of contemporary realism rightly supports this perspective:

Modern writers should do more than merely reflect the despair and ennui of late-bourgeois society; they should try to take a critical perspective on this futility revealing positive possibilities beyond it.

Lukacs here shows that it is not enough to highlight weaknesses in criticizing since this would produce pessimists and non-believers who do nothing to solve their problems. Fischer (1959:101) contends that, 'the necessity of art is to analyse and criticise society against the horrible inclemency of life.' This shows that protest literature helps to interrogate a society's beliefs and convictions questioning their reliability. This leads people to ask the right questions about themselves helping them to find appropriate answers to their problems. Although the definition of protest literature is obviously fluid, a working definition of protest literature can be regarded as all art that implicitly or explicitly critiques society of its social ills. Protest literature shows a wide range of dissenting voices from a gentle complain to radical criticism. Implicit or hidden criticism can be in the form of satire, irony, metaphor or sarcasm. Artists resort to these forms of protest usually because of fear of arrest and conviction on charges of treason or incitement. Explicit or direct criticism is a radical form of protest that may be hampered by censorship or arrest. This form of protest blows up the faults of a system exposing its injustices in a subversive way.

The selected Shona novels in this study focus on the post-independence Zimbabwean situation exposing the socio-political and cultural problems affecting the people. The Shona novels are protest in nature in as far as they show disapproval of the problems of widespread shortages of basic commodities, hyperinflation, escalating corruption and deterioration in culture affecting the Zimbabwean society. This shows that protest happens when there is something in society that artists want to resist, attack, or reject because it is unjust, oppressive

and negative to development. In this context, protest literature is a useful tool in pointing out the discrepancy between the way things are and the way they ought to be. It is more likely that the object of censure will change for the better because of protest. This is because by pointing out what is wrong, it's a way of prescribing what is right by implication.

Even the socio-cultural changes made after independence did a lot of harm than good to our national identity. After independence, parliament passed the Legal Age of majority Act that considers it wrong for parents to interfere with the freedom of their children who are past the age of eighteen. This is exposed in Moyo (1992)'s *Ndabva zera* and *Chemera mudundundu* (2002). This Act conflicts with some aspects of Shona culture. The new environment also allows for cultural integration programmes, as in Tsodzo's (1993) *Mudhuri murefurefu*, that are criticized as bad because they devalue Shona traditions. New marriage laws and the issue of equal rights were introduced by the government with good intentions but they invariably became incompatible with Shona traditional culture. This is because people were just introduced to their rights without a proper education of the responsibilities that go along with these rights.

1.2 AIMS OF THE STUDY

This study aims to show the importance of post-independence Shona novels in creating critical awareness of the problems in Zimbabwe after independence and at the same time suggesting solutions. It is important to note that the study of post-independence Shona novels helps in exposing the reason behind the existence of post-colonial ideological contradictions. The main thrust of the research is on the novels that deal with the period after independence which try to show that the battle for Zimbabwe was not won with the flag or national anthem. As long as the economy is not liberated there is no freedom. In this case, the novels being studied are a contribution to the continuing anti-imperialist struggle against neocolonial oppression.

The novelists have a task to shape people's consciousness of the world they live in, since economic and political control benefit immensely from mental control.

Since artists should be the conscience of the society, their rightful role is to speak out and not condone corruption through silence. According to Ngugi (1986:69):

The pen may not always be mightier than the sword but used in the service of the truth it can be a mighty force. Let our pens be the voices of the people. Let our pens give voices to silence.

This implies that novelists are practitioners directly involved in the remolding of their society through their works. This study therefore aims to show that it is possible to move out of the present predicament if novelists move away from extreme pessimism and give insights of positive ways out. Nyamubaya (1986:1) an ex-combatant agrees with Ngugi:

Now that I have put my gun down for obvious reasons, the enemy is still here, invisible, my barrel has no definite target now let my hands work...my mouth sing...my pencil writes about the same thing my bullet aimed at...

This commitment by Nyamubaya shows that in the post-independence Zimbabwean situation, it is necessary to have literature that is combative enough to call people to fight for their existence as an independent nation.

Novels like; Mabasa's *Mapenzi* (1999), Chimhundu's *Chakwasha* (1991), Manyimbiri's *Mudzimu wakupa chironda* (1991), Mahanya's *Matsvamoyo* (1992), Mutasa's *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo* (2005), and Choto's *Vavairo* (1990), show socio-political protest. They show how the government failed to deliver on most of the pre-independence promises of land resettlement, poverty alleviation, and general improvement on Zimbabweans' standards of living. The government in its earlier policy statements and 1980 election manifesto had promised to build a socialist nation based on equity. Addressing a conference on reconstruction and development the first Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, Mugabe (1981:5) was quoted saying:

My government is committed to clearing the stage and unleashing a vigorous attack on the evils of mass poverty, disease and ignorance

This showed the vision envisaged by the leaders soon after independence, a

vision to end racial discrimination and enact legislation designed to improve the quality of life for the Zimbabwean majority. All these dreams came to naught as soon as the second half of the 1980s set in as the government failed to deliver on most of its promises. Zimbabweans soon realized that independence did not bring them total liberation as socio-economic hardships crept in Zimbabwe. Economist Block, quoted in the *Zimbabwe Independent* (9-15 February, 2007: 12) aptly summed up the post-independence scenario when he said, 'For many years a crisis of expectations has swept the width and depth of Zimbabwe only to realize that the truth was markedly at variance with the hopes of the people.' This is an indication of the way those in positions of political and economic leadership have betrayed people's aspirations. This also led to the disillusionment and protest manifested in the Shona novels under review in this study. Prospects of a turn around are difficult in Zimbabwe since statements of intent by the leaders are not implemented on the ground. The textual analysis of these novels is vital in showing Zimbabwe's challenges of a social and political nature and how they impact negatively on people's lives.

On socio-cultural protest, novels like Moyo's *Ndabve Zera* (1992) and *Chemera mudundundu* (2002), Nyawaranda's *Barika remashefu* (1991) and Tsodzo's *Mudhuri murefurefu* (1993) show how cultural innovations in a new Zimbabwe brought problems after independence. The socio-cultural changes made after independence did a lot of harm than good to our national identity. Because of several gender affirmative policies after independence, women now assume new gender roles that challenge those prescribed by Shona tradition in the name of equal rights or women emancipation. This feminist stance is criticised as a failure since it destroys the family institution. It is absurd to try to universalize traditional beliefs and to this, Chinweizu et al (1980: 80) assert that:

The writer must develop an African aesthetic encouraging an awareness of African tradition and play the role of critical intelligentsia guiding the transmission of African cultural values.

The African writer's concern should be the cultural decolonization of the African continent. This shows that Shona novelists have a task as cultural ambassadors of Zimbabwe defending our traditional values and rejecting cultural imperialism.

1.2.1 Objectives

The major objectives of this research are to:

- (i) Investigate the causes of protest in protest literature in the post-independence era in Zimbabwe as reflected in the Shona novels,
- (ii) Assess the writers' socio-political and cultural commitment in articulating challenges facing Zimbabwe and the extent of their responsibility in shaping Zimbabwe society's goals, hopes and aspirations,
- (iii) Give alternative solutions as depicted by the Shona novelists in mapping the way forward for Zimbabwe,
- (iv) Analyse the success and failures of the novelists looking at their strengths and weaknesses in the field of protest literature.

1.2.2 Research Questions

- What are the historical roots of post-independence betrayal of the people in Zimbabwe?
- Why did the war promises of land, education, food, houses, jobs, unity, democracy, and independence fail to materialize with majority rule in Zimbabwe?
- Are there any prospects of a positive change from the present challenges facing Zimbabweans that have led to apathy, despair and the socio-political meltdown of Zimbabwe?
- How effective is the protesting nature of post-independence Shona novels in exposing Zimbabwe's challenges and in trying to bring a better and new order?
- In what way are the Shona protest novels torchbearers in Zimbabwe's cultural revival?

1.2.3 Definition of Key Terms

It should be noted that only brief and working definitions would be given for the purposes of clarifying how these terms will be used in the research. The terms are

defined according to how they will be used in the research. Some of the key terms in this research are:

Acculturation, Art, artistic commitment, culture, cultural assimilation, cultural imperialism, disillusionment, economics, feminism, ideology, independence, national literature, neocolonialism, and protest.

Acculturation: is the exchange of cultural values as a result of cultural contact of different cultural groups. Members of one cultural group like the Shona speaking group adopt the beliefs and behaviors of a dominant group like the English group in the case of Zimbabwe.

Art: the way through which people express particular ideas reflecting life in images making people take a certain view of the world, for example, singing, writing novels and curving. Shona novels among other Shona literary works like drama, poetry and oral literature are taken as art in this research.

Artistic commitment: being principled towards certain truths by perceiving social realities in a way that promotes positive change in people's lives like suggesting practical solutions in one's works of art to rectify problems in society.

Culture: A culture is a way of life of a group of people - the behaviors, beliefs, values, and symbols that they accept, that are passed along by communication and imitation from one generation to the next. Culture manifests itself in forms like language, marriage, sex and family relations.

Cultural assimilation: is a process of consistent integration whereby members of an ethno-cultural group like the Shona speaking are 'absorbed' into an established and more dominant group like the English speaking in the case of Zimbabwe. This presumes a loss of many characteristics of the absorbed group.

Cultural imperialism: is a practice of promoting or artificially injecting the nature or language and ways of life of one nation into another.

Disillusionment: is a feeling of disappointment and disgruntlement because one's

ideals and illusions have not been fulfilled. The failure by most African governments to fulfil pre-independence promises in the post-colonial era led to a lot of disgruntlement among the masses.

Economics: is the system of production control and distribution of wealth that ultimately determine every other aspect of life. The redistribution of land in Zimbabwe was an economic activity which tried to empower indigenous people economically.

Feminism: is a movement that questions and challenges the origins of the oppressive gender relations against women and attempts to develop a variety of strategies that might change these relations for the better by according women the same rights, power and chances as men. Most affirmative laws to redress the previously disadvantaged women in Zimbabwe after independence have a feminist orientation.

Gender: the condition of being male or female determined by expectations and norms within a society with regard to appropriate male and female behavior. Gender roles are socially constructed and institutionalized which makes it difficult to operationalise laws requiring equal rights in situations like that in Zimbabwe culture where there are distinct gender-related social roles.

Ideology: is a system of beliefs and principles characteristic of a particular class or group and dealing with politics, religion, law art, science or morality. Examples are the capitalist ideology and the socialist ideology.

Independence: a state of sovereign rule whereby people are in firm control of their social, political, cultural and economic well being without being governed or ruled by another country. Taking power from colonialists is political independence and taking control of the country's wealth is economic independence.

National literature: is the sum total of the products of people's collective reality and experiences and that community's way of looking at the world and its place in the making of that world. For example, Zimbabwean literature's content and form

is accessible to the indigenous masses because it is on the Zimbabwean experience showing their socio-political and socio-cultural worldview.

Neocolonialism: is that process in which a country is politically independent but its economy is still in the hands of the former colonizers. Most African states are still indirectly under the control of their former colonizers because of their financial dependence on them.

Protest: criticizing wrong things in an attempt to change for the better the object of criticism. It's a way of challenging in an outrageous way injustices affecting humanity like corruption, political intolerance, marginalization of women and any form of oppression.

1.3 JUSTIFICATION OF THE RESEARCH

In Zimbabwe, protest literature has existed in different forms even before independence and continues thereafter. Prior to this study, scholars who have so far studied protest literature have concentrated on disillusionment and its causes without an attempt to show how the artists tried to rectify the problems. Those who have attempted to give solutions have studied political protest that is incomplete without the complementing role of cultural protest since it is inextricably linked to political protest. This study seeks to widen the field of post-colonial analysis of neo-colonialism through a broader and holistic perspective. This study is an attempt to build on the ground breaking critical works and tries to look at the value of such type of literature on all spheres of our lives.

Research in the area of protest in Shona literature has been done mostly in Shona poems and Shona plays but this study will focus on the Shona novel. A study of the Shona novel is more serious and treats more vital issues than plays and poetry whose emphasis is on form. This research shows the primacy of content over form in the depiction of socio-political and cultural reality. Whilst other studies on post-independence literature concentrated on analysing problems, this study goes beyond mere crying and looks at how novelists help readers in remaking the world around them and be masters of their own destiny. According to Fischer (1959:210)

Art is there to open locked doors, so when the artist discovers new realities, he does not do that for himself alone but also for others and for all those who want to know what sort of world they live in and where they are going.

This shows that novelists would be deemed as good and successful if they move away from just criticising injustices they see to the provision of constructive criticism vital for national development. This research seeks to fill this gap that has been left void by previous studies since there is need to reflect on possibilities beyond the despair. Chiwome (1996:160) concurs that novelists' goal should be to give vision and direction to the people facing different challenges, "The novel's goal is to search for paths in a world, which has new paths..." This is further justification of this research that investigates how the selected novels are useful in the empowerment of the Zimbabweans in the post-independence era.

It is also the intention of this research to show that socio-political changes as a result of independence must of necessity consider the importance and value of Zimbabwe's cultural traditions. It is therefore vital, as this study will show, for artists to fight a cultural revolution in Zimbabwe in defence of their identity by rejecting negative elements of acculturation and globalization. Generally, scholars of literature in Zimbabwe have analysed how artists portray the advent of westernization and its impact on socio-cultural change. This study will analyse how the novelists portray family and moral degeneration protesting the way feminism was propagated by the west. The research will also show that foreign ideas have to tally with traditional norms and values to avoid acculturation.

This study will not just dismiss these gender affirmative policies as foreign but what is being criticised is the way they were propagated. In novels like Mutasa's (2005) *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo*, Moyo's (2002) *Chemera mudundundu* and Nyawaranda's (1991) *Barika remashefu*, the need for gender equity is emphasized. It is vital in this research to explore the systematic oppression experienced by Zimbabwean women by being excluded and marginalized in key sectors of the country's development. They are stereotyped as mindless, emotional, and weak and that stereotyping is then used to legitimize their subordination to men. While acknowledging negative western influence on the

handling of gender issues, it is the intention of this research to show how these gender policies can be matched to Shona traditions. Protest novels under study should assert that social roles of men and women could be reconstructed and transformed by society in a way that does not disturb the fundamental aspects of Shona traditions.

This study also makes it possible to establish trends in post-independence literature helping the reader to see accessible paths in the search for a meaningful existence. It is hoped that this research will contribute immensely to constructive criticism and add on to the already existing ways of analysing the Shona novel. This will result in a deeper understanding and appreciation of the African writer's search for a new social order. The fact that the research cuts across the social, political and cultural spheres makes it unique as it helps both the researcher and reader in seeing a complete picture of the post-independence Zimbabwe scenario.

1.4 LITERATURE REVIEW

This research is not pioneering work in the field of analysing protest literature since other researchers have also worked in this area. Zimbabwean fiction has been very responsive and reflective to the historical anomalies affecting its society since its inception. The theme of protest in the Shona novel emerged even in the throes of its birth with Mutswairo's (1956) *Feso*, the first Shona novel protesting against colonial oppression and cultural repression. This means that protest literature has existed in the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial eras. There is need to review different works of protest literature by various scholars to show how this study proceeds from previous works on the theme of protest.

Mhene (1996) in his M.A.Unpublished dissertation, "The portrayal of the Shona people's experience in the pre-colonial and colonial era in the novels of Patrick Chakaipa and Charles Mungoshi" examines challenges of the pre-colonial and colonial periods. Mhene shows how writers like Chakaipa and Mungoshi condemn inimical values detrimental to the well being of the people during these periods. Although Mhene was very apt in depicting a form of protest literature in the way he analyses the novels of Chakaipa and Mungoshi, his form of protest blames

individuals as the cause of the problems. This research differs from Mhene's findings in that it does not blame individual characters but the system that leads them to err. Protest literature is not about complaining of bad behavior or denouncing social deviants, as Mhene seems to have found out. It is about condemning the injustices of the whole system of which the individual is just a part.

Like Mhene, Zimunya (1982) did not give a convincing and holistic picture of colonial injustices, in his book, *Those Years of drought and hunger*. Zimunya came closer in unraveling the tradition of protest as depicted in the writings of Charles Mungoshi, Dambudzo Marechera, and Stanley Nyamufukudza. Although here, protest involves the denouncing of colonialism because of the physical and spiritual drought it brought in Zimbabwe, it is not innovative enough to give solutions. The protest starts and ends in portraying colonialism as a time of the 'dry season' or 'house of hunger' criticising all forms of injustices. This study is an attempt to fill in the gap by showing that it is not enough to be disillusioned or to cry but there is need for writers to protest and reassert themselves for national development. This research shows that protest literature must not lead readers to suicides, gloominess and disgruntlement but should inspire them into action to solve their problems. Protest literature should encourage the reader to have hope since the reader is not alone. This observation shows the void left by scholars and writers of the colonial era.

At the time of writing, some scholars have also studied post-independence literature of protest but in very different ways. Mapara's (1990) unpublished B.A. Honours dissertation, "Celebration and disillusionment in the Shona poetry", looks at the theme of protest in post-independence Shona poetry, but he combines it with works celebrating independence euphoria soon after independence. This is complemented by Chiwome's (1996) published work, *A critical History of Shona poetry*, which also deals with the theme of the crisis of the Zimbabwean independence because of unfulfilled promises. These two critical works make crucial observations about post-independence problems in Zimbabwe as depicted in Shona poetry. They observe that the continuation of colonial practices and values in independent Zimbabwe gave birth to problems in Zimbabwe. Their works

do not link socio-political and cultural issues. This research intends to go further in the theme of protest by looking at the link between politics and culture.

Duri and Gwekwerere's (2007) article, "Protest music as a mirror of political and socio-economic development in Zimbabwe 1988-2006", looks at the link between music with the theme of protest and the history of the post independence Zimbabwean situation. These scholars explore the close link between protest music and historical development in Zimbabwe. They analyse music of artists like Oliver Mutukudzi, Leonard Zhakata, Thomas Mapfumo, Edwin Hama, Raymond Majongwe, Pio Farai Macheka, Portia Gwanzura, and Hosia Chipanga. The major focus here is to show protest music as an accurate and effective monitor and commentator of people's conditions of living. They also look at the ability of music to articulate people's problems and challenge unpopular government policies. In this case, protest music is regarded as a conscientising tool for socio-political change in Zimbabwe and they recommend radical or confrontational protest music rather than reformist music as the best prescription for our present predicament.

Whilst this article exposes Zimbabwe's post-independence problems, it is too opinionated. This article is a one-sided critique lacking the balance that is provided in this research. It looks at the political heavy weights as the cause of all problems in Zimbabwe conveniently leaving out the neocolonial element as the basis of the misrule. This research differs from this article in the way in which it tries to show a balanced exposition of the post-independence situation in Zimbabwe.

Chigidi's (1994) unpublished B.A.Honours dissertation, "Disillusionment and protest in post-independence Shona plays", studies themes of disillusionment and the betrayal of the struggle after independence. In the same category, S. Nyamunokora's (1994) unpublished B.A.Honours dissertation, "The theme of disillusionment in post-independence Shona novels with particular reference to Choto's *Vavariro* and *Tongoona* and Chakamba's *Chiokomuhomwe*" also makes an analysis of the problems of promises and lies. These scholars show the polarity between pre-independence rhetoric by leaders and post-independence reality. These two scholars highlight themes of protest and disillusionment and possible solutions to Zimbabwe's post-independence problems. This research differs from

these works in that it does not confine its scope to political protest only, but widens the field of protest to embrace socio-cultural issues like marriage laws, inheritance laws, children's rights, women rights, and cultural integration.

Gaidzainwa's (1985) book, *The images of women in Zimbabwean literature*, gives a sociological study that examines the portrayal of women by different authors. She observes that women are depicted negatively in Zimbabwean literature and her wish is to see writers portraying women in a positive way as men are portrayed. Whilst the issue of women rights and gender sensitivity is justified and a noble cause, Gaidzainwa's views appear too extreme, Eurocentric and apologetic since she sees the western values as the barometer for our development. This research differs with Gaidzanwa's views since it analyses gender issues from an Afrocentric perspective. Although the study acknowledges the need to protest against gender imbalances as is the case in Nyawaranda's *Barika remashefu* and Mutasa (2005)'s *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo*, this research goes further to show that the route to take is not the western way. Although culture is dynamic and because of globalization the modern trend is to advocate for sharing in cultural aspects. This study argues against universalizing some central elements of people's culture. Home grown solutions are pivotal in solving some of the cultural problems than to engage in futile wars against one's identity and at times even against nature as will be shown in this study.

Some published works that deal with the themes of protest that greatly influenced this research do not focus on Zimbabwe but Africa in general. These scholars are addressing different but related socio-political experiences and administrative systems of their countries since there is a lot in common between neocolonial African countries. Ngugi's following publications analyse protest against neocolonial Kenya: *Homecoming* (1972) *Writers in Politics* (1981), *Barrel of a pen: Resistance to repression in neocolonial Kenya* (1983), and *Writing against colonialism* (1986). Achebe has also written on the situation of disillusionment in post-colonial Nigeria. The following publications criticise socio-political and cultural ills in Nigeria after attaining independence: *Morning yet on creation day* (1975). *Hopes and impediments* (1989). Ngugi and Achebe analyse the evils of neocolonialism and advocate for a confrontational solution. These scholars have

shaped and influenced African literature in their studies that encourage the need to have committed African writers. Whilst these established scholars have helped this research in illuminating trends in post-colonial literature, it should be noted that there are differences because of variations in the nature of some of the post-independence problems. This study, therefore, focuses its scope in dealing with issues peculiar to the Zimbabwean cause and will try to concentrate on issues also peculiar to the Zimbabwe context.

While the above reviewed literature provided the necessary foundation and ground work on protest literature, it is hoped that this current study will give significant new insights on the socio-political and cultural anomalies that have plagued the continent of Africa in general and Zimbabwe in particular since the end of colonialism.

1.5 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The use of primary sources was based on selected post-independence Shona novels with the theme of protest and also treating the burning issues in Zimbabwe. The selected novels are; Mabasa's *Mapenzi* (1999), Chimhundu's *Chakwasha* (1991), Mahanya's *Matsvamoyo* (1992), Manyimbiri's *Mudzimu wakupa chironda* (1991) Choto's, *Vavairo* (1990), Mutasa's *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo* (2005), Moyo's *Ndabve zera* (1992) and *Chemera mudundundu* (2002), Tsodzo's *Mudhuri murefu refu* (1993) and Nyawaranda's *Barika remashefu* (1991). A textual analysis of the content of these novels was made to show their effectiveness in portraying the Zimbabwean situation after independence. These texts provide examples used to illustrate the ideas raised by this research and also substantiating the researcher's findings. Where possible, cross-references were used with other artists since this is vital in establishing the recurring trend of this type of literature. Other primary texts dealing with pre-independence protest were referred to in order to show how protest literature developed from colonial days. Alongside the primary texts, secondary sources were used to throw light on the subject of protest literature. Secondary sources are very useful in validating arguments made and at the same time complementing primary sources. Only valid and relevant secondary sources with information relevant to the research topic were considered as

reference either in Shona language or English language. Scholars like Ngugi, Achebe, Ngara, Chiwome, were used as useful points of reference and comparison. These were used to show the broader picture of protest in various socio-political and cultural contexts as will be demonstrated in the different chapters in this study.

Critical works, media reports, pamphlets by non-governmental organizations, unpublished articles and dissertations were used extensively to illuminate some of the ideas being discussed in this research. This provides the study with a strong base of arguments and statements supported with credible current statistics on national development like inflation figures and the poverty datum line. Descriptive and analytical information from historians on the African continent in general and the Zimbabwean country in particular were helpful in the study. This helps this research to be realistic in outlook and not relying on assumptions and personal idiosyncrasies. Reference to theorists and scholars on African literature and their notions of the role of the artist in the African context provide a strong framework for the study.

The use of interviews was done in search of writers' views that are vital in understanding the issues and concerns of authors in their own words. Interviews were carried out with literature students and accomplished scholars who are very helpful in highlighting the post-colonial issues for easy informed cross-reference to protest literature being studied. These interviews were held face to face and others through telephone with some of the actual writers. The researcher relied on taking down notes during the interviews.

To those who could not be reached easily questionnaires were sent completed and returned. This was a useful method of collecting data because questionnaires are necessary since they are based on concrete personal experiences different from the world of fiction found in novels.

1.6 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

In the insuing study, the researcher adopted a multi-dimensional approach as the literary tool of analysis. The researcher fused Afrocentricity with the theory of Africana womanism and the socio-historical approach. Afrocentricity and Africana womanism are PanAfrican theories of gathering, interpreting and explaining African life. Be that as it may, it should be noted that the African people are a culturally and historically homogenous people who need to examine themselves first as Africans then more closely as per their particular or specific ethnic orientations. It should also be said that these differences need not be over-emphasised since the Africans' broader historical realities are more or less the same.

Afrocentricity was coined by Molefi Kete Asante. The theory was given further intellectual currency by scholars like Marimba Ani, Mogome Ramose, Maulana Karenga, Tsehloane Keto, Ali Mazrui, Chinua Achebe, Ngugi wa Thiongo, among others. The theory asserts that African history and culture should inform any analysis dealing with African issues. Asante (1998:7) says Afrocentricity is the relocation or repositioning of Africans in a place of agency in which they are no longer spectators but take an active part in self-determination. The theory seeks to re-locate the African as an agent in human history in an effort to eliminate the illusion of the fringes. Afrocentricity is a theory designed by African scholars which places Africa as a valid rallying point in the determination of the destiny of Africans. The theory is an indigenous African theory that appreciates Africa as a valid rallying ground. Thus Africans are seen as creators, originators, and sustainers of ethics, values and customs of Africa, no matter their geographical locations. This theory is useful as a tool of analysis in this study because it broadens one's horizons particularly in self evaluation and criticism

Afrocentricity helps Africans to discover and discuss lived realities and experiences that expose and negate all false ideas about African literature that

have been perpetuated by western scholarship. The theory helps the research to advance critical arguments aimed at enhancing African people's chances of survival through a conscientious effort to relocate them from the margin to the center. This focus is motivated by the understanding that using relevant critical approaches in analyzing African literature has far-reaching positive implications on nation building. This vision is grounded in the realization that it is important to start developing a relevant critical tradition of African literature which is original and independent of Euro-American influence. Hence, one can say it views the African as the anchor of the African ethos. The researcher adopts this theory as a tool of analysis because of its emphasis on an emic approach which is the criticism of African issues by insiders of the culture as opposed to an etic approach which allows nonparticipants to critic issues pertaining to a culture which is alien to them. This is seconded by p' Bitek (1986; 37) who asserts that;

It is only the insiders of a culture who can evaluate how effective the song is, how the decoration, the architecture, the plan of the village has contributed to the feast of life, how these have made life more meaningful.

This quotation acknowledges applicability and relevance of the theory to this study. Asante (1998:13) states that while one has to be open to the possibilities of dynamism, moving and flowing, one still needs to be:

...moving and flowing from some base. Those who do not move from a base are just floating in the air.

This shows the importance of being rooted in one's space, history and culture. Afrocentricity celebrates African culture, history and worldview. It is therefore suitable for this research because it applies emphasis on life-affirming cultural values that ensure the survival of black people.

Afrocentricity's emphasis on history is one of its major tenets which is relevant to this study. It aims at retrieving African dignity, pride, and African identity which, it can be argued, she lost as a result of her contact with the west. This is seconded by Asante (1998:2) who asserts that Africans have lost their cultural centredness and are now living in borrowed space. African literature bears the influence of

history, culture and the society from which it comes. This shows that the approach on which this research is based has been influenced by history and social circumstances of the post independence era. The theory of Africana womanism is vital in unraveling the hidden social history of women who for a long time have been made invisible in the male dominated literary tradition. This theory helps to correct the stereotypical portrayal of women as helpless and hopeless victims of fate foregrounding their agency. The ideological framework in which these writers operate is one of an African centered perspective of womanhood which seeks to redefine the status of women and their distinctive space in life using traditional African cultural aesthetics. Mguni, (2006:42) emphasizes the important role African culture should play in liberating women;

The condition of the African woman can only be fully appreciated within the context of African culture and the genuine liberation of the African woman can also, only take place in the same context.

This explains why it is necessary at all times to consider the unique experiences of African women so as to fully address women's problems. The central themes being explored in the novels are; male-female relations in patriarchal societies, and the changing attitudes of women over their status in society. These writers depart from the narrow moralization of portraying women characters as weak and evil, easily turning to prostitution for survival as depicted in works like *Garandichauya* and *Lifile*.

African women show their rootedness in African culture which values the family so much and encourages men and women to work together for the good of the society. The African worldview recognizes the co-existence of men and women in a concerted struggle for their entire family and community. According to Furusa (2002:47);

African culture expects African writers to produce literature that is sensitive towards the complementary gender roles of men and women. Unlike western feminism which fights men, African culture has an inclusive and democratic nature in gender roles.

Africans believe in the concept of complementary opposites, which imply that the natural differences between men and women are beneficial to the whole family.

As has been observed by Weems (2004:55);

Long before Africa's colonization, strong African women stood as equal partners with their male counterparts and operated within a cooperative, collective communal system.

This shows that African women should always be prepared to fight challenges that demean their humanity alongside their men.

The social historical approach considers literature as a product that comes from the people's experiences and is usually written to teach society how it can develop. In this case, the approach is helpful in as far as it helps the researcher to examine and evaluate the novels in terms of the social contexts, history and political conditions under which the art was produced. This research assumes that literature does not develop from a social vacuum that is why reference is made to the post-independence period and the role of the artist in transforming society at any stage of history. The Afrocentric approach is helpful in this study because it asserts the African cultural values against those of neocolonialism. The approach helps the researcher to deconstruct Eurocentric notions of African culture and traditional values being perpetuated by black leaders after independence. This approach allows the researcher to analyse data using indigenous knowledge system of the traditional Shona or African cultural values. This helps in analysing the commitment of writers in articulating issues truthfully.

1.7 SCOPE OF STUDY

This research is divided into five chapters. Chapter one is the introduction to the research. It presents the research problem or area of investigation and aims and objectives of the research, research methods, justification and scope of the research, theoretical framework, literature review, and conclusion. It shows why this research is worth doing and introduces the reader to the topic and area of research, locating these in the appropriate background and context of the research problem.

Chapter two deals with the historical background to post-independence protest in

Shona novels. This chapter is an analysis of the nature of post-independence protest literature in Zimbabwe's post-independence Shona novels and its justification, establishing its trends. It also looks at the roots of protest in Zimbabwe's post-independence Shona novels, war promises and contradictions of war objectives and post-independence reality. It focuses on issues like, the protest writer and his responsibility and the effectiveness of protest novels in portraying contemporary reality in Zimbabwe.

Chapter three presents textual analysis and discussion of socio-political protest in the selected Shona novels. This chapter deals with the presentation, interpretation and textual analysis of the content of socio-political protest in the selected novels. The chapter focuses on how the novels handle the problems and solutions of the post-independence era giving evidence from the contents of the texts. The selected Shona novels for textual analysis on socio-political protest are: Mabasa's *Mapenzi* (1999), Chimhundu's *Chakwasha* (1991), Manyimbiri's *Mudzimu wakupa chironda* (1991), Mahanya's *Matsvamoyo* (1992), Mutasa's *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo* (2005), Tongoona's *Vavairo* (1990).

Chapter four is textual analysis and discussion of socio-cultural protest in selected Shona novels. This chapter also looks at the content of selected Shona novels that deal with protest of a cultural nature analysing their presentations. The selected Shona novels for textual analysis on socio-cultural protest are: Moyo's *Ndabve Zera* (1992) and *Chemera mudundundu* (2002), Nyawaranda's *Barika remashefu* (1991), Tsodzo's *Mudhuri murefurefu* (1993), Chimhundu's *Chakwasha* (1991) and Mutasa's *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo* (2005).

Chapter five is the Conclusion that evaluates the overall success and failures of the novelists looking at their vision for the future or the way forward. It looks at the major findings of the researcher, and recommendations for further research.

1.8 CONCLUSION

The introduction has established that a society's condition can easily be diagnosed by consulting its novelists. Protest novels are accurate and effective commentators of people's conditions of living hence the need to consult them. The introductory chapter has also attempted to shade light on the major focus and significance of this research on post independence Shona novels. The failure of independence to bring meaningful change to the lives of the people has led to disillusionment and protest by the novelists. The first chapter gives the foundation on which the whole research rests illuminating useful insights as to how the data was collected and other previous works on the same topic. The major focus of the whole research is on how the novelists portray protest in their works that is vital for national development. This is the reason why it is necessary before the textual analysis of the novels to consider the historical background of protest literature, the role and responsibilities of African writer in the tradition of protest literature, establishing the nature of protest literature under review that is done in the following chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO POST-INDEPENDENCE PROTEST IN THE SHONA NOVELS IN ZIMBABWE

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The chapter provides the historical background to the theme of protest in post-independence Shona novels. The chapter looks at the historical roots of protest in the Shona novel exploring the different reasons for this type of fiction in Zimbabwe. The historical background is necessary in order to show why the Zimbabwean people began to experience the challenges which are a subject of protest in the Shona novels under study and also the circumstances in which protest literature was born and nurtured. This is necessary since much of the issues in the Shona novels are a product of the historical experiences of the Zimbabwean people. According to Ngugi (1972:39);

Our vision of the future, of diverse possibilities of life and human potential has roots in our past experience. A look at yesterday can be meaningful in illuminating today and tomorrow.

Thus, in search of the Zimbabwean people's social well being, questions arising from the experiences of yesterday must lead to a more consideration of the here and now as the basis for the yet to come. It is in this light that it is vital to look at the historical background so as to establish that protest literature is part of a historical process which predates the post-independence period and continues after independence.

