

**EMPOWERMENT THROUGH LANGUAGE:
EXPLORING POSSIBILITIES OF USING AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND
LITERATURE TO PROMOTE SOCIO-CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC
DEVELOPMENT IN ZIMBABWE**

By

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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

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Promoter: Professor D.E. Mutasa

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DECLARATION

Student Number: 777-938-0

I, Miidzo Mavesera, declare that **EMPOWERMENT THROUGH LANGUAGE: Exploring possibilities of using African languages and literature to promote socio-cultural and economic development in Zimbabwe** is my work and that the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Mavesera

.....

Signature

05 February 2009

.....

Date

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SUMMARY

The study sought to explore possibilities of using African languages and their literature to enhance socio-cultural and economic development in Zimbabwe. In broad terms the study considered empowerment through language. Basically the research was an exploration of the different linguistic patterns and attitudes that prevail in the African continent in general and Zimbabwe in particular.

The descriptive survey research design was employed for its usefulness in exploratory studies. A total of 600 people participated in the research. Respondents were from across the breath of linguistic divides in the country. Questionnaires, interviews, observations and documentary reviews were used to gather data. Data gathered was subjected to both quantitative and qualitative analysis resulting in data triangulation for validation.

Major findings of the research indicated a disparity in the roles and functions allocated to languages in Zimbabwe. English is preferred and over valued in administration, education and wider communication as a carrier of modern knowledge in science and technology Zimbabwe's dependence on English provides selective access to socio-cultural and economic services that results in the exclusion of a majority of indigenous people. Zimbabwe's dependence on English therefore limits adequate exploitation of potential in socio-cultural and economic development.

The linguistic landscape of Zimbabwe is not adequately exploited. Zimbabwe is a multi-lingual and multi-cultural country without a clear defining instrument for the status and use of indigenous languages, (Gatawa, 1998; NLPAP, 1998 and Nziramasanga et al, 1999). A clear language policy that recognises that language is a resource is likely to be linguistically all-inclusive and facilitate socio-cultural and economic participation by all Zimbabweans Implementation of proposals for inclusion of African languages is retarded by centuries of linguistic marginalisation and fossilised attitudes in the belief that English carries modern knowledge, coupled with the lack of resources theory. Zimbabwe's pursuance in the use of English is mainly for nationistic reasons.

Proposals and recommendations to avoid reverse discrimination and come up with an all-inclusive multi-lingual policy that uplifts the status of indigenous languages and their literature without annihilating English were made. The level of development for English should illuminate and challenge the heights to which African languages can be developed.

Key Terms

Language empowerment; literature empowerment; African literature; language policy and development; language policy and literature development; empowering literature; indigenous languages and empowerment; indigenous literature and empowerment; mother-tongue instruction and empowerment; socio-cultural and economic development

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The present predicaments of Africa are often not a matter of personal choice: they arise from an historical situation. Their solutions are not so much on a matter of personal decision as that of a fundamental social transformation of the structures of our societies starting with a real break with imperialism and its internal ruling allies, (Ngugi 1994: x).

1.1 PREAMBLE

In this chapter the aim is to give a background to the study highlighting key issues that made the study necessary. The chapter unfolds by stating the problem. In spite of having achieved political independence, African states lack economic and socio-cultural freedom. African governments have perpetuated the colonial legacy for fear of being isolated from international affairs. This has resulted in languages such as English being overvalued against the indigenous languages. The introductory chapter also discusses methodology that was used in conducting the research. The theoretical framework upon which the study is grounded is discussed so as to focus the analysis and discussion of research findings. Finally, terms are given a functional definition as related to this research.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

African communities suffer from being conquered culturally, economically and socially. Although all African countries have achieved political independence they are still dependent on their former colonial masters in areas of socio-economic development. This dependency syndrome manifests itself in such a way that most of the literati are no longer in touch with their traditional culture. They prefer and seek to identify with the former colonialists as regards language and culture. Webb (2002:12) cites Msimang (1991) saying *most (black people in South Africa) have come to hate their languages and consider them irrelevant to their education process*. The scenario depicted here is not peculiar to South Africa but is also applicable to Zimbabwe if not

the whole of Africa. This affects the way Africans look at their socio-economic realities.

Before the exploration, it was prudent to highlight some of the factors motivating African governments to accord more attention to foreign languages. Alexander (1999:9) claims that there are *bureaucratic reasons as well as reasons related to structural relationship between the metropolitan centres and independent but peripheral* African states convenient to perpetuate the inherited colonial language policies. At independence many African states took a short cut by adopting the ex-colonial languages as the only or main national media particularly in the official and technical areas for the following reasons:

- (i) non-African languages were highly developed to deal with formal or technical discourse
- (ii) for political unity, non-African languages were not associated with ethnicity (Batibo 2005:44; Webb 2002:20)
- (iii) non-African languages were seen as vehicles of modernisation and technological advancement to link with developed countries
- (iv) non-African languages were seen as a means of social promotion

African governments fear that a total exclusion of the use of foreign languages will alienate and isolate them from participating in international affairs, (Mutasa 2004:121-2). Zimbabwe, for example, has gone to extents of localising public Ordinary and Advanced level examinations but without localising the medium of instruction.

Language has become a barrier between the majority of citizens in Zimbabwe and economic prosperity. It provides selective access to economic participation and occupational mobility, in the education and development of people's knowledge, skills, norms and values. Webb (ibid: 12) quotes Mawasha (1988) commenting that *... to be educated and trained means having acquired knowledge and expertise mainly through the medium of English*. The type of education that promotes foreign language replicates into producing people who cannot fit into their own communities and who cannot probably think in their own mother tongues. This creates a dilemma for the Africans who in most cases have become misfits in their own environments

and pseudo-fits in western environments. Alexander (1999:2) confirms this by arguing that the indigenous majority population has been reduced to the position of a social minority in their own countries and “enjoys” the same status as legal (and illegal) migrants in Europe.

Zimbabwe, a former British colony, independent for almost 30 years and whose current president is outspoken for criticising the British politically, is failing to progress socially, technologically and economically because the country still remains heavily dependent on English for its educational, philosophical and technological discourse. In the Zimbabwean education system, English is the medium of instruction. As a subject, the English Language is still given more learning time as compared to Shona and Ndebele the only two indigenous languages taught at secondary level in spite of the stipulations of the Amended Education Act (2006) and The Secretary’s Policy Circular Number 1 of 2002. Despite the fact that English Language is given more learning time and English is a medium of instruction, literature in English is taught as a separate subject while Shona/Ndebele language and literature are regarded as one subject and allocated far lesser teaching/learning time than that allocated to English Language alone. This produces ripple effects of socialising society into believing that indigenous languages are not of any significance in terms of socio-economic development.

Outside the classroom, literature circulated to the general public in the form of newspapers and magazines is mainly written in English. In Zimbabwe there is only one national weekly newspaper published in Shona/Ndebele, *KWAYEDZA/UMTUNYWA* competing against *The Herald*, *The Chronicle*, *The Daily Mirror*, *The Sunday Mail*, *The Sunday News*, *The Independent* and *The Standard* to mention but a few. The first three are daily papers while the rest are weekly publications, and all are published in English. The implication is that over 90% of the Shona and Ndebele speaking population is denied literature in their indigenous languages. The effect is that *KWAYEDZA/UMTUNYWA* is trivialised and regarded as only carrying fictitious news.

Literature is said to empower the indigenous people by *sharing a vision, an experience, a resonance that communicates and teaches them understanding of*

each other, (Miranda, 2004:103). Literature pronounces the ideas, culture, social practices as well as economic practices of a people. In view of this it is necessary to explore how African languages and literature in particular can be used to empower the indigenous people for socio-cultural and economic development in Zimbabwe.

Chimhundu (1993) and Mansoor (1993) concur that African governments vie for continued use of English in post-colonial states as it ensures that fewer people would be able to question the status quo. Politicians especially the revolutionary see English as a unifying factor. It is the language they used to garner support from all ethnic groups during the revolutionary struggles. According to Gill (2002:22) as cited by Mutasa (2004:122) English carries the largest information on the Internet. Mansoor (ibid) asserts that English remains the language of trade, education, public service and the law. Bamgbose (1991) contends that colonial language policies remain in force in spite of *the declaration of sometimes very radical language policies in post-colonial countries*. The phenomenon creates a comfort zone for the ruling elite as very few rural Zimbabweans, for example, would be able to contest, compete or participate in meaningful deliberations in English. This study was motivated at exploring possibilities of using African languages and literature as avenues of empowering the indigenous people to bring about socio-cultural and economic development in Zimbabwe.

1.3 BACKGROUND

The colonisation of Africa brought with it not just economic and political subjugation but also resulted in the loss of indigenous languages. The loss of a language could mean the death of a culture and this impacts on the people's ability to earn a living, (Muindi, 2002). Language expresses the concerns and needs of its speakers. It cements the unique identity particular to a group and, as such, language as a vehicle of culture is vital in forming the group's cultural identity, which gives the group self-esteem and confidence to express their needs and concerns.

It is saddening to note that of the more than 1800 languages of the African continent none of them has been accorded the status given to foreign languages like English, French and Portuguese. None of the African languages is used to conduct business even at the African Union. This reflects a serious problem emanating from loss of

language and loss of culture resulting in loss of confidence or low self-esteem. If language is a marker of identity and assuming that a whole continent has lost its languages, one wonders what influences the domains of power in African states. The problem that exists in the African continent concerns defining the benchmark for socio-cultural and economic development. Can people maintain their cultural identity whilst they use a foreign language? Does development only occur when communication is through non-African languages?

The Heads of State and Government, at their 22nd Ordinary Session of the Organisation of African Union (OAU) held on 28th to 30th July 1986 in Addis Ababa recognised that:

...the cultural advancement of the African people and the acceleration of their economic and social development would not be possible without harnessing in a practical manner, indigenous African languages, in that advancement and development, (NLPAP, 1998 as quoted by Magwa in Mutasa and Ogutu 2008:192).

Prah (2005:45) maintains that knowledge transfer occurs in the language(s) of the masses, the language in which the people are most creative and innovative, the languages, which speak to them primevally in their hearts and minds. These are the languages they dream and cry in. Development occurs where people are capable of using the language of their best comfort, which in most cases is the mother tongue (MT).

As mentioned before, the suppression of African languages resulted in the suppression of African culture – their way of viewing social reality which is influenced by environment and time. This suppression of both language and culture was tactfully done. The colonisers used formal education and foreign literature to further remove the African child from his/her environment. Ngugi (1994:12) asserts that *language and literature were used to take people further and further away from their culture, themselves to other selves, from their world to other worlds*. He emphasises that the language of education was no longer the language of African culture. This situation is still prevalent in many African countries if not all. In Zimbabwe, despite the fact that the country has been independent for almost 30 years, English remains the dominant language used as a medium of educational instruction. Zimbabwe seems to be following an obscure English only policy in both the civil service and the private

sector. For example, application forms for employment, job interviews, and official documents such as passports, birth and death certificates and many more use English as the official language. The Zimbabwean government has taken a number of radical decisions in areas like the land issue but has ironically remained almost reticent on the language issue especially on giving the indigenous languages an official status. According to Chimhundu (1997:129) *the official neglect of language issues in post-colonial Zimbabwe is deliberate and can be explained in terms of elitist leadership and fear of the unknown*. In Zimbabwe, language issues have always been reflected as an appendage of the Education Act(s) and in some cases politicians have decreed language policy issues at political rallies. Dr Thompson Tsodzo, the then Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture declared at a political rally on 20 June 2002 in the Midlands Province:

Teachers can now use Shona and Ndebele as a medium [sic] of instruction, in addition to the traditional English language during lessons... English remains the lingua (official language), (Chronicle 2002:11).

Zimbabwe, formerly known as Southern Rhodesia during British Colonial rule (1890-1980), shares borders with Mozambique, South Africa, Botswana, Namibia and Zambia. Like most African countries Zimbabwe is a multilingual and multicultural state with a language situation that is less complex as compared to its neighbours. Doke heavily suppressed the multilingual character in his 1931 report. Doke's recommendation reduced Zimbabwe's ethnically and linguistically heterogeneous status to two main languages that is Ndebele in the western region and Shona in the rest of the country, (NLPAP, 1998:18). All other languages were referred to as minority. While Hachipola (1998:1) identifies 16 languages, Batibo (2005:84) notes that there are 17 languages of which English is the official language, and Chishona the national language. Heitshware and Dombe are regarded as endangered while Xegwi is now extinct, (ibid). The difference in numbers may be emanating from the fact that major languages may have absorbed some of the minority languages when Hachipola carried out the research while the same minority language may have resurfaced by the time Batibo carried his research. During the time Batibo carried his research other minority language speakers may have been motivated to identify with their mother tongue after realising the issuance of Policy Circular 1 of 2002.

Table 1.1: Hierarchy of language roles in Zimbabwe

Status/Role	Language
Official language	English
National language	Chishona
Regional language	Sindebele
Language of education and mass media	Ikalanga, Shangani, Chitonga, Tshivenda
Language of mass media alone	Chichewa
No role	Baswa, Hwesa, Kunda, Nambya, Chisena, Sesotho, Tshwa, Isixhosa

Batibo (2005:46)

Shona is the largest, spoken by at least 80 % (Batibo, 2005:84). Shona and Ndebele are taught as subjects up to university level while English is the language of business administration and international relations. Venda, Nambya, Kalanga, Tonga and Shangani were introduced in 1987 first up to grade 3 and later raised up to grade 7 on an annual progression from 2002 until 2005, (Secretary's Circular Number 1 of 2002). Strides have been made in promoting the mentioned indigenous languages as subjects; however it was the interest of this study to explore whether the indigenous people are empowered to confidently participate in socio-cultural and economic development using their languages and literature. As media of instruction, policy circulars have directed that indigenous languages can be used up to the forth grade.

Asante (2005:17) founder of the Afrocentric Movement concurs with Muindi (2002) by emphasising that without: *a strong sense of culture we will not have a strong sense of our capability to create opportunity for ourselves out of the sheer sense of hard work, determination and self-reliance*. Language and culture cannot be easily separated and the two are heavily dependent on each other in fostering a sense of confidence that will enable a nation or a community to interact with nature and produce goods necessary for socio-cultural and economic development.

Although Shona is spoken by about four fifths of the population, it has not assumed any significant role as a national language. Efforts were once made (1981-1985) to

consider a pass in either Shona or Ndebele at Ordinary Level as an equivalent to a pass in English, but this was short lived. Surprisingly the loudest cries that *by equating Shona or Ndebele to English, standards would be lowered* were coming from the elite indigenous people. This situation whereby the people have lost belief in their language, heritage, and capacity and ultimately in themselves retards their development and it simply emphasises the effects of colonialism. Ngugi (1994: x) has summed up the African situation thus; *I am lamenting a neo-colonial situation that has meant the European bourgeoisie once again stealing our talents and geniuses as they have stolen our economies.*

The observation made by Ngugi prevails across the African continent and symbolises a loss of indigenous language, culture and literature. Language was *the most important vehicle, through which real power fascinated and held the African soul a prisoner*, (Ngugi *ibid*: 9). While writing about Kenya, he attests that language was the means of the spiritual subjugation while the bullet was the means for physical conquest. If the language of the colonial master continues to take centre stage of all official communications in both public and private institutions where is the freedom of the African voice? Real power rests in what fascinates the soul. It is against this background that this study sought to explore the role language and literature can play in empowering the indigenous people in the socio-cultural and economic development of Zimbabwe.

Language is viewed as a means of communication and carrier of culture. As communication, language has three aspects namely

- the language of real life- the language people enter into in the labour process.
- speech or the verbal sign posts which makes production possible.
- the written signs which imitate the spoken (Ngugi 1994:13-14).

In societies where the written and the spoken languages are the same, there is harmony for the child between the three aspects of a language. The colonial masters created disharmony for the African child who had to concentrate more on the foreign language for academic advancement. As a result, African languages are failing to

acquire a status of equality with European languages as languages of transmission of modern knowledge and technology.

The situation demonstrated above whereby the print media – (newspapers) is mainly in English simply perpetuates the disharmony left behind by colonialism. The problem is exacerbated by the school system, which does not seem to highlight the importance of the indigenous languages and their literatures. It was the interest of this study to examine possibilities of whether the same weapon used to disempower the indigenous people could be used to empower them. It was envisaged that African languages and literature if used through formal education could empower the indigenous people socially, culturally and economically. This was in view of the fact that the advancement of a nation depends on effective oral and literary communication. Languages that the people are able to communicate in are critical for personal as well as national development. Formal education offered by the school system provides the requisite skills that polish communication. Mutasa and Negota in Mutasa and Ogotu (2008:160) maintain that:

... the school is the all powerful institution responsible for preparing children and young people for effective participation in the affairs of the country, both social and economic.

The study took a predilection in examining the role of African languages and literature in education. This was against the backdrop of English, which dominates different spheres as a medium of communication and in particular in educating the Zimbabwean child. The editorial comment of the Sunday Mail (October 19, 1980) proceeds:

...while greater use will be made of African languages, both written and spoken in this country, it is hoped that any temptation to have more than one official language other than English will be resisted.

Such was the position articulated soon after independence. The study explored further whether there has been a shift of attitude towards African languages in Zimbabwe. Policies that de-emphasise African languages in favour of English ruin Africa's chance of being innovative in science and technology, (Mutasa and Negota in Mutasa and Ogotu 2008:124), since one surmises that language is inextricably

linked to economic development, (Uju 2008:24-26). Language policy in education has always been problematic and controversial considering that Zimbabwe has no piece of legislation that can be used as the defining instrument for the status and use of its indigenous languages. The only reference to language in the whole Zimbabwe Education Act of 1987 (as amended in 1990, 1996 and 2006) is Section 55 of Part XI, which is headed ***Languages to be taught in schools***. Absence of official constitutional position leaves the debate on language issues a delicate one. This comprises language planning as a process.

1.4 RATIONALE

Language is an economic factor whose contribution to national development should not be underestimated. It is often said that language is an economic resource, (Bamgbose; 1999:5). The authority further asserts that no language, however small is without its own value and possible role. Language, it has been observed, is a coin and what it buys in the market is power, (Batibo; 2005, Mansoor; 1993, Mutasa; 2004 and Uju; 2008). In the light of these observations it irks the mind to realise the status granted to African languages in their own home environments let alone in foreign lands. No African language has ever achieved the status given to foreign languages like English, French and Portuguese. The African child continues to see the world as seen in the languages and literature of their adoption.

In Zimbabwe about 90% of the population who are indigenous language speakers cannot comfortably participate in the economic, political and technological development affairs of their nation. The use of an imported language like English means that the coin of power has been denied to the masses and rationed to the elite. Considering that language is an economic resource, language planning needs to be carefully undertaken. Language is used to disseminate ideological messages to the masses. If the general populace is not conversant with policy stipulations and requirements, then the successes of the economic planners will not be realised. Language also completes the circle of the production function in any economy. Ngugi (1994:14) sees language as a communication tool, which makes production possible.

Rationing the language to a selected few members of society limits the production process to those few, yet the macroeconomics of the nation demand that there be more participants in the production of national goods. It has been mentioned before that English is the language of business in both private and public institutions in Zimbabwe. This culminates in a situation whereby only a few members of society are able to make meaningful participation in the production process. Although the situation in Zimbabwe is such that quite a large part of the population is literate, a majority may not comfortably participate in the domains of polity, economy, judiciary and technology if the medium of communication is English considering the fact that the English language is equipped with technical jargon for these different areas. Mutasa (2004:50) cites Mazrui (2000) arguing that:

No country has ascended to first rank technological and economic power by excessive dependence on foreign languages. Japan rose to dazzling industrial heights by “scientificating” the Japanese language and making it the language of its own industrialisation.

In view of Mazrui’s contention, Zimbabwe needs to urgently and aggressively address the language problem in the same manner it has dealt with the land issue.

The land redistribution programme would be more effective if it could be complemented with empowering the indigenous people with the appropriate means of communication to effectively utilise the other economic factors. For example, a majority of the new farmers may not be compliant with the technical jargon and instructions that are printed in English on the farm inputs. Besides this, the loan application forms are not user friendly to a majority of the new farmers. Empowerment through language translates into economic empowerment and national development as people become more compliant with all the domains of power, polity, technology and the production process.

According to Mutasa (2004) language enables individuals to become fully functioning members of a group. Mutasa (*ibid*) agrees with Ngugi’s (1994) assertion that language is one of the indispensable features of the cultural systems of all societies. Ngugi (*ibid*: 15) contends that *language, as culture is the collective memory bank of a people’s experience in history*. Language then, helps people to communicate their socio-economic, political, scientific and technological experiences. Language is a

production tool that facilitates thinking and sharing of ideas. Empowering people to use their indigenous languages would enable the people to come up with homegrown solutions as they participate in naming their environment.

Ngugi (1994:15) asserts that *language mediates between me and my own self; between own self and other self, between nature and me*. Culture transmits or imports those images through the spoken and written language. Language and culture are therefore important facets of human development. Ngugi (ibid: 16) further claims that:

How people perceive themselves affects how they look at their culture, at their politics and at the social production of wealth, at their entire relationship to nature and to other beings.

In view of the above observation and argument, it is necessary that Zimbabwe takes a careful consideration of language planning for the development of the nation in toto. Most importantly, empowerment through language should be synchronised with empowerment through written literature. Literature particularly prose literature has the advantage of communicating a vision of life through language cast in such a form as to *...delight while enlightening and to enlighten through delight* (Fortune 1991:7). As this is done, the Zimbabwean government needs to carefully consider the role of indigenous literature in complementing socio-cultural and economic development. Writing in African languages creates a literature that opens the languages for philosophy, science, technology and all the other domains of human creative endeavours. African literature, that is, literature grounded in African experiences, culture and expressed in African languages should be able to match what Mazrui (1986:69) refers to as “relativist hypothesis”.

Literature should be able to capture the African spirit and produce a flavour peculiar to Africa so that it widens the quality of life and the horizon of the African child. For example, Mutasa (2005) *Sekai Minda Tave Nayo* addresses anti-imperialistic struggles of the land reform programme dubbed 3rd Chimurenga. Such literature is likely to contribute to meaningful development of the African peasantry and working classes. Mabasa (1999) *Mapenzi* tickles the reader’s mind and imagination about post-colonial troubles, tribulations, aspirations and the gains of the liberation war. Indigenous literature permeates the mind and re-invigorates the imagination and

thinking of the reader. It allows ideas to gash out and liberate the writer to create and question social reality. Empowerment through indigenous languages and literature would surely provide a situation whereby the beneficiaries are participants in the development process and such a set up would further assert the position of the African people. Aristotle once argued that *literature is a psychological and emotional medicine that cleanses people of their evil thoughts and emotions*, (Aristotle as quoted by Chiota, undated: 4). The prevailing situation in Zimbabwe dictates that writers and readers vent out thoughts locked up in their minds for the betterment of the nation.

1.5 STUDY OBJECTIVES

This study will address the following objectives:

- To assess the extent to which indigenous African languages can empower their speakers to bring about socio-cultural and economic development.
- To evaluate the empowerment role of novels written in indigenous African languages as regards social transformation.
- To find out the views of Zimbabweans in relation to the use of indigenous African languages as media of educational instruction.
- To capture views of Zimbabwean readers concerning how African indigenous literature novels can promote socio-cultural and economic development.
- To establish whether or not indigenous African languages can be used for transmitting modern knowledge.

1.6 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

In this section, the research design and methodology used for carrying out the study are discussed.

1.6.1 Design

With insights from Bell (1987), Cohen and Manion (1994), Collins et al (2003) and Leedy (1997) the descriptive survey method is used in this study. Babbie's (1985) view clearly demonstrates why this design was preferred. According to Babbie (ibid) surveys may be used for descriptive, explanatory and **exploratory** purposes. The method is well presented by Best in Cohen and Manion (1994:67) who says it is concerned with:

...conditions or relationships that exist, practices that prevail, beliefs, points of view or attitudes that are held, processes that are going on; effects that are being felt, or trends that are developing. At times descriptive research is concerned with how what is or what exists is related to some preceding event that has influenced or after a present condition or event.

Babbie (1985), Borg and Gall (1992), Collins et al (2003) and Nachmias and Nachmias (1996), concur that descriptive surveys are useful for exploratory studies and are well suited for producing information about particular characteristics in a finite population. The descriptive survey design involves looking at phenomena of the moment with intense accuracy. The researcher pays particular attention to views expressed by indigenous African language speakers and scrutinises language policies in Africa to give an insight into the Zimbabwean situation.

The design was chosen because it involves the use of varied instruments namely questionnaires, interviews and observations. The use of a variety of instruments results in data triangulation that in itself validates the findings of the study by either confirming or rectifying data sought through different instruments. Collins et al (2003:91) and Terre Blanche and Durrheim (1999:128) claim that triangulation enables the researcher to approach a research problem from several different angles

that increases chances of “homing in” on correct or useful findings. This design also has qualitative and humanistic thrust that suits well with the investigation into the study of human subjects. The method allows the involvement of the subjects rather than relegating them to scientific objects whose reaction could be predetermined and therefore uniform. The method also allows being empathetic and reflective, learning how the subjects think but without thinking like them, (Borg and Gall 1992).

Collins et al (2003:90-91) argue that qualitative research needs to be open and flexible focusing on meaning, experience and understanding of social phenomena. Whilst the research design accommodates flexibility it is important to know that the guiding words for this research remain *empowerment through indigenous language and literature for socio-cultural and economic development in Zimbabwe*.

1.6.2 Research participants

Looking at the diversity and complexity of the language situation in Zimbabwe, it was imperative that research participants be drawn from all corners of the country. It was hoped that the inclusion of all ten provinces namely Bulawayo, Harare, Masvingo, Manicaland, Mashonaland Central, Mashonaland West, Mashonaland East, Matabeleland South, Matabeleland North and Midlands would enable research to capture the views of speakers of indigenous languages like Shangani, Tonga, Venda, Nambya, Kalanga and other minority languages which in most cases are at the periphery of these provinces.

Participants were drawn from all walks of life for the reasons that language is an issue that requires the participation of everyone who is gifted with speech. However, for authenticity of results all participants were adults aged 18 years and above as defined by the Legal Age of Majority Act of Zimbabwe. The sample included people from government ministries, the private sector and non-governmental organizations and specifically learners, teachers, lecturers, school heads, directors of education, publishers, politicians, writers, development agents, managers, villagers and traditional leaders. The sample size was 600 people. A total of 550 respondents made up of 250 or 45% male and 300 or 55% female responded to the

questionnaire. The gender composition of the population was included so that attitudes or findings could be generalised across gender lines.

A total of 50 people were interviewed across the breath of the country. A cross-section of people ranging from educationists, entrepreneurs, politicians, students, editors, human resource managers, villagers and development agents such as those who work for non-governmental organisations (NGO) and district development fund (DDF) took part in the interview. Respondents from the education sector range from students, teachers, school heads, lecturers, education officers (E.Os), Provincial Education Directors (P.E.Ds) and Zimbabwe School Examination Council (ZIMSEC) Provincial Managers. Responses have been grouped question by question and in some cases further subdivided according to respondent preferences. Interviewees were asked general questions and specific questions which related to their field of operation. For example, under question 4 (i) educational instruction was responded to by educationists while in 4 (iv) was responded to by people from the legal fraternity.

1.6.3 Research instruments

Research instruments used to gather data are discussed below.

1.6.3.1 The questionnaire

Before the instrument was used a pilot study was carried out in Gweru with 50 people to test whether the instrument was intelligible.

The questionnaire which according to Leedy (1997:99) is believed to be ... *a common place instrument for observing data beyond the physical reach of the observer* was particularly preferred because it was cheaper and easier to administer over large areas and samples in limited time. Collins et al (2003:183) view the questionnaire as *a printed document that contains instructions, questions and statements that are compiled to obtain answers from respondents*. The questionnaire enlists respondent anonymity and privacy that encourages candid responses on issues like societal attitudes towards language usage. The instrument also allows greater uniformity in the way the questions are asked.

Before the instrument was used a pilot study was carried out in Gweru with 50 people to test whether the instrument is intelligible. The researcher carried out group administration of the questionnaires which had advantages of high response rate, shorter data collection time and gave the researcher a chance to verbally explain the purpose of the survey and answer any questions from the respondents. Modifications were made to some of the questions which had proved to be ambiguous.

The questionnaire enabled the researcher to reach respondents who were geographically dispersed. However there were limitations in using this instrument. This necessitated the use of other instruments like the interview.

1.6.3.2 Interviews

To complement the questionnaire the interview, viewed by Collins et al (2003:176) as a data-collection method, which *uses personal contact and interaction between an interviewer and an interviewee (respondent)*, was used. The interview has an advantage of leaving a few misunderstandings and greater flexibility in terms of sampling and special observations. The researcher probed further to clarify where necessary. New ideas previously not thought of came up. The other advantage of the interview is that the researcher could appreciate the socio-economic environment, psychological make up, extra-linguistic features of the respondents and was able to detect inconsistencies in responses and the instrument could comfortably be used on semi-literates like those with grade 7 qualifications. The interviewer tried to be a neutral medium through which questions and answers were transmitted to ensure reliability.

1.6.3.3 Observations

Guba and Lincoln (1985) advise that observation is different from mere seeing as it involves noticing and paying special attention to things one inspects, studies, remembers and contemplates. Observation involves listening as well as looking to understand or recognise humour, love, respect, fear, wonder, joy, sadness/scorn or any of the shades of emotion that shape verbal communication. Observation was

useful in this study as it provided a springboard from which the research took off. As Goode and Hatt (1952) cited in Guba and Lincoln (1985) argue: - *All scientific study depends ultimately on the observer... Science begins with observation and must ultimately return to observation for its final validation.* Observation continued to inform the research throughout the data collection process, analysis and discussion of data and finally recommendation for the way forward.

Problems associated with this instrument include risks of “going native” as there was always constant tension between the mental vigilance needed to stay in character and effort to relax so that role seemed natural. The researcher tried to remain neutral to allow respondents to act naturally. Any biases detected were unavoidable and unintended.

1.6.3.4 Document analysis

Official documents from government departments on language policy were studied. Census studies also formed part of the documents studied. Analysis of policy documents helped to give the official position on language issues.

1.7 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Bamgbose (1991) postulates that, policy makers are faced with major challenges of how to formulate and implement language policies in a way that will minimize the incidence of exclusion. The authority had earlier argued that ... *at present there is nothing in place that could be referred to as a theory of language planning,* (Bamgbose 1989). However, linguists seem to have a consensus on what language planning should entail. Mutasa (2004:24) presents language planning as a concept that identifies a language problem or problems, describes them and influences change with the aim of solving the language problem. Whilst there seems to be no theory of language planning, language planners have made enormous achievements in coming up with models of language planning. This study was heavily guided by the work of prominent linguists like Bamgbose, Batibo, Fishman and Cooper; and Rubin and Jernudd. Bamgbose (1989), Batibo (2005) and Mutasa (2004) concur that language is a valuable resource. Their view of language-as-resource looks at

language as an economic factor with attributes which are comparable with other natural resources like minerals, water and land for example. Linguists who hold this view believe that there is wealth in diversity of languages and value even the smallest language in a speech community. They contend that language like natural resources should be carefully planned for. They argue that if nations plan their economies, couples plan their families there is every reason for governments to plan their languages. They observe that like other economic goods, languages can be denied to the masses and preserved for the elite. Like natural resources, languages are threatened by successful competitors and can become extinct. In modern times, the state provides institutions for teaching the language of power but in an obviously class-based and highly discriminatory manner. The current state of affairs in all African countries is such that the official language is a foreign language like English, French and Portuguese. African countries that continue to provide educational services in ex-colonial languages continue to empower these ex-colonial languages.

Webb (2002:14) remarks that it *quickly becomes clear that language can be a gatekeeper, discriminator, which facilitates participation and sharing or acts as a barrier to accessing opportunities*. Mutasa (ibid) explicitly points out that, nations that use their own languages practically in all aspects of public domain are countries that are economically and technologically advanced. In this study, the language-as-resource model was the basis of the theoretical framework. The assumption of the language-as-resource model is that differences between languages are natural hence it ignores other factors which influence language planning like socio-political and historical factors. It over-emphasises a capitalist way of thinking by comparing language to natural resources ignoring other factors which are not natural. Cooper's 1989-acquisition planning was vital in informing the study. According to Mutasa (2004:20-24) the three, corpus planning, status planning and acquisition planning form what is popularly known as the Canonical model. The Canonical model is the most dominant model of language planning globally. According to this model, language planning is related to all other forms of national development planning. Every stage is synchronised with national development planning.

National development influences the setting up of goals and objectives. Policy planners are engaged in language planning from problem identification, issue

definition, agenda setting, policy formulation, implementation and evaluation. The model presupposes that the language planner assumes the role of the economic planner who carries out a cost benefit analysis. Rubin, (1971) developed a language planning model which begins with:

- (i) fact-finding
- (ii) policy formulation
- (iii) implementation
- (iv) evaluation

(Mutasa 2004:25-27)

Evaluation takes place at every stage of policy planning. As in economic planning and social planning, goals are identified; implementation methods selected and outcomes are predicted in a systematic way. Language planners who work within this framework have presented the Canonical model differently. However there seems to be agreement on the key facets to be considered when using the Canonical model, that is:

- Planning should be grounded in facts (some kind of baseline data is crucial in identifying and establishing goals for language planning).
- Planning is characterised by formulation and evaluation of alternatives for solving language problems. (At every stage evaluation is necessary to inform the planner in good time so that adjustments can be considered).
- Planning must be future oriented
 - (i) Strategies and policies as well as procedures, costs and outcomes are specified in advance of action to be taken to implement the policy.
 - (ii) Results lie in the long-term future expectation.
- Cost benefit analysis is undertaken and viewed as an integral part of policy formulation, (Bamgbose, 1991:142).

As alluded to above, language planners within the Canonical model present the model differently. Linguists such as Rubin, Fishman, Karam and Haugen have

described the systematic stages that denote the systematic process of language planning as shown below: -

Rubin 1971

- (i) fact-finding
- (ii) planning (goals, strategies and outcomes)
- (iii) implementation
- (iv) feedback

Karam 1974

- (i) planning
- (ii) implementation
- (iii) evaluation

Fishman 1979

- (i) decision making
- (ii) codification
- (iii) elaboration
- (iv) implementation
- (v) evaluation

Haugen 1983

- (i) selection
 - (ii) codification
 - (iii) elaboration
 - (iv) implementation
- (Mutasa 2004:25)

What appears to be prevalent in the systematic process of language planning is that it involves four steps in solving language problems, that is, fact-finding, planning, implementation and evaluation.

