

**AN INVESTIGATION INTO NATION BUILDING THROUGH THE NATIONAL ANTHEM
IN ZIMBABWE: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC APPROACH**

by

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ZIMBABWE: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC APPROACH

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ABSTRACT

The study is an investigation into nation building through the national anthem in Zimbabwe. It takes a sociolinguistic dimension where the languages used to sing the national anthem in Zimbabwe are interrogated. The impetus behind the study is that Zimbabwe introduced a new language policy through the constitution where sixteen languages are officially recognised. While citizens look forward to the use of their languages, national symbols such as the national anthem still exist in dominant languages, at least officially. The study therefore sought to find out the views and language choices of citizens when it comes to singing the national anthem. This purpose was fulfilled by eliciting data through questionnaires which were distributed to four areas where marginalised languages are spoken. Participants were drawn from Plumtree, Gwanda, Hwange and Binga. Apart from questionnaires, focus group interviews were conducted with language activists who participate in language associations. Individual interviews were conducted with academics in the area of language. The conceptual framework of the study is nation building which is underpinned by four tenets, while the theory that guided the study is Bourdieu's theory of social practice. The conceptual framework and theoretical framework were chosen to allow the study to investigate nation building in relation to the socio-political context which determines the use of languages in different spheres in Zimbabwe. The study extricates that language is politically malleable and at the same time has the potential to make or break the nation. Respondents were of mixed views concerning the non-use of their languages in the national anthem, bringing out the hegemonic tendencies. The findings of the study show that language is a form of identity and a strong tool of nation building. However, language policies which are not clear tend to confuse the citizens and there is need for the political elite to be involved in the implementation of such policies. The study hence advocates for marginalised languages to be accorded the status they need in order to be used for national symbol expression.

KEY TERMS:

Nation building, national anthem, language, language policy, officially recognised, former marginalised, attitudes, dominant languages, multilingual, citizens.

DEDICATION

To my children, Tino Wasithanda Bango and Thabani Takunda Bango.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ANC: African National Congress

COPAC: Constitutional Parliamentary Committee

FRELIMO: Frente de Libertacao de Mocambique

NAACP: National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People

UNIA: Universal Negro Improvement Association

ZANU (PF): Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front)

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CHAPTER 1

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.0 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF STUDY

This is a study based on a sociolinguistic approach to nation building through the national anthem in Zimbabwe. The study explores the relationship between the Zimbabwe national anthem, the various linguistic groups in Zimbabwe and the concept of nation building. The placing of the study in the field of sociolinguistics is justified by the fact that the study unravels the attitudes of minoritised linguistic groups towards dominant languages as they are used for national expressions. Sociolinguistics, therefore, is a field which deals with the relationship between society and language. It ranges from individual use of language to language planning (Meyerhoff 2006). Preliminary research has shown that language has a role to play in nation building and that national anthems are a linguistic expression of the experiences and aspirations of a nation. Hence, this study proposes an in-depth analysis of the national anthem of Zimbabwe in the three languages (English, Shona and Ndebele) in which it is rendered and how this creates meaning to the nation at large. The study further explores the attitudes that exist among the speakers of languages which have not been included in the national anthem. This chapter, therefore, presents the background, aim and objectives, theoretical tools, justification, literature review and methods used in the study.

Cerulo (1993) describes national anthems as belonging to a group of symbols which provide the strongest, clearest statement of national identity. They serve as signs that bear a special relationship to the nations they represent. Kolb (2005) describes national anthems as patriotic songs that are supposed to enhance national awareness and unity. Curtis (2010) believes that national anthems are political symbols which communicate political parties and politicians to the masses. From the above definitions, it can be noted that national anthems present a discourse in which language can be viewed as a semiotic system that serves as the foundation of human experience. Nation building refers to a process of cultivating political attitudes, beliefs and values over a long period of time (Vendum 2003). According to Mazrui (1993), the process of nation building does not involve the transfer of commitments and loyalties from parochial levels of ethnic groups to a larger political unity such as the state. Rather, it involves the widening of commitment and loyalty from smaller tribes to the larger central political system. In the same vein as Mazrui, Phaahla (2012) views nation building as a process based on the perceptions of different groups that reside within a country rather than a legislative process. Hence, nation building attempts to harmonise political identities within the same environment. In the Zimbabwean context, the national anthem represents the experiences of people belonging to various linguistic groups probably in an effort to bring all groups of people together under the banner of a nation. However, the problem arises in the languages that are used to render the anthem as they may compromise the loyalty of the smaller linguistic groups to the political system, which is the nation.

Zimbabwe traversed through the colonial experience and gained independence in 1980. This means that, Zimbabwe's national anthem came as a result of post-independence jubilation although it was composed some years after independence. This anthem, points to the particular history of the nation. However, it exists in three languages which are English, Shona and Ndebele. This

is due to the fact that for a long time, these three languages have dominated the spheres of influence in Zimbabwe. However, with the enactment of a new constitution in 2013, other languages which had been viewed as minorities and ignored in the past were rehabilitated and given official status.

According to Vambe (in the Herald newspaper of 26 June 2007), at independence, Zimbabwe adopted the lyrics of *Ishe Komborera Africa* (God Bless Africa) which was a song composed by a black South African, Enock Sontonga, as an anti-apartheid song. However, the government of Zimbabwe later decided to have its own anthem that would reflect the history and realities of Zimbabwe's past, present and future aspirations. The government organised a competition to compose the national anthem. The late professor Solomon Mutsaers considered by many as the father of Zimbabwean literature won the competition and his lyrics were adopted by the government of Zimbabwe as the national anthem that came to be known as *Simudzai Mureza Wedu weZimbabwe* 'Raise high our Zimbabwean flag'. In Ndebele, it is known as *Kalibusiswe Ilizwe leZimbabwe* 'Blessed be the land of Zimbabwe'.

In 2013, Zimbabwe enacted a new constitution which under founding provision number six (6) states that;

- 1) The following languages namely Chewa, Chibarwe, English, Kalanga, Koisan, Nambya, Ndau, Ndebele, Shangani, Shona, sign language, Sotho, Tonga, Tswana, Venda and Xhosa are the officially recognised languages of Zimbabwe.

However, it is important to note that the clause 'officially recognised' might create problems as it is not clear whether the status given to the languages is official status. According to Canada's Library of Parliament (2014), an official language is the language in which a government decides it will operate. The next clause in Zimbabwe's constitution shows that there are different levels at

which the government may operate hence there should be a distinction between official languages and other languages that can be used for government operations.

- 2) An act of parliament may prescribe other languages as official languages and may prescribe languages of record.

While an official language is one which the government chooses for its operation, a language of record is a language which is used in government reports, documents, hearings, transcripts and other official publications intended for public distribution (Library of parliament 2014). The researcher contends that the official language may at the same time be regarded as a language of record.

- 3) The state and all institutions and agencies of government at every level must;
 - a) Ensure that all official languages are treated equitably and
 - b) Take into account the language preferences of people affected by government measures or communications
- 4) The state must promote and advance the use of all languages used in Zimbabwe including sign language and must create conditions for the development of those languages.

This is the first time that Zimbabwe has recognised other languages apart from English, Shona and Ndebele. It is therefore the focus of this study to grapple with issues of nation building through the national anthem considering the linguistic diversity that the constitution caters for. It is also prudent to note the attitudes and perceptions of minority language speakers towards the current renditions of the national anthem. This helps in shading light as to whether nation building in Zimbabwe has the potential of achieving the desired results for all communities.

1.0.1 National anthems

It is argued that national anthems serve more than ceremonial purposes. Liao et al (2011) aver that ceremonial purposes are those that relate strictly to state functions. However, in many countries, including those in Africa, national anthems are sung at many non-state events like athletic or soccer competitions. In this case, national anthems are seen as also reflecting an emotional connection of a people, as they have no strict adherence to the state. Most national anthems contain lyrics that store collective memory of the past, thus creating knowledge of the past, hence they are expressive symbols (Peterson1979).

According to Liao et al (2011), the choice of music and lyrics for a national anthem is often more political than aesthetic, reflecting domestic politics and foreign relations, and more generally, social foundations. This idea can be sustained when one looks at the example of Zimbabwe which used South Africa's *Nkosi sikelela* for a long time until the socio-political climate became unique, hence the adoption of a unique national anthem. As alluded by Vambe (2007), Zimbabwe felt the need to adopt a domestic national anthem in order to build an identity and protect its territory after a period of Pan Africanism and continental nationalism. This was as a result of the need to express the heroic exploits of ZANU (PF) through a national symbol such as the anthem. While this history is important to note, this study dwells on the linguistic representation in expressive national symbols.

According to Cerulo (1993, 1995), national anthems and flags, among other national symbols may deliver the strongest and clearest statement of national identity. Nations, and especially their identities, are socially constructed realities. Anderson (1991) views nations as imagined communities whose members hold

in their minds a mental image of affinity. Hence, national anthems help define a nation. They possess a special power for defining a nation, more specifically they are used to ‘create bonds, motivate patriotic action, honour the efforts of citizens and legitimate formal authority’ (Cerulo 1993 p244). What Cerulo (1993) says translates to national anthems playing a part in nation building. If people in a nation are bonded together and act in patriotism, then they have a common purpose. Fuller (2014) says that national anthems are purposefully designed by leaders of the respective nationalist revolutions with intentions to express particular nationalist ideals. This means that national anthems can be manipulated by the authorities in order to fulfill their agendas. The thrust of this study is mainly on the sociolinguistic dynamics of Zimbabwe using the national anthem as a nation building tool.

Sondermann in Carver and Hyverinen (2013) says the national anthem stands for society. He continues to say that national anthems are supposed to persuade. They persuade in the concrete act of nation-building and they celebrate the nation. He analyses the national anthems of Germany, Finland and Austria where he concludes that the national anthems are depoliticising and anti-societal. In this particular study, national anthems are perceived as political tools and serving a hegemonic agenda.