2.2 PRE-INDEPENDENCE PROTEST

2.2.1 Protest in oral literature

Before the first novel in Shona was published in 1956, Shona literature was oral, full of songs, dances, folktales, clan praise poetry and other situation related registers. Oral literature was the basis of traditional education in the past,

positively and negatively evaluating situations which challenged the smooth flow of the society. In most cases, the criticism was dramatised in a way which exposed vividly and graphically the conflicting forces of vices and virtues which disrupted the social order and harmony of the past. It was a form of social criticism for the ultimate purpose of improving human behavior. Mbele (1989:98) says;

Oral literature in Africa may have originated in the labor process in form of work songs where protest songs developed complaining about social injustice and other social vices like discrimination based on sex, race and age.

This shows that oral literature was a powerful weapon used by the society to criticise wrong behaviour. In Zimbabwe, *Jakwara* (Beer party lampoons) provided a good platform for oral protest, whereby bad people or vices were criticised jokingly or through poking fun during work for beer. This was a comic form of criticism, also found in the *Chinyambera* dance songs meant to reduce the tedium of manual work but at the same time correcting social deviants in a well crafted deterrent way. This was very effective because the oral protest was like a cartoon which has humour laced with cynicism leading to most people, including the one under attack, to consider vice with the contempt it deserves. This form of oral protest could also be in the form of defiant songs like, '*rava guru guru*','*chamutengure vhiri rengoro*','*gwindingwi rine shumba*' which openly protested against forced labour.

Kurova Bemberera is another form of oral protest whereby there is a vicious attack on a person whom the speaker suspects of bewitching his or her relative. This form of protest is built on sarcasm since it has indirect allusions to the culprit although the generality of the people are left with no doubt as to whom the speech is intended and directed.

Folktales provided a form of social criticism with the ultimate purpose of attacking bad behaviour since in most cases heroes representing virtues triumph over villains representing vices. Protest here is implicit since it is disguised or indirect with animal characters giving a form of satire on life's social ills. Myth and fantasy abound in folktales, critique social ambiguities and contradictions which disrupt the smooth flow of social interaction. The critical-cum-didactic ending of most folktales

provides the negative and positive evaluation of society which helps in taming wrong and deviant behaviour and at the same time rewarding good and exemplary behaviour. Figurative language like proverbs, similes and metaphors offer a useful form of oral protest since their very nature exposes trouble contexts and ambiguities which threaten the fabric of society in different situations. Since they authoritatively and objectively evaluate human behaviour they are used by society to guide its members through life towards conformity, tolerance, peace and mutual cooperation.

2.2.2 Protest in the pre-independence Shona novel

Although the focus of this study is on post-independence Shona novels, it is however necessary to give a brief historical survey of novels before independence since post-independence protest is a continuation of the literature of resistance which existed before independence. Since the genesis of the theme of protest predates independence, it is necessary to discuss the problems in post-independent Zimbabwe considering the period before independence. The rise of African nationalism in the 1950s gave birth to protest literature in the Shona novel. Since 1956, when the first Shona novel, *Feso*, was written, most Shona novels exude scepticism, anger, frustration, despair, alienation, pessimism and lost hopes. This means that Shona fiction has emerged as crisis literature even in the throes of its birth. The injustices of colonialism challenged most novelists to be vindictive in their writings.

The first Shona novel, *Feso*, by Solomon Mutsaers, which was published in 1956, was a response to political oppression. The novel is an allegorical romance which condemns colonialism and its attendant problems of oppression, and social injustice. Kahari (1986 and 1990) dismisses romances as naïve and sentimental failing to see their radical stance. According to Kahari (1990:76);

Romances are sentimental stories which look back with nostalgia to a time when the country was still virgin land with natural simplicity.

They also encompass adventure stories of love and war which to Kahari belong to the old primitive world. But, a closer analysis of romances shows that the

sentimentalisation of the past was a way of yearning for lost ideals and cultural richness of the past thereby indirectly attacking the evils of urbanization. Like Herbert Chitepo's epic poem, '*Soko risina musoro*' (1956), *Feso*, represents the rise of African nationalism with its passionate rebellion against the oppressive colonial period. There is an implicit contrast of the pre-colonial past's communalistic life of innocence, harmony, plenty, security, peace and tranquility to the colonial period of starvation, apathy, insecurity, social and psychological alienation. Fischer (1959:52) agrees with this when he points out that, 'During capitalism, romanticism was a movement of protest against the capitalist world of lost illusions.' This shows that romances like *Feso* idealized the past to reaffirm the African identity in the face of hostile change. It was a way of detesting the politically and socially exploitative culture.

Mutswairo, in *Feso* criticizes the dispossession of Africans of their land in an allegorical way. Before colonial industrialization, the Shona people had rights over their land and natural resources hence they were self sufficient and self reliant. *Feso* attacks the oppressive nature of injustice allegorically showing the Pfumojena camp as of the oppressive ideology representing whites and the Nyan'ombe camp as progressive one representing blacks. The poem, '*Nehanda Nyakasikana*' in *Feso* (1956:35) protests angrily at the dispossession of land of *vanyai* (Shona people) by the despotic Pfumojena (whites), "*Kunozove riniko isu vanyai tichitambudzika?*" (How far shall we the *vanyai* groan and suffer?).

The tone is one of protest by oppressed people and it is intended to bring about a revolution since Mutswairo shows that freedom from injustice lies in the Africans' ability and determination to free themselves from colonial bondage. This aspect makes Mutswairo a committed writer since his form of protest is not just complaining but shows the need for concerted effort from everyone to eliminate injustice.

Mutswairo's *Feso* compares very well with other anti-colonialist writers like Lawrence Vambe, Leopold Sengor, and Stanley Samkange because of its negritude tone. These writers believed in African nationalism and provided a useful inspiration during the second chimurenga since they emphasised the need to fight

for cultural emancipation. The negritude movement was a cultural form of protest literature fighting for cultural liberation as an essential prerequisite for political freedom. Vambe's *An ill-fated people* (1972), Samkange's *Year of the Uprising* (1978), *On trial for my country* (1966) and *The mourned one* (1975), Mutswairo's *Mapondera: Soldier of Zimbabwe* (1983) and *Chaminuka: Prophet of Zimbabwe* (1982) all emphasize the same vision of African nationalism in the face of colonial subordination. These writings represent Zimbabwean literature which showed resistance against colonial oppression supporting nationalist movements in the 1970s. They use heroic epics as framework to propagate the national myth of resistance and the unity of African fighters against injustice. Like *Feso*, African characters are glorified as heroes with pride and dignity fighting against the arrogance of white oppressors who are portrayed as outrageously racist, murderous and hungry land grabbers. These writings also glorify the African past as way of rediscovering their cultural identity ravaged by colonisation. This was a kind of cultural nationalism which was a reaction to the distortions brought by cultural imperialism.

Other anti-colonial protest writers during this period attacked colonialism in a subtle way due to censorship laws discouraging writings critical of the government. Shona novels criticised exploitation of labour, unjust wages, forced labour, and general harassment of workers. In Chakaipa's *Dzasukwa Mwana asina hembe* (1967), commercial farm labourers are given low wages despite the hard work, accommodated in crowded shacks, and live miserable lives. This same situation is also portrayed in Chidzero's *Nzvengamutsvairo* (1957) which protests against forced labour and sub-human conditions under which blacks worked during colonialism. Tikana, in Chidzero (1957:17)'s *Nzvengamutsvairo* is shocked by the pathetic conditions of colonial labour, '---*unotumwa semuranda, unojobheswa sedhongu, unotukwa sembwa.*' (You are sent like a slave, you overwork like a donkey, and you are insulted like a dog). This shows that colonial labour reduced African workers to subhuman creatures. It was not possible to get rich for a working class African as seen in Mutswairo's *Murambiwa Goredema* (1959) in which Murambiwa returns home empty handed after several years of hard work in a white man's city. Like Rex in Mungoshi's *Ndiko kupindana kwamazuva* (1975), and Smart in Moyo's *Uchandifungawo* (1976), Murambiwa fails to make it in the

city portraying the stereotypical image of the city as a place for whites and not for Africans. Marangwanda goes further in *Kumazivandadzoka* (1959), to show the city as a historical monster causing alienation and downfall of Africans. Saraoga fails to adjust to the city to the extent of rejecting his mother, roots and identity.

The portrayal of the city as a place full of vices like crime, immorality, thieving, prostitution, gambling and illicit beer drinking is a way of attacking it as a source of bad behaviour. Writers like Mungoshi, Marechera, Nyamufukudza and Moyo who wrote during the bleak years of urbanization show general scepticism, despair and anger at the dehumanizing conditions of urban accommodation and unemployment. The stealing and violence by blacks is portrayed as being caused by an unjust system. It's a way of trying to survive in a harsh economic environment. Although these writers fail to explicitly expose the social and political causes behind these vices and end up blaming the victims, the criticism of the city can be inferred. According to Viet Wild (1993:84), this is what she calls an 'inverted form of social criticism'. To her, on the surface, the moral lesson is to wicked men and women cautioning them to change their ways of life, yet deeper is the implication on the roots and reasons of the immorality they criticise. Africans are not inherently evil but are made so by the system. This disguised or implicit form of protest was a way of averting manipulation by the colonial censorship laws which stifled all writings openly critical of the status quo.

Protest against colonial religion condemned the spiritual deprivation by missionaries who robbed Africans of their religion by imposing a foreign one. There was a calculated campaign to relegate African religion as profane and heathen before converting the Africans to Christianity. This is what is being criticised in Tsodzo's *Pafunge* (1972), Chakaipa's *Rudo Ibofu* (1961), Bepswa's *Ndakamuda Dakara afa* (1960), and Moyo's *Ziva Kwawakabva* (1977). The church openly supported the colonial regime by campaigning for the obedience of colonial laws, for law and order to prevail, condemning sinners without considering the circumstances which create the sinners. Zimunya in *Rudo ibofu*, Tikana in *Nzvengamutswairo*, and Masango in *Pafunge*, attack Christianity's destructive tendencies of undermining traditional religion and social institutions thereby impoverishing Africans spiritually. Zimunya in Chakaipa (1966:1)'s *Rudo ibofu*

says;

Handiti ndakakutaurira kuti varungu vakauya nokuparadza---dzimbo dzemashavi nedzemakuva nokudzinzwa kwose hamuzodi kudzinzwa

(Didn't I tell you that whites brought destruction...their ways make one refuse to listen to ritual and funeral songs)

This shows that Christianity alienated Africans from their religion by portraying it as ungodly. In *Pafunge*, Tsodzo also condemns Christian education for failing to prepare its converts for the temptations of life. Rudo, who was closed to the world of darkness by the overprotective Reverend Lovedale, becomes vulnerable the moment she leaves Mharapara Mission. The puritanical clinging to strict religious dogma prevents Christian converts from having full knowledge of the world they live in so they are easily tempted by the devil as what happens to Rudo. That is why Masango in Tsodzo (1970:5)'s *Pafunge* says, '*Taipinda svondo tisati taona chiedza...*' (We used to attend church services before we saw the light...).

Masango's remarks correctly shows that the white man's religion fails to give the enduring moral and spiritual guidance to Africans since it does not remove them from the darkness of the world. Despite being under the custodian of Reverend Lovedale for most of her life, Rudo was kept in darkness about the devil outside which she eventually met and succumbed to, the first time she left the mission. Christianity fails to realise that what is needed is not change of heart nor individual salvation but change of the system for meaningful social reform to take place. Moyo in *Ziva kwawakabva* (1976), indirectly criticises colonial Christianity by showing Ngoni returning to traditional religion where he finds lasting peace and stability.

The Shona novels given as examples on pre-independence protest are just a representative sample of literature of alienation and protest during colonialism. It was a time of general scepticism by artists which Zimunya refers to as, 'those years of drought and hunger'. This also explains why authors of English fiction during this period gave apt titles to their works like; Mungoshi's *Waiting for the rain* and *Coming of the dry season*, Marechera's *House of hunger*, and

Nyamufukudza's 'The *non-believer's journey*'. This is an indication that the theme of protest in the post-independence Shona novel is not an isolated case but it is part and parcel of the on-going and continuous fight against oppression and injustice.

2.3 BACKGROUND TO POST-INDEPENDENCE SOCIO-POLITICAL PROTEST

Zimbabwe was born out of a protracted armed struggle and independence came in 1980 after years of pain, suffering and oppression. The driving force behind the fight for freedom was the urgent and pressing need for the recovery and restoration of stolen land, eradication of poverty, ignorance and disease and the need for one man one vote. Freedom fighters' vision of a new Zimbabwe was of a free, democratic and economically prosperous society. In their pre-election manifestos, both the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) and the Patriotic Front- Zimbabwe African People's Union (PF-ZAPU) promised to build a socialist nation based on equity by pursuing developmental policies for the benefit of the majority. Socialism was hoped to bring an economic system which would benefit the people by ensuring employment for all, equal pay for equal work, improved public services in schools, clinics, and other government departments. Independence created high hopes and expectations of a better Zimbabwe with 'milk and honey' promised at political gatherings during the liberation war. The crisis of expectations was aggravated by the government's earlier policy statements soon after independence which echoed the *Pungwe* promises.

However, these promises failed to materialise due to generalised corruption, poor governance and neocolonialism. Betrayal of war promises is the source of post-independence problems in Zimbabwe which is also the subject of protest in the Shona novels under review. They critically analyse issues in order to establish if Zimbabwe is still guided by those values that made so many people sacrifice their resources, time and lives during the liberation war. Since the first phase of the revolution of the First and Second Chimurenga wars was resistance against imperialism, the second phase should have been a period of reconstruction and

nation building. Zimbabwe nationalists should have realised soon after independence that freedom comes with responsibility. This constitutes an important source of critical consciousness for the Shona novelists whose task is to unearth the causes of these problems in an attempt to charter the way forward. Throughout the post-independence period, the country has not been able to respond adequately to the fundamental challenges of genuine participatory democracy and delivery of the war promises. The patriotic zeal, national pride and the once lofty and romantic ideals of independence seemed to be lost in the political, economic and social crisis. The positive economic growth experienced in the early 1980s began to decline because of gross mismanagement and corruption. It assumed exponential impetus with the launch of the Breton Woods dictated Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) in the early to mid 1990s and the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLP) in 2000 leading to unrelenting downward spiral and economic meltdown. The positive measures introduced in the field of welfare and other areas fell far short of what was promised.

These negative indicators have inflicted a heavy toll on the generality of the population leading to disillusionment, loss of hope, national despair and the protest depicted in the post-independence Shona novels being studied. Post-independence socio-political protest is caused by this scenario which has manifested itself in several problems. These problems include among others; hyperinflation, widespread shortages of basic and essential commodities, and decline in manufacturing and agricultural productivity, and shortages of foreign currency. There is also escalating corruption, denudation of professionals and skilled personnel through a massive brain-drain into the Diaspora, flight of foreign investments and rampant black marketeering in anything ranging from foreign currency to scarce commodities. It should be noted that, the theme of protest cannot be understood apart from the social and historical factors that gave rise to them.

2.3.1 The land question as a source of protest

The land question has remained the single most emotive subject in colonial and post-colonial Zimbabwe because agriculture has always been the mainstay of Zimbabwe's economy, so its resolution has far reaching benefits for the nation. Zimbabweans have a long tradition of understanding that their land had been stolen by whites through institutionalized legislation during the colonial period. The Rudd concession of 1888, the land Apportionment Act of 1931, the Native Land Husbandry Act of 1951 and the Land Tenure Act of 1969 were all repressive laws which gave away land and mineral rights to foreigners reducing Zimbabweans to squatters in their own land. As a result, about 80% of prime arable land was owned and occupied by less than 5% of the population which consisted of around 4000 whites. The agrarian structure was highly inequitable and the situation has been morally indefensible and certainly needed to be corrected. The colonial and racial land redistribution imbalances were unjust and needed redress. That is why the land issue was the major reason for waging the two Chimurenga wars and from the very onset the key issue of the struggle was land since there could be no freedom without the liberation of land from the colonial settlers.

The ZANU-PF election manifesto itself promised that once the ZANU-PF government gets into power the lost land would be returned to the people (ZANU-PF Election Manifesto, Maputo, 1980:10-11). In 1980, people voted for the promised removal of their grievances of which land was the most crucial and most peasants expected compensation for their war sacrifices. According to an Economic Policy Statement, 'Zimbabwe, Growth with Equity' from the ministry of Finance, Economic Planning and Development (1982:2) '...the government's determination is to achieve greater and more equitable degree of ownership of natural resources like land...' This shows that the cry for the redistribution of land soon after independence was indeed a cry for justice, so the process of empowerment to the poor and the dispossessed needed to be done forthwith and land restitution was supposed to follow the liberation of people. This is supported by Ngugi (1986:7) who says, 'The basis of all human communities is the soil, land. Without the soil, without nature there is no human community...'

Ngugi is reiterating the importance of the land question in all communities which explains why the basic objective of most revolutionary struggles in Africa was the recovery of land of which the people were dispossessed without compensation. The Zimbabwe liberation war intended to solve the land question but after independence it was reduced to a non-issue, yet the land question had always been an issue hence the protest in the Shona novels.

The post-independence Shona novels protest against the process of correcting the land issue which has been mired in various implementation irregularities since 1980. As shown in *Vavairo* (1990), *Mudzimu wakupa chironda* (1991), *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo* (2005), and *Chakwasha* (1991), the process of correcting the land issue has been fraught with controversy since 1980. The slow pace of land redistribution after the attainment of independence caused instability and anxiety among the land hungry Zimbabweans. This delay caused the invasion of unused white farms soon after independence by landless peasants who became impatient with the government. These peasants were harassed and evicted by the police from the land turning them into squatters in the land they fought for. Choto, in *Vavairo* (1990) shows this kind of disillusionment when peasants are evicted by the police after invading adjacent white farms since they could not remain without land when there was plenty of idle land by absentee landlords. There were several such instances when peasants challenged the government after the war because they had believed the war promises of 'free living' to mean that they could select whatever land they wanted and farm free of any rules and regulations. This shows the kind of mentality of people fed with wartime propaganda that blacks would simply walk into white men's properties. The exaggeration was a strategy during the war to encourage peasants to support the war and give freedom fighters food and clothes. The Zimbabwean government could not sanction this because of the policy of reconciliation and the 1979 Lancaster House agreement.

In his inaugural address on Independence Day in 1980, the then Prime Minister of Zimbabwe Robert Gabriel Mugabe stunned the whole nation by declaring reconciliation as the corner stone of his government's policy in the new Zimbabwe. Reconciliation offered constitutional safeguards for white settlers ensuring that they retained their elitist place in the new Zimbabwean state. According to Chigidi

(1994:14);

The policy of reconciliation disappointed some people since it was forced down on people from above frustrating their aspirations of taking over white people's properties.

Choto, in *Vavariro* (1990) criticises the forgive and forget type of compromise at independence which did not give Zimbabweans time of national healing after the ravages of the war. The nation was not taken through a process where the truth was told about the pain and suffering experienced during the war. As part of the healing process, the government was supposed to set up a Truth and Reconciliation commission not to regenerate conflict but to prepare the grieved to forgive. It is unrealistic to ask victims and survivors of gross human rights violations to reconcile in the absence of justice. Reconciliation without justice or reparations, as was the case in Zimbabwe, could not lead to harmony, peace, mutual acceptance and tolerance of diversity which are the cornerstone of a prosperous new nation. The government failed to see that it was totally unfair to declare reconciliation before the existing injustices had been removed because such a declaration could only benefit the status quo. Reconciliation goes hand in hand with the creation of a just society, so those who benefited from the unjust economic system should have seriously considered the issue of reparations as a means to build a just society. It was crucial for the nation to set in motion a process to address the socio-economic imbalances inherited from the past so as to create a new social order. There could be no genuine reconciliation without a renewal or restructuring of the socio-economic life of Zimbabweans. The events in post-independence Zimbabwe show that reconciliation was not fully achieved because of the neocolonial element causing several socio-political problems.

Post-independence Shona novels are very critical of the 1979 Lancaster House constitution because it was too foreign and not inspired by the collective consent of the people of Zimbabwe. It was imposed on them by their leaders but there is need for a people centered, people crafted and home grown democratic constitution which is the centre of good governance, democracy and development. The Lancaster House constitution's primary objective was to facilitate transfer of political power from the settler minority to the indigenous majority while preserving

the former's rights and privileges. The constitution included a ten year moratorium on constitutional amendments, a clause protecting white property rights and privileges and the willing seller willing buyer clause. These entrenched clauses in the constitution did not allow for a speedy response to the people's cry for land and the promised finances to speed up the process were not forthcoming as expected hence the people became impatient and started protesting. The Lancaster House constitution was semi-colonial and was like postponing the real independence of the people of Zimbabwe.

Chimhundu in *Chakwasha* criticises the Lancaster House constitution as too restrictive on an independent nation since it impinged on its sovereignty by giving power to the minority for a decade. The kith and kin obligation of the British to protect the interests of the whites was done at the expense of the sovereignty and dignity of Zimbabweans. It should be noted that justice delayed is as good as justice denied, so it was not fair to defer black empowerment after they had struggled for freedom for too long. The 'willing seller willing buyer' clause could not be justified because of the historical fact that people were dispossessed of land without any compensation paid. It was inconceivable to compensate plunders since it was the responsibility of the British to establish a fund for compensation because Britain as a colonial power had already benefited from the fruits of the land. According to Ankomah (2007), on 5 November 1997, Claire Short, the then secretary of state for international development wrote an astonishingly ill-judged letter to Zimbabwe's minister of Agriculture, Kumbirai Kangai, brusquely casting aside all previous undertakings of Britain's responsibility in funding land compensation (New African Winter 2007/2008). The Land Acquisition Act of the year 2000 was therefore a genuine attempt to redress a wrong that had gone on for too long.

The land reform programme was not masterminded by the government but it was a spontaneous reaction by land hungry peasants who were pressurizing the government to address the land issue as a matter of urgency. Up until 1997, the government did not have much to show in the way of land reform. Whilst the white farmers occupied half of the country's productive land, about 60% of black Zimbabweans still lived in cramped, unproductive and underdeveloped areas

known by the derogatory term of Tribal Trust lands. This land was in the marginal low rainfall and unproductive areas of the country. To make matters worse, overcrowding in the communal areas resulted in soil erosion and other environmental problems which undermined agriculture leading to impoverishment. This situation forced peasants to fight for their land.

It all started in 1998 when villagers from Svosve communal areas near Marondera invaded adjacent white commercial farms just to highlight their impatience with the government's delay eight years after the expiry of the Lancaster House constitutional restrictions. These invasions spread spontaneously throughout Zimbabwe forcing the Zimbabwean government to institute the Land reform programme. The intentions of the monumental Land reallocation programme were noble, but the implementation was fraught with corruption and rampant abuse. Although the Fast Track Land Reform Programme, popularly referred to as the 'Third Chimurenga', was a good way to redress the injustices of the past, its implementation impacted negatively on the socio-political landscape of Zimbabwe. Mutasa's *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo (2005)* gives a critical exposition of the government's Fast Track Land Reform programme of 2000, showing both its triumphs and tribulations. In *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo*, Mutasa shows the immense benefits of the agrarian revolution and at the same time giving a critical evaluation of its implementation.

The protest in *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo (2005)* is directed against the way in which the agrarian revolution damaged Zimbabwe's agriculture output and prospects of attracting investments. The land reform programme was not carefully planned and its implementation did not result in poverty eradication. Mutasa, in *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo* attacks the haphazard and chaotic manner of the land reform as seen by the lack of essential infrastructure like roads, health facilities, water, schools and retail outlets. There was need for a coherent agrarian reform strategy which should be implemented consistently focusing on improving the livelihoods of the majority of Zimbabweans. Mutasa reveals corrupt and fraudulent activities by some lazy and greedy authorities in their handling of the land reform. There is continued politicisation of the land reform which has undermined the transparency, fairness and credibility of the land allocations. There was no equity in the land

allocations because highly placed officials had an unfair advantage over poor people and the disadvantaged. Most worrying was the exclusion of ex-farm workers, women, and displaced farmers willing to continue farming under the new dispensation thereby making the powerful more powerful and the poor poorer because of the deliberate preferential treatment of the influential and those connected to them. Former farm workers have not only been left out of the benefits of the land reform but many lost employment, became homeless and destitute. Many intended beneficiary groups have benefited far too little from the land allocation and decongestion of the communal areas was insufficient.

The Utete audit report, in its review of the Fast Track Reform Programme, shows that its implementation left much to be desired with substantial losses in agricultural production, capital stock and employment. Mutasa, in *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo (2005)* shows the noble intentions of the government by setting up a Commission of inquiry into land redistribution to weed out all corrupt practices like multiple farm ownership in order to foster sustainable land utilisation supported by key agricultural and economic policy measures. But, the misapplication of policy in some aspects coupled with frequent droughts, inadequate capacity resource constraints of the new farmers led to a decline in agricultural production that impacted significantly on the overall economy. A significant number of the beneficiaries do not have adequate farming skills and lack a track record in farming which is a barrier to private sector provision of credit. Ngugi (1986:21) commenting of a similar situation in Kenya sums it all when he says;

For unlike their settler white counterparts who farmed full time and reinvested in their lands, the new owners did so on their telephones for they have other full time jobs, yet they want the state to continue guaranteeing them profits by underwriting their credit.

The declining production trends caused by the land transfers have led to food insecurity and a decline in private agricultural financing due to negative risk ratings and the perceived insecurity of the leasehold land tenure. The land transfers have greatly impacted on drastic foreign currency earnings at a time of great national need. There is no clarity on the legal status of the new farmers and without tenure security it is difficult for them to secure concessional loans or private sector financing. The beneficiaries could be removed from the scheme at the whim of

influential government officials. This is exacerbated by the delay in completing and finalizing land acquisitions, a critical factor causing anxiety and instability among most stakeholders.

2.3.2 Neocolonialism as a source of protest

At independence, the injustices of colonialism were expected to be eliminated to usher in a new ideology which would create an egalitarian society. Thus, the immediate post-independence period was characterized by slogans castigating imperialism and hailing socialist transformation. Failure of the socialist ideology marked the beginning of post-independence problems. Ngugi (1986:123) supports this when he says, “Independence did not even wait to grow old before turning betrayer of trust and responsibility....”

People soon discovered that independence had brought no end to political oppression and certainly no alleviation to their problems because of the perpetuation of imperialist interests by the ruling class. The rich got richer and the poor got poorer. Those few with the economic power are also the same people with political power. The get-rich-quick middle class cannot be taken as a replica of whites but just a caricature. The irony is that, for some members of the ruling class, commitment to socialism never goes beyond the level of rhetoric. This shows that post-independence problems have their roots in the colonial structures continued in the post-colonial period. Nyawaranda’s *Barika ramashefu* (1991), Chimhundu’s *Chakwasha* (1991), Mahanya’s *Matsvamoyo* (1992) and Mabasa’s *Mapenzi* (1999) all criticise the neocolonial state of post-independence Zimbabwe. The novels portray the hypocrisy and self-fulfilling attitude of the ruling elite.

Before independence, it was clear that the white man represented wealth, power and privilege whilst the black man represented poverty, servitude and misery, two visibly delineated polarities, but it’s different with neocolonialism. Babu (1981:49) says:

...neocolonialism is worse than formal colonialism in that in the latter case we were confronted with only one vulture, now the vultures are many, foreign as well as local, old and new....

In independent African states, the oppressor is now the native bourgeoisie who is self-centered and no longer interested in those who put him into power. There is individualism and self-aggrandisement by the petty-bourgeois showing that the black master just replaced the colonial white master. Nyamubaya (1986:3) in his poem, 'Mysterious marriage', talks of a wedding between a girl called Freedom and a boy called Independence. At the wedding only the boy, Independence came but the girl did not come and only her shadow was seen. Independence staggers to old age fruitless and barren. This shows why African independence is regarded as hypothetical and hopeless since people are still struggling to enjoy the fruits of their sweat several years after independence.

Characters like, Moses Marufu in *Chakwasha* (1991), Mambara in *Matsvamoyo* (1992), and Peter in *Barika ramashefu* (1991) represent the bourgeois spirit which has continued to dominate the post-independence era. Post-independence Shona novelists criticise these dubious patriots who use their privileged political status to enrich themselves at the expense of the masses. As Ngugi (1986:7) puts it;

The age of independence had produced a new class and a new leadership that often was not very different from the old one. Black Skins White masks? White skins Black Masks? Black skins concealing colonial settlers' hearts.

The new type of discrimination was seen in the emergence of the 'baas' or 'shedu' and 'povho' classes. People soon realized that the hype about nationalism or black leadership was not useful for their total emancipation. This is also supported by Ngara (1985:26) who says;

Nationalism does not necessarily lead to genuine transformation of society because the national bourgeoisie often steps into the boots of the departed colonialists maintaining the same old system and introducing only cosmetic changes...

The socialist transformation was hijacked by pseudo-socialists who maintained the old system and only introduced superficial changes. There was no genuine transformation of society since the new leaders just stepped into the boots of the former oppressors. Its politics of self-preservation which has seen the privileged

few no longer interested in those who sacrificed a lot for this newly found freedom. Most African countries gained political independence without gaining full control of their own economies since political power was not matched with economic power. In its earlier policy statements soon after independence, the Zimbabwe government's determination was to achieve a high rate of economic growth and speedy development in order to raise incomes and the standard of living for all people (Economic Policy statement 'Growth with Equity', Ministry of Finance, Economic Planning and Development, 1982:2). This was in line with one of the objectives of the liberation struggle of reducing foreign control over land, industry and essential public services. But, the social and political realities of the post-independence period show abuses and indulgencies of the Zimbabwean ruling class. The government's vision was disturbed by the adoption of foreign sponsored policies to address balance of payment problems. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB) sponsored the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) of 1991 which eroded the impressive gains of independence. This led to a departure of socialist policies since the focus of the economy shifted from equity to liberalisation and cost recovery. ESAP reimposed colonial type inequalities and led to declining economic growth rates and high debt burdens.

This was worsened by the domination of the economy by foreign companies like LONRHO, DELTA, ANGLO-AMERICA and RIO TINTO. This new form of imperialism was like mortgaging Zimbabwe to the highest bidder because the ruling class was in alliance with International Money Capital. Nyerere calls these transnational monopolies the new International Ministry of Finance for their shrewd determination to control poor countries' economies in return for balance of payment credit schemes. Whites owned and controlled most of the country's mining, manufacturing and commercial industries with black Zimbabweans as labourers. It should be noted that no meaningful development can take place in a country under any form of foreign economic domination. Mutasa's *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo* (2005) and Chimhundu's *Chakwasha* (1991), criticise this foreign dependence syndrome which crippled the country's economic progress. Real independence can only be achieved when the indigenous Zimbabweans can control their economy, politics and culture. For as long as the wealth of the land

does not go back to feed, clothe and shelter those whose labour power produced it, those people cannot claim to be free. It is only when they are able to decide independently where they want to go and who they want to be that they can be masters of their destiny.

In Mabasa's *Mapenzi* (1999), Chimhundu's *Chakwasha* (1991) and Choto's *Vavariro* (1990), there is protest on the marginalization of former freedom fighters after independence. The ex-combatants were relegated to a secondary role since they were not given an opportunity to articulate their vision, values and objectives. The war veterans were demobilized as agreed at the Lancaster House Conference to cut the size of the integrated army. The demobilization pay off was not enough to enable them to live a new life and they soon became destitutes. The demobilization exercise did not achieve its intended goal because of lack of commitment, poor planning and corruption. There was no sound policy for the rehabilitation of the former fighters into society. They failed to get employment because the employment industry required 5'O' levels and experience but those who waged the liberation struggle had not been recruited on the basis of educational qualifications and experience. Some of the war veterans were disabled to do any work and others very old.

Although the war veterans drew into oblivion for a decade, they emerged in the 1990s to defend the values of the liberation struggle. The Zimbabwe National Liberation War Veterans Association (ZNLWA) was launched in 1990 demanding recognition, rehabilitation, financial and educational assistance. In the year 2000, the Zimbabwe Liberators Platform (ZLP) was also formed whose purpose was to salvage the honour of the war veterans as well as help the nation to focus on the original aims and the objectives of the struggle of freedom, equality, peace and social justice. The issue of disillusionment of war veterans is dealt with in *Mapenzi* (1999), which shows that the sacrifice of the freedom was in vain since they are still under oppression. Ticha Hamundigoni, like Benjamin in Chinodya's *Harvest of Thorns* (1989) returns home from war where the fruits of his liberation efforts seem elusive. In Mujajati's *Rain of my blood* (1989), an unemployed and disabled ex-combatant, Tawanda is disillusioned by the unfulfilled promises of the war showing that their efforts and sacrifices were in vain.

The ugly head of neocolonialism was also seen when the government of Zimbabwe, at independence, retained the notorious and infamous Rhodesian Law and Order (Maintenance) Act, a repressive law used by the colonial government to abduct, torture and murder political opponents. This law has been preceded by the Public Order and Security Act (POSA) which is even more repressive than the Rhodesian one. The enactment of this legislation seriously restricted and criminalized the democratic and constitutional rights of speech and association. The legislation inhibits peaceful assembly and free flow and exchange of ideas. This led to disempowerment of national consciousness and dissenting voices against an increasingly stifling stranglehold by the corrupt politically patronizing elites. The socio-political environment became unsafe for intellectuals or artists who were critical of the system because they would be hunted down, jailed or sent to exile. According to Sumali (1989:7),

...Africa's recent history is replete with instances where the gun that was once used to win freedom for the people has ruthlessly been used to suppress and in some cases even to negate that very freedom.

