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Shona Oral Art Forms in the Age of Globalization: Reincarnation of the Oral Prototype

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Abstract

This article examines the ways and conditions under which Shona oral art has adapted itself to the realities of globalization. The paper argues that Shona oral art has been preserved and will survive the destructive forces of globalization because it has been captured and recorded on paper using the written word. Also, much of this oral art, especially the folktale, has survived because religious institutions have become new popular centres for artistic creativity. In addition, Shona oral art has been transformed from a local community art and has become a global art through the use of electronic media. Local musicians have also taken Shona oral art to the global stage through international tours using the Shona language accompanied by music, instrument and dance. The writer though observes that the relationship between the storyteller and the audience has, however, been completely transformed.

Key concepts: *Oral art; oral art and music; story-telling and film; globalization; preservation and adaptation of oral art.*

Introduction

It has often been asserted that the forces of globalization and industrialization have impacted very negatively on African oral art forms to the extent of threatening them with complete extinction. However, it has also been postulated that forces of globalization and industrialization have actually helped to enhance the development and preservation of oral literature. Various folklore scholars have debated this issue and one tends to get the impression that many of them are inclined to feel that the forces of globalization and industrialization are actually helping to keep African oral art forms alive. The views of some of those scholars will be summarized here in order to give a sense of the direction which this debate has taken. Ilboudo (1987, p.116-117) is aware of the danger of these oral art forms being lost because he talks of the need to preserve them for the sake of our children who may not have the opportunity to hear the stories from our grandmothers or the story-teller. Ilboudo (1987) sees the need to salvage folk literature from "eventual total destruction" (p.117). When Noverino Canocini (1990, p.140) interrogates the effectiveness of certain means of preserving African oral folktales it is because he is aware that there is danger that these folktales may die. Realizing the onslaught of modern 'education' on African oral art forms and the void that will be left by the 'death of our wise old men, who are walking

libraries of our African heritage', Nandwa and Bukenya (1983, p.39) have warned us to get this information before the wise old men disappear from the surface of the earth. Another scholar who admits that the folktale tradition is dying is Shimmer Chinodya. In his own words "...We should not be bemoaning our children's lack of stories told by the fire. A great many of us no longer have hearths to sit around and if we do, the fires have died and gone with the conventional story-teller" (Chinodya, 1999, p.331). Chinodya is acknowledging here that the story-telling tradition is no longer the same, that is, if it is still there at all. However, he is not a defeatist who throws up his arms in despair and says all is lost. Instead, he encourages us "to search for, and revive, the oral tradition in the trappings of modern African life..." (Chinodya, 1999, p.332). Furthermore, Thosago (1997, p.55) contends that due to its resilience folklore, contrary to claims by its detractors, is far from dying due to the supposedly devastating advent of the electronic age. He argues that its survival is a result of its ability to adapt to its changing environment. Thosago's argument here has a strong bearing on the development of my own thesis in this paper. In fact Thosago (1997) believes that "folklore seems to be riding smoothly on the high crest of the wave propagated by industrialization and urbanization" (p.56) and this is a view that this writer shares.

In this paper it is postulated that Shona traditions as performed oral art forms are no longer what they used to be in their proper cultural context. So much has changed over the years as the environment in which they exist change. With urbanization and industrialization, and with the world becoming a global village, Shona oral art forms have been affected in a big way. However, instead of dying, they have had to take advantage of their malleability, versatility and variability to adapt themselves to new situations. It is true that many Shona oral art forms are no longer performed in the same way as they used to because the performer has aged or has died and no new ones are coming up as replacements. Also, the audience too is too preoccupied with other leisure pursuits such as films, videos, internet, the FIFA soccer world cup tournament, or with academic and other intellectual engagements. Focus has since shifted from the hearth in the round mud hut or the *dare* to some other more absorbing occasions. Yet in the face of all these disruptive forces Shona oral art forms have been preserved and have been shared with other tribes and races in different other ways. It is the intention of this paper to discuss the different ways in which Shona oral art forms are being recreated, kept alive and transmitted.

In order to appreciate the arguments that will be raised in this paper it is essential to acknowledge right from the beginning that the oral art forms whose fate we are discussing is "dependent on a performer who formulates it in words on a specific occasion" (Finnegan, 1970, p.2). They depend first and foremost on performance for their creation, human memory for their preservation, and on the word of mouth for their transmission from one generation to the other. This point is made clear here so that when later we talk of Shona oral art forms found in

written books, on cassettes, on CDs or in music we appreciate the fact that these media are only containers holding oral art that was created, preserved and transmitted in the manner outlined above, and not the modes of artistic creation themselves. So when one sees a book or a cassette containing oral art he/she should know that it is only a way of preserving what was recorded there after it had been created orally.

Shona oral art in written books

Shona oral art forms have been preserved in written form. Educated individuals, both white and black, took the opportunity of “rendering invaluable service to the preservation of traditional literature and culture” (Ilboudo, 1987, p.117). As Ilboudo argues, “we should [also] appreciate the need to preserve it in written form for our children” (p.116). Having sensed the need to preserve oral literature for posterity’s sake educated individuals collected various Shona oral art forms such as folktales, proverbs, riddles and poems and put them into written form. This means that they are now frozen on paper for ever. They will always be there for those who will need them. There is now no fear that the creator or the compiler of the art will grow old and die without being replaced. The book will remain.

Those educated people did not create these stories, poems, proverbs, riddles and other oral art forms through performances before audiences on specific occasions. They found them already existing in oral forms. All they did was to record them down for us and for posterity. As Aaron Hodza (1974) says, the reason for collecting poems and writing them down is because “*ndakaona kuti tsika nomutauro wedu zvava kurova isu varidzi takangotarisa*” (p.2) (I realized that our customs and languages were dying while we the owners watched). So this was a deliberate effort to preserve Shona heritage. Admittedly, a lot was lost in the process of preserving it in written form, but even then still, as Thompson (1946) argues, “however well or poorly such a story may be written down, it always attempts to preserve a tradition, an old tale with the authority of antiquity to give it interest and importance” (p.5).

The use of electronic media

Shona oral art forms have been preserved and made available to a wider global audience through the use of electronic media. It has been transformed from a local community art and has become a global art through the radio, television, and the use of cassettes. Realizing that today’s child spends most of his time in an environment of books and computers, Zimbabwe radio and television have come up with programmes that are meant to bring the child into ‘contact’ with the story-teller. For many years before her death in 2008 at the age of 84 Ambuya Miriam Mlambo, a veteran broadcaster, entertained listeners, especially children, by telling them folk stories and giving the moral at the end of each story. There are very few Shona people who grew up during Mbuya Miriam Mlambo’s heydays at the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) who would say with sincerity

that they were not socialized by Ambuya Miriam Mlambo, who was affectionately known as *Ambuya "Chirambakusakara"* (one who refuse to grow old). Many Zimbabwean people remembered with some nostalgia Ambuya Mlambo's shaky old voice and the stories it churned out every week. Because she was now a celebrity she was engaged by Showman Tours and Leisure Services as part of their weekly promotion television programme that was meant to market their touring business. In this programme, which was presented by Ruzivo Gahamadze and watched by many viewers, she played her familiar role as a story-teller. She narrated a tale of the title **Chirimanyemba Wafa** (*Chirimanyemba* is dead), while her mixed audience of six, three whites and three blacks, joined in singing the song part of the tale that punctuated its various episodes. So well did she keep Shona oral traditions alive on radio and television, especially the Shona folktale, that she was deservedly awarded an Honorary BA Degree in the Faculty of Arts by the University of Zimbabwe. In a world in which the fire in the hearth has died down the radio and television have been means of keeping the story telling tradition going. What this shows is that "because of its inborn resilience folklore, contrary to claims by its detractors, is far from dying due to the supposedly devastating advent of the electronic age" (Thosago, 1997, p.55). The electronic age is helping to keep it alive. Admittedly, the relationship between the performer and the audience is not as it was in the traditional set up. Yet voices are heard, and in the case of television even movements and gestures are seen.

Film and television drama-Neria

One of the outstanding phenomena of Post-colonial Zimbabwe has been the development of the film industry and drama performances shown on television. These media have often opened up space where Shona traditional oral art forms can be performed. To illustrate this, the internationally acclaimed film **Neria** will be used as an example. **Neria** is a story of a woman whose name gives the film its title. Neria (the character) loses her husband, Alex, in a car accident and greedy relatives give her a torrid time as they try to take away from her everything that she and her husband worked hard to put together, including her children. One of these greedy people is her brother-in-law, Phenias. She is only saved by the courts and civic society. In one of the episodes of the film grandmother tells a folktale which "symbolically constitutes an emotional journey with which each member of the audience identifies" (Canonici, 1995, p.18). A synopsis of the folktale will be given here to illustrate our point:

There was once a man who lived in the rural areas with his wife. The man went to town to look for a job but his wife remained in the rural areas tilling the land and growing crops and keeping domestic animals. She sold these and got money. The husband ultimately returned home having failed to get a job in town and found the wife having put together a lot of wealth- and he was very happy to live in his new found wealth.

In a typical Shona folktale fashion episodes of the story are punctuated by singing

of a chorus "*Isu tabuda mugota, Gari mukaranga gudo shava'* (We have graduated from the bachelor cottage), to which the audience responds "*Gari mukaranga*" (Gari, the favourite wife). At the end grandmother concludes with the moral of the story, "So you see, these women must be respected". In the context of the film **Neria**, Alex's wife is supposed to be respected. In other words, Neria is supposed to be left alone to enjoy the fruits of her labour. Because the film is presented predominantly in English with a mix of Shona it has been put at the disposal of viewers in other countries. The folktale told by grandmother and its moral will forever remain part of the film **Neria** and whenever and wherever this film will be shown this folktale will be told and retold. There are, however, scholars like Bauman and Dorson (cited in Thosago,1997) who are not impressed by this intervention by the mass media into oral traditions. Their concern is that this is commercialization of the people's literary commodity for the benefit of capitalism. The two scholars, however, need to appreciate the fact that the world is fast changing and any art that fails to develop survival strategies will die. If you go into a grass thatched round hut to tell your child a story and you find him gone to watch television or to play games on the computer the only way to go is to put your tale on those electronic gargets and your child will meet it there. There are more children today who will hear grandmother's story and song "**Gari mukaranga**" (Gari, the favourite wife) whenever they watch the film **Neria**, whether they are in Africa, the United Kingdom, the United States of America or Europe, than those who will hear it from the traditional grandmother in some remote village in rural Zimbabwe.

Telling it from the pulpit

In Zimbabwe today, like it is in many other countries in the world, more and more people are turning to the church, especially Pentecostal churches. Some have been driven by the despair caused by ill-health or by economic and political hardships to find solace in Christian religion. As a result the churches have become new centres for artistic creation as if to confirm Thompson's assertion that religion has played a mighty role everywhere in the encouragement of the narrative art (Thomson, 1946, p.5). Not that there is anything new in that. Jesus was famous for teaching in parables and Shona folktales are like parables in many ways. If children no longer sit around the hearth to listen to the story-teller's stories many of them come to church every Sunday or every Saturday where preachers use story-telling techniques to deliver their sermons. The argument being raised here is that where the people are gathered that is where the story-teller goes, whether in person or electronically. Many a preacher on the pulpit has been heard to say "Let me tell you a tale" and proceeds to tell a folktale which helps to illustrate his religious theme. Mutasa, Nyota & Mapara (2008, p.36) have also noted that "*ngano* has adapted to a new environment, [and] among those who use it most are politicians and preachers." Below are two tales that this writer captured at his local church one Sunday morning. The tales were given in Shona and are here translated into English:

Tale 1

Once upon a time a certain man set a trap in order to catch rats. A rat saw the trap and asked Snake to help remove it but Snake refused saying the trap was not set for him but for rats. The next day a snake was caught in the trap and it died. The rat reminded the snakes about his warning. Rat then asked Goat to help with removing the trap but Goat refused saying the trap was meant for rats. The next day they discovered that a goat had been caught in the trap and it had died. Rat then approached Cow for help to remove the trap but Cow refused saying it was a rats' problem. The next day a cow was found trapped in the trap. It was then that all the animals agreed to come together and remove the stone trap.

Tale 2

Once upon a time there were two groups of people who lived in communities separated by a well in between. Both groups fetched water from the same well. One day after one group had fetched clean water a little bird came and put mud into the well and left the water dirty. When the other group came to fetch water they found the water dirty and they accused the other group of being terrible and inconsiderate neighbours. The next day the group that had come to fetch water last the previous day and found it dirty, this time it came first. They fetched water and left. After they had gone with their clean water the little bird came to the well and made it very dirty and flew away. The group that fetched clean water the previous day and was accused by the second group of making water in the well dirty came to fetch water last on this second day and found the water very dirty. This group, which was the last to fetch water, accused the first group of making water in the well dirty. On the third day both groups came to the well to fetch water at the same time. Both of them fetched clean water. They, however, put their heads together and agreed to hide somewhere near the well, and watch. Soon after hiding the little bird came and put mud into the well and the water became dirty. It was then that the two communities came together and killed the little bird. This is how the problem of dirty in the well was resolved.

These two stories were told in one church sermon one Sunday morning by the same preacher. The theme of the sermon was unity, a much needed commodity in the Zimbabwe situation. One after another the preacher told illustrative stories to teach the Zimbabwean people that if they were united they could solve their problems. This paper has nothing to do with Zimbabwean politics. This paper is on the issue of preservation and survival of Shona oral art forms in this age of

globalization. These stories have been used here to demonstrate that Shona oral art forms are not really dead. They are alive somewhere. They have simply adjusted and adapted themselves to their changing environment. Both stories have the ingredients of a folktale—the formulaic expressions “A certain man...”, “Once upon a time...”; the use of human and animal characters, the episodic structure, the moral at the end of the story, the narrative device of repetition, etc. If we consider that these two stories came from one sermon in only one church somewhere in the Midlands Province of Zimbabwe and in only one day, and if we consider that many more stories were being told in other churches all over the country on that day alone, then we begin to appreciate that the story-telling tradition is very much alive.

Shona oral art and modern music

It has been argued that “folklore’s malleable disposition enables it to adjust and adapt favourably to the changing environment without losing its traditionally endowed eminence as a pristine cultural production” (Thosago, 1997, p.55). One artistic activity that has become the domain for Shona folkloric traditions to show their ability to adjust and adapt is the area of music. One thing that has been established in this discussion is that Shona oral art is an art that depends on performance for its creation, human memory for its preservation and on the word of mouth for its transmission. This is how Shona oral art was created. Later on the oral art was placed on paper in order to preserve it in written form. But once put on paper it became lifeless, frozen and cold because the performer, the audience and the occasion that gave it life were no longer there. This is when the Shona musician came in and breathed life into it. It is possible therefore to see a triad—orality, literacy and dance music. In this triad orality comes first, the written word comes next, and the musician comes last.

What is being depicted here is a situation whereby, either by design or by sheer lack of originality and innovation, the Shona musician has refashioned ready-made materials from Shona oral traditions into songs. These musicians have used Shona oral forms such as folktales, proverbs and traditional poems in their music, just as much as many others have adapted biblical verses into gospel songs. Zimbabweans are now accustomed to popular musicians who merge oral folktales or poems with the drum and the guitar to produce memorable artistic experiences. These musicians have taken over from the traditional story-teller. Although they are far removed from the hearth, they recreate the folktale, the proverb, the riddle or the poem, thereby ensuring the preservation and the survival of the oral tradition in their own way. The musician-cum-story-teller tells a folktale accompanied by guitars, drums, instruments and dance. Thus, a folktale has adjusted and adapted itself to a new environment—the stage, the beer-hall, community halls and the Harare Gardens—away from the hearths in the rural homes. It can be argued therefore that “oral literature is adapting to modern circumstances just as it adapted to and reflected change in the past” (Mapanje & White, cited in Mutasa, Nyota & Mapara,

2008, p.37). The lead singer narrates the story, episode after episode, while punctuating each episode with a chorus enriched by the use of guitars, drums, instruments and rattles. So, instead of dying out the oral tale is very much alive. One good example of such a story is **Simbimbino** by the late Biggie Tembo and the Bundu Boys. The story is told in a typical folktale narrative style, but amidst beautiful sounds of music churned out by the band, as follows:

Ndokunge ari mumwe murume
 Baba ava vakaita utsinye
 Ndokunocherera mukadzi wavo gomba guru guru mumunda
 Mai vaya vondonotanha muriwo ramangwana
 Ndokubva vasvikowira mugomba muya umu
 Ndokubva vashanduka kuva nguruve
 Sezvamunongoziva pasi chigare pasi pasati parohwa nenyundo
 Mai vaya vakabva vasanduka kuva nguruve vawira mugomba muye umu
 Baba vaya vozondotarisa mugomba muye
 Ndokuona, a, inga mune nyama
 Kuti vochiburitsa nyama iya iyi ndokubva yaramba
 Zvikanzi enda undoshevedza mwana wangu
 Mwana uyu ainzi Simbimbino
 Akanoshevedzwa Simbimbino uya
 Achisvika paya akatanga kuimba

*There was once a certain man
 This man did a very cruel thing
 He dug a very big pit in the field with his wife in mind
 His wife went to pick vegetables the following day and fell into that pit
 And she changed to a pig
 As you know in the remote past before the world became what it is today
 That woman changed to a pig after falling into the pit
 The man went to look into the pit
 And to his delight he noted that there was meat
 When he tried to remove the meat it refused to come out
 It said, 'Go and call my child'
 This child was called Simbimbino
 Simbimbino was called
 And when he arrived he started to sing.*

The story begins in a typical fashion of a Shona Traditional folktale—"There was once a man..." and goes on to tell of how the man tried to cut the pig into pieces without success. After this episode the singer-cum-story-teller and his band sing a chorus which provides the magical means by which the impossible becomes possible—the pig is cut. The chorus goes:

Amai chekekai kani! Amai chekekai!
 Kuchekeka ndinochekeka mwana'ngu,
 Ndibaba vako
 Wona vakandicherera pasi
 Simbimbino-o, Simbimbino woye

Mother, please be cut! Mother, please be cut!
It is possible for me to be cut
It is your father
See, he dug a pit to bury me
Simbimbino-o, Simbimbino, please!

Another episode follows, punctuated by this chorus until the story ends when the wrong-doer is dismissed by the chief from the land, "*Chibva munyika mangu! Handidi nhubu munyika mangu ini!*" (Get out of this land! I don't want criminals in my land!). This is a complete Shona folktale that Biggie Tembo and the Bundu Boys converted into a song used to entertain the masses and make money for themselves.

The other Shona folktale that has been adapted into a song is **Mutongi Gava** (Fox, the no nonsense judge) by Zvishavane Sounds. The Zvishavane Sounds lead vocalist narrates a story in which a man saves a lion that has been caught in a trap and then the ungrateful lion now wants to eat its saver. While the man and the lion are arguing over the unfairness of the lion's conduct a fox arrives and offers to mediate. The man tells the fox that he found the lion caught in a trap and rescued him, now the lion wants to eat him. The fox pretends not to comprehend the circumstances that are being described and so he requests that the situation be restored as it was before the man arrived. So the lion gets back into the trap. The fox asks the man what he was doing when he saw the lion in a trap and the man says he was going on his way. The fox then derisively orders the man to go away saying, "If you were going on your way then go on your way! What are you waiting for?" The man goes on his way, and the fox also walks away, leaving the ungrateful lion where he was before -in the trap- to die. This is an interesting folktale told amidst the sounds of guitars, drums and instruments churned out by the band. There are many instances of singers who use music to tell stories and convey messages to audiences. Other examples of Shona songs that are constructed on the folkloric tradition include **Chikwari** by the Black Umfolozi Band and **Tula Bhechulude** by Mangoma Express.

While it is true that a lot is lost in the process of taking the folktale from the hearth in the round mud hut to the music room and the recording bars and eventually to the dancing halls and beer gardens, it is also true to say that a lot is also gained. Much has been said about the importance of performance, the story-teller, the audience, gestures, facial expressions etc. All these are there in a musical

performance of a folktale -the dancing story-teller (-cum-musician), the ecstatic audience, the exaggerated body movements and the facial expressions. All those who love the beauty of movement have plenty of it in this story-telling dance. Biggie Tembo's genius for rhythmic actions and his sense of pattern is legendary. Watching Biggie Tembo's theatrical performance of the folktale **Simbimbino** convinces you, as Tracey (1952, p.156) notes, that nothing is more natural to an African than to dance. While musicians take folktales to the pubs and community halls where adult revellers constitute the majority of the audiences, the same music is regularly slotted on radio and television and children and others who spent time in the home listen to it and in the process they hear some folktales.

Other musicians have felt that they have a cultural responsibility to continue to give advice and counsel to people on social matters. They have therefore taken the oral genre of Shona didactic poetry and fused it with modern music as a way of keeping it alive and relevant. In traditional Shona society the delivery of *nhango* (didactic poetry) from an adult to a junior created an occasion for the giving of advice and the use of music to carry didactic poetry did the same, although the ages of the deliverer and the audience are no longer clearly defined. *Nhango* poems are utterances full of insight and knowledge of the traditional conception of manhood and womanhood. So this didactic poetry has been preserved in modern music.

One Shona musician who has excelled in this domain, and is by no means the only one, is the late Marshal Munhumumwe. His song *Rudo imoto* (Love is like fire) is well-known, and some of the lines from it will be given here as illustration:

Rudo imoto runokuchidzirwa vanaamai
 Musati zvandaroorwa ini handichageza ini
 Musati zvandawanikwa ini handichachena ini
 Chokwadi munosiyiwa mumba umu mava mega mega
 Musachembere paunhu chemberai panyama yenyu
 Ko, kuchena kwoumhandara makaisepiko mhai?
 Varume ipwere vanotorezvwa sevana vacheche.

*Love is like fire, mothers. It must be kept burning.
 Do not assume that because you are now married you no longer have to bath
 Do no assume that because you are now married there is no more need to keep clean.
 You will be left alone in your house, deserted.
 Do not age in personality. Only the body should age.
 Where is the legendary smartness of your girlhood?
 Men are like children; they love to be nursed like babies.*

Now, this song by Marshal Munhumumwe takes the listener to the origins of oral literature. Its verses are a refashioning of the verses from the oral poetry that

Aaron Hodza collected from the peasants and recorded on page 45 of his book *Ugo Hwamadzinza avaShona* (1974). The original recorded oral poem goes like this (Only relevant lines have been given. Some lines have been left out):

Mwanangu Raviro muzukuru
 Ufende siyana nahwo
 Varume vose muzukuru, tumbwanana.
 Hatubvi pamusuwo patunopiwa nomukaka.
 Imba yako uchiitsvairawo mazuva ose,
 Iwewo amai itawo ushamwari nemvura,
 Uchapa hunosemesa murume mumba.(p.45)

*Raviro, my niece
 Do not be untidy
 All men, my niece, are like puppies
 They stay where they are fed on milk
 Sweep your house every day
 You too must always wash yourself
 A man hates uncleanliness in the house.*

The oral origin of Hodza's poem given above is confirmed by the fact that Joseph Kumbirai uses identical statements and images to express the same ideas in his poem *Chido Chinokuchidzirwa* (Love should be kept alive) in *Mabvumira Enhetembo* (1991) (Rhythm of poetry). The following are a few selected lines from Kumbirai's poem that are identical to lines in Hodza's poem given above:

Munoti ndichachemei ndave nemurume mumba
 Neimba yenyu ichinge dambiro remadvinyu
 Chido chomurume chinodzokera kwachakambobva
 Muchembere mumakore musachembere muunhu
 Varume ipwere dzisingagumi kurezvwiwa
 Varume ipwere dzinokwata kuna mamwe mamana
 (*Mabvumira Enhetembo*, p.65-66)

*You say you have nothing to worry about because you have a husband
 And your house looks like the playing ground for lizards
 A man's love will fly away to where it came from
 Grow old in years but do not age in personality
 Men are like children, you never stop nursing them
 Men are children who eat from other houses.*

These lines from Joseph Kumbirai's poem also run through Aaron Hodza's poem in *Ugo Hwamadzinza AvaShona* (1974) and through Marshal Munhumumwe's

song *Rudo Imoto (Love is fire)*. The theme, subject, content, concepts and even style of delivery of the above poems written in books by Aaron Hodza and Joseph Kumbirai provides the inspiration behind the song that Marshal Munhumumwe sings. This takes us back to the triad-oracy, literacy, music. It is in this form that didactic oral poetry has been preserved and is being transmitted.

Marshal Munhumumwe has also popularized Shona oral traditional love poetry through his music. His song *Vimbai* is a recreation of Shona oral love poetry captured by Moderkai Hamutyinei in his poem *Ndiye Wandaireva (Mabvumira Enhetembo, 1991)*. Marshal Munhumumwe's song goes like this:

Vimbai mwana wakanaka
 Mwanasikana chichekererwa seshereni
 Chitoramwoyo pakaperera shungu dzaMwari
 Ndiye wakatora mwoyo kwete wangu ndega
 Tiri vazhinji vanomurumbidza...

Vimbai, the beautiful one
The girl who is as perfect as a shilling coin
Heartbreaker, God's best creation
The one who took every man's heart
We are many who praise her...

Marshal Munhumumwe did not create the words of this song, nor did he create new ideas. He took them from Mordekai Hamutyinei's poem *Ndiye Wandaireva* in *Mabvumira Enhetembo (Literature Bureau, 1991, p.33)*. The poem *Ndiye Wandaireva* takes us back to oral love poetry used in Shona traditional courtship.

Musicians such as Biggie Tembo, Marshal Munhumumwe, Black Umfolozi and others have repatriated oral art forms from books, and instead of taking them back to the hearth where the fire has died out, they have breathed new life into them. The words and concepts in these songs are not new. They are a reincarnation of the oral prototype.

On a number of occasions Zimbabwean musicians have undertaken tours of other countries to stage musical shows. Biggie Tembo, for example, toured Germany, the United Kingdom and America with the Bundu Boys. His song *Simbimbino* that we have quoted above, was sung before full houses in Germany, United Kingdom and in many other places outside Zimbabwe. One performance in Germany was done before a predominantly white but very enthusiastic audience that showed that they were enjoying every bit of what Biggie Tembo and the Bundu Boys were doing. With Biggie Tembo and the Bundu Boys therefore, the Shona folktale, *Simbimbino*, reached Europe and was told to huge crowds. Never mind that the

majority did not understand Shona. The late Tongai Moyo, another Zimbabwean musician who toured Europe on a number of occasions said when asked in an interview on Zimbabwe television, that European audiences come to understand Shona music through the medium of translation. The songs that carry in them Shona folktales, love poems, didactic poetry, proverbs and other oral art forms, are recorded on cassettes and CDs. With this technology Shona oral art forms are preserved and even transported to far away countries.

Conclusion

It is important to note that in a fast changing world characterized by urbanization and industrialization it is not easy to keep oral traditions intact using the same means as those used in the past. There are global forces that threaten the existence of Shona oral art forms. However, these oral art forms are so resilient and malleable that they are capable of adjusting and adapting to a new and changing environment. Shona oral art forms have survived and are continuing to survive aided by those same technological advancements that caused their 'disruption' and 'destruction'. The Shona traditional story-teller, the Shona traditional poet, and the Shona traditional language specialist, continue to exist but in a different form. The writer records the oral art on paper so that it will not get lost and the musician takes the recorded oral art and breathes life into it again by way of using it in his songs and dances. The audience is no longer necessarily made up of the children. The audience is anyone who cares to listen, young or adult, black or white, African or European, and few, if any, can resist African music. With the television, the radio, cassettes, CDs or with the musician or the Shona person in exile, the Shona oral art forms have gone far and wide.

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Reducing Mathematics Anxiety in Schools and Building Positive Attitudes: A Challenge for Teachers and Students

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Abstract

This study investigated the “O” level mathematics teachers’ and students’ views and suggestions about what steps to take to reduce mathematics anxiety, build positive beliefs and attitudes and hence improve performance in mathematics. The sample consisted of 17 teachers and 340 students in the Midlands province of Zimbabwe. The students wrote a mathematics achievement test and filled in an anxiety- and attitude-measuring questionnaire whilst the teachers filled in an attitude-toward-mathematics questionnaire. Open-ended questions were also included to supplement the quantitative data. Correlational and regression analyses were done using the computer package SPSS. It was found that Student Attitude and Student Anxiety had statistically significant correlations with Student Achievement, respectively positive and negative ($r > 0.5$ numerically). Teacher Attitude had a small but significant positive correlation with Student Achievement. These results were consistent with previous research findings cited in the literature. Suggestions offered by the respondents in the open-ended sections of the questionnaires, as well as mathematics anxiety reduction strategies cited from the literature, and their implications on curriculum implementation and development in mathematics are presented in this study.

Key Terms: “O” level, mathematics anxiety or mathophobia, attitudes, beliefs, motivation, performance, achievement.

Introduction

In Zimbabwe today, it is a common feature that there is a consistent demand for good “O” level passes (a C symbol or better) in mathematics as seen in the press (radios, TV’s and newspapers) for recruitment purposes to careers, apprenticeships or as prerequisites for further studies. However, a sufficient number of students do not pass “O” level with good symbols in mathematics (Ministry of Education, Sport, Art and Culture, 2009). This is so in spite of the fact that parents, teachers and students generally consider mathematics as important for employment and further studies. Thus, mathematics has attained an unfortunate “filter status” for the majority of students in Zimbabwe (Ndemo & Mtetwa, 2010).

Most teachers seldom consider and make use of the affective domain of Bloom’s taxonomy of objectives when preparing instructional programmes. Anxiety,

negative attitudes and wrong beliefs which fall under the affective domain are key factors which may reduce pupils' enjoyment and liking of mathematics and which may probably become the major determinant of failure (Ma, 1997; Zakaria & Nordin, 2008). Emphasising the importance of educational objectives in Bloom's affective domain, Travers, Suydam, Runion and Pikaart (1977) point out that any analysis of mathematics teaching must take into account attitudes, emotions, and beliefs, as well as some cognitive components like comprehension and application. According to White, Way, Perry and Southwell (2006) pre-service teachers' beliefs and attitudes towards mathematics should be investigated and cultivated at college during pedagogy lessons.

According to Ma (1997, p. 221), "A causal relationship between attitude toward mathematics (ATM) and achievement in mathematics (AIM) has long been assumed to exist." Although it has been found that an increase in ATM leads to significant increases in AIM, there has not been clear evidence as to whether ATM is a cause or an effect of AIM (Ma, 1997; Hensel & Stephens, 1997). Thus one of the major problems in mathematics education is the lack of a universal theory on the anxiety-attitude-performance relationship although Strawderman (2011) has attempted to design a 'math anxiety model' which can be used to develop the theory.

Contextual and Theoretical Frameworks

The concept of maths anxiety cropped up from studies in the early 1970s that attempted to identify factors affecting different mathematics achievement and participation among males and females (Brown & Gray 1992). In 1974 Lazarus coined the term "mathophobia" to mean fear of math (Buxton 1981). In USA many programmes were designed and put in place in order to reduce math anxiety and improve achievement. However, the major motivating factor for that action was the fact that the USSR had launched Sputnik 1 into space in 1957 and that US pupils were lagging behind those of other industrialised countries in math achievement (Skemp, 1987; Brown & Gray, 1992).

There are many contributing factors to mathematics anxiety since it can be viewed from different domains: psychological/emotional, intellectual/educational and social/motivational (Strawderman, 2011) and significant research has been conducted on overcoming it (Kogelman & Warren, 1978; Tobias, 1991; Stuart, 2000; Woodard, 2004). It seems there is little research on ways of overcoming mathematics anxiety in the Zimbabwean context. If such research exists, maybe there is insufficient application of the suggested strategies otherwise there would

be no such fear and failure as indicated by high dropout and low pass rates (Appendices 1 & 2). Our teachers and students are hereby challenged to try these suggested strategies; the first five being due to Tobias (1991):

1. Consciousness Raising

“Consciousness Raising” is a technique used to persuade students that they can do mathematics and that they can be helped to reduce their math anxiety. Tobias and her team of counsellors and math instructors used the technique first by distributing booklets of mathematical symbols of different types and then requesting students to visit their “math clinic” (or a math lab in our case) to learn more about those symbols. It is claimed that the majority of the students went to that clinic (and were “treated”). Apart from local advertisements, public speeches were also delivered and books written on the subject but with greater emphasis on countering current math myths such as the belief that there is a “mathematical mind”, or “mathematics is a (white) male area of study” and so forth.

2. The Math Autobiography

In the first session of the math anxiety reduction programme, a counsellor would kindly ask the student to write or tell his/her math autobiography. The counsellor would ask the student to say more about such things as mother’s fear, father pressure, teachers’ and peers’ attitudes, responses from the opposite sex and so on. Discussing these issues either privately or in groups is believed to reduce some pressure and relax the mind of the student.

3. Group “De-Tox”

To de-tox means to remove toxins (poisonous substances in the body) believed to have been caused by anxiety, fatigue or stress. During “de-toxing” students are encouraged to discuss and share their personal experiences with others. The group also watches films on aspects of math anxiety and discuss their observations. It is believed that after the discussions, students will no longer believe that they are “alone” as those who suffer from fear of mathematics do. The “Group De-Tox” method can then end with the instructor teaching the very topics and aspects the students would have reported having had difficulty with.

4. Divided-Page Exercise

Students are asked to divide a page of their math exercise book into two columns. In the left-hand column labelled “My feelings/thoughts,” students would record their feelings and thoughts while doing their mathematics in the right column labelled “My work.” Students would be asking themselves questions like “What am I feeling?” “Why is this problem difficult?” and “What can I do?” and then answer these questions in the left-hand column. At the end of

the lesson participants would volunteer to read aloud their left-hand side notes, thus prompting a discussion to ensue.

5. **Assertiveness Training**

This is a form of therapy intended to give students the training they would need to survive in the next (real) math classes. For instance, the “Math Anxiety Bill of Rights” designed by Sandra L Davies (in Tobias 1991) is meant to give students courage to speak clearly and fearlessly about any aspect of mathematics that they so wish to speak about. That bill of rights has 14 statements some of which are: “I have the right to dislike math. I have the right to be slow. I have the right not to understand.” (Tobias, 1991, p. 93).

Tobias (1991) claims that of all the 600 students who passed through her clinic at her university in the 1970’s and 1980’s, there was a hundred percent pass rate in the calculus course.

5. **Systematic Desensitization**

According to Zyl and Lohr (1994), the student first practises some muscle relaxation exercises and then imagines scenes of previously uncomfortable math-related situations while in the relaxed state. Tense muscles translate into the mind as “failure messages.” The student, aware of the tension, would be guided (eg by an audio-taped programme) to counter condition the psychological discomforts or to minimise their effect on the task at hand. Zyl and Lohr call such a method “systematic desensitization” and claim that it overcomes math anxiety and builds confidence and feelings of independence.

7. **“Mind over Math” Workshops**

There were five “mind over math” workshops conducted by Kogelman and Warren (1978) on how to approach mathematics rather than merely solving problems. With food and drinks on the table, and no homework or tests given, people would just sit, eat, discuss, and help one another solve mathematics related problems. Later on, some real-life applications of mathematics would be discussed and practical mathematics problems solved. It is further reported that the participants learned more mathematics more quickly after discussing their feelings about mathematics with others.

8. **Professor Freedman’s Ten Ways**

(i) Overcome negative self talk (ii) Ask questions (iii) Consider math a foreign language—it must be practiced (iv) Don’t rely on memorization to study mathematics (v) READ your math text (vi) Study math according to YOUR LEARNING STYLE (vii) Get help the same day you don’t understand (viii) Be relaxed and comfortable while studying math (ix) “TALK” mathematics (x) Develop responsibility for your own successes and failures. (Freedman, 2010).

9. Other Techniques

Wieschenberg (1994) spells out several techniques that can be used to inculcate positive attitudes in pupils. For example, self-motivation and desire on the part of the student are very important. Teachers should be discouraged from telling students that mathematics is very difficult or other negative statements. They should instead change the "pessimistic explanatory style" of the students to "optimistic explanatory style." In brief, the pessimistic-explanatory-style student looks at mathematics, the math classroom and him/herself negatively. He/she attributes success to mere luck and failure to inability. If such students' beliefs and attitudes are allowed to stay put, they could probably generate fear of mathematics and helplessness in the classroom. Like Tobias (1991), Wieschenberg advocates for group discussions and group learning. He also suggests that attitudes and beliefs can be built up through teaching students different problem solving strategies and giving credits to partial solutions of problems. Here the teacher has many options, some of which include using cartoons to solve fun problems Hensel and Stephens (1997) brain teasers (in the form of games or puzzles) to create interest, telling stories that involve mathematics (or history of mathematics) and so forth.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to investigate strategies and techniques of preventing and reducing mathematics anxiety and building positive attitudes so as to improve students' performance in mathematics at "O" level. The study is conducted in Zimbabwean schools (Midlands Region). The study will also investigate how math anxiety correlates with achievement, how math attitudes correlate with achievement, how math anxiety and attitudes interactively correlate with achievement, and reveal and explicate students' and teachers' opinions and suggestions regarding the problems associated with mathematics learning, teaching and examining. The examining or assessment aspect is important because it is normally the final examination grade that determines whether the student finds suitable employment, goes for further education or merely sits at home unemployed.

Materials and Method

Research Design

This research followed the mixed-method approach that takes a bit of the qualitative and a bit of the quantitative paradigms. "Education, as a truly human phenomenon, cannot possibly be captured in its totality by a single paradigm" (Mwirira & Wamahiu, 1995, p. 110). Mixed methods are believed to generate better understanding than studies bounded by a single method (Greene, 2005). So

in this research, quantitative data measuring teacher's attitudes towards mathematics and pupils' attitudes, anxiety levels and achievement in mathematics, were collected and used to investigate relationships and their strengths (correlational study). The students' and teachers' opinions, feelings and suggestions (qualitative data) constituted the basis of the explanatory survey.

Population and Sample

The targeted population was all "O" level (form 3) mathematics teachers and pupils in the Midlands province. There were about 219 registered secondary schools (at the time of carrying out the research) with most of them found in the rural areas. In each of the Province's districts, there were both urban and rural schools which could be subdivided into government and Christian/mission, boarding and day schools, etc. The urban schools generally enjoy some advantages over those in the rural areas in terms of resources and equipment, staffing and so on.

Two districts (Shurugwi and Gweru) were selected for the sake of accessibility. Secondary schools in these two districts were selected using the stratified random sampling with proportional allocation technique and random numbers generated by a scientific calculator in order to come up with ten schools from each district comprising rural day, mission, rural government boarding, urban government boarding and urban government day schools.