In this study Rubin's (1971) stages of language planning were adopted for their clarity of presentation. According to Rubin the planner must determine the rationales,

the existing social, cultural, political and economic dimensions. It is imperative to do a thorough fact-finding process in language planning particularly when one considers the linguistic complexities of countries like Zimbabwe. The multi-lingual nature of African states demands that Rubin's fact-finding stage be carefully done. The language planner must determine the rationales for influencing change basing on the existing socio-cultural, political, historical and economic considerations. At this stage it is even necessary to evaluate so that disparities between the requirements of language planning theory and actual practice of language planning on the ground will be addressed. Some of the disparities that a Zimbabwean language planner might come across are the following:

- Politics may override linguistic considerations
- Language planning has not been given an important role hence planning is not given the financial support it deserves.
- Language planning activities are the result of personal efforts of individuals and private organisations, often without government support.
- Language planning may be viewed as a way of wanting to change the status quo which threatens the equilibrium of power hence may not be given financial backing from central government.
- Language planning especially empowering the indigenous languages is a change which might be resisted for the following reasons.
 - (i) Change brings discomforts to those in power who capitalised on their knowledge of the foreign language
 - (ii) It might be too costly that it's not worthy to spend national income on
 - (iii) Government may not be sure of reactions from other countries and its nationals who may consider it retrogressive
 - (v) Linguists might be misconstrued for wanting to promote tribal or ethnic differences depending on their language or dialectical orientation.

According to Mutasa (2004:26) fact-finding should establish three types of basic data, *attitudinal, demographic and situational* which determine the success of effective language planning, (own emphasising).

The second stage is the actual planning whereby *the planner will formulate plans based on his knowledge of the constraints*, (Rubin; 1971:219 cited in Mutasa, 2004:26). The language planner is able to determine goals, strategies and predict outcomes basing on the information gathered through fact-finding. The planning process involves doing a cost-benefit analysis of all linguistic and non-linguistic goals. Language planners in an African country should be able to assess the influence of government in their plans. Bamgbose (1989) postulates that most African governments are either one party states or military dictatorships. This information is a prerequisite to managing one's constraints that facilitate a good language plan. In the view of this study, the language planner may modify or adjust and adopt the planning process to suit their situation. Some of the challenges the planner may face are striking a balance between political, non-linguistic and linguistic goals especially in countries like Zimbabwe. A cost- benefit analysis at this stage would entail whether to stick to linguistic goals and face political rejection or to give in to non-linguistic goals and get acceptance or strike a balance between the two.

Rubin presents the implementation phase as the third stage in his model of language planning. Mutasa (2004:26-27) acknowledges that this is the most challenging and difficult stage, which calls for the cooperation of all stakeholders. Language planners have a daunting task of gaining consensus of the majority of the population as well as government. The challenge is what might be acceptable to the entire population may not be acceptable to government and vice versa. In a multilingual society like Zimbabwe the challenges are even more.

The final stage according to Rubin (1971:220) as cited by Mutasa (2004:27) is the evaluation stage where *the planner must see if the plan has in fact worked*. At this final stage the planner assesses whether the actual outcomes match the predicted outcomes. According to Kerr (1976) a language policy must pass the following tests of

- desirability

- justness
- effectiveness and
- tolerability

The four aspects outlined by Kerr (*ibid*) determine the level of success of a policy decision. The problem of evaluation of policy based on Kerr's tests is that the terms used are relative. When a planner considers *desirability* or *tolerability* one can ask whose *desirability* and whose tolerability? Language planning in Africa therefore must recognise not just the rigid outline as propounded by Rubin (1971). Policy planning should be adjustable and adaptable to suit particular needs of the situation for example the Zimbabwean situation.

In this study, Rubin's four stages Canonical model will be adopted, as it seems more suitable to the Zimbabwean socio-economic and political environment. The model closely relates to what Mutasa (2004) says about language planning. According to Mutasa (*ibid: 28*)

In developing and newly independent countries language planning is aimed at officialization [sic] of languages for the purposes of technological advancement and the nationalization [sic] of local languages for national unity necessary for *development*, (own emphasising).

Language planning in most African countries does not conform to the ideal Canonical model as described above. Many language planning activities in Africa especially status planning do not fit the rigid economic planning model. The Canonical model of language planning has been influenced by the situation in the western democracies with their parliaments, commissions of inquiry, planning commissions and bureaucratic procedures. Whereas in developed countries, language policy decisions are expected to follow expert advice given by commissions of inquiry for example the adoption of Official Languages Act in Canada in 1969 which was preceded by the setting up in 1963 of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, in African countries, decisions on language status are usually arbitrary. In Africa, fact-finding often takes place after policy decisions have been made. What happens in African countries is past-policy fact finding. This may even happen after

implementation has begun as in the case of Zambia's zoning of indigenous languages (Bamgbose 1991).

In developing countries what prevails mostly is a situation whereby no preparatory steps are taken to identify problems, consider alternative solutions and forecast possible outcomes. As a matter of fact, forecasting of outcomes may not be possible in language planning particularly in Zimbabwe where the socio-economic and political environment is not easily predictable. One weakness of the Canonical model is to equate language planning to economic planning. Although language is a resource, its benefits are not tangible like those of mineral resources for it to be subjected to cost-benefit analysis. Language is a social rather than an economic commodity. Language planning decisions may take a long time to be felt. Rittel and Webber (1973) have observed that *there is an important difference between problems in natural sciences, which are "tame problems" and those in the social sciences, which are "wicked problems"* (Bamgbose 1991:144). What is apparent is that there is no set of potential or correct solution to social sciences therefore it is doubtful if the rigid processes of the Canonical planning model of language planning can be sustained.

In view of this study, an ideal situation would be whereby the processes may be relaxed to accommodate different kinds of policy decisions. For example instead of confining status planning to government or their agencies, language status planning could also include interested parties like non-governmental organisations and professional bodies. The model becomes too restrictive and excludes a lot of language development activities by trying to attain the rigour of an economic planning model.

This research observes that the ideal Canonical model of language planning has certain limitations, which make it slightly difficult to be easily applied to language planning in Zimbabwe and other developing countries. It is however noted that with slight modifications the model can be adopted and adapted to suit language planning in developing countries. One way of adapting the model is to exclude the practices that do not fit the model, which is rather difficult since it involves changing the socio-economic and political environment of the language planner. In view of this, what becomes more practicable is to modify the model to include a wider range of language practices for example, separating status planning from the scope of

language planning and simply treat it as language allocation. The model may be modified to make it more flexible and more inclusive, so that what takes place in developing countries can also be accommodated as language planning.

In view of the aforementioned challenges, Batibo's (2005:118) proposal would be more suitable and relevant to the African continent. Like the other linguists Batibo suggests that language planning should be subjected to cost-benefit analysis (CBA). The CBA should address and focus on what a nation gains or loses by promoting an individual language. What language would be best for the participation and emancipation of a majority of the country's population? Batibo advances two aspects of language planning, ideological planning and technical planning. Ideological planning could be equated to status planning since it involves policy decisions on what language should be used for government business, public administration, education, mass media, diplomacy, international relations, legal matters and commerce, (Batibo 2005:118). Ideological planning would probably accommodate the character of most African governments where decisions and policies are characterised by avoidance, vagueness, arbitrariness, fluctuation and declaration without implementation, (Bamgbose 1991:111). According to Batibo the aspect of technical planning involves norm planning, codification and capacity planning. Technical planning requires the intervention of language experts especially on codification and capacity planning. Norm planning may again require policy makers since it involves selection of a variety of dialect to be used however if this function is left for linguists to decide, it is likely that justice will be done.

Batibo's proposition might encourage cooperation and coordination between the policy makers and linguists since their roles get streamlined by ideological and technical planning respectively. Where unfamiliar concepts are involved, linguists will use their language elaboration skills for stylistic cultivation. The study is also guided by Ngugi's (1994) argument that suppression of a language results in the suppression of its literature. The contention is that written literature is the main means by which a particular language transmits the images of the world embodied in the culture it carries. Ngugi (ibid) asserts that African languages were given negative portrayal through literature written either in foreign languages or by people alien to the African experiences. Ngugi claims that the African child was exposed to

literature, which reflected backwardness, underdevelopment, humiliation and punishment. All that they could do was to graduate with a hatred of their people and their culture; hence even the African writers who wrote about African people did so from the viewpoint of the colonialists.

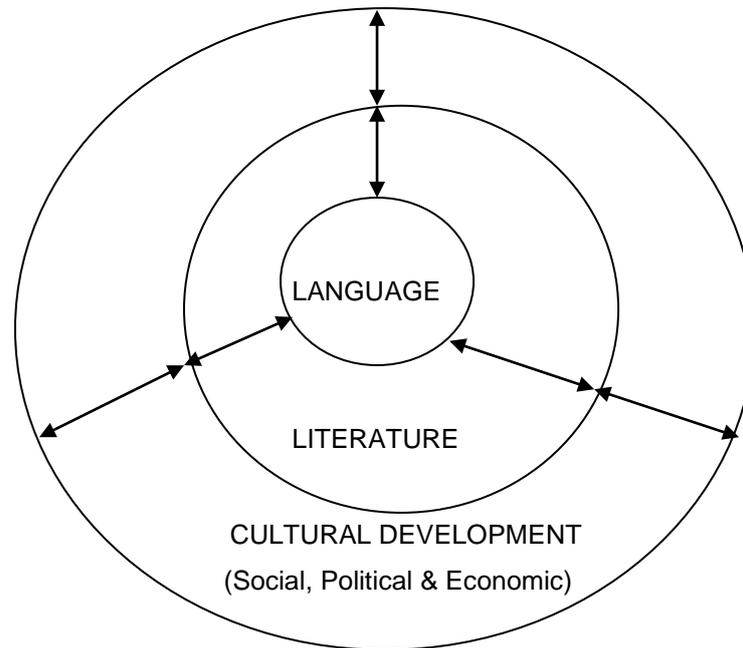
The study views Ngugi's arguments as a king-pin to empowerment through literature. Literature, particularly prose literature has the effect of *persuading the ear like melody and corrupting the soul like witchcraft*. It is argued that a reversal of the manner in which African languages and literature were portrayed could probably unleash new hopes of empowering the indigenous people socially, culturally and economically. African writers should write in African languages about African experiences as failure to do so, would leave them in a situation aptly described by Chinweizu et al (1980:241) as

...when you cannot speak to your people, there is a burning temptation either to speak to yourself or to speak for them to outside ears ...to pose as ambassadors to foreigners, to pretend to be bearers of self composed messages from your people to the rest of the world. The outsiders hear and understand you (perhaps) but your own people wonder what's going on, what the jabbering is all about.

The best way to avoid such a temptation is to empower people to read literature written in their indigenous languages so that no one speaks out for them. Development initiatives would then be communicated in a language familiar to the majority of the population. Through literature the readers are passively involved and the involvement helps people to experience catharsis, or the release of dangerous thoughts and emotions that might be locked up in their minds. (Aristotle as quoted by Chiota, undated: 4). Literature in indigenous languages leaves both readers and writers prepared to take action about their situation.

This study views literature as being the hub of linguistic, economic, social, political and cultural development as illustrated below:

Diagram1.1: Language and literature the hub of development



While the study is informed by Ngugi's views of the relationship between language and literature, it observes the limitations of proposing a radical implementation of changes. The problem of having African writers writing about African literature in African languages is associated with sticking to villagisation or traditionalism instead of globalisation or modernisation. A more progressive way of looking at the situation is whereby systems should allow and encourage more literary works in African languages. Equating African literature to literature in English in terms of teaching/learning times should probably back this up. The other possibility is trying to make African literature written in African languages compulsory up to "O" level and make it a prerequisite for further studies. Of course this comes with other challenges but it is hoped that eventually societal attitudes would be changed.

1.8 SCOPE

This research has six chapters. Chapter 1 is the introduction to the study, the methodology and the theoretical framework upon which the study is grounded to guide the analysis and discussion of the findings. Chapter 2 is about language, literature and development. This chapter discusses African languages and literature as instruments of empowerment, which facilitate development. Chapter 3 focuses on

language planning in some selected African countries with special attention given to colonial and post- colonial Zimbabwe. The development and role of indigenous literature as a tool of empowerment is analytically presented. Data is presented here and analysed in chapter 4, as guided by the research objectives and sub-themes. Chapter 5 discusses and maps strategies for implementation as guided by the research findings. Chapter 6 summarises and makes conclusions with a view of making recommendations for further research.

1.9 DEFINITION OF TERMS

For the purpose of this study, the following operational definitions shall apply:-

Language is a system of words used in a speech community by people in naming the world around them, their interaction with nature and with each other in the process of production of goods and services necessary for their survival. Language differentiates human beings from all other animal species so it is the communicative gift of being human.

Language policy is an official position that defines the use and allocation of language roles in a particular country. Usually the policy is stipulated and documented in the national constitution.

Language planning refers to an organised or systematic way of looking at solutions to language problems believed to exist in a country. Solutions to such problems are usually got from organised interventions by the state or by professional language planners.

Official language is the language used in conducting business by government in the administration of a country through the civil service, formal education, the judiciary and the commercial sector. Usually it is in this language that documents are written.

National language refers to the language that is recognised for communicating with the larger population in a country. Usually the language is

an indigenous language recognised as a result of its widespread usage or numerical dominance.

Mother tongue is the first language a child learns when she/he starts to speak. It is the language that the speaker is usually more comfortable to express him/herself in.

Indigenous language refers to a language spoken by a group of people who originated in a particular speech community before interference of other languages from foreign lands. The language carries the history and culture of that particular society.

Culture is the world around a people and includes language as well. It is a way of viewing social reality that is influenced by environment and time. It is the social practices that differentiate one community from the other and at times one generation from the other.

Literature refers to the recording of culture through language. It also refers to writings or works of art that are valued for their form especially *novels*, poetry and plays.

African literature refers to literature written in indigenous African languages with form and content loaded with African cultural milieu. Ideally the literature should be accessible to indigenous African masses in terms of linguistic and cultural appeal.

Empowerment means to give power or authority to a group of people previously excluded from the mainstream.

Language empowerment is the institutionalisation of a set of measures to raise the social status of a language as well as make it more viable in handling public affairs. It refers to the lifting up or upgrading of a particular language so that the language can assume several functions previously not assigned to it,

for example educational instruction, Internet and general government administration.

Status planning refers to the allocation of roles a language can assume. It is concerned with maintenance, expansion or restrictions in the uses of a language and also involves language standardisation and revival of a dead language. Usually status planning is done by politicians rather than by linguists because it is a policy activity. It is status planning that can be manipulated to exclude or disempower certain languages.

Corpus planning is the development of a language, which focuses on the implementation of decisions arising from recommendations by language experts. It is concerned with the recording of lexical, grammatical and stylistic changes of a language and is usually done by language experts.

1.10 CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided a background, which motivated the research to be undertaken. Bureaucratic as well as structural relationships between the former colonialists and independent African states continue to influence language policies in African states. Ex-colonial languages stand out as vehicles of modernisation and technical advancement with English leading as a global language, which carries most information on the Information Highway. The print media and the school system reinforce the position of English in Zimbabwe by publishing daily and weekly papers in English and allocating more learning/teaching time to English Language and Literature in English respectively. Suppression of indigenous languages and literatures ultimately results in the suppression of African cultures. Proposals to marry African languages and literature through formal education have been made with the view of empowering indigenous people. The idea mooted is that language and literature should help their speakers and readers to become fully functioning members of a society. Pertinent issues have been raised regarding the problem and study objectives.

Different methodologies have been discussed justifying why no one design is perfect. The language-as-resource model presented as the Canonical Model of language planning, Batibo's technical and ideological planning as well as Ngugi's argument that suppression of a language results in the suppression of its literature make the theoretical framework from which research unfolds. Finally the chapter proceeded to give the scope and operational definition of terms as related to this research.

CHAPTER 2

LANGUAGE, LITERATURE AND DEVELOPMENT

Literature and African development is beautifully political, (Adams and Mayes, 1998:4).

2.1 INTRODUCTION

It has been argued in the preceding chapter that language and literature are the hub of development. This chapter explores further the relationship between language, literature and development. In the discussion that follows the relationship between language and development is considered under language and socio-economic development. The discussion will also relate literature to socio-cultural development. Pertinent to the discussion is the fact that indigenous languages and their literature facilitate participation of the masses in development projects. Proposals to broaden the use of African languages to include scientific and technological discourses are made. Challenges that militate against implementation of the proposed changes are also considered. Finally, this chapter concludes by recommending that African governments should consider the long term gains of using African languages and their literatures.

2.2 LANGUAGE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Mazrui (1986) and Ngugi (1980) concur that language is an economic resource. Like other natural economic resources, language is prone to imperialistic exploitation. Anyidoho (1992:55) expounds that language was used to alienate the Africans to lose touch with their roots so as to prevent communal rebellion during slave trade. Anyidoho (ibid) cites Madhubuti (1984:123) asserting that...*for without language, one cannot express the indigenous self, and therefore has nothing to express other than the selves of others in their languages.* From a social point of view language was used to prevent continued social interactions among the Africans with an economic objective of wanting the slaves to remain focused on production in the economic sector. The master's language was used to disintegrate the captives whose life

beyond the loss of mother tongue became a long journey into silence (Anyidoho, *ibid*). In this case language was used to disempower the African captives.

The capitalist view of regarding language as an economic resource helps clarify the role of language in socio-economic development. The biblical story of the Tower of Babel aptly illustrates how language can slow down development. Lodhi (1993:80) maintains that the abundance of languages in Africa has meant enormous problems. *Multi-linguism is therefore an important factor of under-development, which in turn perpetuates multi-linguism and slows down development activities.* Development refers to positive growth or change that brings a better or improved situation from the initial situation. It is a multidimensional process involving changes in the social structure and an improvement in the quality of life and the reduction of inequalities. Socio-economic development in Africa has thus been retarded by the language situation. Hence if Africa is to realise significant development there is need to address the language issue.

Maintaining a speaker's native language has an affective dimension, of enhancing self-concepts and their pride in their cultural background and identity. Asante (2005), Miranda (2004), Muindi (2002) and Ngugi (1994) concur that language encompasses not only communication, but also heritage, culture and feelings. Language as culture fosters a strong sense of belonging and confidence that builds self-esteem. Self-esteem is a necessary ingredient to socio-economic assertiveness. Le Page (1971:2) postulates that, *Language barriers are certainly barriers to economic progress.* Linked to Le Page's argument; Webb (2002:14) declares that *...it quickly becomes clear that language can be a gatekeeper, discriminator, which facilitates participation and sharing or acts as a barrier to accessing opportunities.* If a speaker thrown into an alien speech community, would struggle to share even a basic greeting, what more of an economic production process?

Webb (*ibid*: 218) maintains that language can facilitate or hinder economic activity. For instance, in the distribution of information or in the productive utilisation of workers' skills and knowledge, and finally in effective delivery of services to the public. Webb further argues that English is over-empowered whereas Bantu languages are marginalised such that language can be used for economic

discrimination and even exploitation. The argument is corroborated by Mutasa (2004:36) who observed that South African Blacks use their language at work but not in domains associated with prestige. This scenario prevails in Zimbabwe as well as across Africa. The study argues that language is pertinent in the management of information, as a production factor and as a facilitator or hindrance to economic development.

2.2.1 Language in the management of information

Today's workplace is characterised by a search for knowledge and information. This demands that workers should be able to communicate, handle information and adapt to new developments either orally or literally. Currently African languages are more restricted to oral communication between co-workers in the workplace as observed by Mutasa (ibid). It should be emphasised that where workers are limited by language proficiency certain information is omitted as workers struggle to get the correct vocabulary to express themselves. Information about organisations is usually scanty as a result of the language barrier. Some of the workplace hazards could be minimised or eliminated if African languages were used for information dissemination in the workplace. Lack of language proficiency often leads to misunderstandings and emotionalism.

Coulmas (1992:124-125) contends that:

Language training for industry and commerce can be a considerable burden for a company, but those who hesitate to make the necessary financial outlays have to ask themselves which is more costly, language training or losses and foregone gains brought about by lack of language proficiency.

The contention clearly pictures the need for African governments to consider a cost-benefit-analysis of the language used in the workplace. As an instrument in the socialisation of people, language is important in establishing norms and values required for the development of work commitment and effectiveness. Webb (2002:218) asserts that language instils a sense of institutional loyalty and security, which are essential ingredients of good governance and good business. Once this is

established the role of language then becomes that of creating an enabling social environment conducive for economic development.

2.2.2 Language as a production factor

Language has an important role in the development of vocational skills as an instrument of education and training (Webb *ibid*: 219). Work commitments, norms and values necessary for the workplace are only possible to be established in an environment where the workers are able and capable of expressing themselves fluently. Uju (2008:25) remarks that, *An individual with lots of potential should be able to speak out so that society could give him or her listening ears*. Since a majority of the indigenous workers are not quite conversant with foreign languages, Webb proposes the use of indigenous languages, which help in fostering work commitments. The study maintains that African languages provide a comfort zone for workers because they can easily possess vocational linguistic skills, which help reduce wastages. Lack of proficiency in a language ultimately lowers productivity.

The present state of development is a result of an historical situation hence to change the situation requires some kind of social transformation of structures including the language situation. It is argued that for as long as African languages are not used in formal economic activity black empowerment will remain a dream, industrial production low and industrial relations hostile. Paradoxically, Africans need to possess a reasonable amount of wealth for their languages to be valued economically. African governments should take radical decisions and have political commitment in dealing with the language issue. In particular the Zimbabwean government should take a radical decision and have political commitment similar to the way it has handled the land issue.

In as much as governments might have political commitments to the language issue, the biggest hurdle that remains is changing people's attitudes. Triandis (1971) cited in Okombo (1999:591) declares that: *We have the technical knowledge to change the world, but we do not have the attitude to bring the change*. The study agrees with Triandis and observes that there is bound to be resistance to the empowerment of indigenous languages. The worst enemy of development is resistance to change and yet change is a ubiquitous phenomenon. To both industry and government, the use

of indigenous languages might have financial implications. Some of the fears in Zimbabwe, for example, are that Zimbabwe might be isolated yet the current trend is globalisation. However, it should be pointed out that use of indigenous languages does not translate into abolition of English. It is proposed that English remains in force for international communication after all how many of the indigenous people communicate with the international world. It is argued that it's more empowering to institutionalise indigenous languages and harness the knowledge and skills of the majority of Zimbabwean industrial workers who are currently marginalised by language proficiency. The elite who already have links with the international world will continue to be empowered as well. African governments, academics and the general populace need to change their attitudes towards use of indigenous languages.

It might be wise to observe that a candle does not lose its light by lighting another. Rather, the intensity of light increases, so, in the same vein, empowering African languages to be socio-economically viable is no declaration of annihilating non-African languages. Short-changing African languages is not only a matter of linguistic exclusion; it is bad socio-economic practice as well. Definitely use of African languages would restore confidence; however the stumbling block remains the economic status of the indigenous African people.

2.3 LITERATURE AND SOCIO-CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Language is the bedrock of socio-cultural and economic development. Anyidoho (1992), Ngugi (1994) and Uju (2008) concur that language is a liberating force to reckon with in terms of empowering its speakers. In the Information Age, literature forms a reliable and consistent reservoir of a people's life experiences, which provides vital information and knowledge from one generation to another. Ngugi (1997) maintains that literature gives more and sharper insights into the moving spirit of an era than all historical and political documents treating the same period. Ngugi (1994) argues that the suppression of a language results in the suppression of its literature. It is maintained that literature is the main means by which a particular language transmits the images of the world embodied in the culture it carries. Ngugi (ibid) attests that African languages were given negative portrayal through literature written either in foreign languages or by people alien to African experiences. The

African child was exposed to literature, which reflected backwardness, underdevelopment, humiliation and punishment. All that they could do was graduate with a hatred of their people and their culture, hence even the African writers who wrote about African people did so from the view point of the colonialists, (ibid). This cultural garbage conditioned the African artists not only in Kenya but Zimbabwe if not the whole of the African continent.

To appreciate the role of literature in development one would need to first appreciate the interface between language, literature and culture. Language is a system of words used in a speech community by people in naming the world around them, their interaction with nature and with each other in the process of production of goods and services necessary for their survival. Literature is a recording of a people's life experiences, their socio-political, economic and cultural activities. Culture on the other hand can be defined as the world around a people and includes language. Culture is a way of viewing social reality, which is influenced by environment and time. The three are closely related and affect each other; language names social reality (culture) while literature records that social reality in a language specific to a speech community. Literature is the vessel through which language, development and culture are transported from one generation to another and from one environment to another. This study focuses on creative literature - the Shona novel in particular, which will be discussed fully below.

According to Perez de Cuellar (1994:179)

A people's spoken and written language is perhaps the most important cultural attribute... Language policy, like other policies has been used as an instrument of domination, fragmentation and reintegration into the ruling political structure.

Basing on Perez de Cuellar's views about language and the relationship between language, culture and literature, it can be argued that literature, especially creative literature does have a potential to empower its authors and readers. Incidentally the empowerment role can fully be understood depending on the cultural environment in which it is natured and nurtured. It becomes imperative to explore what African literature is or should be, whom it should serve and the language of that African literature.

2.3.1 Definition of African literature

There is need to establish what African literature is. Is it literature written about Africa or about the African experience? *Is it literature written by Africans? Is it literature written in African languages?* (Ngugi, 1994:6). Ngugi (ibid) poses, *what about a non-African who wrote about Africa: did his work qualify as African literature?* In his argument Ngugi concludes that an African literary work should be able to carry the weight of *our African experience*, (own emphasis). Indeed it should reflect African culture and this culture cannot be separated from the language that transmits it.

The research observes that for a literary work to be called African literature it has to have certain basic tenets of being written in African indigenous languages, carry cultural experiences of the Africans and be written by indigenous people of Africa. Mazrui (1986) proposes that a writer should be able to communicate in their ethnic language, which broadens their reservoir of content and form. Ruhumbika (1992:80) illustrates how the Latin-language literatures of England, Spain and France were not thriving literatures. Thriving literatures of such countries coincide with the greatest writers, Shakespeare, Milton and others who wrote in European national languages about European literature. It is argued that African literature should be written by African people in African languages for a large majority of African readership. The “African-ness” of literature should not be about the geographical setting of stories but about the language that expresses African culture and the writers’ grounding in African culture.

Mazrui (1986:69) argues that literature written in African languages could legitimately be regarded as ‘African literature’. To support his argument Mazrui comes up with what he calls the “relativist hypothesis” which proposes that in conception language is culture-bound, hence even when a literary work is based on an African source, a non-African language cannot retain its African mould in content, (ibid). Earlier on Maduka (1980:183 – 97) as cited in Anyidoho (1992) had maintained that even though the sources of Achebe, Awoonor and Soyinka, for example, are from Igbo, Ewe and Yoruba respectively *...they are recast in a language that captures the spirit of the worldview of this group of writers who are by-products of European linguistic*

imperialism. Ngugi (1994) relegates these writers to be belonging to what he calls “Afro-European literary tradition.’

Whilst the study makes a strong proposition that African literature must be written in African languages by African writers, reasonable flexibility should be accommodated to allow non-African writers who are well versed in African culture to make a contribution to “African literature”. The study proposes a shift from an organic link between a people, their language and their literature. The research proposes that there be a move from the belief that native speakers with a genetic bond with Africa will write literature in ‘their” language. The belief limits contributions to literature in African languages. If there can be other non-African writers who are well versed in African languages and culture, their contributions would still be worthwhile. African literature should serve two main purposes;

- communicate development issues to the majority of African people who may not be fluent or literate in non African languages
- carry the content and culture of Africans without restricting it to geographical boundaries of Africa.

This would give it the global nature that other languages like English enjoy. Writers should be free to write about happenings in other countries outside the African continent in African languages. It is the language aspect that captures the African spirit giving it the cultural flavouring unique to Africa. However, caution must be taken so that these writers do not end up writing what might be termed Euro-African literature or something like that. The idea is to empower African languages and culture through literature. The concern is to have as much African literature as possible to fill the gap of centuries of marginalisation in the literary aspect.

2.3.2 African literature as an instrument of empowerment

Any literature worth its purpose should be able to be used by the community that produces it first. It is more relevant in the environment that has created it hence Adams and Mayes (1998), Ngugi (1994) and Ruhumbika (1992) acquiesce that mother-tongue literature is a potent factor in African social transformation. Ngugi

(ibid) argues that by writing in English, literary creativity serves more to enrich the colonial tradition than promote the development of an African society. African literature can only be written in the languages of the African peasantry and working classes if it has to contribute to meaningful development. Writing in African languages will bring a renaissance in African cultures if the literature carries the content of the people's anti-imperialistic struggles to liberate their productive forces from foreign control, (Ngugi 1994:29). For example, in the Zimbabwean situation, a book like Mutasa's (2005), *Sekai Minda Tave Nayo* clearly reflects the anti-imperialistic struggles of the third Chimurenga. - land reform. Incidentally *Sekai Minda Tave Nayo* coincided with the Zimbabwe Land Reform period. In a way it beams the people's direction in the process of self-definition or positioning. Such literature is likely to coincide with the aspirations of the people to fight neocolonialism. Ruhumbika (1992:80) contends that:

A thriving literature is a literature that forms a part of people's living culture. It is literature written for the people reflecting their endeavours and aspirations and reaching for a significant number of them in a way that can influence their society and be influenced by it in turn.

From the arguments presented, it is clear that mother-tongue literature is a crucial factor in African social transformation. African languages should be vehicles to communicate the experiences of the African child in Africa and abroad. Such literature empowers those who migrate to the Diaspora to communicate their experiences in foreign lands to their statesmen back home in African languages.

Through literature, quality of life is enhanced, horizons widened hence the brain of the indigenous African people should be able to challenge and expose their indigenous masses to wider horizons. If literary works are presented in non-African languages they will of course reach the African elite and wider community without making an impact to the masses. This has a negative effect of continuing to export the brains of Africa for the enrichment of other worlds, (Palmer in Adams and Mayes 1998:43). The study proposes that indigenous African languages be used to produce literary works for the benefit of the African majority. For wider communication, the works can be translated into other languages and that brings more benefits like exporting books. The multi-lingual nature of most African countries and lack of an African lingua-franca (Langa, 1989:68) presents a further challenge. Translation will

have to be done from one African language to another and to non-African languages as well. This presents a further challenge of economic costs in both human and material resources. It suffices to conclude that it might be a mammoth task for African governments to accomplish. However, writing in non-African languages can be likened to a mother who prepares a delicious meal to feed her neighbours while her children are starving. Literature should be written to satisfy the needs of the indigenous people first then it can be shared with the wider community later.

2.3.3 The language of African literature

The language of any literature should be that which the community that produces and consumes it is proficient in. This dictates that the authors of any literature should be sensitive to the language of the community they are writing about and for. In the case of writing to an African readership, the language appropriate would be none other than African languages. This would ensure effective conveyance of messages and participation of the African communities in developmental programmes the literature targets.

Ngugi (1994:164) cites Obi Wali (1963) asserting that:

...the whole uncritical acceptance of English and French as the inevitable medium of educated African writing is misdirected, has no chance of advancing African literature and culture and that until African writers accepted that true African literature must be written in African languages, they would merely be pursuing a dead end.

Adams and Mayes (1998), Chinweizu (1988) and Ngugi (1994) concur that African literature can only be written in the languages of the African people if it has to contribute to meaningful development. Anyidoho (1992:45-63) agrees with Chinweizu et al (1980:24) that writers concerned with the social, political and economic transformation of African communities must have dialogue with their people instead of being tempted to speak for them to outsiders. Anyidoho (ibid) stresses that *language is not only the key to a people's identity, it is the strong room in which the innermost soul of a people can be protected...* It is African literature, which can dissect and open the soul of the African people preserved in their languages and culture.

Ngugi (1994:29-30) asserts that by writing in English literary creativity serves to enrich the colonial tradition than promote the development of an African. In a nutshell African languages hold the key to socio-cultural development of African nations. Lodhi (1993:81) maintains that maintenance of metropolitan languages has led to what he terms “linguistic imperialism”. Lodhi (1993:81-82) postulates that:

Africans continue to write in metro-languages, and literatures in African languages suffer disadvantage vis a vis African writings in the European tongues – almost all great African writers are therefore not read by a vast majority of Africans not even by speakers of the writers’ own language or ethnic group.

Lodhi further argues that the former colonial languages are export commodities from the former colonial metropolis to their former colonies in Africa. This dominance by ex-colonial languages, deprives a majority of Africans from access to knowledge, creates a sense of insecurity and an inferiority feeling, (Lodhi, *ibid*).

It is argued that for as long as English and other metropolitan languages are used for literary development, African literature will remain over-shadowed and cast in the periphery of literature development. The use of indigenous literature brings to the fore African languages and cultures so they can eventually compete with ex-colonial languages as languages worth investing in. Like English for example, African languages would bring in income through export of books, general literature, language teachers as people from abroad would value languages like Shona for communicating with locals and as subjects to be studied in school curricular.

Indigenous languages are the voice of socio-cultural identity, the heart and content of an African child’s first language. Zimbabweans and all other African countries should bubble with confidence as they produce literary work, which enhances their cultural identity. Indigenous languages are symbols through which a people express concepts, ideas and psychological needs. The language adopted for literary work leaves an indelible mark of the cultural experiences of that people; hence the cliché *the pen is mightier than the sword*.

2.4 LANGUAGE AND POWER

Language is entwined in social power in a number of ways. Language indexes power, expresses power and it can actually challenge power. Language may be used to alter distribution of power. Languages express the needs of their users. A language of excellence is viewed in the quantity of literature and thought that the language can express for example Internet language for access to information on the information highway. Globalisation and the Information Age have put weaker languages at the risk of being marginalised. Information is relayed through global languages like English. In a multi-lingual society the language that is given an official status is usually the language of those who have both economic and political power. During colonisation the colonial languages automatically became the official languages. Decades after independence, African states are still administered in former colonial languages. This state of affairs disempowers the indigenous languages and their speakers.

Mansoor (1993) and Ngugi (1994) agree that the language used in administration, education, higher commerce and media is the language of power. It is true that the making of language policies is the pursuit and preservation of power. It is also a fact that the most powerful members of society access the most benefits and privileges. Commenting about the situation in Pakistan, Mansoor (ibid) remarks that the use of English favours the westernised elite while use of other languages would bring in other candidates for power. Since about 70% of the population of the African states does not know the languages of power in their countries, the majority of the citizens of these countries are marginalised. They do not have access to their national rights and privileges. They cannot actively participate in debates that appear in newspapers and other media forms that use non-African languages. Language is then a symbol of power especially in modern times when different people compete for power and resources.