Reithmuller in Bernhart et al (eds) (1999) discusses a purely music dimension of national anthems where he talks about the tempo and melody of national anthems. He goes further to admit that he does not find a connection between the nation and the music in the national anthems. Precisely, he says;

If the complex nature of ‘national feelings’ were known, and if one could differentiate between national feelings and other feelings, one would perhaps be able to explain what in the music causes people to identify with their country while listening to the few refrains of an anthem. (p. 326)

However, this study is different in the sense that the researcher believes that national anthems have a potential or are actually tools of nation building. Hence the languages in which the national anthem is rendered may also have an effect on nation building as the case of Zimbabwe excludes most of the languages in its official renditions of the national anthem.

Fisher (2010) footnotes that words for a specifically Zimbabwean national anthem were chosen in 1990 from a national competition won by Mutswairo. It took another four years to find suitable music. He cites Anderson (1990) who says that singing the nation's anthem should be an experience in simultaneity, an echoed physical realisation of the imagined community. However, Fisher concludes that for Zimbabwe's national anthem, it does not embrace the sentiments by Anderson as it does not appeal to the heart but to the ear. Fisher also claims that the national anthem was largely unknown in the country during the late 1990s. This study goes further to investigate the attitudes of Zimbabweans regarding the national anthem especially when it is not rendered in a group's particular language.

1.0.2 Language and Nation Building

The issue of multilingualism and nation building in developing countries has been a major subject of various studies. Multilingualism is the existence of many languages in a country and it can be viewed as a resource in nation building as it allows for versatile communication. Madiba (1999) examines the language situation in South Africa and explores the role that is played by the existence of many languages in nation building. Two different views emerge, first the view which maintains that multilingualism presents a resource for nation building and secondly that multilingualism can be seen as a barrier to nation building. Madiba's concerns are similar to those that are handled by this study in the sense

that problems which arise in a multilingual setting are also dealt with in this study. However, the difference is that this particular study focuses on the case of Zimbabwe and uses the national anthem as a primary source to judge language attitudes and sociolinguistic relations.

Phaahla (2012) also focuses on South Africa as she studies language and identity as notions of citizenry. In her study, Phaahla raises issues such as language and identity being dynamic to the extent that individuals are able to make their own choices and empower themselves where there is need. This study takes a different twist from the above in that it explores language choices from a higher level where policy is involved and hegemonic traits can be traced. Phaahla's study concludes that identity is socially constituted, that is, it is a result of the social, historical and political contexts of an individual's lived experiences. This conclusion is important to this study because it eventually encapsulates the attitudes towards nation building which, in Zimbabwe are also historically and politically determined.

According to Kuo (1983), in his study of Singapore, most developing countries are constantly confronted with the problems of ethnic and cultural diversity. The presence of competing ethnic and cultural groups in these states generally means that the establishment of new nationhood requires the cultivation of a new national identity. This emergent national identity can be achieved either through an expansion and elevation of an indigenous ethnic/cultural identity imposing upon other "less" indigenous and usually minority groups, or through the development of a new supra-ethnic identity treating various ethnic groups on an equal standing. In either case, it is expected that the emergence of a new national identity is no likely to be natural or spontaneous. The crucial problem faced by these multi-ethnic states is the potential conflict between loyalty to one's ethnic community and loyalty to the wider national community. The essential question is how the two can be reconciled rapidly and smoothly to facilitate the process of

nation-building. Kuo's views are relevant to this study in the sense that Zimbabwe has taken a model which attempts to treat various ethnic groups on an equal footing. This has potential conflicts among people of the once marginalised groups as they may still feel inferior by being loyal to their ethnic communities. At the same time, the marginalised groups may feel no sense of belonging as some of their languages are official languages in neighbouring countries. This may impede the process of nation building since some linguistic groups may be exercising cross border allegiances. However, Kuo concludes by saying that in Singapore the role of language policy in relation to nation-building is therefore to cultivate instrumental attachments by maintaining a high level of economic development, presumably through the use and spread of English. At the same time, traditional values are retained through the continuous use of ethnic language. Hopefully, the process should lead eventually to sentimental attachments to the new state, to a higher level of cultural integration, and perhaps to the emergence of a supra-ethnic national identity. For this study, it is too drastic to conclude in the same manner as Kuo because the case of Zimbabwe is an African case and the idea of elevating African languages has dominated most language discussions in Africa.

Jones (2001) refers to Antonio Gramsci's contention that 'every time the question of language surfaces, it means that a series of other problems are coming to the fore'. These problems are said to necessitate the formation or enlargement of the ruling class to restrict cultural hegemony. In short, Gramsci's view brings to light the political nature of language. Several factors have to be considered when choosing to build the nation through language. For this study, Gramsci's observation seems to be relevant in that the researcher is considering the national anthem which is also a political tool. Elevating the minority languages to official languages in Zimbabwe might then mean that the hegemony that has always existed should be re-organised in order to ensure full participation of all citizens

in nation building. Hence, the national anthem as a political tool can be manipulated linguistically in order to fulfil the new national needs.

1.1 JUSTIFICATION

The study was necessitated by a number of factors. Firstly, national anthems are viewed as relevant and all-encompassing, reflecting everyone's views within the state. This study establishes the extent to which the views reflected in the national anthem of Zimbabwe are relevant to the range of linguistic groups recognised in the country's constitution. This then contributes to the debate on nation building. It is also the first time that Zimbabwe has recognised such a variety of languages at constitutional level which could mean a lot, not just for the education sector but for other national expressions such as the national anthem. Nation building has always been an objective in the constitution of Zimbabwe and the study investigates whether language is a viable nation building tool when it is used in the context of national anthems. Hence, the study of how language situations impact on nation building is prudent in the face of a new experience like Zimbabwe's, where different responses definitely unfold. The study is also expected to contribute to the language debate in Zimbabwe where marginalised groups continue to fight for the use of their languages in every sector even after the official recognition of their languages in the constitution.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The national anthem of Zimbabwe reflects various desires and aspirations which are largely hinged on the country's history. However, the national anthem is presented in three languages which are; English, Shona and Ndebele. These three languages had been and are still the country's official languages for decades despite the existence of other languages whose speakers are part of the history and nation of Zimbabwe.

The revised constitution of 2013 has heralded a new outlook on the issue of languages and this prompted the researcher to consider the question of perception and attitudes towards the national anthem of Zimbabwe especially among the various linguistic groups whose languages are not represented and how this can contribute either positively or negatively to nation building in Zimbabwe.

1.3 AIM

- The aim of the study was to establish whether the Zimbabwean national anthem can be a tool of uniting the linguistically diverse citizenry as an attempt towards nation building although the former marginalised languages are not represented in the official rendition of the song.

1.3.1 Objectives

The study sought to achieve the following objectives;

- To investigate the position and role of the national anthem in Zimbabwe
- To establish the attitudes of the speakers of previously marginalised languages towards the national anthem and nation building in Zimbabwe
- To analyse the prospect of nation building through the national anthem in Zimbabwe in relation to the languages being used to sing it

1.3.2 Research Questions

The study attempted to answer the following questions;

- What is the position and role of the national anthem in Zimbabwe?

- What are the perceptions of speakers of previously marginalised languages on the national anthem and nation building in Zimbabwe?
- What are the merits and demerits of attempting to build the nation through the national anthem in Zimbabwe?

1.4 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The study uses the qualitative research design in its enquiry. According to Key (1997), qualitative research is a generic form for investigative methodologies described as ethnographic, naturalistic, anthropological, field or participant observer research. It emphasises the importance of looking at variables in the natural setting in which they are found. Key (1997) gives a list of characteristics of qualitative research where the purpose of qualitative research is to seek understanding of people's interpretations. Reality in the qualitative tradition is believed to be dynamic as it changes with the adjustment of people's perceptions. At the same time, reality is what the people perceive it to be; hence the data is subjective as it mostly consists of the perceptions of the population within the particular environment. The qualitative design is appropriate for this study because the study elicits people's views, perceptions and attitudes on nation building, the national anthem and their languages. As tools of data collection, the study used interviews and questionnaires in order to elicit data from research participants. The participants were purposefully drawn from among speakers of former marginalised linguistic groups as well as university academics and language activists. Semi-structured interviews were chosen for their potential to extract more information as they allowed the interviewer and the interviewees to develop unexpected themes in the course of the conversation. Questionnaires were employed because they cover a large population in a short space of time and respondents had the liberty to answer the questions at their own time. Open ended

questions were preferred because they allowed the respondents to give detail to their responses.

The object of focus in the study is the national anthem of Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe was chosen because of its new experience of rehabilitating and elevating sixteen languages to official status in an effort to unite Zimbabweans towards nation building. The following is a presentation of Zimbabwe's national anthem in its three renditions.

ENGLISH

O lift high the banner, the flag of Zimbabwe
The symbol of freedom proclaiming victory;
We praise our heroes' sacrifice,
And vow to keep our land from foes;
And may the Almighty protect and bless our land.

O lovely Zimbabwe, so wondrously adorned
With mountains, and rivers cascading, flowing free;
May rain abound, and fertile fields;
May we be fed, our labour blessed;
And may the Almighty protect and bless our land.

O God, we beseech Thee to bless our native land;
The land of our fathers bestowed upon us all;
From Zambezi to Limpopo
May our leaders be exemplary;
And may the Almighty protect and bless our land.

SHONA

Simudzai mureza wedu weZimbabwe
Yakazvarwa nomoto wechimurenga;
Neropa zhinji ramagamba
Tiridzivirire kumhandu dzose;
Ngaikomborerwe nyika yeZimbabwe.

Tarisai Zimbabwe nyika yakashongedzwa
Namakomo, nehova, zvinoyevedza
Mvura ngainaye, minda ipe mbesa
Vashandi vatuswe, ruzhinji rugutswe;
Ngaikomborerwe nyika yeZimbabwe.

Mwari ropafadzai nyika yeZimbabwe
Nyika yamadzitateguru edu tose;
Kubva Zambezi kusvika Limpopo,
Navatungamiri vavenenduramo;
Ngaikomborerwe nyika yeZimbabwe.