Selection of the form 3 class at each school was done using random sampling but students of varying backgrounds and abilities were preferred, so the researcher and each school's mathematics HOD (Head of Department) identified 7 high achieving, 7 low achieving and 6 average students who had to be issued with questionnaires to complete on the spot and to write a mathematics achievement test later on. The form 3 teacher at each school and whose students had been sampled was requested to complete a similarly designed teacher's questionnaire. So all in all, there were 20 teachers and 400 students in the target sample. At three of the schools, pupils were said to be busy learning other subjects and could not be released to take part in the study. Thus, the study sample included 340 pupils, (192 male, 148 females with ages ranging from 16 to 17 years) and 17 teachers (aged from 25 to 37 years, 10 male and 7 female, 11 from rural and 6 from urban schools). So there was a response rate of 85%.

The Research Instruments

Questionnaire Items

The designing of the questionnaire items for this study was guided by Walberg's reliability test was carried out using the Spearman- Brown formula. The reliability

concept, and attributions [ability, effort]), (ii) development (that is age), and (iii) ability (either good or poor); INSTRUCTION – including (iv) amount, and (v) quality; ENVIRONMENT – including (vi) home (vii) classroom (viii) peers, and (ix) television.

Questionnaire items in this study were thus designed and adapted to incorporate some of these factors (i, iii, iv, v, vii and viii). Campbell (1996) and his team used Walberg's model in their study that was aimed at determining factors affecting mathematics achievement in "Olympiad youths" in different countries. Walberg's model was found to predict accurately achievement and attitude development in mathematics. The model was also used in regression and path analyses with mathematics or science achievement as the dependent variable. However, the choice of the dependent variable (that is math achievement in this study) was not guided by Walberg's model since there is a vicious circle connecting attitude, behaviour and achievement. It is up to the researcher to decide which is the dependent and which is the independent variable.

There were 26 items in the student's questionnaire of which ten items in section A were intended to measure students' levels of anxiety in mathematics, ten items in section B were designed to measure students' attitudes towards mathematics and six items in section C were open-ended questions asking students their thoughts and suggestions about the contributing factors to math anxiety, negative attitudes in math and the high failure and drop out rates. Items in sections A and B were of a five-point Likert type scale and coded 1 to 5 corresponding to "strongly disagree" up to "strongly agree." For negative items, the scale had to be reversed. For example, a student with very low or no math anxiety strongly agreed with statements such as "I am confident in many math topics" and could be awarded an anxiety score of 1 (one). Thus if we take 30 on a 10-to-50 scale to stand for "neutral/moderate", then a total score above 30 would indicate a high level of math anxiety (section A) or positive attitude (section B) while one below 30 would indicate a low level of math anxiety or negative attitude towards mathematics. [Refer to Table 2]

The teachers' questionnaires were similarly structured: with ten items in section A measuring the teacher's attitude towards mathematics (eg. "I enjoy teaching Math, Math is a difficult subject at 'O' level," etc.) and the six questions in section B being open-ended ones.

Mathematics Test Items

The test questions were intended to measure pupils' achievement in mathematics. The questions were all taken from the November 1994 national "O" level mathematics paper 1 (4008/1, 4028/1) set by the University of Cambridge local

examinations syndicate in collaboration with the Zimbabwe Ministry of Education and Culture. There was no special reason for choosing this paper, apart from it being available in larger quantities. Any other similar past examination paper could have been used for the same purpose. This paper had already been standardized (validity and reliability checked) by the examiners before the "O" level students wrote it in 1994. For the purpose of this research, only questions 6, 9, 14, 22 and 27 were skipped because it was found that most of the form 3 students in the sample had not yet covered the respective topics and related ground thoroughly enough in order to answer these questions. Nevertheless, those problems set in the test covered a wide variety of mathematical situations encompassing Arithmetic, Geometry, Algebra and Trigonometry, all of which are in the national "O" level syllabus. Pupils were also tested on their ability to recall and apply formulae, comprehend, measure, construct, interpret graphs, solve equations and evaluate expressions, among other skills.

Validity and Reliability of Questionnaires

A pilot study whose purpose was to determine the validity and reliability of the teachers' and students' questionnaire instruments was carried out. Three secondary schools of high, average and low performance in mathematics in the Midlands Region were visited and from each of these schools six students (2 high achieving, 2 average and 2 low achieving in mathematics) and at least three teachers were selected and asked to complete the given questionnaires. A split-half odd-even reliability test was carried out using the Spearman-Brown formula. The reliability correlation coefficients were based on the students' mathematics anxiety and attitude total scores for the odd and for the even numbered questions.

Spearman-Brown's reliability correlation coefficients for the Math Anxiety Pupils' Instrument (section A) and Pupils' Attitude Towards Math (section B) ranged from 0.647 to 0.976 with 0.2 for one school. Spearman-Brown's reliability correlation coefficients for the teachers' Attitude Towards Math (section A) ranged from 0.592 to 0.993. The validity of the questionnaire items was tested during discussions with colleagues and other mathematics teachers. All reliability correlation coefficients were large and positive (>0.5) except one that was equal to 0.2. On the whole, the questionnaire instruments were considered to be generally reliable and valid and the data collection process could commence.

Data Collection Procedure

Students' and teachers' questionnaires were personally distributed to the

respondents. After about 15 minutes, completed questionnaires were collected and before pupils were dismissed, they were told to prepare for a mathematics test that would be given on a later date. That test was administered with the help of two research assistants (who were qualified and experienced Math teachers) and all the students' scripts were handed over to the researcher to mark using a prepared and 'error-checked' marking guide.

Data Analysis Procedure

Open ended questions in the questionnaires were analyzed question by question by selecting and grouping together responses and looking for similar themes or meanings. The closed ended questionnaire responses and math test results were analyzed using the computer software package SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences). SPSS version 6.1 was used to do all the computations, cross-tables, regression analysis and statistical tests. [Norusis (1988) explains how SPSS can be used to do Data Analyses].

Results and Discussion

Results for Quantitative Data:

Eleven variables were created and coded before the data were entered into a computer. These variables and codes were: Location of school by district (DISTRICT)- Gweru(1) and Shurugwi(2); Geographical location of the school (LOCATION)- Urban(1), Rural(2); Ownership of the school (OWNER)- Government(1), Mission(2); Type of the school (SCHOOLTYPE)- Boarding (1), Day(2); Level of the school in terms of having forms one to four classes only or forms one right up to six (LEVEL) - having classes up to 6th form (1) and having classes up to 4th form (2), [The variable LEVEL was created because it was observed that there seemed to be a difference in terms of quantity and quality of resources (eg textbooks) and teacher's qualifications and experience between schools having forms 1 to 4 classes and those having forms 1 to 6 classes. Here the code 2 for "no 6th form" meant those schools with classes ending at form 4 level.]; Sex of the teacher (TrSex) - Male (1), Female (2); Attitude of the teacher towards mathematics (TrAtt) - Negative (10-25 scores), Neutral (26-34 scores) and Positive (35-50 scores); Sex of the student (StdSex) - Male (1), Female (2); Student's mathematics anxiety (StdAnx)- Low (10-25 scores), Moderate (26-34 scores) and High (35-50 scores); Student's attitude towards mathematics (StdAtt)- Negative (10-25 scores), Neutral (26-34 scores) and Positive (35-50 scores); and Student's mathematics achievement (StdAch)- Low (0-40 marks), Average (41-60 marks) and High (61-100 marks).

All the computations, cross-tables, regression analysis and statistical tests were done using SPSS version 6.1. Here are the results.

Table 1: Student Achievement/Attitude/Anxiety & Teacher Attitude: Descriptive Statistics

For the Entire Sample		StdAch: min=1 max=92		StdAtt: min=12 max=49		StdAnx: min=12 max=49		TrAtt: min=23 max=44	
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
		33.80	20.47	27.39	8.77	33.05	8.94	36.35	6.15
For Categories		<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>
Male Student	1	36.97	21.94	28.48	9.37	31.76	9.51	36.66	6.11
Female Student	2	28.72	17.37	25.98	7.72	34.72	7.86	35.95	6.20
Boarding	1	39.05	23.07	29.02	9.82	31.64	10.6	35.00	6.82
Day	2	31.02	18.83	26.71	8.21	33.64	8.08	36.92	5.78
Urban	1	31.92	18.55	27.01	8.54	33.67	8.30	34.50	6.93
Rural	2	35.50	22.86	27.95	9.09	32.15	9.75	39.04	3.33
Government	1	34.10	20.98	27.66	8.93	32.55	8.98	36.60	6.51
Mission	2	27.95	15.22	25.40	7.19	36.78	7.76	34.50	0.51
6 th Form	1	42.79	23.02	30.05	10.1	29.93	10.6	37.50	8.49
No 6 th Form	2	30.48	18.73	26.57	8.17	34.01	8.16	36.00	5.20
Gweru	1	34.84	20.56	28.29	8.89	32.34	9.09	36.67	6.38
Shurugwi	2	31.74	20.30	26.38	8.54	33.85	8.73	36.00	5.89
Male Teacher	1	35.99	21.51	27.76	9.14	32.36	9.48	35.50	6.83
Female Teacher	2	29.65	18.32	26.86	8.22	34.04	8.04	37.57	4.79

An interesting pattern can be seen in Table 1. For all the variables StdAch, StdAtt and TrAtt:

- the male students' mean score was greater than the female students' mean score,
- the rural sample's mean score was greater than the urban sample's mean score,
- the government sample's mean score was greater than the mission sample's mean score,
- the "6th form" sample's mean score was greater than the "no 6th form" sample's mean score,
- Gweru district's mean score was greater than Shurugwi district's mean score.

But looking at StdAnx, the situation was reversed for all cases (a), (b), (c), (d) and (e). However, there was no such pattern for the boarding-day and male teacher-female teacher categories. The reasons why these differences and patterns emerged in the distribution of the mean scores could not be established in this study.

The whole group of students and teachers was also regrouped into low, average and high levels in terms of their total-score performance in the mathematics achievement, attitude and anxiety tests. On a 10-to-50 Likert scale, scores above 30 would indicate high anxiety and those below 30 would indicate low anxiety.

Table 2 shows that re-grouping together with a new re-grouping of say, 10-25 for negative, 26-34 for neutral and 35-50 for positive attitude. Achievement (StdAch) scores are classified differently. This was done only in order to aid comparisons and analysis of the findings. However, Quilter and Harper (1988, p. 124) warn us that, "There is, however, no theory which can provide the 'upper boundary' of this score below which one might conjecture 'negative attitude.'"

Table 2: Percentage of students falling in each grouping or class

	<u>Scores 10-29</u>		<u>Score 30</u>		<u>Scores 31-50</u>	
StdAtt	Negative	65.0%	Neutral	3.8%	Positive	31.2%
StdAnx	Low	28.8%	Moderate	1.8%	High	69.4%
TrAtt	Negative	11.8%	Neutral	5.8%	Positive	82.4%
	<u>Scores 10-25</u>		<u>Scores 26-34</u>		<u>Scores 35-50</u>	
StdAtt	Negative	47.1%	Neutral	30.3%	Positive	22.6%
StdAnx	Low	22.4%	Moderate	23.8%	High	53.8%
TrAtt	Negative	11.8%	Neutral	23.5%	Positive	64.7%
	<u>Marks 0-40</u>		<u>Marks 41-60</u>		<u>Marks 61-100</u>	
StdAch	Low	67.4%	Average	20.2%	High	12.4%

As can be seen in Table 2, the greatest number of students was found in the low achievement, negative attitude and high anxiety levels whilst most teachers fell in the positive attitude level.

Table 3: Average Mathematics Test Marks (out of 100) scored by students in each level of Student Attitude, Student Anxiety and Teacher Attitude:

Variable	Level 10-25	Level 26-34	Level 35-50
StdAtt	26.1	24.4	60.6
StdAnx	60.8	24.6	30.6
TrAtt	35.9	25.1	35.5

In Table 3 students with highest mean math marks fell in the positive attitude and low anxiety levels but in TrAtt levels, there are no big differences in the students' math marks.

Statistical Tests And Interpretation of Findings

In order to test the significance of the relationships between the variables achievement, attitude and anxiety, Pearson's product moment correlation coefficients were computed.

For the zero-order or total correlations (ie without controls), StdAnx had a statistically significant negative correlation with StdAch ($r = -0.6046$, $p < 0.0005$). StdAtt correlated positively with StdAch ($r = 0.5905$, $p < 0.0005$). The teacher's attitude towards mathematics (TrAtt) had a small positive but statistically significant correlation with student's mathematics achievement (StdAch) of $r = 0.1287$ ($p = 0.018$). These results are consistent with those of other researchers (Maqsud & Khalique, 1991; Zakaria & Nordin, 2008).

It could be worthwhile to note how other variables were related. StdAnx and StdAtt had a statistically significant negative correlation of $r = -0.83$ ($p < 0.0005$) while StdAnx and TrAtt had no statistically significant correlation between them. StdAtt and TrAtt were also not significantly correlated.

To examine the simultaneous influence of student anxiety and student attitude on student's mathematics achievement, first-order multiple correlation coefficients (R) were computed. Thus the interaction effect was determined by $R = 0.39$ (when total correlations were considered) and by $R = 0.34$ (when partial correlations were considered). These were considered to be small but significant interaction effects.

In order to examine the variability in achievement and possibly to come up with a mathematical model that could fit the data, linear regression analysis was carried out. Table 4 shows the B, Beta, T and significant T values when all variables had been entered in the multiple linear regression equation with StdAch as the dependent variable. The B values are the coefficients of the variables in the equation whereas the Beta values represent the standardized slopes or coefficients. T is the significance test statistic. For example, the B coefficient for StdAnx (-0.716458) means that if anxiety is reduced by one unit, then achievement would be increased by 0.716458 units or about 71.6% provided other variables are held constant.

Table 4: Multiple Linear Regression Analysis

VARIABLE	B	Beta	T	Sig T
StdAnx	-0.716458	-0.313025	-4.134	0.0000*
StdAtt	0.658931	0.282274	3.794	0.0002*
TrAtt	0.532417	0.160096	2.667	0.0080*
TrSex	-5.052666	-0.121688	-2.018	0.0444*
Constant	57.287198		4.367	0.0000

Multiple $R = 0.66335$, R square = 0.44003, F value = 25.85326, Significant $F = 0.0000$, * means T was statistically significant at $p < 0.05$.

The regression model in Table 4 accounted for about 44% of the explained variability in student's mathematics achievement. Only TrSex, TrAtt, StdAtt and StdAnx were statistically significant predictors of StdAch (at $p < 0.05$). District, Location, Owner, Schooltype, Level and StdSex were not statistically significant predictors of StdAch and were removed from the table.

T-tests were carried out to test whether the differences between the means of the variables StdAtt, StdAch, StdAnx and TrAtt were statistically significant or not. It was found that male students scored higher math marks, were less mathematically anxious and had higher positive attitude to mathematics scores than their female counterparts.

Results for Open Ended Questions:

Student's Questionnaire Data

Section C of the student's questionnaire had six open-ended questions (Q21 to Q26) to which all the 340 form 3 students responded. The purpose of including these questions was to tap the students' opinions and suggestions regarding the problems of mathematics anxiety, high failure rates, dislike of mathematics, examinations, syllabi and so on. This would also supplement the quantitative data obtained from sections A and B. Responses which were similar in meaning were grouped together. Students gave various reasons but only those related to TrAtt, StAtt, StAnx and StAch were accounted for. So figures for the question by question analysis of only the results related to these variables may not add to 100%.

Question 21 asked, "Why, in your opinion are some pupils afraid of mathematics?" Respondents (49.1%; [167]) suggested that mathematics is perceived as a tough and challenging subject and so failure is not a surprise while 6.7%[23] believed that impatient, rude and dogmatic teachers cause failure.

Question 22: "What makes pupils fail maths at "O" level?"

Several respondents (42.6%[145]) believed that it is lack of seriousness, dedication, revision and practice which make pupils fail while 29.1%[99] attributed failure to exam fever, nervousness, confusion and panic.

Question 23, " What do you think is the reason why some pupils dislike mathematics?"

More or less the same responses were stated for Q21, Q22 and Q23. For example, the reason that most teachers do not teach properly, are harsh, impolite, strict, dogmatic, rude and so on was believed to be a cause for anxiety, failure and dislike of mathematics (6.7%[23] in Q21, 2.4%[8] in Q22 and 11.2%[38] in Q23). Others (31.8%[108]) believed math to be a very difficult subject while 12.6%[43] considered it as boring with long and tedious calculations.

Question 24: “What do you think could be done so that pupils do not fear Mathematics?”

A significant number of students (37.6%[128]) believed that the blame for why pupils fear mathematics lies with teachers who should then take appropriate action (eg. patience, politeness, variety of teaching methods) to redress it. Some students (42.1%[143]), however, believed that fear of mathematics could be prevented or overcome through revision, practice, guidance and counselling and motivation.

Question 25: “What do you suggest must be done to make many pupils pass “O”-level maths?”

Some students (29.4%[100]) thought that increasing examination time would lead to many pupils passing “O” level mathematics while others (34.7%[118]) suggested the need for more revision, practice and preparation time before writing examinations, and 3.8%[13] thought guidance and counseling, and student motivation could help pupils to pay more attention and work harder. **Question 26: “You may write any comments you want to say about teaching and learning in general at your school.”**

Some students believed that teacher’s motivation and politeness (19.7%[67]) and the general public’s ‘positive’ attitude to maths (2.1%[7]) might reduce anxiety. Others (14.8%[50]) suggested formation of student leagues to protect their rights while 6.7%[23] pointed out the need for revision and practice in order to increase performance.

Teacher’s Questionnaire Data

There were six open-ended questions (Q11 to Q16) in section B of the teacher’s questionnaire. Seventeen out of the twenty teachers responded and below is the question by question analysis of only the results relating to StdAnx, StdAch, StdAtt and TrAtt.

Question 11 “What in your opinion makes some pupils afraid of Mathematics?”

The results indicated that some teachers (5.9%[1]) blame their own colleagues for having poor teaching styles while the majority (76.5%[13]) hold the same views with the students (see Q21) that since mathematics is considered to be difficult, students have negative preconceived feelings about it. These results are consistent with the research findings of Tobias (1991) and Kogelman and Warren (1978).

Question 12 : “Why do some students have negative attitudes towards mathematics?”

It is interesting to note, at this point, that one teacher believed that mathematics has no relevance in daily life situations while it is him/herself who should bring its relevance to the classroom situation. There is a wide variety of mathematical

applications in every day life; some of which are never known to or thought of by some teachers. The belief of math being difficult (29.4%[5]) and that many students have failed it before (35.3%[6]) were also echoed.

Question 13 : “What do you suggest could be done to reduce the high failure rate in mathematics?”

Here 41.1%[7] of the teachers expressed the need for the syllabus to be changed while 11.8%[2] said quality of primary school teachers had to be improved and 23.5%[4] were for the teaching of guidance and counseling with emphasis on importance of math.

Question 14 : “What do you think could be done to inculcate positive mathematics attitudes in pupils?”

The majority of teachers (94.1%[16]) believed that the mathematics curriculum was faulty, hence the need to change it with emphasis on guidance and counseling, enjoyment., usefulness and applicability.

Question 15 : “What improvements do you suggest could be put in place to change the present Mathematics curriculum (eg in the syllabus and the examination etc)?”

The need to emphasize importance of math was again echoed (11.8%[2]) while 17.6%[3] thought no improvements were necessary, perhaps contradicting the fact of the high failure rates in most schools.

Question 16 : “Say any brief comments about the conditions at your school which affect the teaching and learning of mathematics.”

The teachers (29.4%[5]) highlighted that most of their students had negative attitudes towards math and that both teachers and students had low morale (5.9%[1]). Such negative attitudes can lead to mathematics anxiety which can lead to poor performance(Sankowsky, 2008). Morale can be viewed as an attitude of the mind, state of well being and emotional force. It affects enthusiasm, initiative and output. Low teacher morale can have some negative effect on pupils’ attitude and learning (Devi & Mani, 2010).

Conclusion and Recommendations

This research has investigated the relationships and possible effects (by means of correlation and regression) of mathematics anxiety and attitude on students’ mathematics performance at “O” level in some schools in the Midlands region (Zimbabwe) and has revealed and analyzed teachers’ and students’ opinions and suggestions regarding such problems of anxiety, negative attitude and low performance. The study also has provided several strategies and techniques which teachers and pupils could use to reduce students’ mathematics anxiety and build

positive students' mathematics attitude. Basing on the research findings and on literature the following recommendations are made:

- It should be a national priority to take adult basic education seriously. If parents see and appreciate the value of mathematics, they surely would impart positive mathematics attitudes and beliefs to their children.
- At the school level, the curriculum should include Guidance and Counselling as a subject so that pupils are taught the value of education, self-discipline, study skills, overcoming anxiety and stress, among others. Mathematics should not be seen as a dead or deadly subject. It should be "humanized" and shown to be interesting and/or funny.
- Teachers are challenged to try anxiety reduction strategies 1 to 9 already explained with some modifications to suit local conditions.
- Assessment needs to be a continuous process that encompasses final tests, coursework, fieldwork or project work. Theory should be married with practice.
- There is need for further research.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Mathematics Dropout and Pass Rates (%) in the Midlands Province: 2009

	Drop out Rate	Pass rate
Grade 7 (total)	26.0	44.6
Male	20.0	45.8
Female	22.6	45.2
O Level (total)	72.1	27.4
Male	70.0	14.8
Female	71.0	20.9
A Level (total)	73.8	67.0
Male	83.1	54.6
Female	77.8	62.9

Appendix 2: Mathematics Pass Rates (%) in Midlands Province, 1990-1996

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
O Level	21.1	20.9	21.6	24.6	21.8	20.6	19.5
ZIC	25.9	23.1	18.3	12.9	13.1	4.1	13.7

Appendix 3: Pass Rates (%) for all Subjects in the Midlands Province, 2003-2008

Level/Year	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Grade 7	36.0	36.2	44.0	45.4	56.7	40.4
O level	24.4	15.7	19.1	24.4	19.2	17.0
A level	86.2	68.5	77.6	82.3	81.5	67.5

[Source for Appendices 1, 2 & 3: Ministry Of Education, Sport, Art and Culture, Midlands Province, Gweru]

Zimbabwean Primary and Secondary School Heads' Views about Curriculum Leadership

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Abstract

The purpose of the Study was to solicit views from primary and secondary school heads with regard to their curriculum leadership role. The descriptive survey method was adopted for this study in which a questionnaire, focus group interviews and six in depth interviews contributed data for this study. The sample consisted of 20 primary and 20 secondary school heads randomly selected from the 8 education districts in the Midlands Province. The study analysed factors which impact positively and negatively on the ability of the school head to be an effective curriculum leader and explored the obstacles to carrying out this specific role; and elicited from the school heads the strategies they used to help them retain a primary focus on this role. The results do indicate that the school head considered curriculum leadership to be their primary role with a focus on instructional, educational and professional leadership to ensure a high quality curriculum delivery. The challenges that school heads face include high administrative workloads, shortages of qualified teachers, and the lack of sufficient financial resources and the highly interrupted nature of the working day as militating against their role as curriculum leaders. Strategies that the school heads employ in spite of challenges included shared management and distribution of responsibility for curriculum leadership, personal time management involving prioritising, appointment of high quality teachers and delegation of duties and developing others as curriculum leaders. The key issue emerging from this study was that school heads noted the usefulness of additional training in the areas most closely linked to curriculum leadership such as strategic planning, student assessment, teacher quality and professional development, program evaluation, and curriculum development. This kind of professional development is essential for school heads to have the skills and resources to provide strong leadership to improve themselves as well as their schools as a whole.

Key words: Curriculum leadership, instructional leadership, organisational leadership, distributed leadership

Introduction

A quality curriculum and effective instruction are key elements to ensure successful teaching and learning in a school therefore school heads are held more accountable for student success making curriculum leadership even more critical (Levine, 2005). This study aimed to establish the extent to which a group of Zimbabwean primary

and secondary school heads considered themselves first and foremost curriculum (or educational) leaders, and explored their views of the extent to which they were effective in fulfilling and maintaining that role. It was intended to establish the main factors that had a negative impact on curriculum leadership, and the strategies the principals employed to diminish the strength of these obstacles, thereby increasing their effectiveness as curriculum leaders.

Today's primary and secondary school heads carry an enormously varied workload, which in a self-managing environment includes human resource, financial and property management, and a range of other tasks such as marketing and seeking extra funds to improve school resourcing, all while being the professional leaders of the school. At the same time, there is a very demanding administrative workload to manage. The working day of the primary and secondary school heads is characterised by a high rate of interruption, and is people-intensive. The school head must make sense of all this diverse activity in ways that achieve the purpose of the school, and which are congruent with the culture and underlying values of the Ministry of Education. By establishing the means by which the school heads participating in this research study tried to sustain an effective curriculum leadership role in the midst of the variety, complexity and fragmentation that characterizes their daily work, it was hoped that the findings of the study would be of practical benefit to school heads, and to senior teachers aspiring to be school heads.

Curriculum leadership

Curriculum leadership is imperative for schools to function successfully. Strong leadership in curriculum development is an essential element of any school improvement strategy and today's school headmasters play a vital and ever expanding role in that process. Curriculum leadership is defined by Glatthorn and Jallal (2009) as the exercise of those functions that enable school systems and the schools to achieve their goal of ensuring quality in what students learn. Ogawa and Bossert, (1995) view curriculum leadership as involving a careful balance of instructional and administrative leadership responsibilities. They view the curriculum leadership role as multi-faceted and complex, embedded not only in the formal trappings of authority but also in functions that cut across a number of roles affecting student achievement, including professional development, professional accountability, and curriculum development .

The term 'curriculum leadership' when also in use and in some instances shifts the focus beyond the school head to encompass the leadership that teachers themselves exert in their classrooms (McGee, 1997). In other cases the term is used

synonymously with instructional leadership (Lee & Dimmock, 1999). Southworth (2002) has pointed out; school heads must capably perform a dual role as chief executive (organisational leader and manager) and professional leader (educational leader). Mullen (2007) posits that curriculum leadership refers to active participation in moving schools forward to provide a learning program that is vigorous and relevant in preparing students for a successful future and that demonstrate results over time. Mullen (2007) identifies the school head/principal and teachers as curriculum leaders at the school level.

This study uses the term 'curriculum leadership' to refer to leadership related to the curriculum and its delivery placing particular emphasis on leading learning and teaching. The term curriculum leadership in this study is also used to refer to the leading professional role played by the school head which stresses the school head's accountability for learning experienced in a school. Cardno (1990) notes that this notion of the school head as 'professional leader' embraces the whole range of the school head's responsibilities in the school. It is often a term used interchangeably with that of 'educational leader', implying that every facet of the organization which contributes to the educational endeavors of the staff and the educational experiences of the students is the school head's responsibility. Cardno (1990) also asserts that the prime responsibility for leadership in an educational institution is also expressed in terms of 'instructional leadership', which means being a leader in terms of the learning-teaching facet which should be at the crux of all school leadership endeavors. A further dimension of the role is termed 'organizational leadership' implying overall responsibility for the functioning of the school.

Aims of the study

This study aimed to establish the extent to which a group of Zimbabwean Primary and Secondary School Heads considered themselves first and foremost curriculum (or educational) leaders, and explored their views of the extent to which they are effective in fulfilling and maintaining that role.

The study also intended to establish the main factors that impact negatively on curriculum leadership and the strategies the principals employed to diminish the strength of these obstacles, thereby increasing their effectiveness as curriculum leaders.

Research questions

The study was guided by the following research questions:

1. How do primary and secondary school heads regard their role in curriculum leadership?
2. What obstacles do primary and secondary school heads face in performing this role?

3. What strategies do primary and secondary school heads employ to overcome these obstacles?

Methodology

Research design

The design employed for this study was a descriptive survey in which multiple methods were used to obtain, explain and understand the viewpoints of participants in this research.

Population and Sample of the Study

The population of the study consisted of all primary and secondary school heads in the Midlands province. The population of both Primary and Secondary school heads is 1056. The sample for the study consisted of 40 school heads (20 primary and 20 secondary) distributed across the 8 education districts from the Midlands Province. The study employed a proportionate random sampling technique in the selection of the participants for the study. Using balloting (withdrawal without replacement), 20 primary and 20 secondary schools were selected from the 8 districts and a school head from each of the selected schools automatically become a participant in the study.

Research Instruments

The major instrument used for data collection was a brief questionnaire distributed to forty school heads in a range of types of schools throughout the Midlands Province. The questionnaire consisted of five items which generated data for answering the three research questions. Other strategies employed in data collection include focus group interviews and in depth interviews.

Data Collection Procedures

Focus group

The purpose of the focus groups was to gather data about curriculum leadership from the school heads in the Midlands province. Their contribution would help to define their views of curriculum leadership, describe the role of the school head as a curriculum leader, identify obstacles to performing this role, and how these obstacles can be overcome. Regular meetings of the National Association of Secondary School Heads (NASH) and National Association of Primary School Heads (NAPSH) were utilised as an opportunity to invite all the school heads in this region to participate in a focus group interview. Fifteen participants contributed data by this means.

Questionnaire

The researcher administered the questionnaire on the 40 school heads sampled in the districts. The questionnaires were administered to the respondents on the spot at regular meetings of the school heads. A total of thirty (30) usable questionnaire sets were returned, a response rate of 75%.

In depth interviews

Out of the thirty school heads who responded to the questionnaire, six were selected for in-depth, key-participant semi-structured interviewing by the researcher. The semi-structured interviews investigated the extent to which school heads perceived themselves to be curriculum leaders in day-to-day practice; explored the obstacles to carrying out this specific role; and elicited from the school heads the strategies they used to help them retain a primary focus on this role.

The combination of the three methods has enriched the story told by the school heads and has enabled cross-checking between the findings from one data source against the others. This has increased the possibility of examining multiple realities to draw conclusions about the nature of curriculum leadership as conceptualised by the school heads involved in the study.

Data Analysis

This study was completed using a content analysis approach to identify emerging themes from the principals' perception regarding their roles in curriculum leadership. All interviews were transcribed by an independent transcriptionist. Member checking (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) was offered to each participant before an analysis of the transcriptions began. All the six participants completed the member checking. Data were then compiled from each interview one at a time and responses were examined to identify patterns and themes. Transcribed texts of interviews were uploaded to Crawdad software. This program provides key word scores, concept mapping, comparison, clusters, and theme analysis. Once key phrases were determined, a conceptual analysis was performed. The phrases most relevant to curriculum leadership were further analyzed. Categories were created. This process was applied to school head interviews. Based on the conceptual analysis of the questionnaire content, focus group interview and in depth interviews a picture of curriculum leadership was drafted around a series of six themes.

Results and Discussion

The findings are presented according to the thematic units which emerged during the analysis of the school heads' focus group interview, questionnaires and in depth interviews for each level. Findings of the study are presented according to six themes identified as significant, namely:

- Defining curriculum leadership.
- Role of the school head as a curriculum leader.
- Responsibilities of a curriculum leader.
- Characteristics of a good curriculum leader.
- Challenges to curriculum leadership.
- Overcoming the obstacles.

Defining curriculum leadership

Responses to the survey questionnaire revealed that the majority of the school heads in the study (73.3%) defined curriculum leadership in terms of goal setting, planning and resource allocation while (26.7%) defined curriculum leadership as providing others with the knowledge and skills needed to accomplish curriculum development and implementation. Although the definitions seem to be shallow they do agree with Glatthorn et al (2009) who says the term curriculum leadership is used to define those whose role is to provide others with the knowledge and skills needed to accomplish curriculum development at several levels and in many roles. To that end, the curriculum leader needs to know the foundations of the curriculum, the curriculum development process, curriculum management techniques, and curriculum trends. The definition provided by the school heads also agrees well with that provided by Lee and Dimmock (1999, p.457) who define curriculum leadership as "goal setting and planning; monitoring, reviewing, and developing the educational program of the school; monitoring, reviewing, and developing the staff of the school; culture building; and allocating resources". The focus group as well as in depth interviews noted that a curriculum leaders is one who stays current on curriculum trends and research, develop budget proposals, supervise and evaluate instruction, and supply resources.

Supervision is an important part of curriculum implementation; the purpose of supervision is to assist teachers in optimizing teaching performance and to allow the school head to monitor the success of curriculum implementation. In the phase of curriculum implementation, I always supervise the teachers' teaching in the classrooms (School head B)

The Role of the School Head in Curriculum Leadership

School heads play a vital and multifaceted role in setting the direction for schools that are positive and productive workplaces for teachers and vibrant learning environments for learners. There was general consensus among the surveyed school heads in the questionnaire, interview and focus group interview as the majority of them considered curriculum leadership to be their primary role.

Twenty five of the school heads who responded to the questionnaire considered themselves to be curriculum leaders who provide leadership in every dimension of the educational institution: by exercising functions that enable the achievement of a school's goal of providing quality education as seen in the following verbatim extract:

My job as a school head is to provide leadership in every dimension of the educational institution in teaching, learning, management, provision of resources as well as guidance and counselling. Every teacher must also contribute to curriculum leadership and it is my duty as the school head to create leadership

opportunities at all levels. The role of the school head is also to lead a team that enables students to learn and acquire quality education. (School head A)

The six school heads who were interviewed indicated that the core business of the school is teaching and learning therefore the school head must assume the mantle of curriculum leader whose major task is to ensure a high quality curriculum delivery. The participants noted that as a curriculum leader, the school head has to take charge of making sure that the curriculum goals are achieved, the ultimate goal being the maximization of student learning by providing quality in the content of learning.

While the role of the school head was a complex one, the great majority of tasks should be driven by the desire for high quality curriculum delivery. The following verbatim extracts from the interviewed respondents indicate the strength of this belief.

I believe it should be one of my most important roles, as educational institutions exist for learning and teaching. However, every teacher in a school must contribute to curriculum leadership. It is up to me to ensure that leadership opportunities are created and sought at all levels. (School head C)

All other tasks reflect back onto curriculum. That drives the school and all aspects of my leadership/management are to promote curriculum. (School head D)

It is the basis and core of a school head's role. If it isn't, a principal becomes an administrator. (School head E)

Enabling students to learn is the primary function of the school. The principal leads the team who makes that happen. (School head F)

Curriculum leadership focuses on what is learned (the curriculum) and how it is taught (the instruction). This agrees well with Usdan, McCloud and Podmostk (2000) who say school heads today must also serve as a leaders for students learning. They must know academic content and pedagogical techniques. They must work with teachers to strengthen skills. They must collect, analyse and use data in ways that fuel excellence. They must rally students, teachers, parents, local and health and family service agencies, youth development group, local and other community residents and partners around the common goal of raising student performance. And they have the leadership skills and knowledge to exercise the authority to pursue these strategies.

Being a curriculum leader, the school head is responsible for making sure that the school has a quality curriculum and that the curriculum is implemented effectively.

Achieving educational excellence is the goal. To attain such a goal, the school head needs to manifest curriculum leadership.

The interviewed school heads also noted that every teacher in a school must contribute to curriculum leadership and it was the duty of the school head to ensure that leadership opportunities are created and sought at all levels. The majority of the school heads also said that exhibiting curriculum leadership means that the head has to be vigilant in overseeing the many instructional activities in one's school so that educational goals will be achieved. This implies that curriculum leadership is also a component of instructional leadership. The school heads also noted that as curriculum leaders, they are involved in classroom visits (where students and teachers were observed) and this was a significant means of showing the importance of teaching and learning for a majority of the school heads. However, school heads were not in a position to demonstrate the importance of teaching and learning by themselves taking lessons, on either a regular or an occasional basis due to workload and competing priorities.

Responsibilities of a curriculum leader

Over eighty five percent of the questionnaire respondents surveyed indicated that promoting teachers' professional development, is the most influential curriculum leadership attributes of the school head. The school heads noted that to be a successful curriculum leader, the school head must give primary attention to the programme of staff improvement, which comprises leadership techniques and procedures designed to change the teachers' role performance. The interviewees also echoed the same sentiments as indicated in the following verbatim extracts:

One of my responsibilities as a school head is to provide relevant professional development that is data driven and related to teacher needs to improve instruction. (School head B)

As a school head there is also need to improve my own professional growth and a broad knowledge base in curriculum and instruction to effectively help teachers. (School head E)

This result agrees with Sheppard (1996) who laid much emphasis on the promotion of teachers' professional development, which he saw as the most influential instructional leadership behavior and recommended the need for school heads to give "attention to the programme of staff improvement" to make them more successful instructional leaders.

They stated that the heads' roles in this include: classroom visitation, observations, conferences, seminar, and workshop, professional associations, and in-service educational programmes. They also added that a conducive environment enhances teachers' work performance. The above measures seem to be necessary, because,

though the teachers have been prepared through schooling, many seem to experience difficulty in relating with the students (youth of today) who, as a result of the current global technological breakthrough, many have become so exposed (sometimes more than the teachers), sophisticated, inquisitive, thus demanding more from the teachers. The school head is expected to provide the appropriate leadership which will assist each staff member make a maximum contribution to the schools' effort to providing quality and up-to-date education. He/she is expected to have experience in this area because after all, knowledge about teaching and learning and ability to share these insights with teachers is a key factor in any good school head.

As a curriculum leader my responsibility is to stay informed of curriculum developments by attending district level meetings, national conferences, networking with other principals, reading journals and subscribing to a distribution list. I also have the responsibility of conveying relevant information to staff members, monitor the work of subordinates and provide feedback by contingent rewards or negative reinforcement to motivate them to meet standards. (School head F)

Curriculum leaders should be able to lead according to vision while successfully connecting curriculum, instruction, and assessment by managing curriculum and instructional supervising, teaching, monitoring student progress, and promoting the instructional climate. (School head D)

These above findings are in line with Sergiovanni (1996) who noted that knowledge about teaching and learning and ability to share these insights with teachers is a key fact in good principal ship. Also the item on conducive environments is in line with Sachs (1995) who listed conducive environment as a sine qua non for enhancing teachers' performance.

A small number of school heads considered activities such as disseminating curriculum-related material and initiating curriculum debate, understanding and communicating national curriculum policy as part of curriculum leadership. The majority pointed out the importance of ensuring sufficient budget allocations to allow for high-quality curriculum delivery, including targeted professional development for both curriculum and leadership development. Finally five questionnaire respondents, three principals interviewed and the two focus group participants identified that school heads had an important role to play in connecting schools with the external world and bringing into schools a variety of knowledge. School heads are the persons in schools who have the greatest capacity to network with the wider community and ensure that schools keep abreast of current initiatives and anticipate future trends.