Indeed African languages have for long been associated with backwardness, under-development and humiliation. In Zimbabwe and of course many other African countries, English, French or Portuguese have been associated with power and progress. The use of non-African languages like English has seen those in power

being able to unify the nation since language supersedes smaller labels like kinship and tribal markers of identity, (Mazrui and Tidy 1994:300 cited in Trewby and Fitchat 2001:7). African languages have been associated with ethnic, kinship and tribal identity labels viewed as retrogressive in modern times. The study maintains that the integration and national unity presumed to be provided by non-African languages is only largely achieved among the elite. In fact what is claimed to be integration may not be it. It may be language deprivation, which reduces people into silence.

The language issue is quite controversial especially where political power is concerned. Political leaders tend to prefer the use of English since it has no ethnic labels attached to it among the Africans. A major draw back is that the indigenous languages have not been quickly identified with standardised print languages. As far as the modern employment based domains of power are concerned, English is seen by many as the key to power and access to information. Crystal (1997) in Mutasa (2006:81) contends that English is fast becoming a global language because of its competence. Groddal (1997) in Gill (2002:22) as cited by Mutasa (2006:81) maintains that *the strength of English lies in the complex mix of the economics, technological, political and cultural factors...* The use of European languages has been associated with unifying diverse language groups in independent African states.

In Zimbabwe deficiency in English deprives one from entering the most lucrative and powerful jobs both in the public or private sector. If African states claim to be democratic, their language policies should reflect the use of languages used by the majority. Bamgbose (2000:67-68) contends that the elite are the major obstacle in the use of African languages. The elite lack political will plus interest and are quick to point out that African languages are not yet developed to be used in certain domains or that the standard of education is likely to fall. This continues to disempower indigenous languages and their speakers. It should be noted that language cements unique identity of a group, history and expresses the group's concerns and aspirations in its vocabulary. Language and power cannot be easily separated.

In colonial Africa, multi-lingualism was viewed as a threat to order and authority. Use of many languages was equated with confusion hence freedom of co-existence was negatively viewed. French and Portuguese colonies experienced the most damaging

effects, as mother tongue was not encouraged at all in the school system due to policy of assimilation, (Bamgbose 1991:69). In Zimbabwe, English was introduced as the linguistic tool of administration and power. Maintenance of English as the official language simply means power remains in the hands of former colonial masters.

The study maintains that the use of African languages in administration, education, higher commerce and media will give a holistic empowerment of the indigenous people. Nations can change names, renaming cities and streets but without political commitment to empowerment through indigenous languages, power will remain vested in foreign languages, their cultures and economies. The power of African nations can be no better than power in the use of African languages. Political power without indigenous language empowerment and use of indigenous languages without political power is just as bad as a car without a steering wheel and brakes.

2.5 THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION

Education is the basis of mass participation, a means to upward social mobility, manpower training and development. Knowledge is transmitted through language hence the significance of language in education. (Bamgbose 1991:62). Bamgbose's views were quite informing to this study since the concern of the study was to explore possibilities of using language and literature to empower indigenous African people. Bamgbose (1991), Benson (2004) cited in Brock-Utne and Hopson (2005) and Webb (2002) agree that education through mother-tongue instruction opens doors for mass participation. The study maintains that the role of education in development must be concerned with the liberation of the human potential for the welfare of not only the individual but also the community at large. Language is considered a possible empowering factor in the education process. The study explores further the role of language in education under language and medium of instruction, and indigenous language preparedness for use in education discussed below.

2.5.1 Language and medium of instruction

Bamgbose (2000: 58-59) mentions that UNESCO experts who met in Paris in 1951 to consider language as a medium of instruction concluded that:

On educational grounds, we recommend that mother tongue be extended to as late a stage in education as possible. In particular, pupils should begin their schooling through the medium of the mother tongue, because they understand it best and because to begin their school life in the mother tongue will make the break between home and school as small as possible.

The medium of instruction is viewed to have a strong bearing on how the learner will adjust to school life as it either provides a smooth handover-takeover from the home to the school system or a rough grab that might result in frustrating the learner. The 1951 UNESCO report actually recommended on *psychological, social and educational grounds that children be taught in a language they know effectively, which will normally be the mother tongue of the children*, Webb (2002:192). Language may shape socio-economic and political power relations hence it is determined by ideological, economic and political factors which link with linguistic factors. For a language to survive, it must be used for a wide range of functions otherwise it begins to wither and die.

A language that a child knows effectively should be the language of education and training. The language used for education purposes should be a language capable of opening communication barriers. If a language creates a host of “*misunderstood*” then the “*barriers*” cannot be easily cleared. Hubbard (1992:11-62) identifies among other barriers to study, the misunderstood word as the *third and most important barrier to study*. (ibid: 42) The barrier clearly demonstrates the importance of language in the comprehension of concepts in the learning process. If a word can be an obstacle to learning, it is assumed that a language would cause a serious deterrent to learning. Benson (2004) and Webb (2002) concur that the use of indigenous languages as languages of learning/teaching makes parent involvement in learner’s formal education possible, the cultural and emotional transfer from home to school and back less traumatic (Webb 2002:191).

UNESCO (1992a: 23) cited in Bamgbose (2000:58-59) provides a checklist for the ideal language of literacy/learning. The language should have some or all of the following: -

- it should be familiar to and preferred by learners and teachers
- it should be spoken by a large number of people over a large area
- it should be useful for communication in local, and national life and especially working life.
- it should be well supplied with teaching materials.
- it should be provided with enough printed text to prevent newly literate people from forgetting what they have learned.

The checklist looks quite plausible although in Africa events have not always been influenced by such logic. On attainment of independence, African governments have concerned themselves much about education for all and the need to increase literacy rates. Little and in most cases lip service attention has been given to language policy especially as it relates to educational instruction. The paradox is that educational plans and programmes are often designed to pay more attention to the structure of educational system and curricula than to language policy, (Bamgbose 1991).

Prah (2001b.) in Brock-Utne and Hopson (2005:27) postulates that language of education is the language of hegemony and power. He asserts that knowledge is accumulated and deposited in the language of instruction and where language of instruction is the same as mother tongue it gives confidence to a people with respect to their historical and cultural baggage. Where a people lack confidence and respect of their cultural heritage there is bound to be frustration, alienation cultural dominance and under- development.

Prah (ibid) acknowledges that in free societies knowledge transfer takes place in the language in which the masses are most creative and innovative. Linked to Prah's argument, Mutasa (2004:38) educates and advises that *...to guarantee success, knowledge and skill must be disseminated in languages easiest for millions to understand.* However, Bamgbose (1991:69) clearly articulates the dilemma of African nations. He notes that African nations simply carry on the legacy of the policies of the

past. This is evidenced by the roles assigned to the languages, (Bamgbose 1991:69). Mackey (1984:37-49) argues that education in any language often contains the study of the people traditionally identified with the language. Mother tongue instruction should be promoted to enhance concept formation and include a majority of the indigenous learners who grapple with English. Benson (2004) and Webb (2002) argue that mother tongue education makes cultural and emotional transfer from home to school easy. NEPI (1992:13) cited in Bamgbose (2000:93) confirms that mother tongue is associated with inferior education offered under the Ministry of Bantu Education. in apartheid South Africa. English is therefore perceived as a gateway to better education. As a result of the colonial legacy, policy on African languages as a medium of instruction has been notoriously unstable (Bamgbose ibid).

Be that as it may, scholars like Rubanza insist that African development is impossible without the use of African languages, (Prah 2002:44). Rubanza maintains that ethnic languages enable those who interact to make relevant connections with their lives beyond the school. Rubanza (1996) argues that for some;

English = Education

English = School uniform because you take it off when you go home.

Ngara (1982:23) while referring to Zimbabwe had earlier pointed out that for many Africans to be educated was equivalent to acquisition of a European language thereby corroborating Rubanza's argument. Observations have revealed that many Zimbabweans still hold the belief that to be educated is to acquire knowledge through the medium of English.

In the view of the study a language that helps the learner grasp new knowledge, apply the new knowledge to real life situation beyond the classroom and if possible share the new knowledge with immediate community, is a language more empowering. The language encourages development and transfer of knowledge in a way that does not leave learners alienated from their immediate environment. Such a language will not be equated to school uniform that can be taken off when school is over. After all the whole purpose of education is not to educate so that people can

put aside what they will have learnt when school is over. The purpose of education is to equip the learner with skills for life that can be applied throughout the process of living.

Choice of language of instruction is influenced not by pedagogical factors but other factors like perceived status of the language. English is perceived to be more powerful and to provide access to information and technology. Adams and Mayes (1998) remark that *we should not happily and proudly put our children through education processes, which render them illiterate and even "unoral" in our African languages*. On the other hand Hayford (1911:17) as cited in Anyidoho (1992) emphasises *...no people could despise its own language, customs and institutions and avoid national death*. The role of language has been aptly presented by Skutnabb-Kangas (1998:13) who reasons that English is an instrument of imperialism in developing countries. Prah (1995 a,b) and Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) argue that development in Africa will not be forthcoming until we start using African languages as languages of instruction from beginning to end of the education process. It is necessary to take a leaf from the views of these authorities and proudly use African languages in accessing information and technology.

Arguments presented by various authorities discussed above are in keeping with the checklist provided by UNESCO (1992a: 23) as cited in Bamgbose (2000:58-59). The use of mother tongue as a medium of instruction ensures that learners are taught in a language spoken by a large number of people, which language is useful in local and national life and the language is familiar to both learners and teachers. In the case of Zimbabwe, Shona would be the most appropriate language that suits the checklist if the choice were to be reduced to one. Chimhundu et al (1998:2) argue *Shona is the biggest language group and is technically the most viable choice for a national language if the choice were to be reduced to one...* However in the interest of democracy, the choice should not be limited to one. Democratic principles dictate that there is recognition of the contribution of many to the global picture. The study maintains that the language of instruction should be one that matches the UNESCO checklist and provides learners with as little barriers to learning as possible. The language of learning should facilitate easy acquisition of knowledge and skills that can be practically applied to the learners' immediate environment.

It is argued that language is the vehicle of thought and intelligence. It is through language that ideas are conceptualised, thoughts organised and memory systematised. A close relationship exists between language, thought and intelligence, (ADEA 1996a: 45-6). Batibo (2005:36) maintains that indigenous languages should not be seen as stumbling blocks to national unity, national identity and national development but should be regarded as resources for people's aspirations and full participation in national development. In view of this the language of education should be that which offers potential for full participation by the masses. However the question that remains is: *Are African languages in a position to be effectively and efficiently used as media of instruction in education?*

2.5.2 Indigenous language preparedness for use in education

Bamgbose (1991:72) claims that, *No matter how large the population of speakers of a language is, it is only when the language has been reduced to writing and materials made available in it that it can be used in education.* Pertinent to the use of a language in education is not only the population of speakers but whether the language is also available in print media for resource materials. The use or non-use of African languages in education is largely a function of the colonial heritage. As a result of colonisation African countries were divided into two groups.

- (i) a group of users – those countries which used African languages as a medium of instruction in early primary education and taught as a subject at secondary.
- (ii) Non-users – where formal education was conducted in the colonial language (Bamgbose 2000:49)

The group of non-users comprised French and Portuguese colonies. Even the British colonial education policy of mother tongue medium which received strong endorsement from specialised commissions and agents like the Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa 1925, 1927, 1935 and 1943 and the UNESCO meeting of experts, (Bamgbose, 1976:10), still remained faulty. English remained the dominant medium of instruction at higher grades and as a subject. More and more

materials were written in English than in indigenous languages. As superior concepts and skills are acquired at higher levels of education this reinforced the idea that technical terms and scientific concepts could not be expressed in indigenous languages. African languages were thus pushed to the periphery, valued only for bridging the initial levels of education and higher levels of learning even among the group of users. Even among the group of users, superior concepts and skills were reserved for English thereby down grading the indigenous languages.

Decades after attaining independence, African countries remain prisoners of the past with constraint reinforced by the argument that English language is going to be needed for higher education, technology, science and industry (Bamgbose 1991:71). Anyidoho (1992:42 – 63) reports that in 1919 the First Pan-African Congress at Paris resolved that ... *it shall be the right of every native child to read and write his own language and the language of a trustee nation at public expense*. Resolutions have been made yet it has taken Africa almost a century to effectively implement the pronouncements. The question is what and where is the problem? The challenge is that African languages have not been associated with access to modern education and technology, so non-African languages viewed to equip the learner with access to rapid economic development are preferred.

Speakers of African languages are not economically and technologically empowered to determine their own destiny. Mutasa (2006:114) maintains that indigenous speakers of African languages need to be empowered to own companies then they can proceed to innovations, to naming and marketing their innovation, then and only then can indigenous languages be empowered. The study proposes that linguistic empowerment could precede economic empowerment. African governments could legislate language policies that empower their languages. African languages could be made a prerequisite to foreigners who want permanent residence in Zimbabwe. By so doing the domains of operation for African languages would be expanded to the business and tourist sectors. There might be motivation for non-African language speakers to learn African languages in order for them to access certain privileges. This will attract foreign attention. In that way, African languages may be popularised through tourism and, subsequently they will be empowered.

Bamgbose (1991:74) postulates *modern education requires instruction not in more and more languages but in the most effective language*. The study observes a dilemma emanating from the state of development of African languages that influences their selection in the education system. Obviously it is a tough competition for African languages to compete against non-African languages like English that have a long literary tradition. Other than oral use, languages are developed through written form. Those languages, which have volumes and volumes of literature, reflect a more developed status. The other problem might be that concerned with preserving a people's culture through language against the interest of the child in terms of effective education for the modern world. African nations are thus confronted with a puzzle of saving the language or serving the child's interests. The new world is a world of decrees on rights hence certain actions targeted at maintaining indigenous languages may be viewed as interfering with individuals' rights to choose a language of their preference.

The study argues that African governments should not pay lip service to mother tongue education while they quietly continue with a language for wider communication medium of instruction. African languages still have the potential to be effective languages of education. It is important to remember that in spite of all the constraints learning through mother tongue will provide a smooth transition from home to school. However, a challenge that remains is that even among the Africans themselves, competition is rife to speak English like the British or even better. In such a scenario it is very difficult to find a country with political commitment to mother tongue medium of instruction in a manner proposed by Prah (1995a, b) and Skuthabb-Kangas (2000). It is argued that harmonisation of orthographies will alleviate the problem of resources in some of the languages. There is need to move from the elite-oriented type of education and move with current tides of mass education offered through indigenous languages. A language battle cannot be won in one day but each step taken contributes to final victory. African governments should vigorously pursue the issue of mother tongue instruction guided by the observation that any language is capable of rising to a dominant position. Had the English not valued their language, Latin would still be the "world" language. By the same token if Africans do not value their languages, English and other non-African languages will remain "the world languages".

2.6 THE ROLE OF LITERATURE IN EDUCATION

In this section the study discusses the role of literature in educational development and the challenges that limit smooth implementation of use of African literature.

2.6.1 Literature and educational development

In a continent often torn by conflict and war, and now confronting serious issues of H.I.V./AIDS, illiteracy and poverty, the role of African literature cannot be over-emphasised. Since literature is about life, it must have a bearing on what is required to improve the quality of life. African literature can help Africans to be more aware of their history and culture, (Palmer in Adams and Mayes 1998:39). African literature has a very crucial role as a catalyst for bringing about change and development in African societies.

Palmer in Adams and Mayes (ibid) argues that mere provision of reading materials for Africans contributes towards enhancement of quality of life. Formal education is about literacy and being literate requires that the learner gets written materials in the language of learning to enhance their reading skills. If indigenous languages are the media of instruction as argued above, indigenous literature will certainly complement the transfer of knowledge and skills in a language the learners understand. This fosters a smooth development from the home to the school environment and from the oral to the written word. Above all the three aspects of language that are, the language of real life, the verbal signposts and the written signposts, (Ngugi 1994:13) will be neatly synchronised. Indigenous literature provides harmony for the child as well as continuity in socio-cultural aspects of the learner from the home to the school environment. Literature like language is an important component of any educational activity. Literature helps people to be literate. The study acknowledges that literature is a vital tool that aids educational development.

The objective of African literature is cultural development that brings the concept of role of literature in educational development. Chinweizu (1988:xxviii-xix) compliments the study by asserting that *...African literature is used, not principally as flavouring in an academic diet, but for the larger cultural purpose of instructing Africans in African*

humanities. Anyidoho (1992:52) observes that Ngugi's decision to write in Gikuyu has enabled him to be in touch with his immediate society and that is what literature should do in the education system. Literature enables the writers to communicate with readers leaving readers challenged to take action.

The language of literature influences its appreciation by readers. Related to this Kole Omotoso (1987) cited by Anyidoho (*ibid*) observes that the banning of Ngugi's *Matigari* was a result of the language used. Security officers who collected copies of *Matigari* warned the publishers not to reprint "in kikiyu", but were not bothered by the English version. The kikuyu version was more "dangerous" in the views of the government for it mobilises peasants and workers for social transformation. Ngugi's case aptly conveys the role of African literature in education as a vehicle for social transformation. African literature will conscientise the masses instead of a fraction of the elite, giving pointers to challenges in the physical, historical, economic and socio-political environments of the readers.

Miranda (2004:103) illustrates that literature empowers the indigenous people

...by sharing a vision, an experience, a resonance that communicates and teaches them understanding ... of each other, their connection with the planet their flaws and beauty as alive beings in a way nothing else can.

Indigenous literature enables its writers to work directly with members of their immediate society. It is this ability that frustrates the elite since such literature opens a wider gate for mass participation in the affairs of the state and polity. Justice (2004) and Ngugi (1994) concur that indigenous literature is a tool of liberation for the indigenous communities and that the colonisers used foreign literature as a weapon against Africans. Justice (2004:2) postulates that:

...literature has helped to disfigure the minds of generations of people throughout the world in pulp novels, film scripts... government documents, television shows... and scholarly monographs by representing the natives as commodities and historical artifacts [*sic*], playthings or annoyances to be used, discarded and ultimately erased from the memory of our wounded world...

Justice (ibid) maintains that mother tongue language is a meaningful complement to the healing process of decolonisation and indigenous empowerment. It is the argument of this study that African literature can challenge the natives and non-natives to surrender stereotypes and transform the poor vision of African literature and bring about socio-cultural and economic development. Miranda (ibid) and Justice's (ibid) contend that literature can create a resonance that teaches the indigenous people to appreciate their environment. Mutasa's 2005 *Sekayi Minda Tave Nayo* aptly presents the healing process of decolonisation through the manner in which themes of land redistribution are discussed. Proposals for nation building and unity are advanced in the novel.

2.6.2 Limitations to the role of African literature

While the study maintains that literature is the bedrock to any educational endeavour, it acknowledges the presence of a host of constraints that militate against effective use of African literature in education. Palmer in Adams and Mayes (1998:40-49) illustrates that the major constraint is access. This study notes that the limitations can be grouped into three, that is, those that relate to the role of writers, those related to the nature of African governments and finally those related to form and content of the literature.

2.6.2.1 Role of writers

Anyidoho (1992), Mazrui (1986) and Palmer in Adams and Mayes (1998) agree that African literature should be written in African languages to prevent it from being a by-product of European linguistic imperialism. They observe that by writing in non-African languages, African writers write for external readers mainly. African literature books nurtured in the brains of Africans like Achebe, Soyinka, Ngugi and others are produced outside the continent. When such books are made available they are very expensive as importation involves foreign exchange that many African governments struggle to get (Palmer in Adams and Mayes ibid: 40). Writers often make their works inaccessible due to the medium and even the density of language to the extent that certain works are only suitable for university graduates. Such works exclude the general readers hence they cannot have dialogue with their people (Anyidoho

1992:53 and Palmer in Adams and Mayes 1998:46). The view of the study is that there is nothing wrong in writing for specific groups, what matters is that all groups of people have access to literature in a language that they are proficient in. Limiting writers to use a language that is uniform in terms of density militates against freedom of expression and literary development. It is a necessary ingredient that literary works be varied in terms of content and density depending on the level of targeted readers. It is common knowledge that similar themes can be communicated to different levels of society differently. What differentiates them is the density of language and complexity of presentation.

Another limitation preventing the effective use of African literature in education is the issue of language. Africa is a multi-lingual continent and as such some of the languages are still not available in written form. While writers might want to write in mother tongue, there will still be some languages that remain not catered for. Palmer in Adams and Mayes (ibid) suggests that people should be comfortable with writing African literature in metropolitan languages. This proposition is limited, as this will continue to enhance the metropolitan languages. Rather it is suggested that more and more work be done towards ensuring that all African languages are available in the written form. This might take ages but a task done is half accomplished. Through harmonisation of orthographies the task is likely to be easier.

The argument presented by Palmer that African people who are literate in their languages are likely to be literate in English or French or some other metropolitan languages cannot be motivation for abandoning African literature. Being literate is not being proficient in the language. Moreover the study maintains that be that as it may “African literature” written in non-African languages does not carry the language and culture of the people. Access to literary texts should be promoted through mother tongue, bearing in mind that literature itself is by nature elitist so to use non-African languages for literature is to widen the barrier and heighten the elitism.

2.6.2.2 African governments as obstacles

Adams and Mayes (1998:4) observe *Literature and African Development is beautifully political*. African governments present one of the major challenges as

regards accessibility of African literature. The African socio-economic and political structures dictate the tide, (Anyidoho 1992; Ngugi 1994 and Palmer in Adams and Mayes, 1998). Government policies are prohibitive to the extent that books are considered a luxury by most African governments. Books published outside are charged import duty such that at the end no ordinary African can buy them, as they will be very expensive. The major problem is that most governments face serious problems in securing foreign currency so even when it is secured priority is given to other urgent issues that have a direct impact on the economy like fuel.

African governments do not seem to realise that education means books. Although this problem can be solved by local publishing houses, in countries like Zimbabwe these still have to import certain accessories necessary for printing. Even when all is evened out, censorship in Africa has also discouraged writers in dealing with certain topical issues. To enhance accessibility of literature to people, change will have to be made not only in the economic but political structure of some African countries, so that literature can sensitise the intended people, (Palmer in Adams and Mayes 1998:40-49). A systems approach to change is most ideal to bring holistic change, which accommodates all sub-systems in order to maintain equilibrium.

2.6.2.3 Form and content as obstacles

Palmer in Adams and Mayes (1998:46-7) contends that a number of writers feel that literature should point to the deficiencies of the system, mobilise people for the desired change and effect change. The problem of assigning literature the role of analysing the present organisation of African society with the hope of bringing change is somehow reactionary and is what misled pioneer African writers. Ngugi criticizes pioneer African writers that they got the diagnosis of Africa's pre-independence problems wrong when they attacked colonialism instead of neo-imperialism, (Palmer in Adams and Mayes *ibid*: 48). The study proposes a more proactive role for literature. Writers must be free to write about other issues as long as they write about issues that will open doors for socio-cultural and economic development. That way African literature can play a very important role in education. In so doing obstacles that limit effectiveness of literature can be dealt with.

2.7 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, different views pertaining to the relationship between language, literature and development have been considered. That there is need for African languages and their literature to be used as empowerment tools has been clearly articulated. Challenges and limitations that are obstacles to smooth implementation of mother tongue media of instruction have also been discussed. The central argument remains that indigenous languages and their literature will open doors for mass participation in African communities. An indigenous approach to national development that promotes greater usage of African languages and literature in scientific, artistic and cultural discourse was proposed. It is also acknowledged that it's not an easy task because the change is going to bring discomforts to the elite hence it is likely to meet with stiff resistance but commitment to and conviction in the use of African language will eventually engage a majority until results are positive. The change would bring financial challenges of financing the implementation at a time when most African governments are struggling with the fight against HIV/AIDS and other challenges. The challenges are many but the gains could eventually be more rewarding, fulfilling and satisfying. The harmonisation of orthographies is one avenue that is likely to encourage use of indigenous languages and literature in indigenous languages development.

CHAPTER 3

LANGUAGE POLICIES AND EMPOWERMENT IN AFRICA AND ZIMBABWE: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

What is the difference between a politician who says Africa cannot do without imperialism and a writer who says Africa cannot do without European languages? (Ngugi, 1994:24).

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In the preceding chapter, the relationship between language, literature and development was extensively discussed. One of the trademarks of European imperialism in Africa was the imposition of colonial language, formal education and literature based on the colonial languages. In this chapter the study focused its exploration on language planning in Zimbabwe. To be able to appreciate the developments in Zimbabwe the study paid attention to language planning in some selected African countries in which use of African languages has been significantly successful. Language planning in Zimbabwe was traced from the colonial period to the present day. The chapter also discusses the development of literature against the backdrop of colonial and postcolonial language policies in Zimbabwe.

3.2 AN OVERVIEW OF LANGUAGE PLANNING IN SELECTED AFRICAN COUNTRIES

The partition of Africa saw African countries being defined and defining themselves according to languages of Europe, for example, Anglo-phone Africa, Franco-phone Africa and Lusophone Africa. This means that even the cultures and language planning experiences of these countries were seriously affected by the definitions. French speaking and Portuguese speaking countries followed a rather conservative policy whereby the indigenous languages were not recognised in the systems of education. In Portuguese speaking countries the medium of communication in education was Portuguese from day one till end of the formal education programmes. This seriously affected the level of formal learning and it also immediately alienated

the educated African child from their roots, (Bamgbose, 1991; Mutasa, 2006). Colonial domination led to depersonalisation of part of Africa and this left serious linguistic dents on the African continent whose effects continue to affect post-colonial Africa, for example, Zimbabwe continues to be influenced by Doke's recommendations in terms of the writing system. Anglophone Africa tolerated the major indigenous languages and had a policy of using them as media of instruction prior to the fourth grade. In English speaking countries such as Zimbabwe indigenous languages such as Ndebele and Shona appeared in their written form and were taught as school subjects up to university level.

In colonial Africa, the languages of administration, law, medicine, education, commerce and parliament were the colonial master's languages namely, English for Anglophone Africa, French for Francophone Africa, Portuguese for Lusophone Africa and German and Afrikaans for Namibia. This scenario meant that indigenous languages were reduced to languages of no economic value. Decades after the political liberation of the whole of Africa, the colonial language policies remain entrenched in Africa's language policies in spite of declarations of the sometimes radical language policies by political leadership. In Namibia, English and Afrikaans remain the languages of social and economic empowerment, (Batibo, 2005:108).

Colonial language policies continue to influence, mar and determine the current situation in Africa. Language planning in Africa takes place against a backdrop of several factors such as

- multilingualism
- colonial legacy
- high incidence of illiteracy
- high incidence of HIV/AIDS
- concerns for communication
- national integration and development and
- globalisation

Multilingualism poses a challenge of language choice for administration, communication and education. Language selection and defining the roles of each

language becomes a very big challenge to African governments and a great concern for the linguists. The colonial legacy has left policies of the medium of instruction as well as volumes of literature printed in the colonial languages such that it somehow creates an advantage to continue with the language policies of the past simply to take advantage of available resources. In an age where formal education determines level of development, African governments have tended to concentrate on provision of education for all (EFA) without concerning themselves with *in what language of instruction should it be delivered?*

Illiteracy is the most devastating form of exclusion yet its prevalence is rampant in African countries. Today's illiterates have to operate in situations in which reading, counting and writing are unavoidable for example bank cards, forms, passports, letters, voting by secret ballot and internet to mention but a few. Level of literacy directly affects the level of development while incidence of HIV/AIDS weighs heavily on the national fiscus. Health issues seriously affect the level of development of nations as they drain the national budget on health care and facilities while economic production is adversely affected by absence of personnel on sick leave, their poor performance as a result of poor health status and/or finally their deaths. Promotion of indigenous languages becomes an imperative especially where the level of literacy is low, people need information on HIV/AIDS in their indigenous languages to be able to positively contribute towards the fight against HIV/AIDS. To be able to empower their nations African governments need to urgently consider communicating with all members of their communities. If the objective of communication is participation by all members of society, then language planning must reflect that. Globalisation poses the temptation of maintaining global languages to keep pace with global developments. Africa still needs to gain a significant place in the global economy, politics and other development initiatives so the temptation is great.

Most decisions and policies by African countries are not explicit; they are characterised by one or more of the following problems *avoidance, vagueness, arbitrariness, fluctuation and declaration without implementation.* (Bamgbose 1991:111) Countries such as Tanzania, Kenya, Botswana, Namibia and South Africa have explicit language policies. However, these are not based on linguistic research or consultation but on government decree, (ibid). Bamgbose (ibid) and Mazrui and

Mazrui (1998) agree that the successes witnessed by Tanzania, Ethiopia and Somalia where Kiswahili, Amharic and Somali were able to respectively entrench themselves successfully were a result of mass mobilisation and sensitisation. Mazrui and Mazrui (ibid: 95) confirm that the one-party civilian government of Tanzania inspired by its policy of socialism (*Ujamaa*) and self-reliance (*kujitegemea*) made a decisive move to adopt Kiswahili as its national and official language. The successes scored by Tanzania in the swahilisation process are a result of heavy financial and human resource investment to meet the different linguistic needs of the state and society. It is vital to invest in both human and financial resources if positive results are to be realised in language planning. It is not enough to simply decree without conscientisation and supporting the implementation process. After the Arusha Declaration in 1967 Chama-Chama Pinduzi (CCM) worked towards the success of the swahilisation policy.

Tanzania has achieved a considerably high degree of democratisation through deliberate language choice and language policy. English was replaced with Kiswahili as the sole language of parliamentary business, both written and oral that enabled Tanzanian people to participate in political and legislative issues, (ibid). This move opened floodgates to the “*common people*” who could now compete with members of the educated elite for parliamentary seats as they could use their Kiswahili oratorical skills effectively to influence legislative decisions. Other than empowering its speakers, the move had an effect of elaborating the language bringing in new technical terms for legislative register. The participation of more citizens in the Bunge has enriched and empowered Tanzanians to the effect that they realise that their language has capacity for abstract, intellectual and scientific thought, (Bamgbose, 1991).

In Africa the success of language policy in favour of African languages is linked to the survival of autocratic regimes. In Somalia, President Mohammed Saidi Barre’s military dictatorial rule transformed the linguistic landscape overnight. He decreed in 1972 that Somali replaces Arabic, English and Italian and it was successful. In Uganda, Milton Obote (1962-1971 and 1980-85) failed to deal with the promotion of Kiswahili as a national language. Again it took a military dictator, Idi Amini to transform the situation in 1972 by declaring Kiswahili the national language and

introducing it as a major language of Uganda radio and television. All things being equal it should be observed that indigenous languages are better suited for mass mobilisation and organisation of labour for economic development. Ujamaa in Tanzania enjoyed the little fortunes it did partly due to the role played by Kiswahili because government was able to communicate with its people, (Bamgbose, *ibid*). Whilst dictatorship is a loathed phenomenon, in Africa, it has served to demonstrate that African languages can be adopted and adapted for parliamentary and legal debates as witnessed in Tanzania, Uganda and Kenya. The linguistic map of Africa can only be changed through *aggression*. Mutasa (2006:83) asserts that *aggression is a paramount ingredient in development without which the development and promotion of African languages is tantamount to being lip service*. There is need to go beyond policy proclamation and support policy implementation if language policies have to be meaningful.

Laitin (1992) argues that the economic misfortunes of Africa are a result of Africa's dependence on European languages. He contends that use of African languages is likely to make it difficult to seek western expertise and to reduce western penetration of Africa. By learning to modernise without westernisation, Africa is likely to improve her chances of more organic economic and political development. In the same vein the study argues that the use of African languages would assist Africa retain her most valued human resources who leave their countries for better economic opportunities in the Diasporas. The brains of Africa would not be drained but rather invested in their homeland. Linguistic dissociation with the West would help separate the technical from the western making it more probable to induce challenge whilst policies of linguistic association might induce "*catch-up*", (Laitin, 1983:38). Challenge might lead to innovativeness based on local resources and indigenous ideas. Africa needs to urgently consider the gains of language planning in favour of the indigenous languages or risk to remain trailing behind global development.

3.3 COLONIAL LANGUAGE POLICIES IN ZIMBABWE

This section is aimed at putting into perspective language practices that influenced language policies of the former British Colony of Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). It was hoped that an examination of these colonial language policies would give insight

into the developments that led to and continue to shape language policies in Zimbabwe. The complementary as well as divergent roles of the British South Africa Company (BSACo) and missionaries in influencing language policies will be analysed. An evaluation of whether or not, who and how the policies were empowering will characterise the discussion. In the discussion frequent reference is made to the Shona language since it is the language widely spoken, however other languages remain important.

3.3.1 The British South Africa Company's language policy

The British South Africa Company was the first colonial power and as its language policy, it regarded proficiency in local African languages as a prerequisite for the facilitation of collection of taxes, knowledge of native laws and customs that enabled the enforcement of colonial orders. The white settlers realised that language is a liberating force for human reasoning. Because of this, they had to be socio-linguistically empowered by encouraging bilingualism. On the other hand Africans had a limited access to English thereby excluding a majority of the Africans from the colonialists' cultural milieu. Okonkwo (1986) as quoted by Uju (2008:24) acknowledges the vital role language plays in enculturation. Mutasa (1995:92) proclaims that people exist as language groups and what they do is mostly associated with the language group they form part of. Exclusion from English meant that this majority was automatically excluded from the language of international communication, education, technical prowess and virtually the modernisation process. Makoni et al (2007) confirm that expertise in African languages enhanced the BSACo's control of Africans. In Zimbabwe, both the BSACo's and missionaries encouraged bilingual language policies amongst the Europeans although they operated from two different orientations.