Sumali's seminar paper, 'Literature and the process of Liberation' attacks the way in which African governments refuse to provide space for dissenting voices to emerge through processes and structures that are characterized by openness and accountability. There is no freedom of expression since all those who dare criticise the status quo or threaten the power of the privileged class are regarded as rebels and are therefore subjected to arrest, exile, consistent harassment or execution. Repression of ideas is against the fundamental human rights of freedom of expression and self determination.

Mabasa, in *Mapenzi* (1999), protests against the political repression of the disgruntled masses by the intolerant ruling class. Mabasa shows that the neocolonial regime is intolerant and shuts all avenues of democratic expression. Commenting on Kenya's neocolonial state, Ngugi (1986:1) says;

...the regime has embarked on a calculated campaign of further repression to try and smother the seeds of revolt contained in

people's culture.

This shows that the new rulers rule by torture, military brutality, terror and imprisonment in order to suppress the sentiments of the masses. Questioning exploitation, torture and corruption is regarded as sedition. A culture of fear and silence is created for the masses to have blind loyalty to the blundering leaders. All democratic organizations are outlawed in favour of one party state which is more or less one man despotic rule. Political intolerance has unfortunately become a culture in Zimbabwe because of the lack of an all-inclusive shared national vision. Democracy is not about government alone but should accommodate responses from the opposition. There is need to embrace political plurality accommodating political differences and avoid excluding other segments from fair political competition. Citizens should feel free to constructively criticise their government without fearing that they will be accused of being unpatriotic. The essence of democracy is recognition and engagement of all sectors since every citizen has a right to a shared common destiny.

2.3.3 Corruption as a source of protest

In Zimbabwe, Corruption emerged as one of the ugly features of neocolonialism as seen by the progressive disintegration of the national morale and a decline in the economic wellbeing of the society. Political corruption is usually caused by the abuse of public office for private gain. Political corruption is depicted in Mahanya's *Matsvamoyo* (1992), Chimhundu's *Chakwasha* (1991) and Mabasa's *Mapenzi* (1999). There is hypocrisy and greed by influential members entrusted with positions of responsibility who preach vigilance, hard work and honest work on the one hand, whilst on the other hand they practice graft and cheat the very public they profess to serve. Those in key positions in government use their positions to further their personal interests at the expense of the public. The political elite want to gain and enrich themselves at the expense of the common good. The resources meant for the poor have often been converted to the use of individuals in positions of trust leaving a trail of unemployment, landlessness and poverty. The protest in *Matsvamoyo* (1992) is directed against MP Mambara's corruption on various levels turning his back on his constituency. Mambara's corruption is systematic and networked just to satisfy his greed for material things.

A political environment characterised by tyranny and unbridled discretionary power can be conducive ground for corruption as proved by the 1988 Willowgate scandal which saw some government officials abusing their offices to enrich themselves. Some of the grand corruption scandals since independence are, the 1994 War Victims Compensation scandal, the 1998 Boka Banking scandal, the 1999 Noczim scandal, and the Harare Airport scandal just to mention a few. These scandals derailed economic progress and produced social misery. The vast majority of these scandals involved high ranking politicians some of whom are still active in politics after being recycled back into positions of authority despite their convictions. Giving immunity to criminal and immoral activities to political elites shows selective application of justice on the basis of political patronage. There should be no sacred cows in the implementation of justice since the resources of Zimbabwe are meant for the benefit of all Zimbabweans which they should share justly. Accountability and transparency would now be subordinated to party politics justifying the ruling elite's desire to foster loyalty through patronage. But, the genuine demonstration of political will to fight corruption should start from the top cascading downwards. Promotion of common good requires the creation of employment for all and structures that encourage development.

Administrative corruption in the private sector and some sectors of the public service has seen loss of accountability and professionalism to the nation for service delivery due to bias, violation of procedures and circumvention of the rule of law. Independence brought with it the emergency of hierarchies of power with several black elites occupying positions of influence in white collar jobs and the government failed to put checks and balances to discourage corruption. As demonstrated in Nyawaranda's *Barika Remashefu* (1991), Chimhundu's *Chakwasha* (1991), Mahanya's *Matsvamoyo* (1992) and Mabasa's *Mapenzi* (1999), lack of accountability and the self benefiting conduct of people in positions of responsibility both in the private and public sectors have gradually become endemic in the Zimbabwe society. As a result, post-independence vices like, nepotism, tribalism, bribery, extortion and other underhand dealings emerge. The police in Zimbabwe do not show any honesty and morality in their work as seen by accepting bribes from offenders and giving a blind eye to 'shefus' and

those in high offices. The use of office power for making a private gain has led to the abuse of power by those in authority taking advantage of those in vulnerable positions. The problem of unemployment leads to the victimisation of those in vulnerable positions. These 'shofus' use their positions to sexually abuse poor ladies and for the need to secure their jobs they comply. This mentality sacrifices human values like respect, consideration, and hospitality. Mahanya in *Matsvamoyo* (1992) and Mabasa, in *Mapenzi* (1999), attack laziness, arrogance, absenteeism and gross inefficiency of government workers in public offices. This is a form of administrative corruption because it demonstrates lack of work ethics, and absence of accountability, professionalism and responsibility. Lack of transparency in procuring and tendering procedures is caused by vices like bribery, nepotism and improper performance of duties. This means that corruption also involves the manipulation of an economic or legal environment for an illegitimate gain without any contribution to the nation's productivity.

2.4 BACKGROUND TO POST-INDEPENDENCE SOCIO-CULTURAL PROTEST

The post-independence period saw the government enacting enabling legislation aimed at empowering and protecting the previously disadvantaged segments of society. These affirmative policies addressed injustices like, the marginalization of women and children, the particularization of Zimbabwean traditional culture and negative family and marriage practices. Cases in point include, the Legal Age of Majority Act of 1982, the Marriage Act (Chapter 37), the Matrimonial Causes Act of 1985, the Equal Rights Act of 1982, the Maintenance Act (Chapter 35). There is also the Administrative of Estates Act of 1997 and the Deceased persons Family Amendment Act of 1987 and other related statutes which elevate the status of women and children to enjoy the benefits of owning property and inheritance, provisions not enjoyed during the colonial era. Post-independence Shona novels protest against these new perspectives on marriage, family and gender relationships because they alienate Zimbabweans from their culture.

The affirmative policies fall short in as far as they depict foreign cultural traits creating a new consciousness which looks like a cultural import. Although

oppressive gender policies need to be removed as a matter of urgency, not only in Zimbabwe but throughout the world, it should be noted that most gender stereotyping in Zimbabwe was a result of misconceptions and also several practices were viewed out of their proper contexts. As indicated in Moyo's *Ndabva zera* (1992) and *Chemera mudundundu* (2002), Chimhundu's *Chakwasha* (1991), Mabasa's *Mapenzi* (1999) and Nyawaranda's *Barika remashefu* (1993), the new cultural policies failed to provide the basis for restructuring community relations. The Shona novelists criticise the way the new policies encourage Zimbabweans to break away from their roots into a world they are neither familiar with nor in control of. This is supported by Innes C.L. and Lindfors B. (1978:38) who say;

The African writer should be a cultural nationalist and a teacher instilling dignity into his own people.

The above ideas show that cultural liberation is an essential condition for political liberation. Tsodzo; Mabasa, Nyawaranda and Moyo condemn the widespread wholesale imitation and preference of foreign models at the expense of indigenous modes of perception. After attaining independence, Zimbabwe should now be committed to develop a distinctive national culture.

2.4.1 Protest against acculturation

After Independence, the government introduced a policy of cultural integration which encouraged cultural exchange programmes for the restoration of mutually beneficial relations with other nations. The smoothing of cultural rifts seems mandatory because in a world that has become a global village, it is no longer possible for any nation to exist in isolation. As a result, foreign values were introduced in Zimbabwean culture and they were taken as the new light whilst Shona values were regarded as backward, shameful and diabolical. The dynamism of culture was only explained in terms of the adoption of conventional Western conceptions greatly undervaluing the wealth of Shona culture. These new perceptions were taken as the correct depiction of culture as an ongoing process expressing contemporary consciousness in stark contrast to traditional modes of perception which regarded culture as a bygone phenomenon which should be

preserved. Preservation of traditional values was taken as an element of backwardness since it was likely to alienate people from mainstream culture and distance them from contemporary life in these changing times. The underlying idea behind this mentality was that, culture should not be taken as something static which needs to be preserved since it is dynamic expressing an on-going struggle of life.

But, there were a lot of discrepancies between the values acquired from the new policies and the harsh realities of Shona life. As shown in Tsodzo's *Mudhuri murefurefu* (1991), Mabasa's *Mapenzi* (1999), and Chimhundu's *Chakwasha* (1991), Shona culture and western culture are two dialectically antagonistic entities which cannot be integrated. These post-independence Shona novels do not necessarily support a static, monolithic and unreal concept of Zimbabwean culture but they protest against the hegemonic superimposition of foreign values on indigenous traditional models and norms. Culture does not refer to outdated traditional values but to the dynamic and progressive aspects of national tradition. In Zimbabwe, customs are dropped when they become irrelevant to the prevailing situations and this leads to their redundancy.

The novelists argue that it is not possible for a pluralism of cultures to exist without a hierarchy which elevates the dominant culture and undervalues the inferior culture. When a people's culture is dominated by foreign influence, those people will be looking at and evaluating their material reality and economic reality through the distorted perceptions of those foreigners who cannot be wishing the people any unfettered prosperity and development. Ani (1994:99) explains that different worldviews lead to different conceptions of phenomena. The Shona novelists show that Zimbabweans must see themselves through Zimbabwean eyes. The Zimbabwe social and cultural contexts show that, Shona culture is a unique and an autonomous entity with its own traditions, models and norms. Thus, a specific culture should be transmitted in its particularity to a specific people with a specific history. Sourcing other people's cultural perspectives is bad since there is need to know where one comes from in order to know where one goes. Culture is embodied in people's traditions and it is crucial in protecting and directing the lives of members of a society. According to Innes C.L. and Lindfors B. (1978:17), "The

firewood which people have is adequate for the kind of cooking they do.” Though similar in their broad outlines, African cultures represent different micro-responses to different environments. *Mudhuri murefurefu* (1991) demonstrates that, Afro-Americans, though they are essentially African, it is erroneous to believe that the solutions to their problems could be discovered within a Pan-African context since their culture is very different from African cultures. This is because of the strong link between a people’s culture and their history.

The use of a non-African center to portray Zimbabweans creates problems of cultural dislocation even if the adopted center is described as cosmopolitan. Cultures are diverse and human societies develop in a unilinear way, so it is erroneous to propagate the idea of a single line development in human societies. According to Furusa (2002:195);

Uncritical adoption of non-African frameworks results in misdirecting analysis erroneously accepting alien assumptions and meanings as applicable and relevant to Zimbabwean culture. No free person enters his own homestead using another person’s gate. This is counter-productive and it is like existing in borrowed space because having been moved from one’s platform, one would not be able to know one’s potential.

Being African means living one’s life as an African and rootedness in African culture. *Mudhuri murefurefu* (1991) is an anthropological text on cultural nationalism since it protests against cultural imperialism in all its forms. It attacks the mixing of two opposing cultures because it leads to loss of conviction and identity, disintegration of the foundation of the African society and confusion of values. The confusion is a result of being torn between two different worlds whereby one would be part of a foreign culture but belonging to the Zimbabwean world. Imposition of a foreign culture is useless because the new imposed culture could never completely break the native culture. This leads to a displaced and decultured personality who can neither relate to his new image nor the old one. According to Zimunya (1982:83);

...western education gives one the prestige of belonging to the pseudo-white elite deserving exclusive treatment above the rest of

other Africans.

This shows that the foreign influence in Zimbabwean culture has resulted in people with split personalities like Mike in *Mudhuri murefurefu* whose rootlessness and disorientation has led to his alienation and confusion. He is ostracised and cut loose from the society in which everyone else is anchored. The fact that he is wearing false robes of identity makes Mike a man torn between two worlds oscillating between his native culture and the foreign one. He is exposed to the native culture of his upbringing, the culture of real life which helps him to survive and the adopted culture external to him which creates dislocation and alienation. *Mudhuri murefurefu* (1991) protests against cultural imperialism showing the need for cultural alignment and the importance of upholding one's cultural links which helps to stabilise a person.

At independence, the English language was accorded the status of the official language of communication, *the lingua franca*, because it facilitated cross-cultural communication. English was associated with prestige and success whilst indigenous languages like Shona and Ndebele were associated with backwardness and poverty. Tsodzo in *Mudhuri murefurefu* and Chimhundu in *Chakwasha*, criticise the use of foreign languages because it narrows conceptualization and hinders easy comprehension. The use of indigenous languages allows for democratic participation of people and also moulds indigenous thought patterns which are essential for social reconstruction. Since African experiences are unique and rooted in their worldview, a foreign language may not carry the weight of African experience. As Ngugi puts it (1987:4);

The choice of language and the use to which it is put is central to a people's definition of themselves in relation to their natural and social environment, indeed in relation to the entire universe.

Ngugi has been on the forefront of protesting against the use borrowed tongues which distances Africans from their worldview to the other worlds. African culture is African people's way of looking at and interpreting their world, so it is part of their worldview and philosophy of life which is fully integrated in their way of life. To Ngugi (1981:13), "Language, any language, has a dual character; it is both a means of communication and carrier of culture." This shows that there is a close

relationship between language and human culture or perception of reality.

2.4.2 Protest against the marginalization of women

Most post-independence problems affecting women are as a result of sexism and prejudice against women in the Zimbabwe society. Mutasa, in *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo* and Nyawaranda, in *Barika ramashefu* are motivated by the desire to find out the extent to which Zimbabwe's political independence transformed the perception of women in Zimbabwe. Political and cultural freedom which came with independence was supposed to reflect the changed social, cultural and political order. In the new dispensation, women should have the freedom to fully participate in decisions and operations that affect the society as a whole. Before independence, women were sidelined with regard to access to status and power and in employment opportunities because colonialism had little use of educated women. The novels protest against the failure of Independence to bring change on the perception of gender relationships as promised during the liberation war. One of the major objectives of total independence was to foster gender equity by deconstructing the oppressive images that men have on women which make women prisoners of a patriarchal system from which they need to be freed.

Women of all ethnic orientations share the unfortunate commonality of being subjugated, excluded, marginalized and rendered invisible in language and public life. Black women have been confronted with injustices like deprivations of liberty, adequate food, shelter and medical care. Women experience oppression like, sexual abuse, domestic violence and emotional harassment. African women have historically demonstrated that sexist socialization is the chief cause of their oppression. Historically, African women have fought against sexual discrimination as well as race and class discrimination. According to Furusa (2002:188);

The struggle for justice can be handicapped if women have a negative image in society which delegitimises their struggle for fundamental rights and freedoms such as; the right to jobs, education, health and other valued goods and services in society.

A male dominated society portrays women as adulterous, gossipers, weak, emotional and mindless. This stereotyping is used to justify the subordination of

women to men

The marginalization of women is caused by both patriarchal structures and imperialist constructs. Family and gender issues were complicated by the way feminism was propagated by the west. The west failed to tally their ideas which were foreign to Africans with the traditional ones. The perpetuation of colonial subordination of women to men is seen in the portrayal of urban professional women as prostitutes and evil people whereas rural women are painted as the ideal, stable, submissive and morally upright women. This superficial portrayal of reality was used to hide the truth that only men were needed in town for their labour and it is gross injustice to perpetuate this image in a free Zimbabwe. This promotes exploitation of women and it infringes on women's freedom and rights to compete for jobs in the wage sector. In marriage, women are portrayed as childless, assertive, unfaithful, insubordinate and domineering. But the fact that men are more likely than women to have multiple sexual partners makes women more vulnerable than men to HIV and AIDS. This power disparity between men and women gives women fewer possibilities of determining their sexual lives. According to Gaidzanwa (1985), independence has not brought a liberated and liberating image for Zimbabwean women since there is perpetuation of the stifling constraints of stereotypical images and attitudes.

Mutasa, in *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo* and Nyawaranda, in *Barika ramashefu* have tried to establish that women should not be disadvantaged on the basis of their sexuality since the domestication and subservience of women in the Zimbabwean society was not imposed by biological or other natural necessity prescribed by God or tradition. Social roles of men and women could be reconstructed and transformed by society since they are culturally constructed they can also be socially deconstructed. Both genders have the same divine source. The Shona novelists want to show the complementary role of men and women by challenging them to participate fully in social activities and institutions, each according to their talents and capabilities. Instead of alienating men from the struggle for women liberation, there must be a renegotiation of male-female roles in society. They have challenged male chauvinism but not to the extent of eliminating them as allies in the struggle for liberation of familiness. There is need to eliminate sexual

division of labour and in education. In *Barika Ramashefu*, Nyawaranda shows that the liberation of women must be spearheaded and championed by women themselves. Nyawaranda attempts to transform the portrayal of women and their image in post-colonial Zimbabwe showing them as subjects and not objects in the determination of their destiny. Mutasa in *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo* advocates for the according of equal opportunities to women in the fields of education and the job sector. He clearly demonstrates that the empowerment of women by giving them education and land can produce very powerful personalities like Sekai.

However, it should be noted that some of the perceived discrimination of women are negative myths about Shona traditional culture. Shona traditional practices like polygamy, and that of inheriting a brother's wife had great social and economic benefits during their prime time but became redundant with socio-cultural changes. Precolonial societies were basically subsistence so many wives meant more children for a large labour force. The practice of inheritance was meant for the sustenance of the family even after the death of the bread winner. These traditional practices should be viewed in the context of history and culture which differ from time to time and from people to people. It is important therefore not to attack Shona traditional practices out of their contexts since this would be tantamount to denying Shona culture's dynamism and ability to adjust to the changing times.

2.4.3 Protest against contentious policies of marriage, family and gender relations

As a way of countering gender inequality in the family, the government of Zimbabwe put in place affirmative policies for the restoration of the democratic and all inclusive participation of both men and women in nation building. After independence, The Marriage Act and the Legal Age of Majority Act of 1982 were controversial laws passed by parliament in a bid to redress gender imbalances in the Zimbabwean society. Moyo's *Ndabva Zera* and *Chemera mudundundu*, Nyawaranda's *Barika ramashefu* and Tsodzo's *Mudhuri murefurefu* protest against the new gender perspectives which have alienated Shona people from their culture. The novels protest on the effects of these policies in creating wrong

perceptions about gender roles and the relationship between parents and their children.

The Age of Majority Act restricts parents from interfering with their children who are past the age of eighteen because they would have reached maturity with the cognitive capacity to make independent decisions. These children on attaining the age of 18 would be considered by law to be mature and free to choose on their own what is good or bad for them. Parents are allowed to advise but they do not have any authority to control their children's behaviour. *Chemera mudundundu* and *Ndabva zera* condemn the legislation as a foreign import inherited from the west where parental control of children is regulated by law. The problem with this legislation is that, not all children become mature since some get to 18 when they are still at school and this newly acquired freedom may lead them astray. In Shona culture, parental control never ceases to have influence even when someone becomes an adult, which means that children must respect their parents and get decisions from them even if they are grown up. The post-independence Shona novels should establish that this law is not useful in Shona culture because it leads to family conflicts especially between parents and children.

The law also gives women equal and majority status in the family structures in an attempt to remove the perceived hegemony of men on women. The Marriage Act (Chapter 37) also complements the aspect of the need for an equal status in marriage between husband and wife. In marriage, property belongs to both partners and in case of a divorce the two will share the property in portions determined by law. The misconception underlying the implementation of these laws is that Shona traditional culture is the cause of the oppressive gender relations. The new found independence and assertiveness brought a new consciousness to women that previously had not been there which indicts Shona culture. In the new dispensation, women have the freedom to do as they like since they are full human beings who should take their rightful roles in the society without permission from men.

The new perspectives on marriage, family and gender relations have created false images about Shona traditional culture which should be corrected. Pre-colonial

societies never discriminated against women because of their sexuality. In pre-colonial Shona societies, gender roles of men and women were complementary and interdependent because Shona culture had an all inclusive and democratic nature in family relations. The Shona society was seen as a holistic and organic reality whose existence and survival could be achieved only through a positive harmonious social organization in which all are relevant and effective. In pre-colonial Shona societies, women were acknowledged as of equal value in the family set up. Both men and women had distinct but important roles to play in the life of the community. Shona culture does not view women as appendages in marriage but as complementary to men's contributions in the whole being of the family. The Shona novelists protest against the foreign idea of trying to change gender roles of women to equal those of men since women and men differ in fundamental ways. Women are different from men and have different needs and abilities and deserve different opportunities. Most of the differences are innate and biological and that is why only women can bear children and can breastfeed them.

Men and women complemented each other in society and labour was divided in accordance with one's sex. Men had to do heavier tasks like hunting, fighting, bush clearing, breaking up of new ground, building and care of livestock whilst women did less physically challenging work because there were weakened by child bearing, suckling children and menstrual cycles. Women's traditional position in the domestic sphere of life like, crop cultivation, preparing food for the family, childcare and the general upkeep of the home did not amount to domestication because there were as indispensable as men. Women played a pivotal role in sustaining homes and that is why unmarried men were not well respected. Women could become clan or national spirits, war leaders, chiefs, and could assume male roles during family functions. All these observations show that it is wrong to blame Shona traditional culture for the negative portrayal of women. If Shona culture produced powerful women like story tellers, midwives, farmers, freedom fighters and women leaders like Mbuya Nehanda, then it is foregone that the society gave women a very high status.

The new perception advocates for an overhaul of gender roles and cultivates a

spirit of war in women against their male counterparts. The contentious legislation has led men and women to fight each other thereby failing to rise above the domestic space to forces that affect the family. As shown in *Barika ramashefu* and *Ndabva zera*, the new found freedom have led some women to opt out of marriage taking it as enslaving and oppressive. This is socially anomalous since it is difficult for women to survive morally outside marriage. It should be noted that the nation owes its sustenance from marriage since the family is an important component of the community which in turn makes up the society and ultimately the nation. Moyo in *Ndabva zera* and *Chemera mudundundu* tries to deconstruct these misconceptions by projecting a Zimbabwean home grown sensibility as a way of countering the foreign consciousness and distortions brought out by these contentious laws. It is this realisation that has led the Shona novelists to question and reject the assumptions of feminism for drawing its knowledge and interpretations of male-female relationships from European culture. Marriage, family life and gender relations should not be universalized because Zimbabwean women's issues should be addressed within the context of Zimbabwean family and culture. The use of foreign values and principles is not helpful in charting a genuine path of social reconstruction and development. There is need to use regenerative Zimbabwean values, sacred oaths and wisdom so as to locate Zimbabweans in the correct and relevant cultural heritage. Alien influences confuse Zimbabweans as seen by women in the Shona novels who do not embody the worldview and system of values that brought independence to Zimbabwe.

2.5 THE PROTEST WRITER AND HIS RESPONSIBILITIES

The conception of the role of the writer usually changes with socio-political changes in a country which means that the post-independence period in Zimbabwe created in writers a new approach. According to Chiwome (1996:126), art should not follow over trodden paths, but good artists should communicate new truths, new approaches of life, new themes and new heroes in order to address the most urgent questions of democracy and development in the society today. Writers played a central role during the struggle for independence through their inspirational writings and in the period of reconstruction, writers have a more

important task as guardians of that freedom by safeguarding it. Addressing a conference on Literature and Liberation in August 1987, the then minister of Legal and Parliamentary Affairs, Eddison Zvobgo (cited) in Ngara and Morrison, (1989:3) said;

I would urge you as teachers of literature and language to put the wisdom of your pens and voices at the services of the uncompleted liberation struggle in our region and continent.

Writers are social critics with the social responsibility to support the struggle of the oppressed by inspiring people to fight for freedom and justice. The most effective way to promote redeeming literature is for writers to have the conviction and courage to expose and attack injustice, corruption and social inequality. Prominent critics like Ngugi and Achebe see the writer as a teacher emphasizing his social responsibility of supporting the struggle for freedom. This is supported by Ngugi (1986:69) who says, "Let our pens be the voices of the people. Let our pens give voices to silence." This shows that silence to injustice is collusion to social evil and a person who seeks justice never tires of the search until he finds it. The post-independence Shona novelists have a great task of exposing and condemning the monumental injustice that is detrimental to the creation of a new society in the independent Zimbabwe. As the conscience of the nation, they should not condone corruption by silence but should speak the truth giving the moral direction and vision to the struggle for social justice.

Writers play a pivotal role as observers and critics of their era and that is why people look to the artists for inspiration in difficult times and for edification in easier times. Protest writers should dwell on mainstream contemporary issues scrutinizing and questioning the direction of social change. They can contribute more to nation building by being critical because writers who are not critical have the false assumption that nothing is wrong in their societies. Protest writers must fight not for the abstract notions of peace and justice, but should intervene in the actual struggle of nation building with a vision of a programme of action to address problems of national significance. There is no case of non-involvement of writers because artists are literary guerrillas of the masses in their quest for total liberation. According to Fischer (1959:14), "The essential function of art is to

change the world through enlightening and stimulating action.”

This shows that the artist should not be a referee or interpreter standing on the sidelines, but should help change the world by mapping out where people are going and how they should get there. A committed artist should not be a coward scared of incurring the wrath of the oppressor, but should have a spirit of defiance and raise political awareness to the oppressed masses. Constructive criticism may be very useful in correcting the pitfalls of those entrusted with the task of nation building.

A protest writer should identify the social problems, analyse them and evaluate them in order to suggest an alternative solution to the problems. The past and the present should prepare a way of creating a clear vision about the future of society. The writer should explain the social contradictions in a way that makes the members of society understand clearly why things happen the way they do in order to determine the progressive direction of society. This rejects the notion of art for art's sake in favour of literature of commitment. Writers should therefore challenge and encourage their readers to look for answers to their problems so as to innovatively interpret their situations. This shows that protest writers are supposed to be self-conscious people with hindsight and continuous reflection of pertinent issues. The development of the society should be captured through true consciousness which members of society acquire by understanding clearly the direction of society and the goal of what they fight for. The theme of hope for the future is the background through which all energies of society should be marshaled to.

Writers and critics feel that the descriptive protest of the past has become a less engaging undertaking and what is needed is art which is a vehicle for emancipation. Contemporary writing should go beyond mere description or documentation of people's suffering.

Protest writers should be committed artists by being bold enough to criticise the system in a way which challenges readers to solve their problems. Unlike the critical realist who merely testifies to the condition of social crisis, a protest writer

goes beyond mere condemnation and offers a precise diagnosis of the problem showing hope and light and at the same time giving an alternative direction. Such a vision is vital to avoid succumbing to self-despair, cynicism and disillusionment. Pessimistic writers are not committed enough to see the depth of the resilience of the people and it is too defeatist to inspire people to remake the world around them. To avoid escapism, a writer should be more than a social commentator by mapping out what we are going to be like tomorrow. As a social reformer, the writer should put forward solutions to problems facing the people by giving a guiding philosophy and ideology. Ngugi's writings show that he is not satisfied with merely criticising the Kenyan neocolonial system, but wishes to overhaul it and replace it with a socialist one.

In Shona culture, art is functional since it is produced for a social purpose of socializing children into the accepted norms and values of the society. Protest writers condemn values inimical to society such as selfishness, individualism, dishonesty, and cruelty. Values which enhance the togetherness of the society such as, courage, honesty, selflessness and a collective spirit are fore grounded by artists as good. Artists should have patriotic, nationalistic and political consciousness to educate people and inspire them to face the challenges of independence with confidence and dedication. The protest writer should be a cultural nationalist with a full understanding of the culture of the society and philosophy of their life in order to transform them for the better. Art should be written from the center of the African experience illuminating African life. The language, concepts, values and principles that a writer espouses should support the writer's cultural heritage. The responsibilities of the African writer should consider the social, cultural and political environments of the writer since a writer is inherently a communal being embedded in a context of social relationships. Writers should demonstrate some social responsibility and moral virtue in order to help their communities to be good. According to p'Bitek (1986: v)

It is the artist who plays the most important role in keeping the society moral and sane since they are guardians of the community's heritage, history, knowledge systems.

This means that the protest artist should use the novel as a moralizing weapon and a vehicle of cultural sensibilities of the African worldview. The artist should be the healer and pulse of the community in trying to rehabilitate the African people's well being and self respect.

Protest writers consider their task as one of preservation, but there is need to be dynamic in their preservation of Shona culture. However, it should be noted that at times, there is exaggeration on images of perfect traditional values and anachronistic legends and myths which may not be useful in these changing times. Although Africa-centered consciousness is an important step in achieving socially committed literature it should be noted that idealising the past may distance readers from contemporary life. This idea is supported by Innes C.L. and Lindfors B, (1978:41) who say;

African writers cannot forget the past because the present comes from it, but they should not be mesmerized or immobilized by their contemplation of the past to the exclusion of the contemporary scene.

This shows that although the past is vital it must give consideration of the present and future. Culture should not be taken as something static which needs to be preserved since it is dynamic. Advocacy of a return to the past as most negritude literature would cherish is not only idealistic and romantic but a negation of the present and future. Chiwome (1996:78), contends that, this leads to a 'diversion from contemporary life resulting in self-deception and alienates readers from mainstream culture.' Chiwome calls this type of protest literature marginal nationalism since it is not effective in confronting the present.

2.6 CONCLUSION

Post-independence protest Shona novels do not have an independent existence since they cannot be understood out of their socio-political and socio-cultural contexts. An exploration of the political and cultural backgrounds of post-independence protest fiction in Zimbabwe helps in providing a wide historical canvas of the circumstances under which protest literature was born and nurtured. There is perennial need for the revitalization of the protest writer's responsibilities

in order to expose the new social sensibilities of a changing society. Protest writers should therefore be dynamic and innovative in a changing society so that they are not blind to the social trends of their times. The extent to which the post-independence protest Shona novel can give useful insights in the literary attempts of decolonization is determined by the redeeming nature of the protest in the selected texts. An analysis of the manifestations and impact of the theme of protest in selected Shona texts is vital to show its effectiveness in the depiction of post-independent Zimbabwe. The next chapter will discuss the manifestations of socio-political protest in the selected texts.

CHAPTER THREE

MANIFESTATIONS OF SOCIO-POLITICAL PROTEST IN SELECTED SHONA NOVELS.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The chapter discusses positive and negative contributions made by Shona literary expression to socio-political transformation in post-independence Zimbabwe. The analysis seeks to situate the Shona texts within the larger field of protest literature so as to contribute towards the reconfiguration of some of the established perceptions which govern the study of Zimbabwean literature. In such a context, the chapter explores post-independence socio-political issues in a way that helps to initiate debate and possibly argue for the need to assess the routes forward that appear feasible under the circumstances. It should be noted that, the contradictions in contemporary Zimbabwean society are intimately related to severe social, political, economic and cultural dislocations that rendered complete freedom elusive. In this case, the chapter seeks to establish if the Shona writers' portrayal of the socio-political situation in Zimbabwe is objective enough to effectively provide a remedy for Zimbabwe's problems.

In discussing these issues, the socio-political commitment of the writers is seen in the way they try to resolve the unfinished business of national reconstruction. This is why this chapter makes the optimistic case that Zimbabwe's young generation will build on the present positive gains and overcome the negative aspects of the past.

The discussion will be based on the textual analysis of Chimhundu's *Chakwesha* (1991), Choto's *Vavariro* (1990), Manyimbiri's *Mudzimu wakupe chironda* (1991), Mabasa's *Mapenzi* (1999), Mutasa's *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo* (2005), Mahanya's *Matsvamoyo* (1992), and Nyawaranda's *Barika remashefu* (1991). Important issues to be discussed in these texts are, the manifestations of neocolonialism, the land question and corruption as portrayed in the selected post-independence Shona texts. The issue of neocolonialism is portrayed in Chimhundu's *Chakwesha*

(1991), Choto's *Vavairo* (1990), Manyimbiri's *Mudzimu wakupe chironda* (1991), Mabasa's *Mapenzi* (1999), Mutasa's *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo* (2005), Mahanya's *Matsvamoyo* (1992), and Nyawaranda's *Barika remashefu* (1991). In this vein, the chapter discusses issues in the texts on the failure of socialism as a result of a conflict of ideologies which led to Zimbabwe's political and economic demise in the post-independence period. The problem on the land issue is portrayed in Mutasa's *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo* (2005), Choto's *Vavairo* (1990), and Manyimbiri's *Mudzimu wakupe chironda* (1991). The issue of corruption is portrayed in *Mudzimu wakupe chironda* (1991) Mabasa's *Mapenzi* (1999), Mutasa's *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo* (2005), Mahanya's *Matsvamoyo* (1992), and Nyawaranda's *Barika remashefu* (1991).

The chapter seeks to establish how accurate and effective these texts are in the portrayal of Zimbabwe's post-independence challenges. The discussion raises important questions like; how and why this problematic socio-political situation has arisen during a period of self-rule? What is the impact so far and prospects for the future? These are weighty questions which need to be posed for solutions to be found if Zimbabwe is going to return to sustainable internal stability in the future. The ability of protest fiction to articulate popular grievances and challenge unpopular government policies is a vital political resource and weapon in advising and counseling leaders on the way to handle people's wishes. This is why the discussion in this chapter strives to show the importance of building democratic potential from below which in principle should be taken as both a moral and political imperative in the new dispensation.

3.2 MANIFESTATION OF NEOCOLONIALISM

3.2.1 Definition of neocolonialism

To have a clear understanding of why neocolonialism is a subject of socio-political protest in the post-independence Shona novels, there is need to clarify the meaning of neo-colonialism. Neocolonialism is simply the continuation of social and economic legacies of colonialism in the post-colonial era of formerly colonized countries. The term neocolonialism was popularized in the wake of decolonization

by PanAfricanist leaders like Kwame Nkrumah and scholars like Ngugi wa Thiongo. Nkrumah (1965: ix) believes that the neocolonialism of today represents the imperialism in final and perhaps its most dangerous stage. Nkrumah observed that, western powers still control African nations whose rulers are either willing puppets or involuntary subordinates of these powers. According to Ngugi (1986:95-96):

Neocolonialism is a situation in which a country is nominally independent but its economy is still in the hands of the imperialist bourgeoisie. Nothing has in substance changed. The only change is that where before the imperialist bourgeoisie used to exploit the masses through its settler or feudal representatives, now it does so through a native bourgeoisie who takes the flag at independence.