Characteristics of a good curriculum leader

All 30 questionnaire respondents acknowledged the need of a visionary leader who knows the entire organization. They agreed that understanding the need to see the big picture, as well as having a focused goal, were essential qualities of a visionary leader. All six interviewed participants discussed accountability as part of their responses when describing visionary leaders. School head B saw the need to consider accountability as a visionary leader who understands the need to know the entire organization. Several participants noted examples of a visionary leader's need to know the entire organization when working with the staff in the decision making process regarding student programs.

A visionary leader is one who has a focused goal and is able to see the big picture since change has become prevalent in schools. A visionary leader needs to understand the big picture and maintain a focused goal to change and therefore meet the needs of the students. The visionary leader must understand the needs of the workforce so that the school can prepare students for the changing work environment they face upon completion of school. (School head D)

Twenty five of the 30 questionnaire respondents discussed the need of the curriculum leader to build a culture of team work within the staff, parents, and community. Some alluded to it while others used the term teamwork while sharing an example of how they built a culture of working together or gave an example of teamwork. Some of school heads shared examples that served as a pivotal point in demonstrating to the stakeholders that working together as a team to accomplish the goal was a priority for the school head. Alone the school head could not determine or achieve the shared vision. The same sentiments emerged from the interviews as seen in the following verbatim extract:

As School head I noted, "It's not just a one-man show. Leading a school takes all of us pulling the same direction and working together as a team."(School head C)

Visionary leadership and team work is part and parcel of what Spillane (2008) calls distributed leadership which is a shared process of enhancing the individual and collective capacity of people to accomplish their work effectively...Instead of a heroic leader who can perform all essential leadership functions, the functions are distributed among different members of the team or organization. This links distributed leadership with teamwork. It becomes a collective endeavor in which all those concerned bring their efforts together to see to it that meaningful contexts and opportunities for learning are created. This further implies that teacher's duties do not stay within the confines of the classroom; rather they transcend them by contributing to the community of learners beyond the classroom.

Again, all the 30 participants who responded to the questionnaire noted the need of a curriculum leader to motivate the school's stakeholders. From the students as well as school personnel to the business community leaders, parents, and the community as a whole. The School heads interviewed believed that motivating the stakeholders is a key component of a curriculum leader's role. Without motivated stakeholders, the vision for the school is unlikely to be accomplished. The following extracts illustrate this notion:

A good curriculum leader is one who motivates teachers to find their roles in the achievement of the school's vision. The school head should use appropriate strategies to motivate his/her teachers to work toward the achievement of the shared vision. (School heads C and D)

As a visionary curriculum leader, you have to take into consideration all of your personalities, including students, and make sure that you are nurturing those students' needs: academic needs, physical needs, emotional needs, all of the things that play into your whole school year and your whole school day. (School head E)

The ability of a curriculum leader to motivate colleagues is part and parcel of transformative/transactional leadership. According to Northouse (2007), transformational leadership motivates subordinates by raising awareness of the importance and value of goals and task outcomes, inducing them to transcend their own self-interests for the sake of the organization or team, thus moving them to embrace higher-order needs. This type of leadership can be contrasted with transactional leadership, which motivates subordinates through an exchange process that rewards for compliance with a leader's requests or for meeting set standards, but is unlikely to generate enthusiasm, creativity, or genuine commitment to task objectives. Although Bass distinguishes the differences between transformational and transactional leaderships, it is worth noting his position that effective leaders use both types of leadership.

Obstacles to Curriculum Leadership

The challenges that school heads face today are formidable: raising student achievement; the achievement gap between poor and wealthy; dropout rates, shortages of qualified teachers, and the lack of sufficient financial resources are all symptoms of systemic problems that impede successful and quality education. The results of this survey highlight school heads do not have enough time to properly establish a supportive learning climate; deal with personnel issues; and providing curricular leadership, including spending time teaching in the classroom. School heads are caught in a daily deluge of tasks that fill their hours and compete with responsibilities that are essential to improved student achievement. It is their role to create a delicate balance between these and other important functions of a school leader. According to the study, most of their time is spent attending to parent issues, community-related tasks, discipline, and facilities management. This

allows for very little time to be devoted to instructional leadership, teaching and learning. The school heads also cited the urgent and often competing needs of stakeholders to be met (with high accountability demands from central agencies and the expectations of parents, students and staff that the school head will be available and effective in resolving their problems, as adding to the complexity of their job and deflecting attention from the curriculum leadership role).

This is in agreement with Cardno(2003) who found out that the highly interrupted nature of the working day works against effectiveness in the curriculum leadership role, interruptions including telephone calls and unexpected visitors, as well as a variety of unanticipated 'firefighting' tasks that were considered by them or by others to need urgent attention for example student discipline.

In the survey principals cited lack of time and excessive paperwork as the two greatest obstacles in completing the duties of their job. With just over half the respondents also mentioning the lack of financial resources to be an impediment to their effectiveness.

Strategies to overcome the obstacles

The majority of the principals surveyed indicated the value of the role they played in appointing excellent staff, delegation and shared leadership and then influencing their development as curriculum leaders as critical to effective leadership of learning and teaching. The school heads also acknowledged that appointment of high quality teachers and delegation of duties were key elements in the effective implementation of the curriculum leadership role, and that the Head's potential workload was lightened by the desire of highly competent senior staff to share the leadership of the school, making for a more effective school. This idea of share or distributed leadership is in agreement with Starratt (2004) who argues that there is an ethical dimension to leadership that requires formal leaders to share their leadership responsibilities with others as this encourages teachers to take collective responsibility for the quality of teaching and learning in their school.

Because school administrators cannot be everywhere at one time, they have begun to implement this type of leadership. Some schools distribute the leadership power between two administrators, while other schools involve teachers and parents, creating a group where there is no central leader in charge. As a result, numerous aspects of the schools or educational systems are attended to more fully and improvement is significant. Distributing the leadership allows school heads to focus on a few areas and really make an impact. They do a better job in a few areas than if they were over numerous activities, administrative duties, and student and teacher responsibilities. In addition to the above, Harris (2002) notes that shared or distributed leadership is a key determinant of the motivation, professional development of teachers and promotion of a sense of belonging among teachers

a sense of being valued members of their school community and a deep commitment to collective action for whole-school success.

The school heads cited good time management as a means for ensuring effectiveness as curriculum leaders. They noted planning and prioritization as the most common time management strategies they use for ensuring that important tasks were dealt with, including those that were most urgent and those that were important for the future effectiveness of the school. The above notion seems to be in line with Ojo and Olaniyan (2008) who say that planning is the first and perhaps the most important role of a school head. The essence of planning is to prepare for and predict future events. Planning goes beyond attempting to attain stated organizational objectives. It involves the development of strategy and procedure for effective realization of the entire plan. It entails determination of control, direction and methods of accomplishing the overall organizational objectives. It involves the establishment of objectives, strategies to achieve the objectives and a step by step determination of the activities and resources necessary to achieve them. Planning is a blue print for action. It is done to avoid waste of money and other resources. There is always a need for both in long run and short-run. Postponement of planning is very dangerous because failure to plan gives rise to ineffectiveness undirected action and waste of resources. Good planning is a precondition for better results.

Nearly half of the school heads participating in the survey noted the usefulness of additional training in the areas most closely linked to curriculum leadership such as strategic planning, student assessment, teacher quality and professional development, program evaluation, and curriculum development. This kind of professional development is essential for school heads to have the skills and resources to provide strong leadership. Without this, the school climate suffers, good teachers leave the profession, and students do not achieve to their full potential. The provision of quality professional development to school heads provides them with the tools needed to improve themselves as well as their schools as a whole.

Conclusion

The majority of the school heads in the study firmly believed that their key role was curriculum leadership, and this role is distinctly different from that of the traditional administrative or managerial leadership—school heads. It is a concept which moves away from the top-down hierarchy modes of operation towards a shared decision-making and team work. It aims at nurturing new school culture to facilitate teacher professional development as well as school curriculum improvement. They are expected to know the best form of instruction and are able to work with their colleagues closely by providing guidance and support in changing classroom practices. In this way, curriculum leaders also take care of

the professional growth of their colleagues. School heads should, therefore, become leaders of instruction, employing dynamic and inspirational leadership as they focus on raising the teaching and learning practices in their schools.

Recommendations

School heads in these times of diminishing fiscal resources, are expected to lead their schools in effective curriculum development and implementation, hence they must be grant writers and entrepreneurs, fund-raisers and futurists; they need to be able to garner economic support for their schools from the community as well as private businesses and foundations. Furthermore, they need to work with teachers to decide where and how the school's funds will be spent to support curricular programs.

The school heads must support beginning teachers and temporary teachers in curriculum and instruction to help them develop their pedagogical and classroom management skills. Therefore, it is important that school heads be proactive in the process of helping beginning teachers, to encourage beginning teachers to attend relevant workshops and enrol in courses that will help strengthen their competence and confidence. Most important, however, is for the school head to take an active role and not expect other teachers to assume this responsibility.

These school administrators need to improve their own professional growth to help teachers. To be effective curriculum leaders, school heads should recognize their own need to develop a broad knowledge base in curriculum and instruction and therefore seek professional development activities to achieve that goal.

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A Comparative Assessment of the Approaches and Practices of Corporate Social Responsibility by Econet and National Railways of Zimbabwe (NRZ) (2010)

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Abstract

The research focuses on the application of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) or Corporate Social Investment (CSI) by Public Relations (PR) departments at Econet and National Railways of Zimbabwe (NRZ), two corporations that operate in Zimbabwe but with different business interests and areas of specialization. This presentation outlines and assesses CSR programmes implemented by Econet and NRZ to benefit their publics and communities as part of excellent PR. A comparative assessment approach between Econet and NRZ PR departments is used. Data gathering methods used in this study are face-to-face interviews, structured interviews, documentaries and content analysis of documents. These were subjected to both qualitative and quantitative methods of data analysis. Such methods enabled the researcher to attain information closer to reality and validity. The theoretical framework that informed this study encompassed the Two-way Symmetrical Model of communication, Three Cs Social Responsibility Model, Corporate philanthropy, Open system model of communication and Corporate Social Responsibility model of PR. The study established that both corporates' PR departments are part of the management and are involved in the implementation of CSR programmes, which are of mutual benefit to them and their publics. However, it emerged in the study that Econet has more CSR programmes than NRZ and that the former's programmes benefit both internal and external publics while the latter's programmes benefit the internal more than the external publics. The study also problematised this disparity between Econet and NRZ's programme given the latter's longer history of existence.

Key Terms: Corporate Communications, Corporate Philanthropy, Corporate Social Responsibility, Corporate Social Investment and Public Relations.

Introduction

This study seeks to look into the application of CSR by National Railways of Zimbabwe (NRZ) and Econet's PR department. Cutlip et al (2001:1) say that public relations are the management function that establishes and maintains mutually

beneficial relationships between an organisation and the public's on whom its success or failure depends. Puth and Lubbe (1994:179) define CSR as a generic concept referring to business organizations concern and active two-way involvement with the social, economic and political forces which way influence the environment. Two way involvements is a process whereby the corporation communicates to their publics and in turn the publics communicate back to the corporation. In this process both the corporation and the publics are a sender and receiver of information. Both corporations Econet and NRZ have a CSR programme that cover CSR wide ranges such as education, health, sports, environment and so forth. From the assessment deduced from questionnaires, interviews, documentaries and content analysis. Econet unlike NRZ, has 8 CSR programmes that benefits the publics, while NRZ have 5 CSR programmes that benefits the publics.

CSR is the idea that a business has a duty to serve society in general as well as the financial interests of its stakeholders (Robinson & Pearce 2009:53). CSR/CSI reflects excellent PR that is talked about by Grunig (2001), who asserts that, the principle of symmetrical communication is most effective in building a long term relationship that satisfies both the organization and its Public. CSR is the continuing commitment by business to behave ethically and contribute to economic development while improving the quality of life of the workforce and their families as well as of the local community and society at large (Digman 1990). CSR is about capacity building for sustainable livelihoods. It respects cultural differences and finds business opportunities in building the skills of employees, the community and the government. In short CSR is about business organisations giving back to society. Halal (2000:35) states that;

CSR have six salient aspects that is community involvement, development and investment, involvement and respect for diverse cultures and disadvantaged people, corporate philanthropy and employee volunteering, customer satisfaction and adherence to principles of fair competition, anti-bribery and anti-corruption measures, accountability, transparency and performance reporting and suppliers relations, for both domestic and international supply chains.

>From the above quotation both Econet and NRZ through their CSR programs involves the community members. Again by assisting their community they are indirectly investing and that makes them to earn a good image and reputation. For instance, sponsoring in sports programs such as Harare Athletic Club (HAC) by Econet and Rail Stars by NRZ improves the livelihoods of the community. The two corporate organizations donations to education through scholarships such as Capernum Trust, Joshua Nkomo Scholarship and NRZ bursary assist to nurture the youths and empower them with skills required by the two corporations.

Econet and NRZ have CSR programs that assist the communities they serve. All their CSR programs are implemented by their PR departments with the influence they get from the community. For instance, Econet through Capernum Trust have been paying fees to students in tertiary institutions like colleges and universities. This is after realizing the talent in certain children with limited resources to further their education. On the other hand, NRZ just like Econet also sponsors their employee's children to upgrade themselves academically especially those who would have shown academic talent by passing their ordinary and advanced level. Therefore a comparative approach between Econet and NRZ practices to CSR as a communication strategy to enhance excellent PR is used. The presentation analyzes comparatively mutual benefit by internal and external publics from the CSR programs run by NRZ and Econet.

Background of the Study

Kotler and Lee (2005) submit that the history of CSR is as old as trade and business itself, although Freedman (1962) says that; CSR is a concept that has been around since commerce began in the nineteenth Century. Kotler and Lee's submission is probably guided by the realization that trade and commerce is as old as humanity itself. This shows that CSR is also an ancient phenomenon that started in the nineteenth century together with commerce. In early 1980's most PR departments for corporate organisations were already practicing it. For instance, Johnson and Johnson's classic handling of the Tylenol poisoning in 1983 became a textbook case in how to respond to a crisis. To highlight the importance and centrality of CSR Kotler and Lee (2005) note that according to KPMG, a US professional service firm, in a survey of the Global Fortune, top 2005 companies indicated a continued increase in a number of American companies reporting on corporate responsibility.

PR may be said to be 20th century phenomena, or as an American concept, its roots go back to ancient Babylon, Greece and Rome. Ivy Lee (1906) is considered to be the 'grandfather' of modern PR, for he worked to end the 'public be damned' attitude (Wragg 1992). All CSR programmes are initiated and implemented by the PR department with the assistance of the stakeholders and the organisations' top management. Pearce & Robinson (2009:56) assert that there are four types of CSR namely; economic responsibilities, legal responsibilities, ethical responsibilities and discretionary responsibilities. According to Pearce & Robinson (2009), CSR is an old phenomenon that includes PR activities, good citizenship and enhances image of the organization, products and services by supporting worthy causes. It is therefore the intention of this presentation to assess comparatively how Econet and NRZ enhance good citizenship through their CSR.

The world over CSR has gained momentum and discussions of it have burgeoned.

In Zimbabwe CSR is a phenomenon that started after independence in 1980. However, this phenomenon could have started with corporate organisations such as National Railways of Zimbabwe (NRZ), which grew out of a number of different companies most of which were originally formed by the British South Africa Company (BSAC) in terms of the Royal Charter granted to it on October 29 1889 (Railroader NRZ 2005). In recent times of economic meltdown in Zimbabwe, CSR has played a significant role in ameliorating social hardships for both individuals and communities. Talk of CSR has therefore dominated PR discourses in recent times; given the economic hardships mentioned above. It is against this background that this paper discusses, comparatively, the approaches and practices of CSR by PR departments at Econet and NRZ.

It can also be noticed that while the two organisations fully implement CSR for good citizenship with their public they also practise philanthropy by giving directly to the community when need arises. Econet in August 2009, donated US\$20.000 to Apostolic Faith Mission and NRZ in 2004 donated food and clothes to the Hwange community. The donations were mere giving of assistance to the publics for the challenges they were facing. It is again within the findings of the study that the researcher deduced that both Econet and NRZ practices philanthropy and CSR to meet the needs and objectives of their organisations and their publics.

In the NRZ publication entitled *100 Years* it is suggested that NRZ started CSR implementation in 1985, while documented evidence shows that Econet started CSR in 1995, two years after its establishment by Strive Masiyiwa in 1993. Again unlike Econet which implemented CSR programs two years after its establishment, NRZ implemented CSR 98 years after its establishment. Furthermore, both NRZ and Econet clearly stated in their core values that their relationships with their customers and community is enthused with warmth and a genuine desire to meet their needs. Econet unlike NRZ through its core values reflect that they reached out their customer in holistic and organic ways that makes them true stakeholders by involving them in the implementation of CSR programmes.

PR Strategies and Activities Undertaken at Econet and NRZ

In achieving the corporate objectives, the PR departments at Econet and NRZ designed PR strategies that complement the organisations' corporate objectives. Management at Econet and NRZ allocated specific tasks to the PR departments and as such the PR strategies are designed in line with the companies' expectations. (Econet Wireless Annual Report 2009 and National Railway of Zimbabwe HISTORIC MILESTONES October 28 1980). Furthermore, both Econet and NRZ PR departments are assigned to manage their internal and external communication in a two way symmetrical communication for mutual understanding (explain

symmetrical com). Again in both corporations stakeholders are updated with CSR activities that ensure mutual benefit to both the organisations and their publics. However, unlike Econet that is internationally recognised and has vast CSR programs to benefit their publics, NRZ as a parastatal has less CSR programs to benefit its stakeholders. Again most of the CSR programmes by Econet are broad and assist a number of students from disadvantaged families. Econet through Joshua Mqabuko Scholarship and Capernaum Trust assist secondary pupils as well as higher and tertiary education students who are not the children of their employees. In contrast with NRZ which only assist children for their employees, Econet supports childrens for the external publics as well as for the internal publics. One important aspect about Econet and NRZ PR departments' approaches and practices is that they fulfill Carroll's (2003) 3C-SR Model of Corporate Social responsibility. Carrolls (2003)'s model states that; in CSR there are 3C's that is Commitments, Connections and Consistency. Commitments encompasses the legal, economic and ethical dimensions and is measured by the willingness by organization to plough back to the communities without expecting back anything from them. This Connection is viewed by Norman and Ramirez (1993:64) as "Structure of relationships within the value network as the means through which joint implementation of a socially oriented value network is achieved. This then implies a stakeholder approach to ensure mutuality of interest and uniform commitment to share values across the value network".

Thus, Econet and NRZ PR departments have similarities in their day to day practices for excellent PR which is reciprocal in communicating with their stakeholders through implementation of CSR programs to maintain mutual understanding with their internal and external publics. Consistency refers to continued implementation of CSR programs which both Econet and NRZ enforce since they started supporting the communities.

Ownership and Financial Status of Econet and NRZ

The financial position of NRZ as compared to Econet is limited and that has negative influence in the implementation of CSR for corporate citizenship. The money allocated to CSR programmes through the websites of Econet and NRZ indicated that Econet have allocated more funds to assist their publics as compared to NRZ. However, NRZ like Econet clearly indicates in their company policy that they are committed to assist the community as part of CSR. The CSR at Econet and NRZ is guided by Kotler and Lee (2005)'s five Cs namely conviction, commitment, communication, consistency, continuous and credibility. Econet unlike NRZ through Financial Gazette publications had to indicate the money that they have allocated to their publics. Result for advanced level students in the country as well as for colleges and universities students assisted by Econet in

Zimbabwe are published in the website for Econet as evidence to show compliance of this corporation to its CSR programmes. Again there are various publications by "The Financial Gazette" and "The Sunday Mail" newspapers congratulating students who would have passed under Joshua Mqabuko Scholarship as well as Capernaum Trust. Econet and NRZ in their CSR are committed to assisting their publics and communicating effectively to them through their websites, in-house publications and local media. At Econet CSR programmes such as Joshua Nkomo Scholarship and Capernaum Trust are implemented year after year and have benefited thousands of ordinary citizens of Zimbabwe. NRZ also has maintained consistency of their CSR by implementing them year after year. The NRZ scholarships which are meant to cultivate talent are some among the programmes that can be indicated.

From the information gathered it is clear that Econet and NRZ implement CSR to benefit its publics. The effort by the two corporate organisations maintains "credibility" which is one important C as asserted by Kotler and Lee (2005). This is a good example of open system approach between corporations and the publics. The organisations effectively communicate in an open manner and respond well to the needs of their publics.

A Comparative Assessment of Econet and NRZ PR Departments

The analysis so far indicates that Econet and NRZ are two corporations with effective PR departments that have CSR to benefit their stakeholders. Unlike at Econet where PR department has clear indication that their corporation will meet most of their stakeholders needs, NRZ have no clear indication in their website despite the fact that they implement CSR programs and corporate philanthropy. Corporations, Econet and NRZ's PR departments are part of management and are involved in implementing the CSR programs. Again both PR departments at Econet and NRZ practice reciprocity that is two way communication strategies in their communications practices, through the use of modern technologies such as the internet, website, chat rooms, blogs and so forth. PR departments at the above mentioned corporations are responsible for creating news about CSR programs and also to disseminate information to all their stakeholders through modern technology.

Furthermore, in their CSR/CSI both Econet and NRZ partake in education, health, environment and sports activities. Econet unlike NRZ, have more CSR programs on health issues and education that benefit all stakeholders nationwide. The PR department at Econet is more effective than NRZ in implementing CSR programs. For example, Econet's CSR programs few among to be mentioned are Joshua

Nkomo Scholarship, Capernaum Trust, Harare Athletic Club, Buddies Boys while on the other hand, NRZ scholarship, Rails Stars and so forth are some among to be mentioned. Again unlike at NRZ where PR department started in early 80's at Econet PR department started in the early 90's. This indication reflects the age of the two corporate organizations used in the study and the commitment they have shown in assisting their community. In terms of CSR programs implemented Econet is in the lead as compared to NRZ. This is indicated by the number of CSR programs implemented and the people who have benefited.

Distinction between CSR and Corporate Social Philanthropy (CSP)

In Carroll's 3C-SR model commitment, connections and consistency are important in implementing these programs. Commitments represent the value element of social resources. They comprise the ethical standards and social objectives, strategy programmes, organizational policies and corporate culture. Econet and NRZ as corporate organisations meet their public demands through CSR by sticking to ethical standards through assisting the publics. Although it can be argued that in terms of numbers Econet have more CSR programs as compared to NRZ. Programmes at NRZ such as NRZ scholarship, HIV and AIDS Capacity Building, supporting sports such as soccer and environment conservation programmes fulfil the commitment value of the corporate policies. Econet also fulfills commitment through implementation of Capernaum Trust, Joshua Nkomo Scholarship, Anti-Cholera, HIV and AIDS, Buddie Boys, and Harare Athletics Club (HAC). From the research findings it emerged that both corporate organisations, have shown their commitment through assisting their publics. Articles in The Financial Gazette dated 21-26 April 2005, 17-25 May 2007, 26-30 April 2007 and many other, web sites and in-house publications have been published which support the claim.

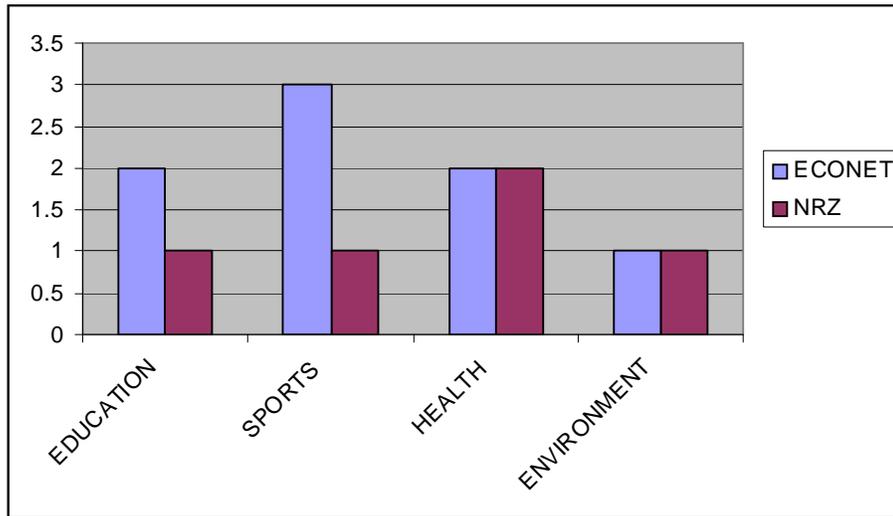
Connection as the second "C" from Carroll's (2003) refers to the "values" in a business network results from a value creating system, within which different actors suppliers, business partners, allies, customers work together for corporate value. From the findings of the study both Econet and NRZ have networked with various public's in implementing CSR programmes. NRZ has CSR programmes that meet the needs of various public such as workers, community members and other organizations just like Econet. This differs with corporate social philanthropy which is giving when the corporate feels it has generated more income. Such giving is not regular and is not a fulfillment of the company policy. The information elicited from questionnaires reflects that Econet and NRZ also practise corporate social philanthropy.

Consistency as the third “C” refers to the behavioral element of social resources over time and across all facets of an organisation’s operations. Through consistency, the organisation should “walk the talk”. Thus, from the findings collected it is clear that both Econet and NRZ are practising CSR and Corporate Social Philanthropy through their PR. NRZ and Econet have walked their talk by implementing CSR programmes that assist their publics. In a comparative assessment of understanding the term CSR, out of 20 questionnaires emailed to Econet and the other 20 emailed to NRZ, the respondents reflected a better understanding of the concept and its role in PR practices. The questionnaires emailed had 10 open ended questions and 10 close ended questions. All PR employees from the two corporations have similar understanding of CSR concept. However, at NRZ five out of 20 respondents were not clear on the differences between corporate philanthropy and CSR. At Econet almost 80% of the respondents clearly distinguished the differences that exist between corporate philanthropy and CSR. Questionnaire kept the researcher updated on the difference that PR practitioners and their subordinates hold in CSR and Corporate Social Philanthropy.

In the responses collected through emailed questionnaires all respondents gave wide ranging options on CSR which can be summarized as;

- Providing cash to the public as assistance
- Offering grants for education or research
- Awarding scholarships
- Donating products
- Offering service for free to the community

The study deduced that Econet and NRZ PR practitioners are part of management and implement the CSR programs that fulfill the 3C-SR model initiated by Carroll (2003). The PR departments show a deep insight of the activities that they practice in assisting the society as CSR. The question about the definition of Corporate Social Responsibility was meant to assess the knowledge of PR departments from two corporations, Econet and NRZ about their understanding of CSR and also as to whether they are aware of their activities in dealing with stakeholders through giving to the community or publics. CSR is modern PR that is dialogical and creates mutual understanding and good will (Skinner 2007). CSR as PR concept assisted the researcher to assess whether all PR departments for two corporations Econet and NRZ are quite clear about the meaning of the concept and how they should implement CSR for the good of their organisations.



Bar Graph 1

Out of each 20 questionnaires distributed to Econet and NRZ public relations departments, it can be deduced from the above graph that both PR departments have CSR programmes for education, sports, health and environment. The response rate was almost hundred percent and the respondents in both organizations were the PR department personnel. Both PR department at Econet and NRZ have CSR on education while Econet have 2 CSR programmes in education, on the other hand NRZ have only one. Again it can be deduced from the above graph that while in sports Econet have 3 programmes NRZ have 1. It can also be observed that just like in education where NRZ is behind as compared to Econet in sport it is also behind. Furthermore, both Econet and NRZ have 2 CSR programmes under health. This probably shows that the two corporations have equal values to the health of their publics as well as in environment. General from the above graph, it can be observed that both Econet and NRZ have CSR programmes that benefits both their internal and external publics.

CSR Programmes on Education at Econet and NRZ

Econet has two CSR programmes for education that benefit both the internal and external public nationwide while NRZ has one educational programme to benefit the entire nation. However, unlike Econet, NRZ has a nationwide education programme that provides grants to the employees' children. This program is meant to cushion NRZ employees from financial constraints and enable them to send their children to tertiary institutions. At Econet, since the implementation of the Joshua Nkomo Scholarship Fund (JNSF) more than ten thousand students have benefited from it (www.econet.zw/inside.aspx). Econet unlike NRZ has scholarships meant for external and internal publics. Internal public in PR refers

to the workers of the organization and their families who can benefit direct to the corporation by virtue of being employees, where as external public refers to people who are not workers , but rather surrounding the corporation. These include stakeholders like clients, community where the corporation is situated and the general publics who are potential employees for the corporations. This clearly shows that the PR department at Econet; unlike at NRZ has an effective approach to CSR programmes as reciprocal communication with the public's.

Econet CSR programmes such as "The Capernaum Trust", which was formed in 1996 was implemented and controlled by the PR department. This clearly shows the effectiveness of PR department at Econet as compared to that at NRZ. Capernaum Trust has a vision to transform the lives of orphans in the most economically distressed communities into self reliant and socially vibrant individuals through the provision of food, training and education support. The trust has so far catered for more than 12.000 orphans throughout the country (Econet CSR Report 2009). Most of the education fund at Econet is meant to benefit students in tertiary institutions.

Midlands State University has more students who benefit from this trust. The Financial Gazette dated 14 April 2006 state that, the Capernaum Trust Director Ms Stembeni Chirume asserted that the Trust was assisting children with educational support up to tertiary level throughout all the provinces in Zimbabwe. Ms Chirume further indicated that over 40 000 children have benefited from the scholarship program since 2005. Among the beneficiaries in 2005 120 were students doing A "Level and 167 doing O"Level. Talented children through Capernaum Trust are allowed to pursue their dreams by sending them to universities where they study in various faculties. From this evidence it is clear that Econet address the most critical issue by assisting their external publics to send their children to attend education at various levels. Education in any given society is a pillar of development and improves the livelihood of the society. One key factor to be noted about Econet CSR programmes is that they are broad and all encompassing. Both external and internal publics are the benefactor, unlike NRZ that benefits only the internal publics.

From the findings of the study on CSR through education the researcher realized that programs at Econet and NRZ fulfill the open system theory that asserts that the organisation should interact with the environment for it to function well. Econet and NRZ are interacting with the environment by responding positively to the needs of their publics which may be caused by an unfriendly environment. For instance, during the Cholera Campaign of 2008 Econet circulated the messages to their subscribers about cholera, while NRZ offered Cholera affected public's free transport to health centers.

Supporting the Community through Sports Sponsorship

As part of CSR both Econet and NRZ sponsor sports. Econet PR department provides sponsorship for the annual Harare Athletics Club (HAC) competitions. The company also supports sporting activities in the country, which include football and cricket. Econet has gone further to form its soccer team, the "Buddies Boys", which takes part in the country's communication League. NRZ on the other hand sponsors soccer and "Railstars"; a vibrant team that was relegated from Premier Soccer League is still being sponsored by NRZ. NRZ consistently sponsors Railstars and reflects consistency that has been discussed by Carroll (2003) in her 3C-SR model of CSR.

The Financial Gazette dated 16 September 2005: says that Econet through its PR department sponsored Harare Athletics Club (HAC) 20 Miler Road Race, where over 180 athletes of different backgrounds and ages convened to run until 5 December 2005. This is one good example in sports where Econet sponsors athletes through their corporate social responsibility programmes to create mutual understanding with their publics.

Investing in Community Health

As part of CSR Econet has played a vital role in assisting its publics to stay healthy. In 2008 Econet took a more direct and urgent role under health and welfare program to assist the public's who were affected by cholera. In the cholera health crisis Econet provided financial and logistical support to teams of dedicated health workers that were involved in fighting the cholera epidemic that affected the country during the later part of 2008. Using printed documentaries about Econet, the PR department at Econet offered wide airtime distribution network to spread awareness by printing anti-cholera SMS messages that were forwarded to every mobile phone with Econet lines. A Health-care Trust Zimbabwe in December 2008 was established as an attempt to assist the publics affected by cholera.

On health issues Econet also took care of its internal publics that are HIV/AIDS affected. Both internal and external publics benefit a lot from Econet HIV/AIDS programme. Econet Wireless continues to provide anti-retro-viral drugs for the infected employees and other members of their immediate family. The Econet Wireless publication on-line through their website indicates that Econet cares for its publics through the "Live 2 Love" program. On HIV and AIDS Econet encourages the publics to avoid the stigma attached to HIV and AIDS victims. Like Econet NRZ have two programmes for health that tackle HIV and AIDS and cholera. NRZ CSR programmes assisted external publics to stay healthy by providing free transporting of drugs and passengers from one area to another for medication. Apart from that through their web site and in-house publications, NRZ has published health programs that were implemented through their PR department

CSR on Environment at Econet and NRZ

This study's findings reflect that Econet through its CSR programmes implemented environmental programmes. Through the PR department's approach to CSR "Econet In the Community" programme was launched in 2004 and part of its intended focus was to target environmental awareness initiatives. From time to time, the company has supported activities aimed at changing the community's attitude towards disposal of litter.

In the Financial Gazette dated September 1-7 2005, Econet published its corporate community responsibility article entitled "Econet supports environmental programmes". The PR department at Econet partnered with the Harare Junior City Council, to conduct clean ups on the Eastern part of Samora Machel Avenue, one of the city's busiest thorough fares. The initiative was supported by the Harare City Council itself, which provided implements that were used for the exercise. The Junior Council mobilized scores of volunteers from various high schools around the city, who displayed a unique sense of discipline and civic spiritedness. Econet through its CSR programme supported clean up initiatives ties in closely with the company's desire to see users of its preferred services becoming more environmentally conscious, through appropriate disposal of used recharged cards in bins around the city.

NRZ like Econet is also concerned with the environment as part of their CSR programmes implemented by PR department. NRZ PR department through its CSR programmes installed a fume absorbing plant for the metaling shop to prevent workshop personnel from exposure to toxic fumes emitted during the smelting process. The metaling shop is one of the key sections of the engineering workshop at NRZ and its main function is to recondition plain bearings for use on locomotives and bearings. The process entails re-melting white metal from worn out plain bearings and shell. However, the process emits lead fumes which cause a serious health hazard to the workforce if there are no mechanisms to extract the fumes from the building. Fumes produced at NRZ workshop polluted the surrounding environment. Therefore the NRZ PR department had to implement measures that assisted in reducing pollution. Again in February 2005 NRZ organized a health campaign that cleaned up the 5th Street in Bulawayo in conjunction with the Bulawayo City Council.

Two Way-Communication at Econet and NRZ

The study findings also indicated that the two corporate organisations' PR departments adopted the Two-way symmetrical model to communicate with their publics through the use of their organisations' web sites. The architecture of the web site at NRZ has a forum for comments. Here clients can enter their views which the company can use as feedback about the positive and negative impact

of their CSR programmes. The publics without access to the internet can phone or use suggestion box. Econet web site is user friendly and allows the publics to enter their opinions about the Econet CSR programmes. The use of web-logs fulfills the “public Opinion model of PR that allows stakeholders to be engaged in a dialogue with the PR department employees at Econet. A reciprocal relationship was built and this was facilitated by feedback channels opened by both organisations. The few public members interviewed by the researcher indicated that they have communicated with the two organisations through their websites. This indicates the commitments of Econet and NRZ through their PR department to reach mutual understanding and goodwill with all their publics. PR manager at NRZ Mr Fanuel Masikati is a professional PR practitioner, who communicates affectively with the publics. Masikati uses two-way communication and he listens to the public, although they have limited resources but his effort with his PR team is emulated by the publics. Corporate Communications Manager at Econet Mr Ranga Mberi is an excellent PR practitioner. All their programs for CSR are based on research and address the needs of the publics nationwide. Their web site is updated with all CSR programmes and the budget spent for CSR programmes.

Information elicited through interviews and questionnaires in this study revealed that CSR is also known as CSI because the organization invests in a specific cause to uplift the community, and in the process, increases its profits. Mersham et al (1995:78) say that a PR practitioner manages CSR programmes of an organisation in order to create a favorable corporate image for the organisation. Econet indicated that at times CSR programs conflict with the government policies. NRZ indicated that CSR impact them negatively, especially when their budget allocation is limited

All corporations Econet and NRZ PR department indicated through their responses from questionnaires that they encounter negative impact from top management to fully implement CSR programmes. NRZ as a parastatal with government having major shares has faced financial constraint to implement public centers CSR programs. Both Econet and NRZ in the questionnaires and interviews conducted admitted that CSR/CSI contribute positively to their organisations.

The responses elicited through questionnaires indicated that Econet and NRZ have gained positively after implementing CSR programs to benefit the publics as indicated below; Increase community participation in cause-related activities by providing promotional

- support and use of distribution channels
- Enhance corporate image and clout.
- Build a strong corporate reputation.
- Create a strong community relations

On the other hand, Econet indicated that to them CSR rewards positively in that:

- It increases sales and market shares.
- Strengthened brand positioning.
- Enhance corporate image and clout
- Increased ability to attract, motivate, and retain employees.
- Increase appeal to investors and financial analysts.

Unlike Econet, NRZ states that to them CSR decreases operating costs and contribute to overall business goals by opening up new markets. For example, it provides opportunities to build long term relationship with distributors and suppliers.

Positive Impact of CSR Programmes at Econet and NRZ

The finding of the study proved through the information that was gathered using questionnaires and interviews that Econet has more positive impact than negative of practising CSR in their organization through their PR department. While Econet have five positive impacts for practising CSR, NRZ have two positive impacts for practising CSR. This is probably because Econet unlike NRZ has a budget for CSR and CSR is one factor listed in their corporate policies. However, both corporates admitted that they have more positive impact by practising CSR than negative.

Econet and NRZ PR departments admitted that positive impact of practising CSR outweighs negative impact of CSR. It is clear from the respondents through interviews and questionnaires that CSR to both Econet and NRZ enhance public awareness and concern for their cause. Again it can be argued that CSR support efforts to influence individual behavior change and industry business practices that improved public health. Mr Fanuel Masikati PR manager at NRZ viewed 2004 as a year of success in disseminating HIV and AIDS information to their employees at a Capacity Building workshop held at Griffin Hall. Capacity Building was an exercise being undertaken by the NRZ AIDS Awareness programme to re-equip AIDS Coordinators and Peer educators with new awareness techniques and approaches. Dumisani Sibanda, one of the first pupils to go public about his HIV and AIDS status was the driving force behind the NRZ awareness campaigns. Such CSR programs by NRZ have improved the turnaround of NRZ.

Econet CSR programs assisted its employee and other members of their immediate family with anti-retro-viral drugs. Econet CSR programmes like "Live 2 Love" encourages members of society not to discriminate and stigmatize fellow citizens affected by HIV and AIDS and help to fight any prejudice against them. The PR department at Econet is convinced that HIV and AIDS have the potential to waste valuable trained human resources and reduce productivity.