NDEBELE

Phakamisan' iflegi yethu yeZimbabwe
Eyazalwa yimpi yenkululeko;
Legaz' elinengi lamaqhawe ethu
Silivikele ezitheni zonke;
Kalibusiswe ilizwe leZimbabwe.

Khangelan' iZimbabwe yon' ihlotshisiwe
Ngezintaba langemiful' ebukekayo,
Izulu kaline, izilimo zande;
Iz' sebenzi zenam', abantu basuthe;
Kalibusiswe ilizwe leZimbabwe.

Nkosibusis' ilizwe lethu leZimbabwe
Ilizwe labokhokho bethu thina sonke;
Kusuk' eZambezi kusiy' eLimpopo
Abakhokheli babe lobuqotho;
Kalibusiswe ilizwe leZimbabwe.

1.4.1 Data collection

The research used interviews, questionnaires and desk research to collect data. Desk research was of paramount importance because this is where the researcher got primary data. This involved gathering data through perusal of material by scholars and prior researchers.

Interviews involve personal interactions which might be face to face, telephonic or focus group. For this study, interviews were necessary so that the researcher could get first-hand information. The population which was interviewed included academics who were consulted to shed light on the relationship between language and society since this study leans on socio-linguistics. Language activists were also interviewed because they played a major role in the recognition of their languages through the constitution. All these potential informants were targeted using purposive sampling for the reason that they had the relevant information that was sought by the researcher. Interviews were semi-structured to allow for gathering of more information that was triggered during the process.

Questionnaires were used to gather data from members of the former marginalised linguistic communities. Speakers of the newly recognised languages were randomly selected to complete questionnaires on how they

perceive the current renditions of the national anthem. The questionnaires were open-ended to allow respondents to express themselves.

1.4.2 Data analysis

The researcher used critical discourse analysis as an approach to analyse data. Dillon (2012) posits that critical discourse is the approach used by looking at language, taking social contexts and investigating the language used in them. When using critical discourse analysis, there are three aspects that should be expressed when analysing texts. Firstly, one must look at the way the world is represented, secondly what is the message highlighted and lastly what kind of relationship does the text make with the audience. This approach was pertinent to the study because it allows for the deduction of participants' attitudes from their responses.

Critical discourse is a way that can be used to understand how certain expressions will create sub-conscious associations within one's mind. Certain wording can link us to representations and ideologies that society might have already accepted. This makes critical discourse relevant because the national anthem of Zimbabwe tells a story that is known to society and is viewed as conventional to society. It is that story which the researcher seeks to establish among different linguistic communities and then make out the prospects of nation building.

1.5 THEORETICALFRAMEWORK

The study used the concept of nation building together with Bourdieu's theory of practice. Nation building is based on three propositions propounded by three schools of thought. There is the essentialist approach, the constructivist approach and the modernist approach. The vertical and horizontal approaches to nation building are also considered in the study.

Bourdieu's theory of practice was used because of its ability to cut across different areas of research. His three concepts which are; field, habitus and capital bring out how society relates in terms of domination and relative strengths. Hence this study picked on the theory in order to explain the attitudes displayed among the marginalised groups in relation to dominant linguistic groups and their languages in the process of nation building. The theories are further explicated in Chapter two of this study.

1.6 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The study investigates nation building through the national anthem in Zimbabwe from a sociolinguistic perspective. Hence, speakers of the previously marginalised languages were of key importance in the study. Geographically, the researcher chose to collect data specifically from Matabeleland provinces where most minority languages are found. In those provinces, four major minority groups were approached. These are: the Kalanga in Plumtree, the Sotho in Gwanda, the Tonga in Binga and the Nambya in Hwange. The reasons for choosing the four groups are that they are the ones with the highest populations of minority language speakers and have been very active in trying to promote their languages. The thematic scope of the study dwells on nation building in Zimbabwe, taking the national anthem as a tool of building a nation of diverse linguistic communities.

1.7 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Since the study made use of the national anthem as the primary source and included issues of policy as well, the researcher was guided by the following ethical considerations;

- **Informed consent:** the targeted groups of people were first informed on what the study entails and they were allowed to give their approval to participate in the study on the basis of clear information.

- **Legality:** the researcher respected the relevant Zimbabwean laws and government policies closely related to the study so as to set boundaries for the discussion to avoid potential misinterpretation of the study.
- **Objectivity and impartiality:** in this study, the researcher strove to avoid bias in data analysis and interpretation as there are so many beliefs and stereotypes in Zimbabwe pertaining people who belong to minority groups. At the same time, the analysis of the study is politically impartial in order to maintain scholarly conclusions.
- **Confidentiality:** information given by the various respondents has been treated confidentially and used only for academic engagement in the study.
- **Respect for intellectual property:** the researcher has acknowledged all sources used by means of complete references and giving credit where it is due.

1.8 DEFINITION OF TERMS

Nation building: the process whereby a society of people with diverse origins, histories, languages, cultures and religions come together within the boundaries of a sovereign state with a unified constitutional and legal dispensation as well as shared symbols and values (South African Department of Arts and Culture)

Minority: in this study the term is used to denote linguistically distinct groups that co-exist with, but are perceived as subordinate to more dominant groups.

Marginalised: as used in the study, marginalised refers to a situation where languages are relegated to the fringes of social processes resulting in socially disadvantaging the speakers. It has to do with exclusion.

Previously marginalised: in this particular study, this refers to the languages that were not officially recognised prior to the 2013 constitution of Zimbabwe.

1.9 ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY

Chapter 1

The first chapter introduces the study by laying out the introduction and background, justification, problem statement, aim, objectives and research questions.

Chapter 2

This chapter presents the study's theoretical underpinnings as well as reviewing literature on national anthems, language and nation building and linguistic diversity.

Chapter 3

In this chapter, the research design and methodology are explicated and data is presented in tables.

Chapter 4

The data that was presented in Chapter 3 is analysed in this chapter.

Chapter 5

Findings of the study are discussed in depth.

Chapter 6

This chapter summarises the study, gives recommendations and reveals the conclusions of the study.

1.10 SUMMARY

This chapter has presented the introduction to the study. The background of the study, aims and objectives, statement of the problem and methodological path

have been highlighted. The major issue of the study is investigating nation building through the national anthem in Zimbabwe from a sociolinguistic perspective. The prominent argument in the study is that the nation building project in Zimbabwe can only be successful if the language policy openly allows all languages to be used in national symbol expression.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 INTRODUCTION

The preceding chapter introduced the study and outlined the basic elements of the study which are hinged on the statement of the problem. From a sociolinguistic view, the study investigates nation building through the national anthem in Zimbabwe by analyzing the importance of national symbols such as the anthem as well as examining the relationship between language and nation building. This is done with the intention to discover whether the current use of only three languages for the national anthem out of sixteen officially recognised languages has an impact on nation building in Zimbabwe.

This chapter begins by outlining the theoretical framework of the study which is based on the concept of nation building and Bourdieu's theory of practice. Thereafter, a review of literature is engaged where different researchers and scholars are interrogated for the benefit of this study. The review of literature will, therefore, take a funnel approach where perspectives will first be drawn from an international outlook, Africa and then the specific case of Zimbabwe. According to Cresswell (2014), literature review shares with the reader the results of previous works by other researchers. These reviewed works should be relevant and feed into the topic of the study. Along the same vein, Hart (1998:13) postulates that literature review should be 'written from a particular standpoint, to fulfil certain aims or express certain views on the nature of the research topic and how it is to be investigated'. Literature review also involves the effective evaluation of documents in relation to the research being proposed. Hence, the issues to be covered will be divided into national anthems, language and nation building, citizenry and nationhood, multilingualism and linguistic diversity.

2.1 APPROACHES TO NATION BUILDING

2.1.1 The Essentialist approach

The essentialist approach is sometimes known as the primordialist approach. Scholars who belong to this school of thought believe that ‘the nation is based on a primordial essence, which is the basis of its popularity. They also believe that nations are ‘authentic cultural traditions which can be explained by history and the power of enduring traditions’ (Delanty 2001:473). Consequently, essentialists perceive nations to be long-term historical grand narratives deriving from an origin. This therefore means that the essentialist approach entails that nationalism is a historical narrative that is passed from one generation to the other. Because the narrative is historical, it is real and genuine and as such, it leads to nation building. Essentialists believe in epistemological truth which is the incontestable truth of history and culture (Smith 1986, 1991, 1995).

The researcher notes that the strength of the essentialist approach is that it advocates the promotion of nation building through putting history at the centre which as a result allows for the conservation of indigenous languages and cultures. On the other hand, the weakness of this approach is that it seems to ignore other factors that may surround the socio-political environment where the historical narrative is pursued. According to Ndhlovu-Gatsheni (2003), history can be used for the advantage of monopolizing political power and therefore it may legitimise hegemonic tendencies.

2.1.2 The Constructivist Approach

The Constructivist view of the nation revolves on the understanding that nations are inventions. They are conceived, constructed and even ‘fabricated by social actors and consequently cannot be explained by reference to an underlying historical essence which simply unfolds in history’ (Delanty 2001:473). In fact, constructivists view nations as discourses and not primordial historical narratives.

As such, they view the author of the original narrative to have disappeared from the centre-stage. His disappearance leaves his narrative as an open discourse. Constructivism believes that the new story tellers of the original grand narrative ‘frequently subvert the plot and even re-writes it to make it resonate with the world of the listener.’ In other words, the constructivists assert that nationalism and the nation are modern creations. They are not historical truisms.

The researcher observes that the constructivist approach presents problems in that it opens up opportunities for manipulative forces to gain a foothold by reconstructing the history of the nation. The belief in the disappearance of the original story teller dismisses the existence of a culture and paves way for the creation of temporary cultures based on neo-colonial realities. In this study, the researcher argues that the historical component is vital in explaining the current dynamics in the efforts of nation building in Africa, specifically in Zimbabwe.