Ngugi's definition of neocolonialism shows that it is erroneous to say that imperialism ended with the granting of political independence to formerly colonized countries, because powerful countries continue to control less powerful countries in indirect and subtle ways. The myth of arrival at independence enticed the African leaders to lose sight of the necessity to go forward pushing the continent into a homeland of beggars. These leaders make incessant trips to external financial powerhouses who continue to dismantle efforts of Africans to liberate their economic spaces from external manipulation and domination. Ngugi (1986:7) contends that:

To the majority of African people in the new states, independence did not bring about fundamental changes; it was independence with the ruler holding a begging bowl and the ruled holding a shrinking belly.

It can be said that the new rulers simply stepped into the shoes of their former colonial rulers without making a slight effort of changing living standards of their people. According to Nkrumah (1965:239):

It is this sum total of these modern attempts to perpetuate colonialism while at the same time talking about 'freedom', which has come to be known as neo-colonialism.

Nkrumah's definition of neocolonialism shows that the transition from colonialism to independence has nothing new to offer. Nkrumah became aware that the

gaining of political independence by African states was merely a token and in no substantial way altered their social, economic and cultural dependence to the western metropole. Nkrumah (1965: ix), believes that neocolonialism is the worst form of imperialism because it means power without responsibility for those who practice it and exploitation without redress for those who suffer from it.

This perpetuation of colonial values and practices has given rise to several contradictions in the post-independence period resulting in the failure of independence to fulfil the expectations of the majority in Zimbabwe. The ongoing nature of imperialism is multifaceted and can be manifested in different forms. In the post-independence Zimbabwe situation, neocolonialism is manifested in the social, economic and cultural spheres through which manipulation and underdevelopment of the country by imperial powers is evident. The adoption of colonial values in post independent Zimbabwe has led to most post-colonial problems which have proved detrimental in the construction of a new political order.

The capacity of a new independent Zimbabwe state to improve the material well-being of the masses significantly lay in abolishing the exploitative capitalists' relations of production and its willingness to redistribute resources such as land and minerals. But these were negotiated at Lancaster House since they were effectively put on hold through a decade long period preventing a radical restructuring of the colonial legacy of economic inequality. As Wafawarova (2009) puts it:

Zimbabwe is operating on a Lancaster House constitution whose initial context and spirit was to usher in a compromise legal setup that did not detrimentally upset the colonial economic setup in Zimbabwe (Herald 11-07-2009 'Zimbabwe Constitution: The Post-colonial Response').

Wafawarova is alluding to the fact that the negotiated settlement at Lancaster was a bad deal because it failed to move Zimbabweans beyond the colonial legacy.

Credits, international aid and investments by multinational corporations are various manifestations of neocolonialism since they are all designed to strengthen poor

countries' perpetual underdevelopment and dependency on developed countries. Weaker countries are forced to take certain steps and give concessions favourable to the financial interests of these stronger nations but detrimental to their economies in order to qualify for the loans. This is why Babu (1981:49) says, "When we compete for foreign investors we compete for our own subjugation." Although investment may initially bring an influx of private corporations in developing countries, it is usually followed by a dramatic increase in poverty and decline in per capita income thereby keeping poor countries in perpetual indebtedness, impoverishment and neocolonial dependence. In Zimbabwe, ESAP was such a type of economic imperialism whose harmful effects on the poor eroded most gains of Zimbabwe's independence. The policy of reconciliation in Zimbabwe, despite its good intentions, remained merely a political hope given the continuing legacy of inequality. The perceived national healing to be brought by this policy is a far cry given the absence of justice and compensation in the whole project. Those who benefited from colonial injustices continue to be on an advantageous position than those who were victims.

In Zimbabwe, neocolonialism is also manifested in the way the new leaders are not determined to disrupt the socio-political system they inherited from Rhodesia. At independence, there was a crisis of expectations among war veterans in particular and the masses in general who thought that everything for which they had fought for could be made available immediately. This ended up being a crisis of boredom when they had to recover from the excitement when they realised that the promises had been betrayed. The new government inherited the colonial secret service, Central Intelligence Organisation (C.I.O) and its repressive legislation of clamping down upon any dissenting voices against the ruling elite. The retention of the State of emergency and the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act showed the new government's determination to continue the political intolerance of the previous regime. The resolve to silence all points of view that deviate from the official version was also seen by the introduction of new hegemonic laws stifling freedom of press. The Access to information of privacy Act (AIPPA), the Public Order and Security Act (POSA) and the Broadcasting services Act (BSA) which all silence critical media.

3.2.2 The Lancaster House Agreement

The British-mediated Lancaster House settlement enshrined several highly contentious provisions concerning the Presidency, white representation, citizenship and land redistribution. But, it would seem the nationalist leaders accepted this settlement despite strong reservations regarding some objectionable clauses. The fact that the meeting at Lancaster House lasted 47 days, from 10 September to 21 December 1979, shows that there were serious disagreements and the nationalist leaders did not give in easily.

According to Chung (2006:241):

Despite their virulent objections, the Patriotic Front was forced to accept this part of the independence agreement since all parties had to make concessions. All sides were ready for a compromise and a compromise was made since the continuation of the war was undesirable.

Pressure for the Patriotic Front also came from Julius Nyerere and Samora Machel who strongly supported the political compromise possibly because they were reluctant to continue giving their support for the guerrilla war. Auret (1992:129) contends that the Lancaster House agreement provided in theory, the basis for long-term peace in Zimbabwe ensuring as it did, the immediate dissolution of the short lived Muzorewa government and the return to majority rule. The argument here is that, the settlement brought stability and cessation of hostilities and suffering in Zimbabwe.

However, post-independence Shona novelists condemn the Lancaster House agreement because of the neocolonial elements in the agreement. The objectionable clauses gave political and economic guarantees to former colonizers for ten years.

Land dispossession was obviously the most deeply felt injustice in Zimbabwe, but the agreement ensured that the ownership of land remained in white hands after independence and would have to be bought on a 'willing seller willing buyer' basis. Mutasa, in *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo* (2005:47), through Sekai laments of the injustice:

Nhai iwe Johnson, chibvumirano ichi chaiti kudiniko iwe? Zvainzi munozotora mapurazi makore gumi apera kuitira kuti varungu vapedze kubhadhara zvikwereti zvavo.

(Johnson, can you imagine what is enshrined in the agreement? It states that we will take our land after ten years to give white people time to pay for their credits.)

Mutasa is protesting against the unfairness of the Lancaster House settlement in postponing economic justice to people with long-term unresolved historical grievances. The creation of private rights for former colonizers had a hollow ring in the context of people with fresh memories of dispossession of their land (Raftopoulos and Sauage eds 2004:6). It should be noted that, justice is surely about the here and now and not some future recompense. The agreement made it very difficult if not impossible to attain some of the most dearly held goals like the distribution of land which would be impossibly expensive. The immediate problem was that, the British government made vague promises (without putting pen to paper) to provide the money for the land reform also hoping that America and other countries could provide more funds for this purpose. With the benefit of hindsight, it is now clear that the British government failed to honour its promise of funding the land resettlement programme. Mutasa (2005:47) in *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo* depicts this through Sekai telling Johnson:

Ndinoda kuti uzivewo kuti hurumende ye Britain yakatevera hurumende yakaita chibvumirano cheminda yeZimbabwe yakati hatibhadhariri ivhu. Kwanzu chibvumirano ndechenyu nebato reBritain rakange rakundwa musarudzo. Hapoka apo!

(I want you to know that the British government which came after the one which made the agreement refused to pay compensation for land arguing that it was the responsibility of the previous government. Just look at that!)

Britain's abdication of its responsibility to finance land reform shows that the Lancaster House agreement was a bad deal. It was strange that a highly developed and wealthy nation such as Britain felt it could not afford to pay for the compensation of white farmers but, nevertheless, expected a black government of a much poorer developing country to do so (Chung 2006:241). This meant that, in this context, questions of abolishing capitalists' relations of production prevailing in

pre-independence Zimbabwe and correcting the inherited economic injustices of structural inequality significantly remained unanswered and unattainable.

The Lancaster House Agreement is one of the various manifestations of neo-colonialism in post-independent Zimbabwe. The Agreement was mediated by Zimbabwe's former colonial master Britain, which ensured that former white settlers had political and economic guarantees, thereby crippling any attempts for meaningful change. The Lancaster House constitution was therefore, heavily influenced by the country's colonial past. According to Moyo (1995:106-107):

The Lancaster House negotiations produced a constitution which secured for the whites, unhindered citizenship rights, a bill of rights which precluded the expropriation of private property, secured freedom of expression, movement and dual citizenship, a restricted executive power, disproportionate white representation and protection of white civil servants' employment and pensions. It provided a ten-year grace period during which the constitution could not be amended, while the independence of the judiciary was entrenched to guarantee white rights.

The Agreement enshrined clauses which served neo-colonial interests like, reserving 20 seats for whites, the issue of granting white people dual citizenship and the 10 year limitation on the equitable distribution of land. This iniquitous settlement placed a largely rhetorical emphasis on peace and reconciliation at the expense of truth, justice and equity (Kagoro in Raftopoulos and Saugue eds 2004:236). Mutasa, in *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo* (2005), shows that, the first decade of Zimbabwe was a 'post-white settler' situation during which blacks only had political power whilst the former colonizers still had the economic power. Sekai in Mutasa (2005:47)'s *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo* aptly puts it, "*Saka munoreva kuti vatema vangangove nemasimba okutonga chete pasina upfumi?*"(So you mean to say that black people just have political powers only without any wealth?)

The Lancaster House agreement's failure to transform the exploitative economic relations of the colonial era made it difficult for the government to improve the material well-being of the masses. Those who oppressed Zimbabweans yesterday could never be their friends today. The Lancaster House constitution was

therefore, a colonial constitution which cast a shadow over any attempts at change since it reflected a compromise between the transfer of power to the black nationalists movement leaders and the entrenchment of the economic privileges of the white settlers and international capital (Mandaza quoted in Raftopoulos and Sauage :2004:237).

Even though the constitution was open to amendments after eight years, this was unlikely to change anything if the core of the constitution still preserved colonial systems and values.

To date (2010), the document has had 19 amendments in the last 29 years since independence (1980), but these are just cosmetic tinkering since there is need for a new constitution. Choto in *Vavairo* (1990) shows that the Lancaster House Constitution was enacted in a top-down fashion because the masses were not well versed with its provisions. VaChimoto in Choto (1990: 144)'s *Vavairo* shows complete ignorance of the Lancaster talks when he asks Kanyuchi, "*Ko iko kuHingarandi kwavakabvumirana vakazvironga seiko?*" (What decisions did they make in the England talks?)

This shows that the constitution was distanced from the very people for whom it was designed to serve. The constitution of a country should be the supreme law of the land reflecting the social order and aspirations of the people, the identity of the nation and its national ethos.

European-modeled or elitist driven constitutions like the Lancaster House one usually lead to manipulation of Zimbabwe's heritage by foreigners creating little black westerners whose ambition would be to live like a westerner in whose image they are created. The majority of Zimbabweans should freely and independently express their own opinions on what they want covered in the constitution. An acceptable constitution in Zimbabwe should be for posterity to be used by future generations by standing the test of time. The Lancaster House constitution was not people driven since it was drafted for the people not by the people. That is why in Choto's *Vavairo* (1990:145), vaChimoto shows a lot of distrust and contempt to the Lancaster House Constitution. He says, "*Chete zvinhu zvine makonisitusheni*

mukati izvi zvine chikuruku.” (The problem of issues to do with constitutions is that there is a lot of treachery). Choto is trying to show that, there is need for a thorough and inclusive process in making a constitution with the potential to remedy Zimbabwe’s problems. If people are not involved then they will not trust any decisions made for them. Choto (1990:145) makes it clear that people are likely to deny a constitution from which they are excluded. Kanyuchi in *Vavariro*, says:

Zvanakonisitusheni izvi hazvina nebasa rese zviya. Chipepa chinonetsei. Tinochibvarura kana kutoswera tochimoneresa fodya zvedu isu vana Kanyuchi

(Adhering to the constitutional provisions (Lancaster) excluding our aspiration is not important. It’s just a useless piece of paper we can tear or use to smoke tobacco for the likes of me Kanyuchi).

Choto, through Kanyuchi shows the dangers of underestimating the people’s contribution to the constitution-making process. Kanyuchi should not be misconstrued as saying all constitutions are useless, but the immediate context of his statements is the exclusionary procedures of the Lancaster House agreement when people were reduced to mere spectators. The leaders do not have monopoly of wisdom, so there was need for them to create a shared national vision that brings a sense of collective ownership of the constitution of Zimbabwe.

A practical example of the consequences of not consulting the people is that of the 2000 Draft which was rejected by 54% of the voters on 12-13 February 2000. The constitutional commission had not faithfully recorded people’s views and key concerns. Like what Choto allude to, Zimbabweans if not consulted can assert their power to resist state domination and attempts to deny them their right to name their world and thereby re-constitute it. Choto is saying, the new constitution of Zimbabwe should bring to light people’s post-colonial response to the colonial and neocolonial debasement of our culture, identity, and pride. It is in this context that it can be argued that foreigners do not have any part to play in the new constitution-making process in Zimbabwe. It is wrong for foreigners to fund workshops for other peoples’ constitution because this may lead to manipulation of the future heritage of Zimbabwe by contriving the consent of Zimbabweans to models and benchmarks provided by foreigners. People should not blindly accept foreign funding, so there is need for Zimbabweans to independently assess any

foreign laws and values without the undue meddling and interference of self-invited foreigners.

Although the 'no vote' in the 2000 referendum was a protest vote against the manner in which the constitution making process was conducted by the government, events of the time show that there were other reasons for the rejection. The constitutional commission appointed and mandated by the President, started their work against a background of controversy plagued by accusations of being a partisan body likely to champion the views of the ruling ZANU-PF party. Pottie (2000), of the Electoral Institute for the Sustainability of Democracy in Africa (E.I.S.A) Zimbabwe Election update observed that, the majority of the 400 members of the commission came from the ruling party including 150 members of parliament and only 3 members of parliament were from the opposition. The National Constitutional Assembly (N.C.A.) of Zimbabwe which was outspoken on this issue, felt that the commission had compromised on several issues raised by the public for political expediency (Financial Times February 11 2000:13; "Zimbabweans put no trust in Referendum").

The proposed constitution incorporated some controversial clauses which led to its rejection. The proposals to consolidate Presidential powers and compulsorily acquire white owned land for redistribution to black farmers without compensation failed to win converts from ordinary Zimbabweans. People feared that an executive Presidency could easily be abused and become a means for the establishment of a dictator who is autocratic and out of touch with ordinary Zimbabweans. A section of the white community were against the compulsory acquisition of land since this was against international property rights and could erode the legacy of a thriving agricultural and industrial base in the country. Opponents of the draft constitution, like the NCA, also criticised the legal immunities given to government officials holding high official positions, an issue likely to result in corrupt activities by these officials (The Independent 11 February 2000 'Zimbabwe's constitution vote':16).

At another level, the 'no vote' was an angry protest against the performance of the government showing people's discontent on Zimbabwe's crumbling economy. The

referendum was a test of government's popularity and the 'no vote' was a rebuff of the government and a political triumph of the newly formed MDC opposition party. The fact that the opposition MDC alongside the NCA were heavily campaigning for a rejection of the draft constitution, and ZANU PF on the other hand, campaigning for a 'yes vote' shows how the whole process was politicised by rival political powers. This was very unfortunate because it diverted the people from the real issues of constitution making since the political opponents were driven more by the need to outflank each other politically than to produce a document for a national cause. Ordinary Zimbabweans and stakeholders were territorialized into these meaningless political battles in the carcass of polarity instead of promoting diversity which is so vital in constitution making.

3.2.3 The policy of reconciliation

In spite of the absolute majority win in 1980 by ZANU-PF, the government came into power as a coalition government based on a strongly espoused policy of reconciliation. The policy of reconciliation in Zimbabwe was put in place by the new government as a political strategy towards the higher goal of sustainable peace in the post-war era. Prime Minister R.G.Mugabe's 1980 independence message was a call for all Zimbabweans to be united in rebuilding Zimbabwe regardless of race tribe or region. To him:

If yesterday I fought you as an enemy, today you have become a friend and become new people we are called to be constructive, forward-looking, for we cannot afford to be men of yesterday, backward looking, retrogressive and destructive. Our new nation requires of every one of us to be a new man, with a new mind, a new heart, a new love that spurns hate and a new spirit that must unite and not divide... If we ever look for the past, let us do so for the lesson the past has taught us namely that oppression and racism are inequalities that must never find scope in our political and social systems. The wrongs of the past must now stand forgiven and forgotten. It could never be a correct justification that because the Whites oppressed us yesterday when they had power, the Blacks must oppress them today because they have power... An evil remains an evil whether practiced by whites against black or by black against white. Our majority rule would easily turn into inhuman rule if we oppressed, persecuted or harassed those who do not look or think like the majority of us... (Mugabe R.G. independence message in "The struggle for independence",

Documents of the recent developments in Zimbabwe, Volume 7, April 1980, Institute of African Studies Documentation Centre, Hamburg)

This was a powerful message showing strong commitment of the new government to the policy of reconciliation. As Raftopolous and Sauage (2004: v) puts it, reconciliation was a political strategy which was a beginning involving a decision to take the first steps toward the higher goal of sustainable peace. The determination of the Prime Minister to bury the past and concentrate on building a new nation was once again stressed in June of 1980 when he said:

I cannot see any conflict in the sphere of freedom and non-racial democracy if the victors and losers join hands....for the victor must be magnanimous and accept the humility that goes with victory and the losers must equally ...accept their defeat and the failure of their policies...In these circumstances bygones become bygones and the enemies of the past become allies in a common cause... (Randolph 1985:40-41)

The idea was for people not to expend their energies on retributions and recriminations but to focus their minds on the task of reconstructing and rehabilitating all that had been destroyed by the war and develop all untapped resources of Zimbabwe. The determination of the Prime Minister to bury the past and admit no recriminations was further stressed to the Justice and Peace Commission when on 11 June 1981, a delegation visited senator Mubako with regard to reopening Edison's case. The delegation was told that it was the Prime Minister's wish that there be no 'reopening of judicial enquiries' (Randolph, 1985:141). Chimhundu in *Chakwasha* (1991:154) summarises the policy of reconciliation:

Mugabe ndipo paaitoti zvake, 'iwe mhandu yangu zvokurwa zviya tapedza chasara kuregererana. Kukurova ndakakurova zvangu asi zvapera hazvo, o mvura iyi chigeza maoko tidye sadza. Inga tiri mhuri imwe chete wani.' Mharidzo huru apa yaiva yekuregererana, kuvaka nyika patsva nokubatana.

(Mugabe was saying, 'my enemy, fighting each other is over so let's forgive each other. Although I defeated you let us eat in the same plate since we are one family'. The major message was that of forgiveness, national reconstruction and unity.)

The prime Minister's reconciliation speech was intended to usher a spirit of working together and political tolerance. The language of reconciliation was supposed to set out the tone of state consolidation. In Choto's *Vavairo* (1991) the policy of reconciliation is taken as a platform for a new form of orientation different from that of the war era. According to Choto (1990:147) in *Vavairo*:

VaChimoto nasahwira wavo Kanyuchi vakazoudzwa kuti hurumende yava kuti vanhu vakanganwe nezvehondo yokurwisana yainge yapfuura. Vanhu vaifanira kutangisa hondo yokuti vanhu vabatane uyezve vashande nesimba kuti Zimbabwe ibudirire, yaiva nguva yeReconciliation period.

(Chimoto and Kanyuchi were told that the government wanted people to forget the war of liberation which had passed and concentrate on unity, hard work and reconstructing Zimbabwe. It was the time for reconciliation.)

Sachikonye in Raftopolous and Sauage (2004:39) contends that, restitution is backward-looking attempting to provide recompense for the past, but there is need to be forward-looking and ensure that the legacy of the past injustice is not perpetrated in the present and future. Sachikonye's argument is premised on the understanding that Zimbabweans should not concentrate more on finding out how much harm was done in the past, but on preventing it to continue in the present and future. According to Chung, (2006:253) even Julius Nyerere and Samora Machel strongly supported the policy of reconciliation rather than revenge because Mozambique and Angola had been destroyed by the departing colonialists and settlers under a scorched earth policy so, they feared that the same thing could happen to Zimbabwe. That is why they felt that there was need for political and conceptual compromises for peace to be there.

The post-independence Shona novels criticise the way reconciliation was done in Zimbabwe since it excluded truth and participation. Chimhundu (1991:154), in *Chakwasha* shows reconciliation as a policy sidelining a significant part of Zimbabwean history. He says:

Zvemakore gumi nemashanu okupanduka kwaSmith neU.D.I. yake zvakabva zvakandirwa kumashure munhoroondo yenyika.

(The fifteen years of Smith's oppression and U.D.I. were throne into

the dustbins of history).

This shows that a historic opportunity to officially document crimes and killings, torture and displacements of the war for justice and compensation was missed. That is why Randolph, (1985:141) says, reconciliation in Zimbabwe was truly a miracle. In spite of the sufferings of the war and the gross injustices of colonialism, there were no Nuremberg trials, little evidence of racial hatred and no radical attempts to dispossess whites after independence. The ZANUPF ruling party formed a national government which included members of the other major party PF ZAPU and also of the former Rhodesian cabinet. Most remarkably, Chris Andersen who had been minister of law and order under Ian Smith whose ministry sentenced several freedom fighters to death as 'terrorists' was given a cabinet post and also David Smith. The other disturbing incorporation was that Mr Ian Smith, the leader of the illegal Rhodesian government remained in Parliament as the leader of the opposition in the new government.

The post-independence Shona novelists show that many tensions and struggles going on beneath the calm surface were played down by the lovers of reconciliation. The masses who suffered several war atrocities expected some form of justice and compensation before any form of reconciliation could be put in place. Kanyuchi in Choto's *Vavairo* (1990:145) says,

"Naiyo nhamo yataioneswa nemabhunu munofunga tikahwinha pasarudzo iri kuuya iyi munoti bhunu rinomugara here muno?"

(If we win the coming elections white people should be chased away because of the suffering they caused us.)

In Choto's *Vavairo* (1990:145), VaChimoto who also participated in the Zimbabwean liberation war concurs, "*Vachena vanoda kumborwadziswa kuti vazive kuti zvaaiita zvakaipa.*" (White people should be made to suffer so that they know that what they were doing is bad.) What Kanyuchi and VaChimoto allude to is that, the masses were so ravaged by the war to the extent of failing to forgive and forget the white people's atrocities. Several cases of revenge by black people against white people were witnessed soon after independence. In August 1980, E.Tekere, then secretary general of the ruling ZANU-PF party and minister of

Manpower Development and Planning, together with seven body guards, was charged with the murder of a white farmer near Harare. According to Randolph (ibid:49), in October 1980, 800 ex-guerillas were disarmed after a white farmer had been killed and joint patrols of army and police operated at night in some suburban areas of Harare. Mr Mugabe as minister of Defense ordered to root out these dissident elements. Mr J.Nkomo addressed 1200 armed ZIPRA ex-guerillas near Harare telling them that their arms were not for intimidating people but to defend them (Randolph, ibid:49). In 1983 in Matabeleland about 39 members of the commercial farming sector and a number of miners were murdered (Randolph, ibid: 155). This shows that the policy of reconciliation was just a theoretical pronouncement with little practical application on the ground. Kanyuchi in Choto's *Vavariro* (1990:145) says,

“Handifungi kuti vanomboramba varipo. Vaye ndivo vanotandani swa masikati machena chaiwo.A.a Kuchengeta nyoka? Izvo macomrade haamboita...”

(I do not think the Rhodesian soldiers would be incorporated in the new army. They would be chased away by comrades.)

Choto is showing that the general sentiment of ordinary Zimbabweans soon after independence was that of retributive justice. There were against the idea of an integrated army and later on an integrated government. This crisis of expectation is consistent with independence euphoria which produces alarm, joy and sporadic outbursts of impatience with several people thinking that the fruits of the liberation war could be rewarded immediately.

The other problem of the reconciliation policy in Zimbabwe was the lack of new ethos of trust and mutual respect from whites and blacks. The real challenge of the new government was in uniting the compartmentalized races as one Zimbabwean society. Kanyuchi in Choto's *Vavariro* (1990:145) shows his distrust of Rhodesian soldiers in the integrated army when he says, *“Woti munhu anga achikurwisa nhasi uno womutirasita nyoka inyoka sahwira.”* (No one could trust to live with an enemy. Soldiers are like a snake and would never change). The bulk of the white community shunned and remained indifferent to the reconciliatory overtures extended to them by the government persisting separatism in farming, industry

and commerce (Sachikonye in Raftopolous and Sauage, 2004:240). When there was an explosion at ZANU-PF headquarters in Harare in 1981, the Prime Minister, R.G.Mugabe castigated white Rhodesians as the cause:

But the very people we forgive are the ones who are taking advantage of trying to destabilize the situation and even to overthrow the government. It appears that the more we forgive them, the more they refuse to be forgiven (Herald 24 December 1981).

This position is also supported by former South African president Mbeki who argues that those who fought for a democratic Zimbabwe with thousands paying the supreme price during the struggle and forgave their oppressors in a spirit of national reconciliation have been turned into repugnant enemies of democracy. Those who in the interests of their kith and kin did what they could to deny the people of Zimbabwe their liberty, for as long as they could have become the eminent defenders of the democratic rights of the people of Zimbabwe (Mail and Guardian May 21 2003). Mbeki was commenting on the human rights issue in Zimbabwe castigating the west's position that whites were not given political space in post-independent Zimbabwe. On the contrary, Raftopolous, (2004: viii) believes that the government's revival of nationalist assault since 2000 was the repudiation of the national policy of reconciliation. The government has constructed a series of exclusions to racial minorities in the country making it difficult for them to negotiate their place in the post-independence dispensation. (Raftopolous, 2004: xv). This shows the immediate failure of reconciliation in both the white and black belligerents.

The policy of reconciliation was not translated into a coherent project after its inauguration. The failure of reconciliation in Zimbabwe can be explained by the absence of truth and participation. The official policy of reconciliation seems a brilliant idea, but it is unrealistic to ask victims and survivors of gross violations of human rights to reconcile in the absence of justice. There is need for restorative justice since transition requires a baseline of rights and wrongs to humanize the perpetrators and victims alike through disclosure of hidden truths and forgiveness of acknowledged wrongs (Kagoro in Raftopolous and Sauage, 2004:252). It is insufficient for human rights violators to express regret and shame for the wrongs

done to others without taking remedial action. In 1980, the government indemnified combatants from both sides of the war for violations committed in the bona fide execution of their duties. There is need to reintegrate shredded communities in such a way that perpetrators and victims can live together through reparations (Eppel in Raftopolous and Sauage 2004:53). Themba Nyathi, in Raftopolous and Sauage (2004:67), argues that while those who returned from the war were heroes, they were also killers in need of forgiveness for crimes perpetrated in the course of the revolution.

There was need for something like a Truth and reconciliation Commission to investigate war crimes. A Truth commission discovers and reveals past wrongdoings in the hope of resolving the conflicts left over from the past. Although the Truth commission cannot immediately and magically ensure prosecutions as it has no power to do so, it helps to prevent future acts or events of the same nature. The idea behind confessions of past mistakes is that, the truth may set both victims and perpetrators free because by acknowledging one's immoral actions, one's soul may be healed. Apologising or showing remorse for one's wrong actions is crucial in fostering forgiveness and unity in the country. However, the promotion of restorative justice instead of retributive justice may be hampered by some unrepentant offenders of gross human rights abuses who may refuse to acknowledge their wrongs. This has led to a repudiation of the policy of reconciliation by most observers as a myth and as a one-sided affair. Reconciliation was also supposed to embrace economic justice by ensuring greater participation of the indigenous people in the economy. Because of historical constraints, the policy of reconciliation remained merely a formal political hope especially given the continuing legacy of structural inequality in the sphere of the economy (Raftopolous and Sauage 2004: xvii). Meaningful reconciliation could have been attained by addressing Zimbabwe's inherited injustices through black empowerment creating an environment that compensates for the previous exclusion of blacks from capital accumulation. Zimbabweans must have a sense that there is economic justice in which they have a share in the wealth of their country.

3.2.4 Conflict of ideologies

3.2.4.1 *The demise of socialism in post-independence Zimbabwe*

The ruling ZANU-PF government abandoned nominal socialism in practice soon after assuming political control but its rhetoric still lingered on. In its 1980 Election Manifesto, the ruling party referred to the 'humanitarian' philosophy of ZANU-PF and its ideological belief in socialism. It states that:

We believe that the achievement of political power by the people will remain hollow in terms of their material development unless it translates itself into quantitative and qualitative benefits deriving from their economy. In all its national programmes, a ZANU-PF government will lay maximum emphasis on the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the economy in all its sectors following the ravages of the war... State action will thus be necessary to rebuild and revamp the economy so that a sound and normal base for development is laid (ZANU-PF Election Manifesto, Harare, 1980:8 quoted in Randolph R.H.1985:71).

The socialism rhetoric is also seen in Manyimbiri (1991:67)'s *Mudzimu wakupa chironda*:

Chinangwa chedu ndechegutsaruzhinji. Tichada kuti upfumi hwenyika huparadzirwe zvakakodzera kumunhu wese. Hapana achazove nezvakawandisa mumwe asina. Hapana achashaya pokurima pane ndimo.

(Our aim is socialism whereby the country's wealth is share equally to all people. No one will have more wealth than others. All of us will be given fertile land to farm.) ,”

The socialist programme was just desired at the inception of independence but it was not translated into action. Chimhundu in *Chakwasha* (1991:175)) through Moses says:

ZveGwara (regutsaruzhinji) zvinotaurwa kuRufaro zvichiperera ikoko kana vapedzawo zvekuRufaro mashefu acho anouya kwatiri isu vana Chakwasha tichivahoresa kuZIMACCO uko. Mangwana apedza kuronga rake ava kuti povho itai mushandirapamwe...

(The issue of socialism is preached at Rufaro stadium and ends

there as speeches without practice. The 'shefus' after speechifying come to private companies like ZIMACCO and get money for deals but on the other hand telling the masses to concentrate on cooperatives.)

The vision which was embraced at independence was disrupted by the government's art of 'talk-left and act-right'. The left rhetoric from the government was expressed most vociferously in the face of challenges like the upsurge of, workers' protests, war veterans' rebellions and students' unrests (Bond and Manyanya, 2002: xiii). Acting right has been observed with the government's league with international finance capital and the emergence of a powerful bourgeois group whose interests stand opposed to the development and growth of a socialist and egalitarian society in Zimbabwe. The tendency of the government to be in league with capitalist interests is depicted by Chimhundu (1991:182) in *Chakwasha* when he says, "...munyika mamera imwe timu yenhavvu inotirenwa nevarungu asi iri yevatema..." (In this country there has emerged a football team being trained by whites but it is a black team). Chimhundu is demonstrating the neocolonial tendencies of the political leadership of Zimbabwe who were straying from the masses joining hands with people who oppressed them yesterday. Lazarus Nzarayebani, a left-wing ZANU-PF MP in 1989 said:

The socialist agenda has been adjourned indefinitely... When the freedom fighters were fighting in the bush, they were fighting not to disturb the system but to dismantle it. And what are we seeing now? Leaders are busy implementing those things which we were fighting against. (Sunday Mail 10 December 1989)

From the above quotation, it can be seen that the dwindling revolutionary ethos after independence can be attributed to the arrogance of the leadership of ignoring the political ideals for political expediency. As Chung (ibid: 19) puts it:

Alexander Kanengoni's literary works of 'Echoing Silences from 1997' cry out against the betrayed promises of economic justice and land reform for which people had suffered during the war.

For the poor and deprived the new governing elite has resembled the settler regime since they failed to improve their standard of living. Although the government introduced the leadership code banning government ministers and

ZANU-PF leaders from owning farms and businesses 'most politicians became even more avaricious and more capitalists' than the capitalists we have condemned', as Mugabe himself puts it (Herald 27 December 1981). This shows that those who were voted into leadership positions by the masses forgot about the welfare of those who voted them into power. Mabasa in *Mapenzi* (1999:134) shows this when Ticha Hamundigoni says:

*(Vanopenga) ...ndevaye vasingadi kutsiurwa kuti vave kuseva
kakawandisa vachipedzera vamwe muto vamwe vachida
kuseva...vanoti ivo vakwidzwa mumuti kuti vatemhere vari pasi
shuma ivo vodyira mumuti vachingodonzedzera
matsengwatsengwa.*

(Those who are mad are seen by refusing to be advised against eating the national cake alone...those who after being helped to get up a tree then eat the fruits alone forgetting those at the bottom)

Mabasa is showing that the post-independence Zimbabwe situation is characterized by an uneven distribution of the national wealth caused by the greediness of the rich few. This position is supported by Mahanya in *Matsvamoyo* (1992:24) who says:

*...vakapfuma kare vanenge vachingoenderera mberi
nekupfuma. Vaya vagara dziri hoto voramba vachingodya nhoko
dzezvionda. Povho inobirwa nenzira dzakasiyana-siyana zvekuti
munhu ukasavicherechedza haungambozvioni.*

(The rich will continue being richer whilst the poor will remain poorer. The masses are shortchanged in various ways which are very difficult to see.)