The colonial government encouraged acquisition of African languages so as to empower the whites to gain control of the African population. The police needed African languages to mediate among different factions and accommodate interests of Europeans and Africans as well as interests of conflicting African groups. Due to their particular and peculiar motivation, the BSACo's interest in African languages was to know meanings of words whilst missionaries had a different conceptualisation about

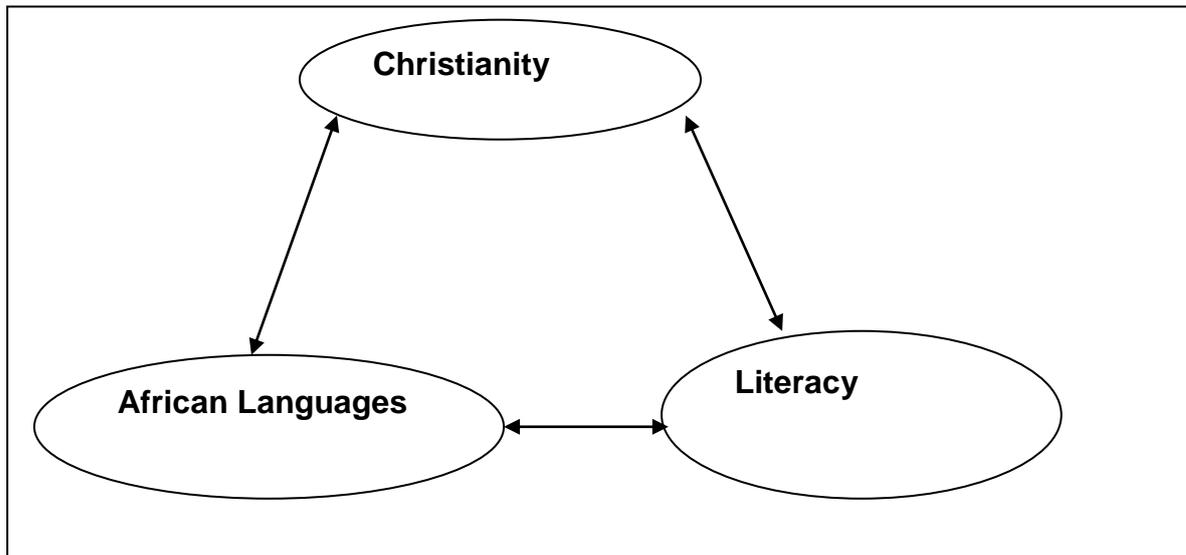
the nature of African languages. Between 1925 and 1935 the company introduced a new language policy whereby competence in African languages meant an ability to analyse the language. Expertise in African languages translated to textual skills that could be acquired through interaction with Africans. At times the Zimbabwean community perceived this acquisition of a local language by the dominant group negatively because language is their sense of security. A person who lacks the power of language power cannot do well since command of language is command of power. For their socio-political development the colonialists had to acquire African languages. English was preserved for a select few among the Africans thereby furthering the African's economic marginalisation. By acquiring the local language the colonialists were able to penetrate into the social worlds of the Africans without a corresponding access by the African into the world of the Europeans. In this regard bilingualism was beneficial to the white settlers while disempowering the Africans.

The BSACo realised that African languages had a role to play in the development of the colony hence considerable investment was put into compilation of lists of words and their meanings with a view to understand the native languages. Investment into compilation of lists of words suggested that language proficiency was construed as the knowledge of meanings of words rather than ability to speak. The interpreters of the Shona language for example, were second language speakers of Zulu descent. This tells a story about how the written Shona language was developed. Two alien groups of speakers to the language ended up constructing the Shona language. In the end what emerged was an imposition of European's variants or partial understanding or mishearing of African languages on Africans either through the judicial system or the education system as apparent in the naming of towns like Wankie for Hwange, Shabani for Zvishavani and Selukwe for Shurugwi, (Makoni et al, 2007:18). To a great extent the BSACo's language policies were empowering the white colonialists while they were of little benefit to the indigenous communities. That the indigenous speakers were not involved at a large scale left them disempowered in various ways. The language so-produced was not the original Shona and also they could not easily see the connection between the oral and the written language.

3.3.2 Missionary influence to language policy

Missionaries viewed expertise in African languages as an indispensable tool for missionary work in Zimbabwe. Like the BSACo, missionaries encouraged a bilingual language policy amongst the Europeans. However, unlike the BSACo the missionaries' emphasis was on written or textual skills. Between 1903 and 1928 seven rival missionary societies worked on a single Shona orthography that was summarised and formalised by Doke in his 1931 Report. Their aim was to translate the bible as opposed to enhancing ability to control Africans. Their sole aim was to translate the bible and use the bible and other religious literature to "tame" the Africans. The Shona who were generally hostile to colonialism readily entered into dialogue with evangelism. This marked the beginning of socialisation for market economy. For the missionaries a clear connection appeared between Christianity, literacy and African languages.

Diagram 3.1: Missionaries' perceptions of Christianity, Literacy and African Languages



Some missionary boards went to extents of setting conditions for missionaries as a way of encouraging them to master African languages. Jeater (2001) postulates that American Mission Board (AMB) insisted that, missionaries and their wives would not vote in elections until they passed examinations in vernacular. Missionaries had to use indigenous languages to get maximum effect of their work (Pennycook and Makoni, 2005). They used new words based on African religious cosmology and in

the process ended up coming up with old words referring to new forms of religious cosmology which were neither African nor European. Africans lost their language and culture in the process.

Translation affected the African's conceptualisation of their languages. Before colonisation and translation, African languages only existed in their oral form and could not be separated from other social practices. Translation coupled with religious literature had a great effect on the socio-genesis of African languages. Jeater (2001:456) argues that through translation missionaries managed to reinvent African languages within Christian tradition. To a great extent the activities of the missionaries stifled proper status planning. Status planning according to Silentman (1995:181) involves the indigenous language speakers in decision-making. In the development of the Shona language, the main actors in coming up with a written language were missionaries, Africans on the other hand were disempowered as they viewed their languages as texts in which there was a stable relationship between language and meaning. Production of dictionaries exacerbated the African's conceptualisation of their language. It translated into a separation of their languages from usual social functions to a production of a special type of Shona which had restricted functions. Missionary activities were more involved in preparing African languages for their new functions in society.

Doke's Recommendation 1 on the unification of Shona dialects, *By the main Shona-speaking area 1 mean the area covered by the Zezuru, Karanga, Korekore, Manyika and Ndau groups* (Doke, 1931:76), reflects the impact of Christianity on ways of thinking about African languages. The five dialects represented five different religious denominations. Kalanga was excluded although it had a lot in common with the other Shona dialects. This caused Kalanga to borrow heavily from Ndebele as a result. Makoni et al (ibid:25) observe that language policies which sought to promote standardised African languages would be received negatively by educated Africans as promoting European values under the guise of so-called indigenous languages. Such perceptions may partially account for the negative responses to African languages as mediums of instruction by educated Africans even in the present day.

In the case of Shona the other source of controversy was the absence of indigenous speakers in the decision making process of the standardisation of Shona. Africans were involved to provide vocabulary but the decision of defining which dialects made up the Shona language was made by Doke and his missionary counterparts. It has already been mentioned that what resulted was the European's mishearing of the African languages. This perhaps explains why Kalanga was not included among the dialects that comprised Shona. Makoni in Prah (2000:164) asserts that the written African languages that were created were "new" in many respects both in their potential and limitations. It is further argued that until recently those who were promoting African vernaculars, particularly Shona, were doing so for their own purposes. This augments reasons why the BSACo and missionaries had different approaches to the development of African languages in Zimbabwe.

Reverend Rusike is captured in the Bantu Mirror (1934:8) as cited by Makoni et al (2007:23) contesting that

No African was given a seat in the unification committee, and one of the results is that the newly formed language is a mixture of Xhosa, Zulu, Ndebele, Kitchen Kaffir, Swahili, Nyanja and English. To my mind, it is not Shona language that white people are trying to force; it is a white man's native language.

While scholars like Silentman would criticise the standardisation process for poor status planning, perhaps the indigenous people would complain about violation of their rights to language hence they would distance themselves from the outcome of the process as did Rusike. The contention aptly depicts lack of involvement of the indigenous speakers as well as their ultimate feeling about this exclusion. Though there might be some exaggeration on mixture what is important is to note that the new language was not accepted by people like Rusike as Shona language but an amalgam of languages or a *white man's native language*. Makoni in Prah (ibid) and Rusike as captured by the Bantu Mirror cited by Makoni et al (ibid) concur that the new language was not Shona. As if this was not enough the teaching of Shona was further undermined in that it was taught in English at some stages. The status of Shona was greatly affected since students lacked confidence in the language. The language-in-education policies that have continued to affect current students have their origins in colonial Zimbabwe.

In as much as the colonial governments are applauded for promoting indigenous languages, they never made an attempt to use indigenous languages as vehicles of education and technical development. Ngara (1982:17) argues that no attempts have been made to develop Shona language into a vehicle of education and technical development. The colonial government opted for literacy and formal education offered in the second language while Shona and Ndebele were taught as subjects. Missionaries were not involved in preparing African languages for their new functions in society, that is, Shona and Ndebele were restricted to being media of educational instruction for the first three years of school. This created fallacies that Shona and Ndebele occupied a status above other indigenous languages and a status below English. These notions have shaped the linguistic attitudes of many regimes that ruled Zimbabwe up to the present day.

Colonial language policies distanced Shona elite from the masses and this frustrated moves to get local people involved in developmental projects (Jeater, 1994). The emergence of a *new type* of Shona coupled with the insignificant role assigned to the Shona language in the education process particularly as a medium of educational instruction alienated the educated elite from the grassroots. To a great extent these language policies disempowered and eroded confidence in Africans.

Although missionaries were guided by politics of religion and education in coming up with a Shona writing system, their contribution as well as Doke's legacy propped Shona to be one of the most developed languages in Africa after Swahili and Amharic. Professor Doke, a linguist at the University of Witwatersrand in South Africa was given a special mandate to work out:

...a settlement of the language problems involving the unification of dialects into literary form for official and educational purpose, and the standardization [sic] of a uniform orthography for the whole area, (Chimhundu, 1992:105).

Development of the Shona writing system was started by missionaries and later standardised by Doke in 1931. With a writing system in place, the Shona language now appeared in oral and literary form. To this extent missionaries assisted in broadening the scope of the Shona language. Indigenous artists started to produce creative work such as novels with a writing system in place. To a great extent the

language policies and practices of BSACo, its successor regimes and missionaries though divergent in some cases, complemented each other and influenced the development of Shona literature in the process.

3.4 POST COLONIAL LANGUAGE POLICY IN ZIMBABWE

In this section, the focus is on the language policies that have been implemented since 1980. The language policies are critically examined to establish whether there has been any change and to what extent it has empowered the indigenous people

3.4.1 Colonial legacy

Almost throughout Anglophone Africa, the English language is the primary language of legislation, the courts, medicine, education and commerce. Constitutions are written in English making them remote, (Mutasa: 1995). Zimbabwe is constitutionally a trilingual state but English is Zimbabwe's lingua franca. Mkanganwi in Crawhall (1992:17) declares that there has not been any language planning debate before and since independence. He further argues that there is no evidence of planning for language planning as Heinz Kloss calls it. Apart from the constitutional clauses referring to language, and Section 55 of the 1987 Education Act, there has been no evidence of significant language planning in Zimbabwe, (Mkanganwi in Crawhall, *ibid*). Thondhlana (2000) corroborates by asserting that there is no language policy document except a few minor details contained in the 1987 Education Act.

At independence, the country had no option but to adopt the colonial legacy. The new regime had push and pull factors to continue with the colonial language policies. English was more developed than the indigenous languages. It continues to be the global language, the language of the Internet, the language of wider communication and the language of official documents. Realising that Zimbabwe requires a high level of manpower, technology and contact with the external world (Mutasa 1995:5), it made sense to continue with colonial legacy for two reasons. Firstly, to keep track with global developments, maintain internal unity and contacts with friends of Zimbabwe. Secondly, there was a strong motivation to adopt incremental policies that capitalise on available resources and ride on existing structures. Fishman (1974) as cited by Thondhlana (2000:7) also suggests two reasons why Zimbabwe has not

moved from the language policy of the colonial days. The two reasons are referred to by Fishman (1974) as cited by Thondhlana (ibid) as “nationalistic” and ‘nationistic’. From a nationalistic point of view, English is retained as the official language because it is viewed as neutral, therefore has a unifying role among different indigenous language groups. Thondhlana maintains that English has been used for continuity and efficiency; that is a nationistic function. Nationistic function refers to how a country handles its affairs in government, education, commerce and external affairs. It is the later which influenced the role given to English after independence. Pursuing colonial legacy reduced wastages, however it may have overlooked other factors such as:

- (i) Was such a policy all inclusive and complementary to democratic principles?
- (ii) What language would have included a majority of the new nation’s population in socio-cultural and economic development especially in view of Education for All (EFA)?

3.4.2 Language policy in education

The fact that a great deal of African education was in the hands of the missionaries has immensely contributed to Shona and Ndebele ranking with Swahili in terms of development. It is this position rather than the constitutional position that has influenced language planning in Zimbabwe. Nziramasanga et al (1999:157) maintain that language policy in education has always been controversial. They postulate that policy positions have been advocated for with the aim of promoting and developing a Zimbabwean culture emphasising national unity but the result has been language policies have created more problems than solutions. Officially Shona and Ndebele enjoy an equal status with English (Ngara, 1982:119), however the reality is that examinations and requirements of commerce and industry give a higher status to English, (Nziramasanga, 1999: ibid). A socio-linguistic description of the language situation in Zimbabwe is given below to demonstrate how the three main languages are rated in Zimbabwe.

Table 3.1: Language situation in post-colonial Zimbabwe

LANGUAGE	STATUS/DOMINANCE	FUNCTIONS
English	Official status dominance	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- international communication (UN and AU)- wider communication (lingua franca)- educational instruction- school subject- literary for writing books- technical for scientific and technical communication- religious worship (iwesltr)
Shona	Numerical dominance	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- group language- school subject- literary- religious (gslr)
Ndebele	Recognised language	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- group language- school subject- literary- religious (gslr)

Adapted from Ngara (1982:28)

Naturally, the situation influences how the indigenous languages are viewed in all sectors of life. It was against this backdrop that the President of Zimbabwe instituted a Commission of Inquiry into Education and Training to establish through thorough study among other things specific policy initiatives on indigenous languages. The Commission was mandated to recommend specific policy initiatives on indigenous languages with a view to their wider use generally and more specifically in the education and training systems in Zimbabwe (TOR 2.1.8).

The springboard for the Commission was to establish the “*current situation*” in terms of language policy. Facts on the ground were that the language policy as contained

in the 1987 Education Act recognised the importance of English as the language of business, administration and international relations. Shona and Ndebele were taught up to university as subjects while English was the medium of instruction from the fourth grade and a compulsory subject required in all school certificates, (Gatawa, 1998 and Nziramasanga et al, 1999). The same instrument directed that English and either Shona or Ndebele be compulsory up to Zimbabwe Junior Certificate level (ZJC) while non-native speakers took ChiShona or IsiNdebele as a second language (L₂). After ZJC indigenous languages were optional however this was short-lived. Whilst this was policy, the situation on the ground was that indigenous languages were not given enough space and attention in the education system. Schools are usually motivated at teaching those subjects which give the school leaver an opportunity to be absorbed into industry and commerce. Even the Ministry of Education results analysis proformas have a prejudice towards the English Language. Part of the analysis requires schools to state how many students *passed with a Grade C or better including English*. At the end of the exercise schools are ranked accordingly. It suffices to mention that English as a subject and as a language of general educational instruction is given preference over the indigenous languages because other than a *pass in English Language* it also determines the pass rate and its quality in all other school subjects other than Shona and Ndebele.

In terms of time allocation almost half the teaching/learning time was given to the indigenous languages as compared to English. English teachers, lecturers and even authors are given a high-class status compared to their Shona/Ndebele counterparts. Teachers of English language boast of library periods over and above the teaching time, a thing that teachers of indigenous languages have never experienced. Other than this, literature in English is taught as a separate subject whilst literature and language lessons in indigenous languages have to share the few periods allocated to them.

In 1981 a full certificate at 'O' Level was defined as having five passes at Grade C including a language, which raised the status of indigenous languages, (Gatawa 1998; Nziramasanga et al, 1999). This was a positive development in terms of language planning for genuine democratic development. Mazrui and Mazrui (1998)

claim that language planning for genuine democratic development should accomplish three objectives;

- (i) Enable national language(s) to express the socio-cultural diversity existing in a particular country.
- (ii) Seek to neutralise linguistically based prejudices and negative stereotypes against particular group(s) in the nation
- (iii) Expand the lexical scope of national language(s) to include fundamental precepts of democracy like openness, transparency, accountability, popular participation, fairness etcetera.

Pressure from colleges of education, the University of Zimbabwe, the formal employment sector and conservative elements in the Ministry of Education influenced an about turn which redefined a full 'O' Level certificate to mean 5'O' Level passes at Grade C or better including English, (Gatawa, 1998; Nziramasanga et al, 1999). This position remains a setback in the development of indigenous languages as subjects. If they are not to enjoy the same status at the end of an educational process, no matter what policy is put in place to increase teaching/learning time and other conditions indigenous languages, as subjects will remain relegated to the periphery of the education process.

Efforts were made to introduce two separate subjects for language and literature. In 1987, the African Languages Panel's proposal to introduce two separate subjects for language and literature was rejected on the grounds that this would overload the timetable and that teaching/learning material and personnel would not be available. The argument that the literature programme would not be viable was only a question of attitude, being conservative and resistant to change. It is noted that this was the period that witnessed an influx in the publication of literature in indigenous languages, such that the question of material resources could be dealt with. During the time in question, government invested heavily in education and came up with a variety of initiatives in teacher education such as the ZINTEC programme, the four-year, one year in one year out programme, which could have complemented the human resource aspect. In view of this research the excuses were flimsy, as further exploration could have alleviated the challenges.

A positive development of 1987 that was in conformity with the advocacy of UNESCO was the introduction of the teaching of minority languages such as TshiKalanga, TshiVenda, ChiTonga, ChiTshangana and ChiNambya that were to be progressively taught up to Grade 3 by 2001. The teaching of these minority languages took an annual progression up to Grade 7 by 2005 (*Secretary's Policy Circular 1 of 2002*). As Gatawa (1998:53) reasons the teaching of minority languages lacks material support. Teacher education is not supporting the initiative that renders language policy vague. It is the argument of this research that in spite of the challenges of non-availability of resources, negative attitudes from both teachers and pupils, government took a firm position maybe for political reasons but by now those attitudes seem to have changed. The same could have been done in implementing the proposals of the African Languages Panel.

The teaching of minority languages up to Grade 3 promised no future to the learners and discourages those who might want to learn the subject at higher levels. Limiting indigenous languages to certain confines exposes the languages to being viewed as inadequate in scope and function yet it is through usage that languages develop. The first support that languages need is extensive usage in a wide variety of areas. In Zimbabwe, English remains the language of constitutional matters, state documents and vital information on development. Even in print media if one needs to read about issues of development one would not read *Kwayedza* as issues published in this weekly paper, are seen by many as not being of any economic or developmental significance. Needless to say *Kwayedza* is a tabloid. English remains the key qualification for education and training, employment, upward social mobility and international dialogue. Language planners and the government of Zimbabwe should pause, ponder and consider the economic consequences the language issue has cost the country.

Currently the country is facing a serious exodus of human resources in the form of both brain drain and brawn drain. It is the argument of this research that the language issues, particularly the bias towards English, which enables Zimbabweans to fit in external environments. Had their education had indigenous language bias the exodus rate would have been controllable because a majority would have required to

adapt to the languages of the migrant countries first before they could effectively be economically productive.

Although part of the provisions of the 1987 Education Act directs that mother tongue be the medium of instruction at lower grades up to Grade 3, the National Language Policy Advisory Panel has criticised it for lack of a supportive package at the implementation stage both in strategy and on timetabling. As a result most schools follow an obscure English only medium of instruction. Teachers are often heard competing to hand-over to the next grade pupils who are groomed to speak in English. Up until such a time that indigenous language are given legal, social and economic status equal to that of English, societal attitudes are likely not to change. One way of changing the attitudes would be to produce as much literature about development issues in indigenous languages as possible. Information on Science and Technology is not accessible in indigenous languages for the majority of people. Dependence on English language could be leading to the economic misfortunes of Zimbabwe. The belief that English is vital to the country's technological advancement and modernisation is likely to deepen this dependence.

As outlined above, use of African languages is likely to make it more difficult to seek western expertise, and it will reduce western penetration as well as curb brain drain in Zimbabwe. By learning to modernise without westernisation, Zimbabwe may improve its chances of economic and political development. According to Laitin (1983:38), *policies of linguistic dissociation might induce challenge whilst policies of linguistic association might induce "catch-up"*. Laitin draws the example of Japan where linguistic barriers have been particularly high. He argues that there was incentive to separate the technical from the western, making it more probable the development of distinct organisations and market strategies. Zimbabwe needs to adopt such a strategy that might lead to innovativeness based on local resources and ideas. Mazrui and Mazrui (1998) acknowledge that policies that favour use of indigenous languages as official media may help retain human resource. Their point is correct but it ignores the fact that countries also earn foreign currency through exporting human resources to other countries. Ngara (1982) and Nziramasanga et al (1999) agree that indigenous languages are pivotal to transmission of the Zimbabwean culture, values, norms and creation of a national identity. Nziramasanga

et al (ibid) further argue that the use of indigenous languages in education is part of the struggle towards reform of African education systems for sustainable development. The status of indigenous languages should be imbedded in the national constitution. The use of indigenous languages in industry and commerce would give feedback into the education system and motivate students to learn and master these languages. This usage would also motivate industry and commerce to invest in and support the development of indigenous languages. In that way the languages are likely to be developed.

In Zimbabwe the current economic challenges are such that although industry and commerce may want to assist, they are frustrated by uncertainties and are struggling to make meaningful business. It becomes very difficult to expect industry and commerce or even government to focus on issues of language policy yet it should be pointed out that this lack of urgency in addressing language issues might be too costly to the nation. Language issues should just be treated like other economic goods. Uju (2008:26) argues that lack of language power leads to *retardation of social development and economic marginalisation* [sic]. It is a fact that individuals who cannot communicate properly cannot handle opportunities that come their way

An effort was made to respond to the recommendations of the Nziramasanga Commission, whereby the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture redefined its position in language teaching and learning. The position addressed the following:

- 1) Minority local languages which included Kalanga, Tonga, Venda and Sotho had to be taught on an annual progression up to Grade 7 by 2005.
- 2) Ndebele and Shona were to be equated to English in terms of
 - (a) Number of hours allocated each week
 - (b) Provision of teaching/learning materials
 - (c) Research
 - (d) Level of difficultyThe provision for L₂ mode in formal school was removed.

- 3) Immediacy of the situation: Shona and Ndebele were made compulsory subjects up to Form 2 and had to be effected immediately, (Ministry of Education Sport and Culture, Secretary's Circular Number 1 of 2002).

The policy directive may have been a very good initiative; however it remains necessary to explore the extent of the response in terms of implementation. Whilst the policy circular stipulates that the *above provision have immediate effect*, nothing or very little seems to have happened since 2002.

It is perhaps a result of the observation that little was happening with regards to language teaching and learning that the Education Amendment Act (2006:28) had to outline *Languages to be taught in school*. The Act's highlights are;

- (1) Shona, Ndebele and English, shall be taught on an equal-time basis in all schools up to form two levels
- (2) In areas where indigenous languages other than those mentioned in subsection (1) are spoken, the Minister may authorise the teaching of such languages in schools in addition to those specified in subsection (1).
- (3) The Minister may authorize [sic] the teaching of foreign languages in schools.
- (4) Prior to Form One, any one of the languages referred to in subsection (1) and (2) may be used as the medium of instruction, depending upon which language is more commonly spoken and better understood by the pupils.
- (5) Sign language shall be the priority medium of instruction for the deaf and hard of hearing.

For the first time, indigenous languages have been accommodated as media of educational instruction up to Grade 7, however it should be pointed out that implementation of this section of the policy still remains to be explored. The other challenge that remains is to change the attitudes of both parents and teachers who might be conservative and resist change. For as long as indigenous languages are not directly linked to benefits that accrue at the end of the educational experience,

the Zimbabwean society is likely to continue clinging to prejudices that English is the gateway to success. The language of educational instruction signifies the importance of that particular language, in that it is chosen to transmit knowledge from generation to generation and from oral to literary form which makes it a permanent symbol of communication. The language is entrusted with handing over school graduates to the job market and the wider community. There is therefore need to link socio-cultural and economic developments to indigenous language usage in education and social life in general.

3.5 LITERATURE AGAINST THE BACKDROP OF COLONIAL AND POST-COLONIAL LANGUAGE POLICIES

The objective of this section is to explore the role of literature in relation to socio-cultural and economic development in both colonial and post colonial Zimbabwe. The section begins by looking at the role of literature in colonial Zimbabwe. In this subsection an analysis of the environment that nurtured and nurtured artists is given particular attention. The study takes a predilection in analysing the philosophy reflected in artists' works. Politico-historical environmental factors are examined in both eras. The section proceeds to discuss the situation in postcolonial Zimbabwe. Throughout the discussion it is important to explore whether or not literature empowered its writers and or consumers and finally conclude with a position on whether or not there has been a significant change in terms of factors that influence the role of literature in development. Special attention has been given to the development of the Shona novel with particular attention to some selected novels and artists.

3.5.1 Literature in Colonial Zimbabwe

The challenges of African literature originate from the challenges of history and philosophy of colonisation. The colonial governments adopted language policies that matched their motivation for language acquisition. In terms of literature, colonial cultural inhibitions, prescriptions and conventions affected the growth of the novel in colonial Zimbabwe. The politico-economic interests of the period affected literary

development. Ngugi (1997) argues that history, not fantasy, informs the imagination. This is an accurate observation. to a great extent.

In colonial Zimbabwe blacks were economically marginalised by the Land Apportionment Act of 1931, and further socially marginalised by the Native Education Act. The colonialists' dual education system, whereby whites received the best education while blacks received low class; ill-funded education had a bearing in the development of literature and its role in development. The blacks would naturally emulate and envy the better education and 'better' literature that was a package for the whites. Chiwome (1996:3) cites a Rhodesian economic historian remarking that *Education is one of the most intensively used tools of social control in settler-dominated societies*. Zimbabwe was not spared of tools of social control. Education was introduced for various reasons but the concern of this section has to do with literature, Shona novels in particular.

The Shona writing system was arrived at as a result of efforts from missionaries who wanted to translate the Bible and other religious texts. For the greater part of the colonial period mission schools outnumbered government schools, therefore it was natural for these schools to be grounded in Christian teachings and philosophy. Early prominent Shona artists such as Zvarevashe, Chakaipa, Rebeiro, Runyowa, Hamutyinei and Mutswairo grew up under missionary tutelage to become mission school teachers, lay preachers and full time preachers. Chiwome (1996:12) argues that this caused European ideas to be invested in the Shona world-view, a process described by Wamba-dia-Wamba as invest(ing) in the terrain of the enemy. Psychologists and educationists agree that the 'hallo effect' influences how people view their world. It is therefore not surprising that the writers mentioned above produced art that skirted around moralisation and Christian values in colonial Zimbabwe. Ngugi (1994) reiterates that early African novels took themes and moral preoccupation from the Bible. Art was simply a re-affirmation of established doctrines. Colonial education made western values an integral part of the minds of African students. Students learnt a lot about western literature and very little about Shona art. As a result those who took creative writing had problems finding their own voices and relating to their readers (Chiwome, *ibid*: 17). They lacked role models with

grounding in African culture and tradition. African writers were in a serious dilemma as clearly articulated by Chiwome (1996:17):

They wanted to articulate their own consciousness on the one hand while their images were manipulated to pay homage to the new culture on the other. They wanted to speak for their suffering fellowmen yet they were fragmented from them. Their words were Shona while the ideas they conveyed worked against the interests of the Shona. They were recipients of colonialists' education, which made them less sensitive to the forces underlying the reality they depicted. Education created a dissonance between the writers' desire to preserve the Shona culture and the contradictory objectives of its patrons.

The views expressed by Chiwome clearly support the argument of this discussion that the type of education and the environment they found themselves operating in seriously affected African writers. African writers were at cross roads of incompatible outlooks. As they tried to cautiously fight the system they further entangled themselves because they were ill equipped to produce imaginative and analytic work. Furthermore for others, creative writing generated fear, which resulted in creative timidity. This timidity was a response to the environment in which the artists worked.

In establishing the role of literature in development it is necessary to have knowledge of textology. In colonial Zimbabwe an examination of the role played by the Literature Bureau, a division of the African Education and Native Affairs Department cannot be underestimated. The Literature Bureau created in 1956 was part of the Ministry of Information and Native Affairs Department, which created and disseminated propaganda to facilitate peaceful administration of Africans. The hidden role of the Literature Bureau was to direct the novel along the path of least ideological resistance to colonial government.

Ngugi (1994:69–70) aptly illustrates the role of the Literature Bureau:

In Rhodesia the Literature Bureau would not publish an African novel, which had any but religious themes and sociological themes, which were free from politics. Retelling old fables and tales, yes. Reconstructions of pre-colonial magical and ritual practice, yes. Stories of characters who move from darkness of pre-colonial past to the light of the Christian present, yes. But any discussion of or any sign of dissatisfaction with colonialism. No!

Any literature considered adverse would therefore not be published. Literature that tried to address and provide solutions to pressing social problems, particularly the socio-economic and political status quo, was never published. Mutswairo's (1956) protest chapter in *Feso* had to be deleted before the book could be published. Chiwome (1996:9) captures Mutswairo recalling that:

My first chapter dealt with how we were dispossessed of the land ... I was unconsciously expressing the oppressive nature of the whites ... I was projecting the suffering I had undergone when we were served from windows in shops in towns.

Mutswairo's account reveals that the Bureau was a censorship board, which practised external censorship of filtering and channeling by imposing specific literary requirements for one's work to be considered. In the aim of maintaining law and order, dissenting art was prohibited based on the premises that people could not express different political opinions and remain united.

It was not only the Bureau which enforced censorship, other bodies, bills and acts such as The Law and Order Maintenance Act, the Sedition Bill of 1936 and the Subversive Activities Act of 1950 were tools used to control literary creativity. The fact that the Bureau was headed by bureaucrats who came to look at legal aspects of the book instead of creative writers and critics, disadvantaged and retarded the development of good literature. The plight of the artist was exacerbated by the engagement of school inspectors and other civil servants as assessors of the worthiness of the literature. The assessors by virtue of them being civil servants would serve government interests first. Secondly their interest was with schools; hence the literature they promoted was based on its relevance to the needs of schools. Due to the bottleneck type of education not many people had access to the literature. Colonial education had an influence on the development of literature and whom the literature empowered. As a result a work regarded as unsuitable for schools was condemned to oblivion. Publishers, printers and booksellers reinforced censorship, as they could not publish material, which risked being banned.

This scenario induced internal censorship, which is a psychological state whereby the author practises self-censorship in order to produce printable literature. Victims of such a scenario include Tsodzo (1972) in his publication *Pafunge* and Mutswairo

(1956) in *Feso*. As mentioned earlier on, Mutswairo had to remove the controversial chapter before his work could be published. As a way of protesting the arrangement, Tsodzo in *Pafunge* had to adopt a salient way of dealing with the socio-economic arrangements by using cacophemistic humour, understatements, parody and malapropism (Chiwome, 1996:29). As writers adopted these advanced methods of dealing with their situation, they may have missed the majority of ordinary readers. Novelists of this kind will be both analytic and synthetic as they pull apart and put together (Ngugi, 1997). To this extent both the readers and the artists were not empowered. Empowered writers are able to give sharper insights into the moving spirit of an era.

Whilst censorship helped African writers to hide sensitive parts of their message in symbolism, satire, allegory and many other devices, censorship created the post-colonial problem of reading too much into the text to get hidden messages. The environment under which colonial literature was produced had a dual impact. From one angle it did not empower the artists. However, from another angle, the restrictive environment empowered artists to seek for new forms of language less easy to detect than would have happened if there was no censorship. For example, Feso's famous song that appeals to Nehanda is an attack on colonialism. Some frustrated artists turned to external publishers, thereby allowing literature to grow in exile (Chiwome, 1996). To the readers, censorship denied a majority of them access to literature produced in their mother tongue as good authors ended up writing in English for a small coterie back home. Those who turned to external publishers include:

Samkange (1966) *On trial for my country*. London: Heinemann

Samkange (1975) *The mourned one*. London. Oxford University Press

Samkange (1978) *Year of uprising*. London: Heinemann

Mungoshi (1975) *Waiting for the rain*. London: Heinemann

Katiyo (1976) *A son of the soil*. Harlow: Longman

Marechera (1978) *House of hunger*. New York: Panteon Books

Though some of the good authors turned to publishing in English and using international book publishers such as Longman and College Press, censorship

produced an unintended effect. The artists were able to express the Zimbabwean situation to a wider international community. In a way it assisted in articulating the problems to an international community that empathised with and assisted Zimbabweans in the war of liberation.

The fact that the majority of the Zimbabwean population who the messages were targeted at could not consume the works proves that the literature was not empowering. That literature in indigenous languages has a greater and wider influence on socio-cultural and economic development of a people cannot be over emphasized. Writers articulate issues clearly and readers appreciate the messages better than when they are presented in a second language, hence the need for literature to be accessible to everyone linguistically.

There is also a group of artists who continued to be nurtured by the Bureau. Such writers had to avoid writing politically or racially motivated themes. The writers blamed social problems on Africans' laziness; drunkenness and improvidence to an extent that art failed to unveil the world-historical forces which cause suffering, (Chiwome, 1996 and Ngugi, 1994). Art produced in colonial Zimbabwe reflected that artists of this second group ended up being colonial praise-singers. The novelist should be with the people so as to articulate their deepest aspirations for freedom and for a higher quality of life. For these reasons, such literature was not empowering to both its authors and readers as it failed to capture the spirit of African worldview.

Over and above external censorship and internalised censorship, the Bureau exercised patronage as censorship. The Bureau fixed the length of manuscripts at 15000 words. Except for Mungoshi's (1978) *Ndiko Kupindana Kwamazuva*, Moyo's (1976) *Uchandifungawo* and Kuimba's (1976) *Rurimi Inyoka*, novels of the era are below 100 pages. Artists ended up being guided by stipulated lengths instead of exercising their creative genius. Interference with creative genius delayed the African's understanding of their social history.

Financial resources of the Bureau were limited and the assessors lacked relevant training, which limited their expertise. As a result, the preoccupation of the Bureau was with language, which detracted editors from focusing on fiction. The Bureau

lacked the necessary financial and human resources to produce and distribute literature of good quality. Although it is observed that literature development in pre-independent Zimbabwe faced a lot of challenges, it is acknowledged that the Bureau served as a beacon for encouraging publication and circulation of literature published in indigenous languages. The African artists were able to produce creative art though in a guided manner. Note should be taken that censorship had a negative impact in that African writers failed to understand their place in the changing society. This produced ripple effects even in some post-colonial artists.

Whilst the colonialists' efforts seemed to reflect that England should be taken as the center of development, paradoxically development did not radiate from England to Rhodesia in a diffusionist sense, (Chiwome, 1996:53). Incidentally when the cultures met, the developed got more developed, while the relatively undeveloped got underdeveloped, thereby disempowering the indigenous people. The aim may have been to produce a harmonious society, however the literature produced was found wanting in this respect.