Measurement of Csr Programmes in PR

In addition, some researchers and PR practitioners in the U.S. refer to this as "Media Measurement "and/or "Publicity Tracking" research. In the United Kingdom, the technique is often referred to as "Media Evaluation;" and in Germany as "Media Resonance." Whatever the terminology used to describe this particular technique, more often than not its prime function is to determine whether the key messages, concepts and themes that an organisation might be interested in disseminating to others via the media do, indeed, receive some measure of exposure as a result of a particular public relations effort or activity. In the study the standards for Measuring PR Outputs effort at Econet and NRZ through assessment of published article for CSR to the publics for consumptions as indicate in the above bar line.

As important as it might be to measure PR outputs and outtakes, it is far more important to assess PR outcomes at Econet and NRZ in implementing CSR programmes for good corporate citizenship. These measure whether the communications materials and messages which were disseminated have resulted in any opinion, attitude and/or behavior changes on the part of those targeted audiences to whom the messages were directed. It is usually much more difficult and, generally, more expensive, to measure PR outcomes, and to some extent PR outtakes, than it is to measure PR outputs. This is because more sophisticated data-gathering research tools and techniques are required. Measuring PR outputs is usually a question of counting, tracking and observing, while for PR outtakes and PR outcomes, it is a matter of asking and carrying out extensive review and analysis of what was said and what was done. The researcher had to ask the PR managers Mr Mberi from Econet and Mr Masikati at NRZ whether the publics phone back appreciating their assistance to them. Both organisation's PR managers gave the positive response which shows that general public fully appreciate their CSR and CSP programmes.

Conclusion

The remarkable conclusion reached by the researcher after the data accumulated in the study is that both PR departments at Econet and NRZ are part of the management. Furthermore, both PR departments at Econet and NRZ play an essential part in approaching and practicing good citizenship by implementing CSR programmes that boost immensely their corporations' reputations and objectives. Although NRZ had a few loopholes that they require to meet their publics' needs for mutual understanding and goodwill, Econet's CSR programs outweigh NRZ's CSR by wide margin. Again in communication Econet is advanced as compared to NRZ and this could be the fact that Econet is a telecommunication organisation while NRZ is a transport oriented organisation. The salient idea in both organisations is that their PR departments are part of the management and

are the ones that implement CSR programmes. Unlike NRZ that has been operating for more than a century, Econet has operated for 17 years. In conclusion, Econet and NRZ PR departments' approaches to CSR are appreciated by their general publics. Again the two organisations practise excellent PR practices that improve their organisations' image and reputation. To them CSR is not business ethics but rather, it is their burden to plough back to the community they serve.

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Gender, Access, Control and Ownership of Cattle in Shona and Ndebele Cultures: A comparative Analysis.

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Abstract

Access, control and ownership of resources especially livestock in Shona and Ndebele cultures are not only gendered but have also been masculinised and feminized. This means that certain resources are easily accessed, controlled, or are associated with either males or females. Masculinisation or feminisation depends on the type of resource, its use, scale of production and the exchange value on the market. This article explores various ways in which men and women in the Shona and Ndebele cultures access different types of cattle. It also analyses issues of control and ownership of these cattle. The meanings of the terms 'access' and 'control' as they relate to men and women ownership is clarified. The paper also looks at how culture, traditions, patriarchal power relations and legal instruments interlock in these ownership issues. The Marxist, socialist and radical feminist theories form the base of this paper. [The Harvard and the empowerment (Sara-Longwe) frameworks are tools of analysis. The design was qualitative and sampling was stratified and purposive. In-depth interviews were conducted with 40 respondents (18 females and 22 males) from various parts of Matabeleland and Mashonaland. Findings are that the Ndebele and the Shona placed and still place great importance on cattle despite availability of other valuable properties like cars, cellphones, farming implements like tractors, and combined harvesters among others. In both cultures men have more opportunities of acquiring cattle and start earlier before marriage. With modernisation various ways through which women accessed cattle are dwindling. Women's patri-kin have exclusive rights over cattle belonging to the woman especially in the Shona society. Ideologies and mystical beliefs like ngozi (avenging spirits), associated with women's cattle and property are used to control access, or even inheritance of such property particularly in the Shona culture. Female registration of cattle was supported by both males and females. The paper suggests a gendered analysis of ownership issues and demasculinisation through gender education, conscientisation and empowerment.

Introduction

In many instances men and women have access and use of different types of livestock but this may not mean they have control or ownership. Each gender may not make decisions that relate to slaughter, lending or selling of livestock independently. This applies mainly to livestock obtained through rituals such as mombe yeumai in Shona or inkomo yohlanga in Ndebele. These are traditionally viewed as belonging to women. In Shona and Ndebele traditional (patriarchal)

societies, women do not own or control masculinised resources including those named after them, or accessed through rituals that revolve around them. Similarly men have no control over femininised resources like kitchen utensils. Male control also depends on how the livestock were accessed. The ways of access can be economic, social, cultural and religious. These determine use, control and ownership by gender. If they are bought using capital with the intention of investing, males tend to control. If they are for subsistence, females control them. Control also depends on the breed and demand on the market. One reason for this is the need and access to inputs like modern chemicals. Men are in a better position to access these because they own land and have collateral (security property). Property relations therefore signify a relationship between people. It is against this philosophical foundation that the researcher wishes to establish whether or not women really have control over what is claimed to be theirs, especially different types of livestock. Issues of access, control, symbolic ownership and economic power are to be explored in this paper. The objectives guiding the study are to explore various ways in which women in Shona and Ndebele cultures access livestock especially cattle and to clarify the meanings of terms like access and control as they relate to men and women's ownership of livestock resources. The paper also gives a detailed analysis of access, uses, ownership and control of cattle by men and women and shows the relationship between tradition, patriarchy, power relations and legal instruments in ownership issues.

Definition of terms

It is important to define the terms access and control as they are often confused and used interchangeably. The term access means the ability, opportunity or chance to use a resource (Moser, 1993). Control according to Sara Longwe in March, Smith and Mukhopadhyay (1999) is the ability to own or have final judgment over a resource. One can have a final say or decision over what she or he owns. Livestock are animal resources kept for use or profit (Hornby, 1980). These include cattle, goats, donkeys, sheep, chickens, ducks, pigs, and peacocks, guinea fowls among others (Ncube, Steward, Dengu-Zvobgo, Donzwa, Gwaunza, Kazembe, and Nzira, 1997).

Methodology

The research design was a qualitative descriptive survey. Data was collected over a period of a year, that is, May 2010 to April 2011 in Gweru urban with people from Lower Gweru, Nkayi, Chiwundura, Mberengwa, Kezi, Silobela, Chegutu, Shurugwi, Filabusi, Karoi, Masvingo, Zvishavane, Mhondoro and Nyamandlovu in Zimbabwe. This was through semi-structured and unstructured in-depth interviews conducted with Shona and Ndebele elders above 60 years and middle aged (45-50 years) educated and non-educated males and females. A total of 40 respondents were interviewed, 18 females and 22 males. In-depth scholarly data on the understanding of Shona and Ndebele cultures was

obtained from secondary written documents while traditional knowledge was elicited from elders. Middle-aged males and females provided data that related to current situation as a result of changes in customary law and the introduction of legal instruments that deal with gender discrimination relating to access, control and ownership of property. Interviews were conducted in English, Shona and Ndebele, depending on the language which the respondent was comfortable with. Semi-structured questions enabled the researcher to fill in the prepared table on the interview schedule relating to issues of access, uses, control and ownership of resources. The unstructured questions were for probing the fate of cattle at divorce and death. Respondents were allowed to describe cultural and historical ways of accessing cattle by both males and females in the Shona and Ndebele cultures. Data analysis and presentation was purely qualitative with certain words and phrases from the respondents quoted verbatim. Sampling was purposive and stratified to cater for ethnicity, gender, age and the level of education. The Marxist and the socialist feminist theories were used as perspectives that explain power relations that determine access, control and ownership of resources. Culture, patriarchy and religion are ideologies that interlock to maintain these power relations. Harvard analysis and empowerment models were used as tools of explaining control and ownership of resources. The extended family was the unit of analysis.

Theoretical Framework

According to the Marxists, control of the means of production is a source of economic power (Bryson, 1992; Haralambos and Holborn, 2004). Capitalists are economically powerful because of the control of the means of production. Marxists and socialist feminists argue that males are also economically powerful because they own the means of production. Livestock, especially cattle are an important means of production. Women lack control of the means of production like land, cattle, housing hence are less powerful (March et al, 2000). Marxists and socialist feminists also argue that control over wealth constitutes authority. Traditional customs grant economic power to men disadvantaging girls and women. Social and economic equality requires that both male and female children inherit land, cattle and other economic resources equally from their parents. Ownership and control over property signifies command over productive resources. Men as a gender largely control wealth generating property which is public or privately owned. This control reproduces male authority (Mukhopadyay, 2000).

Socialist and radical feminists point out that women are viewed as a productive resource generating another wealth. They are a form of labour and they produce children who are also labourers for the capitalist man (Bryson,1992;Haralambos and Holborn,2004).This view is also echoed by Walker(1990) who says control of women's labour and reproductive resources(sexuality) gives patriarchal men power.

According to Sara-Longwe in Moser (1993), control is the highest stage of empowerment. Male control of women enables them to access female labour and sexuality. However, women lack control because they have no final judgment over resources they access or over themselves as a resource. Like Marxists feminists, Kabeer in Mukhopadyay (2000:13) further asserts that 'Property distribution in the household between male and female children reflects conflicting preferences and decision-making powers between men and women'.

Importance of cattle in Shona and Ndebele societies

Traditionally livestock were important for two broad reasons. Firstly, for economic value and secondly, cattle gave meaning to the family (head of the household, women and other members of the household). Cattle provided milk, skins for clothing, blankets, mats, hides for drums, sandals, whips among other such uses (Makamure and Tsodzo in Clive and Kileff, 1997). They also gave meat, fat to add to vegetables or to be used as lotion. Horns were for communication and for storing medicine. The dung was used as manure or as floor polish.

Cattle were a symbol of wealth that gave a family a name, that is, fame and status (Dore, Bere and Chikara in Clive and Kileff, 1997). Through payment of bride price cattle could be turned into other critical resources like women. Cattle were also used as draught power and transport. Payment for fines (ngozi/uzimu, chiredzwa/isondlo and chekaukama) was all in form of cattle.

Symbolic meaning of cattle

According to Bere-Chikara in Clive and Kileff, (1997), cattle formed an effective bridge to connect relatives, friends and neighbours. A beast could be killed and the meat distributed to relatives and friends to strengthen relationships. In the Shona culture true friendship is proved by free meals and gifts. This is evidenced by the saying: ukama igasva, hunozadzi swa nekudya. Cattle also played an important role in rituals involving dead relatives. This was meant to unite the dead with the living.

Besides uses and unity brought by cattle, they were also a means of capital accumulation. Through cattle, women labour power was obtained. At the same time, women were a critical resource that enabled one to access other critical resources like livestock. The two resources were exchanged at marriage and united the two great concerns, that is, control of cattle and control of women (Walker, 1990). Control of one resource, for example women, ensured access to the other, for example cattle. In patriarchal societies, it is men who exchange cattle for women or women for cattle. Women do not make decisions concerning marriage. They are treated as merely passive commodities of exchange that are negotiated and bargained for. Their situation is similar to what happened to eighteenth century

slaves in West African slave markets of Kano and Zanzibar where slaves did not decide on their prices and had no benefits('Bhila and Shillington,1986).

Livestock gave history to a man, ensuring that he left tangible and valuable movable property for the family through inheritance. However, traditionally cattle could be inherited by sons whom Guy in Walker, (1990) calls vertical transfer from father to son. In modern society, every biological off-spring has a share unless the will declares otherwise (Registered Civil Marriage Act 1987 and the Civil Inheritance Act 2001). Inheritance gave each child a history and sense of belonging. The practice of bride price and the exchange of livestock did not only unite the two families as a medium of barter exchange, but also gave meaning to the family. Women being exchanged felt that they were worthy. Mothers also felt that child bearing was worthy. Fathers and grown up sons also recognized the worthiness of mothers and sisters.

In both Shona and Ndebele cultures, cattle can be demanded back by the maiden patriachs if the marriage does not work out. Bere-Chikara in Clive and Kileff (1997) views it as a safeguard against divorce. In Shona culture, if a woman abandons her husband or commits adultery, the pride-price can be demanded back. In Ndebele society, if a woman returns to her family before giving birth, either the bride-price is expected back or a young sister is sent to bear children on her behalf. To the Ndebele bride-price is payment for the off-spring. Infertility on the part of a wife was ground for the husband's family to demand the return of cattle (Guy in Walker, 1990:39). In the Shona culture bride- price is payment for the women and could be demanded back if the woman decides to leave the marriage. In the Ndebele setting cattle enabled a man to be "a man among other man" Umnumzana. They helped a man to fulfil his mission on earth, that is , traditionally an umnumzana(a respected man)had to fight wars to acquire cattle, marry many wives using cattle and feed his family through meat and milk from cattle (Sibanda, 1981). That was a complete man who could die peacefully having achieved his ultimate goal.

Traditional ways of accessing cattle in both Ndebele and Shona societies

Shona society

Research findings reveal that men have more opportunities to acquire cattle in their own right than women. Intra-family allocation is influenced by social and cultural expectations based on gender. Ncube, Steward, Dengu_Zvobgo, Donzwa, Gwaunza, Kazembe and Nzira (1997: 92) assert that 'women's access to cattle largely depends on the generosity of the husband and their compliance with certain traditional obligations expected of them as wives'.

For example, in a Shona culture women can be allocated cattle for the following services:

- *Kutenda kubereka vana* (Bearing many children)
- *Kubatsira basa* (Helping with labour)
- *Kupira/kusuma* (Accepting and receiving husband's new wife or wives)
- *Kuchengeta vabereki vemurume paurwere* (Caring for husband's parents)
- *Mombe yeumai* (Symbolizing fertility)
- *Nhenamuranda* (Apology)

It must be noted that males have more ways of accessing cattle than women. Examples are:

- *Ngozi* (appeasement of angry spirits of the family of the murdered person.)
- *Pfumabenzi* (paid to the son in law by the father if his daughter commits adultery)
- *Rushamhu* (fine from culprit involved in extra-marital affair with someone's wife to the offended husband)
- *Chimanda* (cattle given to father by son-in-law as an appreciation for his daughter's virginity at marriage)
- *Kupwanyanya ruzhowa* (cattle given to the father as damage by son-in law for impregnating his daughter before marriage)
- *Mombe dzenhaka* (cattle received from deceased parents as inheritance)
- *Roora* (cattle given to the in-laws as bride price)
- *Chiredzwa* (cattle paid as fine for looking after a nephew from a girl child)
- *Chekaukama* (cattle paid by the groom's family where incest has been committed)
- *Dzeufudzi* (cattle given as appreciation for keeping someone' cattle over a period of time)
- *Mombe yebira* (Usually a bull kept in the home as a representation of the departed male grandparent)

These and many other cattle accessed by males are passed through the male line at inheritance. Those accessed by females at inheritance shift ownership to males (UNICEF, 2000). In the event of a woman's death her patriarchy have legitimate claim over her resources. The father, brothers and their sons have ultimate say over her livestock (Gelfand, 1971). It should further be noted that male's access to cattle starts from boyhood while that for women begins at marriage.

Ndebele society

In the Ndebele culture just like in the Shona one, women accumulate cattle from marriage onwards. These are:

- *Eyohlanga* (a cow paid as part of the bride price and is given to the bridegroom's mother)
- *Iphakelo/eyochago* (cow given to a daughter-in-law for permission to eat forbidden food like milk, eggs, beer inner parts of an animal among others)
- *Eyokucolwa* (cow/ox given to the bridegroom by her father as a blessing to the marriage. The cow is killed at the wedding ceremony (umthimba))
- *Eyokukhunga* (cow given as a gift by the father-in-law at the marriage ceremony (umthimba))
- *Eyokugana* (cow/ox given by the father-in-law to the bridegroom as a sign of acceptance in the new family)
- *Ezesengelo* (inheritance of cattle belonging to the mother by her surviving children after her death. These cattle are off-shoots from inkomo eyochago)

Most of these are ritual livestock that are either killed and eaten at ceremonies or become part of the family's inheritance. Women do not have exclusive decisions over these. The kraal itself (isibaya) is named after the father or eldest son even if the remaining cattle in the kraal belong to a woman (for example isibaya sikaDlomo, isibaya sikaMoyo and so on).

Mvududu and McFadden (2001) argue that in customary law, property acquired by a married woman belongs to the husband. Cattle belonging to women also use singular, eyo- (one) while those for males use plural ezo/eza (many). Examples of such types of cattle are ezelifa, ezamalobolo for men and eyohlanga, eyochago for women.

In Ndebele, just like in Shona culture, men have chances of accessing and accumulating more cattle than women in their own right. For both, this can be through hard labour, rituals, fines and inheritance, among others.

Cattle for males in the Ndebele society

Like in the Shona culture, males access more cattle than women.

- *Ezamalobolo* (Cattle given to bride's father as bride price). This was a social transaction meant to unite the two families.
- *Ezamatanga* (Cattle obtained especially by males through one's labour). Traditionally it could be through fighting wars, exchanging grain and doing menial jobs in the community.
- *Ezelifa* (These are inherited cattle from deceased parents). Traditionally males inherited cattle.
- *Ezamadlozi* (These are ritual cattle representing the ancestors, usually males). These were offered to the dead as appeasement.

- *Ezesondlo* (Cattle given as payment by a son-in-law to the father-in-law for a child brought up in the mother's family).
- *Ezamasiso* (Cattle given as to the poor families or head boys by the rich for taking care of their cattle as a symbol of appreciation).
- *Ezesengelo* (Cattle inherited by both males and females from cattle belonging to their mother.)
- *Ezembadalo* (Cattle given as payment or fine for social injustices like adultery, stealing, murder, among other such crimes.)

Modern ways of accessing cattle

Both men and women continue to acquire cattle through the traditional ways discussed above. The extent of access however, depends on the effects of modernity as a way of life and land tenure systems. For example, in commercial farms and resettlement areas both men and women can obtain cattle through loans. In communal reserves, it can be through cash returns after sending harvested crops to marketing boards or barter exchange with neighbours. It must be noted however, that like traditional ways, these favour males. To get a loan, collateral security is needed and as pointed out earlier, women do not own or control valuable movable and/or immovable property. In communal reserves, farming implements and seeds that enable one to produce on a large scale for surplus sales are largely accessed and owned by males.

A general analysis of subsistence agriculture using the Harvard Framework reveals that males have control over valuable resources needed for this type of farming (Moser, 1993). It is males who own and make decisions concerning time, labour, inputs, crops to be grown and disposal of the harvested crops. With the amendments of the Inheritance Acts, Deceased Persons Estates Act and Pensions Act (Legal Resource Foundation, 2001) and the Zimbabwe National Gender policy (2004) relating to access to resources, both males and females can inherit, access loans and purchase resources like land, cattle and farming implements in their own right. However, it is crucial to assess how far these have gone in the achievement of access and control of resources by females.

Modernism as a way of life

With colonization, peasantisation and proletarianisation of the Zimbabwean blacks in early 1900 cash or money became a medium of exchange (Prew, Pape, Mutirwa and Barns, 1993). Cattle could be easily turned into another critical resource like cash. Men had access to cash as workers in towns and mines. They also obtained additional cash as peasant farmers since Customary Law favoured males as both land and cattle were registered in their names as heads of families. This meant

limited access to both cash and cattle by women. Women were to depend on men for cash, land and cattle. The Land Apportionment Act of 1931 drove Africans to Reserves with poor grazing lands while the Land Husbandry Act of 1951 reduced the number of cattle per household. As a result of these pieces of legislation, blacks began to own smaller herds of cattle than before. This meant that some of the payments for traditional rituals could be settled in cash. Ncube et al (1997) pointed out that in their study in Mashonaland, it was discovered that even *mombe yeumai* could be paid in cash or could remain as a promise. This further limits women's access to cattle as some or all fines and/or rituals can now be paid in cash in both Shona and Ndebele cultures. The cash may be used to acquire cattle in some instances.

However, depending on areas, there are some rituals or fines that strictly demand that the ritual or fine be in form of cattle, for example, *chimanda*, *ngozi*, *birra*, and *kusuma* and *n'ombe youmai*. It must be noted that conversion of cattle to money limits women's access to the following cattle; *eyochago*, *eyohlanga*, *eyokukhunga*, *eyokugana* in Ndebele and *youmai*, *yokutenda mukadzi*, and *kurerwa kwavarwere*, in Shona. The cash payment is rarely used to purchase the desired cow because of the low value placed on cattle and insecurity associated with cattle these days as a result of droughts.

Findings and Discussion

Salient features of access and control

To understand salient features of access and control, we need to focus on how the terms 'access', 'our' and 'theirs' are used in relation to resources for the family. Issues of access and control of resources by males and females are embedded in these terms. Also the general belief that husband and wife make one flesh and that what ever is for the family is for everyone tends to hide who owns and controls what? As mentioned earlier in this paper, the term 'access' refers to the ability to use a resource even if you do not own or control it. Respondents in this research strongly felt that if a husband and wife stayed in the same household and used the same land, cars and cattle, then these resources were theirs. Both males and females used the term 'ours' referring to the cattle in their families. However, further investigations into the fate of those resources at divorce and death of the head of the household revealed the opposite. Decisions over cattle referred to as 'for the family' (*mhuri/imuli*), 'ours' (*dzedu/ezethu*) and 'theirs' (*dzavo/ezabo*) were all owned and controlled by men. This was because the final decision over cattle came from fathers, sons, brothers and husbands. All women respondents felt that the cattle belonged to them because a husband and a wife were "one flesh". However, male responses revealed that all cattle belonged to males. Some of their responses are cited below. Ntini (65) from Lower Gweru;

Umfazi angazithatha ngaphi inkomo? Umfazi kalamntwana, kalamuzi, kalasibaya.
 {Where can a woman get cattle? She does not have children, home or cattle kraal}.
 Mai Sanya (48) from Chegutu; *Mukadzi Haaiti pfuma yedanga.*
 {A woman cannot own cattle}.

Controversies over certain types of cattle

There were controversies over ownership and control over the following cattle; *yechimanda/eyobuntombi ;yechiredzwa/isondlo; youmai/eyohlanga* and *dzesimba/ezamathanga*. All females felt that cattle for *chiredzwa/isondlo* should be given to them because its them who look after children. Mbuya Mutemeramwa (90) from (Masvingo) had this to say;

Murume haareri munhu...Anopa sadza? Anogezisa? Anochengeta murwere here? {Men do not look after children, it's not them who give food and nurse the sick}.

Though males agreed that the burden of caring falls heavily on women, that is not enough to cede these cattle to women. This is based on men's belief that the children that women look after are not theirs, in a home which is not theirs and using resources that are not theirs. Indicative of the above thinking are the following comments:

MaMbiba (53) from Nkayi; *Umfazi ngumgcini wengcebo*
 {A woman is only a steward.}

Matsa (45) from Shurugwi; culturally women look after even their own children and are not paid for it. The belief is that they are able to do so because of provisions by the head of the household who is male.

Ncube(53)from Lower Gweru says;
Ngeyami inkomo, yimi umninimntwana, ingena emzini wami, umntwana wondliwa emzini wami, ngenzuzo yami. {I am the owner of the cow, child, home and the resources.}

Both male and female respondents felt that *mombe youmai/eyohlanga* and *dzesimba/ezamathanga* should also be owned by women. Further investigations revealed that practically women did not have exclusive powers over these cattle. Moreso, such cattle can not be inherited by their children as women wished. Decisions over the fate of such cattle are made in consultation with their maiden patriarchs. When a woman dies, these cattle get into the hands of her male relatives. However, in a Ndebele culture *ezamathanga/dzesimba* remain with the husband at divorce or death. The argument is that the men own the woman and what she produces, that is, cattle and children. Some of the responses were:

Nkomo (71) from Silobela; A mother is a figurehead for accessing but with no powers even over her head.

MaMkandla (46) from Nkayi; Women rarely obtain cattle through hard labour, if they did, this was for expanding her father or husband's kraal {*Ukuvusa uyise kumbe umkakhe*}

Lack of total ownership revolves around masculinisation of crucial resources like land, home, kraal and children. The ownership of all cattle by males is directly or indirectly based on questions of whose child? Whose home? and whose kraal? Further probing revealed that all cattle paid as fines are owned by men. Women are a means through which the patriarchs accumulate wealth. Mai Zivanai (44) from (Mhondoro) noted that where a man or a woman misbehaves, the fine is received by the father, brother or husband. For example, Nhenamuranda for apology, pfumabenzi which is paid when a wife commits adultery, kupwanyanya ruzhowa which is given to the father as damage, chekaukama for incest and chiredzwa for caring for son-in-law's children.

Dispossession: A form of control

Dispossessing and impoverishing individuals, groups and nationalities are strategies of control. When Europeans invaded African lands, their first move was to dispossess the inhabitants of their cattle, labour and land. This made Africans poor and easy to control. The 1893 war of invasion of the Ndebele by the white settlers was a war of dispossession because the Ndebele lost their wealth in form of land, cattle and minerals. (Prew et al, 1993). Culture and patriarchy also dispossess women of crucial resources like land, cattle, homes, children and labour. This is done through loss of women's worth, identity, independence and power. A woman is viewed as a child, visitor, or a stranger in both her maiden and husband's homes. Responses had the following comments to this effect:

MaMkhwananzi (82) from Mberengwa; Amankazana ngabantu bemzini {Girls are visitors}

Ncube (50) *Umfazi kumele enze nje ngomuntu owaziyo ukuthi ungaphi njalo wavela ngaphi* {A woman should behave like someone who knows where she is and where she came from}.

Mawere (50) from Masvingo said; *Takabata makumbo musoro unavene* {She does not belong to us}.

Culturally women do not own property in both their maiden and husband's homes. They are viewed as travelers or passersby (izihambi/vafambi) in their matrimonial homes, while in their husband's homes they are treated as strangers (*vatogwa /abemzini*). Even inheritance procedures (nhaka/ilifa) are based on these beliefs. Where women access inheritance in form of cattle, it is because of the

generosity of parents especially the father. For example, in the Ndebele culture, girls can be given cattle as consolation when their parents die. These are referred to as tears (*ezenyembezi*). This happens where the family consists of girls only or where the father or family patriarchy feels girls should get something. However, women still face the problem of where to take their cattle to. MaMkhwananzi (82) from chief Ngungumbane had this to say:

Abesilisa bebengathandi ukuthi ngithi ngendile ngingumfazi ngibe lenkomo. Abafazi bebethengisa inkomo abaziphiwa kibo bayethenga ezinye izinto kumbe bazitshiye kibo. {Men did not approve of women who had their own cattle, as a result women tended to sell their share of cattle in order to buy other items or leave cattle in their maiden homes.}

Whether women sold or left the cattle, this was a way of dispossessing and impoverishing them.

In Ndebele culture women can also obtain cattle for milk in polygamous families where the husband gives each wife a cow to milk (*eyesengelo*) especially when the milk from the main kraal is not enough. These can also be given by fathers to daughters whose bride price has been paid for the welfare of the nephews. The father can also give a cow to a daughter or daughter-in-law for milk (*eyochago*). Women could accumulate wealth through such practices but patriarchal restrictions make this difficult for women. Their having or keeping of cattle depends on the will of either their fathers or their husbands. Magutshwa (63) from Filabusi related what happened in their family when they received cattle as consolation after the death of their mother (*inyembezi zikanina*). Her husband allowed her to keep her cow. In September 2009 she had seven cattle in the kraal. The husband is now late. She felt her cattle were increasing at a faster rate for the comfort of any men. She expressed fears that her sons were showing signs of discomfort. The second sister sold the cow to buy other items because the husband did not accept the cow in his kraal. The third sister's husband argued that the cow could not be the first in their kraal (*Ayingeke ivule isibaya ingeyomfazi*). The fourth and youngest sister sold the cow and bought other items. To date she is the only woman with cattle amongst her sisters. Such actions and beliefs dispossess and impoverish women. Cattle obtained by women through whichever means either women themselves get rid of them, or they come under the control of the husbands. Some retain the control of the maiden patriarchy. Marriage and bride price are used as instruments for control of women and women's property. Failure to get married on the other hand makes it even more difficult for women to obtain cattle. The big questions are; if the woman takes her cattle to the husband, does the husband approve? If he does, whose kraal? Whose home? Whose wife? If she leaves them with her parents again the same questions are asked: Whose child? Whose home? Whose kraal?

Ideological control

Socially constructed beliefs (ideologies) play a critical role in legitimising women's subordinate role in property ownership. A number of beliefs which make it difficult for either men or women to access and control certain types of cattle were cited by both the Shona and Ndebele respondents. All interviewed women in the Shona culture were against men and children's use and inheritance of *mombe yeumai*. The feeling was that the cow was not only symbolic for the woman, but also spiritual. It had nothing to do with the husband's family. The wife, however liberal or aware of the new laws relating to property inheritance, cannot decide without consulting her maiden relatives. Moreover, decisions of ancestors override those of the living. When a woman dies she takes instructions from the ancestors. Two respondents had this to say; Gumbo (55)

Kana mukadzi afa anomira nevekwaavo, haamiri newe, uyezve anogona kukupandukira. Nemhaka yeizvozvo handidi mombe dzake mudanga rangu nyangwe kuti vana vangu vatambure nekudzifudza. {When a wife dies she can turn against you. Because of that, I do not want her cattle in my kraal or even to have my children look after them}

Sanya (53) A dead wife can give you a clap which you cannot reciprocate.

Such beliefs ensure control of women by their maiden patriarchs even if the woman decided otherwise before death. To be noted is that during colonial rule only males registered cattle, women's ownership of cattle was not documented but the fear of angry spirits (*ngozi*) served as a form of security for women. The same applied to cattle obtained by women through *hun'anga* (traditional healing), *kurera murwere* (nursing the sick), *kutenda* (as a sign of appreciation), and any cattle which women could access. However, it must be made clear that women do not have total control over these cattle but their family patriarchy. Mai Sanya (48) had this to say;

What is mine is not mine directly but my family. For now I have a say, meaning that she can decide over or use resources if she is still alive but if she dies her family takes over.

Elderly Ndebele respondents argued that originally the Nguni speaking people who came with Mzilikazi had no belief in avenging spirits (*uzimu/ngozi*). This came as a result of the incorporation of the Shona speaking people into the Ndebele state during the reign and the raids of Mzilikazi (1840-68) and Lobengula (1870-1893). MaMkhwananzi (82) said;

Lokho okozimu kuvele esitshabini {The Ndebele copied the belief from the shona speaking people}

Nkomo (71) from Nkayi; said that {There are no avenging spirits if a pure Ndebele kills another.}

As a result the majority of Ndebele respondents felt that women cattle can be inherited by their children. They expressed no fear of cattle belonging to women. Ncube (50) said;

Ngiyasala lazo ezomfazi angizesabi. {I can inherit my wife's property including cattle. I have no fear.}

Giga (65) from Chiwundura said; *Mina ngadla ezikagogo ozala ubaba, ngadla ezikamama ongizalayo, kuyini okungenza ngesabe ezikankosikazi.* {I received cattle from my mother, my grand mother, how can I fear my wife's } Nkomo (71).

Esindebeleni akulalutho olwesabekayo. Mina ngingazekelelani yena umfazi ezakudla ezami. {There is nothing to fear in a Ndebele culture. I can inherit as she does with my cattle.}

The conclusion is that any Ndebele man who has paid pride price can inherit all types of cattle belonging to the wife except eyohlanga. The types that can be inherited are those obtained through hard work (ezamathanga), traditional healing (ezomkhonto), eyochago, ezesengelo and ezenyembezi given by fathers and fathers in law. However, it was noted that men who strongly felt they would accept women's cattle and property were staunch Christians. Religion became an intervening variable. Some men and women still felt that it was not safe to inherit women's property especially cattle. Mai Hove (47) from Kezi had this comment;

Ilicala. Ngesintu inkomo yohlanga ilomlandu {Traditionally the mother's cow should be respected, if used it should be replaced} The Ndebele respondents also pointed out that sometimes royal or rich households could give daughters cattle at marriage to maintain their status and lifestyles. However, this is rarely done because in marriage transactions, it is the son in law who should bring cattle not the other way round. MaMbiba (55) says; *Yikubuyisela inkomo lapho ezavela khona kumbe ukupha umkhwenyana inkomo azalobola ngazo* {Its like sending cattle back to the groom or giving him cattle to use as pride price}.

This does not go down well with the Ndebele people because in their culture bride price is paid later when the daughter has given the groom children. On the other

hand the husband's family believes a woman who brings cattle will not respect her husband. Gogo Dlamini (80) from Esigodini had this to say;

Amadoda ayamesaba umfazi olemfuyo, kuthiwa uzadelela indoda athwale ikhanda. Amadoda awafuni okuvela kibo komfazi {Men do not want women's property, are afraid of such women, its believed they have no respect for their husband.}

The other belief is that women's cattle should be kept as symbolic as possible. Their access to cattle is not for wealth creation hence should be kept to a bare minimum. Indicative of these sentiments were the following; Mai Sanya (48)

Mukadzi haaiti pfuma yedanga {Women should not accumulate cattle for wealth}. Professor Magwa (47) from Masvingo argued that; Women's cattle should not dominate the kraal, they are only symbolic, five beasts would be enough for a woman.

All these beliefs and myths serve as limitation to women's access and control of more cattle. It must be noted that it is for the above reasons that women's types of cattle in both Shona and Ndebele cultures use singular terms, for example eye-, eyo-, yo-, ye- while men's are in plural; dze-, eze-, eza-, ezo-. Where a plural is used for women's cattle it refers to off-springs of the accessed cow.

Convergence and divergence of men and women's interests

All interviewed male and female respondents between 40-55 years the Shona and Ndebele cultures felt parents' property should be left to the children. They argued that cultural beliefs were a hindrance in inheritance. However; males were prepared to leave their property, cattle included, to spouses. They argued that in most cases women share property with children. In contrast all females did not want to leave their property with spouses. Men were viewed as not responsible enough and are quick to get married leading to loss of property to the new wife at the expense of the children. Though women supported the marriage laws, for example, the (Marriage act civil(1987) and the Inheritance act civil(2001) which provide for inheritance of property by the surviving spouse, this was so as it applied to spouses who are women. Women were emotional about the same provisions of the law to men.

Some of their comments were; MaMkhwananzi (82)

Kubomama kuhle. {It's good for women}

Mai Mashiri (45) from Karoi;

We are prepared to leave property with the husbands on behalf of our children.

Mrs. Mabhena (45) said; The law should take into consideration the children.

Mai Sanya (48)

Pfuma yemurume ndingagoiramba ini ndakayishanda! Iye ndinotyira

Vana kana aroora. Munhu anoshandira vana vake. {I would accept men's property because I contributed, for him I am afraid children may not get the spoils when he marries again. People work for their children}. Second marriages and property inheritance at the expense of children were issues that women were not happy with. Even men did not want to entertain the idea of their wives' second marriages.

Changes and continuity

Responses also revealed that before independence females could not register cattle in their names. This was because of culture, patriarchy and colonial laws. Culturally women did not own property. In fact, women themselves are viewed as part of male property ..Magadzire (65) from Zvishavane noted that culturally women do not own anything except pots and dresses.

Patriarchal power limits women's access and control of property especially cattle. Before Zimbabwean independence, if the head of the household died, cattle were distributed and registered by sons. Sons could register their mother's cattle.

Nkomo (71) noted that;

Widows who wanted could register cattle in their own names.

Respondents in both cultures were of the opinion that after independence, women's registration of cattle is widespread especially in new land tenure systems, that is, model A1, A2 schemes and commercial farms. In communal reserves though changes are noticeable, culture and patriarchy were still strong. Married women especially still faced cultural, patriarchal and administrative barriers to registration of property. However, the widowed and the single had open chances of registering cattle than the married. Some of the comments were;

MaMbiba (53)

Otshadileyo indoda iphila kalabhuku kodwa abangendanga sebelawo abiza bona. {The married can not register in their names if the husband is alive but the unmarried can do so-Registration is for the household.}

Ncube (50)

Ungabona umfazi esefuna ibhuku lakhe ngiphila kukhona asekucabanga.

{It's suspicious for women to demand her own registration book when I am still alive}.

The majority of males and females in both cultures ,however, supported female registration of property.They concurred that in rural,urban,communal reserves, resettlement schemes and commercial farms, both men and women were responding to the calls of the Legal age of majority(1982), Civil inheritance law(2001) and the Deceased persons' estate(LRF,2001)though some do so grudgingly in fear of the laws. The changes were noted to be slow and the reasons given for

the pace were cultural attitudes, myths, traditional beliefs, patriarchy, lack of education, lack of awareness and of empowerment and information. Other determinant factors cited were poverty and class. Poor classes were viewed as resistant to change and hence continue to grab relatives' properties.

Conclusion and way forward

There is need for gender analysis and understanding of the terms access, control and ownership as they stand independent of each other. Using a resource does not mean one own it. Inclusive terms like 'ours', 'theirs', 'us', and 'one flesh' tend to obscure issues of ownership. There is need to demasculinise property in order to deal successfully with issues of gendered property. Issues of "power over" and "power to" should be looked into with a gender eye to ensure women's control and decision over resources. As long as women do not control tangible productive resources like land, cattle, machinery, capital and intangible ones like labour, time and decision-making and skills, they are unlikely to have power to control. Wealth generating property will continue to be in male hands. Both males and females need to be empowered to accept women as equal partners in property ownership and control and also to ensure that the patriarchal system open more ways for women's access, control and ownership of cattle. Conscientisation is also crucial for women to accept their new positions as owners of even masculinised properties like cattle, cars, technology, land, houses and homesteads, among others. Policy and law implementers need to disseminate information relating to property ownership to ensure that women use these laws and policies to guard their possessions. Law makers need to consult both male and female clients before passing legislation to serve their interests. Patriarchal administrators in both rural and urban areas need to be made gender sensitive and aware of new gender laws and policies relating to property ownership.