This is a typical capitalist situation which is the direct opposite of socialism which the Zimbabwean nationalist leaders were propagating. These new leaders had become millionaires and billionaires overnight because of their political connections like the wealthy whites before them.

From the very onset, the Prime Minister himself, R.G. Mugabe admitted speaking on BBC TV before independence, that he was determined not to disrupt the economic system he had inherited from Rhodesia but rather maintain the system-capitalist though it was, as much as possible. Even though he was a socialist, to

start by destroying the present system was 'calamitous' (Herald 16 April 1980). The pronouncement was seen when the Prime Minister incorporated Rhodesian architects of colonial domination in his government. Besides the two cabinet posts he offered to whites, the Central Intelligence Organization was still being headed by its old director Ken Flower after independence. Lionel Dyke one of the leaders of the Rhodesian army responsible for several war atrocities was also retained. This meant that colonial terms of reference and procedures were to remain almost the same as they had been before independence. Tumirai a freedom fighter in Choto's *Vavariro* (1990:157) admits the neocolonial situation in Zimbabwe when he says:

Iye zvino upfumi huchiri mumaoko evarungu. Hatisati tava neupfumi. Munhu bvuma kugamuchira zvauri nezvinodiwa nenguva yauri.

(Our wealth is still in the hands of white people and we do not have any wealth. People should just accept it as it is since they cannot change it.)

Choto is showing a defeatist stance towards the neocolonial situation in Zimbabwe not realizing that accepting it was tantamount to betraying the revolutionary spirit that spurred the Second Chimurenga. The surrender value of Zimbabwean independence is also depicted by Peter in Nyawaranda's *Barika remashefu* (1991:3) when he says:

Nyange zvazvo nyika yakanga yauya kwatiri asi manyemwe ayo aingoperera pagedhe pefemu. Ndakange ndatogara ndazviona zvangu kuti upfumi hwenyika ndihwo hwakanga hwasara kuti husunungurwe kubva kuvachena vakanga vagara vanahwo.

(Although we got independence, the wealth of the country was still in white hands and there was need to fight for economic independence.)

Companies like T.A. Holdings, Lonrho, Anglo-America and others controlled Zimbabwe's economy soon after independence. The nationalists leaders failed to realize that there is no way Zimbabwe's political and economic hardships could be resolved by any foreign companies or their local surrogates, but by the indigenous people. In Lagos in 1980, the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, Mugabe said that the

economy was still being controlled and manipulated by those who had been dislodged from political power. He said:

‘...they retain the reins of our economy and continue to manipulate it. They seek to invest in our economy in a manner intended to bring about economic control now that they have lost political control... (Herald 17 December 1980)

Although the Prime Minister was aware of such a situation he seemed incapacitated to correct it because of the policy of reconciliation .To him:

...we cannot ignore the reality of private enterprise...by seizing private property and making it state owned...we cannot do that without ruining the socio-economic base on which we want to find our society. (Herald 18 August 1980 Interview with Alfar Gauhar)

Such type of renditions by Zimbabwe’s head of state effectively put on hold the radical restructuring of the legacy of economic inequality that was the major priority of the government thereby consolidating capitalism at the expense of socialism. In the 1990s, the Zimbabwean government agreed to implement the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB) sponsored Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP). The Washington based institutions designed policies to African communities they were not accountable to, which was an indicator that there were experimenting with African countries. The Zimbabwean model of economic development was based on the vague co-existence of socialism and private enterprise. All ESAP’s targets for growth and development were missed by huge margins leading the country to its economic downturn. According to Bond and Manyanya (2002:18) economic advice from Washington left the Zimbabwe’s currency in tatters, unemployment and inflation at record highs and per capita GDP at levels lower than they had been three decades earlier. GDP growth averaged 1, 2% from 1991-1995 and inflation averaged more than 30% during the period and never dropped anywhere near 10%. The budget deficit was more than 10% of GDP during the ESAP era (Zimbabwe Economic Review September 1995). This negated all what the nationalists had claimed to struggle for because ESAP reimposed colonial type inequalities, so it was a new form of imperialism (Mlambo, 1997: xii). Mutasa in *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo* (2005:21) through Sekai says, “...kudzimaidzwa pane

zvimwe zvirongwa seESAP kwakatidzosea kumashure." (... our leaders were misled into some policies like ESAP which slowed our economic development). This shows that international finance does not generate development but underdevelopment. In most cases, this foreign aid to developing countries is meant to compromise their principles to chart out an independent political programme and policy. According to Mlambo (1997: xii):

The real agenda for IMF and WB was not to promote poverty alleviation as they claim but to impose on the developing countries a particular world economic order which works for the benefit of the industrialized countries whose interests the two bodies serve.

This explains why the WB and IMF insisted on the implementation of ESAP in Zimbabwe even though they already knew from past experiences elsewhere in the developing world its harmful effects. ESAP has shown that it cannot restore economic growth or alleviate poverty wherever it was implemented in the developing world.

3.2.4.2 *War veterans and unfulfilled promises*

The Shona novelists try to portray the post-independence reality that excombatants feel abandoned and forgotten by the very people they had fought to empower. This is clearly expressed by Manyimbiri' (1991:67)'s Mabhuruku in *Mudzimu wakupa Chironda* who says:

Heya ndiri mbira yavo? Ndakabata mhembwe ivo vari kudya nyama yose ini vondikandira magodo asina muto kana mwongo. Ndava kudya zvokupara sehuku.

(I am just a rockrabit who caught meat for them to eat whilst I am given useless bones. I am now suffering a lot.)

Manyimbiri is showing that, although they were 'winners' in the struggle, they did not have anything to show for it in terms of material benefits (Nyathi, *ibid*: 69). They had volunteered to fight for the collective interest and in the process foregoing personal interest and individual success. Whilst the demobilization exercise was voluntary, most of the illiterate and semiliterate guerillas decided to leave the army and return to civilian life. Nyathi in Raftopoulos and Sauage (ed)

(ibid:65) believes that the problem of war veterans started when the government made no attempts to prepare communities for the reappearance of war veterans so as to accept them back. They lived lives parallel to their communities because they were not integrated. The idea was to encourage the guerillas to 'swop the guns for picks and shovels'. According to Krigger (2003:90), about Z\$202 million was distributed to 3600 demobilized war veterans from 1981-1986 and yet it was not audited.

Most of the demobilized war veterans were deployed into cooperatives that symbolized economic transformation towards socialism. By 1997, most of the cooperatives had collapsed and a Parliamentary committee found out that fewer than 30 cooperatives were operating out of well over 310, in 1992 (Krigger,ibid:154). Manyimbiri, in *Mudzimu wakupa Chironda* (1991:66) shows why cooperatives failed to live up to the people's expectations:

Mabhuruku akamboedza zvemushandirapamwe nevamwe vakaita saiye. Asi waiva mushandirapamwe wevanhu vasina ruzivo nezvemushandirapamwe vakabirwa nevanhu, vakabirana pachavo, basa risakaitwa ndiye mbombombo.Hapana akakwanisa kuvabatsira vakadya nhoko dzezvironda.

(Mabhuruku tried to join cooperatives with others like him but they did not have any knowledge about cooperatives and nothing materialized. Their gains were stolen by people and others among themselves. No one helped them and they suffered.)

This is an indication that cooperatives represented a model of poverty, unemployment, and marginalization rather than the envisaged empowerment. Most of the war veterans did not have formal education and were ill-equipped to organize cooperatives in a professional way. Cooperatives were isolating them socially and economically from communities there were supposed to be integrated with (Nyathi in Raftopoulos and Suage, ibid: 65). After a few years, the demobilization money was no more and several war veterans found themselves stranded without education, employment and land. The money failed to open employment doors, create jobs or give the recipients enough collateral for further loans (Nyathi, ibid: 67). The freedom fighters started realizing that, they were not supposed to have been bought off with individual grants without proper training and job-creation programmes. The training was poorly planned, partial and

concentrated on Marxist ideological training. This shows that the training was irrelevant to the needs of the freedom fighters (Nyathi, *ibid*: 67). Manyimbiri in *Mudzimu wakupa Chironda* (1991:66) shows the plight of war veterans soon after independence:

Mabhuruku akanga asina kudzidza asina kosi. Chaaigona chete kuda kubata gidi. Kuita messenger chaiye vaida munhu ane 5 'O' levels.

(Mabhuruku was not educated without a course and was only interested with being a Soldier. Being a messenger they wanted someone with five 'O' levels.)

Manyimbiri is protesting against the double standards of the new leaders who were failing to consider the fact that the freedom fighters could not have the educational qualifications needed to get jobs because they deserted their studies to fight in the liberation war.

Most of the Zimbabweans participated in the liberation war, making unrecognized sacrifices, but the freedom fighters seemed keen in reminding the nation of the unending debt all Zimbabweans have in perpetuity to those who fought the liberation war (Nyathi, *ibid*:67). Those who liberated the country seem to require eternal and unqualified loyalty by current and forthcoming generations. This is what Nyathi calls liberation war psychosis whereby freedom fighters think they deserve to hold an eternally special space in the country's political space (Nyathi, *ibid*:72). They forget that the war was fought by everyone on many fronts. Mutasa in *Sekai Minda Tava Nayo* (2005:35) shows that it's not only freedom fighters who participated in the war, "*Nhai baba imi nditaurirei chaizvo kuti asina kurwa hondo muno ndiani? Ko iwo makomuredhi acho aimbodyei?*" May you please tell me, you old man, that who did not fight the liberation war? What were the freedom fighters eating?). This demonstrates that it might have been unnecessary for the government to reward war veterans only for fighting for freedom since many people fought the war in different ways.

Contrary to war veterans' lives of destitution, those in government positions of leaders were rich. By 1990, many war veterans were angry and vengeful to the profiteering leaders who were ignoring their less fortunate colleagues from the

struggle (Nyathi, *ibid*: 69). It was the 1997 revolt of the war veterans that first shook the government out of its complacency. They forced the government to disburse billions of dollars in compensation. The government succumbed to pressure from freedom fighters and gave them about \$50 000, free education and health care for their families and \$200 monthly pensions for life subject to reviews. The payout impacted negatively on the Zimbabwean economy because they were not budgeted for. This accommodation of war veterans' demands for compensation led to an economic and political crisis.

3.2.4.3 *Political intolerance in post-independent Zimbabwe.*

Mabasa, in *Mapenzi* and Mahanya, in *Matsvamoyo*, protest against the operations of one of the colonial institutions inherited after independence, the Central Intelligence Organization (C.I.O), the secret service that had been responsible for trailing enemies during the war. According to Mahanya, after independence, this security arm of government has been used to silence all points of view that deviate from the official versions of events. Mahanya, in *Matsvamoyo* (1992:26) shows how this secret service made people uncomfortable in their own country when he says:

... (Garikai) ainge adzidza chidzidzo chekuti nyaya dzezvematongerwe enyika hadzaingotaurwa nemunhu wawakanga usingazivi...Vazhinji kwazvo vaipinda mumatambudziko nezvinhu zvakadai...vaibva vanyangarika zvachose...vaitosungwa nemhosva dzekunzi vanga vachironga kumukira hurumende.

(Garikai realized the fact that it was not safe to discuss political issues with strangers because most people ended up in trouble because of such issues. Some just disappeared and others were arrested for planning to rise against the government.)

Mahanya is not against having an intelligence organization in Zimbabwe, but against the way the CIO is used to stifle all dissenting voices even if they are not a threat to the country's security. This fear has spread to smaller institutions like schools where the system has conditioned people to take any critical stance as taboo. Ticha Hamundigoni in Mabasa's *Mapenzi* (1999) was dismissed from his teaching profession for teaching his students to be critically minded. In Mabasa (1999:7-8)'s *Mapenzi*, Hamundigoni complains of this intolerance prevalent in the

whole neocolonial system when he says:

Hoo ya-a, ndaiva ticha ini. Ticha chaivo anonyora nechoko achifundisa vana venyu, asi vakandidzinga basa ... Vanhu havadi munhu anofunga zvakadzama achiona zvakadzika-dzika nekutaura asingakakame. Ndini wacho inini... Ndaivadzidzisa kuongorora nhetembo nemabhuku... Kuona shuga iri pagaro rekapu izere netii... Zvinoda pfungwa dzakasununguka izvozvo, pfungwa dzisingatyi, pfungwa dzinofema, dzinoyerera semvura yemapopoma eku Victoria falls

(I was a teacher before I was dismissed for teaching pupils to be critical... These people do not tolerate fearless people like me who are critical... I taught pupils to criticise poetry and literature texts. I taught them to see sugar at the base of a cup full of tea... This requires an environment which promotes free, fearless, and lively ideas which flow smoothly like the Victoria Falls).

Mabasa is criticising the use of fear to intimidate the crop of aggressive and combative intellectuals who are critical of the government's abuse of political power. Ticha Hamundigone, a former freedom fighter and the author's voice of reason, believes that freedom of expression is crucial in nation building since fearless people carry the hope of the masses by showing that change is possible against all odds. Hamundigone in Mabasa (1999:12)'s *Mapenzi*, says:

Ndine kodzero yekuve pandinoda nekutaurawo pfungwa dzangu ndakasununguka. Haisisri nguva yana Smith ino ndiko saka takarwa hondo.

(I have the right to be where I want to be and the freedom to say out my ideas. This is a free country different from the Smith era and that is why we went to war.)

Mabasa, through Hamundigone, is protesting against the betrayal of people's sacrifices by the political elite in the way they were denying them freedom of choice and expression. Even Chapter 20(1) of the Lancaster House constitution makes reference to freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart ideas and information without interference (Nyathi in Raftopolous and Sauage: 2004:125). To Mabasa, a country needs constructive criticism and sharing of ideas and not the selfish and parochial stance taken by the Zimbabwe ruling elite. Hamundigone in Mabasa (1999:135)'s *Mapenzi*, says, "Chii chinotipa kuti tisatererana? Chinotipa kuti tifunge kuti pfungwa nemaonero evamwe haana basa, asi ako chete?" (What

makes us not listen to each other's views? What causes us to think that only our ideas are of value and those of other people are not important?). Mabasa is questioning the democratic principles of the elite that selfishly mismanages national affairs without consulting the masses who fought hard for positive change. The ruling elite regard themselves as having the monopoly of knowledge taking the generality of the people as empty vessels.

According to Mabasa, the level of political intolerance becomes extreme when the political elite use violence against those with different opinions from theirs. Mabasa satirises these intolerant leaders who use violence to force people to accept their point of view as selfish and undemocratic. Ticha Hamundigone in Mabasa (1999:135-136)'s *Mapenzi*, says:

Vanhu vari muno muHarare ngavarege kudaro. Kuita kunge masapota eDynamos anoti... Dhimbare ndiyo chete. Zvanzi asingadi Dhimbare tinorova kusvika anyarara. Tinobhura kusvika ave weDhimbare... Masapota eDhimbare aanzwisise, ane hudzvanyiriri... Manje kana zvichinzi national team ngaive nevatambi veDhimbare chete, saka mati zvingafambewo here? Handiti vanodawo tichitorawo dzimwe nyanzvi, mamwe matarendawoka kubva kune dzimwe timu, ndiko kuti timu yedu ive timu kwayo.

(People in Harare should not act like Dynamos supporters who think that Dynamos is the only team...They force people to support Dynamos by beating them so that they become Dynamos supporters...Dynamos supporters are oppressive and do not understand...Can it work for our national team to have only Dynamos players? There is need to have talented star players from other teams so as to build a strong national team.)

Mabasa satirically shows that the new rulers rule by force, torture and terror in order to suppress all different political opinions. Democratic organizations are outlawed in favour of one party state which is more or less one man despotic rule. Political intolerance has unfortunately become a culture in Zimbabwe because of the lack of an all-inclusive shared national vision. Democracy is not about governing alone but should accommodate responses from the opposition. There is need to embrace political plurality accommodating political differences and avoid excluding other segments from fair political competition. Citizens should feel free to constructively criticise their government without fearing that they will be accused

of being unpatriotic. The essence of democracy is recognition and engagement of all sectors since every citizen has a right to a shared common destiny.

According to Mabasa, the political intolerance of the ruling elite has led them to believe that they deserve to hold an eternally special space in the country's political space. In a satirical reference to most African leaders's long grip on power Hamundigone in Mabasa (1999:154)'s *Mapenzi*, comments:

Ndinoda kutonga kusvikira pasisina wekutonga. Ndinoda kusara ndave ini ndega nemudonzvo wangu, zvekuti dai zvaigoneka, ndaida kutenga Mwari kuti ndirarame zvachose. Ko yanga yakapei tiri paAfrika zvedu kudai?

(I want to rule for a long time until there is no one to rule, until I am left alone with my walking stick. If it was possible, I would buy God's favours so that I live forever. What is wrong with that in our Africa?)

Mabasa shows a lot of broadmindedness by putting the problem of undemocratic governance within the context of the generality of the African. In an advance notice of a coup d'état in the event ZANU-PF loses the 2002 elections, General Commander Zvinavashe announced on Z.B.C television, in a joint operation command press conference with Chihuri, the commissioner of police, Zimhondi, the head of Prisons, C. Chiwenga, Head of the army, P. Shiri, Head of the Airforce, and E. Muzonzini, Head of the C.I.O, that:

We wish to make it clear to all Zimbabwean citizens that the security organizations will only stand in support of those political leaders that will pursue Zimbabwean values, traditions, and beliefs for which thousands of lives were lost in pursuit of Zimbabwe's hard-won independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and national interests. To this end, let it be known that the highest office in the land is a straightjacket whose occupant is expected to observe the objectives of the liberation struggle. We will therefore, not accept, let alone support or salute anyone with a different agenda that threatens the very existence of our sovereignty, our country and our people. (Daily News 10 January 2002)

This shows the level of political intolerance in the uniformed forces of Zimbabwe who categorically indicated that they would not accept any election outcome which does not reflect Zimbabwe's revolutionary history. In essence, this means that the uniformed forces regarded the voting process as a futile exercise if it does not put

value to Zimbabwe's sovereignty.

Mabasa shows a lot of innovation and commitment to his work as a writer in the way he looks at possible avenues on which the problems he exposed in *Mapenzi* can be solved. Kundai, a university student, believes that the grip on power by the current leadership is so strong and the only hope is to wait for them to leave the platform. Kundai in Mabasa (1999:106)'s *Mapenzi*, says:

Pamwe zvinhu zvichachinja kana madhara ese akarwa hondo abva, tava kupa munhu position because he or she is competent kwete some of the political appointments because people were at the front together.

(Maybe things will change when all the ageing politicians who fought in the war leave the political office. After their leaving, a person will get a job because he or she is competent not some of the political appointments which are made because people were at the front together).

Far from surrendering in the face of numerous socio-political problems, Kundai is just acknowledging the prevalence of political intolerance by the current generation of leaders. To try and engage the political elite now would be embarking in a losing battle but there is need to give them a long rope to hang themselves. Mabasa (1999:136) shows this futuristic optimism through his main character, Hamindigone when he says:

Asi usambotya zvako Bunny nekuti mukupera kwezuva zvese Zvinozongodzokera. Zvese zvinodzokera kwazvo kwazvakabva sevhu kuivhu, dota richiendawo kudota... Saka zvipei nguva vakomana.

(Do not be afraid Bunny because at the end of the day everything will come to an end. Everything will be as at the beginning, soil to soil ashes to ashes... Just give these things time.)

Mabasa's ability to see hope in the future is one strategy of overcoming pessimism in the face of problems embracing optimistic values of freedom and human redemption in the future. Mabasa's main character, Hamundigoni, has a never-die-spirit, showing that he has the courage to engage the oppressors without fear of reprisals. Although Mabasa uses satire most of the time to criticise the ruling

elite, Hamundigone in Mabasa (1999:9)'s *Mapenzi*, uses combative words to show his courage, "*Handisi shumba iri papeji mubhuku yaunorega vana vachibata muromo.*" (Do not take me for a lion on a book page that you allow children to play with). Mabasa, through Hamundigoni depicts the oppressed people's ability to rise and fight against the oppressive forces that prevent complete freedom in independent Zimbabwe. Hamundigoni's frequent reference to Simon Chimbetu's song 'Hope iyi' (This dream) emphasising the lyrics; *kutuka kwavanotiita uku kuchapera* (the way they scorn us will one day come to an end.) shows a lot of hope in the future and also self-liberating motives. The hope is grounded in the oppressed people's ability to bring about their own change by fearlessly engaging problems they encounter in life.

3.3 CHALLENGES OF THE LAND ISSUE IN POST-INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE

The ideology of property as a human right had a hollow ring in the context of Zimbabweans with fresh memories of dispossession of their land. But, even after the expiry of the restrictive clauses of the Lancaster House constitution in the 1990s, there was less urgency attached to dealing with the land question leading to rumblings of discontent from the people over delayed resettlement. People started occupying white farmlands soon after independence as a reaction to the delayed land resettlement and also to show their disappointment with the slow pace of land redistribution. Choto in *Vavairo* (1990:147) shows how VaChimoto and several others invaded adjacent farms soon after independence:

*VaChimoto naKanyuchi vakandogara kupurazi raDereki
ndokugovana dzimba dzokugara nenzvimbo dzekurima pachavo
hurumende isingazivi.*

(Choto and Kanyuchi invaded Dereck's farm and shared the land among themselves without the government's knowledge.)

According to Sachikonye in Raftopolous and Sauage (ibid: 8) by 1997, only 71000 households had been resettled on 3,6million hectares of land which was a far cry from the target of 162000 households. This was the immediate context of the land reform programme although it is a matter of conjecture whether the government

embarked on it in a genuine attempt to solve the land issue once for all or it manipulated the situation to improve its chances of political survival. The 2003 Utete report on the findings of the land review committee concluded that the fast track land redistribution programme was as a result of pressure from land hungry Zimbabweans.

The land reform programme is justified as a correction of historic injustices on the uneven distribution of land caused by the colonial legacy. Although land reform was a way of democratizing skewed the state of property ownership, white farmers saw the process as denying them a right to property ownership which is a constitutional right. However, another contending perspective argues that by February 2000 the majority of commercial farming land was owned by farmers who had paid for it or who had inherited it from ancestors who had done so. (Hunter and Farren 2001 quoted by Raftopolous and Sauage *ibid*: 11). The argument that land might have changed hands lawfully many times shows that the owners in 2000 did not take land by force or steal it from anyone. This argument by Hunter is one sided because it ignores the fact that it was a travesty of justice to benefit from a colonial injustice. In Zimbabwe the issue of property rights is hollow considering the fact that land is not owned by individuals but it is for the community and individuals are just tenants. In this case, the issue of buying it does not resonate with the Zimbabweans' understanding of land ownership since land is not bought but inherited. There is need to address other rights-based issues so as to address the land issue adequately.

Post-independence Shona novelists protest against the mode in which land redistribution was implemented and its aftermaths. The Commercial Farmers Union in a report of the status of commercial farming in Zimbabwe (in Raftopolous and Sauage *ibid*: 11) argues that, the land acquisition process was implemented in a lawless and disorderly manner with illegal occupations interrupting productive operations. The major problem observed was the deficit in farming skills and experience. This threatened food security in Zimbabwe and it was worsened by the corruption endemic in the allocation of farms which was unsystematic and not transparent. Mutasa's *Sekai Minda Tave Nayo* (2005:54) shows the corrupt behavior of allocators of land with some selling the land to people. Upenyu writing

to Zakaria quotes one of the allocators of land, Njanji, demanding money from a prospective new farmer Chandavengerwa when he says, “*Minda iri pano asi yoda mari.*” (Farms are here but they need money). This corruption of selling land which was supposed to be given for free was so rampant in the whole country because the government did not put enough checks and balances to prevent this. Zakaria in Mutasa (2005:56)’s *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo* shows how prevalent this corrupt practice was when he says, “*Ndakashaya kuti kwandingaenda kusingatengeswi ndokupi.*” (I failed to find a place where I could go where land was not being sold.)

Another corrupt practice was the nepotism of allocators of land. The fast-track distribution programme was a national exercise which did not discriminate beneficiaries on the basis of race, tribe or place of origin. However, some corrupt land allocators were denying people land on the basis of their place of origin. In Mutasa (2005:56)’s *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo*, Upenyu writes to Zakaria that:

Ko, zvakaitirwa VaBhusvumani vokwaBhasera wakazvinzwa kana kuverenga mubepa? Zvinonzi vakaenda Gweru kwavakanzi vadzokere kuMasvingo. Vakanzi, Endai mundopiwa ikoko, ndiko kwenyu. VaMasvingo vanopiwa kuMasvingo. MaKaranga eGweru akasiyana neMaKaranga ekuMasvingo. Ndizvozvowo naMaZezuru. MuZezuru wekuShamva wakasiyana neMuZezuru wekuGuruve. MuNdevere wekuKezi akasiyana neMuNdevere wekuTsholotsho.

(Did you hear or read in the newspapers what happened to Bhusvumani from Bhasera? When he went to Gweru looking for land to farm, he was told to go back to Masvingo since Karangas in Gweru are different from those in Masvingo. Zezurus in Shamva are different from those in Guruve and Ndebeles in Kezi are different from those in Tsholotsho.)

Mutasa is depicting the ugly side of regionalism threatening to divide Zimbabweans during the fast-track distribution programme. Mutasa is warning these corrupt and greedy misguided officials responsible for the distribution of land to do away with counter-productive things that will rubbish such a noble cause.

Perhaps because it was a fast-track process the government failed to provide immediate suitable infrastructure in the new farms. Mutasa, in *Sekai Minda Tave Nayo* (2005:68) exposes the shortsightedness of the fast-track land acquisition process in failing to plan for adequate schooling. Matirasa complains of this when

she was writing to Sekai:

Imwe nhamo yatiinayo ndeyezvikoro. Vana vanofamba mitunhu nemitunhu kuti vasvike kuzvikoro. Zvikoro zvachowo futi zvinotodzurwa nendove zvamaiita karezve imi. Nguva yechando yapfuura iyi vana vakatonhorwa. Zvikoro zvamatanda zvinopinza mhepo. Ko maticha ndiwo anoda kugarako here?

(Another problem we have is that of schools. Pupils walk long distances to arrive at these schools. The schools are substandard since they are polished using cow dung .During winter pupils were exposed to the cold weather because the schools were built using poles. Can the teacher be prepared to stay at such a school?)

Mutasa is protesting against poor planning by the government in resettling people without first ensuring the establishment of proper education facilities in these areas. The newly resettled areas also lack healthcare facilities like toilets and boreholes, a situation which impact heavily on the health of the resettled people. Lack of clean water have led to several cases of illness and even death because the resettled people end up using running water in rivers for cooking and drinking. In Mutasa (2005:60)'s *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo*, Upenyu writes to Zakaria telling him of a case he witnessed in a resettled area called Dzivaguru:

Zvakandirwadza kunzvimbo iyi ndezvekuti zvibhorani zvakanga zvisati zvagadzirwa zvekuti vanhu vaichera mvura murwizi rukuru runonzi Turwi. Naizvozvo takawana vamwe vaine zvirwere zvemudumbu. Kutaurwa kwazvo zvinonzi vana vaviri nemudzimai mumwe vakatoradzikwa vhiki yange ichangopfuura.

(What pained was that in this area boreholes were not yet there and people were taking water for use in Turwi river. As a result of this we found out that some people were complaining of stomach problems. As people told us, two children and one woman were buried the previous week because of unclean water.)

Such incidents of illness and deaths caused by poor sanitary conditions are avoidable if the government is proactive to the problems facing resettled farmers. However, not all problems could be solved by the government since the farmers can solve some of the problems which are within their means. In Mutasa (2005:120)'s *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo*, Sekai observes that:

Imwe nyaya inondinetsa kwandafamba kwese ndeyekuti hakuna

zvimbuzi.Senzvimbo itsva dzichangogarwa zvinodaro. Kuitira kudzivirira zvirwere nemamwe matambudziko, chera zvimbuzi padzimba.

(Another issue which I observed in all areas i passed through is the lack of toilets. We can understand that it is caused by the fact that these are newly resettled areas but you must build toilets to prevent diseases and other problems.)

Sekai, as one of the officials mandated with coordinating the fast-track land redistribution programme, encourages the resettled people to build some of the affordable infrastructural facilities like toilets and not to wait for everything to be done for them by the government.

The one-man-one-farm policy was not followed despite the rhetoric to that effect by the government. The land resettlement programme has seen very different implementation strategies from province to province in contravention of the established regulations. The government is also failing to solve the land issue once and for all since several people are still on the waiting list. The government's audit in mid 2000 revealed that about 249000 people were on the waiting list for A1 and 99000 on the list of A2 land (Financial Gazette 15 July 2004). According to a report in the Financial Gazette of 15 July 2004, in July 2004 some 329 people owned multiple farms. Some of the beneficiaries were professionals and rich politicians who continued their careers whilst doing the farming business on telephone not realizing that farming should be a full-time job.

Shona novelists like, Mutasa in *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo* (2005) criticise the inherent contradictions of the land acquisition process in a very constructive way. Mutasa, in *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo* (2005) shows the need for continuous stock taking, an audit of the land acquisition process involving all stakeholders in order to ensure the credibility of the findings. On the land audit Mutasa, in *Sekai: Minda: Tave Nayo* (2005:56) takes this as government's move in the right direction. He says, "*Wotomirira iyo audit iriko iyi inoda kuona minda isina vanhu uye ine vanhu vasingaishandisi uye vasingagaripo.*" (Just wait for the forthcoming audit which will establish utilized farms and unutilized farms, serious farmers and those who are not serious). Sachikonye (in Raftopoulous and Sauage, *ibid*: 14) contends that:

A multi-stakeholder audit would have the value of restoring confidence amongst the donor community since it would identify all claimants including former farm owners, former farm workers and new land reform beneficiaries. An accurate inventory with the aid of computerized data based on such an audit would be the starting point for the formation of a revised land policy and agrarian strategy.

Sachikonye is showing that the best way forward to conquer the challenges of land reform is for the government to filter genuine farmers from opportunists and self-privileging individuals. White farmers whose land was expropriated and who are dedicated should be allowed to return to farming. This is captured by Mutasa in *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo* (2005:20), when Sekai says, “*Kana varungu vari zvizvarwa zvemuno zvine chido nenyika ino ngatichigarisana tigorima tose*”. (If whites who are Zimbabwean citizens want to farm they should come forward so that we can work together.) Mutasa is trying to correct the misconception that the land reform was a racial issue of black against white people. Contrary to this, the underlying basic spirit was that of the need to share the national cake and the need to be united in developing Zimbabwe.

Farm land in the wrong hands of unsuitable farmers can bring starvation to the country. Sekai, in *Sekai Minda Tave Nayo* (2005) spells out this need for the government to set up structures like a lands committee which should deal with land related conflicts on a regular basis. It is essential that criminal and corrupt activities are not protected by political considerations. The structures should also ensure that tenure security is established as soon as possible so that the resettled farmers become stable and assured of their stay on the acquired farms. The issue of compensation though very critical is a contentious issue, Sachikonye (ibid: 15) believes that:

The issue of compensation and justice claims need to be addressed since Jambanya led to loss of hard-won lifelong investments for farmers and farm workers, at times eradicating livelihoods.

Sachikonye's concern is on the need for a realistic way of compensating those who lost property and livelihoods, like setting up an international trust fund in which donors input funds for compensation. Surprisingly, Sachikonye seems not concerned with the injustices caused by land dispossession of the colonial legacy

making his model for justice half-baked. It's a historical fact that the previous exclusion of black Zimbabweans in colonial land policies was never compensated for. Chung (ibid: 325) observes that a lot of noise is made about the rights of white farmers but no attention is paid to the land rights of poor peasants. It's a historical fact that the previous exclusion of black Zimbabweans in colonial land policies was never compensated for. Mutasa, in *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo* (2005) attacks this selective understanding of democracy showing the need for the broadening of the conceptualization of property rights beyond the whites in the Zimbabwe context to also encompass the formerly dispossessed. Mutasa (2005:112-114) through Sekai in *Sekai Minda Tave Nayo* redefines democracy in the context of the land reform process:

Chii chinonzi dhemokirasi kana usina kuguta? Ini dhemokirasi yangu kuguta ...? Kuguta ikoku ndiyo dhemokirasi nokuti unenge une kodzero yezvose zvinosanganisira minda, musha, utano hwakanaka...

(What is democracy without the basics of survival...? Getting the basics of survival is democracy because you will have your rights like land, home, good health...)

Challenges of the land reform should be addressed in a holistic manner especially in a framework informed by a sound land policy.

According to Chung (2006:330), the present land reform process does not take into consideration that 70% of farmers are women but women have no control over the fruits of their labour since they hand it over to their husbands. Loans should be made available so as to allow serious farmers to produce. The land reform programme has been hailed as a glorious process of empowerment of Zimbabweans by giving them total control and ownership of their natural resources, principally land which should enable them to generate national wealth. Hopefully the full positive impact of land reform will be seen in the fullness of time. Notwithstanding isolated cases of abuse of the land reform programme, there are already self-evident signs that it is going to yield encouraging results.

3.4 MANIFESTATIONS OF CORRUPTION IN THE POST-INDEPENDENCE ERA

The post-independence socio-political situation in Zimbabwe has been rife with the cancerous spread of corruption among the ruling elite, the upper class and even the generality of the Zimbabweans. This can be blamed on the personal lack of integrity and also the weaknesses of Zimbabwe's institutional systems. There is need for the renewal of political legitimacy and very firm control over corruption through strengthening institutions so as to make corruption more difficult. A strong government should protect the human rights of all its citizens.