2.1.3 The Modernist Approach

Scholars from this school of thought use ideas from both the essentialists and constructivists to build their arguments regarding the nation. Anderson (1983) in the book *Imagined Communities* defines the nation as “... an imagined community which is able to provide a narrative of meaning for individuals. It is imagined because its members will never meet most of their fellow members”. In this way, Anderson (1983) argues against the idea of a nation being a historical grand narrative but he emphasises that the nation is a modern creation rather than a primordial one. Anderson (1983) also believes that the community is not a total imagination because some, although not all, members of the community do meet and interact.

The modernist approach is in the middle path where it hovers in between the essentialist and constructivist approaches. This may be a strength in that the history of a nation can still be considered as important while at the same time the

obtaining reality is taken into account. The result is that reality can be contested while history provides a reference point. However, when not balanced, the modernist approach may result in distorted versions of history which justify or dismiss the obtaining reality. This may bring results that are more dominated by what characterizes the status quo, hence a situation of power and control. In the case of language, the knowledge of the existing linguistic groups may exist (connoting history in this case) but the socio-political environment may detect that the groups should operate in a similar way, under an umbrella setting. This then causes some groups to be dominated as they might be less powerful than the others hence, a hegemonic situation arises.

2.1.4 The Vertical and Horizontal Dimensions of Nation Building

Nation building can also be viewed in two dimensions which are the vertical and horizontal dimensions. The vertical dimension refers to the acceptance and recognition of the incumbent leadership as legitimate and constituting a national symbol. This implies that the authority of the state should be accepted by the people and its government should be viewed as the symbol of the political community. On the other hand, the horizontal dimension of nation building involves members of different cultural, ethnic and linguistic backgrounds accepting each other as equal members of the same polity. According to Oche (2002), the horizontal dimension also involves the existence of shared expectations among all the community members, of equal obligation towards the sustenance of the state as well as an equal share in the distribution of dividends by the state to the people.

From the above discussion on nation building, it is evident that the concept of nation building is both objective and subjective. It is objective in its concentration on a geographically defined territory with a population. The characteristics of the population do not matter in that regard. Nation building is also subjective in terms

of how the people share or feel about themselves as a community despite their differences or heterogeneity.

2.2 BOURDIEU'S THEORY OF PRACTICE

Pierre Bourdieu was a French sociologist and philosopher. His major work, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1972) was a result of his research about the Kabyle people in Algeria. Bourdieu interpreted the society in terms of domination and relative strength which he attributes to unequal allocation of resources. Walther (2014) argues that Bourdieu's theory of practice is a grand theory because of its ability to be applied to different circumstances and areas of research. It is applicable to fields such as sociology, politics, media as well as sociolinguistics. Hence, the researcher has chosen to employ Bourdieu's theory in this study to analyse social relations as they are affected by different language categories in Zimbabwe.

Bourdieu (1972) explains social relations by the complex interplay of his main concepts which are; field, habitus and capital. These elements must never be considered detached from each other. They are inter- dependent such that it is difficult to explain one concept without referring to the other.

2.2.1 Field

This concept acknowledges that social interactions have to be considered in their respective social space. This means that it is imperative to first understand the circumstances and the place where these interactions are produced. Social fields are 'based on a historically generated system of shared meaning' (Iellitch et al 2003:732). Different social fields can be understood as the cosmos where agents and institutions are integrated and interact with each other in accordance with field-specific rules. The rules are to be internalized by the actors in order to demonstrate appropriate practices. The internalization of the field-specific rules enables actors to anticipate future tendencies and opportunities. However, there

is no global rule which applies to all fields. Therefore Bourdieu (1986) argues that due to their unique rules, fields are autonomous. On the other hand, Bourdieu also qualifies that the autonomy is relative as fields are embedded in a social space, for example, the intellectual field may also be influenced by the political, economic or religious field. From the foregoing, a social field represents a locus of struggles, where a variety of positions are determined. It is the structure of objective relations between actors on a field that determines dominant and dominated positions. This determines what actors can and cannot do within the social field. Put another way, the position an actor occupies on a field creates rules that determine the limits of social mobility in a social field. Bourdieu (1972) calls these rules the *doxa*. This *doxa* forms the sense of what is possible and what is not. The different positions that are occupied by actors in the social field govern the ways in which they behave. Fields then are places of power relations where practices of actors or agents cannot be considered illogical because all interactions are anchored in a specific social field. In order to find out how positions are gained in the social field, the researcher notes the need to examine the concept of capital.

2.2.2 Capital

Capital is the principal cause for distinction in society. Each social field values particular types of resources which constitute capital. Bourdieu makes a distinction between four types of capital and these are; economic capital, cultural capital, social capital and symbolic capital. According to Accardo (2006), although the types of capital appear to be distinct, in reality, they are very closely linked to each other and can be converted.

Walther (2014) asserts that economic capital is related to a person's fortune and revenue. It is directly convertible into money and can be institutionalized in

property rights. This form of capital can be more easily transformed into other types of capital by ways of exchanging it for cultural or symbolic capital. Cultural capital is especially transferred through family and education. Cultural capital is the primary cause for status and relative positions within a social field. Cultural capital can be incorporated, objectivised and institutionalized. In its incorporated form, cultural capital represents one's intellectual qualifications or human capital as well as one's culture which has been assimilated over time. When objectivised, cultural capital takes the form of objects like books, paintings, monuments which can be transferable in their physical state. When institutionalized, cultural capital takes the form of a certificate of competence which is awarded by an institution. This enables a comparison between qualification holders.

Bourdieu's social capital represents an individual's entire relations. It is one's network of actual or potential resources that can be legitimized by the family, group or class membership. Social capital allows access to material and non-material resources, information and knowledge. Bonnewitz (2005) argues that social capital can be institutionalised in a title of nobility and it requires effort for its creation and maintenance.

The notion of symbolic capital is related to honour and recognition. It is not an independent type of capital but it is dependent upon other types. Thus, in a social field, the economic, social and cultural capital is converted to symbolic capital. This type of capital is simply an acknowledgement of an individual's worth by other competitors on a social field. All the above serves to emphasise that the capital structure determines an actor's position on the field in general. Positions are determined by the volume and structure of the actor's capital portfolio that is compared to that of other players on the same field. This is especially so regarding economic and cultural capital.

2.2.3 Habitus

Habitus is the central concept in Bourdieu's theory. It is similar to what Giddens (1984) has termed structuration. Habitus is the 'ensemble of schemata of perception, thinking, feeling, evaluating, speaking and acting that structures all expressive, verbal and practical manifestations and utterances of a person' (Krais 1988: 169). Bourdieu (1984:82) says habitus is 'a system of dispositions that produces practices in accordance with the schemes engendered by history'. The habitus lasts for a long time but it evolves and is continually adjusted to the current context and reinforced by further experience. Walther (2004) points out that at the core of Bourdieu's habitus lies the tendency to always act the same way in similar situations.

The habitus is acquired during primary and secondary socialization. Primary socialization is the socialization that comes from the family during childhood. The schemes of action and perception that have been transferred during childhood are an education that is linked to the parents' social position in the social space. The parents' modes of thinking, feeling and behaving that are linked to their position in the social space are internalized in the children's habitus. Bourdieu (1977) calls this 'class habitus' which reflects the different positions people have in society and that leads to different lifestyles, tastes and interests among social classes.

The secondary habitus is built on the primary habitus and results from one's education at school and from other life experiences outside the family setting. The primary habitus never loses its impact and always influences the development of the secondary habitus. Bourdieu (1990:56) says the primary habitus is 'embodied history, internalized as second nature and so forgotten as history'. In this regard, the primary habitus can never be erased from an individual and it can combine with the secondary habitus and form one entity which is constantly reinforced and modified by life experiences. Nonetheless this does not mean that the system of dispositions changes with any new life event. To that

effect, Bourdieu (1977:72) emphasises that habitus is the strategy generating principle enabling agents to cope with unforeseen and ever changing situations.

The habitus is strongly connected to the field. The class habitus which results from one's social position on the social field leads to the knowledge of the structures in the field and controls social behaviour. In fact, Bourdieu uses the following equation where he shows how the habitus is related to both field and capital:

$$[(\text{habitus}) (\text{capital}) + \text{field}] = \text{practice}.$$

(Adapted from Walther 2004:14)

By means of their habitus, actors tend to reproduce their own conditioning. According to Helbling (2008), when confronted with familiar situations, human beings act according to their past experiences and apply those schemes that were useful for solving previous, similarity shaped problems. In Crossley's (2001:101) view, 'involvement in a field shapes the habitus which in turn shapes the perceptions and actions' leading to a reproduction of rules of the field.

In the field those who are more powerful succeed in convincing the less powerful of their interpretation of the world. Hence, the powerful influence others' choices because they have a lot of capital. The less powerful perceive the more powerful as the legitimate holders of power. In this case legitimation implies that struggles about social boundaries are less about elimination of minority positions but more about conviction. Such struggles can be considered as negotiation processes leading to things like cultural compromise. In Helbling's (2008) words, cultural compromise emerges when actors agree that certain modes of classifying the world make sense to them.

In summary, according to Walther (2014), Bourdieu understands practice as the result of social structures on a particular field where certain rules apply which are

informed by one's habitus. The habitus assures the collective belief in the rules of the social game and that actors act in accordance with their position on the field, which depends on their relative amount of capital. Bourdieu's theory of practice is relevant to this study as the researcher is investigating different linguistic groups in Zimbabwe and their involvement in the nation. These linguistic groups have different histories which connote their habitus, various cultures which point to their capital and hence determine their position in Zimbabwe's national field. It is the belief of the researcher that Bourdieu's notions give a clear picture of power struggles and can possibly explain the politics of nation building. At the same time, the researcher notes that Bourdieu's theory can also be explained and utilised in relation to the Marxist approach where social inequalities and power relations become the cause of social inclusion or exclusion. Marxist elements such as hegemony and power are most likely to come up as part of the discussion of findings in the study.