The provisions of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Declaration on Gender and Development (December, 1997) and the Zimbabwe National Gender Policy (ZNGP, 2004) should be made known to the stakeholders. The two emphasise the promotion of women to full access and control of productive resources. Sithole, cited in Mgugu and Chimonyo (2004), noted that legislations on control over especially crucial resources are either blind or neutral. The assumption is that the law applies equally to men and women. Gender neutral law can be discriminatory in its implementation especially if it is implemented by gender blind and irresponsible administrators. This is even worse where implementation is in the hands of traditional leaders who are patriarchal. For example, in communal reserves and model A1 resettlement schemes, men continue to dominate in land ownership because access and occupation is presided over by chiefs who give precedence to males (Rukuni commission, in Mgugu and Chimonyo, 2004). This is despite the provisions of the Zimbabwe National Gender Policy (2004) and the Legal Policy framework of land redistribution of 1999 which also

recognized women's reality of marginalization in land ownership. Such issues need to be looked into if women's control and registration of productive resources is to be successful. Gender conscientisation and sensitization programmes on these issues need to be undertaken in both rural and urban areas of the country. Property can be jointly registered or both men and women should be given leeway to own and register property in their own right. Legal measures should be in place to protect and guarantee security for the women in the events of death, divorce and failure to get sons. Women parliamentarians should lobby for amendments of discriminatory laws and for laws that guarantee security of men and women's property at divorce or death.

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Stress and Coping among Adolescent Orphans

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Abstract

The aim of this study was to assess stress levels among adolescent orphans as well as to investigate how these young people cope with stress. Usually when parents die children become vulnerable and prone to hardships especially with the disintegration of the extended family system which used to absorb most of the orphans. Previous studies have confirmed that adolescence is a period of storm and stress and therefore being an orphan at this critical stage can be psychologically traumatizing. One hundred and eighty (180) adolescent orphans from six high schools in Gweru's High Density Area were participated in the study. The survey method which is a quantitative research method was used in this study. Questionnaires were used to elicit information on the participants' stress levels and coping skills. The study revealed that there are gender, age and educational level differences in reported stress levels as well as coping skills. Females were mainly found to have low stress thresholds compared to their male peers. Period of orphanhood and nature of guardianship was also found to be positively related to reported stress level and coping skills. Overall stress levels were also found to be related to coping skills (emotion and problem focused coping skills).

Key terms: adolescent, orphan, coping, stress

Introduction and Background

There is a sharp increase in the number of orphans mainly as a result of the HIV and AIDS in the world . The main cause of orphanhood especially when both parents die is HIV/AIDS related. The number of orphans in Sub Saharan Africa is rising due to high population of adults already living with HIV/AIDS and the continuing difficulties in expanding access to antiretroviral treatment. Ruland et al (2005) reported that about eight of every 10 of those orphaned due to AIDS live in Africa and an estimated 55 percent of all orphans under age 18 are adolescents.

Zimbabwe has been at the epicenter of the HIV infection. The estimated HIV prevalence among adults 15-49 years is 14.3 percent (MoHCW 2010). According to Chitate & Muvandi (2004), more than one million young people under the age

of 18 are already orphaned in Zimbabwe, a number that is projected to rise. Almost one of every five children has lost one or both parents to HIV/AIDS. ZDHS (2005) estimates that a quarter of all children in Zimbabwe, about 1.6 million, have lost one or both parents. Life expectancy in Zimbabwe has dropped to 34 years, compared with 52 years in 1990 (Chitate & Muvandi 2004). These statistics show that most teenagers /adolescents are most likely to witness the death of their parents.

Traditionally, orphanhood problems were ameliorated as most orphans were adopted into the extended family system. In Zimbabwe the extended family used to take care of orphaned children. However, because of the harsh economic environment, breakdown and saturation of the traditional family system, the majority of orphans are being left to solve their own problems. Those who are incorporated into the extended family system face loss of love, isolation, discrimination, stigmatization, distress, trauma, vulnerability and despair (Carr-Hill, Katabaro, Katanhire & Oulai, 2002). Thus there is need to understand how orphans in general and adolescent orphans in particular cope with stressful situations.

Palmer (1992) reported that the incidence of stress related problems in teenagers has increased markedly over the past fifteen years. He further states that these problems can manifest into debilitating psychiatric disorders like schizophrenia, eating disorders, depression, suicide substance abuse and antisocial behaviours. Adolescent orphans are at risk because they face a lot of stressful situations that are related to their developmental stage and if stress is inappropriately handled at this stage it may lead to future maladaptation. Carr-Hill et al (2002) reported that the psychological problems that orphans face include depression, withdrawal, low self-esteem and suicidal tendencies. The additional numbers of orphans resulting from AIDS related deaths make the psychological problems more profound (AIDS CARE, 1996). The identification of factors associated with increased risk for emotional and behavioral problems in adolescents is crucial for prevention of such problems.

Objectives of Study

- To assess stressors that are common among adolescent orphans.
- To investigate how adolescent orphans cope with stressful situations.
- To find out the gender differences in stress levels and coping skills.
- To find out how stress levels and coping strategies vary with demographic variables.

Relevant Literature

Adolescence is generally understood as a period of life that starts at puberty and ends at the culturally determined entrance to adulthood (social maturity and

economic dependence) (Malonga, 1994). The World Health Organization (WHO) postulates that adolescence is a period of growth between the ages of 12-19 years. The developmental task of adolescence is of identity formation requiring emotional and physical separation from the family. It is a stressful age (Roberts, 1990) and if adolescent development has been hindered through early illness or family disturbance working through identity formation becomes more stressful and may result into depression and acting out. Children and youth affected by AIDS typically face a wide range of stressful events and circumstances, including poverty, the loss of caregivers and loved ones, having to drop out of school, the burden of adult-like responsibilities, and social isolation (Gilborn et al, 2006).

Stress

Various individuals have given various definitions of stress. In line with the stimulus based model, Bailey and Clake (1989 in Barnard, 1991) stress is defined as something outside the person to which he/ she reacts. In this model a person experiences a strain for example after encountering a disturbing life event (for the adolescent orphan this can be death of a parent) and as a result the individual is stressed by the event. The model views human beings as passive recipients of stress, which is not usually the case.

Lazarus, Folkman, Dunkel-Schetter, DeLong & Rand (1986) defined stress as a state of anxiety produced when events and responsibilities overwhelm one's coping abilities. Selye (1975 in Seaward, 1996) argued that the effects of stress are cumulative (that is damage by stressors accumulates over time) and these effects are involved in serious pathology when they overwhelm one's ability to cope. He also mentioned that stress may be addictive because responses to different threats are the same meaning that an individual's reaction to a threat will be augmented by his/ her reaction to previous exposure to threats. The definition by Selye informs this study.

Coping

Lizzete (1999) defines coping as a reaction to stress. He further illustrated that coping is a specific behavioral and psychological process in which an individual encounters, appraises and recovers from contact with a stressor and this reaction is usually contextual. Lazarus et al (1986) asserts that coping is a person's constantly changing cognitive and behavioral effort to manage specific external/internal demands that are appraised as exceeding a person's resources. It is an active effort to resolve stressful demands and create reasonable solutions (Sharp and Cowie 1998).

Pearlin (1991 in Sharp & Cowie 1998) describes the two styles of coping as follows

- a. Problem focused coping –aimed at changing or adapting to the circumstances giving rise to stress to tackle the problem directly. Strategies within the problem focused category include thinking of different ways to solve the problem, accepting the situation, problem solving through setting specific goals .
- b. Emotion focused coping-aimed at controlling and relieving one’s emotional responses to a stressor directly. Such mechanisms include finding purpose or meaning of problem, maintaining some control, praying and withdrawing to self.

Stress and coping theory

One of the theories of stress and coping was developed by Lazarus Folkman .He stated that cognitive appraisal and coping are critical mediators of stressful person environment relations and their outcomes (long term and short term). He defined cognitive appraisal as a process through which the person evaluates whether a certain encounter with the environment is relevant to his or her wellbeing and the nature of the relationship. In primary appraisal a person evaluates whether he/she has anything at stake in the encounter while in secondary appraisal a person tries to find out whether anything can be done to increase the benefits and decrease harm. Both types of appraisal help to determine whether the situation is beneficial for the individual or threatening (Lazarus et al, 1986).

The way one copes with stress affects the nature of the stress that is experienced. If individuals effectively cope with the problems they face, they will be able to reduce the harmful consequences of stress (McCrae, 1984). Chesney, Neilands, Chambers & Folkman, (2006) noted that when people obtain a fit between stressful events and their coping strategies they experience fewer psychological symptoms.

Stress in adolescent orphans

Adolescence can be a stressful time -they are dealing with the challenges of growing into puberty, meeting the challenges and expectations of others and coping with sexual feelings they had never experienced, moving to a new school and experiencing the death of a close family member. As put forward by Ebata (2000) a “pile up “ of many stressful events in a small amount of time is more difficult for adolescents than just dealing with one event. He further identifies the following

as the main causes of stress for adolescents; problems with peers, school related problems or pressures, family issues or problems with parents and the adolescents' thoughts, feelings and behaviors. He postulates that identifying the causes of stress in adolescents is the first step towards resolving the negative consequences resulting from the stress.

Carr –Hill et al (2002) assert that the period post parental death is traumatic and likely to cause adjustment problems to the adolescent. They identified the following stressors as unique to adolescent orphans: hospitalization of parents, witnessing the parent's agony and death, sibling separation or taking care of siblings, transfer from one household to another and hardships to do with financial support. Moreso children and adolescents who were adopted or fostered suffer from lack of affection, exploitation of labor, denial of food and other necessities, extreme cruelty and physical assaults.

Sharp and Cowie (1998) noted that the change in the nature of fosterage from voluntary to a necessity crisis fosterage when parents die results in stress in orphans . This is because orphans are being pushed rather than pulled into the extended family system making them more vulnerable. Foster parents may also give preference to their own children because of the resource dilution effect (too few resources for too many people). They noted that of all the factors that accentuate children's vulnerabilities the most important are lack of affection, adequate shelter, adequate school equipment and psychological support. In addition they also revealed that adolescent orphans are more vulnerable because they do not have emotional and physical maturity to adequately address and deal with parental loss.

Sometimes adolescent orphans become overburdened with demands of taking care of parents and siblings, which is mainly the case with orphaned adolescents. Roberts (1990) termed this "parentification of the child" as evident in child headed households. A survey of literature shows that the inability to resolve bereavement issues puts adolescents at risk for diverse behavior problems, morbidity and suicide- these problems can manifest into debilitating psychiatric disorders like schizophrenia, depression, eating disorders and antisocial social behavior (Frydenberg, 2006). Adolescents are prone to negative consequences because they are no longer protected psychologically by immature cognitive skills and concrete thinking (like children) that could buffer them from the impact of bereavement (Barlow-Irick, 1997).

In addition to stigma, Stein (2003 in Snider & Dawes 2006), outlines the following particular stressors in the experience of illness and death for OVC:

1. Parenting with a terminal illness: There may be reversal of parent-child roles when the parent becomes ill, with the child assuming care for the household and sick parent often associated with an increased sense of social isolation.
2. Witnessing an HIV/AIDS death: Children often witness and nurse parents through the debilitating final stages of AIDS.
3. Psychological impact of death: Fear, a profound sense of insecurity and hopelessness may additionally complicate the grieving process for children.
4. Multiple losses: Children who lose a parent to AIDS are at risk for subsequently losing the other parent, younger siblings and other caregivers or loved ones.

Nyamukapa et al (2006) in a factor analysis of 5,321 children aged 12-17 years from a 2004 cross-sectional national survey in Zimbabwe found that orphans have more psychosocial disorders and that orphanhood remained associated with psychosocial disorders even after controlling for differences in poverty, sex/age, school enrolment, and support of closest adult and external sources. In a study of suicidal adolescents by Sadowski and Kelly (1993) comparison between psychiatric and normal control adolescents who attempted suicide revealed that the former group exhibited poor social problem solving abilities and came from backgrounds characterized by previous unresolved losses for example divorce or death.

Stress caused by the death of a parent leaves the children in a state of trauma and they may become withdrawn and passive or develop sadness, anger, fear and violent behavior (Quick & Cooper, 2003). Orphans may develop additional trauma from lack of nurturance, guidance and sense of attachment, which may impede their socialization process. Carr – hill et al (2002) reported that orphans are vulnerable to psychological problems after the death of their parents and these include depression, withdrawal and low self-esteem. These conditions have long-term effects on child development and active participation in the society. In a study of substance abuse in Zimbabwe (Acuda, Batam, Khan & Airo, 1994) involving 2783 secondary school students, participants reported that they used drugs to overcome social and personal problems.

Methods

Participants and settings

A total of one hundred and eighty (180) participants were selected out of a total population of 500 orphaned students. The participants were drawn from six schools in Gweru's high density areas. Double orphans as well as those who had lost one parent but had been living with a caregiver who was not their biological parent

for the past year met the inclusion criteria. Stratified sampling was used to select 30 participants who met the inclusion criteria from each of the six schools.

Instruments

Three instruments were used in this study. These were the Demographic Data Questionnaire, The Adolescent Stress Questionnaire, and The Coping Skills Questionnaire. The Adolescent Stress Questionnaire was a modified version of an instrument developed by Bryne and Bryne (1995) to measure stress levels in adolescents in general. Some aspects of the questionnaire were replaced by others which were specific to adolescent orphans as informed by a focus group discussion that was done with 6 adolescent orphans to insure validity of the questionnaire. In addition an expert in HIV/AIDS and adolescent development confirmed the validity of the items that were included in the final questionnaire. The questionnaire had six sub-sections and these were: Stress related to school attendance, Stress related to family conflict, Stress related to guardian control, Stress related to school work, Stress related to future uncertainty and Stress related to peer interactions. Respondents had to rate how stressful they found the given circumstances to be on a Likert scale with the following ranges : **1-Not stressful at all / not Present(NS)**, **2-A little stressful** ,**3-Moderately stressful(MS)**, **4-Quite stressful(QS)**, **5-Very stressful(VS)**

The **Coping** Skills Questionnaire was a 16-item questionnaire. The coping styles covered two main domains, which are Emotion Focused Coping Styles and Problem Focused Coping Styles. Emotion focused coping styles were represented by the following 8 items: worry, cry, hope things get better, drink alcohol/ smoke, put problem out of mind, pray, want to be alone and blame someone. Problem focused coping strategies were represented by the following 8 items; think of different ways to solve the problem, accept situation, maintain some control, find purpose or meaning of problem, solve problem, use past experience, look at the problem on all sides and set specific goals to solve the problem. The following question was posed to the respondents:

When you are stressed or when things are not going on well for you and you are facing difficult problems. How often would you use the following coping skills so as to deal with the difficulties?

Respondents had to rate on a Likert scale their use of the different coping skills. The possible ratings were **1-not used at all**, **2-used a great**, **3-used a number of times** and **4-used a great deal**.

Measures

The researcher came up with 3 categories of stress levels and these were low, medium and high. The categories were arrived at by dividing into 3 the difference between the highest possible score and the lowest possible score. The highest possible score was 115 that is ,if all individuals rated all items as stressful. The minimum score was 31 if all individuals rated all items as not stressful.

Therefore all the participants who had scores that were between 31-59 were in the low stress level group, 60-88 were in the medium stress level group and those who had 89-155 scores were in the high stress level group.

Inorder to get the differences on the frequency of use of the two different types of coping skills(emotion focused coping skills and problem focused coping skills),high and low levels of use of each group of coping skills category were computed. The total score for each category (emotion and problem focused) was 32 with a minimum score of 8. All those with scores that ranged from 8-20 were grouped as low in the use of that particular category of coping styles e.g low use of Emotion Focused Coping Skills (LEFs) and Low use of Problem Focused Coping Skills (LPFs). Those scoring between 21-32 were rated as high in the use of that particular category of coping skills e.g. High use of Emotion Focused Coping(HEFs) and High use of Problem Focused Skills(HPFs)

Data analysis

Data was analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). Frequencies were used for descriptive data. The Pearson's correlation coefficient was used to analyse the relationship between variables.

Results

Demographic Characteristics of the participants

A total of one hundred and eighty adolescent orphans were interviewed, of these 56.7 percent were females and 43.3 percent were males .The age of participants ranged from 12 –18 years. Most of the participants (38.8%) were in the 14,1-16 years age group while 33.3% were in the 12-14 years age group and 27.8% were in the 16.1-18 years category. The three levels of education that were identified were junior secondary (form 1-2), O' Level and A' Level with 18%, 40.6% and 41.1% of participants respectively. Most of the respondents indicated that they were Christians. Catholic, Pentecostal and Apostolic constituted the main religious groups with 27.8%, 24.4% and 16% of participants respectively. The study revealed that maternal relatives absorbed most of the orphans as 47.2 % of orphans indicated

that they were staying with maternal relatives. 32.2% of the respondents were being taken care of by paternal relatives and 14.1% of respondents lived with their siblings most probably in child headed households. Of note is the fact that 5 respondents reported that they were staying with members from their religious group and this was most common among the Catholic and apostolic group. One special case was of a girl who said that she was staying alone. Number of people in participants' households ranged from one to above seven. The families were the participants lived in had the following numbers of people 1-2(14,3%), 3-4(21,2%), 5-6(40,3%) and 7and above (22.2%). Parents of most respondents had died in the past 1-4 years. The results showed that usually fathers would die first followed by mothers. 50.5% and 23% of respondents indicated that their fathers had died in the past 14 and 5-6 years respectively. On the other hand 66% and 23.3% of the respondents' mothers had died in the same period. 6.7% highlighted that their fathers had died more than 13 years ago and 1.4 % of participants' mothers had died in the same years.

Stressors Faced By Adolescent Orphans

Table 1 below summarises the participants' ratings of how stressful they found different situations to be.

Stress related to school attendance- generally items in this category were rated as not contributing to stress by most of the participants. Not enough time outside school, compulsory school attendance and long school hours were rated as not stressful by 72%, 68% and 67% of participants respectively. 1.1%, 1,7% and 5% rated long school hours, boredom at school and compulsory school attendance respectively, as not stressful at all.

*Stress related to family conflict-*This category had items which were rated as stressful by most of the participants 13.3% of the students rated arguments at home to be very stressful while disagreements between participants and guardians both male and female were found to be very stressful by 10% of respondents

Stress related to guardians Control- Items like lack of affection were rated as very stressful by 23.3% of participants while stress of guardians expecting too much from participants and lack of understanding by guardians were rated to be not stressful by 11.7% and 13.3% of the respondents respectively.

Table 1: Stressors faced by adolescent orphans

Stress related to guardians' control					
	NS	AS	MS	QS	VS
Guardians hassling you about the way you look	21.7	26.7	34.4	5.6	11.7
Guardians expecting too much of you	20.6	26.1	18.9	19.4	15
Lack of affection	26.7	12.2	23.3	14.4	23.3
Guardians giving you too much work	16.7	32.2	22.2	21.1	7.8
Lack of understanding by guardians	18.3	29.4	26.6	18.3	13.
Guardians not attending to your needs	21.7	23.3	25.0	18.3	11.7
Stress related to school work					
Going to school	31.1	33.9	20.0	12.8	2.2
Pressure of study	12.2	28.3	27.2	25.6	6.7
Too much home work	33.3	32.2	20	12.2	2.2
Difficult subjects	22.2	29.4	27.8	11.7	89
Inadequate stationary	21.1.	25.0	27.8	19	12.2
Stress related to future uncertainty					
Concern for getting a job	12.2	25.0	21.7	31.1	10
Concern about your future	11.7	13.9	30.6	16.7	27.2
Concern about the future of the world	22.2	26.7	30.6	12.8	7.8
Concern about the future your siblings	18.3	28.3	20.6	18.9	13.9
Stress related to Peer interactions					
Mixing with members of the opposite sex	18.3	27.8	28.3	17.2	8.3
Being rejected by your peers	25.6	23.9	20.0	15.0	15.6
Not having material goods as your friends`	16.7	25.0	24.4	18.9	15.0
Peers looking down upon you	8.9	19.4	28.9	23.9	18.9

Stress related to school work- 12.2% of respondents reported inadequate stationery as very stressful . 27.8% and 27.2% of the respondents indicated that difficult subjects and pressure of study were moderately stressful.

Stress related to future uncertainty-Concern for the future was rated as moderately stressful by most of the participants. Stress concerning participants' future was rated as very stressful by 27.7% of the participants. Concern for the future of siblings and concern for getting a job were rated as very stressful by 10% of the respondents.

Stress related to peer interactions-Most participants reported that they were very particular about issues to do with friendship with 23.9%, 18.9% and 15% reporting that being rejected by peers, being looked down by peers and not having material goods as friends was very stressful respectively. Few participants highlighted that mixing with members of the opposite sex was stressful to them.

Coping skills used by adolescent orphans

To find out how participants typically coped with stressful situations , the following question was posed-

When you are stressed or when things are not going on well for you and you are facing difficult problems. How often would you use the following coping skills so as to deal with the difficulties?

Participants then rated on a scale ranging from 1(not used at all), 2(used a little) , 3(used a number of times) to 4 (used a great deal) their frequency of using the given coping skills. Table 2 below summarises the responses on coping skills used by adolescents.

Table 2-Coping Skills Used By Adolescent Orphans

	1	2	3	4
Emotion focused coping skills				
Worry	7.2	27.8	37.2	27.8
Cry	17.8	45.0	18.3	18.9
Hope things get better	7.8	20.6	38.3	33.3
Drink alcohol and smoke	81.1	9.4	5.6	3.9
Put problems out of mind	50	28.3	36.7	30.6
Pray	7.2	31.1	32.8	28.9
Want to be alone	8.9	22.8	36.1	32.2
Blame someone	11.1	23.3	33.3	32.2
Problem focused coping skills				
Think of different ways to solve problem	7.8	27.2	36.7	8.3
Accept situation	26.6	17.8	35.6	26.1
Maintain some control	3.9	36.6	40.6	35.
Find purpose or meaning of Problem	11.1	25.6	36.1	27.2
Solve problem	15.5	27.8	33.3	27.3
Use past experience	11.7	22.8	42.8	22.8
Look at problem from all angles	3.9	40.6	27.2	28.3
Set specific goals	5	36.1	33.3	25.6

Participants reported that when faced with difficult problems they would use the following coping skills most of the time- worry(27.8%), think of different ways of solving the problem(28.3%), cry(18.9%), accept situation(21.1%), hope things get better(33,3%), drink and smoke alcohol(10.8%), maintain some control(35%),

Stress and demographic characteristics

More females reported high stress levels compared to males. 33.6% of females reported high stress levels compared to 19.2% of males.43.6% of males reported low stress levels compared to 30.2% of females.32.2% and 37.2% of males and females reported moderate levels of stress . Levels of stress increased with age.13.3% of those in early adolescent (12 – 14 years) age group reported to be experiencing moderately lower stress levels while 25% of those in middle adolescence (14.1 – 16 years) and 18.0% of participants in late adolescence (16.1 – 18 years) were found to be in the high stress level group. The results of the study revealed that stress levels increased with the level of education. 45,2% and 37.8% of those who were in junior secondary and O'level, respectively, reported low stress level while 24.2% of those who in A' level reported high stress level .

Participants reported more stress levels as number of people living in their households increased.17.2% of respondents living in households that were made up of 1-2 inhabitants reported high stress levels while on the other hand 20.1% of those in households made up of more than seven people reported high stress levels. Stress levels were related to guardianship as 15.3% of those staying with maternal relatives reported experiencing more stress compared to 22.4% and 45,5% of those staying with paternal relatives other unidentified relatives respectively.

Period of orphanhood was shown to be related to stress levels as 33.9% of orphans whose fathers died in the past 5-8 years reported medium levels of stress compared to 40.5% whose mothers had passed away in the same period of time.

Table 3- Pearson Correlations between demographic characteristics and stress levels

		Gender	Age	Religion	Level of education	Guardian	People in household	Period of orphanhood
Overall stress level	Pearson Correlation	0.058*	0.088*	0.016	0.086*	-0.05*	0.061*	0.041

Note * indicates a significant relationship at $p < 0.05$

Significant positive relationships were found between stress levels and the following variables gender, age, level of education, nature of guardian and number of people

living in a household. This means that changes in the above demographic variables will result in an increase in the reported stress levels. A significant negative relationship was found between the type of guardian and reported stress level as shown in Table 3 above.

Demographic characteristics and coping skills.

Gender differences in coping skills were noted as 30.6% of males reported high use of problem focused coping skills compared to 37.8% of females. 26.7% of females reported high use of emotion focused coping skills compared to 16.1% of males.

Use of problem focused also differed with age and educational level of participants. The high use of emotion focused coping skills increased with age while the number of those using low emotion focused coping skills decreased with age. These results showed that more mature students were in a better position to use problem focused coping skills. 37.8% of females and 6.7% of males reported high use of problem focused coping skills. 32.2% of males and 47.1% of females reported high use of emotion focused coping skills. This shows that females are more likely to use motion focused coping skills compared to males who use more problem focused coping skills.

37.6% of those who stayed with maternal relatives reported high use of emotion focused coping skills compared to 43.1% and 46.2% of those who were under the custody of paternal relatives and siblings respectively. On the other hand 25.9% of those adolescent orphans in the custody of maternal relatives reported low use of problem focused coping skills compared to 36.2% and 34.6% of those staying with paternal relatives and siblings respectively.

The respondents' use of the different coping skills did not differ with religion, number of people living in household or the period of orphan hood.

Table- 4.5 Pearson's correlation between demographic variables and coping skills

	Gender	Age	Level of education	Religion	Nature of guardian	People in household	Period of orphanhood
Emotion	0.086*	0.059*	0.0559*	-0.046	0.0147	0.032	-0.005
Problem	0.0585*	0.890*	0.427	0.010	0.050*	-0.016	0.009

Note * indicates a significant correlation at $p < 0.05$

A significant relationship was shown between coping skills and the following demographic variables; gender, age, level of education and nature of guardian.

This means that differences in demographic characteristics may lead to more use of a category of coping skills. However this does not imply a causal relationship. No relationship was found between coping skills, period of orphanhood, number of people living in household and religion.

Relationship between stress levels and coping skills.

Pearson Correlation Coefficient (r) between overall stress levels and coping skills used by adolescent orphans was found to be 0,061. This shows that there is a significant positive relationship between stress experienced and the coping skills that were being used by adolescent orphans.

Discussion

Stress and demographic characteristics

Findings were discussed in line with the objectives that were stated earlier. The study revealed that respondents' parents had died in the past four years. UNICEF (2005) in their Zimbabwean study also found out that the large majority of children had become orphans in the last four years, which is indicative of HIV/AIDS related deaths. Most of the respondents were Christians and being taken care of by maternal relatives. A sizable number were in junior secondary and O'Level. The study also revealed that most of the participants came from households made up of more than five inhabitants, which is suggestive of the fact that most of the orphans stayed within an extended family. According to UNICEF (2005) as the number of family members increase there is most likely to be pressure on resources such that the needs of adolescent orphans in such family may not be properly met thereby leading to reports of high stress levels.

Gender differences were found in stress levels. More females reported higher stress levels compared to males. This is supported by Gilborn et al (2006) who found out that females reported higher levels of psychosocial distress in his study of adolescents in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe. The study assessing 1,258 OVC in Zimbabwe found that girls not only reported more psychosocial distress on specific items in the survey instrument, they also scored higher on composite indices for traumatic experiences and daily stress scores. Nyamukapa et al (2006) reported greater psychosocial disorders in girls, but no significant differences according to age.

The study showed that stress levels increased with age and level of education. Those students in junior secondary reported lower levels of stress compared to those in upper grades. Gilborn et al (2006) attributes such findings to multiple traumatic events experienced by older adolescents such as more schoolwork, concern about the future and possibly burden of looking after younger siblings.

Stressors among adolescents

The elements that were found to be highly stressful were to do with relationship between orphans and their guardians, orphans and peers as well as orphans'

concerns about the future. Steinberg and Morris (2001) reported that the combination of parental responsiveness and demandingness is consistently related to adolescent adjustment, school performance, and psychosocial maturity . However Collins & Laursen (2004 in Lerner and Steinberg, 2004), reported that in family circles youthful rebellion are the exception, not the norm, and that only a small proportion of adolescents (from 5%–15%, depending on the sample) experience emotional turmoil and extremely conflicted relations with parents, and that extreme difficulties typically have their origins prior to adolescence .

A significant number of participants reported arguments with siblings to be somewhat stressful. However Raffaelli & Larson (1987) found out that relationships with siblings are transformed during adolescence to become more egalitarian, less asymmetrical, less conflictive, and less close, most likely because siblings spend less time together as they get older.

The section on stress related to guardian's control had items that were generally rated as stressful compared to the other categories. Orphans in Zimbabwe reported significantly lower social support scores ($p < .5$) regardless of gender. The problem identified by many youth was not having adults to talk to about relationships, problems, and other issues, highlighting the importance of adult guidance for youth. (Gilborn et al 2006). Makame , Ani & Grantham-McGregor (2002) also found that not having a reward for good behavior (as a caregiver or teacher may provide) was an independent predictor of internalizing problems in youth Tanzania. Fergus and Zimmerman,(2005) however argued that too little family conflict, for example, may not prepare youth with an opportunity to learn how to cope with or solve interpersonal conflicts outside of the home. Yet, too much conflict may be debilitating and lead youth to feel hopeless and distressed.

The study showed that some adolescents were resilient because none of the categories was reported as very stressful by 100% of the respondents. In line with this Researchers and practitioners working within a resilience framework recognize that, despite psychological risks many adolescents growing up in poverty exhibit positive outcomes, these adolescents may possess a number of promotive factors, such as high levels of self-esteem (Buckner, Mezzacappa & Beardslee ,2003).

Demographic characteristics and coping skills

On coping styles differences were found as far as age and gender are concerned. Female students reported more use of emotion focused coping styles, which encompassed crying, worrying and praying when faced with a stressful or demanding situation compared to males who reported use of problem focused coping skills. That was in line with Billings et al's (1986) findings that men and women differ in their mean levels of stress and coping skills. They found out that

women were more likely to use less efficacious methods of coping that include emotion focused coping skills. Ebata (2006) found that female adolescents mostly avoided conflicts, stayed away from the problem and avoided thinking of the problem. However Kasaira , Chipandamira & Hungwe(2007), in their study of stress and coping among students at university did not find a significant difference in the use of generic coping skills between the two sexes.

Very few participants reported using alcohol and drugs to cope with stress. Similarly, Botvin , Malgady , Griffin , Scheier & Epstein (1998) reported that being an adolescent in a decision-making role protects against having peers with favorable attitudes toward substance, alcohol and marijuana use.

Recommendations

- It is recommended that measures be put in place to identify orphans with low stress threshold so that they can be targeted for intervention.
- That support groups for orphans in general be set up so that they can share ideas and psychological support.
- Workshops on stress management be done in high schools through the Ministry of Education. Guardians to be involved in such workshops and get education on the needs of orphans.
- Bearing in mind the differences in stress levels in the various groups those adolescents in the high stressed groups can be targeted for intervention purposes. Stress management techniques can be taught to those individuals who fulfill a certain category found to be low in stress threshold.
- A qualitative type of study will help explore further some of the issues that have been raised in this study.
- There is need for follow up of orphans as they move to adulthood in order to find out their general wellbeing and adjustment.

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An Afro-centric muse of the contribution of a cosmopolitan writer.

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Abstract

The paper sets out to examine from an Afro-centric perspective, the validity of the construct that cosmopolitan writers exploit their cross-cultural experience to produce a rich exciting fictional chemistry bereft in other writers. Twinning psychoanalysis and content analysis coupled with Jamal Mahjoub who claims to be an African, Arabic and English writer simultaneously as a case study, the article connects the writer's being cosmopolitan to the contents of his literary works. It further evaluates the content within the context of African literary debate. The literary works under consideration are Navigation of a Rainmaker (1989), Wings of Dust (1994) and In the Hour of Signs (1996), all written by Jamal Mahjoub. The findings reveal that the cosmopolitan writer's disposition eclipses the potential to produce literature that is beneficial to the psyche of African communities that identify with discernible languages and cultures. Further, it is noted that such a writer portrays the effects of the fluid global world and such literary creativity augers well with transcultural themes. The article therefore seeks to explore whether being cosmopolitan is contributory to the production of literature that falls short in articulating African issues and goes on to assess if it clamours for the recognition of the fate of the drifting and rootless population of people.

Keywords: *African psyche, Afro-centric perspective, cosmopolitan, cross-cultural experience, literary creativity, psychoanalysis, transcultural*

Introduction

Being a cosmopolitan and the attendant multilingualism and cultural hybridism have of late emerged as significant driving forces in literary creativity - a phenomenon that has heightened the importance of psychoanalysis. Psychoanalytic criticism takes on the methods of interpretation employed by Freud in Harrison and Wood (1993) and later theorists to understand texts. It posits that fictional texts, like dreams, articulate the surreptitious unconscious wishes and anxieties of a writer and that a literary work is a manifestation of the author's own neuroses. Biddle and Arthur (1989) and Lynn (1998) concur that one appealing feature of the approach is that it corroborates the importance of literature as it is assembled on a literary key for decoding of texts. Analysts may psychoanalyse a particular character within a literary work with the assumption

that all such characters are projections of the author's psyche. The writer's own experiences, thoughts and obsessions are traceable within the behavior of the characters in the literary work. With Bakhtin (1981) positing that every literary work is a tissue of quotations from various centres of cultures and Wright (2002) and Wakerley and Gwanzura (2006) observing that being cosmopolitan propels writers to produce an electric, exciting and rich literary chemistry, psychoanalysing the literary works of an avowed cosmopolitan writer becomes critical. The present paper ponders on the contribution of a cosmopolitan writer to the body of African literature. It takes Jamal Mahjoub who claims to be an African, Arabic and English writer simultaneously as a case study and connects him, through psychoanalysis, to the contents of his first three novels which are *Navigation of a Rainmaker* (1981), *Wings of Dust* (1994) and *In the Hour of Signs* (1996).

Jamal Mahjoub's Background

Jamal Mahjoub is a multilingual and multi-literate writer born in 1960 in London to an Arab Sudanese father and British mother. Mahjoub has lived in London, Denmark, France and Spain and has remained in Europe where he got in contact with other languages working as a translator from Arabic to Danish, English and Catalan. He thus draws upon many languages, cultures and literatures in his writing (Wakerley and Gwanzura, 2006). Mahjoub has been praised as a cosmopolitan writer by Mohsen (2000). A cosmopolitan is "a person who treats the whole world as his or her country; a person with no national attachments or prejudices [and] having characteristics suited to or arising from an experience of many countries" (Brown, 1993a p. 520) which reverberates well with his being multilingual. It is against this backdrop that Mahjoub is viewed, through his chosen medium of communication, English, as capable of exploring various issues concerning many peoples and cultures with dexterity and truthfulness. Mahjoub himself defines himself in the following terms: "I am an African writer, an Arab writer, an English writer; I am multiple. I am three. Consistency but also competition" (Wakerley and Gwanzura, 2006 p. 9).

Exploring the Cosmopolitan

Mahjoub's travels, diversity of tongues and cultural hybridism have a bearing on the traditions, places and culture that shaped him and the materials from which he draws. Pro Mahjoub critics argue that, Mahjoub combines his cross-cultural experience to produce an exciting literature. Mohsen (2000) propounds that Mahjoub has emerged as the principal of the latest crop of writers who can explore the multifaceted aspects of Sudanese life through harnessing several cultures for their creative inspiration. Sevry (2006 p. 27) observes that "Mahjoub is both a keen and patient observer of daily life and he excels in unearthing, from their apparent banality, life's hidden treasures". Mahjoub compares well with Nurrudin Farah, the Somali writer who is a wanderer across the globe, a writer who lives everywhere except in the place he writes about. According to Wright, (2002 p. xvii) Farah acknowledges that:

It is the very displacement of exile and his ability to 'domesticate', refine and exploit it that feeds the neurosis upon which his artistic creativity flourishes – a creativity which has, moreover, been sparked by his electric interaction with other cultures and discourses and which would, by his own admission, have been impoverished by his remaining in Somalia.

“Farah is thus a multivocal vision... a spirit of democratic pluralism” and his novels are “forums of debate which allow very many different views to be heard” (Wright 2002 p. xix). In this regard, cultural hybridism is hailed as a positive stimulating force in creative writing.

Debate on African Literature

Debate on African literature has often raged on and narrowed down to the definition of African literature, the role of the writer and the language to be used in African literature. This has been paralleled by a non-committal stance concerning the writer who is supposed to produce that literature. This is what has necessitated the need to assess the contribution of cosmopolitan writers and verify whether their creative works align with various ideas concerning African literature as envisaged by African critics. To begin with, the language debate, situated at the delicate juncture of the social sciences and the humanities, is arguably the longest running controversy within contemporary African criticism (Obi, 1996). At the levels of form and content, literature is a direct manifestation of its producers' culture. According to Obi (1996 p. 23) when this embodiment of a group's lived experience finds expression in others' language, genuine anxieties emerge as to the extent to which the functions of literature are jeopardized by the foreign tongue. Such concerns as these have fuelled the raging debate on the languages of African literatures. The debate unfortunately left the fundamental question as to whether a cosmopolitan writer could espouse and propagate Africanness as well as advancing ideas that could help Africa.

Language has diverse social functions. Obi (1996 p. 24) observes that language is a means of “communication”. Beyond the communicative function of language is its “psychosymbolic *prestige* function”. In this context, it serves as an expression of a group's “heritage and uniqueness” which forms the basis for the pride of belonging. This property validates the “language's *unification* function”. That is the capacity to create a sense of community among speakers of a given variety. Since what unifies group A has the potential of delineating it from Group B, language possesses a “separating quality”. At this point, the “*participatory function*” of language becomes clear. This refers to the extent to which language contributes to the exclusion or inclusion of individuals in society's institutions. It is apparent that language is implicated in such diverse possibilities as status submergence, marginalization, cultural denigration and exploitation. Therefore, the sense of

unease in some African critics on the use of foreign language is understandable. However, if the issue of language is enough to cause uneasiness, then the role of cosmopolitan writers is prone to be viewed with suspicion given the lofty intent of being an embodiment of pluralism that transcends barriers created by language.

Critics opposed to the use of foreign languages propound that literature *in* foreign languages would lead to a dead end. It is against such views that the coming on board of a cosmopolitan writer presents new challenges. Wali (1963 p. 14) observes that Western varieties have no chance of advancing African literature and using such varieties would lead to a "dead end" characterized by "sterility, uncreativity and frustration". To escape the dilemma posed by the use of foreign languages, some African writers sought to knead and Africanise European varieties in a manner that allows the soul and energia of their own languages to remain intact. Achebe (1975 p. 103) posits that the English language has the capacity to carry the weight of his African experience "but it will have to be a new English altered to suit its new African surroundings". The cosmopolitan writer is excommunicated for lack of a variety that he can "...count on without doubt or hesitation" (Mahjoub, 2003 p. 4) and fuse it into English to capture the weight of his African experience.