Nepotism in professional circles has caused social decay betraying the ideals of socialism professed by the ruling elite at independence. Manyimbiri in *Mudzimu wakupa Chironda* (1991:19) gives Kwadoka saying:

Tsvete pamabasa ndiyo yotenge chimwana chekumusha hinzi ndicho chapambira nyika. Ukazivana neanoguta newe wagutavo. Wenzara ndewenzara, weumambo ndeweumambo. Chiokomuhomwe ndicho choshanda. Ndizvo zvadzika midzi izvi. Zvino Mabhurukwa mwana wekubereka, ndizvo zvawakarwira here izvi? Wenge muranda munyika yechibarirwe. Mari hauna, musha hauna.

(Corruption at work places and nepotism are endemic in the country. If you know rich people you will also be rich but if you know poor people you will remain poor. Bribery is what works now. My son Mabhurukwa did you go to war to fight so that you are a slave in your country without any home and money)

Kwadoka almost summarises the corrupt state of the post-independence era in Zimbabwe especially at work places where there is nepotism, bribery, and social stratification. Manyimbiri's protest is constructive in the way he shows that corruption does not help in nation building since it is like cancer which destroys slowly but surely. Kwadoka is disgruntled to the extent of giving the impression that freedom fighters like his son Mabhurukwa was not rewarded for his exploits during the liberation struggle. This type of disillusionment seems very misleading since it gives the impression that fighting for freedom was a futile exercise. The fact that some people are corrupt and others abuse power does not mean it was something regrettable to fight for freedom. Chung (2006:12) believes that most of

the corrupt activities in Zimbabwe are perpetrated by Mafikizolo opportunists, new comers in politics who did not participate in the fight for freedom. Chimhundu in *Chakwasha* (ibid: 179) calls them ZANLA UK or ‘*magora panyama*’ referring to a group of opportunists who were busy studying in UK during the liberation war but came back claiming that they were freedom fighters. Mahanya in *Matsvamoyo* (1992:14) personifies the mafikizolos in the character of Mambara. He says of him:

Vakanga vaona kuti bato iri rakanga risina upenyu hwaienderera mberi ndokubva vakurumidza kupinda mumusangano wavaiona kuti ndiwo wakanga wava woruzhinji. Vapinda kudai vakashandisa mari kuti voruzhinji vabve vavavhotera chigaro chepamusoro dakara vazova nhengo yeparamende.

(Mambara changed his loyalty from one unpopular party to those which were popular and used money to be voted into political power.)

Chimhundu’s type of protest is corrective because he gives a vision of a new Zimbabwe devoid of corrupt individuals. In *Chakwasha*, Chimhundu (1991:182) envisaged this as the Third Chimurenga and hopes that after 1990 Zimbabweans would have united to cleanse the country of corrupt practices. He says:

Tichageza ZANU ikasara yachena kuti mburetete. Kana imo mumakambani umu nhinhi dzatodzika mbambo asi ndidzo dziri mubishi kushandira mabhunu nemabvakure. Vigilance tiri kupamhidzira. Ndicho chimurenga chetatu chatamirira ichocho.

(We will clean ZANU so that it will be without corruption. Even those corrupt company leaders working with whites and outsiders will be dealt with.)

Kobra, an ex-combatant is reading the riot act so as to uproot corruption in all sectors of the Zimbabwe’s economy. Kobra’s vision seems very noble but like several such instances in Zimbabwe it just ends at the level of rhetoric and never implemented. This is demonstrated in Chimhundu (1991:192)’s *Chakwasha*, when Moses alone is arrested out of several corrupt people, “*Chakanyanyomusvota ndechokuti nyaya iyi yakazosara iri yaMoses oga dzimwe ndyire huru dzapoya.*” (What was boring was that only Moses was arrested after several worse criminals have escaped). Chimhundu’s protest here is against the selective type of justice which has bedeviled our legal institutions. The poem 1990 in *Chakwasha*,

Chimhundu (1991:194) hopes that after 1990 the country will be cleansed of all corrupt people. He says, “*Chimurenga chetatu chichatsvaira nyika, vana Chakwasha mose tichatsvaira imi vana Muchekadzafa.*” (The Third Chimurenga will cleanse all corrupt people in Zimbabwe and also all opportunists). With the benefit of hindsight it is very clear that Chimhundu’s wish has not yet materialized several years after 1990.

Nyawaranda’s *Barika remashefu* (1991:78-79) provides a comprehensive demonstration of corruption at work places. Peter, a very corrupt boss talks of sex for jobs as if it’s a normal thing:

Vazhinji chaizvo vanosweroumburudzwa mumahofisi muno vakadzi vevanhu chaivo. Unofunga ndokupi kwauchawana chamahara? Chemahara mushana muZimbabwe.

(Several women who are married are involved in sex for jobs in offices because you do not get anything for nothing. You have to give something in order to get something in Zimbabwe.)

Peter speaks as if sex for jobs is an institutionalized aspect of Zimbabwean culture since almost everyone is doing it. Nyawaranda gives very powerful women like Lucia who defies all odds refusing to be used by Peter and getting him arrested with the help of police. Nyawaranda’s (1991:132-133) form of protest is very useful in the way it guides women how to liberate themselves from sexual exploitation by men. Lucia says:

Waiti ndiwe wega wakangwara nhai Peter? Zvino ndirwo rusununguko here ...rwekuti kune mukadzi wose wose ndide ndikupe basa? Ndirwo rusununguko rwakafira magamba eruzhinji rweZimbabwe? Asika ndiwo mapurisa acho akandinyengerera achiti ndikasadaro nhamo haizombofa yakapera.

(You thought you were the only clever one, Peter? What type of independence is it which promotes sex for jobs? Is this what people fought and died for? The police gave me this idea of refusing to be used as a demonstration of how to end women’s problems of being exploited.)

Nyawaranda’s women are different from the stereotypical characters in other Shona novels that are helpless before men. Lucia represents the powerful

Zimbabwean women who are very assertive and brave enough to confront male chauvinism and condemn it with the contempt it deserves.

3.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has revealed that post-independence Shona novelists contribute to national development through their constructive criticism of the socio-political situation in Zimbabwe. The study of literary texts like *Chakwesha*, *Vavariro* and *Mudzimu wakupa Chironda* is very helpful in exposing the inadequacies of the neocolonial undertakings of the Lancaster house agreement and the policy of reconciliation. Evidence from the texts show that these undertakings were just but a perpetuation of the colonial legacy and the Shona novels being studied play a seminal role in the provision and generation of ideas on how to dislodge the neocolonial situation in Zimbabwe. This is essential because Zimbabwe at this time needs committed writers who create images that shape the perceptions of realities of its people in a progressive manner. Shona novels like *Matsvamoyo*, *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo*, *Barika remashefu* and *Mapenzi* are largely concerned with the failure of independence to transform people's lives for the better because of neo-colonialism and corruption. Although the government's fast track reform process was a way to address inherited inequalities, the way it was implemented eroded most of its positive gains. The next chapter is textual analysis of Socio-cultural protest in selected Shona novels.

CHAPTER FOUR

MANIFESTATIONS OF SOCIO-CULTURAL PROTEST IN SELECTED POST-INDEPENDENCE SHONA NOVELS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Whilst the previous chapter looked at manifestations of socio-political protest in post-independence Shona novels in Zimbabwe, this chapter discusses socio-cultural protest in post-independence Shona novels. The analysis seeks to unravel how Shona texts handle the important issue of culture in the context of culture contact and cultural conflicts in post-independence Zimbabwe. In such a context, the chapter explores the possibility of developing a national culture in post-independence Zimbabwe. The focus of the chapter is on how best the Shona culture that has been influenced by western culture can be developed to be a strong national culture which can assist in nation building. In this case, the chapter seeks to establish if the Shona writers' portrayal of the socio-cultural situation in Zimbabwe is objective enough to effectively provide a remedy for Zimbabwe's cultural problems. Zimbabwe shares with other African countries and indeed all other countries of the world, the legacy of multiple oppressions based on gender. The Zimbabwean government's post-independence corrective programme took the form of a series of legislative enactments addressing the various areas in which discrimination had been identified. The Shona post-independence novelists protest against some of the content and also the simplistic implementation of these laws which further antagonize the males rather than engage them in a serious debate about male-female power relations. This chapter provides a textual analysis of the novelists' portrayal of the marginalization of women and also the legal reforms made in relation to women.

The discussion will be based on the textual analysis of Moyo's *Ndabva Zera* (1992) and *Chemera Mudundundu* (2002), Tsodzo's *Mudhuri murefurefu* (1993), Chimhundu's *Chakwasha* (1991), Mabasa's *Mapenzi* (1999), Mutasa's *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo* (2005), and Nyawaranda's *Barika remashefu* (1991). Important issues to be discussed in these texts are, protest against acculturation,

marginalization of women, and protest against contentious policies of marriage, family and gender relations. The issue of acculturation is portrayed in Chimhundu's *Chakwasha* (1991), Mabasa's *Mapenzi* (1999), Tsodzo's *Mudhuri murefurefu* (1993), and Moyo's *Ndabva Zera* (1992) and *Chemera Mudundundu* (2002). The marginalization of women is portrayed in Nyawaranda's *Barika remashefu* (1991), Mutasa's *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo* (2005) and Moyo's *Ndabva Zera* (1992) and *Chemera Mudundundu* (2002). Manifestations of contentious policies of marriage, family and gender relations are in Moyo's *Ndabva Zera* (1992) and *Chemera Mudundundu* (2002), Nyawaranda's *Barika remashefu* (1991), Mutasa's *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo* (2005) and Chimhundu's *Chakwasha* (1991). In this vein, the chapter discusses issues in the texts on the failure of cultural integration because of the imposition of imperialist cultural traditions on Shona culture. The chapter seeks to establish how accurate and effective these texts are in the portrayal of Zimbabwe's post-independence challenges.

4.2 MANIFESTATIONS OF ACCULTURATION IN SELECTED TEXTS

Acculturation is a process whereby the attitudes and behaviors of people from one culture are modified as a result of contact with a different culture. When alien culture traits diffuse into a society on a massive scale, the result is that, the culture of the receiving society is significantly changed. This massive intake of foreign cultural traits has the inevitable impact of damaging and weakening the recipient culture. It is a process in which members of one group adopt the behavior and beliefs of another group and normally it is evidenced by adoption of foreign attitudes and values and changes in language preferences. It may be in the form of cultural integration which is an attempt to blend or synthesize cultural traits of different cultures or/and assimilation, whereby specific elements of a dominant culture are adopted, incorporated or appropriated by another. Cultural integration occurs when different cultures work together to celebrate diversity. Assimilation is a process of cultural absorption through enforcement, of an inferior culture by a dominant culture.

4.2.1 Protest against cultural integration

Cultural values are important to the African people because they act as guidelines in people's lives. Although culture changes in response to the circumstances people find themselves in, Africans need to seek inspiration from the fundamental values of their culture in order to survive in the post-colonial era where the social structure system has changed. It is notable that the post-independence Shona novel is a reflection of cultural changes in Zimbabwe after independence and its negative consequences. Wild (1993) and Kahari (1990) observe that, the first generation of writers like Mutswairo in *Hamandishe* (1991) and Chidzero in *Nzvengamutsavairo* (1957) had hope that different cultures would live harmoniously with ideas of culture and race-embracing humanism. Their argument was that, beyond cultural and racial categories, we are all human beings who could co-exist in a multicultural and multiracial society (Chinosengwa, 1997: 6). However, Tsodzo in *Mudhuri murefurefu* (1993) argues that, the Shona people's way of life is informed by socio-economic and political values which are different from those that inform the lives of those who are not Shona. In *Mudhuri murefurefu* (1993), Tsodzo gives a case of Mike who was influenced by Canadian and American culture as a result of studying abroad and decided to marry a black American woman, Petronella. Dolly Parton and Porter Waggoner's song is used by Tsodzo (1993:6) as a metaphor demonstrating the incompatibility of Zimbabwean culture and that of African-Americans in Canada. It has a chorus which says:

*Somewhere between your heart and mine
There is a window that I can't see through,
There is a wall so high it reaches the skies,
Somewhere between me and you.*

This song helps to highlight the cultural differences between Michael and Petronella which in turn translate to the cultural gulf between the western culture and Zimbabwean culture. As the title of the book, *Mudhuri murefurefu* shows, Tsodzo refers to these differences as cultural rifts or barriers which restrict the free mingling of Canadian culture and Zimbabwean culture. Chinosengwa, (1997:10) supports the view that *Mudhuri murefurefu* in the novel represents the conceptual

rift that exists between the Zimbabwean and Canadian cultures. Tsodzo (1993:19). Through Michael's friend, Peter also brings the point that Michael and Petronella may share the same skin color but they are very different in the way they conceptualize reality. Peter in *Mudhuri murefurefu* says:

*Asi unofanira kuona kuti anozopindirana here neupenyu
hwekumusha huya uhu nokuti maonero angu ini vanhu ava iganda
chete rakaramba kupinduka, ivo vava varungu chaivo*

(But you must consider if she (Petronella) will fit well in that Zimbabwean cultural set-up, because the way I see it, these people's (black Americans) skin did not change but they are whites in the way they live.)

Michael was considering marrying Petronella and his friend Peter was just indicating to him that the western concept of marriage and family roles is different from that of the Shona society. The period of contact with Canadian aesthetics and culture has modified Michael's values and worldview to the extent of considering an intercultural marriage with Petronella forgetting the traditional norm of marrying within one's culture (*rooranai vematongo*). According to Chinosenwa, (1997:40) Tsodzo is protesting against the idea of transcontinental marriages since he believes that, the cultural differences are as deep-seated as they are enduring.

Marriage in the Zimbabwe setting requires the consent of parents, whilst western marriages require the consent of the two lovers involved. Tsodzo (1993: 40) depicts the reverend who was solemnizing Michael and Petronella's marriage in *Mudhuri murefurefu* saying:

*Zvino sister Petronella vachinditaurira vanoti ivo mumwe wavo
haabvumirwi kutora mukadzi asina kubvumirana nevabereki vake.
Asi ini ndinoti kwete, mubereki wavabereki vose ndiJehovah.*

(Sister Petronella told me that her partner is not allowed by his culture to marry without the consent of his parents. But, I said no to this because God is the parent of all people).

Michael weds Petronella without VaMangwiro's (his father) knowledge showing his assimilation of western culture. Tsodzo (1993:73) is protesting against individualism which conditions people to see themselves as masters of their own

lives in isolation with others. That is why Munhenga in *Mudhuri murefurefu* asks his uncle Michael:

Muri kuda kuti kudiiko sekuru? Muri kuda here kundiudza kuti makanoroora mukadzi imwi mega kuCanada ikoko pasina kana wemhuri aizviziva? Asi makatenge magara muchizivana naye nechekare kanhi...

(What do you want to tell me uncle? Do you want to tell me that you married your wife alone in Canada with no one of your family present? Did you know each other with your wife before you married her...?)

The Shona society cultivates in individuals the philosophy of communal existence whereby individuals define themselves in terms of others. Tsodzo is showing that an African marriage is not a one-person business since the whole family should be involved, but there was no one from Michael's family who was involved in his marriage. Even Michael's fellow Zimbabweans in Canada were not involved in his marriage an indication that Michael was now alienated from his culture because he has been exposed to western culture. In Shona society, it is essential to relate to others since no person exists as an island. The other issue Munhenga is bringing out is the Zimbabwean cultural point of view that one should get married to a person after studying that person's character before marriage. Unfortunately for Michael, he later on discovered most of Petronella's cultural traits when they were already married which leads to the demise of their marriage.

Petronella's behavior in *Mudhuri murefurefu* is different from the behavior expected in the Shona society because of cultural barriers between Canadian way of life and that of Zimbabwe. Petronella had once aborted her pregnancy which shows that she did not value children so much. Zimbabwean culture values having children as the primary goal of marriage, but Petronella does not want to have children. Tsodzo, (1993:124) in *Mudhuri murefurefu* shows Petronella openly confessing, that she hates children:

Ini handidi makids. Makids vanoita a nuisance...ipapo God yakaita unfair. Angadai asina kuti vhakadzi chete vhanoitwa numbu nokuita bear children. Vhanurume vhanofanira kuitawo pregnancy. Asi God ari a male chauvinist pig.'

(I do not want to bear children because they are a nuisance. God was unfair in creating only a woman to bear children since he was supposed to make men also able to have pregnancy. God is a male chauvinist pig.)

Petronella entered marriage with Michael on the basis of love only without considering procreation which is very important in Shona society. Children are assets since they guarantee the continuation of the family name since each life is a link of the eternal chain of existence which is necessitated by reproducing (Chinosengwa, 1997:13). At the airport, Michael's sisters, Evah and Ellinah are surprised that Petronella is not pregnant and even Munhenga and his wife show concern on their uncle's childless marriage but Michael dismisses the issue. To Africans, the concept of family includes children and Michael's lack of concern shows that he now has a foreign character. Tsodzo is attacking Michael's worldview of feeling comfortable in a childless marriage, which is unAfrican.

Michael first accepted to inherit Majoni's wife, Chipo, as dictated by Shona traditional culture. When Michael goes for studies in Canada, he begins to see things differently because the new experiences he meets there bring new perceptions about wife inheritance/ *nhaka*. Tsodzo (1993: 44) shows Michael in *Mudhuri murefurefu*, writing to Chipo:

Zvino chizivai kuti nhaka inongova chete tsika yedu yechivanhu yaimboshanda makarekare asi nhasi uno haisisina musoro...Upenyu hwedu hwakasiyana amaiguru, kusiyana chaiko zvokusambova kana nefanano imwe chete...

(Now you should know that wife inheritance is one of our old traditional customs which used to work in the past but is no longer relevant today. Our lives are very different to the extent that there is not even one similarity between them...)

When in Zimbabwe, Michael never protests against taking over his late brother's wife, but when in Canada, he now sees the custom as primitive and meaningless. Acculturation has put a barrier between Michael and his own culture.

Tsodzo is advocating for the inheritance of widows so as to pay tribute to the dead husband by helping his wife and children get over the loss. Though the practice has a lot of positive attributes, Tsodzo, (1993: 74) celebrates it by ignoring the fact

that young and educated men like Michael no longer want to inherit widows but want to marry women of their choice. Michael in *Mudhuri murefurefu* tells Munhenga:

Zvamai Sarah izvo ndatokanganwa, Madyira. Handina kumbovanyenga. Mukoma wangu ndiye akavanyenga. Panhaka ndakangovatambirawo zvangu kuti zvinhu zvirege kunyadza asi ini ndisingavadi.

(As for Sarah's mother I have already forgotten about her. Madyira. I never proposed love to her but my brother did. I accepted to take her as a wife at the inheritance ceremony because I did not want to humiliate her but still I do not love her).

Educated young men like Michael now look for physical attractiveness, compatibility and mutual love for future partners. Tsodzo (1993: 64) shows Michael in *Mudhuri murefurefu*, (1993: 64) telling Evah and Ellinah:

Ndakangoonawo kuti ini semunhu ava nebasa guru kudai ndinotofanirawo kuwana mukadzi akafitana neni. Saka ndauya nemuroora wemhiri kuAtlantic.

(I realized that people like us with big jobs need to choose a good wife suitable for me. That is why I brought you a wife from over the Atlantic.)

Michael is being realistic to the socio-historical context of his time. Present day inheritance of widows is discouraged because of health, social and economic reasons. It is possible that wife inheritance may fuel the spread of Human Immuno Deficiency virus (HIV) in cases where the deceased partner died of HIV. Inheritance of widows since the advent of Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) no longer necessarily mean taking over as the husband but looking and taking over as the bread winner of the widow and her children. Oliver Mutukudzi's song *Nhaka sandi bonde* meaning to say sexual relationship is not the primary goal of wife inheritance in Shona culture sums it all. Tsodzo seems to ignore the fact that culture is ever changing so there is need to emphasize valuable continuities but at the same time welcome vitalizing change (Chinweizu, 1980:239). In *Mudhuri murefurefu*, Tsodzo does not give us an updated version of the wife inheritance custom. Chinosenwa (1997:42), argues that, in Shona society, even sisters of the deceased were allowed to inherit the widow to make

sure that life is comfortable for the widow and her children

Tsodzo's version of *nhaka* in *Mudhuri murefurefu* is somewhat strange in the way he imposes Chipu on Michael. To Chinosengwa (1997:39), Tsodzo's notion presents a distorted picture since in traditional Shona society, and wife inheritance was only possible if the two parties involved agree. Traditionally, it was not as rigid as Tsodzo portrays it, but it was very flexible since the widow was given a chance to choose her husband to be, on the day of the ceremony (Gombe 1986). No one was forced into the relationship as Tsodzo seems to be postulating because a man was not obliged to take a woman he did not like. Tsodzo makes Michael sick as punishment for refusing to inherit Chipu, which is over manipulating realism in order to moralize (Chinosengwa, 1997:39).

Tsodzo gives a significant spiritual dimension at the end of the novel to solve the problem of culture conflict in the form of traditional healing. Whilst some poets like Hamutyinei stigmatize and caricature traditional healers in his poem, *N'anga dzane'en'enura nyika* (Traditional healers have destroyed the country), Tsodzo as a cultural nationalist, portrays traditional healers from an Afrocentric perspective. Michael's illness can be compared to that of Ngoni in Moyo's *Ziva Kwawakabva* who became ill as a result of having offended his parents by neglecting them. Tsodzo is trying to redress the notion of African identity denigrated by British colonialism and Christianity. Divination has remained a popular way of solving problems in post-independence Zimbabwe despite pressure from Christianity. Michael's parents believe that his illness was caused by the ancestral spirits as some form of punishment for embracing western ways of life at the expense of his culture. The consultation of traditional healer Masaraure led to Michael's recovery from his illness. Tsodzo seems to suggest that acculturation cannot disintegrate the Shona society since the spirit world will intervene to claim its own. Tsodzo does not give us a biased or uncritical glorification of traditional healers since he also portrays false healers like Mbuya Sithole who was only after money (Chinosengwa, 1997:46). Masaraure only claimed his due after the recovery of the patient. This solution is appropriate since the usefulness of traditional healers is a reality in post-independence Zimbabwe as seen by the legalization of traditional healing by the ministry of health. Traditional healing has since been incorporated

in western methods of healing so that they work together, a form of corporation which is an essential process in the decolonization of Africa.

Michael and Petronella's marriage failed because of cultural differences and Pet reunites with William and goes back to Canada. Michael also reunites with Chipo which becomes symbolic because it shows that Michael realizes that he cannot sacrifice his culture on the altar of acquired western identity. Michael's marriage to Petronella shows that cultural differences are a source of misunderstanding and non-cooperation in African marriages (Kahari 1990:79). *Mudhuri murefurefu* compares very well with Achebe's works like, *Things Fall apart*, *No longer at ease* and *Arrow of God* in which cultural contact and conflict negatively affect African characters. Tsodzo exaggerates when he celebrates the marriage between Zimbabweans, Michael and Chipo, denigrating transcontinental marriages like the one between Michael and Petronella. It should be noted that marrying within one's culture does not guarantee a perfect marriage although it may reduce problems when compared to an intercontinental marriage.

Tsodzo's attempt to isolate African culture from other cultures is highly idealistic since the Shona culture does not exist in isolation but exists with other cultures in a global village. Such conditions lead Shona culture to influence and be influenced by other cultures. Tsodzo's solution is a deliberate attempt to protect, preserve and guard the Shona culture against the influence of other cultures in a multicultural society. Such a solution is unrealistic in the Zimbabwean situation where cultures co-exist.

Mutswairo in *Hamandishe* (1991) provides a different solution to problems of cultural conflict since he advocates not only for intercontinental integration of cultures, but also race-embracing humanism. While Michael marries Petronella in *Mudhuri murefurefu*, Hamandishe marries Brend; a white woman from America. Mutswairo marries a black man to a white woman as a metaphor which represents the co-existence of blacks and whites in Zimbabwe. Hamandishe's marriage is a dramatization of cultural syncretism which believes in harmony, social integration, understanding and co-existence in the development of a national culture. Mutswairo (1991:166) shows this when he writes:

Pamutambo wavakaitirwa wokuvagamuchira mhuri yose itsva, yevatema nevachena vomuHarare yakavagamuchira nomufaro mukuru ikaratidza mweya mutsva uyo wakanga usina pfundi yerudzi kana ganda remunhu.

(On the party to welcome them back, the whole Zimbabwean family of whites and blacks of Harare welcomed them with great happiness showing a new spirit which does not discriminate on the grounds of ethnicity or race.)

Mutswairo exaggerates the success of Hamandishe and Brenda's marriage in order to show that people of different races can live together harmoniously. Whilst this seems a celebration of reconciliation, it seems idealistic since cultural imperialism is an ideological conflict which cannot be conquered by love. On the ground, the policy of reconciliation in Zimbabwe has proved to be one-sided, and has not brought any harmony and friendship. Mutswairo, like Chidzero in *Nzvengamutswairo*, argues for multiracial societies, with the belief that if culture is freed from the restrictive walls of nationalism, then it can embrace other cultures of the whole world. Chidzero's *Nzvengamutswairo* deals with human relationships, with questions of whether human beings with different cultural backgrounds can live together harmoniously in a modern western economic environment (Kahari *ibid*: 219). To Mutswairo (1991:138) since the globe is now a single family there is need for a global culture. He says, '*Zenderi rose rangova imba imwe chete ine mhuri yayo imwe chete.*' (The whole world is now like one house with its one family). In the same vein, Dorcas in Mutswairo (1991:45)'s *Hamandishe* says, '*Upenyu hwanhasi hwave hwekugarisana nokuvakidzana nevemarudzi ose pasi pano*' (Life is now about living together with people from different races all over the world.).

Mutswairo is arguing for intercultural hybridity in the spirit of a global culture which is necessitated by the global economic and political processes which invariably give rise to cultural links. According to Chinosengwa (1997:63), Mutswairo seems to be unaware of the implications of globalization on African culture, since its achievements so far are contrary to his desire. It is not all inclusive since it uses the vision from one centre of the west and generalizes it as universal. His argument that there is need to unify cultures so as to bridge the cultural

differences does not work in a situation where the borrowing has not been on the basis of equality. African culture will not be accepted by whites as an equal partner which means that African culture does not benefit from this union and it is the one which will compromise so as to fit into the new blended culture (Chinosengwa, 1997:66). Culture relativists deny that conflicts between values from different traditions can be settled in any reasonable way showing the uniqueness of all human beings (Helium and Stewart, (eds), 1999:418). Hence, cultural relativism, challenges the universality of standards that actually belong to only one culture. Mutswairo and Tsodzo give two extreme solutions to cultural contact and conflict, with Tsodzo on extreme conservatism and Mutswairo on some form of compromise. Tsodzo and Mutswairo's solutions are highly superficial, idealized and exaggerated. It then becomes a myth that in Zimbabwe, diverse cultures can assimilate into a single society since minority groups will end up conforming to the entrenched norms of a dominant culture (Chinosengwa, 1997:68). There is need for synthesis within the parameters of African culture rather than outside it (Chinosengwa, 1997:68). It should be noted that, the western culture is a historical reality Zimbabweans cannot wish away so there is need for a mutual balanced give and take relationship between cultures. Ngugi (1993: xvi) supports this point of view when he says:

Thus, cultures that stay in total isolation from others can shrivel, dry up or wither away. Cultures under total domination from others can be crippled, deformed or else die. Cultures that change to reflect the ever-changing dynamics of internal relations and which maintain a balanced give and take with external relations are the ones that are healthy.

This means that in the global village of cultural contact, it is only those cultures that borrow from other cultures on the basis of equality and mutual respect that survive. For example, the issue of wife inheritance is a very noble custom being threatened by the advent of HIV. This Shona traditional practice may be updated in the modern era by confining the inheritor's support to social and economic needs, and excluding sexual needs, ensuring protection and perpetuation of the lineage, and at the same time not compromising the health of the inheritor. However, instead of cultural integration, multiculturalism is a preferred option, a situation of valuing and maintaining cultural differences in diverse communities.

Multiculturalism provides cultural communities with the freedom to their cultural traditions, rituals and their religion within the democratic and legal framework of the Zimbabwe government.

4.2.2 Protest against Cultural assimilation

Mabasa in *Mapenzi*, Moyo in *Chemera Mudundundu* and Tzodzo in *Mudhuri murefurefu*, condemn the cultural waywardness of adopting western ways of life by Zimbabweans. These novelists are not advocating for a return to traditionalism but, they are propagating an essentially defensive position in response to the predicaments of modernization. Their protest is a conservative one against the invasion of western influences. Mabasa, in *Mapenzi*, attacks the practice of homosexuality now prevalent in the Zimbabwean society. Mabasa (1999: 24) demonstrates that those practicing homosexuality are so unperturbed by this unAfrican behavior so much that they consider it as now a normal practice to be acceptable in the Shona society. When Ticha Hamundigoni asks a young homosexual what he was waiting for in a park he answered, '*Ndati ndakamirira mukomana wangu kwete musikana*' (I said I am waiting for my boyfriend not girlfriend).

This young man's utterances were confirmed when Hamundigoni saw him kissing another man. This behavior is a new type of culture which is a form of cultural decadence bedeviling the Zimbabwean society. Mabasa (1999: 25) is ridiculing the amazing manner in which Zimbabweans have assimilated foreign cultural traits to the extent of considering them as normal. When Hamundigoni looked surprised at this anomalous relationship, the young man showed that those who are surprised with homosexuals are the ones who are not normal. He asks, '*what's wrong with you people?*' Mabasa shows that this was not an isolated incident of one mad person since abnormal practices like these were common in Harare. Mabasa (1999:142) through Hamundigoni in *Mapenzi* says:

Bunny, zvemuHarare here? Muzere mapenzi. Makazviona kwaani kuti imbwa inoitwa mukadzi? Kana kuti murume kuitwa murume nemumwe murume. Zvakangofanana nekunzwa kuti banana rave nemhodzi. Saka horaiti kana zviri izvozvo tiri kuendepi, kwei, nani uye tozodii taveko isu tichingori mapenzi ega ega?

(Bunny, Harare is full of mad people. Where did you hear that dogs are taken as wives and men are taking other men like wives? It's like hearing that a banana has a seed. Alright, if that is the case, tell me where are we going, for what, with whom and to do what since we are all stupid?)

In Zimbabwe's debate aspects to include in the new constitution, the Constitution Select Committee has ruled out the inclusion of pro-gay legislation amid revelations that some pressure groups were lobbying the government to have gay rights enshrined in the new constitution. The chairperson of the Constitution Select Committee, Munyaradzi Paul Mangwana, said homosexuality and lesbianism were against the country's cultural values and norms but were weird western cultural values (Emilia Zindi, Sunday Mail 23-29 May 2010:1'Gays and Lesbians shut out of new Constitution'). Mabasa uses the word '*mapenzi*' in his novel as a general reference to characters who do things outside the accepted Shona social norms. Eddie, Heaven's boyfriend, was staying with his mother-in-law, Mai Jazz without any marriage formalities having taken place. Mabasa (1999:81) through Hamundigoni in *Mapenzi* condemns this scenario when he says:

Ini handisati ndambozviona kuti munhu akavika sewe so mupfanha anoita zvivindi zvekugara mumba maambuya. Ndizvo zvamunoita kwenyu here? Iwewe Heaven wave kufarisa mazuva ano. Dai waive nababa ndaivabvunza kana vakaonawo pfuma yakakomana kako aka.

(I have never seen a normal person like you young man with the courage to live in your mother-in-law's house. Is this what you do in your area? Heaven you are now going out of bounds. If you had a father I would ask your father if he was given lobola by your boyfriend.)

This is an abnormal situation because Shona marriage procedures are not followed. In Shona culture, it is regarded as taboo for a son-in-law to live under one roof with his mother-in-law because they are regarded as *vanyarikani* (people who should respect each other). Like the homosexual young man seen by Hamundigoni in the park, Heaven, Mai Jazz and Eddie seem to see nothing wrong with this anomalous situation. Assimilation of western culture by these characters has resulted in their alienation from the Shona way of life giving them new identities of individualism and materialism.

Tsodzo in *Mudhuri murefurefu*, Moyo in *Chemera mudundundu* and Mabasa in *Mapenzi* criticize the use of foreign languages by Africans in situations where they can use their mother languages they are proficient in. The importance of a language to a people cannot be overemphasized. Mabasa (1999:31), in *Mapenzi* shows Ticha Hamundigoni, ridiculing Kundai for her snobbish way of trying to emulate white people in her pronunciation of English language when he says:

Kubva moshanda zvakanaka nhai chimhandara asi musatiurayire nyika! Uye udzidzewe kutaura zvakanaka, kwete kutaura nemumhuno kunge munhu ane dzihwa. Munotisemesa nechinozi chenyu ichi.

(May you go and work well young lady, but do not destroy our country. You need to learn to speak than to speak through the nose like someone with influenza. You disgust us with your speaking through the nose.)

Ticha Hamundigoni is condemning the slavish high regard of English language by some misguided elements of the Zimbabwean youths. The snobbish imitation of whites in speaking English is linguistic imperialism in the way the language is elevated at the expense of indigenous languages. This proficiency in English is exaggerated showing the desire to be like the white person. This form of cultural imperialism is dangerous because it steals the brains and souls of the youth who end up trying to be like white people. That is why Hamundigoni indicates that it has the potential to destroy our nation. This practice is almost endemic among the Zimbabwean youths, it is also practiced at the University of Zimbabwe. In *Mapenzi*, a lady who was disturbed whilst phoning complained in English to preachers who were also preaching in broken English. Mabasa (1999:88) says:

Musikana wekupopota nechirungu akasvotwa chaizvo...Avawo vamwe vasikana vakangoridza dzitsamwa nekudzungudza misoro kunge vanhu vari kubuda mujorodhani remapositioni. Kuti vaive vasvotwa nekutaura chirungu nemumhuno kwemusikana aifona here, kana kuti nezvaaitaura, kana kuti nevanhu vechechi kana kuti zvese...

(The young lady who was complaining bitterly in English was very bored...The other girls who were there expressed disgust and shook their heads like people coming from baptism of apostles. They could have been bored by the lady's speaking of English

through the nose, or by the preachers' use of English in preaching or both...)