2.3 APPLICABILITY OF THE THEORIES TO THE STUDY

The concept of the nation and nation building is important for this study for the reason that nation building needs to be investigated with an understanding of the basic ideas of what a nation is and how it can be achieved. There is need to also understand how the sentiments of the citizens aid the process of nation building. Bourdieu's theory of practice makes it possible to analyse the socio-historical factors that have given rise to the power relations and the obtaining attitudes towards minority languages in Zimbabwe.

2.4 A GENERAL OVERVIEW OF NATIONAL ANTHEMS

It is argued that national anthems serve more than ceremonial purposes. Liao et al (2012) put it that ceremonial purposes are those that relate strictly to state functions. However, in many countries, including Zimbabwe, national anthems are sung at many non-state events such as athletic or soccer competitions. Liao et

al (2012:107) discuss the social foundations of national anthems with regard to the changing fate of the Chinese national anthem. They emphasise that national anthems indicate a society's past and at the same time serve interests of the current regime. According to them, the choice of lyrics for a national anthem is often more political than aesthetic, reflecting domestic politics and foreign relations, and more generally social foundations. Their study theorises the national anthem as a cultural symbol which is collectively recognised and a collective memory site which creates knowledge about the past. One observation made in this study is that the Chinese national anthem defines national identity. However, this does not only apply to the Chinese national anthem but to every other national anthem that seeks to build a national identity. In examining the trajectory of China's national anthem, from 1949 to 2005, Liao et al (2012) chronicle the circumstances under which different lyrics for the national anthem were adopted. Theirs is a purely sociological study which concludes by coming up with a model that explains the social relations in China in relation to collective focus.

What seems to stand out from Liao et al's study is that different circumstances influence changes in the lyrics and music of national anthems. The circumstances may be political or otherwise. Although Liao et al (2012) were carrying out a study in sociology; they raise very important points in that they view national anthems as cultural symbols, a reservoir of the past and tools of identity.

Cerulo (1993:244) argues that national anthems provide the strongest and clearest statement of national identity. In her study, Cerulo examines national symbols in terms of national anthems and flags. She refers to these symbols as 'signs that bear a special relationship to the nations they represent, distinguishing them from one another..... National anthems are seen as having similar functions for all nations, yet they vary in their make-up. Cerulo (1993) argues, just like Liao et al (2012), that the different phases in economic and cultural development influence

the differences in the structures of national symbols. However, the most interesting observation made by Cerulo (1993:244) is embodied or expressed in the lines where she says;

Since the inception of nations, national leaders have embraced and adopted national flags and anthems, using them to create bonds, motivate patriotic action, honour the efforts of citizens and legitimate formal authority.

The above excerpt brings to light the fact that national anthems are both cultural and political symbols.

Sondermann (2013) shows that national anthems are an embodiment of the nation, especially in actual events. The nation comes into existence through the particular acts where the anthem is used. Sondermann (2013) attempts a political reading of three national anthems which are the German, Finnish and Austrian. In analyzing the three anthems, Sondermann (2013) points out that they display the nation as a community by extraction and a community by loyalty. He also refers to sporting events as the locus in which the national qualities come sharply to the fore as people turn to their flags and adopt a ritual position at attention to sing their national anthems. He also talks of the formation of national identities through national anthems where he sees them as being founded on the assertion that there exists a specific national identity. That identity is received naturally by society and it is an identity which is difficult to resist. To Sondermann (2013), national identity is a symbolically constructed coercive collective and always narrows the space for action and blocks alternatives. This means that individuals do not choose to belong to a nation yet they find themselves belonging to one due to factors they cannot explain. It almost seems natural. Hence, through national anthems, national identity is invoked in order to appeal to the emotions.

Sondermann (2013) continues to describe national anthems as indisputable because they bear iconic and spiritual qualities. These qualities are protected by law and other social conventions. National anthems are also seen by Sondermann (2013:40) as persuasive. They persuade the concrete act of nation-building and they celebrate the community. In the act of persuading, national anthems can be viewed as politicizing through emphasising on specific national identity which can be distinguished from other identities; depoliticizing where the aspect of 'nation' which is potentially inclusive is often a depoliticising construction and socializing which leads to formation of society. He also discusses space, time and gender in the three national anthems which he studies. In the German, Finnish and Austrian national anthems, space is reflected as given by nature in terms of eternal beloved geographical formations. The time seems to be extolled as very old and eternal where mere belonging to the imagined community transforms into destiny. Gender in national anthems is seen by Sondermann (2013:140) as masculine. He says, "the nation is fathers, sons and brothers; It is the fathers' land ...". This construction reflects the male concepts of ruling as well as the apolitical motherly harmony.

Reithmuller contributed a chapter in Bernhart et al's (1999:326) work entitled *Gott! erhalte: National Anthems and the semantics of music*. In this chapter, Reithmuller discusses a purely musical dimension of national anthems. He touches on European melodies that were used for national anthems. Most of his discussion is on musical notes and how these convey certain behaviours. He views the musical notes as being more communicative than words. As he talks about the tempo and melody of national anthems, Reithmuller seems not to find a connection between the nation and music in the national anthems. Precisely, he says:

If the complex nature of 'national feelings' were known, and if one could differentiate between national feelings and other feelings, one

would perhaps be able to explain what in the music causes people to identify with their country while listening to the few refrains of an anthem.

What the above scholar seems to suggest is that music per se cannot build a nation. He notes that sounds on their own are not nationalistic, as opposed to words which often bring out their message clearly. However, Reithmuller's conclusion is that music, as in melody, forms the essence of national anthems but a melody cannot be isolated from an anthem's historical, political and social context. Through this argument, the scholar acknowledges a connection between national anthems and society. This brings a contradiction in some of his arguments where he points out that national fervor is rigorously developed as a deliberate substitute for religious feelings.

Butler and Spivak (2007) mention the assumption that the nation expresses a certain national identity because the nation is viewed as singular and homogeneous or it becomes so in order to comply with the requirements of the state. Hence this brings the question on who should be the participants in the singing of the national anthem. It is also not disputable that national anthems are a memory bank of past events. They also add knowledge about the past for those who have not experienced that past.

In the case of Zimbabwe, its national anthem has also traversed a trajectory, since independence in 1980. Liao et al (2012) show the different circumstances under which China's national anthem was transformed. In Zimbabwe, the changing socio-political environment also contributed to the change in the national anthem. The particular historical changes in Zimbabwe's national anthem are chronicled later in this chapter. Liao et al (2012) also view national anthems as cultural symbols, a reservoir of the past and tools of identity. This study is interested in the three aspects in as far as they relate to linguistic groups in Zimbabwe. One

may also go as far as pointing out that it is pertinent for individuals to identify themselves in a manner which links them to their history and culture as they strive for nationhood.

Cerulo (1993) believes that national anthems are both cultural and political symbols. The researcher views this point as relevant in the sense that when one studies issues of language, both culture and politics become important factors. The national anthem in Zimbabwe becomes a cultural and political symbol albeit standing for different linguistic groups whose languages are not used to express it.

Sondermann (2013) suggests that national anthems are indisputable because they bear iconic and spiritual qualities. To the researcher, what Sondermann(2013) implies here is that communities cannot disapprove of their national anthems due to symbolic and spiritual reasons. However, this view needs to be taken cautiously as it does not consider some trajectories in the changing of national symbols.

While Reithmuller (1999) investigates a purely musical dimension of national anthems, the present study differs from Reithmuller's because the researcher is actually investigating the nation building element in national anthems. This study takes a sociolinguistic approach where the national anthem of Zimbabwe which is expressed in only three languages out of sixteen officially recognised languages will be questioned on its ability to build the nation with diverse linguistic groups.

2.4.1 Perspectives on African national Anthems

This sub-section reviews literature which is concerned with African national anthems. Different countries will be considered so that a trend in Africa's national anthems is established.

Curtis (2010) studies the Mozambican national anthems and how they were affected by the different historical and political set ups. She begins by describing what national anthems stand for. National anthems are viewed as political symbols which communicate political parties and politicians to the masses. They are also rituals in terms of their performance which prescribes occasions and posture of performance. Curtis (2010) notes that national anthems carry music which can stir different emotions in people. These emotions connect the people to memories of their history and present. This ultimately means that people grasp a spirit of nationhood through national anthems. Curtis (2010:4) avers that;

The music and lyrics of the various world anthems are not all identical, even in anthems that were derived from the same song (i.e South Africa, Tanzania and Zambia) yet all of these anthems are established as symbols of political unity. Despite their differences, there are elements in common that can lead to unification on a national level.

Curtis (2010) cites Cerulo (1993, 1995) who says that there are often similar structures between nations in a region as well as nations who have been ruled by the same colonial power. In this case, national anthems communicate patriotism through semantic and syntactic structural meanings. Hence, there is a need to discuss the role of symbolism and cultural context in the use of anthems.

With regard to Mozambique's national anthems, Curtis (2010) traces Mozambique's colonial history and shows how the country came to a crisis and why the first national anthem "Viva, Viva a FRELIMO" was expected to create a sense of nationalism and solidarity in the wake of that crisis. What becomes interesting and relevant to the present study is that like other colonies, the borders of Mozambique were made with little or no regard to the existing linguistic boundaries. The resulting mixture of cultures was diverse in ethnicity, language, tradition and terrain. Added to this combination were also Portuguese inhabitants from a distant land with (a) different language(s). Curtis notes that the

common factor among all these people was their rule by Portugal and it was important to unify these people under one symbol.

Curtis outlines the whole trajectory of Mozambique's national anthems until the writing of the present one. Some of the reasons given for changes in national anthems in Mozambique include the questionable rule of the Portuguese empire, redefining and unifying the people throughout the empire. The scholar also puts forward some elements that an anthem needs in order to achieve its purpose of strengthening nationalist elements in times of crisis. These elements comprise of nationalist lyrics, unisonant performances and political ambiguity. Nationalist lyrics help to create a tangible national identity, political ambiguity gives flexibility and potential stability and unisonant performance creates a sense of shared community through shared action. In this respect, national anthems must be more nationalistic than national. According to Bohlman as cited by Curtis (2010) 'nationalist music is distinctive from national music in that it is focused on the nation as a state rather than the nation as a cultural group'. This in essence means that a national anthem defines politics more than it does culture.