Separate but closely related to the language question is the role of the writer in society. The role of the writer is to mirror the society as it exists through creative works. In this regard, the writer reveals society to its members. According to Sartre (1967 p. 14), the prose writer discloses to the society using words and that, the writer "...names what has not yet been named or what dares not tell its name". The writer is aware that words are loaded pistols and he fires through speaking. In doing so, the writer "...must do it like a man, by aiming at targets, and not like a child, at random, by shutting his eyes and firing merely for the purpose of hearing the shot going off" (Sartre 1967 p. 14). The writers that have "a language and a history they can count on without doubt or hesitation" simply make use of them to reveal and to disclose as mentioned by Sartre. As if to deflate his hero-worshippers, Mahjoub (2003 p. 4) observes that:

*All they have to do is make use of them (language and history).
Behind them are benevolent supporters, a whole nation of countrymen
who see their own destiny, that of their country and their literary
traditions in the mirror held out to them by the writer.*

The above indicates that the 'bona fide' African writers find it easier to reveal to their societies for they have a discernible identity and link with the society presumably bereft in the multilingual cosmopolitan writer.

In such scepticism, there appears the possibility that being cosmopolitan may make the writer reveal the world, particularly to reveal man to other men so that the

latter may assume full responsibility in handling the object which has been laid bare. Sartre (1967 p. 117) observes that the writer has to act in such a way that nobody is ignorant of the world as well as providing the panacea to society's problems as "...the always new requirements of the social and the metaphysical involve the artist in finding a new language and new techniques". The demands made of the writer require great versatility to match the fast changing world due to globalisation. The problems posed by globalisation are evidently complex, and as such, the emerging requirements of social and metaphysical issues require a 'complex' approach which, it seems, the cosmopolitan writer may provide.

However, despite this envisaged merit of a cosmopolitan writer, doubts concerning commitment especially in the face of adversaries remain. Ngugi (1981) advocates for a militant writer who defends the ideals of literature in the face of repressive regimes. In essence, writers must be in the forefront of condemning what they consider as wrong through the pen or physical means. According to Saro-Wiwa in Ejeke (2000), literature influences society slowly and its eventual victory is guaranteed. However, since society demands much more urgency, the writer cannot be a mere story teller but must be actively involved in shaping its present and future as writers are keepers of the conscience of the nation and custodians of its culture. Regarding a cosmopolitan writer who has a cross-cultural background involving Western cultures as a custodian of the national conscience and its culture remains problematic.

The definition of African literature has remained a theoretical landmine. African literature has been in recent debates, defined along the language line as well as the nationality of the writer. African literature in this regard refers to literature in African languages by Africans (Ngugi, 1994). An analysis of this definition reveals that the cosmopolitan writer who is well vested in European languages, who is culturally multiple and who has chosen English - a foreign language in Ngugi's view - as his chosen medium of expression would have his works ruled as unAfrican. Therefore, content analysis of Mahjoub's works aimed at laying bare issues he grapples with and subsequently determine the Africanness of his perspectives is critical; how he, as a cosmopolitan writer, positions himself within the African literature debate is therefore of specific interest.

Methodology

The research focused on Jamal Mahjoub the writer and his literary works within the context of the African literary debate. It took the form of content analysis and psychoanalysis of the literary works and the writer both selected through purposive sampling which according to Kumar (1999) is the most important kind of non probability sampling. This entails that the sample was selected basing on the researcher's judgment, that is, selecting samples that were likely to provide the sought after data (Kumar, 1999) and also on the purpose of the research, that is

finding out how Mahjoub portrayed African issues through content analysis. Adams and Schvaneveldt (1985) argue that content analysis yields insights that are otherwise impossible to obtain through questioning. Questioning the writer himself concerning the contents of the novels would have given responses meant to color the perspectives of the researcher. The contents of the novels were then validated within the context of African literary debate laced with a constant search for a lead/connection as to why Mahjoub presented issues the way he did - an aspect attended to through psychoanalysis.

Analysis of *Navigation of a Rainmaker* (1989)

Navigation of a Rainmaker is Mahjoub's first novel. The novel is an interesting extension of Mahjoub's own life which portrays post independent Sudan. Tanner, the protagonist, like Mahjoub, is half-Sudanese and half-British. He returns to the Sudan to discover his background because he feels "that part of me belongs there" (p. 18). He encounters the brutality of a society plagued by corruption, war and machinations of various local and foreign commercial interests spearheaded by an American, Gilmour, whom he attacks and kills prior to his own death. The story in the novel is told from Tanner's viewpoint and in this regard, it is told from a shallow perspective. Griffiths (2000 p. 310) chides that much of the novel is narrated from a stranger's viewpoint as Tanner seeks to understand the uncertainty, chaos and corruption which the Sudan initially represents for him: "in this, it shares the mood of other expatriate novels, stressing heat, dust and moral chaos of modern Africa, and contradicts the more involved vision of local writers...". As a relative stranger, Tanner's grappling with the historical, social and political framework of the modern Sudan remains naive than in novels such as Deng's *The Cry of the Owl*. This largely underpins that Mahjoub's project is a replica of Euro-centric views which for long have been tortuous to the African psyche.

This is not surprising, coming as it does from a writer who resembles Lucifer Mandengu in *Waiting for the Rain* (2001) by Mungoshi. Although Mahjoub tries to write about African issues, his condition, by his own admission ["I envy the writer who is only from one country, who speaks only one language" Wakerley and Gwanzura Eds. (2006 p9)], obscures his vision concerning Africa. As a result, he views Africa from a touristic perspective comparable to the way in which Lucifer views his homeland at the end when he is leaving for Europe with the white father. According to Mungoshi (2001 p. 180), Lucifer "... tries to look at his country through the eye of an impartial tourist". In this regard, Lucifer's view and that of Mahjoub is questionable for both have a quality (they view Africa with detachment), which alienates them from the African scene.

The Sudanese youths, who are supposed to be the future leaders and agents of change, are revealed as disinterested and oblivious to the Sudanese situation as is evidenced by the characters Zaki and Nadine in the novel. They think of and find

hope in exile and the West. To them, there is no other solution to the political, social and economic quagmire gripping the country than "... to get out of this dump, and move to London" (p. 66). It is surprisingly Tanner, an outsider, who tries to act thereby reinforcing the view that Mahjoub has no faith in local solutions and sees no potential in African people. The truth is that every generation of people has members who act to redress issues and this should also be portrayed in literature if that literature is to serve society. Mahjoub therefore delays positive action and even denies any hope for it. Zaki and Nadine are the polar opposite of Odili and Max in *A Man of the People* (1966) by Achebe who see evil and try to rectify it by actively involving themselves in politics. This represents that an African initiative in solving domestic problems is possible – a view Mahjoub overlooks. In this regard, Mahjoub's work does not become a forum of debate which allows many different competing views to be heard as claimed by some critics. Rather, it becomes a forum that misrepresents the African scenario and furthers the Eurocentric stereotypical view that Africa is devoid of solutions to her problems. His work lacks emancipatory vigour and is a vector of foreign views that are derogatory to Africa - a result of his disposition, a disposition that gives him an idea of a skewed pluralism that gravitates towards western values.

It is true that civil strife is prevalent in some parts of Africa. This civil strife is a result, in most cases, of ethnic tensions fanned by outside imperial forces. Mahjoub highlights this, which is a credit to him. Gilmour, the American agent makes it clear that his mission is to fuel instability ["I am here to instill confusion, to sow the seeds of discontent ..." (p.168)] so that the Americans can exploit African resources which also reveals that African ethnic groups are no longer original but are adulterated creations of colonial governments and the neo – colonial forces. What is baffling, however, is Mahjoub's lack of faith in Africans to eradicate the civil strife and to assert their independence from western control. Mikele's consciousness, as one of the characters, remains shallow and static suggesting that Mahjoub views the African as a flat character incapable of change. It is Tanner who is more European than African who only acts by killing Gilmour which reads as a metaphor of the view that African initiatives are lacking which is false. Tanner's death according to Mahjoub, signifies the end of any initiative to ameliorate corruption, war and ethnic differences. So, to him, without light from outside, Africa remains a primitive, banal and barren entity. In this regard, Mahjoub's work, from an African perspective, "reminisces the Conradian vast expanse of unrelieved primitivity perennially haunted by uncanny and malevolent presences" (Chiwome, 1996 p. 65).

The approach by Mahjoub is a polar opposite to that of Francis Mading Deng – a local writer who tackles issues from a local perspective from which Mahjoub is excommunicated due to his disposition. Deng analyses the plight of modern Sudan with its communities divided by a violent and long drawn out civil war between the North and South of Sudan. His works represent one of the most far-reaching

attempts to use fiction to address social malaise and resolve political conflicts. He differs from Mahjoub in that the later paints a pessimistic picture of Africa and fails to direct attention towards a cogent vision for Africa. Deng's *Seed of Redemption: A political Novel* (1986) highlights the turmoil in the Sudanese society but ends with the hero looking forward to handing over power to whomever national consensus would finally produce. In *The Cry of the Owl* (1989), Deng asserts that the label that brings Sudanese people together is their common identity as Sudanese. They should recognize that their society is characterized by intermingling such that it would be hard to know what is from the holy books and what is from the customary ways of their mixed ancestry – African and Arab. He reveals, through his characters, that the social predicament faced by Sudan can be eradicated through political unification of the Sudanese people regardless of religion and race.

Analysis of *Wings of Dust* (1994)

Mahjoub's second novel, *Wings of Dust* (1994), is a novel which covers a wide spectrum of the global village and its cultures. The story is set in colonial and post independence Sudan and told from the first person narrative by Sharif. He is awarded a scholarship by the colonial government to study in England where he joins a group of assorted characters from home who form the Arab community. Disillusioned by his position in Europe having spent more than a decade on the continent, Sharif decides "it was time to go home" where independence had been achieved followed by a military junta coup and "asses myself against the measure of my past" (p.135). As soon as he arrives home, regardless of his irrelevant qualifications, he is appointed governor of the region of his origin through the influence of Handoody, who has also returned home.

He fares well as the new governor and transforms parts of his region, but unfortunately, in his country plagued by dictatorship and corruption, development remains illusory and elusive. He also meets Shibshib, a colleague in London, whose noble vision is to investigate "... the state of the nation's soul". Sharif himself becomes corrupt and abuses his office. A military coup takes place again. Shibshib is arrested for 'subverting' the authority of the military government and ends in social disgrace. Sharif is arrested, tried in a military Kangaroo Court presided over by Nirzam, a colleague encountered in London. He is exiled to London and the chaos continues as the hallmark of Sudanese life.

The very title of the novel, "wings of dust", reinforces the perceived barren nature of the African continent, specifically Sudan. Griffiths (2000 p. 311) observes that "classic colonialist images of the climate (heat and dust)" are the hallmarks of the narrative concerning Africa. This echoes and reinforces the expatriate views held towards a world from which Mahjoub is excluded due to his past and by his lack of discernible and fixed identity. The story is told in flashbacks. This means that the reader is never allowed to forget that Sharif's initial administrative successes

such as bringing electricity to the villages and developing new cash crops in his region are only temporary successes in a story which is already clearly identified for the reader as a tale of eventual failure. The novel has a defeatist and tragic tone and the cumulative effect of images of despair and disillusion reinforce the stereotypical idea that Africa is a benighted place into which energy is poured in vain.

Despite its skill, poetic imagery and subtlety, Mahjoub's work is congruent with earlier European visions of Africa, rather than with the more involved and positive visions of local writers. Mahjoub reveals that any efforts to develop Africa are vain. Shibshib's dream of "nothing less than an expansion of the consciousness of a generation through the innovation of which he was an integral catalyst" (p.153) in his capacity as an academic remains elusive and is destroyed at the end. Similarly, Sharif's efforts as governor come to nothing. The political, economic and social environment is revealed as not permissive to any such developments. In the case of Shibshib, he ends up in social disgrace brought about by nervous breakdown and madness resulting from gross disappointment with the system. The ferocious, corrupt and incompetent military government exiles Sharif. He observes that:

Our country, the land we loved so much was struggling to find a place in the world. And in forging its new identity it had to melt all that had gone before. We no longer existed. We were thrown into madness or exile if we were lucky, into the grave if we were not (p154 - 55).

The "new identity" refers to the culture of political bankruptcy, corruption, poverty and all social malaise. Sharif, who is Mahjoub's mouthpiece, suggests that chaos is the order of the day in Africa, particularly the Sudan. By emphasizing only on the negative, Mahjoub mimics the western world which informs his writing rather than the African world, which ironically, he writes much about.

However, it would be misleading to assume that Mahjoub makes no significant contribution in the novel. His work, multifaceted as it is, does not only tackle the political and economic issues in Africa, but also extends to the individual's social well being at a global level. The novel is also concerned with the whole issue of being expatriate, and the effects of this on cultural identity and personal stability. Sharif's lengthy stay and tour of Europe coupled with his African background boil until his identity is hazy. At one moment, whilst in Paris, he imagines himself dead and seeks information on how his body might be returned to his homeland. He is told that the cheapest way would be to cremate his body, put the ashes in an empty tin of biscuits, and send the packed tin by air. Sharif is greatly terrified:

I stumped back up the hill to the silent dark hallways and the restless

swaying of the trees. I bolted the door pushing tables and chairs against it to keep the night at bay. I vomited in the bidet and tossed and turned all night groaning and mourning in terror and pity. I imagined myself flying through the world in a tin box from Bangalore to Buenos Aires and back again never finding rest (p.120).

This surreal vision of the fate of the exiled Sharif is the culmination of a study of the drifting population of people who have been thrown up by colonialism and its dismantlement after the first and second world wars. This point brings one to the view that Mahjoub, due to his condition, fares well as a transcultural writer because he has lived the experience which ties in well with transcultural themes. Transcultural writers do not write for a local audience. Rather, they have a wide general appeal to a global audience. Griffiths (2000 p. 309) notes that these writers concentrate on the complex issues of contemporary post- colonial identity and "...question the idea of stable and fixed national or even cultural boundaries, and focus on the liminalities which define much modern experience in an increasingly dislocated and diasporic world".

Mahjoub discloses that the displaced is greatly troubled. In trying to tell his story, Sharif asks: "how do I begin...one must have a beginning and an end: I have neither" (p.3). This reveals Sharif's identity crises. Sharif's predicament compares well to that of Yasin in *Travelling with Djinn*s (2003) by the same author. Yasin, the hero sates: "where I go, I am a stranger" (p.4) and goes on to highlight that "at night I tell myself that I am not one person, but two, who are strangers to one another" (p.20). This fragmentation of the individual is a result of the fluid global world which has led to the displacement of people and fanned cultural assimilation. In this regard "cultural assimilation...prohibits one from experiencing the life of those who have wholly identified with their culture" (Sevry, 2006 p. 29). By revealing this, Mahjoub manages to put the question of the loss of identity of the drifting population of people onto the global agenda.

Analysis of *In the Hour of Signs* (1996)

In this historical novel, Mahjoub makes a positive contribution to African literature. This is not to say his disposition finally struck a rich vein of form in his writing. Rather, this novel serves to confirm that a fragmented identity for writers (glossed over by the term cosmopolitan) obscure their vision thereby leading to a failure to open up new intellectual territory for fecund literary exploitation. The novel makes extensive use of Sudanese history of the 19th century to such an extent that even the main characters in the novel are real participants historically. This suggests that Mahjoub sought refuge and inspiration in the history of the people whom he intended to write for and reproduced a replica of that history. That Mahjoub

accepts the inadequacy bestowed upon him by being cosmopolitan when it comes to writing is not in doubt. He admits that "I envy the writer who is from only one country, who speaks only one language". (Wakerley and Guranzura, 2006 p. 9). This is revelatory as far as it reveals that multiplicity of tongues and multiple identities make an individual acquainted with many cultures without mastering one hence one remains with shallow perspectives which often leads to sterility and aridity in imagination- a situation comparable to what Josh (1994) terms an emotional Sahara.

Majoub recounts major historical events since the Turco-Egyptian to direct British rule. The novel thus reveals close intertextuality between fiction and history. The novel's major thrust is its revelation that religion can be used to destroy as well as to sustain. As a sustaining force, religion is a unifying factor in the African response to colonialism. The Mahdi, a religious figure, who brings people belonging to different ethnic groups together to fight the corrupt and alien rule in the Sudan, evidences this claim. "He is the soul... and they [people] the body" (p.157). It is evident that religion can bring people together to launch what Fanon (1990) terms constructive violence. This violence is meant to free oneself from oppression. The nature of this violence "...is the intuition of the colonised masses that their liberation must, and can only, be achieved by force (Fanon, 1990 p. 57) and this "... violence unifies the people" (Fanon, 1990 p. 74). This is what happens especially during the life of the Mahdi as the people are united in their campaign against colonization. The resulting violence further unifies them thereby strengthening the revolutionary tendency. By capturing such a salient feature of the African past, Majoub, through delving into history rather than his diverse cultures, makes a significant contribution as he evokes the memory of the past which is a short cut to the future.

However, although religion sustains people, Mahjoub is not oblivious to its destructive force. He reveals that religious fanaticism "is a position assumed by human groups to keep the fear of the unknown at bay; one assumed to give them a sense of security" (Sevry, 2006 p. 28). This is exemplified by the Mahdi's lofty aim of wanting to spread his own Islamic doctrine across the world because he cannot tolerate other people's faith. In this regard, "the problem of intolerance cannot be dissociated from the question of faith" (Sevry, 2006 p. 28). Religion is also used by the Khalifa (Muslim ruler) in the new Caliphate (Muslim State) to segregate members of the Caliphate and to fan ethnic tension.

Mahjoub, makes salient observations as he operates within the framework provided by the history of the people to whom he writes. He denounces religious fanaticism and fundamentalism through Hawi, a character in the novel, at the end. Hawi denounces religious fanaticism and addresses a congregation of youths "...to look amongst themselves to see how different they all were ... that there was a place where all of their stories met and crossed and that this was a place that had to be

shared" (p.244) which echoes sentiments in Deng's novels. Such an appeal to a broader and less fundamentalist view of truth and religion, though it falls on deaf ears as Hawi is hanged by his fellow countrymen for apostasy, is commendable in view of the fact that religion can be used to victimize. Being cosmopolitan is not in any way the driving force behind such creativity. Rather, it had been more of an obstacle to Mahjoub in his first two novels until he took 'refuge' in the history of the Sudan. Thus from thereon, "Mahjoub has a strong belief in history... tries to find his bearings, to find his way at the cross roads, so that he can again give meaning to people and the worlds in which they live". (Sevry, 2006 p. 30 and 31).

Main Tenets of Mahjoub's Works

The major purpose/aim of the paper was to evaluate the condition of being a cosmopolitan writer who can not identify with a particular variety and a culture in relation to creative writing with specific reference to Mahjoub. The paper revealed that this condition is an obstacle in view of the notion that it limits the in-depth understanding of a particular culture and its people as it alienates him from those who have wholly identified with their cultures. Cosmopolitanism and the attendant cultural hybridism coupled with multilingualism tends to fragment the individual thereby leading to the obscuring of one's vision. Where one tries to be creative, the resulting literature tends to misrepresent the life and aspirations of the society to which one writes for. It is against this backdrop that Mahjoub acknowledges that he envies writers who can identify with only one country and only one language. Wandering across the globe and living everywhere except the continent he writes about, Mahjoub finds no stability and he compares well to a rolling stone that gathers no moss. It is critical to note that practically, most writers do not speak only one language. Rather, as Mahjoub (2003 p 4). realistically puts it across later, there are writers "who have a language and a history they can count on without doubt or hesitation ". His lack of a variety he can count on without doubt or hesitation due to his compounded hybridism confuses him in matters concerning African issues. This explains why he makes blunders in both *Navigation of a Rainmaker* and *Wings of Dust* in his presentation of the African scenario. Mahjoub only transcends the negative impact of cosmopolitanism in his writing as he explores Sudanese cultural, social and political issues within the framework provided by history.

Further, writers like Mahjoub who are so torn apart by their multiple loyalties, cannot be keepers of the conscience of a nation as advocated by Saro-Wiwa in Ejeke (2000). This is so because they do not represent the interests of those who can identify with a country including its culture and language without doubts. In addition, the militancy propounded by Sartre (1967) and Ngugi (1981) in defending the role of literature at a national level is of no consequence to such writers for the concept of nation to them is hazy as they cannot identify with one country.

However, it is crucial to note that Mahjoub articulates the plight of the rootless classes of people. He himself is not rooted in any discernible society as he swings between his African past and his European present. He articulates the plight of the rootless Sharif well in *Wings of Dust* as he devotes pages upon pages tackling the whole issue of being expatriate and the effects of this on the individual's cultural identity and personal stability. Mahjoub successfully paints a 'correct' picture of this scenario because this is what he has lived. This point brings one to the view that Mahjoub, due to his condition, can fare well as a transcultural writer because he has lived the experience which resonates well with transcultural themes. Transcultural writers do not write for a local audience. Rather, they have a wide general appeal to a global audience.

Conclusion

As the writer has demonstrated throughout, cosmopolitanism and attendant multilingualism, and cultural hybridism on the part of Mahjoub, are negating forces as they work in conjunction in limiting him to satisfy the expectations of African literature critics. Therefore, critics who value cosmopolitanism should be wary of universalizing its validity and importance as its value is questionable and crumbles when applied to African literature using Mahjoub as a case study.

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Gender Role in the Transfer and Survival of Local Knowledge about the Management of Natural Resources: A case from Marange Communal Area, Eastern Zimbabwe.

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Abstract

A study was done in Marange Communal Area to assess the transfer and survival of local knowledge about the management of natural resources and socio-cultural beliefs governing natural resources management and how this is affected by gender. Questionnaires, key informants and field surveys were used in data collection. Five hundred and seventy-seven school-going children aged between 9-14 years from four primary schools and 12 key informants were interviewed. Descriptive statistics and inferential statistics were used to test the association between responses and gender. Some aspects of local knowledge are gender-specific, as they were affected by the sex of the household head and/or the respondent, whilst some aspects are general knowledge in the community. Women play an important role in teaching children and are managers of natural resources in rural areas. Men are holders of specialized knowledge, which they usually transfer to boys. It is important to promote local knowledge use for sustainable resources management, household security and informed decisions and recommendations concerning natural resources management in the future.

Key words: gender, local knowledge, management, natural resources, socio-cultural beliefs

Introduction

Gender refers to the behavioral, cultural or psychological traits typically associated with one sex. Gender is defined by FAO (1997) as the relations between men and women, both perceptual and material. It is not determined biologically, as a result of social characteristics of either women or men, but is constructed socially. It is a central organizing principle of societies, and often governs the processes of production, consumption and distribution. Gender and local knowledge are linked in many ways, because knowledge is part of the social fabric in which people live, and gender is one of the primary dimensions of social fabric, making gender an important factor of local knowledge (Norem *et al.*, 1989). Bodies of local knowledge are accessible, in the first place, to the members of a social group charged with specific resource management and production responsibilities (Fernandez, 1994). In this sense, local knowledge systems are by their nature gendered (Warren, 1989).

Gender differentiation comes about as a result of the specific experiences, knowledge, and skills, which women and men develop as they carry out the productive and reproductive responsibilities assigned to them (Feldstein and Poats, 1988).

The degree to which local knowledge is gendered varies from one society to the other depending on the degree of flexibility of men and women as they perform duties. Therefore, there is no such thing as a set of universal gendered local knowledge systems (Quiroz, 1994). However, it is increasingly being recognized by researchers and grassroots workers alike, that in many communities, women are the primary natural resources managers, and they possess an intimate knowledge of the environment (Mishra, 1994). Women are closer to nature because of the gender-based division of labor, and as they tend to the needs of the household. As important users and processors of natural resources, women are often the repositories of local knowledge on matters of sustainable resource management (IIRR, 1996). Women's relation with and perception of the environment tends to be comprehensive and multidimensional, whereas men's knowledge tends to be one-dimensional, focusing on narrow areas such as cultivation of a certain kind of high yielding commercially profitable crop (Quiroz, 1994; Synnevag, 1997). FAO (1999) also reported that women often have more highly specialized knowledge of wild plants used for food, fodder and medicine than men. Their roles as caretakers of their families has encouraged them to learn how different parts can be used for food, medicine, shelter and animal feed (Future Harvest, 2001). However, women's and men's generation, adoption and use of knowledge and technology are shaped by the economic, social, cultural, political and geographic context in which the two sexes live, but which each gender experiences in a different way (Appleton, 1993). Gender relations affect household security, family well-being, planning, production and many other aspects of life (Bravo-Baumann, 2000).

Women in developing countries have specialized knowledge and preferences, which are often complementary to that of men, which they use in their selection and adoption of decisions (Saad, 2001). Children learn a lot from their elders as they perform activities at home. Their participation in the labor process begins at an early stage. Almost as soon as children can walk, they are expected to help adults in their daily tasks. In the course of general socialization, in the beginning children of both sexes acquire the basic skills of cultivation, food processing and all essentially "female tasks" (Crehan, 1992), but after the age of 8-10, boys begin to lose interest in female tasks while girls continue to help their mothers and female relatives (Crehan, 1992; Simpson, 1994).

The aim of the study was to assess the survival of local knowledge about the management of natural resources through household institutional arrangements.

The specific objective was to examine gender effects on local knowledge transfer and hence its survival.

Materials and Methods

A study of the effect of gender on the survival of socio-cultural beliefs and local knowledge about the management of natural resources was conducted in Marange Communal Area. Marange falls in Mutare Rural District, which is found in the Eastern Highlands of Zimbabwe. The district is made up of 41 wards, and the study was done in Nyachityu and Takarwa wards (CSO, 1992). Four primary schools were selected for the research work and these were Bemhiwa, Chikwariro, Mt.Makomwe and Zedza.

The community depends on subsistence farming of a variety of dry-land crops such as maize, sorghum, cowpeas, groundnuts, bambara nuts and others (MDA, 2000). This is mixed with livestock keeping of cattle, goats, poultry, donkeys etc. Some members of the households, especially males, seek employment in towns and other places in an endeavour to achieve livelihood security. This has resulted in many *de facto* female-headed households.

Information was collected from secondary data sources and primary data sources. The primary data was collected through a questionnaire survey. Observations of community activities were done and random field sampling of the vegetation and the physical environment. Data collection was done with a member of the community who aided in verification. Secondary data was gathered from published reports of work that had been done in Marange communal area by other researchers.

Questionnaire interviews were used to obtain detailed information from the respondents regarding household characteristics, local knowledge on natural resources management, socio-cultural beliefs and local knowledge perceptions. Permission to carry out research activities in Nyachityu Ward was obtained from Chief Hama Marange. Appointments were later made with the heads of schools on the dates for interviewing the pupils. At the schools, pupils aged between 9 and 14 years were targeted as a previous study had shown that this age group would be knowledgeable about the socio-cultural beliefs and natural resources management aspects of local knowledge. This age group falls between grades 4-7 according to the education system in Zimbabwe. A pre-test was done before actual sampling.

Stratified random sampling was used in data collection as it would satisfy the study purpose of investigating the dependency of various aspects of local knowledge

on factors related to household characteristics and gender. The teachers randomly selected the pupils and sent them individually to the place where the questionnaire was administered.

Questionnaires were coded, data captured and analysed using the statistical package Minitab 13. A total of 577 children were interviewed from the four schools amongst which were 316 girls and 261 boys. Twelve adults were also interviewed as key informants. The Chi-square test for independence was used to provide evidence of a statistical association between the various responses and gender which was thought to be the major determinant of the responses. It was assumed that school location would not affect responses as respondents were in the same community. The test measured the overall discrepancy between the observed and expected frequencies at the 5% level of significance.

Results and Discussion

Influence of sex of the household head on the transfer of local knowledge

Gender differences affect the level of local knowledge that respondents possessed as men and women perform different tasks in everyday life. The sex of the household head significantly affected some aspects of local knowledge. In Marange Communal Area, the local conservation committee, "*majengataohu*", (meaning "those who care for the soil"), enacts the by-laws governing the use of natural resources. Respondents from male-headed households knew about this committee and its duties (Chi-square = 7,298; DF = 1; P-value = 0,007) because men usually have many positions in the political and spiritual leadership and play a major role in decision-making (Haverkort and Hiemstra, 1999).

With the intensification of agriculture, many farming communities combine organic and inorganic farming and the degree of integration varies from household to household depending on the affluence of the household. A significantly higher percentage of respondents from female-headed households reported that they maintain soil fertility using organic methods only, such as anthill soil, leaf litter, crop residue and livestock dung. Table 1 shows the association between soil fertility maintaining methods and the sex of the household head.

Table 1: Percentages of methods of maintaining soil fertility and sex of household head

Soil Fertility Method	Female-headed household	Male-headed household
Chemical fertilizer only	0,8	1,2
Organic nutrients only	65,7	44,3
Chemical and organic nutrients	33,5	54,5

Chi-square = 16,284; DF = 6; P-value = 0,012

Anthill soil used to be a major source of organic nutrients, but is declining in usage because of resource depletion with increasing human population. Women encounter this problem increasingly, as female-headed households depend mostly on organic methods of replenishing soil nutrients, which are anchored on indigenous knowledge systems. The association between soil fertility management and gender maybe indirect as the economic situation of a household has a greater impact on soil fertility management activities. The growing number of households headed by females and the “feminization of agriculture” has placed greater burdens on the most vulnerable segment of society in developing countries—rural women (Future Harvest, 2001).

The migration of male family members has resulted in three categories of female-headed households, which have access to resources in different ways and these groups are:

- *de facto* female headed households where the husband has migrated for economic reasons, and
- *de jure* female headed households where the head is either unmarried, divorced or widowed
- periodically female headed households where male migration is seasonal or households, which may be one of several units attached to an adult male through polygamous marriage (Mheen-Sluijen, 1996).

Women who are *de facto* household heads maybe amongst the better families, as they can access larger areas of land, cattle, ploughs, due to the benefit of remittances and are able to hire labor (Mheen-Sluijen, 1996). These women also find themselves in decision-making positions, although they still leave some decisions to the husband who is traditionally considered the head of the household. These changes demonstrate that the boundaries of gendered knowledge are neither fixed nor independent (Cherfas, 2001; Rocheleau, 1991).

Carpentry and craftwork is done using special tree species to make wooden items like spoons, cooking sticks, yokes, stools etc. Higher percentages (60%) of respondents from male-headed households could name indigenous trees used in carpentry work. There was a significant dependence of knowledge about trees used in carpentry on the sex of the household head (Chi-square = 13,789; DF = 4; P-value = 0,008). Men do most of the craftwork with boys learning from older males and it has been reported that men are more likely to be “specialists” as they are more involved in cultural and commercial activities and less concerned with the domestic use of what they collect (Flintan and Tedla, 2010).

Awareness of forest conservation strategies was also dependent on the sex of the household head. About 86,9% of the respondents knew at least one method that can be used to conserve forests with the most common methods mentioned being reforestation, taboos and prohibitive by-laws that are enacted by the local traditional leaders. The people in the community have been encouraged to have tree plantations at their homesteads and most families grow *Eucalyptus* species and fruit trees, and a few prefer indigenous trees. Some respondents knew the fee paid to the chief to be allowed to selectively cut down trees. Almost equal proportions of respondents from male- and female-headed households were aware of at least one strategy that is used to conserve forests. However, those from male-headed households knew more methods than those from female-headed households as, 34.3% of the respondents from former could name two or more methods, in comparison with 17.3% from the latter. This resulted in a significant dependence of this knowledge on the sex of the household head (Chi-square = 24,776; DF = 4; P-Value = 0,000). Forests are conserved through traditional beliefs and taboos were certain trees (*munyamharadzi*, *Philenoptera violacea* "the destroyer", *musosawafa*, *Maytenus senegalensis* "covering the dead") and wild-fruit trees cannot be used as firewood, setting aside of sacred forests where traditional ceremonies take place and burial places for traditional leaders. Men's domination in forest places is related to their perceived role as breadwinners and providers of shelter (Flintan and Tedla, 2010).

The people of Marange communal area supplement their food supplies with non-timber forest products (NTFPs) such as mushrooms and wild vegetables and fruits. There was no significant association between knowledge about edible mushrooms and the sex of the household head. About 89.8% of the respondents could name at least one type of edible mushroom with some respondents naming as many as four. This knowledge is widespread amongst the respondents with most commonly named edible mushrooms being sticky top, *Amanita zambiana*, *Cantharellus* spp., *Termitomyces* spp. and *Macrolepiota zeyheri*. However, knowledge about the location of the mushrooms was highly dependent on the sex of the household head (Chi-square = 1,822; DF= 6; P-value = 0,012). Higher percentage of respondents from female-headed households knew about the detailed location of mushrooms than those from male headed ones as women tend to collect natural resources closer to home often "opportunistically" whilst carrying out other activities (Flintan and Tedla, 2010). Men do not usually perform chores linked to collecting food from the forests for the household. Children usually girls, begin by accompanying elders and when they can confidently distinguish the edible mushrooms from the poisonous ones, they would be sent to collect on their own. Women therefore play a critical role in ensuring household food security (Mheen-Sluijen, 1996),

as they are solely responsible for the field cultivated relish crops and those collected from the wild (Mutimba, 1996).

During the rainy season, there are food supplements of indigenous vegetables (*Datura stramonium* "chowa"; *Amaranthus* spp "mbowa"; *Bidens pilosa* "nhungumira"; *Cleome gynandra* "runi"; *Pouzolzia hypolenca* "teketera" etc. Insects "ishwa" and "nyenze" that come out after the first rains are also important in the community's diet. Different methods are used to trap the insects. Mass captures of *ishwa* are done at night and 74,2% of the respondents were aware of the relationship between *ishwa* and the first rains and responses on how to capture them varied between the mass and small captures. Table 1 shows how the responses depended on the sex of the household head.

Table 1: Percentages of knowledge about capturing edible insects and sex of the household head.

Response	Female-headed household	Male-headed household
Mass capture	71,9	74,8
Small scale	12,7	17,0
Don't know	15,4	8,2

Chi-square = 8,086; *DF* = 2; *P-value* = 0,018

Men perform the task of catching "ishwa", at night when women will be indoors. Respondents from male-headed households knew more about the mass capture methods since they would participate with the male elders.

Influence of sex of the respondent on local knowledge survival.

The knowledge that a respondent possessed depended on gender as different sexes perform different duties at home, which determine their awareness of certain local knowledge practices, which may have a bearing on the transfer of such knowledge. The sex of a respondent affects the relationship they have with the various holders of local knowledge at home. It is assumed that girls are closer to female elders and boys to the male elders although there may be exceptional cases. After the age of 8-10, the instructions of children within the household take place almost exclusively along gender lines as children begin to accompany their parents into the fields, boys with fathers and daughters with mothers (Cross and Baker, 1991). In order to assess who "teaches" children the most about management or conservation of natural resources (forests, water, soil, animals etc) using local knowledge and socio-cultural beliefs such as taboos and totems, the respondents were asked to rank their teachers

at home. The one who teaches the most was given rank order 1 with increasing numbers for those that teach the least. The responses are shown in tables 2 and 3.

Table 2: Counts of ranking of “teachers” of local knowledge at home by girls

	1	2	3	4
Mother	91	31	18	5
Father	25	46	20	5
Sister	52	31	35	10
Brother	22	42	32	12
Grandmother	42	10	14	1
Grandfather	9	15	7	7
Aunt	10	4	9	2
Uncle	2	2	0	0
Other	4	3	0	0

Table 3: Counts of ranking of “teachers” of local knowledge at home by boys

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Mother	32	41	15	10	0	0
Father	46	14	11	0	0	0
Sister	20	29	23	9	0	0
Brother	50	26	22	2	0	0
Grandmother	24	15	7	6	2	1
Grandfather	19	10	7	2	2	1
Aunt	6	3	3	3	2	0
Uncle	2	2	2	5	0	0
Other	7	3	0	0	0	0

Women play a more important role in the transfer of local knowledge than men judging by the ranking of “teachers” by the respondents. Although girls ranked female elders more highly than males ones, boys ranked both males and mothers highly, which shows the important role of women as managers of and transmitters of local knowledge. Boys ranked males highly in matters related to trees used in carpentry, forest conservation, but women were ranked highly in most aspects on natural resources conservation. Both men and women are responsible for cultural practices linked to natural resources management depending on their gendered relationship with resources, though fathers tend to be more proactive than mothers in assigning roles to children according to gender (Flintan and Tedla, 2010).

Working activities at home were significantly dependent on the sex of the respondent. Crop husbandry activities of digging, planting, weeding and harvesting were practised by all the respondents, but higher percentages were comprised by girls (52.6%) compared to boys (47.4%). There was a significant association on the sex of the respondent (Chi-square = 9,925; DF =2; P-value = 0,007). The children possessed agricultural skills in general, because in most rural areas, both boys and girls as young as age 6 and above are encouraged to take part in agricultural production (Ayieko, 1997). Working activities expose respondents to the major indigenous techniques of controlling soil erosion (traditional ditches, contour ploughing, traditional waterways, stone terraces and soil fertility management techniques (Fenta, 2006). After land opening and/or ploughing, the men normally take a back seat and leave the rest of the production process to the women, although they will step in and help if there is special need (IFAD/FAO, 1998).

Participation in livestock herding was also highly associated with the sex of the respondent (Chi-square = 66,239; DF = 2; P-value = 0,000). Young boys usually do herding of livestock and girls may do so under special circumstances or they accompany boys to the pastures. Of all the respondents who reported familiarities with herding livestock in the pastures, 44.6% were girls and 55.4% were boys. Livestock activities expose respondents to local knowledge related to wild fruits, wild animals and forest taboos.

The gathering of edible herbs and fruits, fishing and hunting were also associated with the sex of the pupil. Of all the four activities related to supplementing the diet from natural resources, 95.1% of the respondents reported that they participated in such activities. 70% of the girls participated in two or more activities related to gathering food (mushrooms, fruits, vegetables, herbs or fishing) whilst 60.9% of the boys did these activities, but participation in hunting was done by more boys than girls (Chi-square = 115,074; DF = 4; P-value = 0,000). Hunting wildlife tends to be a male activity (Flintan and Tedla, 2010).

Knowledge of the local conservation committee (LCC) and its duties was independent of the sex of the pupil, but awareness of the rainmaking ceremony "*mukwerere*" was dependent on the sex of the respondent. About 29.7% of the respondents were aware of the rainmaking ceremony of which 46.8% were girls and the awareness significantly depended on the sex of the respondents (Chi-square = 6,131; DF = 1; P-value = 0,013).

Management of soil using local knowledge was significantly dependent on whether the respondent was a girl or boy as shown by the low p-value of 0,001. The variation in the amount of knowledge about this between the two sexes is shown in table 4.