It should be noted that, in both instances in the novel where English is used, the listeners show disgust and disapproval. Mabasa is trying to make a statement against the colonial mentality of regarding the English language as a more prestigious and higher language variety than the Shona language. This inferiority complex and lack of pride of one's language is caused by people's negative attitude towards their mother tongue. Chimhundu, in *Chakwasha*, shows Moses shying away from his mother tongue because he was afraid of being looked down by his girlfriend, Susan. Moses hides his degree programme from Susan because he thought doing Shona at university level was not prestigious enough. Chimhundu (1991: 42) says:

Asi yokudzimba iyi ndiyo yakamboti netsei Moses nokuti vazhinji vakanga vasingadi kuti zvinzi vanoita Shona paYuniversity. Vaida kutaura zvimwe zvine mazita aishamisira nokuti voruzhinji vaisaziva zvaaireva. Saka Moses akanga ozuwirawo Susan nedhigiri rake raaita...oti ndinoita Linguistics, nephonetics, dzimwe nguva zvombonzi Phonology neMorphology neSyntax. Aiti ainyanya kufarira Morphophonemics neMorphosyntax...

(Moses was troubled by the idea of his girlfriend visiting him in his hostel because, like most people he did not want people to know that he was studying Shona at university. They had a habit of using high sounding names like linguistics, phonetics, or Phonology. Morphology and Syntax which people did not understand. Moses told Susan that his favorites were Morphophonemic and Morphosyntax...)

Chimhundu is ridiculing Moses' hypocrisy in the way he is ashamed of doing Shona at university level. This shows the level of linguistic neurosis in Zimbabwe where a university student who is better placed to defend African languages cannot do so because of inferiority complex. This is also seen in Moyo's *Chemera Mudundundu* where there is a tendency to use English at funerals. The reverend preaching at Joyce's funeral makes use of the English language despite the fact that there was no white person at the funeral. Moyo (2002:38) says:

Parufu kunyanya paguva apa pakanga pasina murungu kana umwe chete zvake asi, zvavaMufundisi ava zvakanga zvauya ndokungoerekana vava kungochisvisvina chirungu choga choga.

Havanazve kuzotara nerurimi rwaamai apa, vakaramba vangove kumonya rurimi. Izvivo hazvina kunetsa vaiva pagungano iri nokuti ndiwo akange ave maitiro evaparidzi vanhasi vechitema. Mweya mutsvene yavo inobuda kana vachitaura nerurimi rweChirungu kwete rwaamai.

(At the funeral grave, there was not even one white person but the reverend preaching was using the English language only and never used his mother tongue. This did not surprise people who were there because this was a common practice by most black preachers. Their Holy Spirit only possessed them when they use English and not their mother tongue.)

This obsession to master English by black Zimbabweans is associated with its imposed special place during colonialism. Moyo is attacking linguistic neocolonialism which is a form of cultural imperialism since it respects the English language more than the Shona language. English is taken as a language for serious business and formal occasions whilst Shona is relegated to informal occasions. Most black elites have zeal to use the English language at the expense of Shona even if the audience is Shona speaking. Tsodzo (1993: 68-69) shows this in *Mudhuri murefurefu*, when VaMunhenga expressed concern to Michael about the use of English by senior officers in their speeches to a Shona audience. Michael in *Mudhuri murefurefu* says:

Havadi kutaura neChiShona nokuti zvinovadzikisira pasi. Chirungu ndicho chavanoda nokuti chinovaburitsaka mumapenhau, muredhiyo nomuterevhizheni zvose muno munyika nokune dzimwe nyika. Ukavanyorera speech yacho neChishona unenge ucharohwa. Havamboda zvavo. I zvi zvokuti vanhu havanzwi ChiKiwa havanei nazvo... VaRungu havagumi kutitonga, muzukuru. Kare vaititonga isu pachedu, zvino vava kutonga pfungwa dzedu.

(The (senior officers) do not want to give their speeches in Shona because it lowers their prestige. They use English language because it is the language which makes them appear in newspapers, radios, and televisions for both local and viewers outside the country. If you write the speech in Shona they will be so angry to the extent of even attempting to beat you. They also do not care that their audience cannot understand English language. White people are still ruling us. In the past they used to control us politically but now they control our minds.)

The use of English is inappropriate because very few people in areas like Guruve where the officer is to address could understand the English language. Michael

tells Munhenga that the officers use English for prestigious reasons. It is very ironic that Tsodzo attacks mental colonization through Michael who was also a victim of mental colonization. Those who read English speeches to an audience which cannot understand the language do it for prestigious reasons not caring about the audience at all. This desire to adopt English beyond its value is associated with its superior status to the African languages. The post-independence Shona novelists contend that independence for Africans should be the time to resurrect indigenous languages as part of the full acceptance of African culture. According to Chiwome (1996:115), 'it is time to acknowledge the fact that all languages are beautiful and useful to those who can use them well.' The argument that both Shona and English should be used concurrently in a multilingual society like Zimbabwe is not convincing since the two languages do not meet as equals as they represent the assimilated and the assimilator.

4.3 PROTEST AGAINST THE MARGINALIZATION OF WOMEN

The struggle for women emancipation in Zimbabwe predates colonialism, continued throughout the colonial era and after independence (Gaidzainwa, 1985:8). Most post-independence problems affecting women are as a result of the continual subordination and discrimination of women, both in 'traditional' society and revolutionary politics. Mutasa, in *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo* and Nyawaranda, in *Barika ramashefu* protest against the failure of independence to bring change to the perception of gender relationships as promised during the liberation war. With independence, it became necessary to move beyond sexual discrimination by redressing the legacy of historic imbalances through legislation that outlaws discrimination. Simbi Mubako, the then Minister of Legal and Parliamentary affairs, once said:

Any system of law that does not develop with the times in the manner of its administration and substantive content will be discredited and will decay (Hansard Parliamentary Debates, 1980-1981:p1485)

Mubako was just emphasizing the need to ensure that the past should not set limits on what is possible in the present and future.

In *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo*, Mutasa (2005: 2) portrays how young girls in post independence Zimbabwe are excluded and oppressed in relation to access to education, when Sekai's father denies her the opportunity to go to school. In a letter to Zakaria, Upenyu tells his friend in *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo*, that:

Zvisinei, mwana Sekai akakura zvake ariko kumaruwa okwaNyahunda. Asvitsa makore matanhatu baba vake vakati haangapindi chikoro somwanasikana. Vakati aifanira kugara pamusha achirera vana. Vanakomana hanzvadzi dzake dzinavana Joram, Sakurayi, Patson, naBryn ndivo vakanzi vapinde chikoro kusvikira vapedza fomu foo.

(Sekai grew up in the rural areas of Nyahunda. At the age of six years, her father said she cannot go to school since as a girl child she must look after children. Her brothers like Joram, Sakurayi, Patson and Bryn were supposed to go to school up to form four).

This is clear evidence that as regard access to education, young girls were disregarded in preference to males because men are seen as the carriers of the family name and as providers of their own families and parents in later life. This pervasive traditional perception and oppressive practice is premised on the belief of men as the head of the family and women as appendages to men. This patriarchal ideology of male supremacy is premised on the social construction of gender which justifies the distinction between men and women as natural and god-given. In the African context, there is need to look closely at customary law and protect what is positive and in the process reject what is negative. In an opening speech to the Colloquium on the Rights of Women in Zimbabwe, the then Minister of Community and Co-operative Development and Women's Affairs, Joyce Mujuru, said:

A perpetuation of the inferior status of women is a real embarrassment for it negates the very principles of socialism...Cultures and traditions are not static but change as circumstances and situations change. Customs are made by people and it is people who can change them. They are fashioned to suit the prevailing socio-economic order and it is on this basis that women feel that certain aspects of customary law are simply obsolete and out of step with the situation in Zimbabwe today. (Report of the Colloquium, 14 November 1984)

Mujuru's worries here are that, in Zimbabwe, community attitudes always lag

behind legal developments.

Nyawaranda (1991:1), in *Barika remashefu* also shows that young girls like Chioniso and Lindiwe were denied the opportunity to further their education because of their parents' belief of educating the boy child at the expense of the girl child. Chioniso in *Barika remashefu* says:

Ndakanga ndangoita giredhi 7 chete pachikoro chemumusha medumo kuWeya. Vabereki vangu vakabva vandiudza kuti mari yokunoti ndindotora J.C. pakanga pasisina.

(When I finished my Grade seven at a school in our rural area of Weya, my parents told me that they did not have any money for me to continue to J.C)

In the same vein, Nyawaranda (1991:13) gives another girl child, Lindiwe, who was refused access to education by parents who regarded education as for boys and not girls. Lindiwe, in *Barika remashefu*, says:

Baba vakabva vandiudza kuti mari yokuti ndirambe ndichienderera nacho chikoro vakanga vasisina. Asi ndakaona zvangu kuti vaingoda kuti ndiite mujana wavo wemombe sezvo hanzvadzi dzangu dzose dzakanga dzava mabhodha. VaMatambo baba vangu vakanga vasingaoni chimuko chokuti vatumire mwanasikana kuchikoro...' Handiiti udhudhu hwokudzidzisa mweni anopfuura zvake nenzira'.

(My father told me that he no longer had money for me to continue going to school. But, I discovered that he wanted someone to herd cattle since my brothers were now in boarding school. Mr Matambo, my father, did not see any benefit of educating a girl child...He once said that he cannot be foolish enough to educate someone who is like a visitor who is just passing by.)

This mentality of denying the girl child access to education is caused by both patriarchal structures and imperialist constructs. The place of the women was believed to be in the kitchen and in the communal fields. Mutasa (1991: 13) in *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo* also portrays this oppressive mentality of relegating women exclusively to domestic roles. Matirasa, Sekai's sister writes to their aunt who was now educating Sekai informing her of their father's disapproval. She writes in *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo*:

Baba vamuka vachipengera amai nhasi uno...Nyaya ndeyaSekai...Zvanzi Sekai ngaadzoke izvozvi azorima.Vati ndiani angazode kuroora simbe isingagone kubata badza. Chikoro ndechevakomana. Baba vati kana Sekai achida kupinda chikoro achapinzwa nemurume wake. Vati kupinza Sekai chikoro kurasa mari...Vati upfumi hwokurasa nokuti anozoriritira varume vake isu tave marombe.

(Our Father was very angry with mother on Sekai's issue. He said that Sekai must come back now to work in the fields. He said no one will want to marry a lazy wife who cannot work in the fields. Father said education is for boys and if Sekai wants to be educated, her husband is the one to send her to school. He said sending Sekai to school is a waste of money because she will support her husband whilst they are destitutes.)

Sekai's father is so angry with the issue of his sister educating Sekai to the extent of disowning her. Patriarchal values measured the women's importance in terms of their ability to conceive and bear children and also her ability to contribute to the material and survival needs of the kinship group. It should be noted that, like Nyawaranda, in *Barika remashetu*, Mutasa portrays the marginalization of women to domestic roles which have no need for further education.

Most men have this negative attitude of questioning the capacity of women to have knowledge which men do not have. After Sekai completed her degree in Agriculture, she was employed by the government to supervise the newly resettled areas educating the new farmers on proper land use. Mutasa (2005:103) portrays the deep-seated male negative attitudes towards the potential of women to educate men about agriculture. In *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo*, Gozho says:

Munoreva here kuti tigodzidziswa zvokurima nemukadzi? Ko madhumeni akapera here? Munoda kuti atidzidzise nokuti zvaanobva kumereka here?

(Do you want us to be taught farming by a woman? Do you mean to say there are no longer any agricultural extension workers? Do you want her to teach us because she is from America?)

It is ironic that Gozho believes that male agricultural extension workers were the right professionals to teach them about farming not knowing that Sekai was also a qualified female agricultural extension officer. Mutasa is demonstrating that, there

is need to eliminate sexual division of labour at work and in education. Mutasa, in *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo* advocates for the according of equal opportunities to women in the fields of education and the job sector. He clearly demonstrates that the empowerment of women by giving them education and land can produce very powerful personalities like Sekai. After seeing her achievements, Sekai's father confessed his misconceptions in the way he marginalized the girl child. Mutasa (2005: 88) 's focus on gender is through Sekai who met some disapproval from her father who did not want to send her to school but to be at home so that she will help in tilling the land, but later on he realized his mistakes. Her father says in *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo*:

Ndakamurambidza kupinda chikoro. Uku kwaiva kusaziva mwana waamai.Ndaiva murima... Ndinotenda mwana wamai kuti wandipa chiedza....Hona hanzvadzi, imba tapiwa, iwe uri kuvakirwa yako.Ndingamutenda nei mwana uyu?

(I denied Sekai the chance to go to school because of ignorance... I was in darkness. I thank you my sister for giving me light...Look we have been given a house and yours is being built. How can I thank my daughter?)

Mutasa, through Sekai shows how women can be courageous, determined and intelligent just like men demonstrating the need to give them equal opportunities with men in education and in the job sector. Mutasa (2005:15)'s protest is corrective in the way it provides solutions to social problems. Rongedza, who is Sekai's aunt, tells Sekai's father of the importance of education when she, adminishes Sekai's father:

Saka nyaya yakurwadza ndeyokuti ave kupinda chikoro? Mwana wamai unoda kuti vana vedu vafe vari mapofu sesu. Ambuya vedu Punha havana kupinda chikoro. Vanamai vedu havana kupinda chikoro. Saka tose tongofa takadai? Hazvichaitiki kuvazukuru vangu.

(So you have been pained by the fact that Sekai is now attending school. Child of (my) mother you want our children to die without an education like us. Our mothers did not go to school. So you want all of us to die like that? That will not happen to my nieces).

Mutasa shows that sending the girl child to school is a way of empowering women. Women can also be empowered by being given land in their own right as Sekai

demonstrated. Sekai in Mutasa (2005:108)'s *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo* says:

Inzwai, kana mukadzi achida kugariswa patsva, achida munda, ane kodzero yokupiwa munda wake. Tichaonawo kuti madzimai apiwa minda munyika muno. Tinoziva kuti vamwe vavo vanorima kudarika varume.

(Listen, if a woman wants to be resettled, she has a right to be given land on her own. We will see to it that women are given land in this country. Some of them are better farmers than men.)

Sekai acquires a degree in Agriculture, obtains her own piece of land, heads the agriculture department and teaches other people good farming methods. She represents the women folk and has proved to the society that women are equally capable of taking leadership positions as evidenced by her role as a Lands Officer. Takawira, A. (2005:128) in his review of *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo* observes that, 'In allocating land to women, Mutasa is challenging the society to do away with some of its traditional values that are counterproductive and to galvanize the State into having a re-look into the laws of inheritance and the ownership of the means of production.' This shows that, key to women emancipation lies with educated women who can support themselves through their own resources without seeking provision or permission from men.

Some women organizations feel that Zimbabwean cultural practices like payment of the bride price contribute to the subordination of women in the marriage set-up. In Moyo (1992:33)'s *Ndabve zera*, Frank says:

Ndati uri mukadzi wangu wandakabvisira pfuma. Saka ndakakuroorera kuti undiitire mabasa ose apano pamwe chete nokundizvarira vana. Dorcas, iwe uri mukadzi wangu naizvozvo uri pasi pangu. Bible rinotaura kudaro kana tsika dzedu dzechivanhu dzinotaura kudaro.

(I have said you are my wife I paid lobola for. I paid lobola so that you can do all work for me here and to bear children for me. Dorcas, you are my wife so you are under me. The Bible says so and even our traditional culture also says so.)

Frank takes his payment of the bride price as giving him the power to control of his wife's productive, social and biological reproductive abilities. He even believes that

his wife and children belong to him. This position by Frank is an abuse of the marriage institution which is fuelling the call for its abolition. Priscilla Chireshe of Women and Law in Southern Africa Research (WLSAR) once said that lobola should be abolished to take away the purchase power perception tied to the practice that gives men repressive power over women. It's meant to buy women, women being exchanged for cattle (Herald, 23 September 2006:9). This type of reasoning is premised on the distorted conceptualization of marriage which links the payment of lobola to sexuality. The original purpose of lobola in Shona culture was neither linked to sexuality nor to ownership of a wife based on payment. Lobola is one of the Shona customs which was not viewed in economic terms, but in symbolic terms of cementing relationships between two families. It was not meant to be taken as a transaction to pay for a commodity, but was meant to be a token of appreciation as well as compensation for the loss of services to the bride's family.

In marriage, women are abused emotionally and psychologically. In *Barika ramashefu*, Chioniso is abused by her husband Ruwizhu at a Macheke farm. Ruwizhu is ever drunk and physically abuses Chioniso for no apparent reason. When Amos, Chioniso's son visits her at the farm there were visible marks from assault observed by Amos in Nyawaranda (1991:99-100)'s *Barika ramashefu*:

*Pandakatarisa tichimhorosana, ndakaona uso hwavo hwose
hwakazvimba, hutori nembonje. Rimwe ziso rainge rakatsvuka
chaizvo richibuda misodzi.*

(When I looked at mother's face when we were greeting each other, it was swollen with injuries. One of the eyes was swollen with tears coming out of it.)

Chioniso made a very bold decision not to have any children with Ruwizhu because she was so sure that their relationship was short-lived. She later on left him after he fought with her son Amos. Nyawaranda portrays women in a different light from pioneer writers who gave a picture of women subservient to men in all respects. These pioneer writers portray a power disparity between men and women which gives women fewer possibilities of determining their lives. In *Mapenzi*, Mabasa shows how Sabha frequently abuses his wife physically and emotionally. Besides being irresponsible, Sabha gives his wife a sexually

transmitted disease, sleeps with a prostitute in the presence of his wife and then rapes her. In Mabasa (1999:101)'s *Mapenzi*, Mai Tanya says:

Anzwa kuti ndiri kuchema akamuka paaive nehure riye ndokundirova zvakaomarara nezvibhakera...Paakandirova, afunga kuti zvakwana, aona zvekuti aneta, akachindibvarurira hembe dzangu, ndokundimanikidza achiti ndizvo zvandanga ndichichemera saka akanga ondipawo mugove wangu.

(When he heard that I was crying he woke up where he was sleeping with his prostitute and beat me very hard...When he was tired of beating me he tore my clothes and raped me saying, that was what I was crying for so he was giving me my dues.)

Mai Tanya was abused by Sabha in a way which shows that there was no love at all between the two of them. Unlike, Mutasa and Nyawaranda who present women as subjects and not objects in the determination of their destiny, Mabasa, perpetuates the stereotypical image and attitudes of taking women's fate as in men's hands. Mabasa, (1999:102) condemns Mai Tanya to total dependence on Sabha without giving her an inch to claim her own space in this life. Mai Tanya has resigned her life on Sabha as if there were no other alternative avenues to pursue her life. She says:

Ini chandinozvipanichira nokugara pano handichioni hama dzangu. Murume haauye kumba haatengi chikafu, haandide. Kungogarawo kumiririra kupera kwehupenyu.

(I do not see why I punish myself by staying here. My husband does not come home, he does not buy food and he does not love me. It's just staying here waiting for death.)

Because of this constant abuse by Sabha, Mai Tanya dies. In Mai Tanya, Mabasa is portraying the stereotypical image of women who are helpless and hopeless victims of social abuse without showing the energy to rise up to the occasion and claim their spaces as makers of history. While it is true that women are abused in marriages, it is too extreme to portray women as powerless to rectify their situation. According to Gaidzanwa (1985:98):

It is more constructive to consider what women do to redress what they view as injuries and oppressions in society...It is necessary to avoid depicting women as total victims because it becomes unfair

to those women who triumph against victimization and those men who are victimized in society...Accepting a victim status may lead women to overestimate the power of the system against them thus underestimating their potential for struggle to change and liberate themselves and their society.

Such a portrayal of women does not help them in reclaiming their space and fight for their rights. Mutasa and Nyawaranda depart from the narrow moralizing of depicting women characters as weak and dependent on men by showcasing larger than life characters like Sekai and Lucia who have the powerful resilience to determine their own destiny even in face of problems. According to Muhwati and Gambahaya (In Kangira(ed) 2009:62):

The new thrust in Zimbabwean literature is avoiding the portrayal or projection of an image of mothers who are frail, dying, the family collapsing and all this leading to frightening statistics of HIV/AIDS, which create a very bleak future on the African's chances of survival

This is why Gaidzanwa (1985), stresses the need to project a liberating image for Zimbabwean women since the women in their own right are quite capable of conquering life's problems. There is also need for positive portrayal of women in life so as to overcome pessimistic attitudes of hopelessness and helplessness which are not useful in the survival of Africans. Mabasa (1999:162) towards the end of his novel portrays the spirit of Mai Tanya remonstrating over her death, showing the need to be courageous in face of problems. She is moralizing on the need to be independent and resilient in one's quest for freedom. She says:

Ndakazoviona pasisina nguva kuti kurarama upenyu hwekutya vamwe vanhu, hwekutya pfungwa dzevanhu, kwakangofanana nekuve mujeri iwe uri kunze...asika kuzvisunungura hakudi mari asi kuti uzvimiririre nekuzviudza kuti uri munhu pane vanhuwo.

(I discovered when there was no time that living a life of fearing others and their thoughts is like being in prison when you are outside it...Freeing oneself does not need money but to stand one's ground and convince oneself that one is a person among others.)

It is interesting to note that the moralizing by Mabasa here is similar to Mutasa and Nyawarandas' position on the emancipation of marginalized women. Courage, self-assertiveness and self-belief help in freeing women from the oppressive

constructs of society. But, Mai Tanya died because of the failure to stand her ground and claim her rightful space in life. In Shona they say *seri kweguva hakuna muteuro* (there is no hope for life after death), which means that her moralizing can only help others in a similar position not her.

The Legal Age of Majority Act of 1982 has some fundamental impact on relations between sexes within the family and in marriage. It has the potential for the positive transformation of women's frame of reference within the Zimbabwean society to some extent. However, the majority of Zimbabwean women lack both the knowledge and sufficient money to make use of these new laws. There is need therefore, of an aggressive and radical re-education process to give women the confidence to empower themselves and demand their rights. Early women efforts for freedom and economic empowerment were confined to the domestic sphere of dressmaking, bakeries, poultry and animal husbandry which did not do much to uplift them.

Family and gender issues were complicated by the way it was propagated by the West. The position of women in pre-colonial Shona society was not relegated to perform only such tasks as domestic chores and child bearing and rearing. Although, the Shona society is a patriarchal one, women occupied key positions in the domestic and public spheres. British colonialism brought with it, the Victorian patriarchy which facilitated the disparity between sexes. Victorian patriarchy believes that politics is man's exclusive domain, whilst in the traditional Shona society, women played an active and influential role in politics and they earned their respect in society. The West failed to tally their ideas which were foreign to Africans with the traditional ones. Women lost their economic and political status through the colonial land policies and new economic power relations which favored men disrupting the avenues women had in the pre-colonial era.

The perpetuation of colonial subordination of women to men is seen in the portrayal of urban professional women as prostitutes and evil people whereas rural women are painted as the ideal, stable, submissive and morally upright women. This superficial portrayal of reality was used to hide the truth that only men were needed in town for their labour and it is gross injustice to perpetuate this image in

a free Zimbabwe. This promotes exploitation of women and it infringes on women's freedom and rights to compete for jobs in the wage sector. It should be noted that, customary law is not a representative of the original Shona traditional culture, but, it is an alliance between colonial administration and Shona customs. As a result, it gives a distorted picture of the Shona way of life in the sense that, colonial administration misunderstood the nature of African institutions and distorted them by unnecessary additions. All these observations show that it is wrong to blame Shona traditional culture for the negative portrayal of women. If Shona culture produced powerful women like story tellers, midwives, farmers, freedom fighters and women leaders like Mbuya Nehanda, then it is foregone that the society gave women a very high status.

4.4 PROTEST AGAINST CONTENTIOUS POLICIES OF MARRIAGE, FAMILY AND GENDER RELATIONS

Before independence, there was an absence of a framework that ensured that women had equal representation in Zimbabwe. As a result, since independence the Zimbabwean government has taken several steps to remove discrimination against women through legislation. After independence, The Marriage Act, the Matrimonial Causes Act, 33 of 1983, the Administration of Estates Act of 1997 and the Legal Age of Majority Act of 1982 were controversial laws passed by parliament in a bid to redress gender imbalances in the Zimbabwean society.

Moyo's *Ndabva Zera* and *Chemera mudundundu*, Nyawaranda's *Barika ramashefu* and Tsodzo's *Mudhuri murefurefu* and Chimhundu, in *Chakwasha* protest against the new gender perspectives which have alienated Shona people from their culture. It should be noted that, these legislative gains have not always translated into practical gains for women in Zimbabwe because the law has been assumed to be the all-important phenomenon excluding other factors in fighting the marginalization of women. The law should act as a means of social control which entrenches cultural values in the interest of society. Sometimes it is necessary to construct socially supportive measures to underpin legislative moves (Maboreke.1991:239). The law must typically incorporate a community's customs and values, whether domestic, economic, religious or moral. The novels protest on

the effects of these policies in creating wrong perceptions about gender roles and the relationship between parents and their children, husbands and their wives.

Moyo, in *Ndabva zera* and *Chemera Mudundundu* satirizes the document referred as the Marriage certificate which authenticates a union between a man and a woman with total disregard to what the Shona society says. Isaac in Moyo (2002:76)'s *Chemera mudundundu*, explains the implications of the Marriage Act:

Chimwezve chiri apa ndechekuti amai venyu ava, Victoria, vakachata nemurume anonzi Vasco Antonio kudare guru reHigh Court ndokunyoresazve murume wavo mutsva uyu soumwe wamadirectors e-business iri...Once more vana vose hapana akanyoreswa Muchato wavakachata kudare guru uri mune inonzi Community of Property.

(Another thing here is that, your mother, Victoria, married Vasco Antonio in the High Court and put her new husband as one of the directors of the business...Once more, all children are not part of it. They wedded a Community of Property marriage.)

After 1997, when the Administrative of Estates Amendment Act 6/1997 came into effect, first daughters and widows can now challenge the prevailing assumption that the heir to the intestate succession is the eldest son. This law gives widows a far greater share and say to the estate of their deceased husbands than had previously been the case. It ensures that the surviving spouse obtains ownership and occupation of the matrimonial home. Customary law has failed to take into account the new realities of modern marriages in which spouses form a real partnership of their different but equal and complimentary contributions to the welfare of the family. Although this was enacted to curb property grabbing by men's relatives, it was open to abuse especially in circumstances where the wife remarries a man not from her former husband's family.

The Administrative of Estates Amendment Act 6/1997 and Chapter 5.11 of the Marriage Act have a lot of flaws as noted by Moyo (2002: 120) in *Chemera mudundundu*. Isaac in *Chemera mudundundu* says:

Zvandiri kureva apa vakuru vangu kana ndichiti musha uno

nepfuma ndezvaVictoria, ndiri kutaura zvave kutariswa nemutemo waveko mazuvano...Vana varipo hongu, mukati mehurongwa uhwu havamo...asi kuti mutemo wacho hautarisi vana apa pakugovewa kwepfuma. Ibasa ravabereki kurongera vana zvavanoda kunyanya sevava vasisiri kutorwa sepwere.

(What I mean here if I say the home and wealth belongs to Victoria is in reference with what the law says these days. Children, are there, yes, but, they are not considered in the arrangements of the law...It is the task of parents to plan for their children's needs especially those who are no longer considered as minors.)

Moyo makes a mockery of the legal system of justice under Roman Dutch law. Parents work for the future benefit of their children who are not incorporated in the Marriage. The new system of justice deposes the rightful heir and thrusts ownership of wealth into the hands of a foreigner who did not work for the resources. There are loopholes in this Marriage act so much that it can be used by opportunists like Vasco to plunder the wealth worked by the deceased man. Victoria in Moyo (2002:142)'s *Chemera mudundundu*, says:

Vasco, rega kudaro shamwari nekuti ndini ndakakuita kuti uve munhu pana vamwe vanhu. Ndiwe here chaizvo Vasco Antonio wave kundisema kundibata chero pai zvapo?

(Vasco, you must not be that mischievous. Do not forget that it's me who made you what you are today. Are you really the one I know? You now despise me to the extent of not wanting to touch me.)

Vasco as the new husband of Victoria is allowed by law to jointly own Victoria and the late Charles's wealth. This means that the marriage certificate disarms those that it is supposed to correct, notably women and children. That a father's wealth is no longer left for his children shows the rottenness of the legal system. It is important to inform people thoroughly and accurately about new laws and how this impacts on their lives to remove misunderstandings and misconceptions.

Isaac in Moyo (2002:126)'s *Chemera mudundundu*, says:

Sekuru nemi sabhuku munofanira kuyeuka kuti zvinhu zvasanduka izvi. Mukadzi wamuri kutaura naye uyu ndewanhasi. Asiyana chaizvo newanezuro...Saka pakurambana kwake hazvichagoni kuti aende akadengezera zvinhu zvemukitchen uyezve pakufa kwemurume haachagarwi nhaka asi kuti ndiye atova kugara nhaka

yepfuma yaanenge aunganidza nemurume wake asati afa.

(Uncle, and you headman, you should know that things have changed. This woman you are talking about is today's woman different from yesterday's woman. On divorce, it is no longer possible for her to be left without property. On the death of the husband, she can no longer be inherited, but she is the one who will inherit the property she had accumulated with her husband before his death.)

But it should be noted that, the law only works when it is pulling in the same direction with other non-legal factors like social, political, economic, cultural, emotional and ideological considerations (Maboreke, 1991:239). Victoria and Vasco failed to take their property in the rural areas despite the fact that the law was on their side

By marrying Vasco, Victoria ceded her rights and claim to property. Moyo is questioning the effectiveness of this legal document in promoting family unity and communalism in Shona culture. Sabhuku Mapango in Moyo (2002:123)'s *Chemera mudundundu*, says:

Pachivanhu chedu...haakwanisi kutinha danga achienda naro kumurume mutsva anenge amuroora kwete. Kana zvadaro zvinenge zvave kutaura kuti pfuma yemufi yave kuendeswa kugomba inova ngozi tsvuku chaiyo inorwisa masikati machena.

(In our culture, it is not possible for a woman to go with the wealth of the former husband to the new husband. If that happens then it means the deceased's property is going to a foreigner, which may lead to an avenging spirit of the deceased to fight for his wealth.)

Shona inheritance bestows the wealth to an heir better placed to guarantee the continued existence of the family. Sabhuku Mapango in Moyo (2002:116)'s *Chemera mudundundu*, says:

Musha uno ndewa Charles Kapako nemhuri yake. Ndokusakanizve tichiti kana wabara mwanakomana zita harirovi! Musha ndewemurume kwete mukadzi! Kana mai ava vachida kuramba vari muridzi wemusha uno, vanogara zvavo nevana vavo voramba kugarwa nhaka voti vanoda kurera vana vavo kana kuti kuchengetwa nevana vavo. Kana vachinge vafunga zvokuroorwa neumwe murume asiri wedzinza rino vanobva mumusha uno vonoona zvekwavanenge varoorwa ikoko.

(This is Charles Kapako and his family's home. If one has a male child his name will never go into extinction. The home is for the man and not for the wife. If this woman wants to remain part of this home she is allowed to stay with her children and refuse to be inherited. But, if the woman wants to be married to another man from another family then she must go away from the home and stay where she will have been married.)

In Shona culture, if a woman's husband dies, her marriage is still in existence and a surrogate or proxy husband must be found among the relatives of the deceased. The idea behind this was that, if the woman was allowed to get married elsewhere, the children of the deceased would be left with no one to look after them as is the case with Victoria's children in *Chemera mudundundu*. It is within this Shona philosophy that the elders must ensure that the deceased's estate remains within the family line benefitting both the widow and the deceased's children. This shows that the spirit of the deceased is appeased by taking care of his family ensuring its survival beyond the loss and bereavement. Unlike the new law, this Shona cultural practice ensures family survival, protection and perpetuation of the lineage.

The Legal Age of Majority Act of 1982 (LAMA) is a piece of legislation that bestows unlimited power on an individual that has attained the age of eighteen years. Daughters could now inherit property and women could qualify as guardians of their own children and administer deceased estate. It makes every Zimbabwean, whether man or woman, equal in the eyes of the law at the age of eighteen years. Most women thought the issue of equal rights meant having equal powers between a husband and wife. Dorcas in Moyo (1992:29)'s *Ndabva zera* says, '*Ndiri kungoda kuti apinde mugwara hongu. Ndiri kuda kuti ndisvike abika.*' (I want him to be in the right direction. Yes, I want to arrive after he has cooked for me).

Women like Dorcas interpreted the implications of sexual equality in simplistic terms further antagonizing the patriarchy rather than engaging them in a serious debate about male-female power relations (Nhongo-Simbanegavi, 2000:140). In an interview, a former combatant working in the department of justice castigates this:

It is against our Zimbabwean customs to share duties because men and women have different duties designed specifically for their distinct sexes. (Interview with Erison Mutohori, Chiredzi, 25 June 2009)

Although, the issue of equal rights between men and women was an affirmative action meant to redress historic injustices against women, most women mistook it as a chance to fight men. Dorcas engages her husband in a very aggressive way and she ends up foregoing her duties as a wife in the name of pursuing equal rights. The issue of a kitchen duty roster insisted by Dorcas, is an alien concept in Shona culture. In the pre-colonial Shona society, men and women had distinct but important roles to play in the life of the community. But; Dorcas even refuses to cook for her husband. She tells Frank in Moyo (1992:33)'s *Ndabva zera*. '*Kwete. Bika maoko unawo...Ane nzara ndiye anobika.*' (No. Cook because you have hands...One who is hungry is the one who will cook). In such circumstances, there is neither freedom nor equal rights, but war between a husband and wife because LAMA tries to outlaw women oppression by enforcing male oppression. It is a form of 'positive' discrimination in favor of those previously disadvantaged, but, the law must be gender sensitive in the way that it should not discriminate against either men or women in its application. After embracing this new perception of her majority status, Dorcas becomes very combative all the time she engages her husband. She tells Frank in Moyo (1992:34)'s *Ndabva zera*:

Frank! Pasi nepfungwa dzeudzvanyiriri...Six feet deep! Unofunga kuti chinokosha pawakati mha ipapo chii? Ini newe hapana chatakasiyana. Pano tinofanira kuyamurana pakuita mabasa ose apano pamba pasina kusarura. Saka unofunga kuti ndogarira kuita basa rokukupfumisa ndichikushandira iwe wakabhara zvako foo kunge uri kudenga rechina?