Curtis (2010: 121) continues to point out the uses of nationalist music.

The state uses nationalist music in several distinctive ways. First, it relies on the malleability of nationalist music to fabricate and create images of itself.... Second, nationalist music mobilizes the residents of the state through musical ideas. They narrate a historical or political struggle. They identify the entity against which the nation struggles and they draw the battle lines, both abstract and real. Nationalist music can take the people of the state into battle... Thirdly, nationalist music generates an aesthetic and musical language that allows the nation-state to compete for abstract ideas as well as the specific ideologies.

The malleable and abstract nature of anthems helps to make them proper vehicles of nation building because of the opportunity it creates for symbolic ambiguity. In performing the national anthems, people pronounce the same words and perform the same gestures at once which give them a feeling of being in union. Curtis also quotes Anderson (2006) who describes how the sense of nationhood is involved through the performance of national anthems.

Anderson (2006:122) says it does not matter even if the words and tunes of national anthems are monotonous, but the fact that people sing the anthem at the same time creates a sense and experience of simultaneity. In his words, he explains thus:

At precisely such moments, people wholly unknown to each other utter the same verses to the same melody. The image: unisonance... How selfless this unisonance feels! If we are aware that others are singing these songs precisely when and as we are, we have no idea who they may be or even where they are singing. Nothing connects us all but imagined sound.

In a book titled *Anthem: Social Movements and the Sound of Solidarity in the African Diaspora*, Redmond (2013) talks about how national anthems contribute to the spirit of nationhood among Africans in the Diaspora, especially after World War 1. He dwells on specific cases such as Ethiopia, Angola and South Africa.

Concerning Ethiopia, Redmond (2013:21) deciphers that the Ethiopian National Anthem was a product of the Marcus Garvey movement, the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in the 1920s. Although it was sung by the Negroes in America, 'it was the evidence of citizenship on the lips of UNIA members'. The anthem "Ethiopia Thou Land of our Fathers" became a central element and catalyst for various political and cultural activities as well as symbols

which were used to unite what Redmond (2013) refers to as the scattered of Africa. It was a song informed by their profound sense of obligation to the furtherance of a black nation. Ethiopia's anthem reflects a vision of success in the future based on the black people's remembrance of an ideal past. In other words, the past to be remembered is a national past; hence the anthem attempts to hold a nation together.

Redmond (2013) argues that 'the enforced ritual dimension of anthems elevates them above the level of mere propaganda'. This is because, as Redmond further argues, the performance of the anthem was a necessary part of political and civic participation within the black nation as it reinforced doctrine and cohered the membership. Redmond also acknowledges the role of musical qualities in influencing national anthems to be meaningful.

In the case of Angola, Redmond (2013) chronicles the history that led to the composition of the national anthem "Lift every voice and sing". The particular history is also that of African Americans who seem to stand out in the pursuance of their rights and freedom. Although the Angolan case was pioneered from a missionary angle, Redmond exposes that by using this particular anthem, the missionary family placed themselves inside the political and social project of America's most influential civil rights organisation, the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP). By this time, Garvey and his association were fading and NAACP stepped in to recuperate the political energy of the black people. The central figure in the NAACP was William Edward Burghardt Du Bois who conceived of a program that was inclusive and broad in scope. The principles of NAACP included abolition of all caste distinctions based simply on race and colour.

South Africa's "Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika" is described by Redmond (2013) as a response to the conditions of apartheid in South Africa. It is an anthem that was

composed for the African National Congress (ANC), which was a political movement formed in 1912. Redmond chronicles the historical circumstances which destabilized South Africa. Apartheid centralized racial differences through legislative measures and violence. Reaction against these exclusivist policies was also influenced by Garveyism. In the act of reacting to apartheid, the ANC also needed to be recognised as a legitimate political body, hence the adoption of the Xhosa hymn “Nkosi Sikelel’ iAfrika”. This became a pivotal moment in the history of the ANC as it was launching a representational platform. It represented the black population of South Africa, a nation in its own right.

Fuller (2014) places national anthems as symbols of a nation as he studies different symbols which represent the Ghanaian nation. He purports that national anthems are a common feature of all independent nation-states. As he analyses the experience of Ghana, Fuller quotes Cerulo (1993) who notes that ‘since the inception of nations, national leaders have embraced and adopted national flags and anthems, using them to create bonds, motivate patriotic action, honour the efforts of citizens and legitimate formal authority’.

In the first chapter of his book, Fuller (2014:21) discusses the various symbols that Kwame Nkrumah’s political party (Convention People’s Party) paid attention to in order to try and define their nation. This, he calls symbolic nationalism. Regarding national anthems, Fuller notes that Nkrumah got ideas of how Ghana’s national anthem should be composed from anthems of Britain and the United States. This influence seems to have come from the thematic underpinnings of Western national anthems. Thus, Fuller says; national anthems of countries such as Ireland, France and United States were ‘purposefully designed by leaders of the respective nationalist revolutions in those countries with intentions.... to express particular nationalist ideals, mainly national unity out of regional, ethnic and religious diversity”.

In essence, Fuller (2014:33) argues that while Ghana's nationalism was inspired by the political realities and restrictions of colonialism on the African soil, the construction of the first Ghanaian national and nationalist symbols, although having some roots in Africa, was informed by larger international patterns, especially western ones. In a section where Fuller discusses national anthems of Ghana in particular, it is noted that anthems are a symbol of nationhood which reinforce the purpose of the national flag in terms of branding the flock. He also cites the musical arrangement of national anthems as being important in encouraging patriotism. He says:

Anthems reinforce national identity and unity on a daily basis especially when sung at official events, on national holidays such as independence days, and even in social settings such as at sporting or other cultural events.

What Fuller points out in the above excerpt seems to be in the same wavelength with other scholars who have described national anthems in similar terms. However, looking at Ghana's case in particular, Fuller notes that the lyrics of Ghana's national anthem have been changed twice. The original 1957 anthem was changed in 1960 to indicate references to Kwame Nkrumah's role in the founding of the nation. The lyrics were changed again in 1966 after Nkrumah was ousted from power through a military coup. Fuller (2014) analyses the different versions of Ghana's national anthems and comes to the realization that they idealise virtues such as freedom, justice, self-sacrifice, peace unity and hope.

Cusack (2005) explores the themes and ideologies associated with African national anthems. He purports that anthems reflect the janus face of nationalism where both the past and the future are looked into. He sees post independence anthems as having a link to the anthems of former colonial powers. At the same time, African national anthems appear to be gendered constructions which focus

mostly on men, sons and brothers. In his article *African National Anthems: 'Beat the drums the red lion has roared'*, Cusack (2005) touches on many points. Of special mention is the issue of national anthems having a purpose of propagating a particular nationalism and of assisting in the building of a sense of national identity. He points out that;

the “we” that is so common a feature of national anthems may therefore encompass the ancestors, the present generation, the sons and (rarely) daughters, the grandchildren and their descendants.

The scholar talks about the addresser and the addressee in national anthems where he identifies ‘we’, ‘us’ and ‘you’ as belonging to the nation which both addresses and is addressed by the national anthem. Under a section titled ‘Practicalities Writers, Musicians and Politicians’, Cusack discusses the role of authors such as Amilcar Cabral and Manuel Rui in the writing of national anthems and nation building in Guinea-Bissau and Angola respectively. This means that these authors or literary artists were also politicians as they were also involved in the fight for independence.

Curtis (2010) has shown how the Mozambique national anthems were affected by the different historical and political set-ups. National anthems stir different emotions in people which connect them to memories of their history and present times. That way, national anthems become symbols of political unity. Guided by these ideas, the researcher concludes that national anthems have a national purpose. Each country expects to build a nation through the national anthem as it embodies shared memories and aspirations.

Using the point uttered by Anderson (2006) where he points out that when people sing the anthem at the same time, it creates unisonance, the researcher comes to the conclusion that national anthems have a role to play in nation building and this is why at different stages of building the nation, African states find a need to

change their anthems in order to find a point of common interest to the people within particular polities.

As mentioned by Redmond (2013) above, some African national anthems such as the Angolan ones came up as a result of associations which instituted programs that were inclusive in the fight against racism and oppression. South Africa's national anthem was a response to apartheid policy which was exclusivist in approach. The researcher here is interested in issues of inclusion and exclusion. This study explores these factors with regard to language and nation building. What the researcher also observes in the different situations presented by Redmond (2013) is the idea that national anthems are composed as a way of reacting against imperialism and they express the aspirations of the nations they reflect. Central to the anthems is the history of the people as a nation. The question that will be answered later in this chapter is on what a nation comprises.

Fuller (2014) outlines the historical circumstances that led to Ghana's national anthem being changed. Chief among the circumstances is regime change which also influences change in virtues and values. The above scenario is characteristic of most African countries, including Zimbabwe. In this study, Zimbabwe's national anthem which is the primary text has a background of being a second national anthem since independence. The researcher sees this as reflective of the changing political climate within the nation and perhaps the growing power and predominance of certain groups of people.

2.4.2 The Case of Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe's national anthem is the main text of this study. A number of scholars have studied the national anthem of Zimbabwe from different angles. Vambe and Khan (2009) in an article entitled *Reading the Zimbabwean national Anthem as a Political Bibliography in the context of crisis* discuss the anthem as a biography of the nation. They avail that narrations of individual or collective identities

should always be viewed as approximations of the lived reality. In this sense, national anthems are found to be wish lists that are based on some selected themes deemed to be of national importance by others and not everybody. Vambe and Khan (2009) pit the national anthem of Zimbabwe against a crisis that was experienced in Zimbabwe. Therefore, as a useful spiritual resource, the anthem becomes a political biography of the nation insisting through institutionalized forms of memories never to forget those histories. The scholars also take from Bakhtin (1981:13) who says

‘...the acts of remembering and of memorializing one’s cultural identities when fixed in print through anthems, resemble myths of origin that claim a trans-historical knowledge of the self and emphasise the language of ‘beginning’ ‘first’, ‘founder’, ‘ancestor’ ... corresponding to the reverent point of view of a descendant.