Table 4: Dependence of knowledge on erosion control on sex of the respondent

Response	Girls	Boys
Two or more methods	42.7%	57.3%
Contours	49.5%	50.5%
Maintaining vegetation	57.3%	42.7%
Terraces	53.3%	46.7%
Don't know	67.7%	32.3%

Chi-square = 18.970; *DF* = 4; *P-value* = 0,001

Knowledge of trees that are not used for firewood was associated with the sex of the respondent (*Chi-square* = 10,309; *DF* = 2; *P-value* = 0,006). Respondents who could name tree species not used as firewood comprised of 75% girls and 25% boys. Some respondents reported that they can identify the trees, but have forgotten their names. However, 53.7% of the respondents that knew at least two indigenous types of trees that were used in carpentry were boys and 14.1% of boys and girls respectively reported use of *Eucalyptus* trees; 18,1% of the respondents could not name either an indigenous or exotic tree used in craftwork of which 64,4% were girls. Almost equal proportions of boys and girls could name at least one trees species that harbors edible insects (50,5% girls and 49,5% boys).

Knowledge about edible mushrooms was widespread amongst the respondents as 89,8% of them could name at least one edible mushroom of which 54,3% was girls. This knowledge significantly depended on whether the respondent was a boy or girl as shown by the probability value of 0,01. Girls learn from women who play a central role as producers of food, managers of natural resources, income-earners and caretakers of household food and nutrition security (IFPRI, 2000). Boys learn from male elders, but it is not very common in the African culture for a man to collect food for the family at household level, as men are more involved in economic activities.

Conclusion

The study showed that local knowledge was transferred to all respondents, but some forms of local knowledge were affected by gender. A broad explanation for the generally insignificant effect of gender is that although men and women's priorities varied amongst the elders, they knew many of the same practices, socio-cultural beliefs and associations. Men and women act differently because of their socially ascribed roles, resulting in them having different sets of knowledge about the environment and natural resources. Women's rights and responsibilities change with men's out-migration resulting in them acquiring a broader range of new knowledge and skills than they had in the past.

Whereas, men's widely shared local knowledge was mostly developed in livestock activities, carpentry and related activities, their out migration; sedentarization and formal schooling have militated against transmission of the gendered practices to the young since less than 10 boys reported learning specialized skills from their male elders. Men's knowledge was also unevenly distributed as it decreased markedly among the younger males in the community. Among women, there persisted a widely shared, high level of general knowledge about wild food, medicinal plants with an overall reduction in the scope and depth of proficiency in the younger females. However, the knowledge gap between generations was not nearly as pronounced as that amongst men.

Significant dependences may have been caused by the many duties that women usually perform at home. Women universally bear and nurse children and have the greater responsibility of caring for dependents than do men in all societies (Colfer, 1991; Kunkel, 1995). These responsibilities in the broad sense include being producers of labor, teachers of children and caretakers of the young and the old. As girls associate more with the female elders, they also learn these tasks. This brings girls closer to natural resources and expose them to the local knowledge that conserve resources. The Shona culture also encourages girls to be hard workers and to learn all the "female" tasks in preparation for their own homes when they marry. Boys are not treated as strictly as the girls since men are generally expected to provide for the family financially.

Specialized skills were learnt from specialists as some boys reported that they learnt to build and make carvings from their fathers who were doing this on a commercial basis, make wire mesh and metal products. Boys knew more about trees that are used in carpentry because men mostly do this job. The girls' knowledge of these trees was from observing their fathers, uncles or brothers doing using them, but boys reported that they had practical knowledge.

Recommendations

Since local knowledge and skills were not evenly distributed between males and females within the community, local knowledge transfer should be promoted by documenting it, reviewing it and disseminating the information to the community. Documented knowledge will remove the bias associated with local knowledge transfer along gender lines as both men and women will have access to knowledge. The community will benefit from existing local knowledge practices and formulate ways of covering the gap in knowledge distribution. This will enhance survival strategies for all members of the community regardless of family structure or gender and promote the conservation on natural resources using local knowledge systems.

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Feature sensitive and context [in-]-sensitive glide formation and coalescence in hiatus resolution in isiNdebele

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Abstract

This paper argues for context and vowel-feature sensitive repair of hiatal configuration in isiNdebele, a Bantu language largely spoken in southern parts of Zimbabwe as well as parts of South Africa. Bantu languages by and large phonologically and/or phonetically repair vowel hiatus configurations arising from both phonological and morphophonological concatenations. The phonology of isiNdebele seems to largely favour an analysis that does not permit the surface realisation of clusters of segments of the form VV (vowel-vowel clusters). Observing such an analysis, which this paper argues to be largely ONSET motivated/triggered and the featural properties of the phonological structures of the languages under study, their reactions to such dispreferred vowel clusters and their phonotactics are here examined within the framework of Optimality Theory (OT) as enunciated by Prince and Smolensky (1991, 1993), McCarthy and Prince (1999), Archangeli (1997) and Kager (1999) as well as Distinctive Features as discussed by Chomsky and Halle (1963). Repair strategies for such configurations such as glide formation, consonantal and/or glide insertions, vowel deletion and coalescence are discussed. The analysis adopted here implicates that the resolution of these dispreferred configurations arises from incompatibilities in the features of the vowels straddling a word boundary. It argues that these repair strategies are largely motivated by language internal constraint ranking systems which in Bantu languages seem to largely prefer the preservation of [-] features over [+] features i.e. the ranking [-F'] » [+F']¹.

1.0. Introduction

The paper discusses the resolution of hiatal configurations (vowel/vocalic hiatus) in isiNdebele, a Bantu language spoken in South Africa. Vowel/vocalic hiatus refers to instances where two vowels occur adjacently/heterosyllabically in the input forms of the languages' generative grammars (Sabao, 2009). It is the separate

¹By [-] features/[-F'] we refer to features such as [-high], [-low], [-back], [-round] etc while by [+] features we refer to features such as [+high], [+low], [+back], [+round] etc.. The thesis established here is that there seems to be an inherent motivation within the languages, in the resolution of hiatal configurations, for the preservation of the [-] features if any of the vowels at the hiatal configuration contains them. This is however done at the expense of the [+] features which are seemingly ranked lower than their [-] features counterparts and which are thus violated.

pronunciation of two adjacent vowels, sometimes with an intervening glottal stop. Vowel hiatus can also refer to the failure of two vowels straddling a word boundary to coalesce, for example by elision of the first or second vowel (Siptar, 2003: Mtenje, 1980: Ola and Pulleyblank, 1998). Vowel hiatus thus, refers to the occurrence of adjacent phonologically independent vowels within a word or morpheme, but more precisely at a morphological boundary. It is the occurrence of two or more vowels which stand as individual syllables adjacently (Sabao 2005). In order to say we have a vowel/vocalic hiatus situation/context, the two vowels, apart from occurring adjacently in an input or output form, must be independently pronounced and should also have 'separate and independent' phonological qualities (Sabao 2005).

2.0. Ndebele vowel and syllable structure(s)

The term Ndebele has come to be used to refer to both the language and the people who speak it. Ndebele (also often referred to as isiNdebele) is a Southern Bantu language belonging to the Nguni cluster (Zone S in the unit S44 according to Guthrie's 1967 classifications). The cluster includes other languages such as Zulu, Xhosa, Transvaal Ndebele (often referred to as South African Ndebele) all spoken in South Africa, as well as Swazi/SiSwati¹, spoken in Swaziland and South Africa (Hadebe, 2006). In this thesis however, the term 'Ndebele' is used to refer to the Zimbabwean variety of the language. Ndebele/isiNdebele, like many other Bantu languages, is a five vowel phoneme system. The quality of the vowels [e] and [o] in Ndebele match cardinal vowels 3 and 6, [e] and [o], fairly closely, rather than numbers 2 and 7, [e] and [o], in most environments. There are no underlying long vowels in the language and neither are there long vowels that occur as a result of phonological processes such as elision and coalescence and/or other phonetic processes. Unlike in most Bantu languages, in Ndebele there is no compensatory lengthening of vowels in either the Underlying Representations (URs) and/or the Phonetic Representations (PRs) a phenomenon that results from attempts to preserve V-slots after phonological processes of deletion or merger of juxtaposed vowel. There are also no diphthongs in Ndebele. The vowels of Ndebele can be represented diagrammatically as below. The diagram illustrates a comparison between the places articulation of Ndebele vowels compared to cardinal vowels which in the diagram are marked 1 to 8 as reflected on the IPA chart.

² SiSwati is the Swazi term for Swazi language

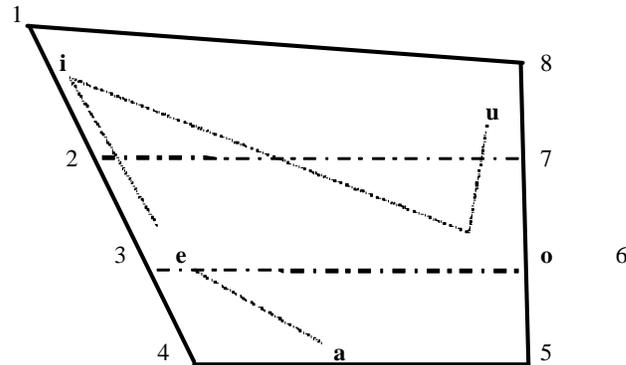


Fig. 1: Ndebele vowel structure

The low vowel /a/ in Ndebele seems to match the cardinal vowel, the low central /a/ whereas the mid front vowel /e/ and mid back vowel /o/ are articulated lower than their cardinal vowel equivalents, vowels 2 and 7 and also lower than those of other Bantu languages. The distinctive features of these vowels as represented on the above chart are as follows (**NB**: The features diagram also supplies redundant values);

	i	e	a	o	u
BACK	-	-	-	+	+
HIGH	+	-	-	-	+
LOW	-	-	+	-	-
ROUND	-	-	-	+	+

The basic syllable structure in Ndebele is the canonical CV syllable. It however can be argued that the basic structure could also be the V(CV) structure in light of the fact that most nouns in the language begin in a vowel since the language still has the IV (initial vowel) or pre-prefix as part of both is phonetic and orthographic inventories. This IV, it has been proposed is maintained from Proto-Bantu (Greenberg, 1963: Guthrie, 1967).

1. (i) V(CV) structure

- a) a.kha 'build
- b) e.nza 'do'
- c) i.nja 'dog'
- d) o.ma 'get dry/get thirsty'
- e) u.ba.ba 'father'

(ii) CV structure

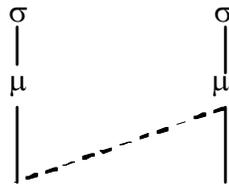
- a) .ma 'mother'
- b) we.na 'you'
- c) mi.na 'me'

- d) lo.khu 'this;
e) dlu.la 'pass by'

3.0. Glide formation in Ndebele

Glide formation is one of the major hiatus resolution strategies in Ndebele. The most commonest example of contexts in which such a process occurs is when the high back vowel [u] of the infinitive prefix /uku-/ 'to' in isiNdebele juxtaposed with vowel commencing verbal forms undergoes glide formation. Unlike in other Bantu languages, in Ndebele glide formation does not result in a compensatorily lengthened surface vowel. This process in Ndebele is similar to the process referred to by Fortune (1985) as morphophonemic change and is in line with the [v'!w/vowel] rule.

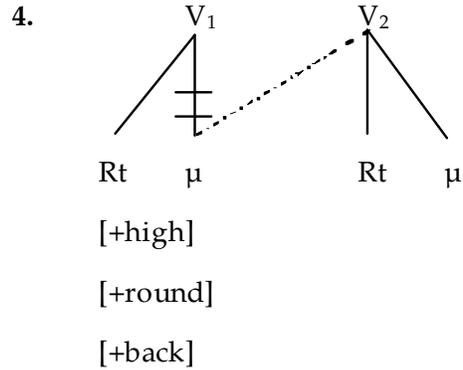
The rule that governs gliding in Ndebele (as is with many other southern Bantu languages) is that a [+high, -low] and [+round] vowel loses a mora (or glides) before another vowel. The second vowel in the sequence can be low, mid or high. Such a process is schematized as in 2 below:



We can argue here that this process is triggered by language-internal phonological and morphophonological rules that disprefer the surfacing of vowel sequences in the PRs of the language. Not only does the language disprefer such hiatal configurations phonetically, it also seems to disprefer their occurrence in its orthographic forms. Let us consider the following examples in 3 below. Again, we note that as with other hiatus resolution mechanisms such as coalescence, in Ndebele glide formation does not result in long surface vowels. This again is in 'disregard' for, and in violation of place maintenance constraints and thus in violation of IDENT-IO and UNIFORMITY.

3. (a) *uku- enza* [ukwenza] /u₁#e₂/! [w₁e₂] 'to do'
inf- do
(b) *uku- akha* [ukwakha] /u₁#a₂/! [w₁a₂] 'to build'
inf- build
(c) *uku- ala* [ukwala] /u₁#a₂/! [w₁a₂] 'to refuse'
inf- refuse
(d) *uku- esula* [ukwesula] /u₁#u₂/! [u₁w₂] 'to wipe/rub'
inf- wipe/rub

This kind of glide formation in which the high vowel [u] turns into a glide [w] in the face of all the other vowels except the mid back vowel [o] can be schematized as below:



Glide formation: /u/? /w/ in Ndebele.

This happens through a process in which the V_1 (which has the features [+high] and/or [+round] and or [+back]) undergoes delinking with its associated mora, by which process which is mora preserving, attaches to V_2 . V_1 however maintains its attachment to the root node thus preserving articulatory features.

We note that, like in other languages glide formation in Ndebele, if argued to be ONSET driven is also invariably in violation of *CG as well as IDENT-IO as illustrated in Figure 1 below;

5. **ONSET:** * $[_a V]$: Syllables must have onsets
6. ***CG:** Avoid complex [Cw] and [Cy] onsets.
7. **IDENT-IO:** Corresponding input and output segments should bear identical specifications for feature(s)

Input: /uku-enz-a/	ONSET	*CG	IDENT-IO
(a) ?/ukwe.nza/		*	*
(b) /uku.e.nza/	*!		

Fig 1: Gliding of the high vowel /u/ in Ndebele (with no compensatory lengthening)

We thus can argue that what really conditions and motivates glide formation here is the need to preserve segmental identity as well as featural identity between the input and the output. This is evidenced by the fact that the resultant glide is featurally identical to the initial vowel as it retains its [+high], [+back] and [+round]

features. Glide formation here is elected above other possible resolution strategies because it maximizes featural as well as articulatory identity while in the process also successfully eliminating the dispreferred VV configuration. This is more vividly expressed in Figure 2 below.

8. PARSE[F']: Preserve an input feature [F] in the output.

Input:/uk u-e.nza/	ONSET	PARSE[F']	IDENT[±high]	IDENT[±low]	IDENT(μ)	UNIFORMITY
(a) /u.ku.e.nza/	*!					
(b)?/u.k.wen.za/					*	**
(c) /u.ke.nza/		*!	*(!)		*	**
(d) /u.ku.nza/		*!	*(!)		*	**

Fig 2: Gliding of high vowels in Ndebele (with no compensatory vowel lengthening)

Here we note that candidate (a) is in fatal violation of ONSET due to heterosyllabification and thus is eliminated. Candidates (c) and (d), which could be showing either coalescence (symmetric fusion) or elision, are in fatal violation of PARSE[+high] and PARSE[-high] respectively. This is so because (c) fails to preserve the [+high] feature of the [+high, -low] prefix vowel /u/ while (d) fails to preserve the feature [-high] of the [-high, -low] of the V₂ vowel /e/. Both however manage to preserve the [-low] feature, a feature shared by both of the initial vowels. They however both get eliminated because, as with Chichewa data, they fail to reserve the [+back] and [-back] features of the input vowels respectively. Candidate (b) despite a violation of IDENT(μ), due to the changes in mora count manages to maximize featural and articulatory identity.

If however, the same infinitive prefix is juxtaposed with a vowel /o/ commencing verbal form, elision of the V₁ (the prefix final vowel) and consonantal epenthesis instead of glide formation/insertion variably occur. Consider the following example in which the former process (V₁ elision) occurs in 9 (a) and the latter (epenthesis) in 9 (b);

9. (a) *uku-oma* [ukoma] /u₁#o₂/ '!' [o₂] 'to dry/get thirsty'
 inf- dry/thirst
- (b) *uku-ona* [ukubona] /u₁#e₂/ '!' [u₁b_eo₂] 'to see'
 inf- see

We observe and question why, despite the conditions for elision being also satisfied by 9 (b) in as much as they are satisfied by 9 (a), epenthesis and not elision takes place. In the absence of such an explanation I would propose the existence of some language internal phonetic rule or at the least an oversight on the part of

Ndebele orthographers and/or a shortcoming on the part of consistency within both the language's orthography and/or its phonological rules.

[I am however made to understand³ that the correct way of writing as well as pronouncing the word for 'see' in Ndebele is not 'ona' but 'bona' [βona] and the variety of 'ona' [ona] used in the above example is only possible in South African languages like Sotho and Zulu, which share genetic descendency with the Zimbabwean variety of Ndebele under study here.

In this regard, we are informed that the process that occurs at such a boundary in the other languages is then elision and not epenthesis as follows:

10. uku- ona /ukona/ 'to see'
 inf- see
 (*V₁ elision in Zulu and/or Xhosa*)

When the word occurs in Zimbabwean Ndebele as /ukona/ as in the above example, it does not mean 'to see' but rather 'to make mistakes',

11. uku- ona /ukona/ 'to make mistakes/
 sin/transgress'
 inf- make mistake/sin/transgress

We therefore can thus argue for V₁ elision, precisely for this one example as opposed to consonantal epenthesis.]

The form of consonantal epenthesis exemplified in Ndebele by example 9 (b) also occurs at the same preposition – noun boundary that is discussed for coalescence in 13. The reason why coalescence does not take place here as it does in 13 is because of the presence of the plural marker vowel /o/. Coalescence at such a boundary in Ndebele only takes place if the noun that provides V₂ commences in the initial vowels /i/, /u/ and /a/ (c.f. 13). If the nouns begin with the vowel /o/, which could either be a plural marker or an agreement morpheme, consonantal epenthesis and not coalescence takes place. Consider the following examples in 12 regards that;

12. (a) la- o- mama [labomama]/a₁#o₂/ '!' [a₁b_eo₂] 'with mothers'
 with/by/and- pl- mother

³ This 'revelation' comes from social discussions with first language speakers of the language. It does not have scholarship backing and thus should not be viewed as conclusive and binding, but rather as an observation in obituro.

- (b) *la- o-* mangoye [labomangoye] /a₁#o₂/’! [a₁b_eo₂] ‘with cats’
with/by/and- *pl-* cat

Epenthesis in the above contexts is triggered by the presence of the mid back vowel /o/ juxtaposed with the low central vowel /a/ of the prepositional prefix. We also can argue that this happens because the V₂ is not only a single segment morpheme but also a plural marker.

This is so in light of the realisation that when those same words occur in the singular forms, coalescence and not epenthesis occurs. Compare 13 (a) and 13 (b) below:

13. (a) Coalescence with singular forms

- (i) *la-* umangoye [a₁#u₂]’! [o₃] /lomangoye/ ‘with/and/by a cat’
with/and/by-1s-cat
(ii) *la-* umama [a₁#u₂]’! [o₃] /lomama/ ‘with/and/by a mother’
with/and/by-1s-mother

(b) Epenthesis with plural forms

- (i) *la-* omangoye [a₁#o₂]’! [a₁bo₂] /labomangoye/ ‘with/and/by cats’
with/and/by-1s-cat
(ii) *la-* omama [a₁#o₂]’! [a₁bo₂] /labomama/ ‘with/and/by mothers’
with/and/by-1s-mother

We can account for this kind of epenthesis as follows:

Fig 3: Epenthesis in plural forms in Ndebele

Input:/la-o.ma.ma/	ONSET	PARSE[F]	PARSE[F]-1seg	IDENT-IO	DEP-IO	UNIFORMITY
(a) /la-o.ma.ma/	*!					
(b)?/la-bo.ma.ma/				*	*	**
(c) /lo.ma.ma/		*!		*	*	**
(d) /la.ma.ma/		*!	*(!)	*	*	**

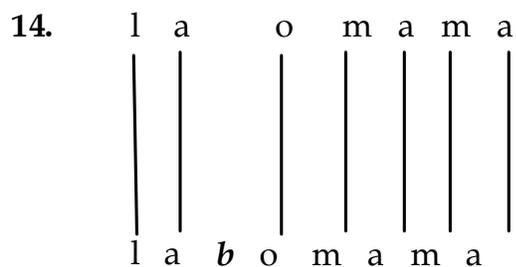
We observe here that candidate (a) is eliminated because it violates ONSET (preserves the vowel sequence), candidate (c) not only deletes a segment but also deletes a single segment (the plural marker morpheme /o/). The problem is that such kind of deletion renders it impossible to distinguish this form from the singular form (c.f. 13 (a) above). Candidate (d) also deletes a segment and thus violates MAX and gets eliminated. The two candidate, (c) and (d) thus also violate

PARSE[F'] (because (c) fails to preserve the [+low] feature of the input vowel /a/ while candidate (d) fails to parse the [-low] feature of the input vowel /o/) as well as PARSE[F]-1seg, MAX, MAX-V and DEP-IO and therefore get eliminated. The candidates thus get eliminated for a violation of PARSE[F']

This kind of consonantal epenthesis is evidence of the key observation that epenthesis and syllabification are inextricably connected (Selkirk 1981, Ito 1986, 1989). Epenthesis is largely motivated towards the elimination of onsetless syllables. Accordingly, an epenthetic segment thus is an empty structural position whose presence is required by the 'language specific syllable template' (Archangeli 1999). This syllabic make up blueprint dictates whether or not an onset is obligatory/necessary as exemplified by the examples in 13 above in which we can argue that the language's syllabic blueprint dictates the repair of ONSET in word medial syllables.

Kager (1999) proposes that such kind of epenthesis exemplified by the consonant /b/ insertion as discussed above is necessitated by 'an imperfect match between the input segments and the template'. The mismatch here arises from the realisation of a vowel sequence in the UR which do not have an intervening consonant whereas the syllable blueprint obligates an onset.

Epenthesis, any form of epenthesis, involves the violation of faithfulness constraints. This is so because the epenthetic segment containing output diverges from the input by the presence of an epenthetic segment, one that 'is not sponsored by the lexical representation'. A schematic representation of the violation of DEP-IO through epenthesis is as follows:



As a hiatus resolution mechanism, epenthesis here is triggered by the higher ranking of the constraint ONSET over DEP-IO.

This kind of ranking is illustrated by Figure 4 below, containing only the two constraints ONSET and DEP-IO which functionally differ in the presence versus the absence of the epenthetic consonant respectively.

Input: /la-omama/	ONSET	DEP-IO
(a) ?/la.bo.ma.ma/		*
(b) /la.o.ma.ma/	*!	

Fig 4: Epenthesis (consonantal) in Ndebele

Epenthesis in this regard can be argued to have been primarily motivated by the desire to eliminate onsetless syllables. We note that, because Ndebele is an Initial Vowel (IV)⁴ using language, we observe that the IV always surfaces as an onsetless syllable and that the constraint ONSET only thus applies exclusively to word medial/internal syllables. Onsetless syllables are only allowed initially, but input hiatus cannot surface in the output. This in itself is a problem for an ONSET analysis, since only in word medial position is the ONSET violation repaired.

Bearing in mind that this discussion culminated from a discussion on glide formation in the language, we would also consider, that since in the same boundary, when the other vowel occur after the infinitive prefix /uku-/ glide formation occurs, the fact that in the same occurrence the occurrence of /o/ triggers epenthesis is an indication of a higher preference for epenthesis over glide formation is evidence of a higher ranking of ONSET above *CG. This ranking is illustrated in Figure 5 below.

Input: /uku-on-a/	ONSET	*CG	DEP-IO
(a) /la.bo.ma.ma/			*
(b) /la.wo.ma.ma/		*!	
(c) /la.o.ma.ma/	*!		

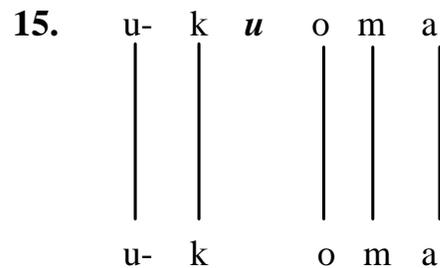
Fig 5: Epenthesis (consonantal) in Ndebele

Also, as indicated in the example, despite the fact that candidate (b) also still does not also violate ONSET, it fails to be the optimal candidate. The reason could be that in the environment under discussion, the occurrence of the /o/ must have

⁴This is also referred to as the pre-prefix vowel

triggered a rule that orders epenthesis over glide formation. I would again propose language internal constraints that militate against the occurrence of such complex onsets.

In the same vein we also consider example 9 (a) in which deletion and not glide formation occurs as is ordinarily supposed to. While I am still not sure why in the environment 9 (a) deletes and 9 (b) epenthesises, I would again propose as in 9 (b) that in 9 (a) deletion is triggered by the same desire to eliminate onsetless syllables. In many a language, elision is largely onset driven (c.f. Pulleyblank 1998). A failure to delete in this regard violates ONSET. The resolution of the vowel sequence through elision violates MAX-IO. A schematic representation of such a violation is as follows:



This can also be illustrated as in Tableau 6 below:

Input: /uku-om-a/	ONSET	MAX-IO
(a) ?/u.ko.ma/		*!
(b) /u.ku.o.ma/	*!	

Fig 6: Deletion of the high vowel /u/ in Ndebele

Again the tableau contains only the two constraints describing what occurs in deletion environments. And because we observe this kind of deletion occurring in an environment that normally dictates glide formation, we observe that there must be a constraint ranking system that orders deletion above glide formation in the vowel /o/ occurring environments. We represent such a constraint ordering as below:

Input: /uku-om-a/	ONSET	*CG	MAX-IO
(a) ?/u.ko.ma/			*
(b) /u.kw.o.ma/		*!	
(c) /u.ku.o.ma/	*!		

Fig 7: Deletion of the high vowel /u/ in Ndebele

I would maintain that I am still not sure why there is a variation between epenthesis and deletion in the examples discussed above.

4.0. Coalescence in Ndebele

Like with other Bantu languages such as Shona, Zulu and Chichewa, at the functional word-lexical word boundary involving prepositions and nouns, Ndebele resolves vowel sequences through coalescence. The most interesting thing to note however is that unlike in other languages such as Shona, Ndebele, at such a boundary, confronted with a /a+a/ sequences, opts for the coalesced vowel /a/ which is non-preferred in Shona contemporarily/synchronically but which we can argue to have been attested for within the language diachronically (as Shona would prefer a variation of the /e/ and the /o/). Consider the following examples in 16.

16. (a) *la- umu- ntu* [lomuntu] /a₁#u₂/! [o₃] 'with/by/and a person'
with/by/and- 1-person
- (b) *la- um- ntwana* [lomntwana] /a₁#u₂/! [o₃] 'with/by/and a child'
with/by/and- 1-child
- (c) *la- um- fana* [lomfana] /a₁#u₂/! [o₃] 'with/by/and a young person'
with/by/and- 1-young man/person
- (d) *la- aba- ntu* [labantu] /a₁#a₂/! [a₃] 'with/by/and people'
with/by/and- 2-people
- (e) *la- aba- fazi* [labafazi] /a₁#a₂/! [a₃] 'with/by/and women'
with/by/and- 2-women
- (f) *la- ama- siko* [lamasiko] /a₁#a₂/! [a₃] 'with/by/and customs'
with/by/and- 4-nations
- (g) *la- i- ndlu* [lendlu] /a₁#i₂/! [e₃] 'with/by/and a house'
with/by/and- 10-houses
- (h) *la- i- nkomo* [lenkomo] /a₁#i₂/! [e₃] 'with/by/and cattle'
with/by/and- 10-cattle
- (i) *la- i- nja* [lenja] /a₁#i₂/! [e₃] 'with/by/and a dog(s)'
with/by/and- 10- dog

Coalescence in Ndebele does not result in a compensatorily lengthened surface vowel. As a repair strategy in this regard invariably violates a constraint MAX-IO, which demands the preservation of all input vowel segments in the output. The constraint NLV which lengthens the surface vowel in a bid to maintain V-slots and in the process preserve segmental identity is thus ranked high in the language. In fact it must be ranked higher than MAX-V which aims at segmental identity as we observe that the output vowels are not compensatorily lengthened. Consider the following figure in this regard:

Input: /la-inja/	ONSET	NLV	MAX-V	MAX-IO
(a) ?/le.nja/			*	
(b) /le:nja/		*		*

Fig 8: Coalescence of low + high vowels /a/ + /i/ to mid vowel /e/ in Ndebele.

Despite the fact that both candidates eliminate the hiatal configuration, and thus do not violate ONSET, candidate (b) gets eliminated because of its failure to preserve segmental identity and place.

This kind of coalescence in Ndebele (which is also height coalescence) can be described as being asymmetric, that is to say, sequences of $/V_1 + V_2/$ resolve differently depending on the feature specification of the two vowels: sequences of low + low vowels merge into a similar low vowel (as in examples 16 (d) – (f)), low + high vowel sequences result in a mid vowel (as in examples 16 (a) - (c) and 16 (g) – (i)). The resultant vowel, it should be noted agrees in rounding and/or backness with the second vowel of the sequence.

Asymmetric coalescence⁵ can be distinguished from another form of coalescence called symmetric coalescence in that in the latter the resultant vowel from the vowel merger does not rely on the serial ordering of the vowels in the sequence whereas in the former it does. In symmetric coalescence, the same vowel combinations will yield similar resultant vowel, for example, according to Tanner (2007), in the language Afar sequences of /u+e/ and /e+u/ would yield the coalesced vowel [o] irrespective of their differences in ordering.

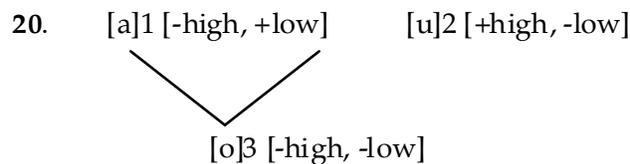
⁵For a more insightful discussion on these different kinds of coalescence, see Tanner (2007).

of ONSET as well as a subsequent violation of the lower ranked IDENT-IO, MAX-IO and UNIFORMITY as exemplified below.

Input: /la-inja/	ONSET	IDENT-IO	UNIFORMITY
(a) ?/le.nja/		*	*
(b) /la.i.nja/	*!		

Fig 9: Coalescence of low + high vowels /a/ + /i/ to mid vowel /e/ in Ndebele.

The ranking here is thus ONSET»IDENT-IO, MAX-IO. We also note that unlike in other Bantu languages in which hiatus resolution results in lengthening of the resultant vowel in a bid to preserve place (V-slots), in Ndebele the coalescence vowel is typically short. This is because, as earlier highlighted, there are no underlying and/or long vowels in the language. The non-occurrence of such long vowels in resolved contexts thus, as indicated in Tableau 9, is in violation of IDENT-IO and UNIFORMITY and fails to maximize segmental identity between input and output as well as articulatory features. We also note in this regard that coalescence in the language is height sensitive, position sensitive and place sensitive. It is some form of segmental fusion in which two segments in the input correspond to a single segment in the output. Coalescence thus in line with this thesis yields resultant vowels whose features are dictated by a higher ranking of IDENT(-F) over IDENT(+F) in which equation (F) represents the vowel articulatory features [high] and [low]. I note, for example, from the example in Tableau 9 that despite the V₂ having the feature [+high], the resultant coalesced mid vowel [e] has the articulatory feature [-high] also a feature of the V₁ as indicated in 20 below.



(Fusion of low vowel /a/ and high /u/ into mid vowel /o/ in Ndebele)

This kind of coalescence argued for here to be conditioned by the ranking of IDENT(-F) over IDENT(+F). In this regard, there is a constraint ranking hierarchy that would violate constraints aimed at preserving all segments of the lexical word, especially the [+high] feature and/or other features of the lexical word initial vowel in a bid to

preserve the feature [-high] and or other features of the prefix (functional word) final word vowel. The constraints used in determining the surface form from the inputs are PARSE[-high], PARSE[+high]-lex, PARSE[F']-lex and PARSE[F'].

Such being the case, we argue that the output forms here are as a result of the ranking of PARSE[-high] » PARSE[+high]-lex as illustrated below;

Input: /la-inja/	ONSET	PARSE[-high]	PARSE[+high]-lex	PARSE[F']-lex	PARSE[F']
(a) /l<a>i.nja/		*!			*
(b) /la.<i>nja/			*	*!	*
(c) /le.nja/			*		*
(d) /la.i.nja/	*!				

Fig 10: Coalescence of low + high vowels /a/ + /i/ to mid vowel /e/ in Ndebele.

21. **PARSE[-high]**: Preserve an input feature [-high] of either the root or affix in the output. (Tanner, 2007)
22. **PARSE[+high]-lex**: A feature [+high] present in the input lexical (root) morpheme must be parsed in the output. (Casali, 1996)
23. **PARSE[F']-lex**: Other features⁶ of the root morpheme vowel must be parsed in the output. (Tanner, 2007)
24. **PARSE[F']**: Preserve an input feature [F] in the output.

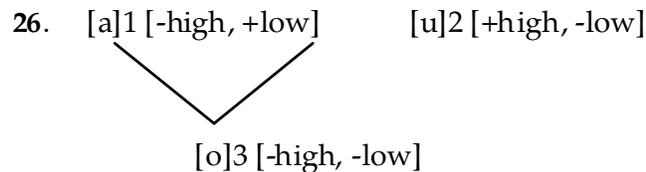
In line with the argument that we have established so far, i.e. that deletion (and at times other asymmetric repair strategies) is conditioned by a higher ranking of feature [-high] over features [+high], we observe in the above tableau, that candidate (a) violates the undominated constraint PARSE(-high) and thus gets eliminated. Candidates (b) and (c) have almost identical violations in the table except that candidate (b) fails to preserve, in line with the established [-F] » [+F], the [-F] feature, i.e. the feature [-back] of the input vowel [i] and thus again gets eliminated.

⁶ These other features of the vowels represented here by [F'] include such features as [+round], [+back], [+front], [+low] etc.

In the same manner that we have coalescence taking place at morphological boundaries involving the preposition /la-/ and a vowel commencing noun/verbal form, the same process also occurs when a hiatal configuration occurs involving the instrumental prefix /nga-/ and a vowel commencing noun. In such circumstances, the merger rules described in 18 and 19 above also apply. Consider the following examples in 25 below.

25. (a) *nga- amanzi* [ngamanzi] /a₁#a₂/! [a₃] 'with water'
with- water
(b) *nga- ilitshe* [ngelitshe] /a₁#i₂/! [e₃] 'with a stone'
with- stone
(c) *nga- umlomo* [ngomlomo] /a₁#u₂/! [o₃] 'with the mouth'
with- mouth

Again the process as that which occurs with the prepositional prefix + stem boundary applies, thus;



(Fusion of low vowel /a/ and high /u/ into mid vowel /o/ in Ndebele)

This process, at the surface level is also motivated by the need to eliminate dispreferred vowel clusters, in the process incurring the violations represented below;

Input:	/nga-	ONSET	IDENT-IO	UNIFORMITY
umlomo/				
(a) ?/ngo.m.lo.mo/			*	*
(b) /nga.u.m.lo.mo/		*!		

Fig 11: Coalescence of low + high vowels /a/ + /u/ to mid vowel /o/ in Ndebele

We observe here, as is with the examples above and below, that the features of the coalesced vowels result from a ranking of the PARSE[-F] » PARSE[+F] as well as that of IDENT[-F] » DENT[+F].

Again the same kind of coalescence also occurs at the boundary between the possessive concord /wa-/ 'of' and a vowel commencing noun. The possessive concord in Ndebele is formulated by merging together the particle /-a-/ with the subject concord of the noun in question. The process of coalescence here again yields the same vowel patterns as those hypothesized by Doke (1943) and discussed above. For evidence of this consider the following examples in 27 below.

27. (a) *wa- abafazi* [wabafazi] /a₁#a₂/ ' [a₃] 'the women's'
of- 3women
(b) *wa- inkazana* [wenkazana] /a₁#i₂/ ' [e₃] 'for the girl/the girl's'
of- girl
(c) *wa- umfana* [womfana] /a₁#u₂/ ' [o₃] 'the young man's'
of- young man

In the above examples of coalescence in Ndebele i.e. examples 16, 25 and 27, we again observe that the sequences of low + high vowels that occur at word-internal morpheme boundaries are realized as mid vowels, with the backness and rounding of the resulting vowel corresponding to the rounding of the second vowel in the sequence. This second vowel is again the IV or the lexical word initial vowel.

Input:/wa-umfazi/	ONSET	PARSE[-high]	PARSE[+high]-lex	PARSE[F]-lex	PARSE[F]
(a) /w<a>u.m.fa.zi/		*!			*
(b) /wa.<u>m.fa.zi/			*	*!	*
(c)?/wo.m.fa.zi/			*		*
(d) /wa.u.m.fa.zi/	*!				

Fig 12: Coalescence of low + high vowels /a/ + /u/ to mid vowel /o/ in Ndebele

Again, as with the other examples discussed above, the same asymmetry rules, the same ranking hierarchy applies i.e. deletion is motivated by a higher ranking of feature [-high] over features [+high], we observe in the above tableau, that candidate (a) violates the high ranked constraint PARSE[-high] and thus gets eliminated. Candidates (b) and (c) have almost identical violations in the table except that candidate (b) fails to preserve, in line with the established PARSE[-F] » PARSE[+F], the [-F] feature, i.e. the feature [-back] of the input vowel [i] and thus again gets eliminated.

Casali (1996) deals with this kind of asymmetric coalescence evidenced here in Ndebele and discussed above, specifically positing that it arises when both feature-sensitive and position-sensitive constraints are active in the evaluation of output candidates; that is, the feature specification [-high] must be preserved in preference to [+high], otherwise all features of the V_2 are to be preserved (c.f. Casali, 1996 and Tanner, 2007).

Conclusion

We note, by observing instances in which coalescence occurs in Ndebele with dissimilar vowels that it is largely asymmetric coalescence, i.e. the resultant surface vowel is determined by the serial ordering of the vowels at the boundary (the feature specifications of the vowels in the VV sequence). It is also observed that in instances where coalescence takes place with dissimilar vowels the sequence of vowels would be that of a low vowel and a high vowel and the resultant vowel being a non-high vowel (i.e) a mid vowel. Such a kind of coalescence which takes place in Ndebele also follows in line with the [-F] » [+F] thesis established above in the sense that the resultant mid vowel neutralizes the [+F'] ([+] features) of both vowels, i.e. the [+low] of the low vowels and the [+high] of the high vowels resulting in a vowel that contains the features specifications [-high] and [-low]. On the other hand elision in Ndebele is height conditioned i.e. primarily motivated by the need to preserve the [-F'] (as we observe that in Ndebele there is deletion of low vowels if juxtaposed with non-low vowels containing the features [-high, -low]). Elision in Ndebele is thus explainable through the ranking system that subordinates the [-F'] constraints below the [+F] ones, in this case the ranking of IDENT[+F] below IDENT[-F].