According to Ngugi (1980:23) good art should encourage people to *bolder and higher resolves in all their struggles to free the human spirit from the twin manacles of oppressive nature and oppressive man*. The writer and the politician have often been the same person, for example Leopold Senghor of Senegal. *For people like him, the gun, the pen and the platform have served the same purpose of bringing total liberation*, (Ngugi, 1997:69). For colonial Zimbabwe it was not always the case due to the censorship laws. A few courageous writers attempted to link art with politics but they did so in a disguised manner such that their works reflect colonial praise singing and satire about the African people, for example Chidzero's (1957) *Nzvengamutsvairo*. Eagleton (1976:19) asserts that *... because the writer is an individual who is committed to humanity, he is likely to use his intellect and ability to question the direction of government and remind it of its goals*. This is lacking in most colonial Zimbabwean creative writing due to the repressive censorship laws. From the above discussion it can be concluded that to a large extent colonial Zimbabwean art did not quite rise to the level described by Ngugi (1980). Zimbabwean colonial literature lacked historical and humanistic fiction; therefore it did not fulfill its

empowerment role. However, Mutswairo's commitment resembles Ngugi's views on the role of the African artist in the colonial and neo-colonial periods.

3.5.2 Literature in post- colonial Zimbabwe

The above discussion has placed socio-political and economic environmental factors as key factors that influenced the role and development of literature in colonial Zimbabwe. It is an undisputed fact that repressive censorship laws slowed down the pace at which books were published. Limited financial as well as human resources also militated against the development of literature in colonial Zimbabwe. The attainment of political independence in 1980 meant that more writers would emerge as restrictive censorship laws were repealed. The new political arrangement gave birth to fresh thoughts and excitement as well as an outlet to narrate the historical experiences that heralded the independence of Zimbabwe. Kurasha (2004) maintains that the emerging voices were writing to celebrate the birth of a new nation and awaken society to new demands and challenges of independence. A written literature is integral to cultural assertion. For the Zimbabwean writer the act of putting words on paper was testimony of creative capacity. It was the first step towards self-definition and acceptance of the new environment. To an extent, development of literature ushered in a new way of dealing with societal ills. Themes of solidarity, reconciliation, socialism and reconstruction characterised every genre of creative art in the 1980s. The excitement and development can best be described by looking at an historical development of literature in tabular form.

Table 3.2: Number of books published by the Southern Rhodesia Literature Bureau from 1956 to 1996.

PERIOD	NUMBER OF BOOKS PUBLISHED
1956 – 1960	5
1961 – 1970	14
1971 – 1980	42
1981 – 1990	61
1991 – 1996	18

Kahari (1997:1)

The number of books published in the first decade after independence is equal to the total number of books published in 24 years between 1956 and 1980. It is the largest number published during the period under review. Indeed the new era unleashed vigour and inspiration to produce literature in indigenous languages. The literature produced in indigenous languages grew as a result of the demands of high school and college market where prescribed books are periodically changed. For this reason the market forces which guided creative work before independence continued to influence literature production after independence. There was also need to change societal attitudes and views about the changes in their socio-economic and political environment. The change in philosophy of the political leadership meant that new themes such as solidarity, socialism, unity among people of different races, ethnic backgrounds and the promotion of human rights inspired artists. Wamba-dia-Wamba claims, *in today's Africa, to think are increasingly to think for or against imperialism*, (Ngugi, 1994). In Zimbabwe, historical fiction got rehabilitated after independence, unfortunately after the situation it dealt with was changing.

It is observed that the largest publications were achieved during the first decade of independence. The rise in publications was synonymous with the rise in school and college enrolments, which created a market for the books. At this juncture it might be necessary to probe further into whether the situation improved after 1996. If not, what could be the reason? Questions like whether or not writers play their critical role as a watchdog of societal ills will preoccupy the study. As Kahari, cited by Kurasha (2004), asserts, the role of literature throughout the ages is to be critical of the government and the other sectors of society if writers are to remain torchbearers of society. Zimbabwe is currently facing serious economic, political and social challenges such that it tickles the mind to want to establish whether these socio-economic and political anxieties have an influence on the literature of the day. Njau in James (1990:106) affirms that:

...writing that is mere intellectualism is not for a country that is full of social ills and miserable poverty. And when we consider that most African writing ends up in schools where it is consumed for examinations, African writers must make sure they know their audience before they take up a pen to write.

African literature should address the socio-cultural and politico-historical problems but is the environment conducive for that? Most African governments provide creative space, which is confined to the philosophies of the state. Like their former colonial regimes dissenting art is thwarted. While during colonialism literacy was used to support imperialism, in post colonial states, literature is used as a vehicle to transport the philosophies of the new governments. Many African states exist merely to ensure that their populations do not rise against the new order. Ngugi (1997) maintains that every writer is a writer in politics. His claims are very correct; the only consideration is the quality and social direction of the politics. Post-colonial works such as Mutasa's (2005) *Sekai Minda Tave Nayo* clearly confirm that ideas do not develop in a vacuum. Such works have demonstrated that through the use of African languages and literature we can overcome the habit of viewing development through western eyes (Ngugi, 1997:4). Since literature is partisan, it is influenced by social, political and historical factors that condition it. In that respect any literature is empowering to an extent as defined by the environment that nurtures it. It is argued that Zimbabwean national literature can only get its stamina and lifeblood (Ngugi, 1997:4) by utilising the rich traditions of culture and history deposited in its environment.

In post-colonial Zimbabwe, some of the Shona novelists have distinguished themselves in that they have liberated themselves from sticking to the monotonous stereotypical and banal techniques of most literary works published before independence. Artists such as Mungoshi (1983) in *Kunyarara Hakusi Kutaura*, Mabasa (1999) in *Mapenzi* and Mutasa (2005) in *Sekai Minda Tave Nayo* have injected new excitements by presenting their creative works in modern devices such as the letter or epistolary form in Mutasa. The epistolary method adopted by Mutasa resembles the letters of St. Paul in the New Testament. This is symbolic of ushering in a new era, as is the case in the bible. Mungoshi ingeniously employs psychological realism, which enables him to touch on even untouchable thoughts. On one hand, Mabasa cleverly and dramatically adopts a satirical look at corruption in post-colonial life in Zimbabwe, while on the other hand Mutasa departs from the traditional narratives. He presents his historical perspective of the land issue in Zimbabwe in the form of letters. To a great extent in terms of style there is development among artists. This development liberates the artists to express even the most private thoughts since characters are captured in their psychological realm. In terms of style there has

been a significant development in the production of novels in Zimbabwe. To an extent we can also conclude that artists are able to expose certain ills of the Zimbabwean society as demonstrated by Mabasa (1999) in *Mapenzi*. It remains the interest of this discussion to further explore how the publishers and the government have influenced creative art. The form of such works as Mungoshi's (1983) *Kunyarara Hakusi Kutaura*, Mabasa's (1999) *Mapenzi* and Mutasa's (2005) *Sekai Minda Tave Nayo* require a certain level like Advanced level to university level of academic exposure and appreciation to be understood. To empower and propel active participation of all members of the Zimbabwean society it is necessary to consider provision of literature that is accessible in terms of language, form, cost and complexity of themes. The study appreciates the development in literature production. However, the level of empowerment still remains questionable.

Leisure reading is not a common practice in Zimbabwe, especially where it concerns indigenous literature. The book buying public is not growing due to unemployment, economic hardships and the fact that the reading habits of the majority of Zimbabweans have not developed. Electronic media exacerbates this such that most people now prefer to watch movies to leisure reading. The majority of those who read books prefer to read in English. The Literature Bureau was unfortunately abolished. In view of this it would be prudent to consider language policies that lift indigenous languages to levels of being used in publishing daily newspapers. This initiative would broaden coverage of themes and focus on developmental issues. If indigenous languages were used in publishing daily newspapers and the publications carry socio-economic and political development themes as do those papers published in English, the status of indigenous languages would be raised. Once readership attains an interest in reading the daily publications in indigenous languages, it is hoped that an interest would have been cultivated in reading Shona novels which might be more complex like *Mapenzi*. Efforts have to be made to convince leadership that development initiatives are grounded in the languages of the majority and literature that transmits societal development capturing ideas from the oral to the written form. One way would be to have language policies that promote the use of indigenous languages as media of educational instruction. Separation of the teaching of Shona language from Shona literature would excite students. The study proposes that there be Shona readers' series as in English where literary appreciation is cultivated

through readers such as The Sunrise Series. Readers would cultivate interest in indigenous literature from an early age. Artists have to be liberated as well to be able to create and critique society.

3.6 CONCLUSION

Whilst the African continent has been politically liberated, it remains under the bondage of linguistic imperialism. There is still need to continue the fight against over-dependency on ex-colonial languages and their literatures. The contribution made by Doke and the missionaries to the development of the writing system in Zimbabwe is appreciated because it ushered in an influx of novels written in indigenous languages. From the above one deciphers that language policies and literature are crucial in socio-economic development on the continent and in Zimbabwe in particular. This is the mainstay of this study owing to the fact that language and literature are inextricably linked to socio-cultural and economic development. In other words language and literature play a major role in empowerment. African literature captures the African spirit and worldview in a way that promotes socio-economic and cultural transformation.

The discussion has argued that indigenous literature is an expression and distillation of indigenous culture, which forms a consistent reservoir of a people's life experiences. It has been established that indigenous languages should be used to produce literature so as to liberate and empower both its readers and writers from centuries of marginalisation as a result of exposure to literature produced in ex-colonial languages and or literature written by people alien to African cultures. The censorship role of the Literature Bureau and how it affected the development of the Shona novel has been critically examined. Challenges that militate against smooth empowerment of readers and writers have been highlighted and suggestions to curb them offered. To achieve this there is need for a socio-political environment that allows writers to showcase their talents and an economic environment that supports publishers and printers in producing indigenous literature as well as a readership that takes pride in the mother-tongue literature.

CHAPTER 4

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

Our language is a reflection of ourselves and if it is said that our languages are too poor to express the best thought then the sooner we are wiped out of existence the better for us. You enrich your language only if you love and respect it. To develop a language and stick to the false notion that English alone can express our thoughts or transmit them, then there is no doubt that we shall continue to be slaves for all time. With little effort we can impart knowledge of even the new science through the mother tongue. It is our mental slavery that makes us feel that we can not do without English, (Gandhiji in Mutasa,2006:88-89).

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents and analyses the findings of the survey conducted among speakers of indigenous languages of Zimbabwe. A total of 550 questionnaires were distributed throughout the country's ten provinces. Tables have been used to present quantitative data in numerical scores and relevant percentages. Data from observations and interviews have been verbally recorded because most of it could not be numerically quantified.

This chapter examines to what extent the data collected correlates with the objectives of this study. It is the assumption of this study that indigenous languages enhance empowerment and that indigenous literature promotes socio-cultural and economic development. The main purpose of the survey was therefore to provide evidence that African languages and literature can be used to facilitate socio-cultural and economic development in Zimbabwe.

The questionnaire was intended at investigating biographic data of the respondents, to measure their attitudes towards language use and preferences, and finally solicit respondent views on ways of uplifting indigenous languages and literature for socio-cultural and economic development. The personal data is merely to show the representativeness of the sample. Both male and female respondents were adults aged between 18 and 70 years. Respondents were people who came from all walks

of life. They included professionals in the civil service, private sector, industry and commerce, development agents, village heads to mention but a few. Amongst the respondents were speakers of Shona, Ndebele, Tonga, Nambya, Kalanga, Sotho, Venda and Shangani. The research had a wide coverage of respondents whose educational qualifications range from Grade 7 to doctoral level. The interview complemented the questionnaire in data gathering.

4.2 DATA PRESENTATION

4.2.1 Responses from the questionnaire

Personal information of respondents

Table 4.1: Distribution by gender

Category	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Male	250	45
Female	300	55
Total	550	100

It was important to know the gender composition of the population so that attitudes or findings could be generalised across gender lines.

Table 4.2: Distribution by age

Category	No. of Respondents	Percentage
18 - 20 years	60	11
20 – 30 years	200	36
30 – 40 years	100	18
40 – 50 years	100	18
50 - 70 years	90	17
Total	550	100

The age of respondents was intended to measure the spread of attitudes towards language use. The fairly young groups are expected to be more compliant with

modern technology such as e-mails and short messages. This was intended to give relevance by measuring attitudes towards adaptability of African languages to modern technology.

Question 3: According to your observation which language is used by learners or students?

LANGUAGE USE	AFRICAN	ENGLISH	BOTH
at home			
talking to fellow students			
talking to fellow students			
writing friendly letters			
in class talking to teachers			
writing business letters			
writing e-mails/short messages (sms)?			

The purpose of this question was to establish the languages used by learners or students when they interact at various fora. The assumption was that learners or students would use indigenous languages whenever they are not in a formal environment.

Table 4.3: Distribution by language use at home

Category	No. of Respondents	Percentage
African languages	300	55
English	110	20
Both	140	25
Total	550	100

Table 4.4: Distribution by language used when talking to fellow students

Category	No. of Respondents	Percentage
African languages	330	60
English	110	20
Both	110	20
Total	550	100

Table 4.5: Distribution by language used when talking to teachers

Category	No. of Respondents	Percentage
African languages	10	2
English	400	73
Both	140	25
Total	550	100

Table 4.6: Distribution by language used when writing friendly letters

Category	No. of Respondents	Percentage
African languages	320	58
English	120	22
Both	110	20
Total	550	100

Table 4.7: Distribution by language used when writing business letters

Category	No. of Respondents	Percentage
African languages	0	0
English	540	98
Both	10	2
Total	550	100

Table 4.8: Distribution by language used when writing e-mails or short messages

Category	No. of Respondents	Percentage
African languages	5	1
English	400	73
Both	145	26
Total	550	100

Tables 4.9 to 4.13 cover questions 4 to 8 intended to measure the attitudes of students and parents with regards the use of African languages and literature. The assumption was that more respondents would prefer to use African languages while they want to read literature in English.

Table 4.9: Distribution by students' attitudes towards African languages

Category	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Extreme reluctance	100	18.1
Reluctance	250	45.5
Patience	105	19.1
Eagerness	50	9.1
Extreme eagerness	45	8.2
Total	550	100

Table 4.10: Distribution by parents' attitude towards learning of African languages

Category	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Extreme negative	50	9
Negative	55	10
Neutral	300	55
Positive	100	18
Extreme positive	45	8
Total	550	100

Table 4.11: Distribution by literature commonly read

Category	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Indigenous novels	69	13
English novels	481	87
Total	550	100

Table 4.12: Distribution by preference of literature

Category	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Indigenous novels	30	5
English novels	520	95
Total	550	100

Table 4.13: Distribution by importance of information

Category	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Indigenous novels	300	55
English novels	250	45
Total	550	100

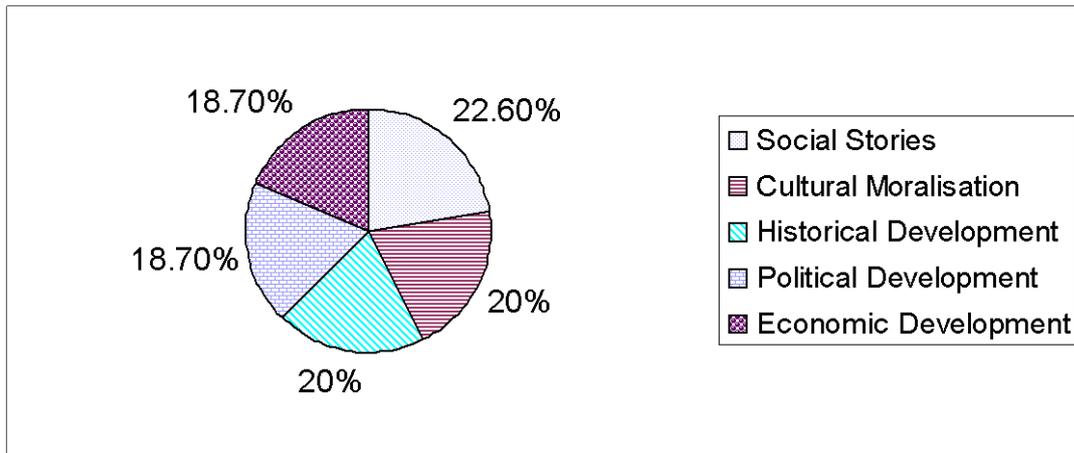
Question 9

Rank your responses in order of prevalence of content areas covered by indigenous novelists. Indigenous novelists focus on:

- (i) social stories
- (ii) cultural moralisation
- (iii) historical development
- (iv) political development
- (v) economic development.

Below is a pie chart representing the responses.

Diagram 4.1: Prevalence of content areas covered by indigenous novelists



Responses to questions 10 up to 13 have been recorded verbatim as shown in the second column of the tables below.

Question 10

How would the learning of an African language change a learner's

- (a) Social life
- (b) Economic life
- (c) Cultural life?

Respondents advanced the following:

Table 4.14: Social life

Broad view	Actual responses
It promotes social interaction and understanding in society	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As a means of communication and culture it helps the learner interact with other people • Knowing oneself helps one in understanding the needs of others • Quick and easy adaptation to different situations • Communication and social interaction will be enhanced through language • One would be able to interact well with older folk

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communication with people from all walks of life.
Children are inducted well into their culture or the society they are born.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To learn a language is to learn a culture for example Shona helps the learner by inculcating the Shona culture enshrined in the language. This helps in socialisation • Norms and values are shared through language may become aggressive if they read mostly the war books • Shows maturity and enrichment of language development in society • They learn socio-cultural aspects portrayed in the novels and enhance understanding of societal issues • Becomes more responsible and respectful through learning socio-cultural aspects • Social attitudes might be changed through cultural moralisation taught in the novels • Most of them tend to have moral teachings, so this may make a reader change his/her social life
Language cements the unique identity of a group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It gives freedom of expression and association. • Empowers the learner with knowledge on their culture • Knowledge of cultural background and expectations • Learn the expectations of an African society first hand

Table 4.15: Economic life

Broad view	Actual responses
<p>The language recognised by government as official affords economic opportunity to often scarce resources and services.</p> <p>Language deficiency may lead to economic deprivation.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The language which government recognises and uses as official provides access to often-scarce resources and services for example health care, education and employment positions. Those who do not speak the official language as mother tongue have difficulty accessing scarce resources • Motivation to produce more literature would enhance their financial standing • Understand change in technology, trade and adjust accordingly • For trading, the learner will not be able to communicate with people from different countries
<p>African languages would provide the link between the individual and their economic environment and ability to express their potentials.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowing oneself helps in understanding the economic environment one is thriving in and also in adjusting to the needs of the moment • There are jobs offered by NGOs which require fluency in indigenous languages to enable communication with the whole community • Enable them to communicate and acquire economic ideas from others • Helps exploitation of opportunities

Table 4.16: Cultural life

Broad view	Actual responses
<p>Learning a language is actually a process of enculturation since language is a conduit of culture. Appreciation of one's cultural milieu promotes a smooth adaptation to one's environment.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Helps in defining who we are, both in terms of identity and culture, mother tongue provides initial contact with world and facilitates the formation of values and our view of ourselves • Learning a mother tongue language leads to self realisation and self actualisation • Knowing oneself helps one in understanding the needs of others • Language is a conduit of culture • The learner understands more and more of African culture and becomes part of it • Understands the diverse cultural differences and be able to adapt • Enables fusion of cultures at the job market.

Question 11: Suggest ways in which African languages of Zimbabwe can be developed as media of communication, instruments of development and vehicles of national consciousness.

Table 4.17: Developing Zimbabwean African languages for national consciousness

Broad view	Actual responses
<p>African languages need to be revitalised and modernised to match global languages.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • African languages need to be modernised • Orthographies need to be developed or reformed, vocabulary expanded, dictionaries compiled, grammars written and textbooks prepared • Development of grammars and dictionaries in

	<p>these languages, is a necessity.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • These would culminate in developing projects and innovating ideas and their communication enriched in indigenous languages which the masses can immediately identify with • By compiling more dictionaries in specialised areas • Newspapers in African languages must portray serious economic, political and socio-cultural issues. History and Economic books must be written in Shona/Ndebele
<p>Zimbabwe should have a well crafted language policy which is supported by wide advocacy, resources and strategies for implementation.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Legislate its use and recognise it as necessary for employment purposes • They should be regarded as official languages and considered as languages for business. • African languages to be compulsory • More novels in African languages to be written • Train specialists in African languages who are exemplary even with public media • A pass in a local language could be made a pre-requisite for foreigners applying for permanent residence or citizenship
<p>Raise the importance of indigenous languages by inducing extensive use in education and other areas formally the preserve of English.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National consciousness is easily provoked when people identify with and are part of such initiatives • Increased usage in the public media radio, television and newspapers. • They should be on radio and television, made compulsory up to “O” Level for all Zimbabwean students

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Should be taught in all schools from primary to tertiary level • Books should be written and published in African languages be it for Agriculture or Medicine • The languages should be taught from the grassroots • Writing all textbooks in African languages broadcasting more programmes in African languages • Public gatherings to be addressed in African languages. • T.V debates and discussion to be in African languages • History to be taught in African languages • Daily newspapers should be written in African languages • Used as a medium of communication in schools and be made compulsory on looking for jobs.
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Question 12: How can novels written in African languages be used as instruments of development and vehicles of national consciousness?

Respondents suggested that the following would aid novels written in African languages in bringing national consciousness to the fore.

Table 4.18: Using indigenous African novels for development

Broad view	Actual responses
<p>The novels should focus on national consciousness and development. Mother tongue literature is vital in African social transformation.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The novels should focus on issues of national development and national consciousness and not just issues of morality • Their plots should focus on the truth about the lives of the people they depict. The stories should be mirror reflection of our lives • They can be used to express the nation’s vision, hopes and aspirations for example, Sekai Minda Tave Nayo • Novels should focus on current issues so that they excite people • If they portray serious national issues and are, made set books at either “O” or “A” or tertiary level. So far Chakwasha by Chimhundu, Pafunge by Tsodzo and Mungoshi’s novels are better placed. • Political issues to be articulated in indigenous languages should focus more on issues of development • Writers to address developmental issues themes in their novels
<p>The novels should be popularised in school and community libraries, and indigenous literature should be made compulsory in secondary schools.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Literature should be compulsory at all levels of secondary school curriculum • By being examined at all levels from primary to tertiary institutions • Popularise the novels in schools and in community libraries • Make them set books

Expose readers to African literature by making the novels accessible.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Subsidise the price of indigenous literature texts so that it reaches many people • Through drama • They should be freely distributed in order to reach every person • Making them readily available to the pupils and Research proposals in indigenous languages • Relate issues in the novel to today's society • Reading them more often
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Question 13: Suggest ways in which African languages and literature can play a major role in socio-cultural and economic empowerment.

Table 4.19: Using African languages and literature for socio-cultural and economic empowerment

Broad view	Actual responses
Language plays an important role in the transmission of cultural values.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language is an intrinsic part of a people's culture and therefore plays an important role in the transmission of cultural values • Conceptualisation of issues is best done through mother tongue; Language is therefore key to communication • Mother tongue communication is effective and useful, and promotes stakeholder participation. • Language can disseminate the desired cultural traits • All matters addressing socio – cultural issues should be addressed in African languages • Curriculum to be more focused on cultural issues
If African languages are recognised as capable of	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language enables people to participate in the economic activities of the country since it is a

<p>expressing complex ideas, modern scientific and technological knowledge there would be an acceleration of economic growth which will result in the improvement of quality of life and a reduction of inequalities.</p>	<p>major means of communication</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language plays a critical role in education; knowledge is transmitted and received through language. Through education we train manpower for the various sectors of our economy • Access to literature provokes a reading culture, which in turn increases people's awareness of issues pertaining to their society, culture and economy • They raise socio-cultural awareness • They raise an individual's level of philosophical analysis • Books are a source of revenue • Issues in the novels should be concerned with socio- cultural and economic empowerment • Readership should be extended to the out of school population.
<p>If their roles are broadened, African languages can open windows for economic participation.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language provides employment as language teachers, translators, court interpreters etc • People learn about values • Business advertisements to be in African Languages • Trading and business proposals in African languages • Expand socio- cultural and economic issues to populace • Clarify terms to learners in local languages

4.2.2 Responses from Interviews

Presented below are responses from the face to face interviews the researcher carried out.

Question 1: To what extent do you agree or disagree that language is an important factor for development? Give reasons.

Responses to this question were almost unanimous that to a large extent language is an important factor for development. Out of a total of 50 respondents only one person or 2% was not sure of their answer. Captured below are some of the responses.

- I agree
- I agree totally
- To a very large extent I agree
- Very much so
- It is obvious I agree

Table 4.20: Language as a factor for development

Broad view	Actual responses
Language is important for concept formation.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• I believe we cannot conceptualise in a foreign language.• In development we look at improving a people in terms of infrastructure, production, movement which comes through networking with relevant stakeholders• Language is a communication tool with which to express ideas, acquire knowledge and empower people• Language brings unity and cohesion through clarity of communication• Language is a communication tool without which there is no development.

<p>Language promotes development.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Without language social, economic and other forms of interaction are defunct • Language enhances development for example Tower of Babel • Language encourages innovation • Development initiatives are communicated through language
<p>Language and culture are inseparable.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language is a vehicle of projecting one's norms, values, beliefs, thought processes and these need to be communicated • Language helps people to share views by expressing themselves and listening to other people's views as well as clarify different view points • Language is related to culture so it is important to use the language of a specific culture when communicating a development initiative • Socio-economic development in general entails communication of development initiatives. Any development implies uplifting of living standards for example medical facilities, food provisions, education and other essential services. Views, aspirations and ideas are expressed through language. Language is also used for sourcing resources and providing services

Question 2: Can Zimbabwe's indigenous languages be used as tools of economic empowerment?

Responses to this question were

- Yes I think so!
- I agree!
- Yes they can!
- Yes to some extent
- Locally yes!
- Yes in some areas
- I am convinced
- Why not?

Justifications proffered for such answers are tabulated below.

Table 4.21: Using Zimbabwean indigenous languages for economic empowerment.

Broad view	Actual responses
It helps people understand each other.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We fail to understand the mechanics of a language if we speak in foreign tongues for example <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (i) Japan’s advancement is outstripping the United States of America because all communication is in Japanese (ii) Afrikaners have not been left behind because of Afrikaans. English is actually a barrier to technological development • By empowerment we look at enabling a people to network or communicate with relevant stakeholders for economic prosperity. As a result, Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture is encouraging development of local languages to enhance concept development • For communication to be effective people should use a language that is predominant in that area

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Foreign languages limit conveyance of development issues because of poor communication • If the local community should accept and participate in the economic development it becomes imperative to use their languages for commitment to it
<p>The use of indigenous languages promotes ownership.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic empowerment implies ownership, being able to identify with a development initiative. Development is improvement of the well being of a particular culture so to convince the people about new initiatives and innovations development agents should engage local people through their indigenous languages so that the people adjust their beliefs, norms, and values and accommodate new ideas • Although indigenous languages have not been developed much in terms of economic communication, available literature can be sifted to suit indigenous languages, so that people can share information, associate with and understand economic jargon • Use of indigenous languages enables environmental adaptation by sharing ideas to manage or conquer the environment • It improves self-esteem; because once you conquer your environment it creates a sense of confidence • Use of indigenous languages includes and empowers more people

<p>There is need to involve more stakeholders.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is possible but requires taking on board players like politicians and the National Language Planning board – for policy articulation and development of terminology • Use of local languages factors in the cultural input which helps reveal certain taboos specific to the environment of speakers • To influence behaviour change and include a majority of the locals we need convergence in their languages, so that the projects are not alien to them for example, new methods of farming if communicated in indigenous languages can easily be learned/communicated to the semi-literates who form the majority of the Zimbabwean population.
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A few respondents 6% were not sure about whether Zimbabwe's indigenous languages could be used for economic empowerment or not. The reasons for their indecision include the following

- Not so sure because terminology does not match global developments.
- If people are exposed to local languages they can participate when they understand the language, however they are afraid of being labelled uneducated and ignorant of development issues

Question 3: Culture is a vital component of development. How best can Zimbabwe's indigenous cultures contribute towards development?

Zimbabwean indigenous culture entails the Zimbabwean way of doing things (the way we do things around here).

- *Unhu/umuntu* philosophy
- The root of a people's identity in terms of behaviour, language, values, norms
- These are shared values such as

- Honesty and sincerity
- Hospitality
- Team-work (nhimbe)/ Collaboration
- Hard work
- Integrity
- Totems
- Leadership
- Music and dance
- Indigenous wisdom – tsumo
- Foodstuffs

The broad and recurrent feature of the Zimbabwean indigenous culture was summed in the *unhu/umuntu* philosophy. The shared values that give a Zimbabwean identity as listed above were then analysed as to how each can contribute towards development. The following is what came from respondents interviewed.

Table 4.22: Using indigenous culture for development.

Broad view	Actual responses
<p>Unhu/umuntu philosophy regulates the Zimbabwean way of doing things.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Unhu/umuntu</i> philosophy if knitted into all systems will go a long way in removing corrupt practices, nepotism and many other bad practices such as individualism • In Zimbabwean indigenous culture behaviour is self-regulated and people achieve more when they operate in it. For example respect is two way when it concerns leadership. The Shona say <i>Ushu vanhu</i> and <i>Ushu madzoro hunoravanwa</i>. A leader has to respect his/her subjects while subjects are advised <i>Mukuru mukuru hanga haigari bvunde</i>. (People should always respect authority inspite of the age or

	<p>stature of a leader)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lending/<i>kuronzera</i> gives an opportunity to everyone to acquire wealth
<p>Teamwork gives social cohesion necessary for economic development.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teamwork is a virtue in most Zimbabwean cultures. The Shona exhibit it through communal work <i>nhimbe</i> and through proverbial sayings such as <i>Rume rimwe harikombi churu, Kuturika denga kubatirana, Kutsenga muriwo hudzidzisana</i> and any more. Teamwork gives social cohesion • Pride for hard work will bring prosperity to families and the nation • Zimbabweans are well known for being “little work machines” – they work hard and have a high degree of competence, diligence and honesty. This, if applied at all levels will bring prosperity to families, communities and the nation at large
<p>Indigenous cultures can promote health practices.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Totems can be used to bring synergy and loyalty • Music and dance as communication instruments can be used for enhancing people’s health practices, teaching about societal taboos and ethics • The societal impact of music and dance would be bringing people together to develop talent, as well as acculturation of the young • Moral uprightness – fear of <i>ngozi</i> - avenging spirit in Shona and Ndebele cultures • Fear of <i>rukwa</i> would reduce incidences of theft • Indigenous wisdom encourages people to treat foreign practices with contempt as they say in

	<p>Shona <i>Chabva kure chinobatwa nemishonga</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Honesty and sincerity as virtues would help Zimbabweans shun corruption and create good ethics • Hospitality will remove individualism <i>kwete kudya zvavapfupi nokureba</i>. (Not to take advantage of one's position). In Shona they say people should not take advantage of their positions and disadvantage others by being greedy
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Question 4: Knowledge is accumulated and deposited in the language of instruction. In a multilingual state like Zimbabwe, what language would you recommend for:

- (i) educational instruction
- (ii) industry and commerce
- (iii) medicine
- (iv) legal courts

Responses to questions are tabulated below:

Table 4.23: Recommended languages.

Broad view	Actual responses
<p>English communicates complex concepts and knowledge especially in science and technology.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maintenance of the status quo that is, indigenous languages in lower grades and English at higher levels • I am inclined to both, that is, mother tongue for a start, English later especially in science and technology • English is common but indigenous languages open floodgates to communication and knowledge • Mother tongue instruction throughout primary

	<p>education</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gradually move towards mother tongue instruction at secondary education as soon as literature is available • Most knowledge is written in English • English is a common language • English is neutral • English is a global language • Formative years use L₁ to inculcate knowledge, higher levels use English so that learning cuts across the global village and build bigger concepts
<p>English has abundant literature in terms of records and online services.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Colonial legacy • Resources permitting indigenous languages should be used as media of instruction • I think we are okay as we are English, Shona and Ndebele as reflected in posters • We cannot have more than three languages because it is expensive, too much resources would be directed towards one thing
<p>Multilingual approach enables code switching and better communication with the global world.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For their wider usage within the country • It is empowering when you do labour negotiations in indigenous languages • With lower level employees, • Use indigenous languages to ensure correct decoding of messages • Picking on the main languages. It is important to avoid risks that may be physical for example. In an industrial set up a misunderstood instruction can lead to a dangerous accident. In commerce if you don't

	<p>get the instructions it can lead to delays or extra expenses for example while working for AMC, although the Japanese are well known for quality products, we struggled to communicate with Mitsubishi in Japan and it delayed the whole process.</p>
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In addition to the views expressed in table 26 respondents advanced the following responses in relation to languages preferred for medicine, legal fraternity, industry and commerce.

- Diagnosis depends on what the patient is expressing and communicating
- Indigenous languages would liberate the accused or plaintiff. Shona wisdom for example is highly legal as demonstrated in *Zvarevashe's Museve Wade Nyama*.

A total of 6% respondents were undecided. They expressed that:

- It is difficult to be prescriptive
- Leave it to situation
- It is even wrong for Ministry to decide
- I am not certain
- Not decided, used to instruction being given in English.

Question 5: The Education Amendment Act of 2006 especially where it says, "all three languages of Zimbabwe namely Shona, Ndebele and English shall be taught on an equal-time basis in all schools up to Form Two level," is just one of the government decrees which is likely to produce no results. Comment. How best can it be supported?

Table 4.24: The Education Act 2006 as one of government's decrees.