However, the irony that seems to exist at the core of national anthems that insist on speaking with a single national voice is that there are contested histories that partialise national memories.

Vambe and Khan (2009) give a historical appreciation of the national anthem of Zimbabwe, *Simudzai Mureza Wedu weZimbabwe* ‘Lift high our flag of Zimbabwe’. They say in 1980, Zimbabwean authorities adopted *Ishe Komborera Afrika*” from the tunes and lyrics of *Nkosi Sikelel’ iAfrika* which was composed by Enock Sontoga, a black South African in 1896. The song had become an anti-apartheid national anthem in South Africa and the rest of the world struggling against colonialism. Zimbabwe adopted its tune and translated its lyrics into Shona in 1980. However, the government of Zimbabwe later decided to have its own anthem that would reflect the history and realities of Zimbabwe’s past, present and future aspirations. In 1994, a national contest was held to create the lyrics and compose the new anthem. The reasons for the government’s desire to

authorise its own anthem originated in national pride. There was need for a song that addressed the specific history, culture and views of Zimbabweans.

Mutemererwa et al (2013) elucidate on the history of Zimbabwe's national anthem by mentioning that the text of the anthem was written by Solomon Mutsvairo and was officially introduced in March 1994. They also acknowledge the influence of former colonial powers on the composition of national anthems in post-independent nations. However, Mutemererwa et al were not concerned about the discourse of the Zimbabwe national anthem but the musical composition. Their major aim was to investigate the extent to which the musical compositional techniques used in the Zimbabwean national anthem were a true representation of Zimbabwean identity. The premise of their study was that every nation has its own identity which is mirrored through national symbols like the anthem. However, as part of their recommendations they say:

‘to encourage schools to sing the national anthem in both Shona and Ndebele in order to promote unity and peace in the country’.

The above is seen by the authors as a measure that can encourage the furtherance of nation building.

As mentioned above, in the case of some African nations, writers had a role in the formation of national anthems. Regarding Zimbabwe, Veit-Wild (2006) has commented on the links between writers and nationalist politics. In this case, she emphasises that the choice of Solomon Mutsvairo's words for the song confirms the writer's collusion with nationalist politics. Mutsvairo was the author of the first Shona novel (Feso 1957) and one of the prolific Shona poets. He is also the composer of the current national anthem of Zimbabwe. This has a bearing on the social status of the author-cum-composer, the position of his language and the link with politics.

Fisher (2010) alleges that words for a specifically Zimbabwean national anthem were chosen in 1990 from a national competition won by Mutsvairo. It took another four years to find suitable music. He cites Anderson (1990) who says that singing the nation's anthem should be an experience in simultaneity, an echoed physical realization of the imagined community. However, Fisher (2010) concludes that Zimbabwe's national anthem lacks the qualities that can create a simultaneous experience, as it does not appeal to the heart but to the ear. Fisher (2010) also claims that the national anthem was largely unknown in the country during the late 1990s.

Mutemererwa et al (2013) comment that the national anthem of Zimbabwe should be sung in Shona and Ndebele in schools in order to promote peace and unity in the country. The researcher sees a gap where the above recommendation reflects a narrow view of Shona and Ndebele being the only languages that matter in Zimbabwe. Also, the school setting seems to be the only environment where the anthem should be sung yet it should at the same time build the whole nation.

Fisher's (2010) allegation that the Zimbabwe national anthem was largely unknown in the late 1990s needs to be further investigated by looking into the attitudes and perceptions of the different linguistic groups who have to sing the national anthem in languages that are not theirs. This study will go further to investigate the attitudes of Zimbabweans regarding the national anthem especially when it is not rendered in a group's particular language.

2.5 LANGUAGE AND NATION-BUILDING

The issue of multilingualism and nation building in developing countries has been a major subject in various studies. Multilingualism is the existence of many languages in a country and it can be viewed as a resource in nation building as it allows for versatile communication. At the same time, multilingualism presents challenges in the efforts of nation-building due to various reasons.

Jones (2001) refers to Antonio Gramsci's contention that 'every time the question of language surfaces it means that a series of other problems are coming to the fore'. These problems are said to necessitate the formation or enlargement of the ruling class to curb cultural hegemony. In short, Gramsci's view brings to light the political nature of language. Several factors have to be considered when choosing to build the nation through language.

According to Kuo (1983), in his study of Singapore, most developing countries are constantly confronted with problems of ethnic and cultural diversity. The presence of competing ethno-linguistic and cultural groups in these states generally means that the establishment of new nationhood requires the cultivation of new national identity. This emergent national identity can be achieved either through an expansion and elevation of an indigenous ethnic linguistic/cultural identity imposing upon other "less" indigenous and usually minority groups, or through the development of a new supra-ethnic identity treating various ethnic groups on an equal standing. In either case, it is expected that the emergence of a new national identity is not likely to be natural or spontaneous. The crucial problem faced by these multi-ethnic states is the potential conflict between loyalty to one's ethnic community and loyalty to the wider national community. The essential question is how the two can be reconciled rapidly and smoothly to facilitate the process of nation building.

However, Kuo (1983) concludes by saying that in Singapore, the role of language policy in relation to nation building is therefore to cultivate instrumental attachments by maintaining a high level of economic development presumably through the use and spread of English. At the same time, traditional values are retained through the continuous use of ethnic languages.

Ha et al (2013) examine the case of Malaysia where they show how issues of a national language are shaped by different ethnic and social views as well as

history. They argue from a premise where English dominates Asia as the language of most sectors of life, especially education. In Malaysia, English seems to have been discarded as a medium of instruction in schools as from 2012 and replaced by Bahasa Malaysia which is the national language. The scholars note that in Malaysia, the status of and attitudes towards English are ambivalent due to the influence of nationalism. Many Asian countries have responded to the global role of English in ways that are specific to their identities, histories, local politics, economic development and nation building strategies. The promotion of English comes with problems associated with ethnic relations, social equity and cultural identity issues.

Ha et al (2013) further state that after Malaysia gained independence from Britain in 1957, there were several changes in the language policy that were implemented for nationalistic reasons. On the one hand, language policy was used by the state to achieve national unity for the post-colonial nation through promoting the use of a national language. On the other hand, the various changes in the language policy created unforeseen problems that were perceived as disadvantaging the population in a globalizing world, leading to the promotion of English. However, issues arose when again the language policy was seen as undermining the status of the indigenous national language. This put the Malaysian government in a quandary of whether to continue enforcing the use of the national language to maintain national identity or to encourage people to be more proficient in English in order to compete in a globalizing world. This then resulted in a new policy which upholds both the national language and promotes English at the same time.

In a section with the heading *Nationalism, the Nation-state and use of language to claim, Exert, Maintain and Resist Power*, Ha et al (2013) begin by highlighting Anderson's (1991) definition of a nation as 'an imagined political community'. The definition states that the origins of national consciousness came about with the rise of print capitalism. Print capitalism enabled a wider system of

communication as people from different social backgrounds would commune through using a common language. Anderson (1991:134) asserts that “print language is what invents nationalism not a particular language per se”.

Hence, it is the submission of Ha et al (2013) that the elevation of a single language as the common medium of expression in print does likely facilitate the process of imagining a national community and this is why governments of developing nations have focused so heavily on the promotion of national language. Newly formed nations encounter problems as their political boundaries do not always correspond to a unified ethnic-cultural entity.

Therefore, according to Fishman (1968:6) these nations...

...proceed to plan and create such an identity through national symbols that can lead to common mobilization and involvement above, beyond and at the expense of pre-existing ethnic-cultural particularities’.

Such national symbols may also include the choice of a local language and promoting it to a national language. A national language does not only work as a symbol to raise a sense of national unity but it also reinforces a sense of cultural value and identity. At the same time, it serves to legitimise a particular group’s status and to facilitate their political dominance over other ethnic groups.

Ha et al (2013) also chronicle the history of how language debates contributed to political establishments in Malaysia. For example, the rise of political parties along ethnic lines and the subsequent coalition of parties with continuous upholding of one language as supreme, later on the resistance from ethnic groups leading to policy shifts. Their final thesis is that English should be given a more stable and strategic status along the national language in order to recognise the role of English in aiding the development of their nation. They view English as the language of ‘strategic neutrality’. However, what the present study deems important in their conclusion is the point that ‘it should not be forgotten that

language planning... should not rest entirely on economic considerations but on the recognition of and respect for linguistically expressed cultural identities’.

Regarding Africa, Bamgbose (1991) dwells on issues relating to language and national development, language and education, language planning as well as language and national integration. Of interest to this study is his chapter on language and national integration. In this chapter, Bamgbose (1991) notes that many African countries are pre-occupied with how to ensure oneness and a sense of belonging together while taking into consideration the pluralistic nature of the society. Symbols such as the national flag, national anthem, national days and others are all designed to provide a focus on national identity. The essence of a nation is not tangible. It is psychological, a matter of attitude than of fact.

Language remains a powerful resource which is symbolic when it comes to national identity. Bamgbose (1991) is against the idea of discarding issues of language when trying to achieve national integration. For the furtherance of national integration, the symbolism attached to language has to be considered. He mentions the tribe-to-nation approach to national integration where he outlines the difference between the tribe and the nation. The tribe is characterized by ethnic loyalty, sometimes with persistent conflict with rival groups while the nation is cohesive, politically organized with broad support and legitimacy and regarded as crucial to fostering national identity and development. Bamgbose (1991) posits that:

What is called tribalism in Africa is part of the universal and timeless problem of how culturally pluralistic societies hold together and function within the framework of a single political system.

However, the issue of tribes seems to be viewed by Bamgbose (1991) as creations of the colonial era rather than a survival from the pre-colonial period. The colonial legacy has left Africa with many artificial nations in which several ethnic groups have been brought together under one administration within a single territory.