(Frank! Down with ideas of oppression...Six feet deep! What is so important about you? There is no difference at all between me and you. Here we must help each other in all domestic duties without being selective. So you think I stay here to make you rich working for you whilst you are sitting and enjoying?)

The new found independence and assertiveness brought a new consciousness to women that previously had not been there which indicts Shona culture. Susan in Chimhundu (1991:165)'s *Chakweshwa* says:

*Murume haasi Mwari anonamatwa...Manjemanje VaMarufu vangu
ava ndinenge ndava kutotonga ndichiita madiro nokuti ndinenge
ndavasiya chaizvo pamari nezvimwe.*

(A husband is not God who should be worshipped...Very soon I will be on top of Mr Marufu, my husband and I will be doing whatever I like because I will have more money than him)

In the new dispensation, women have the freedom to do as they like since they are full human beings who should take their rightful roles in the society without permission from men. Susan in Chimhundu (1991:166)'s *Chakwasha*, says:

*Ini ndinotsividza kana murume ndangomunzwa kana kufungira kuti
anobata-bata twakawanda. Zvino kusaidhi kwangu
zvinotondichovha muupenyu nokuti ndinenge ndichidhila navanhu
vari pamusorosoro...*

(I always revenge if I hear that my husband is committing adultery. On my side it will uplift me because I deal with top men who do something for me.)

Shona cultural marriages do not talk about equality, but they always emphasize on the functionality of the marriage in which spouses should adhere to their responsibilities and complementary roles. Affirmative action does not necessarily mean challenging patriarchal control but should be an empowering tool to reinforce the need to give women equal opportunities in life. Whilst women like Monica and Dorcas teach each other about rights, men like Frank do not want to be outdone by their wives. Frank in Moyo (1992:32)'s *Ndabva zera* asks Dorcas, '*Ndinodazve kuziva kuti anga akupa mvumo yokufamba usiku ndiani?*' (I also want to know who had given you permission to travel during the night.)

Frank is trying by all means to assert his authority as the head of his family by putting a tight control on Dorcas's way of life. Instead of complementing each other, LAMA creates a situation of competition for power within the home between the husband and wife. Marriage no longer means what the Shona culture meant it to be, since now its mere co-habitation with no love and respect between the partners. Frank condemns myths of female liberation which distort and confuse the idea of equality. Moyo ridicules the document called, Marriage certificate which authenticates a union between a man and a woman with total disregard with what

the Shona culture says.

The Age of Majority Act of 1982 results in myths of female liberation which distort and confuse the idea of equality in the African sense leading women to engage in futile attempts to be free. Lindiwe in Nyawaranda (1991:32)'s *Barika remashefu* says:

Apo ndakazongowona kuti rugare naPeter wacho pakanga pasisina, ndipo ndakabva ndatsvaga gweta rangu ndichibva ndapinza nyaya yacho mukoti yokuti murume handichadi...ndakabva ndati ngaugurwe zvawo muchato wacho kuti ndione kuzororawo

(When I realized that there was no peace with Peter, I decided to look for my lawyer and filed for divorce...I decided to break the marriage for me to rest)

Women under the new law can now initiate divorce proceedings, but in Shona culture, divorce is done through various consultations among family members. The law also gives women equal and majority status in the family structures in an attempt to remove the perceived hegemony of men on women. The new found freedom has led some women to opt out of marriage taking it as enslaving and oppressive. This shows the extent to which the marriage institution is no longer respected. p'Bitek (1986:15), says:

...most contrary to the African idea that everybody must marry...have a family...young intelligent, beautiful and handsome Africans were hired to think that wifelessness, husbandlessness and homelessness were a virtue.

However, men like Frank, who still believes in patriarchal values need to be re-educated for him to wake up to the context within which society has and is still changing in Zimbabwe. If the society's culture lays down certain behavioral expectations, these are not immutable and it does not mean to say that these values cannot be questioned or renegotiated in ways that are more realistic and constructive to the prevailing situation.

The Matrimonial Causes Act of 1985 enables women to seek the equitable distribution of matrimonial property upon divorce. This Act aims to put the two

parties in the same position as they would have enjoyed if the marriage had not broken down. But, on the ground, the situation was different. Lindiwe in *Barika remashefu*, is actually given the 'Lion's share' of the matrimonial property between her and Peter which shows that the new laws were biased towards women. In a similar case in *Ndabva zera*, Frank is also short changed by the courts who gave Dorcas more property than Frank. The judge in Moyo (1992:168)'s *Ndabva zera* says:

Saka murume anatora T.V nemasofa matatu chete...Saka Dorcas nevana vanofanira kugara mumba yavari kugara izvozvi. Izvi kutaura kuti imba ndeyemukadzi. Zita rinofanira kuchinjiswa richiiswa rake. Hazviiti kuti mukadzi nevana vashaye pokugara napamusana pako iwe munhu mumwe chete.

(So the husband takes only the T.V and three sofas. Dorcas and the children must remain in the house. This means that the title of the house should be changed since it is not possible for the wife and children to leave the house for only one person)

The Marriage Act (Chapter5.11) also complements the aspect of the need for an equal status in marriage between husband and wife. In marriage, property belongs to both partners and in case of a divorce the two will share the property in portions determined by law. The misconception underlying the implementation of these laws is that Shona traditional culture is the cause of the oppressive gender relations. When Susan and Moses divorced, Mashumba who had promised to marry her also deserted her and she became destitute. Chimhundu (1991:173) says:

Kurasiswa kwakazoitwa Susan uku kwakanga koita kuti agare akangodhakwa zvokuti kana iye Mashumba wacho akanga asisinawo shungu nechigubhu change chongozvifambira zvacho mumahotera nomumakirabhu umu.

(When Susan was divorced she was always drunk and even her boyfriend Mashumba was no longer interested with her because of her recklessness with her life.)

Women erroneously think that staying without a husband gives them freedom, but life outside marriage proves to be a nightmare for most of them. In *Chakwasha*,

Susan becomes destitute as soon as she abandons her husband, Moses. Lindiwe did not get the freedom she was looking for after her divorce with Peter. Life outside marriage was boring and lonely. Lindiwe is depicted by Nyawaranda (1991:105) regretting her divorce:

Kubva zviya zvandasiyana naPeter, ndakatanga kunzwa kufokoterwa ndingori ndoga ndoga muzimba rangu romumayadhi, asi zvose zvinowanzechemera vamwe ndiinazvo...Zvinoshamisa kuti mumoyo mangu ndakanga ndisina rufaro norugare.

(Since I divorced Peter, I had this boredom and loneliness, living alone in my big house. But I had everything which others cry for...It is surprising that in my heart I did not have any peace and happiness.)

Lindiwe's boredom and loneliness does not necessarily mean that women cannot manage without husbands, but rather it shows how marriage is indispensable in making an African a total human being. Men need women and women need men as demonstrated in *Barika remashefu* and *Ndabva zera* which show both sexes suffering as a result of the breakdown in their marriages. Dorcas and Lindiwe look for happiness in drinking beer whilst Frank and Peter also do not have any stable relationships after their divorce. Both men end up in jail as a result of the disorientation of their lives caused by the divorce. This is socially anomalous since it is difficult for women to survive morally outside marriage. Lindiwe realizes the importance of marriage when she was already out of it. However, Lindiwe in Nyawaranda (1991:106)'s *Barika remashefu*, does not want her daughter to repeat her mistake. She says:

Ndosaka ndaida kuti mwana wangu amboedza humwewo hupenyu hwemba, kunyatsoyarukawo achidzidza chikoro nokuzotora kosi, pashure achizoti oroorwawo achichata zvinoita vamwe vatinoona.

(That is why I want my daughter to try to live a different life from mine, getting good education, a course and getting married and wedding like others.)

It should be noted that the nation owes its sustenance from marriage since the family is an important component of the community which in turn makes up the society and ultimately the nation.

The assumption that children who are past the age of eighteen had reached maturity with the cognitive capacity to make independent decisions is erroneous. In Shona culture, a child remains a child no matter how old the child is. One can only do as they please when they have their own home, and not when they are still under the custody of parents. In Moyo (1992:21)'s *Ndabva zera*, when Dorcas asks her daughter, Kudzai, where she was going she replies, '*Regai zvenyu kundityira amai nokuti I am over 18!*' (Do not worry about me mother since I am over eighteen years!)

The Legal age of Majority Act gives all children like Kudzai, who have attained the age of 18, majority status to be independent from parental control. Lack of parental involvement in the marriages of their children may lead to lack of counseling on how best to sustain and nurture these young marriages hence premature breakdowns are witnessed. These children on attaining the age of 18 would be considered by law to be mature and free to choose on their own what is good or bad for them. When Frank tries to reprimand Tamuka who he caught smoking, Tamuka, in Moyo (1992:26)'s *Ndabva zera*, tells his father, '*Manje hamuoni here kuti muri kundikuvadza baba? Munofanira kundinyara nokuti ndakura. I am over 18 ini.*' (Father, can't you see that you are injuring me? You must respect me because I am mature. I am over 18). Children end up not respecting their parents because of clamoring for their rights of independent existence. Parents are allowed to advice but they do not have any authority to control their children's behaviour. *Chemera mudundundu* and *Ndabva zera* condemn the legislation as a foreign import inherited from the west where parental control of children is regulated by law. The problem with this legislation is that, not all children become mature since some get to 18 when they are still at school and this newly acquired freedom may lead them astray.

Tzodzo cites the Legal Age of majority Act as promoting individualism and self assertion among the youths. The legal position is that a father's right to lobola for his major daughter depends upon that daughter's discretion, but in practice, most fathers have continued to exercise an unfettered and independent right to lobola and people have taken it as his entitlement. The first historic legal decision which put LAMA under severe test was the case of Katekwe vs. Muchabaiwa Michael,

SC87/84, where the court ruled that an African father is no longer entitled to seduction damages for a daughter who is now a major (18 years) (Maboreke, 1991:226). The court decision caused some uproar in the social circles. The then Prime Minister and now President, R.G. Mugabe, disowned LAMA. When quizzed on this issue during parliamentary questioning time, he said, 'If there has been a flaw in the drafting of the regulation that flaw will be amended' (Hansard Parliamentary debates 12 September 1984).

Even the then Minister of Community and Co-operative Development and Women's affairs, Joyce Mujuru, when questioned during the 1984 pre-election rally, promised that LAMA would be amended to restore parents' control over their children. She said:

We want to retain our cultural values and we shall invite parents, elders and traditional leaders to advise us on the necessary amendments needed to retain those social values we cherish. (Herald, 7 November 1984).

This shows that, there is a general feeling that the Act be amended to allow parents to give consent to their children before they enter into marriage. The Act is uncustomary and alien and it has possible contributions towards baby-dumping, prostitution and suicide. As Maboreke (1991:242) puts it:

A law has optimum effect when those who apply it and those whom it relates agree with its letter and spirit, and also the rationale underlying it.

Michael, in Tsodzo (1993:30)'s *Mudhuri murefurefu* discovers that this same act was also in Canada when Petronella tells him:

Na 12.00 chaiyo anofanira kubuda mumba neboyfriend yake voenda kwavanoda. Vabereki vake vanomupa mari yavanga vakamuchengetera vomupa kiyi yorusununguko vomubvumira kuenda. Kana akazoda kudzoka pamba apa anenge atova mweni. Ko kwenyu, kana mwana asvika 18 munoita sei?

(At 1200 the girl is supposed to leave her parents' home with her boyfriend to live alone wherever she likes. Her parents give her the money they have kept for her and keys for freedom symbolize that she has been allowed to go. If she intends to come back she will be

taken as a visitor. In your country, what do you do when someone has reached 18 years?)

Michael is surprised that the same law was adopted in Zimbabwe regardless of its negative effects to the Shona family. Tsodzo (1993: 30) comments:

Mukanguva kadikidiki pfungwa dzaMichael dzakanga dzonetseka kuti heya kamutemo kenhandu aka kakanga kakopwa kune dzimwe nyika nevagadziri vemitemo vokuZimbabwe. Akanzwira nyika yake tsitsi kwazvo akati nechomumoyo, 'Chokwadi pfungwa yemutema haidi kubuda muudzvanyiriri...' tsika iyi yakanga yangoitwa chigamhira padenga...

(Within a short period of time, Michael was troubled that this useless which law was copied by Zimbabwe's leaders from other countries. He felt sorry for his country and he thought that black people do not want to come out of oppression...This culture was prematurely assimilated...)

Michael is condemning the wholesale transplantation of western ideas without determining how they fit in the Zimbabwean context. Underlying his condemnation is the conviction that African norms and values are incompatible with those applying in the west. This mechanical adoption of international human rights laws in general without consideration of a people's culture, involves the risk and danger of adopting laws detached from the everyday lives of a particular group of people. Unlike the Universalist position, the culture-relativist approach regards different value systems as unique and incompatible units (Hellum and Stewart, (eds), (1999:418). In Zimbabwe, for instance, individual human rights are irrelevant since neither men nor women view themselves as individuals, but as members of various social groups. The Zimbabwean society is communal in orientation such that the group has also the right to self determination and cultural integrity. In Shona culture, parental control never ceases to have influence even when someone becomes an adult, which means that children must respect their parents and get decisions from them even if they are grown up. The post-independence Shona novels try to establish that this law is not useful in Shona culture because it leads to family conflicts especially between parents and children. Kudzai in *Ndabva zera* becomes uncontrollable and presents several problems to her parents because of this law. In *Mudhuri murefurefu* Tsodzo (1993:30) says:

Yakanga yokonzera mazvakemazvake mumhuri nokuti mwana anongoita chaada zvake, zvisinei nokuti mubereki anofungei nazvo. Mubereki akada kuti asimudze musoro anobva aonekwa senyoka inoda kutsondwa mosoro.

(This law was causing individualism in the Zimbabwean society because children were now wild doing what they wanted without caring what the parent says. If the parent wants to ask he/she will be taken as a bad threat to be reprimanded.)

Africans view themselves as an integral part of the family institution and individuals are weakened if detached from this family wheel. In this context, rights premised upon the individual over the group, like the Legal Age of Majority Act cannot be relevant or useful because the Zimbabwean society is hedged in by prescriptions of the primacy of the communal good over individual rights and interests (Maboreke, ibid:228).

4.5 CONCLUSION

The use of foreign values and principles is not helpful in charting a genuine path of social reconstruction and development in Zimbabwe. There is need to use regenerative Zimbabwean values, sacred oaths and wisdom so as to locate Zimbabweans in the correct and relevant cultural heritage. The Zimbabwean society cannot be helped anymore by gender wars between men and women caused by the different interpretation of new laws, but interdependence between them is necessary to build a strong family unit. In a changing society like the Zimbabwean one, the sex roles can be redefined and renegotiated so as to be in tandem with the current times. Alien influences confuse Zimbabweans as seen by women in the Shona novels who do not embody the worldview and system of values that brought independence to Zimbabwe. The next chapter, is the last chapter of the study which concludes the whole research

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on and concludes the study that has been carried out to illustrate the theme of protest in the post-independence Shona novels. The chapter gives a summary of the findings and recommendations that are pertinent and useful not only to the study of the Shona novel, but also to the important project of nation building. The research's aim was to investigate the extent to which protest literature is indispensable in the struggle of African people to totally liberate themselves from imperialist servitude. In addition, it sought to confirm that, writers contribute more to nation building and national development through constructive criticism. This chapter shall be divided into the following sub-sections: conclusions and findings, and recommendations showing room for further studies.

5.2 CONCLUSIONS AND FINDINGS

This research has established that protest literature is part of a historical process which predates the post-independence period and continues after independence. Post-independence protest is a continuation of the literature of resistance which existed before independence. Pre-independence protest in Shona literature was of general scepticism for the ultimate purpose of improving human behavior. Oral literature was the basis of traditional education in the past, positively and negatively evaluating situations which challenged the smooth flow of the society. In most cases, the criticism was dramatised in a way which exposed vividly and graphically the conflicting forces of vices and virtues which disrupted the social order and harmony of the past. It was a form of social criticism which evaluated human behaviour in order to guide society's members through life towards conformity, tolerance, peace and mutual cooperation.

Most Shona novels during colonialism exude scepticism, anger, frustration,

despair, alienation, pessimism and lost hopes. The injustices of colonialism challenged most novelists to be vindictive in their writings. However, most of the writers failed to explicitly expose the social and political causes behind the vices of colonialism and ended up blaming the victims. Africans are not inherently evil but are made so by the system. This was mainly due to manipulation by the colonial censorship laws which stifled all writings openly critical of the status quo. This is an indication that the theme of protest in the post-independence Shona novel is not an isolated case but it is part and parcel of the on-going and continuous fight against oppression and injustice.

The study has argued that, the post-independence Shona novelists contribute to national development through their constructive criticism of the socio-political and socio-cultural situation in Zimbabwe. The study has made it clear that protest literature helps to interrogate a society's beliefs and convictions questioning their reliability. This leads people to ask the right questions about themselves helping them to find appropriate answers to their problems. Novelists are practitioners directly involved in the remolding of their society through their works. This study has shown that it is possible to move out of the present predicament, if novelists move away from extreme pessimism and give insights of positive ways out.

Novels like; Mabasa's *Mapenzi* (1999), Chimhundu's *Chakwasha* (1991), Manyimbiri's *Mudzimu wakupa chironda* (1991), Mahanya's *Matsvamoyo* (1992), Mutasa's *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo* (2005), and Tongoona's *Vavairo* (1990), have demonstrated socio-political protest. The findings of this research have shown how the government has failed to deliver on most of its pre-independence promises of land resettlement, poverty alleviation, and general improvement on Zimbabweans' standards of living. They also show the failure of independence to transform people's lives for the better because of neo-colonialism and corruption. Throughout the post-independence period, the country has not been able to respond adequately to the fundamental challenges of genuine participatory democracy and delivery of the pre-independence promises. Evidence from the texts show that these undertakings were just but a perpetuation of the colonial legacy and the Shona novels being studied play a seminal role in the provision and generation of ideas on how to dislodge the neocolonial situation in Zimbabwe.

This is essential because Zimbabwe at this stage needs committed writers who create images that shape the perceptions of realities of its people in a progressive manner.

The study of these post-independence Shona literary texts has been very helpful in exposing the inadequacies of the neocolonial undertakings of the Lancaster house agreement and the policy of reconciliation. This research has pointed out the unfairness of the Lancaster House settlement in postponing economic justice to people with long-term unresolved historical grievances. It should be noted that, justice is surely about the here and now and not some future recompense. The agreement made it very difficult if not impossible to attain some of the most dearly held goals like the distribution of land which would be impossibly expensive. The study has revealed that, Shona novelists suggest that the constitution of a country should be the supreme law of the land reflecting the social order and aspirations of the people, the identity of the nation and its national ethos. European-modelled or elitist driven constitutions like the Lancaster House one usually lead to manipulation of Zimbabwe's heritage by foreigners. An acceptable constitution in Zimbabwe should be people driven drafted by the people not for the people. There is need for a thorough and inclusive process in making a constitution with the potential to remedy Zimbabwe's problems.

It is clear from the foregoing study that, the official policy of reconciliation seems a brilliant idea, but is unrealistic in asking victims and survivors of gross violations of human rights to reconcile in the absence of justice. The post-independence Shona novels criticise the way reconciliation was done in Zimbabwe since it excluded truth and participation. They show that many tensions and struggles going on beneath the calm surface were played down by the lovers of reconciliation. The Zimbabwean type of reconciliation does not embrace economic justice as evidenced by the continuation of the legacy of inequality. Zimbabweans must have a sense that there is economic justice in which they have a share in the wealth of their country. This has led to a repudiation of the policy of reconciliation by the Shona novelists as a myth not meaningful enough to address Zimbabweans' inherited injustices. The masses who suffered several war atrocities expected some form of justice and compensation before any form of reconciliation could be

put in place. According to Kagoro in (Raftopolous and Sauage, 2004:252), there is need for restorative justice since transition requires a baseline of rights and wrongs to humanize the perpetrators and victims alike through disclosure of hidden truths and forgiveness of acknowledged wrongs. The Shona novelists have highlighted that, the promotion of restorative justice instead of retributive justice has been hampered by some unrepentant offenders of gross human rights abuses who have refused to acknowledge their wrongs. This shows that the policy of reconciliation was just a theoretical pronouncement with little practical application on the ground. On the ground, the policy of reconciliation in Zimbabwe has proved to be a one-sided affair.

The study has emphasised that the socialist programme which was desired at the inception of independence was not translated into action. The government's introduction of ESAP effectively put on hold the radical restructuring of the legacy of economic inequality that was the major priority of the government at independence. This consolidated capitalism at the expense of socialism. The study also highlighted that neglect of ex-combatants and political intolerance by the ruling elite are forms of betraying people's sacrifices. The research shows that freedom of expression is crucial in nation building since fearless people carry the hope of the masses by showing that change is possible against all odds. A country in the Zimbabwean situation needs constructive criticism and sharing of ideas. The essence of democracy is recognition and engagement of all sectors since every citizen has a right to a shared common destiny. The Shona novelists studied show a lot of innovation and commitment to their work as writers in the way they look at possible avenues on which the problems they exposed in their novels can be solved. They depict the oppressed people's potential to rise and fight against the oppressive forces that prevent complete freedom in independent Zimbabwe. Their characters show a lot of hope in the future and also self-liberating motives. The hope is grounded in the oppressed people's ability to bring about their own change by fearlessly engaging problems they encounter in life.

In this study it has been observed that, the land reform programme is a correction of historic injustices on the uneven distribution of land caused by the colonial legacy. However, post-independence Shona novelists protest against the mode in

which land redistribution was implemented and its aftermaths. The study argues that, the land acquisition process was implemented in a disorderly manner which interrupted productive operations. This threatened food security in Zimbabwe and it was worsened by the corruption endemic in the allocation of farms which was unsystematic and not transparent. Shona novelists like, Mutasa in *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo* (2005) and Choto in *Vavariro* (1990) criticise the inherent contradictions of the land acquisition process in a very constructive way. Mutasa, in *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo* (2005) shows the need for continuous stock taking, an audit of the land acquisition process involving all stakeholders in order to ensure the credibility of the findings. The study highlights that, to conquer the challenges of land reform, there is need for the government to filter genuine farmers from opportunists and self-privileging individuals. The research tries to correct the misconception that the land reform was a racial issue of black against white people, but, it was a liberating affirmative action which shows the need to share the national cake and be united in developing Zimbabwe. It's a historical fact that the previous exclusion of black Zimbabweans in colonial land policies was never compensated for. This research highlights the need to correct the selective understanding of democracy by broadening the conceptualization of property rights beyond the whites in the Zimbabwe context to also encompass the formerly dispossessed.

The study shows that, independence brought with it the emergency of hierarchies of power with several black elites occupying positions of influence in white collar jobs and the government failed to put checks and balances to discourage corruption. As demonstrated in Nyawaranda's *Barika Remashefu* (1991), Chimhundu's *Chakwasha* (1991), Mahanya's *Matsvamoyo* (1992) and Mabasa's *Mapenzi* (1999), lack of accountability and the self benefiting conduct of people in positions of responsibility both in the private and public sectors have gradually become endemic in the Zimbabwe society. As a result, post independence vices like; nepotism, tribalism, bribery, extortion and other underhand dealings emerge. The corrupt state of the post-independence era in Zimbabwe is seen at work places where there is nepotism, bribery, and social stratification. The research shows that the novels are constructive in the way they show that corruption does not help in nation building since it is like cancer which destroys slowly but surely.

The fact that some people are corrupt and others abuse power does not mean it was something regrettable to fight for freedom. The research highlights this type of disillusionment as very misleading since it gives the impression that fighting for freedom was a futile exercise. The Shona novelists argue that, there should be no sacred cows in the fight against corruption since the resources of Zimbabwe are meant for the benefit of all Zimbabweans. They also note that genuine demonstration of political will to fight corruption should start from the top cascading downwards.

On socio-cultural protest, novels like Moyo's *Ndabva Zera* (1992) and *Chemera mudundundu* (2002), Chimhundu's *Chakwasha* (1991), Mabasa's *Mapenzi* (1999), Nyawaranda's *Barika remashefu* (1991), Mutasa's *Sekai: Minda Tave Nayo* (2005), and Tsodzo's *Mudhuri murefurefu* (1993), show how cultural innovations in a new Zimbabwe brought problems after independence. Although culture changes in response to the circumstances people find themselves in, Africans need to seek inspiration from the fundamental values of their culture in order to survive in the post-colonial era where the social structure system has changed. The socio-cultural changes made after independence did a lot of harm than good to our national identity. The cultural waywardness of adopting western ways of life by Zimbabweans have resulted in their alienation from the Shona way of life giving them new identities of individualism and materialism. It is a myth that in Zimbabwe, diverse cultures can assimilate into a single society since minority groups will end up conforming to the entrenched norms of a dominant culture. Globalization is not all inclusive since it uses the vision from one centre of the west and generalizes it as universal. The study notes that bridging cultural differences through cultural integration does not work in a situation where the borrowing has not been on the basis of equality. This implies that African culture does not benefit from this union and it is the one which will compromise so as to fit into the new blended culture. However, it should be noted that, the western culture is a historical reality Zimbabweans cannot wish away. This research highlights that, attempts to isolate African culture from other cultures is highly idealistic since the Shona culture does not exist in isolation but exists with other cultures in a global village. In the global village of cultural contact, it is only those cultures that borrow from other cultures on the basis of equality and mutual respect that survive.

The study also notes that, the patriarchal ideology of male supremacy is premised on the social construction of gender which justifies the distinction between men and women as natural and God-given. In the African context, there is need to look closely at customary law and protect what is positive and in the process reject what is negative. Those who still believe in patriarchal values need to be re-educated for them to wake up to the context within which society has and is still changing in Zimbabwe. The study demonstrates that, there is need to eliminate sexual division of labour at work and in education advocating for the according of equal opportunities to women in the fields of education and the job sector. They clearly demonstrate that the empowerment of women by giving them education and land can produce very powerful personalities. This research shows that giving women education and land is a way of empowering women. The study highlights the need for the Shona society to do away with some of its traditional values that are counterproductive and to galvanize the State into having a re-look into some of the customary laws still discriminating women. While it is true that women are abused, it is a distortion to portray women as powerless to rectify their situation. This study highlights the need to project a liberating image for Zimbabwean women which shows that, the women are capable of conquering life's problems.

The use of foreign values and principles is not helpful in charting a genuine path of social reconstruction and development in Zimbabwe. Because of several gender affirmative policies after independence, women now assume new gender roles that challenge those prescribed by Shona tradition in the name of equal rights or women emancipation. The Shona novels protest against the effects of the new policies in creating wrong perceptions about gender roles and the relationship between parents and their children, husbands and their wives. The study shows how marriage is indispensable in making an African a total human being. There is need to use regenerative Zimbabwean values and wisdom so as to locate Zimbabweans in the correct and relevant cultural heritage. People should be informed thoroughly and accurately about these new laws and how they impact on their lives to remove misunderstandings and misconceptions. The study highlights the fact that, the law only works when it is pulling in the same direction with other non-legal factors. The study also shows that, the Zimbabwean society cannot be

helped anymore by sex wars between men and women caused by the different interpretation of new laws. The research notes that, interdependence between them is necessary to build a strong family unit. In a changing society like the Zimbabwean one, the sex roles can be redefined and renegotiated so as to be in tandem with the current times. If the society's culture lays down certain behavioral expectations, these are not immutable and it does not mean to say that these values cannot be questioned or renegotiated in ways that are more realistic and constructive to the prevailing situation.

The findings of this research have shown that protest literature is reliable and useful to society because it offers constructive and corrective criticism. The post-independence Shona novelists show that it is not enough to highlight weaknesses in criticizing since this would produce pessimists and non-believers who do nothing to solve their problems. This shows that protest literature helps to interrogate a society's beliefs and convictions questioning their reliability. This leads people to ask the right questions about themselves helping them to find appropriate answers to their problems. It has been the research's argument that, protest literature is a reliable way from which a society's condition can be analysed.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

The research made the following recommendations in order to find ways in which Shona literature can be developed in order for it to become useful and usable in the Zimbabwean society. The researcher recommends that further studies on the reliability of the theme of protest be carried on in other genres like poetry; drama and short stories. Further research in these other genres should strive to show how protest literature is both corrective and motivating in the way it points to possibilities beyond life's problems.

It is this researcher's submission that a lot still needs to be done by novelists in as far as constructive literature is concerned. The descriptive and moralising type of literature has become a less engaging undertaking in the contemporary times in which art should be a vehicle for emancipation. It is not enough for artists just to

criticize, but, the writers should go beyond mere condemnation and try to be corrective in their approach. This recommendation is a challenge to artists who should maintain their image as the guardians of society. In this case, there is need for artists to be committed enough to give society a guiding philosophy or ideology that helps in solving their problems.

It is recommended that those who choose to carry out research in Shona literature, especially on contemporary issues, should try to take a holistic approach. Research in Shona literature should not separate socio-political issues, from socio-cultural issues since these are two sides of the same coin. Political issues should be discussed within a cultural framework related to the issues under discussion.

This study has highlighted the problems of reconciling Zimbabwe's cultural traditions to the globalization trends in the contemporary world. There is need for further investigations to be carried out on how African countries should preserve their valued traditions without being left out of the global train. Whilst it is important to protect, preserve and guard the Shona culture against the influence of other cultures in a multicultural society. It is recommended that further research is necessary to find out the interlink between cultural preservation and cultural dynamism.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE GUIDE

Below is a questionnaire that seeks to find out your perceptions about the issue of protest in the post-independence Shona novel. May you please answer all the questions by putting a tick against the answer that matches your views or alternatively write in the space provided. The title of the thesis is: **The theme of Protest in the Post-independence Shona novel**. I thank you in advance for your assistance in this research. The information will be kept strictly confidential.

Tick the appropriate response

1. Sex (A) Male []

(B) Female []

2. Age

A. Below 20 years []

B. 20 – 30 years []

C. 30 – 40 years []

D. 40 – 50 years []

E. Above 50 years []

3. How accurate and effective are Shona post-independence texts in the portrayal of Zimbabwe's post-independence challenges?

.....
.....

4. How does protest literature change people's?

(a) Political life?

.....
.....

(b) Social life?

.....
.....

(c) Cultural life?

.....
.....

5. Why did the war promises of land, education, food, houses, jobs, unity,

democracy, and economic independence fail to materialize with majority rule in Zimbabwe?

.....
.....
.....

6. Are there any prospects of a positive change from the present challenges facing Zimbabweans? Give reasons for your answer

.....
.....

7. In what ways are the Shona protest novels torchbearers in Zimbabwe's cultural revival?

.....
.....

8. How do the Shona texts handle the important issue of culture in the context of culture contact and cultural conflicts in post-independence Zimbabwe?

.....
.....

9. What were the major reasons behind the existence of post-colonial ideological contradictions in Zimbabwe?

.....
.....

10. Suggest ways in which Shona literature can be used as an instrument of development and vehicle of national consciousness.

.....
.....

12. Suggest 3 ways in which protest literature can play a major role in socio-cultural and socio-political empowerment.

- (i)
- (ii)
- (iii)

Thank you.

APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW GUIDE

This interview aims to find out your views regarding the issue of protest in the post-independence Shona novel. The title of the thesis is:

The theme of protest in the post-independence Shona novel.

Section A Structured interview Guide for Authors

1. What inspired you to write about post-independence issues in Zimbabwe?
2. In your opinion, can African writers maintain their relevance by focusing on issues that are reflective of their target readers' aspirations and situations?
3. Do you subscribe to the notion that protest literature contributes to a proper understanding of history?
4. Is your writing linked in any way to your personal experiences during and after the Zimbabwe's liberation struggle?
5. You seem to raise a number of post-independence challenges in your novel. What do you present as the solutions to these challenges?
6. How effective do you think the solutions you have raised are in alleviating Zimbabwe's problems?
7. What could be the possible strengths and weaknesses of your portrayal of Zimbabwe's post-independence scenario?
8. What are the historical roots of post-independence betrayal of the people in Zimbabwe?

Section B Structured interview for literature students and accomplished scholars

1. To what extent do you agree or disagree that protest literature is an important factor for national development? Give reasons.
2. How best can protest literature be used as a tool for constructive criticism?
3. What has led to this problematic socio-political situation during a period of self-rule?
4. How is it possible to move out of the present problematic socio-political predicament?

5. How best can the Shona culture that has been influenced by western culture be developed to be a strong national culture which can assist in nation building?
6. Is the Shona writers' portrayal of the socio-cultural situation in Zimbabwe is objective enough to effectively provide a remedy for Zimbabwe's cultural problems?
7. Does the implementation of gender affirmative laws in Zimbabwe antagonize the males or help women to engage them in a serious debate about male-female power relations?
8. What is the extent of Shona writers' committment and responsibility in shaping Zimbabwe society's goals, hopes and aspirations?
9. What is the success and failures of the Shona novelists in depicting Zimbabwe's post-independence challenges?
10. In the present age of globalization, what is the relationship between cultural preservation and cultural dynamism?

Thank you