Broad view	Actual responses
<p>Policy was not advertised. There was no stakeholder conscientisation.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No sensitisation to change people's attitudes so that they see the value of indigenous languages • Policy not sold out, no conscientisation so that people appreciate the benefits. • Not properly communicated therefore builds mistrust for example, a parent complained in Matabeleland that the teaching of Shona in Matabeleland was furthering the interest of the ruling Shona elite
<p>There are neither implementation strategies nor reinforcement at home.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government has double standards in terms of education policies • Pass rate is determined by a pass in English • Not separated by L₁ and L₂, policy is vague • No reinforcement at home, no practice
<p>If resources were availed it would be a success and bring tolerance which is a powerful factor for unity.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is no deliberate funding of teaching resources • Colleges are not doing much in terms of production of teachers for the subjects • Judging from pilot schools if resources were available it will be a success. It will bring tolerance • It actually promotes unity though minority languages are still at a disadvantage • As media of communication its okay, but as examination subjects a lot needs to be done • As an examinable subject it demands more resources. If we use all indigenous languages for communication, it improves knowledge and appreciation of each other's culture

Table 4.25: Supporting the Education Amendment Act 2006

Broad view	Actual responses
<p>There is need for deliberate funding to support policy implementation.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is need for deliberate funding from central government • Government should assist with resources as it does with other initiatives such as Mechanisation programme • Deliberate funding should include Manpower resources – in-service teachers • Coming up with language laboratories and even technical colleges • Support book publications in indigenous languages and their distribution • Encourage policy advocacy through radio, television programmes, and videotapes • Come up with clear implementation strategies and monitor procedures • Educate and prepare the nation psychologically • Should borrow a leaf from Resource Based Management (RBM) – utilise whatever you have to produce results
<p>Stakeholder conscientisation is a must for appreciation and ownership of policy by all.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conscientise stakeholders so that they appreciate the benefits • Create reinforcement at home
<p>The criteria for passing ‘O’ level should include indigenous languages.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • English should not be the criterion for having passed ‘O’ Level- include indigenous languages as well. • There is need for a quota system from the national budget for the support of the language project

Question 6: Globalisation and the use of English as Zimbabwe's lingua franca is promoting brain drain and worsening Zimbabwe's economic situation.
 Comment

Table 4.26: Globalisation and the use of English versus Zimbabwe's economic situation

Broad view	Actual responses
<p>Migrations are not triggered by knowledge of English. It is a combination of factors.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We are exporting expertise, which will bring in foreign currency • In a way it is but it is the underlying conditions more than the language factor • It is not only use of the language but also the culture it carries which is western oriented • It is mainly economic reasons not linguistic reasons that is why in the Ministry of Health and Child Welfare, they have introduced a 2 year training programme which is only recognised in Zimbabwe to curb brain drain
<p>English is a vehicle for horizontal and vertical mobility. It facilitates easy adaptation into new English speaking environments which are significantly becoming global.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People are able to communicate wherever they go • Zimbabweans can fit in any English-speaking environment • Zimbabweans are generally aware of their competence, and hence take advantage of it by venturing into foreign job markets where they are confident to beat other nationals
<p>It is for personal and national development.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Buildings put up by the Diaspora - this is development • It is true but it is for the betterment of the

	<p>individual</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Zimbabweans are marketable, can be engulfed in the culture of the recipient community and those who have done well academically have passed English • On the other hand the Zimbabwean economic situation should be regarded as being transitory and thereafter the current brain drain will in turn yield long-term benefits as many Zimbabweans return home with more skills and in some cases better skills that will bolster the economy. Yes, it is the use of English language that helps make many Zimbabweans an international attraction on the job market.
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Question 7: Literature circulated to the general public has a bearing on the importance of the language used to produce it. In your view, what language should be used to publish?

- (i) Daily newspapers
- (ii) Industrial training manuals
- (iii) Educational materials on HIV/AIDS and other health issues if the majority of the population is to be empowered

Table 4.27: Languages preferred for publishing newspapers, manuals and educational material

Broad view	Actual responses
Indigenous languages because they include the majority of the population.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indigenous languages – can be very powerful and expressive • Includes the majority • Imbeds values in the peoples' minds • Limits obscenities • Indigenous so that everyone follows and understands developments in the country • Indigenous – so that all can access information
Preference for three major languages namely Shona, Ndebele and English.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mixture will accommodate everyone • National dailies - English can continue • Regional dailies – indigenous that is Shona and Ndebele.
English has the formal register necessary for giving instructions and reports.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • English – because terminology in indigenous languages is a problem • English has the formal language.

Question 8: Is the knowledge people get from indigenous novels helping them to handle socio- cultural and economic development issues?

Table 4.28: Indigenous novels versus socio-cultural and economic development.

Broad view	Actual responses
Novels in indigenous languages help readers make practical application of messages learnt.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes – <i>Ziva kwawakabva</i> – teaches cultural virtues of humility • <i>Museve Wade Nyama</i> is loaded with socio- cultural virtues • To a large extent people quote vernacular literature characters like Matigimu, Muchaneta

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Novels in indigenous languages help readers to make practical application of the messages learnt • Social lessons can be derived from themes of the novels
Readers find ways of dealing with social reality.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mapenzi gives you a vivid lively experience • To some extent literature touches the inner person. The reader comes out really touched or immersed in the experiences of the character in the novel • Good novels will depict situations that are common in real life • A lot comes from Shona novels.

4.3 ANALYSIS OF DATA

In this section data gathered from the questionnaire and interviews is analysed as it relates to study objectives. Responses from ten selected interviewees have been chosen for analysis to give a deeper insight into the respondents' views. Respondents' interests could have emanated from burning language issues that respondents wanted to claim verbal space for. For this reason interviews are accorded more space under this section.

4.3.1 Analysis of data from the questionnaire

A large percentage confirmed that learners or students use African languages as indicated below:

- at home 55%
- talking to fellow students 60%
- writing friendly letters 58%

The observation is that African languages are used mainly in less formal communications. Respondents confirmed that English dominates formal communications as indicated below:

- 73% use English when talking to teachers
- 98% use English when writing business letters
- 73% use English for writing e-mails and short messages.

The findings confirm that English is the language of education, business and the Internet as propounded by Gill (2002:22) in Mutasa (2004:122).

A large percentage (63.2%) of respondents revealed that their attitudes towards learning of African languages ranged between reluctance and extreme reluctance. This could be resulting from failure to recognise the importance of African languages in serious domains such as business education and modern technology; hence the findings corroborate the observation discussed above. An 87% confirmed that English novels are commonly read while 95% said English novels are preferred yet 55% said that indigenous novels contain important information as compared to English novels. Responses are not tallying. How can importance of information tilt towards indigenous novels yet there are a few who read indigenous literature? This may suggest that those who read English novels may not understand what they read

The pie chart illustrates how the respondents ranked the focus and prevalence of content areas covered by indigenous novelists. The ratings further confirm that the mainstay of indigenous novels is social stories (22.6%) followed by cultural moralisation and historical developments at 20% each and finally political and economic development at 18.7% each. The outcome clearly confirms the continued effect of censorship as observed by Chiwome (1996:32). Chiwome (ibid) contends that:

Approved themes and stylistic trends got fossilised in books and minds... With the exception of Mungoshi, Chimhundu and Choto most writers continued in the vein of the overtly didactic trends set in the 1960s and popularised in the 1970s.

It could be the effect of censorship on writers or interviewees may not have read modern literature since a majority of them last read indigenous novels while still in school as confirmed by some of the interviewees.

On how the learning of indigenous languages can change a learner's social, economic and cultural life the responses were interesting. A 62% treated social and cultural life synonymously. They confirmed that to learn a language is to learn a culture so this helps in the socialisation of the learner. They argued that, knowing oneself helps one in understanding the needs of others. On the economic life respondents highlighted that knowing oneself helps in understanding the economic environment one is thriving in and also in adjusting to the needs of the moment. The ideas are supported by Uju (2008:25) who posits that language affords the individual the opportunity to express himself or herself and maximise his or her potential.

A large percentage of 72% felt that Zimbabwean indigenous languages could be developed and used as vehicles of national consciousness. A further 23% was not sure how the languages could be modernised yet 5% maintained that it was not possible to modernise African languages. Those who argued for modernisation of African languages maintained that if the languages are used as media of instruction, made compulsory as school subjects up to 'O' level and textbooks are written in African languages, it is possible to raise their status. Batibo (2005) and Ngara (1982) observe that languages can be empowered through usage.

Of those who responded to question (12), 57% were convinced that indigenous novels could be used as instruments of development and vehicles of national consciousness. They argued that if the novels are popularised in school and community libraries; and writers address developmental themes in their novels, the novels could be of great value in raising national consciousness. Respondents maintained that novels in indigenous languages could broaden their readers' philosophical analysis and expand socio-cultural and economic perspectives.

The argument develops Mazrui's (1986) proposition that a writer should be able to communicate in their ethnic language, which broadens their reservoir of content and form. That African literature can play an important role in socio-cultural and economic

empowerment is acknowledged. However, there should be a distinction between literature in African languages and African literature. Literature in African languages is any literature even outside the African boundaries that is recorded in African languages. African literature could be any literature about Africa recorded either in African languages or French or Chinese or any other global language. That distinction helps to analyse the role of each type of literature.

4.3.2 Analysis of data from 10 selected interviewees

To appreciate the interview in process, ten respondents have been sampled out, recorded and analysed individually. The selected represent a cross section of interviewees with different levels of educational and professional qualifications as well as different linguistics constituencies.

Interviewee Number 1 (an educationist who has long experience as a teacher, college lecturer, an education officer and is currently employed by Zimbabwe Schools Examination Council as a Regional Manager)

The interviewee strongly agreed that language is an important factor for development. The respondent argued, *I believe we cannot conceptualise in a foreign language. We fail to understand the mechanics of a language.* He supported his view by quoting the examples of Japan which he affirms is outstripping the United States of America technologically because the Japanese have scientified their language, and the Afrikaners whom he acknowledges have succeeded economically because of using Afrikaans. The interviewee illustrated how English is actually a barrier to technological development. He cited an example of his colleague who obtained ten distinctions in his 'O' level results but failed English. His case became a topical issue, which drew the attention of senior educationists, because by Rhodesian standards he did not qualify to go for Advanced Level. When eventually that colleague of his was permitted to attempt Advanced Level he excelled and he now holds a doctorate in Mathematics. *Imagine shamwari yangu iyi ingadai yakatadza kuenderera mberi nokuda kweChirungu chete chete,* (imagine my

colleague could have failed to proceed with education just because of English alone), the interviewee concluded.

The interviewee showed strong conviction that English is a barrier to technological development. The experience of his colleague coupled with his experience as a teacher and lecturer of an African language could have broadened his appreciation of language matters. In the same vein he appreciated that Zimbabwe's indigenous languages can be used for economic empowerment. On the issue of culture he emphasised that there is no point in flirting with foreigners, *nokuti chabva kure chinobatwa nemishonga*, (you have to treat everything foreign with suspicion), he argued.

As an educationist who has experience in almost all the delivery systems of education, the interviewee's arguments were very convincing. On the issue of media of educational instruction, the interviewee maintained that: *Mother tongue helps us to foster self image and that we will be defending our posterity*. He pointed out that language is a form of nationalism thereby authenticating nationalistic views, (Fishman; 1974 cited by Thondhlana; 2000). The interviewee was however quick to point out that indigenous languages are not adequately developed to cater for scientific terminology. He was cognisant of the fact that mother tongue instruction cannot be done overnight because of lack of relevant literature for the different subjects. His suggestion was that mother tongue instruction should be introduced gradually beginning with lower levels. He acknowledges that it is expensive but it must be done. The interviewee expressed that there was contradiction within government on language policy especially as it related to The Education Amendment Act of 2006. *How can you say you have empowered indigenous languages yet English is still a requirement for passing 'O' Level?* Although primary school teachers can use mother tongue instruction, at the moment as an examination board our Grade 7 Mathematics and General Paper is still examined in English. It is therefore logical for teachers to use the language of the examiner because examination is about communication between the candidate and the examiner. Thus the interviewee's contention that there is contradiction within

government is watertight. The interviewee presented balanced arguments and perhaps this emanates from his exposure and qualifications.

Interview Number 2 (a parent from Matabeleland South whose highest educational qualification is Grade 7).

The interviewee agreed that language is a factor for development. She cited that people are able to share ideas about development through conversation and where they are limited by language no development can take place. She argued that people who struggle to communicate fail to engage in productive dialogue. She noted that English was useful for breaking the communication barrier between the indigenous language speakers of Zimbabwe such as Ndebele, Shona and Tonga. In her view English is a neutral language, which enables people to communicate without using their ethnic languages. She further questioned that if we use indigenous languages in educational instruction, whose language would we use?

The responses from this interviewee are characterised by indecision and fear of change. On the one hand the respondent would like to preserve indigenous languages yet on the other hand, she seems insecure without use of English. The insecurity was later revealed when the interviewee was asked about The Education Amendment act of 2006. She vehemently opposed the teaching of Shona in Matabeleland and remarked that: *Selwenjwayele amaShona, lifuna ukuthi abantwabetu vefunde isiShona lisibuse njengokusibusa elikwenzayo kugovernment.* (The Shona, you are at it again. You want our children to learn Shona so that you continue to dominate us as you do in government.)

Her response is understood and justified considering that she disclosed ignorance of the motive of the new *languages in education policy*. There was no sensitisation and advocacy of the new policy initiative hence the insecurity with the change. The interviewee further acknowledged that people are able to leave Zimbabwe and work in other countries because of English. She argued that:

If our children just learn in indigenous languages they will not be able to go into the Diaspora and bring us foreign currency. Look at what the *Injiva* are doing. They are putting up new buildings and buying expensive cars at a time when things are tough like this. So let our children learn English. If our children are not exposed to English they will just be poor like us. There is nothing wrong in learning the master's language but there is also nothing wrong in learning our languages. Our languages are learnt so that we know our culture.

Although the interviewee's highest educational qualification is grade 7, she managed to put up a strong case. That she recognises the power of English to the extent she did, might be a result of measuring herself against some people who might be educated and prosperous. She then equates English to education and prosperity yet it may not always be the case.

Interviewee Number 3 (a university lecturer in the Department of Graduate School of Business Leadership who has worked as a supply-chain officer in the private sector before).

The interviewee strongly agreed that language is a tool for development. She asserted:

Language is the basis for forming identity, thought processes and if language is limited then thoughts are also limited. For example in Physics "Fields – waves – atoms" Tuminda – *masaisai netunzungu*.

The respondent exhibited clear knowledge and understanding of the role of language in development. She asserted that language is instrumental in that when you do things in your language you can lay claim to them.

Although the interviewee acknowledged the importance of indigenous languages she was quick to point out that the languages are not developed to handle certain technological information. The interviewee demonstrated that in an industrial set up a misunderstood instruction can lead to a dangerous incident or delays or extra expenses. She gave an example of her experience at AMC. She expressed that while the Japanese are well known for quality products, AMC struggled to communicate with Mitsubishi in Japan and it

delayed the whole process. The flip side of using indigenous languages is that it is empowering when you do labour negotiations in indigenous languages. The arguments presented by the interviewee show that the respondent is flexible and objective. Such views are critical in informing language planners and policy makers. The interviewee's position is quite persuasive in that although she is not a language practitioner her voice is informed by experience and exposure in different sectors of the economy particularly where she highlights the limitations they encountered in dealing with Mitsubishi. The Japanese encounter would positively inform language planners to consider the role of indigenous languages as well as their limitations. This ultimately dictates that there is need for a multi-lingual approach so that people can use languages as dictated by their situation. Such an arrangement would definitely uplift indigenous languages without downgrading ex-colonial languages or other languages. An argument like this would uphold the principle of unity in diversity, (NLPAP, 1998:4), which recognises that together everyone achieves more.

The interviewee was also cognisant of the fact that indigenous languages have great potential. She argued that these indigenous languages lack exposure but they can be developed. She cited the example of how the Shona language was developed during the war of liberation to come up with terms such as

<i>Vapembepfumi</i>	-	colonialists
<i>Zvimbwasungata</i>	-	puppets
<i>Zvigananda</i>	-	dissidents
<i>Mutengesesi</i>	-	sellout

Bamgbose (2000), Batibo (2005) and Mutasa (2004) advocate for expansion of domains of use thereby confirming the views of the interviewee.

The researcher realised that indigenous languages can be empowered if measures are put in place to enable indigenous languages to handle issues in the public domain. The interviewee suggested that public media could play an

instrumental role in language development. She cited the example of how Urban Grooves a music genre has managed to raise the interest of young people in Shona through its expressive use of the Shona language. She was elated when the researcher informed her about the work being done by SLCA.

On the language that should be used to publish daily papers, the interviewee suggested that all three languages, Shona, Ndebele and English because they are major in terms of the population of speakers and also in terms of literary development. Other indigenous languages are still struggling to get recognised as written languages. It is also economic to produce papers in these languages because there is a ready market. The point knits well into Ngara's (1982:28) analysis of the language situation in Zimbabwe. Ngara presents English as an official language with status dominance, Shona as a recognised language with numerical dominance and finally Ndebele as a recognised regional language. According to Ngara (ibid), English derives its prestige from the various functions it performs namely:

- international
- wider communication
- educational
- school subject
- literacy
- technical and
- religious language (iwesltr)

while Shona and Ndebele perform functions as follows:

- group
- school subject
- literacy and
- religious languages (gslr)

Such a position is a result of the Dokean recommendations which reduced Zimbabwe's linguistic map to a trilingual state which is a limited position.

Interviewee Number 4 (a politician from Mashonaland West whose highest level of education is Form 4).

The interviewee's response to the language question was that: *China uses Chinese. Japan uses Japanese and the Cubans use Spanish so, yes it is!* The interviewee argued that foreign languages are not easy to apply because of the foreign cultural milieu. For example, Mathematics becomes very difficult because of the language used to express ideas and concepts. Use of indigenous languages is like use of concrete media because there is contextual application, cultural and environmental relevance. The interviewee further argued that use of indigenous languages gives environmental adaptation skills. People can manipulate their environment and it creates a sense of confidence. The interviewee cited an example of a woman from Makonde Rural who was showcasing her talent in indigenous knowledge systems. She goes about delivering lectures in Shona to the literati on how to make different types of traditional dishes that have proved to be delicious and healthy. The woman is empowered to participate confidently, sharing knowledge about how she has conquered her environment.

On the language of instruction the interviewee had this to say *I think we are okay as we are English, Shona and Ndebele. We can't have more than three because it is expensive. Too many resources will be directed towards one thing.* The principle of unity in diversity is therefore violated. The response indicates that interviewee is cognisant of the economic costs involved in taking more languages on board as media of instruction. This also reveals that the interviewee mainly worries about major languages ignoring minor languages, which defeats the whole purpose of language empowerment. Empowerment should include even the minority languages so that their speakers feel confident and worthy. The interviewee seems unaware of the language as a resource model that recognises even the smallest of languages, (Bamgbose, 1991; Batibo, 2005 and Mutasa, 2004).

The interviewee concluded by suggesting that indigenous novels must attract readership and that these novels should find their way into the electronic media. Her suggestions would capture a wider audience because the researcher's observation is that electronic media in the form of films and digital videos have a wider audience. This authenticates the argument presented by

this research elsewhere that a majority of Zimbabweans lack interest in reading indigenous literature perhaps as a result of little exposure during their school days. The interviewee's suggestion might raise the interest in reading indigenous novels if they are presented in different forms, however it may also be counter effective to the extent that people may opt to watch than read the stories. The study maintains that variety is the spice of life.

Interviewee Number 5 (a Master of Business Administration student who is employed as a District Development Fund Officer in Chipinge, Manicaland).

The interviewee's first response was that he agreed because language clarifies issues in communication. He proceeded to justify that indigenous languages should be used especially if the community is expected to participate in a development initiative. The response was expected particularly from someone who deals with different types of people at his work place. It is clear that indigenous languages would be all inclusive. The interviewee added that development initiatives are usually rolled out to communities in Ndau which is the mother tongue for Chipinge. One has to understand and appreciate Ndau culture if one's ideas are to be acceptable in the area. Once you involve them, Ndau people will cooperate.

Interviewee Number 6 (a Human Resources Manager who has worked in government and private organizations).

His first response was to show his excitement with language planning issues. *It is quite exciting that you are addressing a very important factor in development. You know many people think you can turn around the economy without the human or language factor. It is not possible*, he commented. The interviewee strongly agreed that language is an important factor for development. He reasoned that in development we look at improving a people in terms of infrastructure, production, movement that comes through networking with relevant stakeholders. Any development entails uplifting of living standards. The argument confirms that language is a resource as propounded by Bamgbose (1991) Batibo (2005) Mutasa (2004) and Uju

(2008). The interviewee explained how indigenous languages could be used as tools of economic empowerment. He asserted that economic empowerment implies ownership or being able to identify with a development initiative. He stressed that development agents should engage local people through their indigenous languages if they are to convince the people about new initiatives and innovations. This allows room for people to adjust their beliefs, norms and values to accommodate new ideas. The interviewee's arguments demonstrate that development is grounded in culture. The position closely relates to Asante's (2005) assertion that *our economic condition often mimics our cultural condition*.

On the contribution of indigenous cultures towards development, the interviewee illustrated how music and dance as communication instruments could be used for enhancing people's health practices, teaching about societal taboos. The impact of music and dance would be bringing people together to develop talent, as well as acculturation of the young. He also explained how growing of traditional crops such as *rukweza* (rapoko) and *runinga* would improve national grain stocks while at the same time it offers a healthy diet.

On the language preferred for industry and commerce, the interviewee expressed mixed feelings. Indigenous languages were preferred for dissemination of knowledge and concepts but for writing reports he preferred English because of abundance of technical terms. The views are a confirmation of the fact that indigenous languages lack technical terms Ngara (1982). On the issue of literature the interviewee suggested that if funds are permitting all the three Shona, Ndebele and English could be used to publish industrial training manuals. Like interviewee number 4 the interviewee does not take cognisance of the minority languages. Respondents may not be blamed for holding such views. This is the effect of Doke's (1931) contribution to language development in Zimbabwe and colonial legacy.

Interviewee Number 7 (an entrepreneur from Mashonaland Central Province)

The interviewee agreed that language is a factor for development and that indigenous languages can be used for economic empowerment. He explained that if indigenous languages were used to communicate economic issues more people would be empowered economically.

Vanhu vazhinji vanotadza kusimukira pamabhezimisi nokuda kokuti havagoni kundotsvaga rubatsiro kumbabhangi kana kumabii avo vachishandisa mutauro wavo. Havagonizve kunzwisisa zvakanyora pamafomu noChirungu.

(Many people fail in business because they cannot get assistance from the banks or from their colleagues using their mother tongue. They also do not understand contract forms, which are written in English).

In fact, indigenous languages should not be seen as stumbling blocks to national unity, national identity and national development but should rather be considered as resources for people's aspirations and full participation in national development, (Batibo: 2005:45-46).

On the other hand, Webb (2002) asserts that language can be gatekeeper to economic progress so the interviewee's views are corroborated. This vindicates Uju's (2008) views about the relationship between language and poverty.

The interviewee suggested that government should deliberately introduce indigenous languages as languages of business to create a homogenous society. He condemned a situation that prevailed whereby a certain governor was advocating for elimination of other indigenous language classes in his province and another whereby a certain priest put a quota system in his sermon to promote one indigenous language. The interviewee argued that:

More efforts should be directed towards creating a homogeneous society whereby as an entrepreneur I can comfortably walk into Matabeleland and do my business or someone can also come from Matabeleland and do their business here with ease,

Such an arrangement would be more empowering. The interviewee recognises the unity that comes from being many in one, which promotes the use of African languages as opposed to the unifying power of a foreign language.

Interviewee Number 8 (a book publisher who once worked as primary school teacher).

The interviewee agreed that language is a factor for development. He reasoned that language is a tool for communicating ideas and without it there is no sharing of knowledge and ideas so there is no development to talk about. ADEA, (1996a) cited in Batibo (2005:36) maintains that:

It is through language that we conceptualise ideas, organise our thoughts and systematise our memory... there is a close relationship between language, thought and intelligence.

On the indigenous languages of Zimbabwe, the respondent acknowledged that they could be tools of economic empowerment since even the illiterates and semi-literates can easily communicate in them. New methods of farming, for example, if communicated in indigenous languages can easily be communicated to the illiterates and semi-literates who form the majority of Zimbabwe's population. By arguing that indigenous cultures can contribute towards development, the interviewee is in concurrence with interviewee Number 6 and Asante (2005) who maintains that

...without a strong sense of culture we will not have a strong sense of our capability to create opportunities for ourselves out of the sheer sense of hard work, determination and self-reliance.

The interviewee felt more could be done to make indigenous novels more empowering to their readers. He regretted the scenario whereby most readers of indigenous novels do so to fulfil syllabi requirements at 'O' and 'A' Level. The interviewee suggested that if better literature is produced more people could read indigenous novels. By "better" the interviewee was referring to literature that emanates from thorough research. This view is limited in that

lack of interest in reading indigenous novels is seen by this research not as resulting from “poor” literature but from practices that promote English as the language of power, information, technology and high social status. In any case for literature to be classified as “poor” it should have been read first, so the argument is flimsy, however the contribution is valid.

Interviewee Number 9 (a school head, who is also a student of Masters in Educational Administration).

The interviewee specialised in English language at his first degree. He agreed strongly and explained that language enhances communication. He made reference to how language deficiency can lead to stifling of development by referring to the Tower of Babel, (Genesis 11: 1-9). The interviewee was very convincing in his argument and concluded by saying *No language no development as in the case of the speech impaired.*

Asked about whether Zimbabwe’s indigenous languages can be used as tools of economic empowerment, the interviewee said:

Locally Yes! The cultural input has to be factored in. Language reveals certain taboos specific from the environment of the speakers. For example, the way a trader dresses is determined by a cultural set up. The way a stranger would be greeted among the Shangani is different from how the stranger would be greeted among the Shona. Whoever is doing business in a community must be cognisant of the community’s cultural milieu to avoid rejection or conflict.

The interviewee stressed cultural values such as honesty, truthfulness and integrity, collaboration that would contribute towards development.

On choice of language for educational instruction, the interviewee advised that, *use local languages up to a certain level. It is difficult to be prescriptive. Leave it to situation. It is even wrong for Ministry to decide.* The interviewee overlooks the fact that there has to be policy to guide smooth operations. Languages have to be planned for economic utilisation. If Ministry cannot decide how will the other sectors such as Curriculum Development Unit

(CDU), ZIMSEC and book publishers operate without information on what languages are offered at what levels and to what population. His response may have been influenced by the fact that the interviewee as a specialist in English is comfortable with English, however there is evidence that he feels incomplete without his indigenous languages especially the cultural aspect of it.

On choice of language for publishing daily newspapers, the interviewee suggested a multilingual approach and gave the example of Mmegi of Botswana and The Zimbabwean which he said express socio-economic and political issues in the languages of the majority. He proposed that Shona, Ndebele and English be used in the same edition. The interviewee seems to have been influenced by the traditional biases of many Zimbabweans. Many seem to regard Zimbabwe as a trilingual country yet there are 14 other indigenous languages plus several exotic languages spoken in the country. Limiting choice to three is merely ignoring the existence of the other languages thereby committing the same omission that was committed by Doke in 1931.

Interviewee Number 10 (a lawyer who has served as a magistrate for more than 25 years).

The interviewee agreed that language is a tool for effective communication and development. She argued that indigenous languages could be used as tools of economic empowerment by conveying economic ideas because not all indigenous people are conversant in English. For legal courts indigenous languages were preferred for their ability to liberate the accused/plaintiff. *As an administrator of justice, at times you realise that what the interpreter is saying is not what the accused or plaintiff is saying.* She cited the following two examples.

Case A. Witness: *Ndakavaona vachimhanya nomumipuranga*. Interpreter: I saw them running through piles of planks.
Instead of “I saw them running through a gum tree plantation.”

Case B. Witness: *Ndakanga ndichidya sadza nederere...* Interpreter: I was eating sadza... (To the witness) *Shamwari chinja usavi nyaya ireruke*. (My friend choose a different relish so that your case might be lighter or easier).

Witness: *Ndakanga ndichidya sadza nemukaka*.

Interpreter: I was eating sadza with milk.

The two examples illustrate that interpreters may fail in their translations resulting in prejudicing whoever they will be translating for. Use of indigenous languages could carry the message and emotions of the accused or plaintiff.

According to Interviewee 10, the only problem with using indigenous languages is that they lack technical terms because Zimbabwean law is based on Roman-Dutch Laws. As a result indigenous languages do not match international standards in terms of legal jargon. Their institutionalisation would negatively affect and compromise recording of cases for onward transmission to higher courts. Where there is miscarriage of justice, these superior courts may not be capacitated to detect it. The interviewee advanced vital arguments, however the research maintains that indigenous languages can be institutionalised for the benefit of empowering the indigenous majority who may not even have capacity to appeal to higher courts. Justice needs to be executed at the lowest levels of the population, after all most of those who have capacity to appeal are usually privileged to know English.

4.4 CONCLUSION

The chapter has presented data and analysed research findings. Although respondents acknowledged the power of English in business, education and modern technology such as the internet, a large majority of 63.2% is still confident that African languages and their literature could be developed to handle educational instruction and other domains. While readers prefer novels written in English respondents revealed that novels written in indigenous languages contain more important and relevant information, suggesting that readers may prefer English novels because it is prestigious to read them not that they understand much about them. Individual responses from interviewees have also been recorded and analysed. From the interviews it surfaces that respondents have a strong conviction that indigenous languages can be tools of economic empowerment and development. What needs to be done is to change people's attitudes. Based on responses from questionnaire respondents and some of the interviewees, it might be necessary to consider a multi-lingual approach which accommodates both indigenous languages and English especially to avoid global alienation.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND STRATEGIES FOR IMPLEMENTATION

A nation without a language policy is a nation without a soul and a life.
(Gill, a keynote address to IAWE 2002 in Mutasa 2004)

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The focus of this chapter is to discuss findings from observations, responses to the questionnaire and interviews as well as relate the data to other scholarly works that have been consulted. The discussion collates the presentations made in Chapter 2, 3 and 4 as guided by the sub-themes of the research. The discussion unfolds by looking at African languages as a factor for development. As the discussion develops, strategies for implementation are also suggested at the end of each discussion. Finally a conclusion to the chapter is given.

5.2 AFRICAN LANGUAGES AS A FACTOR FOR DEVELOPMENT

Respondents to both the questionnaire and the interview strongly agreed that African languages are a factor for development. Of those interviewed, 98% agreed that language is a factor for development. Language is viewed as a communication tool that enables its speakers to exploit material resources and share their innovations with others. Batibo (2006) argues that language enables people to communicate and share their vision. Data presented in Tables 6 to 11 illustrate that students use African languages in less formal communications and English in more formal communications. Table 10 confirms that English is the language of business since 98% of the people use it when writing business letters. Table 11 also confirms what has been observed by Gill (2002) as cited by Mutasa (2004) who maintains that English is the language of the Internet. This is validated by 73% of respondents who said English is used for writing e-mails and short messages. Another 73% of the respondents provide supportive evidence in Table 8 that English is the language of educational instruction. Therefore English is maintained as a medium of communication for nationistic reasons.

The linguistic profile that presents English as the official language, Shona and Ndebele as two national languages and the rest of the Zimbabwean indigenous languages as minority languages arises from an historical arrangement of the colonial era. Since the colonial era, African languages were vernacularised with Shona and Ndebele being recognised as the only two dominant African languages taught in schools up to university level. However, that arrangement still excluded Shona and Ndebele from being used in administration, business and media of educational instruction. Because of this, African languages have not been easily recognised as factors for development. Development initiatives have been rolled out to communities with plans and strategies for implementation written in English as highlighted by one of the interviewees who works for DDF. As such African languages have not been linked to modern development, yet the research observes that development/change agents have to translate their plans into African languages in order for the ordinary people to understand, appreciate and participate in the development initiatives. It is therefore argued that African languages can facilitate or communicate development ideas. After all, what is needed is for their speakers to be confident and assertively express themselves in a language they are comfortable with.

As a communication tool African languages enhance the speaker's confidence, a virtue necessary for development. Confidence ensures self-esteem that is, a necessary ingredient for one to effectively interact with one's environment to foster development. This corroborates the views held by Ngugi (1994) and Uju (2008) about language and development. Uju reasons that there is correlation between language and poverty eradication. Inability to express oneself closes all avenues of individual and collective effective language use as a requirement in the global economy. Madhubuti (1984:123) takes the argument further by positing that *...without language, one cannot express the indigenous self, and therefore there is nothing to express other than the selves of others in their languages*. The Director's policy Circular Number 26 of 2007 confirms this by articulating that *languages that people are able to communicate in are critical for personal as well as national development*. One needs to inform society of one's potentials and articulate one's capabilities. If the ideas of Madhubuti (ibid), Uju (ibid) and the Director's policy Circular Number 26 of

2007 were synthesised and development issues were communicated through indigenous languages, development would also be identifiable with the local people.

A contradiction occurs whereby a majority of the Zimbabweans are comfortable when communicating orally in indigenous languages. When conducting business they revert to the use of English language because it is the language of business and formal communications. It is actually saddening to continue in that state of affairs whereby a majority of the indigenous people is excluded from the mainstream of development. Democratic principles advocate for the participation of every citizen or at least the majority of them. For people to participate in development initiatives they have to be linguistically empowered so that they can effectively engage in the production processes. Empowerment through language is directly linked to mother tongue language, however a dilemma that arises is that in a modern urbanised society mother tongue may not be a Zimbabwean indigenous language. It is difficult to define mother tongue language in a multi-lingual industrialised society.

From the interviews 52% argued that indigenous languages bring unity and cohesion through clarity of communication thereby challenging the views held by Mansoor (1993) who argues that colonial languages are preferred because they promote unity through ethnic neutrality. It is argued that what Mansoor may be viewing as unity and cohesion may be docility induced by language deficiency. Indigenous languages are believed to provoke thought processes in a way that is likely to bring socio-cultural development. The views held by Hurskainen (2002:22) as captured in Magwa and Mutasa (2007:57) strongly confirm the role of language as a factor for development. The duo captures Hurskainen advancing that *Language is an emblem that switches an individual from misery to plenty, from backwardness to progress and from backwaters to the center of life.* This also dispels Fishman (1974) as captured by Thondhlana's (2000) who presents nationistic reasons of maintaining English as a neutral language. Indeed there is abundant evidence that African languages have been factors for development through historic features such as the Great Zimbabwe kingdom that existed before the advent of colonialism. Such kingdoms were able to define their destiny and map the way to that destiny as well as win cooperation from their people using their indigenous languages. Consequently, Zimbabwe's indigenous languages can propel developments; however factors that have interfered

with indigenous languages as well as global definitions of development should be taken into consideration for the languages to effectively function as factors of development.

In view of this research, a language of significant importance should be used in educational instruction, communicate business ideas to the wider world and it should be accessible on the information highway. At the present moment African languages are far from being languages of mainstream educational instruction. Although many people could be carrying out their business transactions in African languages when it comes to sealing the deals, English is the language for drawing up contracts. As for accessing information on the information highway through African languages, it is still a pipe dream that may never be accomplished. There is definitely need for decolonising the African mind from the belief that African languages cannot be developed to articulate development issues. Since this is emanating from a long period of colonial rule, there is need for institutional intervention to change the status quo.

In Zimbabwe (1981-1985) the government equated Shona and Ndebele to English as subjects but this was vehemently resisted by conservative elements in government, colleges of education and the University of Zimbabwe. This demonstrates that the process of decolonising the mind is not an easy one. There are two main reasons for this;

- effect of colonialism and
- Africa's need to keep pace with global happenings.