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Voices from the Battlefield: The Radio and Mass mobilisation during Zimbabwe's war of liberation 1975-1979.

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Abstract

The Maoist strategy which the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) adopted, perceived the war of liberation as an educational project, a long term mental decolonization programme whose ultimate goal though was independence through the barrel of the gun. Among a plethora of techniques employed to buttress political mobilisation was the radio: The Voice of Zimbabwe. The study unveils the considerable power of the radio in initiating, shaping opinions, changing attitudes and inspiring people to cooperate or participate in the struggle, against the Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation's campaign to alienate the freedom fighters from the people.

Key words: mental decolonization, broadcasting, opinions, attitudes, mobilisation

Introduction

Between 1890 and 1923, Zimbabwe was ruled by the British South Africa Company on the basis of the British Royal Charter. It then became a British colony named Southern Rhodesia, after its imperialist conqueror Cecil John Rhodes. In 1965, the white minority government declared unilateral independence under Ian Douglas Smith. From the time of white conquest until Zimbabwe attained independence in 1980, the white minority monopolized economic and political power. During Zimbabwe's liberation struggle, ZANU adopted the Maoist strategy which stressed mass mobilisation through revolutionary political education. The radio was added to buttress the already diverse mobilisation strategies. The radio was seen to appeal to both the literate and illiterate. Messages were conveyed to isolated places, traversing physical and political boundaries which print materials could not reach quickly and easily. At the same time, the Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation (RBC) was immersed in a campaign to alienate the freedom fighters from the people. The Smith regime directed the broadcasting service to suit its interests. In 1974, the Smith government merged the Rhodesian Television into the RBC structures. The RBC became entirely an orchestration of the regime's political propaganda against the national liberation movements. Reminiscent of FRELIMO which operated radio broadcasts from Dar es Salaam at the height of Mozambique's war of liberation, ZANU and ZAPU ran The Voice of Zimbabwe

(VOZ) and the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Voice respectively. Resultantly, a 'radio war' developed between the Smith regime and the liberation movements. The VOZ was a special programme presented by ZANU from Radio Mozambique, Maputo on behalf of the Patriotic Front and the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army-ZANLA. The broadcast was aired every night at 8.00pm starting with a news bulletin.

This study explores the extent, direction and importance of ZANU's efforts to use the radio to mobilise political support during the war. The selection, organization and presentation of the content of the programmes beamed through the Voice of Zimbabwe arguably induced the development of the desired objectives of preparing the masses for the war effort. While the study also seeks to unveil whether or not the masses' participation in the struggle was related to the degree of exposure to any political education programme by the Voice of Zimbabwe, it provokes and adds to the debates around changes and continuities in government control over broadcasting media and struggles for alternative voices the world over and Zimbabwe in particular.

Theoretical and Conceptual framework

According to Fiske (1982), there are two broad schools of thought in communication, namely the transmission of messages and the production and exchange of meanings. The former of Fiske's schools of thought concerns the transmission of messages, while the later views communication as the dynamic process whereby meanings are produced negotiated and exchanged with a view to achieve mutual understanding between participants. Schramm (1973) defined communication as functions of persuading, informing, teaching and entertaining people. Communication therefore performs various socio-psychological functions. There are equally various techniques, technologies and materials generally used to collect, produce, receive and disseminate information. People would make use of one or other means of communication depending upon their accessibility and effectiveness.

The term broadcast refers to diffusion of radio waves in all directions to permit their reception at random places in the area serviced by the transmitting station. Hawkrige and Robinson (1982) view broadcasting as transmission of programmes by several types of distribution systems. The commonest of these distribution systems particularly in developing countries consists of transmitters broadcasting from tower to conventional aerials and receivers for radio. The invention of the radio waves revolutionised communication systems throughout the world. By overcoming geographical barriers, information could be successfully transmitted to an unlimited audience. The dawn of the electronic era and the resultant runaway growth of the radio in the 1920s presented a challenge for forward looking professionals, educators and politicians.

While educational institutions were among the first to become licensed broadcasters, it is after World War 1 (1914-1918) and World War II (1939-1945) that politicians in power took special interest in commissioning more radio stations for political propaganda. Besides political propaganda, the potential socio-economic news and entertainment stimulated the planners to establish more radio stations throughout the world. Broadcasting therefore came to be used as an instrument for raising civic and political awareness or for socialization.

Methodological issues

The design adopted for this study was historical research. It was considered appropriate for purposes of developing knowledge of past events within a particular time framework and a socio-political context. The research process involved investigating, recording, analyzing and interpreting war-time experiences to come up with generalizations that are helpful in understanding or appreciating the role of the radio in the political mobilisation of the masses. The researcher employed the non-probability sampling procedure which fused purposive and incidental sampling. The guiding factors in non-probability sampling included the availability of the individuals and their willingness to co-operate and the researcher's convenience in terms of accessibility. Data collection took place in a series of in-depth interviews and questionnaires. Among those interviewed were former government soldiers, former-Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) combatants and various categories of civil servants and other people in the urban and rural areas, old enough to remember war-time experiences. The selection of war veterans was considered paramount because during the war, some of them designed the radio programmes while others mounted *pungwes* in the battlefields where they provided a considerable input of political education. Views and opinions of members of ZANU's commissariat section, which had the responsibility of political education and monitoring guerilla-masses relations, were taken into account. By 1976, almost every chief was in possession of an FM radio receiver with which to orchestrate the Smith regime's political propaganda. While some chiefs became symbols of resistance who suffered for their refusal to support the white government's policies, others supported the colonial government and collaborated with the Rhodesian forces. Thus, whether chiefs were voluntary or involuntary agents of the regime's propaganda machinery, they had a degree of influence for and, against the ZANLA guerillas and held some perception of the complexion of the 'radio war'. Teachers were the rural elite who largely owned radios and at whose homes villagers congregated to listen to the radio. The inclusion of teachers also underscored the importance of schools as ZANU's major recruiting grounds. The *mujibhas* and *chimbwidos* were the 'eyes and ears' of both the guerillas and the peasants. These *mujibhas* and *chimbwidos* were, respectively, the boys and girls, who assisted the freedom fighters in carrying weapons, cooking, gathering intelligence, planting of landmines and setting traps to dislocate and ultimately

dislodge enemy forces from the war front. Of interest was finding out if radio campaigns motivated them and convinced them to align or identify themselves with ZANU. In the series of in-depth interviews, the sample groups described the different categories of programme elements which featured prominently, messages and their meanings with the view of yielding a diverse array of responses. The questionnaire used in the study had Likert-type items. With the Likert-type scale, respondents checked one of the five possible responses to each statement concerning the primacy of the radio in political mobilisation: not important, somewhat important, important, more important and most important. Since the study was concerned with attitudes and perceptions, the Likert-type items were found to be most appropriate. These in-depth interviews and questionnaires ensured rigour necessary to establish a qualitative measure that would capture and validate the personal and contextual experiences and perceptions of various groups of people on the political utility of the radio. It must be conceded that the researcher did not largely direct the study at the psychological disposition of the producers of the messages but at the effects of the message on the audience.

Scope and Limitations

This article is about the history of the Voice of Zimbabwe, the motives behind its establishment, listenership of the station within the country and its impact on the internal struggle against colonial rule. Whilst the researcher neither had the time nor financial resources to undertake the kind of comprehensive collection of oral histories country wide as was desirable, sufficient oral interview material was collected in order to get some sense of how people tuned into the station and its impact on political mobilisation in the country in the 1970s. In addition to some snippets of secondary literature about the station, substantial material was obtained from the numerous editions of the Zimbabwe News volumes and the Political Commissariat Lecture Series. While access to the ZANU-PF Archives could have further enriched this study, the Voice of Zimbabwe Collections comprising recordings of the different programmes available on audio cassettes from the personal libraries of some people who manned the station proved adequate for one to draw some conclusions about listenership or audience responses to the Voice of Zimbabwe.

Global perspectives on the political utility of the radio

The massive growth of the radio took place between the 1920s and 1940s, the period during which political demagogues learned to turn this medium to their advantage. The radio seemed overridingly powerful, given the purported ease with which World War 1 mongers and fascist regimes in Europe of the 1930s had manipulated people's attitude, allegiance and political behaviour. People like Franklin Roosevelt in America, Francisco Franco in Spain, Adolf Hitler in Germany and Joseph Stalin in the Soviet Union were among those who used the new technology to gain the support of millions.

Marxists saw the radio as an agent of social control, shutting off pathways of radical social change in order to maintain the interests and positions of dominant classes. For Marxists, the ultimate source of media power was located, not at the content-audience interface but how media organizations were owned and controlled. According to Larson (1989:367), Lenin described the radio as a 'newspaper without paper and without boundaries' and directed its development to communicate communist ideology to the illiterate peasants at home and abroad. By 1922, Moscow had the most powerful radio station in the world with which it broadcast its propaganda in a variety of languages. The Fascist governments of Germany and Italy soon began broadcasting in a variety of languages aimed at North and South America, Africa and Asia.

The BBC German Service found hurriedly at the height of the Munich Crisis first broadcast on 27 September 1938 right throughout the Second World War. Slattery (1992:69) notes that by mid 1941, it was broadcasting every 24 hours in transmission periods of 15 to 30 minutes. According to Larson (1989:367), by the end of the 1970s, more than 80 nations were broadcasting some kind of radio propaganda, for example, the Voice of America, Radio Moscow, the BBC, Radio Peking and All Asian Service. The United States of America operated Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, both originally designed to reach the communist controlled Eastern Europe and Radio Marti a special AM service beamed to Cuba. Radio Beijing (Peking) carried strident anti-America propaganda until the early 1970s when improved relations led to a mellowing of their tone. The Deutsche Welle (DW) 'German Wave' whose transmitters were located in Germany, Africa and Asia also commanded a large following (Joseph 1993:59).

During the Mozambican liberation struggle, FRELIMO regarded the radio as indispensable in mobilizing the people. Broadcasting from Dar es Salaam in Tanzania, the radio facilitated the forging of a permanent bond based on mutual respect, shared political goals and popular involvement in all aspects of the war between the guerrillas and the peasants. In conjunction with *Voz da Revoluciono* (Voice of the Revolution), the internal organ of the front, the radio was considered an accessible and animated medium for rural areas, especially those outside liberated zones who had to be mobilised. When FRELIMO came to power in Mozambique in 1975, the Mozambique Resistance Movement (Renamo), a counter-revolutionary movement sponsored by South Africa and Rhodesia, launched The Voice of Free Africa which Mozambicans dubbed *A Voz da Quizumba* (The Voice of the Hyena). The clandestine station aimed at discrediting Samora Machel's socialist government.

Also during Algeria's liberation struggle, Frantz Fanon (1965) has noted that the Voice of Free Algeria was important in explaining the objectives of the war of

liberation, exposing Radio-Alger which was a symbol of French presence. French authorities implemented legal measures prohibiting the sale of radios to Algerians upon realizing that towards the end of 1956, in less than 20 days the entire stock of radio sets had been bought up. Resultantly, for an Algerian to buy a radio, one had to present a voucher issued by the military security or police services (Frantz Fanon 1965:82-83).

During South Africa's struggle for liberation, the African National Congress (ANC) operated Radio Freedom between 1963 and 1991. According to Lekgoath (2010:139), the radio became one of the key tools used by the liberation movement to counter the apartheid state's propaganda messages and to articulate an alternative political perspective. He further argues that the station was one of the major sources of information on the ANC, shaping political education and influencing political activities inside the country. The above examples give an indication that nationalist liberation movements held strong convictions that the radio had powerful political influence in mass mobilisation.

The Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation (RBC)'s war time policy

In colonial Zimbabwe, the whites who were the politically and economically dominant class shaped or designed the broadcasting policies. All broadcasting services fell under the aegis of the RBC, a parastatal operating under the broadcasting Act of 1957. During the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Harare controlled programming for whites while Lusaka beamed the African service. With the dissolution of the federation in 1963, control of broadcasting service passed to a Southern authority which was expected to follow the independent pattern of the BBC. However, with the coming to power of the Rhodesian government under Ian Smith, the policies and staffing of the RBC were controlled by the government's Department of Information.

Frederiske (1982), states that the RBC's first battle in the radio war was not waged against guerrilla forces but against the BBC in a bid to prevent blacks from receiving any views outside its own. To fight off competition from the BBC, the RBC erected a 400 000 watt American made transmitter, then one of the most powerful in Africa. The intensification of the guerrilla war in the 1970s saw the Rhodesian government erecting many transmitters. The air waves were saturated with Frequency Modulation (FM) broadcasting. Although FM signals did not travel as far as Amplitude Modulation (AM), FM had the advantage of being able to produce better sound qualities than AM and was less likely to be affected by outside interference such as thunderstorms. The war situation forced the Rhodesian government to use the radio substantially as an instrument of propaganda. Cheap FM- only radios were manufactured and distributed throughout the rural areas to chiefs and village headmen. Owners of the sets which received FM only were

not required to pay for a radio license. The RBC was very suspicious of broadcasting to the Africans out of fear that possession of radio would give Africans access to foreign stations which would ferment revolutionary ideas.

The Birth of the Voice of Zimbabwe

In 1963, ZANU sent its first ZANLA recruits for military training to China. On 29 April 1966, the Rhodesian security forces clashed with the first group of ZANLA forces near Sinoia, resulting in the death of seven guerrillas. 1966 and 1967 witnessed the continued infiltration of guerrillas into Rhodesia even though the forays were largely unsuccessful. The failure of the military strategy embarked upon, together with their growing isolation from masses, forced ZANU to shift in strategy and tactics. According to Astrow (1983:41), ZANU reassessed its strategy in the early 1970s and concluded that 'the peasants had not been politically prepared for armed struggle, that guerrillas had not had adequate training and that arms and supplies had to be deployed ahead of the operations'. Bhebe (1999:93) notes that ZANU's military and political operational objectives were an adaptation of the Maoist strategy for guerrilla warfare which emphasized political mobilisation to impress and win the support of the people over military success. Also according to Kriger (1992:89), ZANU proclaimed the armed struggle to be primarily political and asserted that the entire guerrilla zone of operations was a school to discuss, analyse and find solutions to the felt needs of peasants and workers.

Kumbirai Kangai and Rugare Gumbo were among the cadres who had been to China and were to spearhead the Maoist strategy of mass mobilisation. By December 1972, ZANLA guerrillas had established the groundwork for an effective people's war. The groundwork had been laid through the policy of political indoctrination of the local population at *pungwes*. *Pungwes* were all night political vigils where people were summoned to gather, sing and dance as they received political teachings under the tutelage of freedom fighters. Besides *pungwes*, a precisely technical instrument, the radio, was adopted by ZANU to mould and develop new attitudes among the masses in the course of the fight for liberation. According to Eddison Zvobgo, then Deputy Secretary of ZANU Publicity and Information Department, on recognizing the importance of the radio in the liberation struggle, ZANU negotiated with the Frontline countries for free radio time (Frederiske 1982). The radio which was controlled by the RBC was regarded by the Africans as the spokesperson of the colonial world because, as mentioned earlier, the RBC was immersed in a campaign to alienate the guerrillas from the masses. The RBC reminded the white settlers of the reality of colonial power and by its very existence, dispensed safety and serenity. The radio was widely distributed in the dominant society. Among the white settlers, the radio, in Fanon's (1965:71) words, 'was considered as a link with the civilized world and an effective instrument of resistance to the corrosive influence of the inert African society

which to them was backward, had no future and was devoid of value.' The blacks who owned radio sets in Rhodesia included those who had worked in the gold and diamond mines in South Africa and had since returned to the towns and villages, businessmen and some urban workers. The other people who had radio sets were chiefs, whose cheap FM receivers could not tune in the Voice of Zimbabwe (VOZ). The wholesale introduction of radio sets and their massive acquisition by the African folk coincided with the intensification of the liberation struggle in the mid 1970s. Mozambique's attainment of independence under the FRELIMO government in 1975 provided fertile ground for ZANU to consolidate its mass mobilisation scheme with the launching of the VOZ. Bhebe (1999:104) notes that by 1977, Radio Maputo and Radio Lusaka were beaming a lot of propaganda by ZANU and ZAPU concerning the escalation of their efforts; successes they were scoring and also urged the sons and daughters of Zimbabwe to come forward and take up arms to topple the oppressive colonial regime.

Despite this development, the introduction of radio sets into African houses and the most remote villages proceeded only gradually. Before radio, newspapers had a monopoly on news, using their various editions to get out fast-breaking stories. The self-censorship of the local newspapers, known for their traditional honesty gave to the Africans the impression that whole sections of truth on the progress of the liberation struggle were hidden from them. The newspaper, just like the RBC's programmes, inoculated people with the virus of defeat and instilled a kind of spiritual demobilisation. On the level of the masses which had remained relatively uninvolved in the struggle since they could not read the press, the necessity of having radio sets was felt. The problem largely remained that of affordability but otherwise, the acquisition of a radio set represented the sole means of obtaining news about the liberation struggle from non-Rhodesian sources. It should be noted that owning the radio set was one thing and having access to the radio, another. Those without sets would group, elbow to elbow, scrutinize the radio dial, waiting for the VOZ. From one village to the next, from one shack to another, the VOZ would tell more and more glorious battles, thereby picturing vividly the collapse of the white regime. The radio station was also appealing to the youth in schools. Each night before the beginning of the broadcast the youths would congregate at Ephraim Marwizi's house, a teacher. Another listener Muchineripi Muchineripi (2002) recounted how he and eight classmates from Dewure Secondary School in Gutu left for Mozambique in February 1977 just two days after Comrade Mugabe's persuasive recruitment campaign over the radio. Again, in 1977 when the number of ZANU guerilla recruits had grown rapidly, the party appealed through the VOZ to aspirant guerillas to remain inside Rhodesia because of inadequate food supplies in training camps. According to Kriger (1992), this call was heeded. After the signing of the 1979 Lancaster House Agreement which ushered in the ceasefire, guerillas were suspicious of getting into the Assembly Points and only obliged following assurances of their protection by their commanders through the VOZ. The indication here is that ZANU

effectively used the radio as an outreach programme with which to disseminate information among the populace as well as solicit widespread acceptance of its war efforts. Zimbabwean veteran Chimurenga musician Thomas Mapfumo observed that 'everything Comrade Mugabe would speak from Mozambique...people would listen and they would go to the pubs telling other people' (Frederiske 1982:102). The point here is that those who neither owned nor had access to the radio, still came to know about the messages beamed through the VOZ. According to Bhebe (1999:154), local church leaders for example the pastors, evangelists and also teachers, school heads, nurses and doctors owned radios which they tuned in the evenings to Radio Lusaka (Zambia) and Radio Maputo (Mozambique) to listen to the liberation messages, exhortations and propaganda which purported to give the progress of the struggle in terms of how far the forces had penetrated into the country. Resultantly, when freedom fighters announced their arrival in some areas, people were not surprised. In addition, the fact that most of the professionals had received training at the height of the mass nationalist movement meant that they did not require much persuasion to identify with the struggle.

Propaganda tactics and mass mobilisation

Larsons (1989:359) defines propaganda as 'a scheme for propagating a doctrine or practice for influencing the emotional attitudes'. Ideas, facts or allegations are deliberately spread to further one's cause or to damage an opposing cause. In other words, propaganda is ideological and is aimed at uniformity in the belief, attitude and behaviour of its receivers.

With the advent of the radio, political organisations, persuaders and demagogues started to employ varied tactics of propaganda to win support. They resorted to glittering generalities, that is words with high purpose and energy, capable of short circuiting people's reasoning capacity so that they jump into irrational conclusions. As Larsons (1989) succinctly puts it, the use of words such as justice, freedom, equality, patriot and integrity, stirred at the powerful emotions in audiences. Radio propaganda was thus used to build emotion and loyalty in membership. Name calling was a popular tactic of propaganda. This involved using sarcastic labels with high negative loading to make opponents seem on the fringe and unpredictable. During the Second World War, for example, Germans were called 'Krauts' or 'Hienies'; the Japanese were 'Nips' and during the Korean and Vietnamese wars, the enemies were 'Gooks', 'Slopes' or 'Charlies'. During Zimbabwe's liberation struggle, the Rhodesian propagandists labelled the freedom fighters 'terrorists', 'gooks' or '*magandanga*' (Godwin and Hancock 1993). These names reduced the labelled groups to the level of brutes with low intelligence. The propaganda messages were timely and appealed to the common characteristics that united the masses and that made individuals identify with the political organisations. Radio broadcasts aligned their political propaganda devices with prevailing socio-political currents, capitalising on their ability to manipulate the

masses' psychological terrain to their advantage. Joseph Goebbles, Hitler's Minister of Propaganda even thought that masses would believe anything if you told the 'big lie' enough times. Slogans and patriotic songs received a lot of airplay. Hoffer (in Larson 1989:2830) observed that propaganda by itself succeeded mainly with the frustrated whose throbbing fears, hopes and passion cowed at the portals of their senses. Propaganda therefore becomes the music of their souls.

A sober assessment of the efficacy of propaganda shows that, whether good or bad, propaganda has a role to play in mass politicisation. It helps to depress the enemy by sowing in one's mind the seeds of doubt as to the justice of one's cause. Through what Slattery terms 'wedge driving', one section of the population may be encouraged to find dissatisfaction with another, thus destroying social cohesion. Memories of the 1991 Persian Gulf War might help define multiple perspectives on propaganda war. In order to keep up morale and to make the American troops feel at home, Armed Forces Radio was set up to broadcast to troops and the Iraqis. In counter-propaganda broadcasting, the Iraqis starred a female host whom the United States troops dubbed 'Baghdad Betty'. In her broadcasts, she tried to demoralise the American troops, telling them that while they were in the desert fighting, their wives and girlfriends back home were fooling around with television and movie stars like Tom Cruise, Arnold Schwarzenegger and Bart Simpson (Joseph 1993:205). As noted earlier, the VOZ did not operate in a vacuum. The RBC also broadcast to the African audience in an attempt to win sympathy for the cause of the colonial government. Just like the RBC, the VOZ employed propaganda tactics to develop uniformity in political beliefs, attitudes and behaviours of its receivers. At the height of the guerrilla incursions, the RBC beamed a special newsreel programme each Friday morning repudiating foreign claims of military victories and economic disasters and also featuring interviews with captured 'terrorists' whose task was to expose the nationalists. The RBC's programmes like Padare and Forces Requests were heavily biased against liberation movements with the result that radio stations in Maputo, Lusaka and Dar es Salaam became popular among the black population. The RBC made herculean efforts to bolster confidence among the Rhodesian forces and the masses with accounts of success and constant references to the army as the best counter-insurgency forces in the world.

According to Godwin and Hancock (1993:170-171), 'the RBC kept on assuring Rhodesians that Rhodesian Security forces were getting on top of the terrorist menace and that the Rhodesian army's aggressive expertise was without parallel'. The Smith regime knew that without the support of the people, the guerrillas could not survive and so the Minister of Information, through the programme Padare called upon the peasants not to feed the freedom fighters. Confronted daily with the big lie of 'wiping out the last remaining terrorist bands', the masses could fight off despair only by an act of faith and an obstinate belief. Rewards

were offered to the people who reported the presence of guerrillas in any areas. An RBC propagandist had this to say:

The Communist nations arm and train terrorists and use them as willing tools to gain political ends which have nothing to do with freedom. They want power and they will do anything to win power. These armed thugs, criminals (are) bent on taking Africans back to another age, when it was called the Dark Continent. To dignify them as freedom fighters and guerrillas is to afford them a status they do not and will never deserve. (Frederiske 1982:100).

The whites did not believe that some day the revolutionary troops would take over. The official statements of the RBC coupled with Ian Smith's utterance that the blacks would not rule themselves in a thousand years, strengthened them and further instilled the attitudes of total belief, collective conviction and group determination that the Rhodesian forces were always victorious. Although veteran nationalists chose to draw a distinction between education and propaganda, arguing that the former tells people how to think while the latter tells them what to think, it cannot be denied that the VOZ also employed propaganda to counter the enemy's political forays. The VOZ for example, launched the Chimurenga Requests to counter the RBC's Forces Requests. Gumbo (2006) retorted that when there is propaganda war, you have to do some groundwork and establish the enemy's weak points which you capitalise on in order to outwit the opponent, adding that, in practice, it is not always the truth which carries the day. The VOZ had to work hard in order to overshadow RBC propaganda with the compound objective of discrediting and eroding the legitimacy of the white government. Even though events in the battlefield were negative or otherwise, it was the duty of the VOZ to keep the flame alive, to console those who were sometimes overwhelmed, strengthen the weak and preserve the light of the day. ZANU's media department maintained an elaborate field unit of correspondents who accompanied the comrades all over the country, making reports of battles and conducting interviews. The Chimoio and Nyadzonia bombings particularly left the guerrillas and the masses sapped and disillusioned as heavy casualties had been suffered. According to Kumbirai Kangai (2002), events like the Chimoio massacre, compelled ZANU more forcefully and urgently to seriously reconsider oiling its war machinery to positively influence the opinions and behaviour of the guerrillas and the masses so that they would never look back, but continue with the struggle until final victory. A private survey by Ben Musoni (a former broadcaster with the RBC) confirmed that more people seemed to listen to the VOZ than the RBC adding that his own children listened to it (Frederiske 1982:47). People learned that there were Zimbabweans in Mozambique, Zambia, and Tanzania and beyond, who drew up the balance sheet of the liberation struggle. The VOZ thus consoled and unified the people against the white government. Those in urban areas, who could not access their rural homes as the war heated up, came to realize that having a radio was like buying the right of entry into the struggle. Any Zimbabwean who

wanted to live up to the revolution, had the opportunity to hear the official voice, the voice of the combatants, telling the story of the liberation on the march and incorporating it into the nation's envisaged life. Hamutyinei (1999) had vivid memories of how parents whose sons and daughters worked in towns would request them to deliver home, batteries for the battery-powered receivers because the absence of electricity in immense regions in the country naturally created special problems for the listeners. The people had to enter the network of news through both the RBC and the VOZ in order to find one's way into the world in which things happened, in which events existed and in which forces were active. The 'truth' of the oppressor, obviously littered with wanton propaganda, which the Africans had since rejected as an absolute lie was now countered by an acted truth. The dimensions of truth though, lay between the enemy's congenital lie and the people's own lie and so anybody had the freedom to make a choice. Hope and the spirit of resistance to the oppressor were given daily sustenance by radio broadcasts. It was the radio that enabled the voice, which clamoured for freedom to take root in the villages and on the hills. The Rhodesian authorities did not immediately realize the exceptional importance of the people's attitude with regard to the radio. To confirm this, it was a normal practice on white men's farms to assemble agricultural workers and announce to them that a gang of terrorists had been decimated in an armed combat with the Rhodesian forces. Kudakwashe Chakwesha (2004), a farm worker and ardent listener of the VOZ retorted how these farmers would wine and dine in celebration. At times, they would afford their workers some pieces of cake or treat them to an unusual meal as a way of celebrating the purported victory of Rhodesian forces. In order to escape these lying manoeuvres, workers would, in the absence of their masters, hide behind farmhouses and tobacco barns and tune in to the VOZ on some fairly sophisticated radios which were meant to entertain workers. It became really essential to know what was going on in the battlefield and be informed both of the enemy's real losses and the freedom fighters'.

Although one could not really ascertain the actual truth from either side, Gumbo (2006) argued that it was beyond doubt that the RBC's lie acquired greater reality for it was now a menaced lie put on the defensive. There were times when the Rhodesian forces would kill innocent civilians, dress them up with tattered camouflage uniform and parade them, claiming that these were some of the freedom fighters whom their forces had killed. In such a situation, the radio was the most effective means through which public support for the freedom fighters could be mobilised. This explains why the Rhodesian government considered it a punishable offense to listen to the VOZ. Anyone caught listening to the VOZ risked imprisonment or detention in a concentration camp. The highly trained mercenaries from Europe and South Africa, rich with experience acquired in modern wars, veterans in the practice of sound-wave warfare on detecting the wavelengths of the broadcasting stations, tried to systematically jam them so that

the VOZ would become inaudible. Such policies backfired and only radicalised an already resentful population. Quite often, in some places, it was only the operator, his ear glued to the receiver who had the opportunity of hearing the VOZ. In liberated zones (those areas which had become no go areas for the Rhodesian forces), people freely tuned in and soon, everyone in the village would be informed about the victories scored and the general progress of the liberation struggle. The Rhodesian government's move to close the Mozambican border was not an obstacle simply because; this could not stop the 'birds from flying above the physical boundaries'. The greatest advantage of the VOZ broadcasts was that they appealed to or profited both the literate and illiterate. They brought what was distant near and made what was unfamiliar understandable. According to Shamu (2002) the radio functioned as a liberating force which moved people from bonds of isolation, providing people an opportunity or capacity to conceive of situations and ways of life quite different from what they were directly experiencing. Villagers confirmed having known more about the white government's segregatory and discriminatory laws through the radio because when their sons and daughters visited the rural homes, they appeared well fed and clothed.

Media content: Programme elements and mass mobilisation

Media content is the basis of media impact. Content or format is of interest not only in its own right, but also as an indicator of many other underlying forces. Understanding content helps us to infer things about phenomena that are less open and visible, for example when general statements are taken for facts, when there is need to distinguish between lies and truth or even confirming use or non-use of propaganda. Different kinds of content have different effects and results from different audience needs and pressures. A consideration of media content therefore helps us predict or speculate on its impact on its audience.

The most meaningful way of organising radio stations is according to their formats, that is, a type of consistent programming designed to appeal to the audience. Formats are important because they give a station a distinctive personality and attract a certain kind of audience that it finds desirable. Stations can offer an amazingly precise description of the kind of listener they want their format to attract. The VOZ, basically a tool for political education, tried to balance its various claims to inform, educate and entertain its audience within the available airtime. The radio audience, according to Shamu (2002), was the commuter driving from work, a cook, a student doing homework, a reveler, in fact people from all walks of life. Resultantly, it was established that the radio drew its largest audience in the evenings because mornings would miss one of the important target groups (the workers) and would also make people prone to arrests by the Rhodesian law enforcement agencies. According to Chiringa (2007), messages were relayed in different techniques and styles among which included glittering generalities, intentional vagueness, oversimplification of complex issues, using appealing simple

slogans, stereotyping, testimonials from authority figures or celebrities and unstated assumptions. In this study, the VOZ's programme elements in the form of political speeches or addresses, political slogans, sound effects (gun fire sounds), listener request programmes and battlefield reports were rated on the basis of their popularity and political appeal to the listeners. The ratings showed that the public preferred Songs, followed by Slogans, Chimurenga Requests, Battlefield Reports and Speeches. The ranking of these programme elements, concurs with observations by Kriger (1992) that, all that the ordinary rural people remembered of political education were the Chimurenga songs and slogans. The audience shared common views that the songs were empathetic, epic and depicted war events. They also aroused emotion and enabled people to reflect on the colonial regime's oppressive system. Songs breathed fire into the whole war effort. As you sang and looked around, you would see tears streaming down the people's cheeks (Chingaira 2002). These songs carried messages in a touching and seemingly threatening manner and spelt out some sort of a disciplinary code of conduct for both the masses and the freedom fighters, and such was the most frequently broadcast and popular song *Nzira Dzamasoja*.

Pongweni (1992:9) outlines the code of conduct communicated through the song:

- Do not exploit the masses among whom you operate;
- Return all contraband to the enemy;
- Explain the Party line unambiguously to the masses;
- Pay fair prices for everything you buy;
- Do not engage in promiscuity, and
- Do not harass prisoners of war.

The song addressed pertinent issues upon which the struggle was rooted. If any party had a rowdy militia which harassed and tortured people, then it risked losing the people's support. While not denying the presence of rowdy elements among the freedom fighters that neither toed the Party line nor observed the code of conduct, Gumbo (2006) argued that the Rhodesian and the Auxiliary forces (*Madzakutsaku*) were hated by the people because they flogged, robbed, harassed and intimidated them with impunity. Thus the song *Nzira Dzamasoja* was meant to revive the revolutionary spirit among the guerrillas, re-educate them through re-orientation, if in any way they had trivialised the code of conduct. Such an experience for the freedom fighters was necessary for the purpose of cultivating a positive attitude, an admirable personality, acceptable levels of socialization and involvement in the struggle. The song was the voice of the voiceless because unarmed people would not rebuke those with guns. Therefore, in situations where guerrillas would deliberately traverse the code, the radio sang the unsung. Another song which received a lot of air play *Maruza Vapambepfumi* (*Vapambi Vepfuma*) educated masses on the history of Zimbabwe, when, why, and how whites came

and also exposed the evils of the colonial regime. According to Chingaira (2002), the song inspired people to identify themselves with the struggle.

The VOZ programmes were spiced with slogans which transmitted varied revolutionary messages. Through the slogans, the masses were quick to identify the enemies of the struggle, for example:

- *Pasi NaSmith!* Down with Smith
- *Pasi naMuzorewa!* Down with Muzorewa!
- *Pasi navatengesi!* Down with sellouts!
- *Pasi nezvimbwasungata!* Down with puppets!
- *Pasi navadzvanyiriri!* Down with oppressors!

Although the war brought about much suffering for the masses, slogans cultivated a unity of purpose and instilled a spirit of determination. For example:

- *Pamberi nokubatana!* Forward with unity!
- *Pamberi nehondo!* Forward with the war!
- *Pamberi nekushinga!* Forward with courage/bravery!

Some slogans were also bellowed in Portuguese:

- *Abasha Imperialismo!* Down with Imperialism!
- *Viva ZANU!* Long live ZANU!
- *Viva povo yeZimbabwe!* Long live people of Zimbabwe!
- *Aluta Continua!* The struggle continues!
- *Abasha Xiconhoca!* Down with the enemy of the people!

Such slogans reflected the solidarity between ZANU and FRELIMO and also highlighted the international dimensions of the struggle against colonialism. Chingaira and Shamu's personal collections confirmed that the slogans spiced virtually all broadcasts.

The VOZ's Battlefields Reports or Communiqués were intended to give vivid accounts of scores of success and encourage the masses to support the winning team. According to Shamu (2002), the reports fostered the development of an image of efficiency and dedication, which enticed youth to join the struggle and contribute in the great cause in some real or symbolic way. The RBC and the Rhodesian press would always report dozens of guerrillas against one Rhodesian Front soldier having been killed in battle. The picture portrayed a complete decimation of guerrillas because all the time one listened to the RBC, the Rhodesian forces were the victors while the guerrillas were the villains. The RBC applied typical intelligence strategies where half-truths were blended with calculated speculations and outright lies to validate them. The

deliberate acts of misinformation obviously created perceptions and their repeated broadcasts would become an acceptable reality in public opinion. People would therefore tune in to the VOZ, eager to know about a particular battle mentioned by the Rhodesian press in the last 24 hours. Through the VOZ, a real task of reconstruction would begin as battles of yesterday and the day before would be re-fought in accordance with the aspirations and unshakable faith the people had in the liberation forces (Shamu 2002). Gumbo (2006) did not dismiss battlefield reports as another arm of propaganda, averring that since they had to talk above the enemy, some reports could be doctored or concocted, just like the RBC would deliberately inflate casualties on the side of freedom fighters. He was however quick to point out that since liberated zones continued to increase in the face of the visibly shaken Rhodesian forces, the accuracy of the reports had long-term confirmations. The *Mujibhas* and *Chimbwidios* who went on reconnaissance errands would also tell it as it was. Their eyewitness accounts corroborated the reports. The war of sound waves between the RBC and the VOZ brought the nation to life and submerged all avenues which could have implanted a defeatist attitude among Africans.

Letters from the audience were read on air during Chimurenga Requests. The letters addressed varied subjects like, conveying greetings to the Zimbabwean masses supporting the liberation forces, encouraging guerrillas to hurry with the war and also seeking advice on how to join the war. According to David Brooks of the Rhodesia Special Air Services, this programme was totally different from the RBC's Forces Requests in that the Chimurenga Requests gave a really rousing spiritual feeling (Frederiske (1982). Chimurenga Requests encouraged Zimbabweans all over, in liberated and semi-liberated zones to write letters and have them hand- posted by the freedom fighters. People were encouraged to use pen names so that they would not fall victim to harassment by the Rhodesian forces. While both Chingaira (2002) and Shamu (2002) concurred that letters were received from all corners of the country their collections had no exhibits of envelopes with official imprints in which letters were posted to attest to the fact that the letters genuinely originated from Zimbabwe. They however added that the letters were too many for all of them to be read on air. Although letters were encouraged, practically they posed a serious security risk. The Chitepo assassination was always fresh in our minds and so we feared receiving parcel bombs (Gumbo 2006). The Chimurenga names or *noms de guerre* for example Tafirenyika (We have died or are dying for the country), Mabhunu Muchapera (Whites you are going to perish), Hondo (War), Simukai Tivapedze (Rise and lets decimate them), and many more were common and so one would say with certainty that at least more than three people rejoiced over the mere mention of the name even if the letter might not have reached the studio.

The military music of warring Zimbabweans and the gunshot sounds that sealed the broadcasts filled the lungs and the heads of the faithful who saw the enemy losing its density in the battlefield (Chingaira 2002).

Conclusion

Although the factors which gave rise to mass nationalism were known to some people, the radio further encouraged participation and co-operation of the masses in the struggle through exposing the evils of colonial rule. Broadcast commentaries intensified the sense of resentment over lost lands, racial discrimination and other accompanying colonial evils. The radio was instrumental in conveying authentic and up to date information about the progress of the war and also proved vital in the recruitment of guerrillas. The different elements of the VOZ broadcasts complimented each other and enabled the audience to clearly understand the objectives of the war. The radio was an effective forerunner to mass mobilisation in areas where guerrillas had neither set their feet nor fired a single shot. The radio thus whetted people's appetite for more knowledge about the war and eased guerrilla infiltration and acceptance in new areas of operation. Broadcasts helped develop critical thinking among the masses, having been exposed to two versions of the war, from the colonial government and the nationalist forces.

The radio also proved handy because its messages could get to isolated distant places. Both the literate and the illiterate benefited greatly from the radio campaigns because the programmes set an agenda for a society at war. The ability of the station to educate, inform and entertain made it politically useful. It did not merely convey discrete information about socio-political issues but altered audience political perspectives in support of the liberation struggle.

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