Almost all interviewees, 49 out of 50 or 98% strongly agreed with the contention that language is an important factor for development. All respondents agreed that language is a communication tool without which there cannot be socio-economic development. The views articulated confirm Anyidoho (1992), Batibo (2005) Mutasa (2004), Ngugi (1994), Uju (2008) and Webb's (2002) views that language is a resource. Without language people cannot effectively engage in a production process. Observations have revealed that the speech impaired have difficulty in engaging in economic production because they cannot express their ideas, share views and perhaps verbally get the views of others on production processes. This

limits and frustrates their efforts such that at times they become highly emotional. It is true that without language, unity and cohesion are threatened. The biblical analogue of the Tower of Babel, (Genesis 11:1-9) aptly emphasises the importance of language in sourcing resources and providing services for development. By maintaining that language can facilitate or hinder economic activity Webb (2002:218) compliments the findings of this research.

In the medical field, 60% of respondents preferred the use of indigenous languages, arguing that it empowers patients to communicate with specialists. They reasoned that diagnosis depends on what the patient is experiencing and communicating. The issue of lack of technical terms kept on coming as an excuse for not using indigenous languages. What respondents overlook is that no language is completely independent or self sufficient; languages can borrow and derive terms from other languages. Even English has borrowed heavily from other languages such as Latin. In view of this, it is worthy considering borrowing technical terms from other languages where the local languages are limited. The Shona Language and Culture Association (SLCA) has come up with Duramazwi Rourapi (a dictionary of medical terms) hence some work has already been done to develop indigenous languages for the medical field. Coupled with this, the study observes O-Saki (2005:47) as quoted by Ogutu and Nthiga in Mutasa and Ogutu (2008:126) that the lack of resources theory is a deception originating from history. O-Saki states:

There is always the deception that the language of the colonised [sic] people is inferior and has not got sufficient words to explain scientific phenomenon, coupled with tricks of imperialists, *there may never* be funding to print material in vernaculars or train teachers to teach science in Kiswahili, Kigogo, Kisukemg etc.

The study proposes an additive or incremental approach whereby indigenous languages are the languages of medicine, where languages are limited, terms can be borrowed or engineered. It would be more economic, practical and reasonable to build on the resources that already exist. Such an arrangement would broaden and expand the functions of African languages. The lack of resources should not pre-occupy language planning. African languages can borrow and coin terminology or vocabulary.

In the legal fraternity, use of indigenous languages was seen by respondents as able to liberate the accused or plaintiff to express themselves without the court interpreters who in most cases fail to capture the accurate arguments of the accused or plaintiff. The main concern raised was that it might be difficult to pick on miscarriage of justice when cases are referred to higher offices such as the International Court of Justice where the jury may not comprise of Zimbabwe's indigenous language speakers. While the reasoning is sound it should be realised that very few cases if any, are dragged to such heights. Infact those who have the capacity to go to those levels are usually empowered to fluently communicate in international languages. Hence for the benefit of the majority of ordinary Zimbabwean citizens, indigenous languages remain the hope for judicial recourse. However, multiplicity of languages complicates choice of indigenous languages in the legal fraternity even at a national level. The plaintiff may be a Tonga speaker while the defendant is a Shangani speaker, the interpreter and magistrate may be speakers of other indigenous languages. Such a scenario complicates choice of African languages as languages used in legal proceedings. The arrangement turns out to be labour intensive and very extravagant on the national budget if every indigenous language is to be accommodated. Lodhi (1993:80) observes that abundance of languages in Africa has meant enormous problems. Lodhi (ibid) acknowledges that multilingualism is therefore an important factor of under-development, which in turn perpetuates multilingualism and slows down development. However, arrangements can be made to accommodate situations like this but obviously with increased costs.

It might imply coming up with special courts designated to deal with or deliver in certain indigenous languages. However the multiplicity of languages as well as the complexity of different types of crimes may need to be accommodated to the extent that it may complicate or confuse the whole judiciary system. For example, at a court designated to deal with sexual offences, the victim might be Tonga speaking, the prosecutor Shona speaking, the magistrate Ndebele speaking such that there might be need to come up with extra personnel to translate from one African language to another. Due to lack of resources, English would be recommended as a language that facilitates reasonable communication among people from different ethnic groupings.

5.3 INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES AS TOOLS OF ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT

While responses from the questionnaire reflect that a 47.3% of respondents were not sure that indigenous languages can give economic empowerment, interviews revealed that 98% of the respondents were convinced that indigenous languages can be tools for economic empowerment. Interviews helped the researcher to explain the question hence this could have had an influence on the responses. Responses discussed here are captured under 10(b), question 2, 4 and 6 under responses from the interviewee.

It should not be surprising that there are respondents who did not identify indigenous languages with economic empowerment. Such responses confirm that economic empowerment is associated with what is already visible as economic progress. The fact that throughout the African region foreigners are the ones who own giant companies, influences people to view African languages as incapable of enhancing economic empowerment. Mutasa (2006:86-88) clearly articulates that, for languages to be viewed as tools of economic empowerment, their speakers must possess a reasonable amount of economic power. Mutasa (ibid) reiterates that empowering African people economically and technologically is an essential ingredient in the promotion of African languages. *If the Africans are empowered to own big companies and industries, Mutasa maintains, they will be able to produce and name their products, and their languages would not die.*

There is also a group of respondents who acknowledge that Zimbabwe's economic situation should be regarded as being transitory and that the current brain drain will in the long term yield benefits as many Zimbabweans return home. They agree that the use of English makes Zimbabweans an international attraction on the job market. This group of respondents has proceeded to comment that it is not just the language but the culture English carries, which is western oriented, enabling Zimbabweans to fit in any English speaking environment thereby confirming Asante (2005), Miranda (2004) and Ngugi's (1994) assertion that language is culture bound and by learning a language one learns its culture. Although it is argued that professionals who leave Zimbabwe are compromising Zimbabwe's own development, further reasoning advanced says that in the long run many Zimbabweans will return home with more

skills which will bolster the country's economy. This group of respondents took an apologetic response to the demands of the question. The researcher observed that the question was rather sensitive to the extent that many did not want to discuss it in detail.

In industry and commerce, it is argued that use of indigenous languages would give correct decoding of messages, promote ownership and empower its interlocutors to confidently produce and market goods and services. The sticky issue remains the fact that it is not yet time for indigenous languages to be the sole languages of industry and commerce. The limiting factor is that for these languages to be empowered, their speakers should be economically empowered to be able to produce and name their products in their indigenous languages, (Mutasa 2006, Ngugi 1994 and Uju 2008). The research makes a proposition to engage indigenous languages first before their speakers possess economic power. Affirmative action should start by addressing the language issue because as argued by Madhubuti in Anyidoho (1990) language was used to alienate Africans from economic participation during slave trade. Even in the process of evolution, language developed earlier than economic development. It was through language that man used to share ideas about their environment and solicit for cooperation to conquer it. What needs to be corrected first is the linguistic arrangement Zimbabweans find themselves in. Once this is done the indigenous speakers can use their languages to exploit their environment and this will give them confidence in the way they view social reality. Linguistic empowerment would then translate into economic empowerment.

Paradoxically the excluded are not empowered to push for affirmative action. It calls for sound assertiveness to vocalise and claim inclusion. The research proposes that there be institutional intervention. Unfortunately, those empowered to liberate the majority of indigenous speakers may not focus on linguistic exclusion. They capitalise on political inclusion, but what is political inclusion if the people are not going to understand ideological concepts? A good example of this linguistic exclusion involves a Zimbabwean Member of Parliament who could not conceptualise "deficit". How do you expect government to operate when key concepts are not understood? How could such a member contribute to debate on the economy? How many more terms did such an individual fail to understand? How many other members did not disclose

their ignorance? Surely it would be more beneficial to engage African languages for economic empowerment. Since the present state of development is a result of an historic institutional arrangement, it requires the Zimbabwean government to institute some kind of social transformation of structures including the language situation.

For as long as African languages continue to be denigrated and given a lower status as languages incapable of communicating important economic ideas, their speakers will continue to be sidelined in the economic arena. The assertion made by one of the respondents who said, *...these things came via the English language*, clearly confirms that language is closely related to the production process and language comes first hence the proposition that indigenous languages should be recognised for economic empowerment. Uju (2008:24-26) confirms that language is a liberating force for human reasoning, expression of thoughts, ideas and exploitation of economic opportunities in an endeavour to eradicate poverty. This validates that linguistic empowerment should precede economic empowerment especially among the African nations where economic exclusion was tactfully designed during colonialism. When people use mother tongue language they are empowered to give correct pronunciations and application. They create both the language and the product during a production process. Language helps workers communicate and handle information as demanded by the Information Age.

It is saddening to note that language problems are not directly linked with economic profits, however failure to plan languages is just as bad as failure to plan families and national economic resources. There is definitely need to take a firm position and support language policies with the necessary resources required. The Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture has attempted to address the status of local languages in school curricula through;

- The Education Act [Chapter 25:04] as amended, 2006 Part XII; Section 26
- The Secretary's Circular Number 1 of 2002 on policy regarding language teaching and language learning
- The Secretary's Circular Number 3 of 2002 on Curriculum Policy: Primary and Secondary Schools.

The Director's Policy Circular Number 26 of 2007 notes that a majority of the educationists in Zimbabwe are giving a cursory attention to the provisions of the documents listed above. It is interesting to note that all the circulars and directives seem not to have clear implementation guidelines. The guidelines need to be supported by resource injection and a strong political will.

There is need for government commitment through resource injection in the development of indigenous languages. If government were to take a firm stance on use of indigenous languages as it did with such innovations as 75% local content on Zimbabwean television and radio, more people would realise that indigenous languages can be used for economic empowerment. It is sad to note that the organs, which used to advocate and promote use of indigenous languages such as Literature Bureau and the National Language Panel, have since died a natural death. Organisations such as these needed interventions similar to the recently introduced Basic Commodity Supply Side Intervention (Bacossi), which is heavily financed by the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe. However, it is delighting to note that organisations like African Languages Research Institute (ALRI) are doing a good job in terms of language development through compilation of dictionaries and other works. Other organisations such as SLCA are not financially resourced such that they heavily depend on individual members and the members' ingenuity. Needless to say, there is need to revive the National Language Board which will address all indigenous languages, defining roles and functions of all languages including exotic languages.

The argument that indigenous languages lack technical terms to express the processes and products is not a big challenge. If government is committed to the use of indigenous languages, linguists and other specialists can work towards language engineering and come up with relevant technical jargon for industry and commerce. What needs to be done is to have the political will and commitment to finance the project of use of indigenous languages in the same token that government has financed such ventures as Mechanisation programmes. Government should realise that people can remain poor if distribution of farm implements is not supported by an enabling language policy. The biggest challenge is that at the moment, language matters would not qualify anywhere near the top priorities, in a country bedeviled by economic melt down, and collapsed health and social services Language is not

directly linked to economic progress because it does not quickly translate into economic gains. In a country where people are struggling to satisfy physiological needs such as food, shelter and security, truly language would be considered an esteem need and considered last according to Maslow's hierarchy of needs. According to the 1990 adapted hierarchy of needs, language as culture would qualify as a self-actualisation need that falls under category 7. All other needs would have to be met before consideration of language needs. Therefore no matter how hard linguists try to push so that indigenous languages become tools of economic empowerment, the Zimbabwean environment at the moment is not conducive for that.

5.4 INDIGENOUS CULTURE AS A COMPONENT FOR DEVELOPMENT

Responses to the cultural aspect as a component for development were nostalgic and militant. Many viewed culture as that which defines who a people are and their way of doing things in their environment. A total of 67% of respondents confirmed that in most Zimbabwean cultures, behaviour is self-regulated and people achieve more when they operate in it, however concerns were raised that this was no longer binding in most cases. Because Zimbabwean cultures have been adulterated, indigenous cultures are no longer visible as a component for development. The education of the young was the responsibility of society hence in most Zimbabwean cultures if a child was seen misbehaving any adult could discipline him or her. For example, a stranger who knew neither the boy nor the owner of the field could discipline a herd boy who let his cattle astray into the fields. The adult had a responsibility of educating the young to be responsible and to respect other people's property. If the parents of the boy got to know about the incident, the boy would be punished further. Disciplinary action was applied to all by all hence such a cultural virtue helped society to protect individual, community and national property. Such a virtue would protect state property against vandalism and bring development to Zimbabwe.

Zimbabwe is a signatory to international conventions such as the Human Rights and Children's Rights It is unfortunate that foreign practices have negatively affected most Zimbabwean youths in the excuse of modernisation. Government seems to be

reinforcing such practices through implementation of acts like Human Rights, which unfortunately has seen many youths revolting against parental guidance. A dilemma arises where there is contradiction between culture and modernity. Most Zimbabwean cultures dictate that children continue to submit to their parents' wishes regardless of their age, yet being a signatory to such conventions as listed above dictates that the laws of the land protect children's interests. Such contradictions, if not handled carefully may frustrate development. The major challenge then remains striking a balance between cultural dynamism and fitting in the global village. What should be compromised indigenous culture or global standards of development?

The cultural practices, values and norms listed in chapter 4 are but some of the Zimbabwean way of doing things. It is true that if upheld the values would immensely contribute towards development. The unhu/umuntu philosophy ensures that integrity is upheld in all spheres of life. For example, if virtues like respect for the elderly, authority, honesty and achievement were upheld as before there would be development as everyone works to earn their success and respect, and respect other people's property. Shona wisdom for example guides leaders to respect their subjects and subjects to respect authority. Such an arrangement brings hope, cohesion and prosperity. One other area that Zimbabwe has failed to contain is a dress code for its nationals. Zimbabweans are not distinct in any way in terms of dress because they have been so westernised to an extent of losing that cultural aspect.

Many from the respondents appeared nostalgic and weary as they responded to this question. Whilst they view their culture as an asset capable of contributing towards development many seemed incapable of advocating for a return to indigenous cultures. They feel most Zimbabwean cultures have been deeply adulterated by western cultures to an extent that the youths may not find meaning in a return to traditional cultures. Unfortunately this is a sad development, which is likely to influence potential to link indigenous cultures with modernity and development. Ngugi (1997) observes that cultural imperialism is a powerful instrument of oppression, which distorts a people's vision of their place in history – cultural imperialism disempowers people's creative potential. As a result anything that represents the Zimbabwean way of doing things may suffer rejection from the very people who must

uphold the practices. Cultural virtues like moral uprightiness, lending which is known in Shona as *kuronzera* would give everyone a chance to acquire wealth through hard work and corruption would be reduced.

The elite are privileged to possess the language of the former colonialists that they use to strengthen their positions. Through use of English they continue to link with the international world hence they view indigenous languages as deficient in carrying culture that is commensurate with development. If indigenous cultures were upheld their foodstuffs for example would be appreciated. Traditional crops such as rapoko and millet could be bailing the state out of the current food crisis.

The biggest challenge remains the drive to keep pace with global trends in every sphere of life. The exposure to modern technology such as the Internet has devastating effects on the younger generation. Unless African languages are empowered to be technologically compliant and user friendly on the Internet, the younger generation would be persuaded to follow cultures that they are exposed to.

5.5 DEVELOPING INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES TO BECOME VEHICLES OF NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

In this section data is discussed under language preferred for educational instruction and the Education Amendment Act 2006. The education delivery system is seen as vital in bringing national consciousness hence the focus. The education system is viewed by the research as an arm that facilitates communication of national ideology. For this reason special attention is given to languages for educational instruction.

5.5.1 Languages preferred for educational instruction

While 36% of respondents opted for maintenance of the status quo, 64% preferred the use of indigenous languages as media of educational instruction. It is not abnormal that respondents opted for maintenance of the status quo. People resist change because they are afraid of losing what they gained as opposed to what some theorists present as fear of the unknown.

Arguments such as maintaining English as a medium of educational instruction because it is a neutral global language simply show that the respondents are not receptive to change. There is no language that is neutral in terms of the cultural milieu languages carry. Mutasa (2006:76) captures Bandura (1986:161) observing that:

The process of change from normal practice, which departs markedly from tradition, usually undergoes a history of initial rejection, followed by qualified acceptance and eventually, widespread adoption with reinterpretation in terms of customary beliefs.

Knowledge can be transmitted through indigenous languages and when need arises for wider communication English can still be used to express those concepts learnt through the indigenous languages. English will remain offered as a subject like any other so it can still be used where and when it is necessary so why should people worry about it being used as a medium of instruction? This group of respondents may have overlooked the fact that there are countries like Japan, China and Germany to mention but a few, which are competing as global giants in spite of them not using English as a medium of educational instruction. It is their ability to engage their nationals through the indigenous languages that has probably seen them rise to such heights. Perhaps the strong point that this group of respondents raised is the issue of expense. At the moment although there might be loud cries about mother tongue instruction, there are no resources to support that. The views are confirmed by Ogutu in Mutasa and Ogutu (2008) who advances that while African languages should be repositories of values that drive linguistic decolonisation, lack of teaching and learning resources militate against that.

Resources such as books written in indigenous languages for subjects like mathematics; science, geography and many others would be required. It should not just be asking teachers at the individual level to translate what is written in English into indigenous languages. It also involves coming up with illustrations relevant and applicable to indigenous culture. The syllabi must be written in the indigenous languages to accommodate mother-tongue instruction. This requires finance to in-service education personnel starting from teachers right up to the permanent secretaries so that they change attitudes and accept change.

Arguments proffered by respondents who preferred use of indigenous languages strongly lean towards the spirit of nationalism as reflected by *fosters self-image... defending our posterity and we do not become ourselves*. The most important argument presented by this group is that use of indigenous languages as media of instruction would include the vast majority of the Zimbabwean population. This is the thrust of this research; to empower every Zimbabwean socially, culturally and economically. If there can be a language of instruction that enables the majority of Zimbabweans to participate fully and with ease then let it be. The group's views resonate well with Asante (2005) Muindi (2002), Ngara (1982) and Ngugi's (1994) arguments that mother tongue fosters a strong sense of one's culture that creates opportunity for participation by all. While the group advanced sound reasons it however overlooked the aspect of feasibility.

It is quite ideal and noble to use indigenous languages as media of educational instruction. However, at the moment what might limit the success of such an initiative are human, material and financial resources. There is also need for a committed human resource to work on development of textbooks that can accommodate the use of indigenous languages as media of instruction. There is need for what Batibo (2005) refers to as technical planning especially capacity planning that involves development of formal functions of language in such areas as education, science, technology, law, medicine and commerce. This is no mean investment and may not be easily achievable without the intervention of various stakeholders such as linguists, non governmental organisations, planners, educationists and finance houses. Choice of language for educational instruction should strike a balance between nationalistic and nationistic reasons. As media of instruction local languages have the ability for effective and efficient communication of concepts.

5.5.2 The Education Amendment Act (2006)

The focus of this section is on language to be taught in schools as captured under Amendment No. 12 of Section 62 of Chapter 25:04. A majority of the respondents 55% had no idea of The Education Amendment Act of 2006. This tells a lot about how policies are made and implemented. What is surprising is that even some of the people in the education delivery sector were not clear about the policy. Such a

scenario speaks volumes on the successes of policy implementation. As reflected in the responses, respondents were quick to point out that there is contradiction within government as regards policy on languages. English remains the benchmark for 'O' level and higher qualifications. For as long as English remains the prerequisite for passing 'O' Level it remains more empowered than indigenous languages even as a subject. English is further empowered since it is the medium of instruction entrusted to deliver knowledge at higher levels of the education service.

In terms of paragraph 4 of Section 62 *prior to Form One, any one language referred to in Subsection (1) and (2) may be used as the medium of instruction depending upon which language is commonly spoken and better understood by the pupils.* This statement confirms the assertions by some of the respondents who maintain that government lacks commitment to the policy. The policy is not explicit; it is left to individuals to choose the medium of instruction. What is further worrying is that there are no material resources to support choice of mother-tongue instruction, as there are no Mathematics and Environmental Science books written in indigenous languages. The Director's Circular Number 26 of 2007 reveals lack of serious commitment by saying in areas where the indigenous (minority) languages other than Shona and Ndebele are spoken, schools may teach such languages in addition to Shona and Ndebele, and the Curriculum Development Unity may be approached. Too many loose knots are left for implementers to choose without resource support. To further complicate the choice, Grade 7 examinations in these subject areas are administered in English. What it boils down to is that a teacher at this level has to translate material written in English to the relevant indigenous language yet at the end of the course measurement is in English language. Under such circumstances any teacher would stick to the language of measurement so that the teaching is examination oriented.

The issue of lack of political will and stakeholder conscientisation or advocacy is a genuine concern. It simply shows the level of commitment to policy. The Zimbabwean government is well known for supporting its policies at times by such extreme means that it comes up with jingles and special programmes on national media, such that every household ends up consciously or unconsciously singing the issue on the agenda. If government were committed there would be strong and deliberate advocacy programmes. That very little has been done in terms of advocacy,

stakeholder consultation and resource support to the policy initiative might reflect lip service influenced by the fact that the policy planners still hold on to what Mawasha (1998) as cited by Webb (2002) claims that *...to be educated and trained means having acquired knowledge and expertise mainly through the medium of English.*

There were 23% of respondents who repudiated the assertion arguing that pilot schools could be showing signs of success in spite of lack of material resources. The respondents may just be optimistic and receptive to change due to nationalistic feelings. As discussed above, it would be premature to conclude especially when it concerns examinations. The observation can still be challenged on the basis of lack of clear implementation guidelines. If schools do not know how learners will be examined then it is not worthwhile making such conclusions. What might be promising is the oral aspect of the language. For the languages to be examined it is necessary to define the criterion of assessment, as either L₁ or L₂. Another limitation is that policy directs teaching of Shona, Ndebele and English up to Form Two level yet the school leaving level is Form Four. As of now, there are no Form Two examinations so teaching or learning of the languages may not be that serious.

It is clear that both groups agree that there is need for government political commitment and serious economic injection into the language policy if it is to be successful. Most of the suggestions if taken seriously will help bring success to the language policy. The introduction of special programmes on electronic media would help reinforce what is taught in schools. It is possible that the policy can succeed if all stakeholders like the policy makers, linguists, educationists and parents take their positions. One of the expected outcomes of the Zimbabwean school curricula is to ensure effective and proficient communication orally and in writing thus such development would be found wanting.

Respondents displayed a keen interest in debating language issues. This interest and suggestions offered such as, *...Government should give deliberate funding, consult stakeholders, come up with advocacy programmes on public electronic and print media, clarify policy...* would definitely contribute towards the success of the policy. Failure to consult stakeholders, promote advocacy programmes and give clear operational guidelines on policy implementation by the Zimbabwean government with

regards the Education Amendment Act 2006 leaves Bamgbose's (1991:111) views about language planning in Africa unchallenged. Bamgbose (ibid) maintains that language planning in Africa is characterised by avoidance, *vagueness*, arbitrariness, fluctuation and *declaration without implementation*, (own emphasising). Observations from the responses clearly confirm Batibo's (2005) assertion that language planning in Africa is a result of government decrees not linguistic research and consultation. A more positive outcome would be experienced if the raised concerns were addressed so that the nation exploits its indigenous languages for national consciousness and empowerment. The nagging challenge remains the unfavourable socio-economic and political environment that Zimbabwe is currently clouded in.

5.6 AFRICAN LITERATURE FOR SOCIO-CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION IN ZIMBABWE

The importance of language and culture has been discussed and analysed above. This section pays attention to literature as it relates to socio-cultural and economic development. Respondents interviewed highlighted that literature leaves a permanent record of a people's linguistic and cultural power, energy and stamina in all fields of life.

Of those who responded to the questionnaire 60% viewed creative literature themes, readership and distribution of that literature as important factors that contribute towards raising socio-cultural and economic awareness. Respondents argued that novels could be used to express the nation's vision, hopes and aspirations. However indigenous artists wrote ordinary stories based on fantasy and the recreation of culture hence going against the nationalistic vision as presented above. The pie chart in diagram 3 indicates that writers of indigenous literature concentrate more on social stories and cultural moralisation. Chiwome (1996) and Ngugi (1994) observe that in colonial Zimbabwe, writers were pre-occupied with moralisation themes as a result of censorship laws.

Respondents also raised important arguments as regards readership and distribution of literature as factors that influence awareness and participation. It was argued that readership should be extended to the out of school population. The observation is

that there are very few people who read indigenous literature for leisure. As shown in Table 14, only 13% confirmed that indigenous literature is read for leisure. Indigenous literature is largely read in schools, colleges and universities to fulfill demands of the syllabi, (NLPAP; 1998). Electronic media exacerbates the situation. Instead of reading indigenous literature many would prefer watching movies on television. This lack of interest in indigenous literature is a result of the effect of the roles assigned to indigenous languages as compared to English. The suggestion that readership be extended to the out of school population is quite valid as this will provoke a reading culture which ultimately may result in people's increased awareness of socio-cultural and economic issues that demand their intervention. Readers should be caught whilst they are young. The school curriculum should provide for extensive exposure to literature in indigenous languages from a very tender age. Many Zimbabweans do not hide that they find it difficult to read, write or type documents in their mother tongue. They lack practice in mother-tongue literature while still at school. However, extending readership to the out of school population is no guarantee that the people will read indigenous literature since the problem lies not with availability of novels, but with negative attitudes towards indigenous languages and literatures.

There were 30% of the respondents who argued that free distribution of indigenous novels would increase readership and market national vision, hopes and aspirations that will result in transformation. The argument overlooks costs incurred in the printing and publication of books. Who meets the overhead costs of the production of the books? What would motivate creative writers? The argument ignores common observation that you can take a horse to the river but you may not make it drink water. Similarly, free handout of novels may not increase readership. After all observation is that indigenous novels in many community and school libraries are not borrowed frequently which indicates that there could be other factors which militate against readers' interest in indigenous literature. It has also been observed that many Zimbabweans have a very high interest in drama in indigenous languages shown on Zimbabwe Television such as Studio 263 and Amakorokoza. Their audio skills are more developed than writing and reading skills hence the interest in televised drama. The research argues that lack of interest in indigenous literature could be emanating from the fact that many indigenous people have lost pride in reading indigenous

literature as a result of little exposure to it during the school days. These are ripple effects of language policies as reflected by the school system where instruction is mainly in English. Effects of colonialism continue to be experienced long after the colonial administrators have departed. Indigenous languages continue to be regarded as vernaculars or undeveloped languages which affects consumption of their literature.

It is still a big challenge to convince most Zimbabweans that there is great value in indigenous novels. The study is convinced that the problem lies not in availability of literature but with fossilised attitudes held about reading indigenous novels. The attitudes emanate from a long history of self-hate, which was craftily nurtured by the colonial system. If the role of indigenous languages and literature is revisited in the school system and education and development cease to be measured only in foreign languages, it is possible for indigenous literature to bring about socio-cultural and economic transformation. Ngugi (1997: x) corroborates the views by arguing that through use of African languages and literature; we can overcome the habit of viewing development through western eyes. Interviewees cited Mutasa's (2005) *Sekai Minda Tave Nayo* as a clear example. The central theme of the novel coincides with the aspirations of the Zimbabwean people. In *Sekai Minda Tave Nayo*, the writer managed to be in touch with his immediate society. The novel is focused on land redistribution and gender equality. The novel calls for socio-economic transformation, to which the masses seem to have responded.

For indigenous literature to challenge and excite its readers there is need for serious interventions to address the attitudes of readers towards literature in indigenous languages. There is urgent need for the school system to equate teaching of indigenous literature to the teaching of literature in English. Currently Literature in English is taught and examined as a separate subject whilst literature in Shona or Ndebele is taught as an appendage of the Shona/Ndebele language. Such arrangements continue to give more weight to English novels as compared to indigenous novels. Readership also needs assurance from writers that they have departed from the old arrangement which used to regulate production of creative literature. Writers should exhibit that they are no longer regime praise singers and have adopted new styles of dealing with societal ills that promote transformation

through the manner by which they present their themes. Mabasa (1999) in *Mapenzi*, Mavesera (2008) in *Makaitei?* Mungoshi (1983) in *Kunyarara Hakusi Kutaura?* and Mutasa (2005) in *Sekai Minda Tave Nayo*, among Shona novelists seem to have risen to that occasion. Zimbabwean novelists need to get rid of white supremacism that is fossilised (Chiwome 1996:159) in many of them. Perhaps the biggest challenge for the Zimbabwean artist is to be with the people so as to articulate their deepest aspirations for freedom and a higher quality of life. So far Mabasa (ibid) Mavesera (ibid) and Mutasa (ibid) appear to be right there with the people articulating people's aspirations for a higher quality of life.

The Zimbabwean novelist is challenged to come up with a fiction language, a different style of handling points of view, time, character and plot. The writers' handling of themes has a bearing in captivating readers' interests. A good artist should leave readers deeply touched or immersed in the experiences of the characters in the novel, argued some interviewees. The research is convinced that it is possible for writers to raise issues that will bring socio-cultural and economic transformation. The biggest challenge remains entrenched in language policies. If indigenous languages are recognised as languages of power and are allocated more space in the school curricula, it should be possible to raise national consciousness through literature written in indigenous languages. The prevailing socio-economic and political challenges remain a hindrance to language issues receiving priority attention and to artists' freedom of expression. Artists impose self-censorship to deal with certain issues that might be sensitive to the ruling elite.

As captured under data presentation, respondents who were interviewed preferred use of indigenous languages in publishing daily newspapers and industrial training manuals. Arguments for their preference included that indigenous languages include a majority of the population and that they enable people to understand and follow developments in the country. Some of the respondents reasoned that indigenous languages can be very expressive and powerful; however they observed that Kwayedza had not been given the right footing. They said Kwayedza is melodramatic and trivializes the Shona language and culture because of the issues it usually carries. By publishing national daily newspapers in indigenous languages, respondents reasoned that the papers would carry socio-economic and political

stories and track national events on a daily basis. That way, development would be easily identifiable with the local people and interest in indigenous literature would be cultivated even among the out of school population.

There are respondents who opted for a multilingual approach. They felt that every language should be used citing examples of The Zimbabwean and Mmegi of Botswana. Their argument confirms Batibo's (2005) assertion that every language is an asset to development. Such reasoning supports the Marxist view of language as an economic resource. While respondents preferred multi-lingualism 40% observed that it would demand more resources to publish in all languages. As a result the other school of thought was to have just the three main languages. The argument is that a majority of the people would have been included. It is noted that the language issue is very sensitive as no one language should be held inferior, however those who speak minority languages of Zimbabwe in most cases have been exposed to one or two of the three main languages. What should determine the language of publication should be the population of speakers and potential buyers.

The proposal of this research is to gradually empower indigenous languages and literature. First the languages should be recognised as capable of communicating important information. Once they are accepted as languages of educational instruction, it is proposed that there be abundant literature to support it. Interest in reading indigenous literature can be cultivated through introducing readers from an early age as what happens in English where there are Sunrise Series Readers. Since resources are limited it is proposed that first priority of resource injection be directed towards the development of Shona and Ndebele language and literature. While enhancing Shona and Ndebele as media of educational instruction at higher levels and promoting exposure to their literature the other languages could be promoted as subjects taught up to secondary level.

At present Kalanga, Tonga, Venda, Nambya and Sotho are taught up to grade 7, (Secretary's Circular No. 1 of 2002). Other than Great Zimbabwe University, which has introduced a special programme with the assistance of the University of Venda, the research could not establish any institution of higher learning, which teaches minority languages either at secondary or tertiary colleges. This implies that there are

no teachers trained to teach minority languages at whatever level. Great Zimbabwe University is currently offering Venda and Shangani in addition to Shona and Ndebele as African languages. It is against this background that the research proposes an incremental approach that should be cascaded from the bottom to the top. If teachers are trained to teach some of the minority languages, then a proper foundation needs to be laid. This is not to ignore the contribution being made by Great Zimbabwe University. Interest in studying the languages needs to be cultivated first before their roles can be expanded to include media of educational instruction. This will also allow an incubation period to firmly establish the languages as worthy of study and adequate time to nurture writers in these minority languages. This move should not be mistaken for demeaning other indigenous languages. It is aimed at taking advantage of the level of development in terms of orthography and abundance of literature that Shona and Ndebele enjoy over the other Zimbabwean indigenous languages. The proposed changes are only possible in a country with a stable socio-economic and political environment. As it stands the language issues may not receive priority attention in Zimbabwe because of the turbulent political and economic circumstances.

5.7 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the discussion was guided by research findings and it also considered the feasibility of implementing certain suggestions offered by respondents as well as those proposed by the research. It has been established without doubt that African languages can be factors for development and tools of economic empowerment. It has also been argued that African languages if used as media of educational instruction could facilitate easy concept development and comprehension of ideas; however the education system is still bedeviled with effects of colonialism. Many Zimbabweans still hold the view that education comes through the medium of English. Whilst policies are put in place such as the *languages to be taught in schools*, policy makers are still criticised for making vague policies and making declarations without implementation strategies. As a result of this and the unfavourable socio-economic and political environment, it is an uphill task to expect sound considerations of language issues in Zimbabwe currently.

It has also been argued that indigenous novels have not been attracting many readers. The discussion established that this lack of interest emanates from the roles assigned to indigenous languages as compared to English as well as effects of censorship, which reduced indigenous novels to socio-cultural moralisation. It has also been highlighted that some post-colonial artists have come up with new styles of dealing with societal ills. Such writers appear to be speaking from within the people, articulating people's aspirations for a better quality of life. Finally the discussion concludes with a proposed implementation strategy to develop Shona and Ndebele literature as well as other minority languages as subjects and media of instruction within the context of challenges that have been noted.

CHAPTER 6

RESEARCH FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A person who lacks the power of language power cannot do well as a politician and since oratory is a powerful ingredient of man's emancipation, language is powerful and command of language is command of power, (Uju 2008:25).

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this research was to establish the attitudes of people towards the use of African languages in major domains such as education, medicine, law, industry and commerce. This chapter proceeds to summarise research findings, make conclusions and recommendations based on research findings.

6.2 OUTLOOKS ON LANGUAGE SITUATION AND POLICY

The study set out to explore possibilities of using African languages and literature to promote socio-cultural and economic development in Zimbabwe as a way of considering empowerment through language. Chapter one introduced the problem of the study by giving a background to the study. The problem highlighted was that African countries experience linguistic domination which in turn impacts on their cultural, economic and social endeavours. In spite of having achieved political independence Africa's dependence on ex-colonial languages provides selective access to socio-cultural and economic participation. As a result, a dilemma exists whereby the African elite have become alienated from the masses thereby becoming misfits in their own environment and pseudo-fits in global environments. Literature circulated to the public in the form of newspapers was seen to be exacerbating the problem by socialising the public to value English than indigenous languages.

Colonialism left the African continent disoriented as a result of formal education and foreign literature which were used to remove the African child from his/her environment. Foreign languages and literatures were used to disempower the Africans in general and the Zimbabwean in particular. The language situation in Zimbabwe was also highlighted under the background to study. Language policy has

always been problematic and controversial considering that Zimbabwe has no piece of legislation that can be used as a defining instrument for the status and use of Zimbabwe's indigenous languages, (NLPAP: 1998, Nziramasanga et al 1999 and Gatawa 1998).

The justification of the study was based on the rationale that language is an economic resource, as such rationing it to a few limits participation in socio-cultural, economic and many other domains, to the few who are privileged with language proficiency. Consequently development would also be limited to the few who can communicate. Empowering a people implies using their languages and this has to be synchronised with the literature of those languages. The chapter proceeded to state objectives of the study which include assessing the extent to which African languages empower their speakers to bring about development and the role of indigenous African literature novels as regards social transformation.

The study involved wide research on the topic and a firm grounding on the theoretical framework on which the research was based, that is, language planning. Varied methodologies were adopted to gather data. To begin with the research was guided by observation of linguistic disparities that exist in Zimbabwe. Interviews were conducted and responses recorded. Over and above the observation and interviews, a questionnaire was administered to capture people's attitudes and views about the language situation in Zimbabwe. Varied instruments were used namely the questionnaire, interviews, observations and document analysis. Data triangulation was done by getting information from different sources.

The chapter also considered the theoretical framework that guided the research. Basically the language as a resource model for language planning guided the study. The Canonical Model of language planning was discussed and its applicability to African countries considered. Ngugi's (1994) argument that suppression of a language results in the suppression of its literature contributed to the theoretical framework as well. The chapter gave an outline of the scope, highlighted limitations and finally defined key terms to the study.

The second chapter on language, literature and development sought to establish the relationship between the three. The central argument propounded is that indigenous languages and their literature will open doors for mass participation in development projects in African communities. An indigenous approach to national development that promotes greater use of African languages and their literature in scientific, artistic and cultural discourse was proposed. The role of language in socio-economic development such as in the management of information and the use of language as a production factor were considered.

African literature was defined with the view of situating literature in socio-cultural development and considering it as an instrument of empowerment. It was argued that while an organic link between a people, their language and their literature (Mazrui, 1986), justifies that African literature must be written in African languages by African people for an African readership, the study extends the definition to include writers with no umbilical attachment to Africa but who are well versed in African languages to make contributions to African literature. In other words, it is the language and cultural milieu that African literature should carry and the exposure to a wider African readership, which gives an African flavour. The roles of language and literature in education were also discussed to position them as factors for improvement of quality of life and the reduction of inequalities. Finally the chapter considered challenges confronting African governments and that limiting the execution of changes proposed in the chapter

Chapter three focused on language policies and empowerment in Africa with special attention given to Zimbabwe. The chapter took an historical perspective to language planning. The chapter began by giving an overview of language planning in selected African countries from the colonial to the post-colonial era. It established that language policies in Africa are not explicit, *they are characterised by avoidance, vagueness, arbitrariness, fluctuation and declaration without implementation*, (Bamgbose 1991:111). It also confirmed that use of mother tongue in political and legislative domains empowers indigenous speakers to participate in the activities of their nation. Use of indigenous languages in wider domains elaborates the languages bringing in new technical terms for other registers.

The chapter proceeded to discuss colonial language policies in Zimbabwe under the British South Africa Company and Missionary influence on language policy. Post colonial language policy in Zimbabwe was discussed under two sub-themes colonial legacy and language policy in Education. It was argued that policies of linguistic dissociation might induce challenge whilst policies of linguistic association might induce “catch-up”. The chapter proposed that Zimbabwe empowers its indigenous languages so as to include the majority of Zimbabweans who are excluded by use of English as the language of administration, business and educational instruction.

Literature was discussed against the backdrop of colonial and post-colonial language policies. The effect of various censorship laws were presented as having an effect on the development of novels in indigenous languages. Writers ended up succumbing to creative timidity or ended up being colonial praise singers. This section established that indigenous languages should be used to produce literature, empowering both readers and writers as well as liberating them from centuries of marginalisation resulting from repeated exposure to literature produced in ex-colonial languages.

Chapter four presented and analysed data from research findings. Quantitative data was presented in tabular and diagrammatic form. Responses from interviewees were tabulated to back up the research’s broad views. Data were eventually analysed. Large percentages ranging from 73% to 98% indicated that English is dominant in formal communications such as education, business and the Internet. A 95% confirmed that English novels are preferred while 55% indicated that indigenous novels contain more important information as compared to English novels. The recurrent view was that African languages are used in less formal communications such as talking to fellow students 60%, writing friendly letters 58% and at home 55%. It was established by 72% of the respondents that Zimbabwean indigenous languages could be modernised to be instruments of development and vehicles of national consciousness.

While government has been making efforts to address the language issue through such instruments as The Education Amendment Act 2006, it has not actively sensitised people and many remain ignorant of these efforts. The Zimbabwean government is a victim of problems identified by Bamgbose (1991:111) as common to

African countries. The problems include coming up with vague policies, arbitrary declaration and declaration without implementation strategies among others.

Interviewees displayed a keen interest towards institutionalisation of indigenous languages, advocating for broadening of their roles and functions to include educational instruction, medicine, law, industry and commerce. However it was noted that it cannot be done over night as it involves changing people's attitudes and investment in human and capital resources. A multilingual approach whereby indigenous languages are recognised and enhanced without downgrading ex-colonial languages was proposed because it upholds the principle of unity in diversity. To consolidate use of indigenous languages, their literature must play a significant role in empowering writers and readers to take action towards social transformation.

Chapter five discussed data from research findings and proceeded to suggest strategies for implementation. Of those interviewed 98% agreed that language is a factor for development. The discussion established that English is maintained as a medium of communication mainly for nationistic reasons rather than nationalistic reasons. African languages enhance the speaker's confidence; confidence ensures self-esteem and assertiveness which foster development. Indigenous languages help speakers articulate their thoughts, market their talents and offer services for economic development. A proposal was made to consider linguistic empowerment first especially in view of the fact that linguistic deprivation in Africa was induced to bring economic exclusion of Africans. A call was made for government to consider some kind of "bacossi" so that African languages can be revitalised to bring about the necessary economic development in Zimbabwe. The biggest challenges that confront implementation of the suggested strategies is the current socio-economic and political situation which takes precedence over language issues. Where there are life threatening situations such as disease outbreak, political instability and economic melt down, language issues are considered last. The power which English has amassed over centuries of time is another impediment which frustrates the institutionalisation of African languages in official domains.

Respondents acknowledged that Zimbabwean indigenous cultures have been adulterated; however the *unhu/umuntu* philosophy if upheld could ensure integrity

and immensely contribute towards development. Global developments and conventions such as Human Rights and Children's Rights presented a dilemma in the maintenance of indigenous culture and meeting the demands of the global village. A maintenance of indigenous culture and adjustment to cultural dynamism was proposed.

The chapter also looked at possibilities of developing indigenous languages to become vehicles of national consciousness. The discussion presented the education delivery system as a pillar of bringing about national consciousness. Languages preferred for educational instruction were considered. While African languages are preferred over English the lack of resources theory continues to militate against their use as media of instruction.

Further exploration was made to consider African literature for socio-cultural and economic transformation in Zimbabwe. Of those who responded to the questionnaire 60% viewed creative literature as vital in raising socio-cultural and economic awareness. The study revealed that indigenous novels are not preferred as a result of language policies and the practice in education whereby indigenous languages are down graded. A suggestion was made to introduce literature in indigenous languages from an early age in order to develop readers' interests in indigenous literature. It was also suggested that writers of indigenous literature should come up with new styles of dealing with societal ills that promote transformation. A call was made for the state to invest in the training of teachers to teach minority languages with the ultimate goal of promoting and developing literature in these languages. As argued elsewhere the obstacle remains the current state of affairs in Zimbabwe.

Basically the study was an exploration of different linguistic patterns and attitudes that prevail in the country and on the continent as outlined above. Key issues established are that African languages are still marginalised in spite of Africa having gained political independence. Due to effects of colonialism and the fear of global isolation, African governments have maintained the use of ex-colonial languages as official languages. Maintenance of the ex-colonial languages has also meant maintenance of the culture that the languages carry and the literature they transprint.

6.3 CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions reached tended to a very large extent to be supported by Asante (2005), Batibo (2005), Bamgbose (1991), Mutasa (2004) and Uju (2008) and Webb (2002) who view language as a resource that can be rationed to the elite. The rationing results in the exclusion of those who do not possess the language power. Those who lack the language power cannot do well because they fail to express their thoughts, share ideas and maximise their potentials. The conclusions are further corroborated by Anyidoho (1992), Mazrui (1986) and Ngugi (1994), who postulate that an organic link exists between a people, their language and their literature. Respondents' views are entrenched in the relationship that occurs between the indigenous people, their languages and their literature.

In addition to the above the researcher derived or drew a number of conclusions from the research. First the current linguistic arrangements that promote ex-colonial languages as languages of power, education, judiciary, medicine, industry and commerce translate into the exclusion of African languages and their speakers from the mainstreams of socio-cultural and economic development. The problems emanate from a long history of colonial conquest of the African continent. As a result, a majority of the Africans cannot actively participate in the socio-economic and cultural development of their countries. The exclusion translates into a state of poverty, which characterise a majority of the African states.

The study shows that .political independence did not come with linguistic empowerment. The ruling elite focused more on engaging their states in uplifting the levels of education for their people without paying much attention to language issues. Zimbabwe for example, concerned itself with Education for All goals without worrying about "in what language the education is delivered?" As a result English continues to dominate as the language of education and other formal domains like administration in the public and private sectors. It has been established that the multilingual character of African countries is generally ignored in pursuit of the maintenance of colonial legacies by the new regimes. The ruling elite argue that multilingualism breeds tribalism which promotes warfare. Colonial languages are therefore

maintained in the pretext of national unity yet this results in linguistic exclusion of the majority of the indigenous people.

The research also shows that Zimbabwe does not have a national language policy to justify allocation of roles and functions to different languages, what it has is an Education Act with some vague reference to language. Therefore this causes confusion as operation structures are often not clear to an extent that it is difficult to implement changes. Language policy is part of the apparatus of blocking access to democracy. A language policy can liberate the country from the yoke of neo-colonialism and simultaneously unleash the forces of indigenous creativity, productivity and development in a holistic manner. The national and/or official status of Shona and Ndebele is largely theoretical. Little is being done to develop and promote them in order to diversify their functions. The policy of teaching Shona in predominantly Ndebele areas and Ndebele in predominantly Shona areas is not clear on implementation strategies, lacks resource support and faces rejection because of lack of stakeholder sensitisation. It is not clear whether the examinations in these languages will include L₂ examinations.

The use of African languages ensures active participation by local communities in national development projects. The people can comprehend and contribute to the development initiatives with the ultimate result of an increased ownership of the projects. The use of indigenous languages provides confidence to Zimbabwean people so that they can share ideas and express their potentials to participate in community, national and global economies. Contrary to Mansoor's (1993) views and the general views held by a majority of the elite that colonial languages promote unity through ethnic neutrality, 52% of respondents argued that indigenous languages enhance unity and cohesion through clarity of communication. Multilingualism is seen, as enhancing unity in diversity in that together everyone achieves more.

Respondents largely confirmed that African languages can gradually be developed to become media of educational instruction. However, lack of resources hampers the development of Zimbabwean indigenous languages from going beyond being recognised just as school subjects to include educational instruction and other

domains. It appears reasonable to continue with colonial legacy so as to capitalise on available resources.

With clear language policies that equate indigenous languages to English interest in reading African literature is likely to be developed especially if readers are exposed to a variety of African literature in the form of Readers' Series from an early age. Respondents acknowledge that novels about Africa in indigenous African languages can promote socio-cultural and economic development through the way writers articulate their issues. Indigenous literature novels can empower both their writers and readers to participate in social transformation. Writers can critique society and readers can be challenged to take action to transform societal arrangements.

Linguistic dissociation might induce challenge for indigenous speakers to come up with home grown ideas relevant to their environment as solutions to economic development as opposed to linguistic association that might induce "catch up". Linguistic dissociation is likely to leave the Africans more proactive in solving development issues hence it is more empowering. African languages can be elaborated to handle modern technological and scientific knowledge.

Generally the research established that a majority of Zimbabweans is changing attitudes in favour of the use of indigenous languages, however many have inhibited feelings of fear of change. They are also not sure of how best to handle the lack of resources issue yet a few still feel they cannot develop without receiving education through the medium of English.

6.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

The following are a number of recommendations based on the findings of the research.

- There is need for institutional intervention at governmental level to address the language issue in Zimbabwe. A holistic approach in solving the language problem can be achieved through enacting a clear language policy which defines the roles and functions of each language with clear implementation

strategies. The language policy should guide and provide a framework for stakeholders to enforce national recommendations on the roles assigned to both indigenous and exotic languages. Inclusion of African peoples in language matters would enhance inclusion in socio-cultural and economic development issues.

- There is need for a paradigm-shift to view African languages as languages that are capable of communicating important and formal information. Zimbabweans need to appreciate their languages and know that any language is capable of being developed to articulate issues in administrative, legal, and educational issues provided their speakers have the right attitude towards these languages. They have to appreciate that it is never too late to embark on changing their attitudes. Zimbabweans should take a leaf from the English who developed their language to what it is today against the backdrop of Latin and French languages.
- Education for All goals and localization of examinations should be complemented with provision of an enabling media of instruction. Indigenous languages should be used to enhance concept formation, retention of information and promotion of the application of the acquired skills and knowledge into the learner's immediate environment. In Zimbabwe, this would complement the localization of examinations.
- The use of African languages should open gates for active participation by local communities in community and national development projects. There should be room for indigenous people to adjust, appreciate and assimilate development within their cultural and environmental settings. Such development would be all-inclusive, rewarding and owned by all.
- Affirmative action should be taken to propel the development and expansion of African languages for use in wider domains. More resources should be set aside to encourage researchers, artists and interested organisations such as media houses to produce literatures, orthographies, dictionaries and all that is relevant for elaborating the Zimbabwean indigenous languages. Affirmative

action should involve laying a proper foundation for people to change their attitudes to appreciate their languages. There would be need for stakeholder sensitisation when new language policies are considered.

- Government would need to support individuals and institutions that work towards promotion of indigenous languages. Clear operation strategies and channels that are not bedeviled by the red tape syndrome should be put in place to facilitate development of indigenous languages. Roles and terms of reference should be streamlined so that one ministry can address language and cultural issues.
- There is need for a national language board that would advise and direct the operations of individual artists, languages groups and regulate the operations of media houses, publishing houses, writers and the Curriculum Development Unit. Such a board would give expert advise on language matters and be consulted by relevant stakeholders when need arises. The board would also regulate the cultural component of development initiatives and advise development agents on how best to introduce change in different linguistic and cultural environments.
- It is recommended that African languages be developed to become media of educational instruction, as this will include more people who currently suffer from linguistic deprivation induced by the use of English. There is need to develop relevant literature to be used in subjects like Mathematics, Science and Technology. The recommended way of introducing it is to begin with lower levels of education until it cascades to university level. Requisite resources should be put into the various African languages beginning with Shona and Ndebele which are already established. The other languages can be developed as time goes on since there does not seem to be enough human resources with requisite skills. Using African languages as languages of instruction as well as literature in indigenous languages increases the chances for inclusion of many people who struggle to be literate in English.

- There is definitely need to resuscitate the Literature Bureau and review its focus. As a board that was tasked to produce and distribute indigenous literature, the Literature Bureau would be very useful in promoting indigenous literature. Other publishing houses concentrate on production of literature and books marketable at the global level; therefore they would not give priority to literature in indigenous languages.
- Assessment of novels should be done by specialists who will not just focus on the school market. Reasonable flexibility should be allowed for artists to create and critique society without fear of being victimised because that negatively affects the creative genius and originality that a work of art deserves.
- Writers especially of children's books and Readers Series need to be trained and supported. There is need to *catch them whilst they are young* so that the right attitudes towards African literature are instilled.
- There should be national daily newspapers in indigenous languages so that the nation gets used to reading about the economy, politics, sports and so forth in indigenous languages. This would support the radio and television news broadcasts.
- Language laboratories, television and radio lessons, could be established to enhance the use of indigenous languages as media of instruction and also the teaching of Shona in predominantly Ndebele areas and vice versa. This would also lay a strong foundation for literacy in the mother tongue. Literacy in the mother tongue will bring more success to learners who already have a firm grounding in their mother tongue when they are introduced to the second language.
- Industries and companies, through promotional programmes could promote the use of indigenous languages. The programmes could involve coming up with the best scientific innovation communicated in indigenous languages. In a way Zimbabwean indigenous languages could be enhanced as communication tools for modern knowledge. The competitions could be held

annually involving high school and tertiary students. These competitions could start from district level, and then winners proceed to provincial level and provincial winners to the national competitions. If competitions culminate into scientific publications in African languages, there is definitely going to be an increased chance to value Zimbabwean indigenous languages.

- A website with games and puzzles in Zimbabwean indigenous languages could also be developed so that the languages are marketed as languages of the Internet. Other Internet users could visit the website and learn the languages while they are entertained by the games and puzzles. It is hoped that this would acculturate the young into liking their indigenous languages. Through games such as riddles or *zvira hwe* in Shona, Zimbabwean indigenous cultures would be marketed on the global market on the Internet. Experts from different fields would need to work in liaison with linguists so that proper rules are followed in engineering and elaborating the languages.
- Linguists, economists and politicians are challenged to work in synergy so that national development plans are synchronised with language issues for the total empowerment of Zimbabweans.
- Symposia on developments in technology could also be communicated in indigenous languages. If the symposia are held in community halls they could be crowd pullers and highly effective.
- Zimbabwe should take advantage of the tourist resources which attract foreigners and use African languages in international tourism and market the indigenous languages as relay languages. If tourist guides use mostly the indigenous languages, tourists would learn indigenous languages for their communicative effect. Indigenous languages would then compete as global languages.
- It is recommended that literature in indigenous languages be taught as a separate subject as what happens with Literature in English. Separation of literature from the language is one sure way of empowering indigenous

literature so that it is not an appendage of the indigenous language. After separation the two subjects could be made compulsory up to 'O' Level. In a way this would ensure that every school leaver has been exposed to literary appreciation with a flair for national consciousness.

- Indigenous novels could also be uploaded on the Internet so that those readers who want to access them electronically can do so. This would in a way broaden the readership base for indigenous novels.
- A multi-lingual language policy, which lifts the status of indigenous languages to cover scientific and technological discourse without abolishing English, is recommended. English should be retained for its current advantages of being a language of wider communication, which fosters global contacts. A situation should be avoided whereby indigenous languages empower Zimbabweans to communicate at the local level while excluding them from the bigger global picture. It is the recommendation of this research that empowerment of the indigenous languages should not translate into exclusion of English. Such a scenario would bring about reverse discrimination, which is a bad practice. Empowerment through language should simply translate into taking advantage or capitalising on all the languages a nation possesses. English will not lose its importance because of the upliftment of African languages. The level of development of the English language should actually serve to illuminate and challenge the heights to which African languages can be developed
- To enhance multilingualism, it should be made compulsory that students study at least two indigenous languages, one major and another of their choice from among the 17 languages of Zimbabwe.
- Teachers and lecturers should be specifically trained to teach in African languages and literature in African languages as well as teach them as second languages.

- Harmonisation of orthographies should propel learners to acquire the other related languages. Learners can also access novels from other language that use a similar orthography and that broaden their worldview.
- There is need for further research on how best African languages can be developed to become languages capable of attracting global attention as languages of power. There is definitely need for research on how the multilingual nature of African states can take advantage of the unity in diversity concept.

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Shona Language and Culture Association minutes

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

You are kindly asked to complete this questionnaire that requests your participation in an academic research being conducted. The title of the thesis is **Empowerment through language: Exploring possibilities of using African languages and literature to promote socio-cultural and economic development in Zimbabwe**. The information will be kept strictly **CONFIDENTIAL** and will be used for academic purposes only. Do not write your name on the questionnaire. Please indicate in the appropriate box provided by ticking [✓] and other information on the spaces provided. Thank you in advance for your time and honest responses.

Tick the appropriate response

1. Sex (A) Male [] (B) Female []

2. Age
A. Below 20 years []
B. 20 – 30 years []
C. 30 – 40 years []
D. 40 – 50 years []
E. Above 50 years []

3. According to your observations which language is used by learners/students

	African	English	Both
(i) at home			
(ii) talking to fellow students			
(iii) writing business letters			
(iv) writing friendly letters			
(v) in class talking to teachers			
(vi) when writing e-mail/sms			

4. What is the attitude of learners/students towards learning of a Zimbabwean indigenous language?

A. Extreme reluctance []
B. Reluctance []
C. Patience []
D. Eagerness []
E. Extreme eagerness []

4. What is the general attitude of parents/community towards African languages as school subjects?

- A. Extreme negative []
- B. Negative []
- C. Neutral []
- D. Positive []
- E. Extreme positive []

5. What literature is commonly read in the form of novels?

- A. Indigenous novels? []
- B. English novels []

7. It is more prestigious to read

- A. Indigenous novel? []
- B. English novel? []

8. To get information on socio-cultural and economic development people should read.

- A. Indigenous novel? []
- B. English novel? []

9. Rank your responses in order of prevalence of content areas covered by indigenous novelists. Indigenous novelists focus on:

- (i) Social stories
- (ii) Cultural moralisation
- (iii) Historical development
- (iv) Political developments
- (v) Economic development

10. How would the learning of an African language change a learner's?

(a) Social life?

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

(b) Economic life?

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

(c) Cultural life?

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

11. Suggest ways in which African languages of Zimbabwe can be developed as media of communication, instruments of development and vehicles of national consciousness.

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

12. How can novels written in African languages be used as an instrument of development and a vehicle of national consciousness?

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

13. Suggest 3 ways in which African languages and literature can play a major role in socio-cultural and economic empowerment.

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

Thank you.

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Thesis Title

EMPOWERMENT THROUGH LANGUAGE: Exploring possibilities of using African languages and literature to promote socio-cultural and economic development in Zimbabwe.

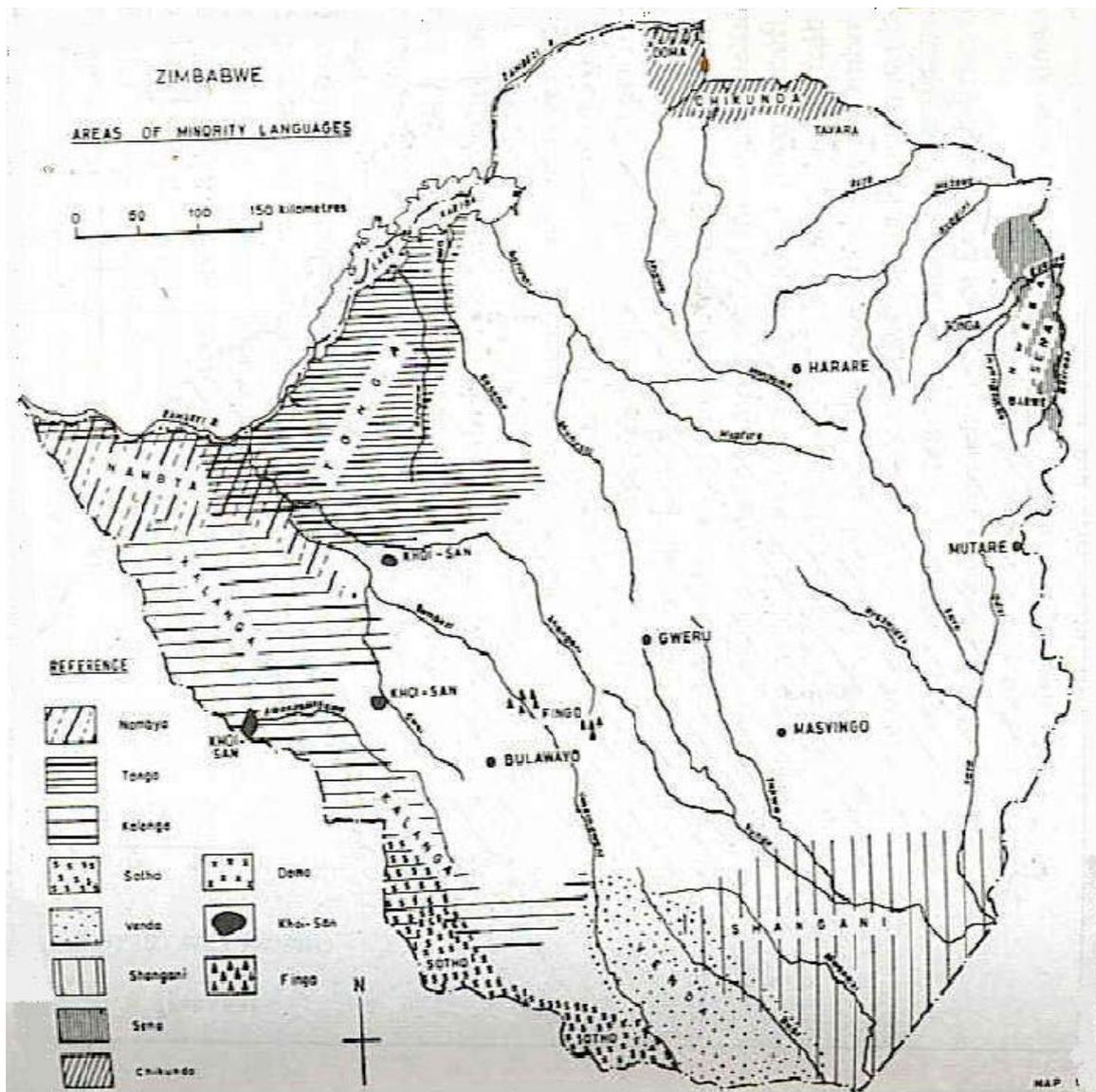
1. To what extent do you agree or disagree that language is an important factor for development? Give reasons.
2. Can Zimbabwe's indigenous languages be used as tools for economic empowerment?
3. Culture is a vital component of development. How best can Zimbabwe's indigenous cultures contribute towards development?
4. Knowledge is accumulated and deposited in the language of instruction. In a multi-lingual state like Zimbabwe what language would you recommend for
 - (i) educational instruction
 - (ii) industry and commerce
 - (iii) medicine
 - (iv) legal courts?
5. The Education Amendment Act of 2006 especially where it says, *all three languages of Zimbabwe namely Shona, Ndebele and English shall be taught on an equal time basis in all schools up to Form Two level*, is just one of the government decrees which is likely to produce no results. Comment. How best can it be supported?
6. Globalisation and the use of English as Zimbabwe's lingua francas is promoting brain drain and worsening Zimbabwe's economic situation. Comment.

7. Literature circulated to the general public has a bearing on the importance of the language used to produce it. In your view what language should be used to publish?
- (i) Daily newspapers
 - (i) Industrial training manuals
 - (ii) Educational materials on HIV/AIDS and other health issues if the majority of the population is to be empowered?
8. Is the knowledge people get from indigenous knowledge helping them to handle socio-cultural and economic development issues?

Thank you.

APPENDIX C

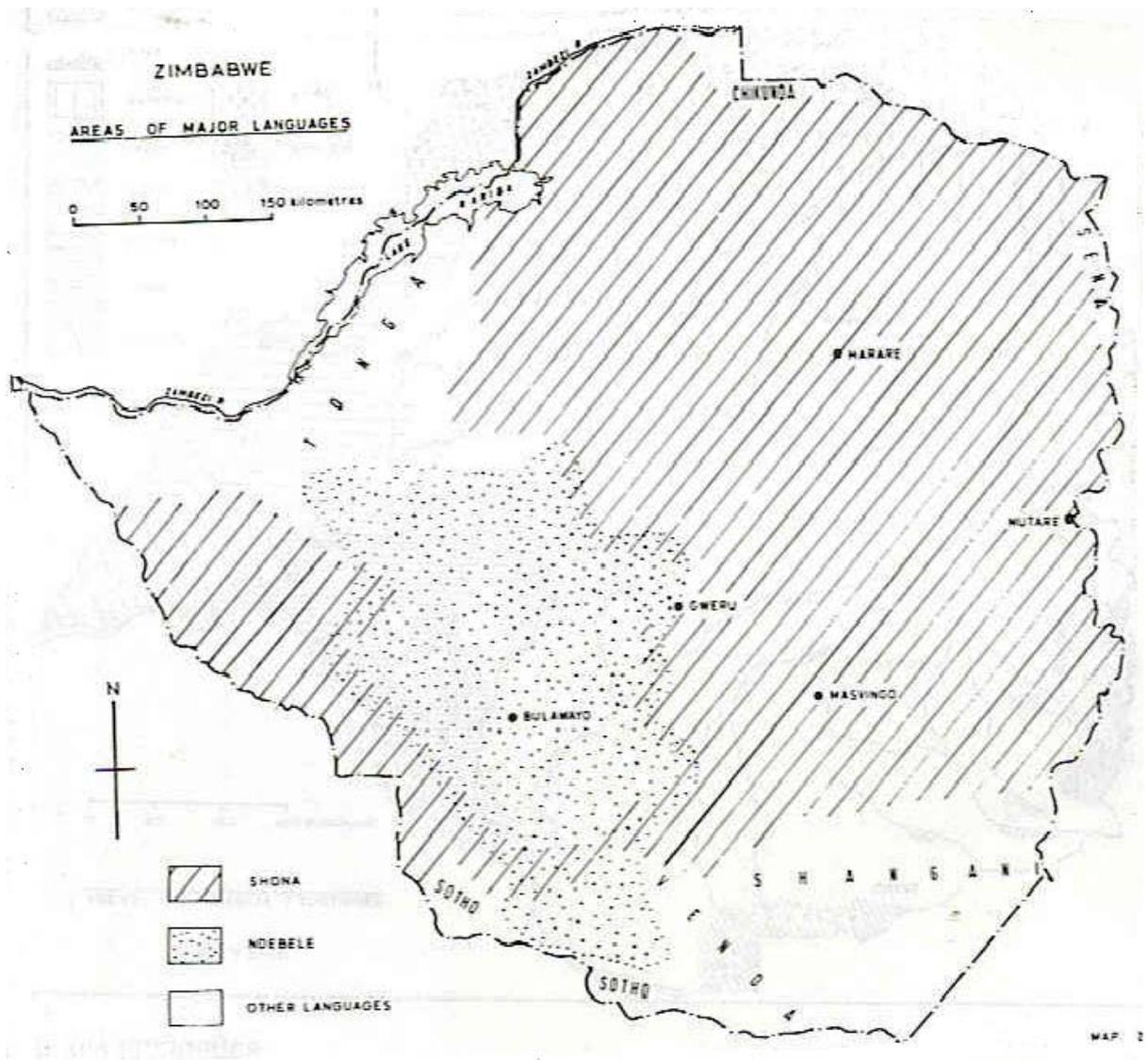
AREAS OF MINORITY LANGUAGE



Hachipola (1998)

APPENDIX D

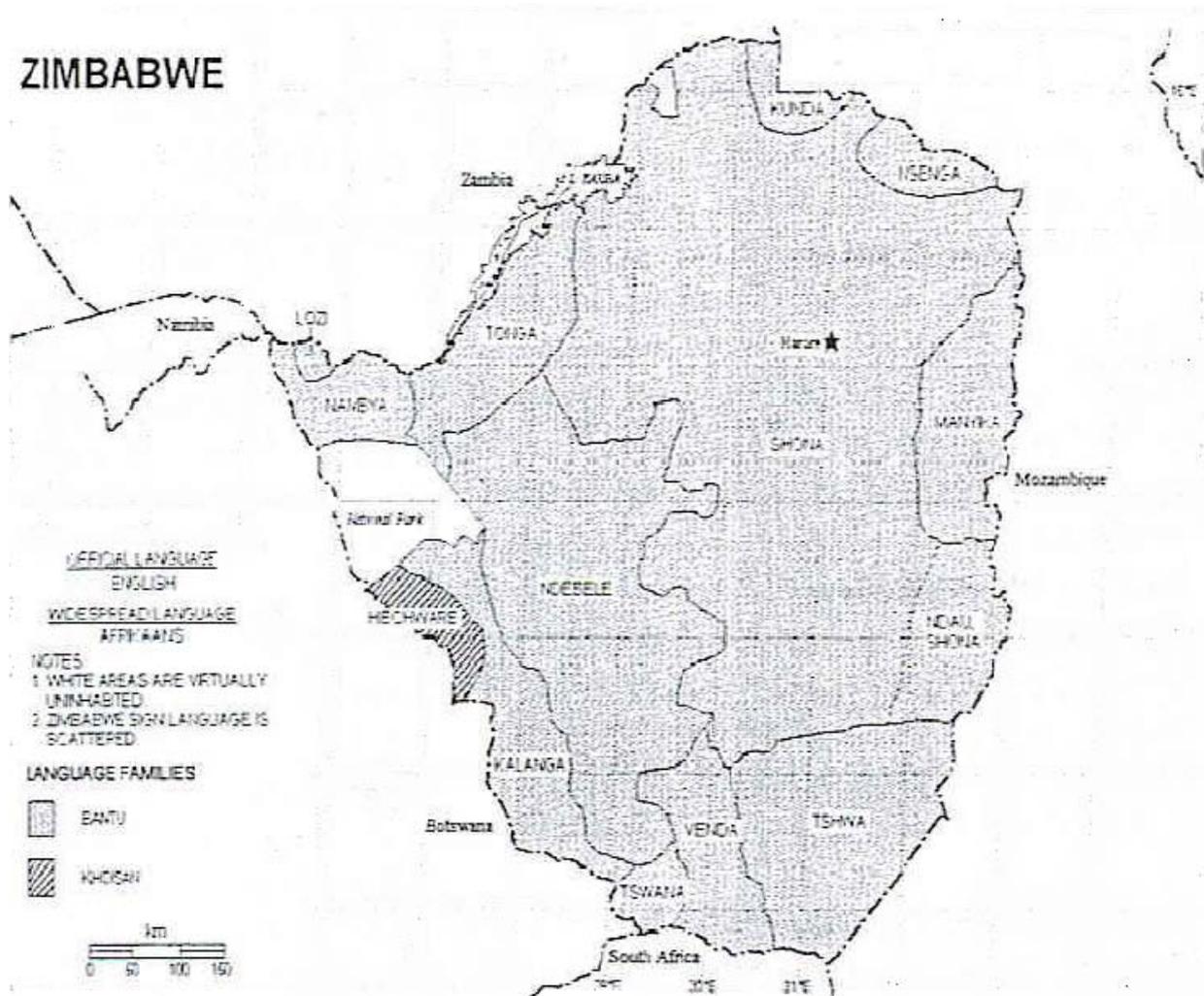
AREAS OF MAJOR LANGUAGES



Hachipola (1998)

APPENDIX E

ZIMBABWE COLONIAL AND POST-COLONIAL LANGUAGE POLICY



Makoni et al (2007)