When alluding to multilingualism and national integration, Bamgbose (1991) notes that two views (which he calls myths) have developed. Firstly, that multilingualism is a barrier to nation building and secondly that national integration necessarily involves the emergence of a nation-state with one common language. Nevertheless, it is not language that divides but the attitude of the speakers as well as the sentiments and symbolism attached to the language. The use of a single language to achieve national unity in a multi-lingual society may lead to conflict and disunity. One of the reasons is that language and ethnicity are exploited by the elites in order to gain political and economic advantages.

On the national language question, Bamgbose (1991) puts forward that in the African context, national integration is often conceived in terms of facilitating communication between diverse groups through a national language. Yet, the weakness of this approach is that it is horizontal in nature and only caters for segments of educated elites from each of the different linguistic groups in the country. Vertical integration links the elites with the masses and it is through an African language that vertical integration is possible. A number of factors have to be considered in deciding which language or languages should be adopted as a country's national or official language. Bamgbose (1991) discusses factors such as nationalism vs nationism, vertical integration, acceptability, population, language development status which are presented in the following discussion:

Nationalism vs nationism

The quest for nationalism is characterised by claims of authenticity while the claims for efficiency constitute nationism. In terms of language choice, nationalism, which involves socio-cultural integration and authenticity, calls for the adoption of an indigenous language, while nationism, which is concerned with political integration and efficiency calls for any language that can perform these functions. Hence the choice of languages of wider communication which are

mostly former colonial languages. The fact is that language is often seen as vehicle for a people's culture and a language of wider communication continues to be associated with foreign culture.

Vertical Integration

A national language or official language must take seriously the need to bridge the gap between the elites and the masses.

Acceptability

In order to function as a truly national symbol, a language has to be acceptable to the different components of the country. The point often made is that those who are native speakers of the language selected to be a national language have an undue advantage and to that extent, resentment may be felt by other groups and this could threaten national unity.

Population

In determining the choice of a national language, population is usually an important factor. There are two possible models which are the majority model, where a language is chosen on the basis of it being spoken by the majority; and the minority model, where the choice is based on the language of the minority of the population. However, the majority model seems easier to apply.

Language Development Status

Languages belong to different stages of development. While some have had a long literary tradition, others are just being reduced to writing. It is possible to estimate the stage of development in terms of such indices as use or non-use for formal written purposes.

In looking at the actual situation of national and official languages in Africa, it is perhaps more useful to concentrate on official languages. However, Bamgbose

(1991) suggests that languages of wider communication be official languages. At this point, African countries, including Zimbabwe, have moved from relying on colonial languages to promoting their own languages.

Hailemariam et al (1999) focus on the linguistic situation in Eritrea. They contend that nationalism is understood to represent a socio-cultural identity that may not have a corresponding geo-political realization. When elites of nationalist movements took power from the colonizers, they inherited various population groups with distinct languages and cultures. While these elites in most African countries have been successful in rallying their populations to independence, they have been far less successful in attempts to create a strong sense of nationhood. According to the scholars, Eritrea's multi-ethnic composition has been exaggerated and used to present the country as too fragmented linguistically and religiously to sustain a single nation. This is an important background when looking at the construction of national identity in Eritrea.

It is sometimes argued that religious and ethnic differences are stronger than nationalist feelings. In the case of Eritrea, this argument is based on the role of ethnic and religious movements in the 1940s. However, others find the experience of the war against Ethiopia as strengthening nationalist sentiments in Eritrea. Others also think that Eritrean identity is a dynamic phenomenon in a constant process of construction. Hailemariam et al (1999) narrate how the Italian and British periods of colonialism in Eritrea brought about different linguistic experiences. Their approach is that political decisions can be used to infer motives behind language policy decisions. The language choices are sometimes guided by prestige than linguistic resolutions.

Multilingualism in many African states facilitates communication processes in different settings as opposed to the idea that multilingualism is a problem that works against nationalism, creating chaos and underdevelopment. Hailemariam

et al (1999) point out that the implementation of language planning often occurs in the absence of a coherent policy which has been deliberated upon prior to its initiation.

Language planning is not only unpredictable but may also produce unexpected consequences. This results in arbitrary adoption of policies. Such arbitrary decisions may be received negatively or positively and accompanied by sudden shifts in attitudes which are influenced by prevailing social forces. At the same time, the symbolic value of a language may become inflated beyond its objective proportions, for example, in terms of number of speakers. Thus, Hailemariam et al say:

‘When a language serves or can be made to serve as a symbol of a glorious past, or of the unique genius of a people, the elites and counter elites who manipulate this symbol can cause it to maintain or acquire legitimacy in the name of authenticity and tradition.’

This can be interpreted to mean that language can be manipulated by those who are in power in order to buttress their position. Hence, when it comes to nation building, such efforts become biased towards the ruling elite and the symbols that represent them.

Madiba (1999) examines the language situation in South Africa and explores the role played by the existence of many languages in nation building. Two different views emerged. First is the view which maintains that multilingualism presents a resource for nation building and secondly, that multilingualism can be seen as a barrier to nation building. Madiba (1999) handles the issue of South Africa’s language policy which takes into cognisance eleven official languages and the dominant assumption is that multilingualism plays an important role in nation building. He puts forward that the question of nation building in the new South Africa constitutes the biggest problem facing the country at that particular time.

The need for a deliberate effort of nation building was necessitated by the apartheid policies which left a legacy of divisions along racial, ethnic and linguistic lines.

Madiba (1999) outlines three situations which attempt to answer the question on how national integration can be assessed. The three situations are:

- The degree of national integration in a nation may be judged by the extent to which different groups are able to maintain group boundaries and uniqueness while participating equally in the essential processes of production, distribution and government.
- The sustenance of cultural diversity without the implication that some groups have greater access to scarce resources than others (Cashmore 1996).
- On a political level, national integration implies some form of agreement among the people of a nation on issues that are fundamental to the political development of that country (Mazrui 1996)

Multilingualism as a barrier to nation building is characterised by a common language approach whereby one national language is adopted for use despite the existence of other languages within a country. While this approach seems to attempt to deal with problems that might be caused by linguistic diversity towards development and nation building, its disadvantage is that indigenous linguistic minorities are suppressed. On the other hand, multilingualism can be viewed as a reality which cannot be done away with. Madiba (1999) cites Kelman (1971) who argues that in a multilingual country, a common national language is not a necessary condition for national unity and that two or more languages can co-exist without conflict between them. In situations where there is no particular language which could serve the interests of all people, multilingualism can be seen as a resource rather than a problem in nation building.

According to the Language Plan Task Group report of August 1996, multilingualism can be a resource for communication; where members of a nation need to communicate with each other but not necessarily in one language. It is also a resource for democratization since there is a growing consensus among politicians that the democracy which is suitable for Africa is pluralistic democracy which ensures full participation of all citizens. Political stability can also be achieved through a pluralistic approach as it solves some conflicts which might be based on language. Multilingualism is also a resource for socio-economic development. It is through the use of different official languages that the country can achieve maximum utilization of its human capital. The greatest challenge to multilingualism is with finding practical ways of using the situation to attain the aspired goals and benefits.

Phaahla (2012) also focuses on South Africa as she studies language and identities as notions of citizenry. In her study, Phaahla (2012) raises issues such as language and identity being dynamic to the extent that individuals are able to make their own choices and empower themselves where there is a need. She seconds the view that identities are produced through social interactions and they are always open to challenge and re-negotiation. This dismisses the notion that identities are of a fixed nature. Therefore, socio-economic and political changes influence the continuous linguistic changes. Phaahla (2012) cites MacMillan (1998) who posits that language is a pre-requisite for the task of establishing an individual's place in society and has deep psychological significance for the individual members of a group. Language, thus, remains at the intersection of the individual, his/her cultural heritage and society.

One of the questions which Phaahla (2012) attempts to answer regards the issue of whether individual or group identity influences national identity. Does an individual belong first to a particular speech community then to the nation? Language is instrumental in nature as it is a tool used by the community. It is also

viewed as a marker of identity through its intrinsic value which has a cultural representation. At the same time, however, the instrumental nature of language makes it vulnerable to the manipulation of its usefulness.

One observation made by Phaahla (2012:128) is that:

Language is a prime contributor to the strengthening of allegiance to a target language group and to the subsequent adoption of its cultural beliefs, values and behaviours through activities and extensive interaction with speakers of the target language.

The language which people use marks their identity and users of language do so as people with social histories which are defined at some point by their memberships in social groups into which they are born such as gender, social class, religion and race. Individuals also present themselves to others through their choice of language or language variety. In that way, language becomes part of identity construction from both an individual and a collective perspective. Reality is also defined and interpreted through language and linguistic behaviour. In her findings, Phaahla (2012) subscribes to the view that identities are constructed, are continually changing and are moulded by a continually changing matrix of historical, cultural and social factors. In cases where certain languages exist even across borders, the ethnic identity becomes strongly affiliated with the neighbouring state. However, Phaahla (2012) unveils a different scenario for South Africa where nation building is handled differently due to the country's multiple official languages. She sees the diffusion of a single national language and culture as a serious impediment for the country's development to political maturity. As she concludes, she summarises that language is a carrier of social identity as it marks speakers as members of a particular group or speech community. Language has an irreducible, unique quality that marks it out as one of the 'primordial bonds' of group identity.

Ndhlovu (2008) views the multilingual nature of Zimbabwe as part of the norm which exists in Sub-Saharan Africa, yet the tendency has been to portray a bilingual picture of the country. In Zimbabwe, linguistic affiliation is always equated with tribe and issues of tribalism, ethnicity and linguistic diversity are not normally debated openly. Hence matters relating to linguistic pluralism and multiculturalism have been mystified and over politicised to a point where citizens believe that they should not be spoken about. Linguistic diversity and cultural pluralism are viewed in a negative light. In Ndhlovu's (2008:2) words;

...post colonial efforts at trying to avert perceived language-based political divisions have resulted in the so-called tribal balancing policies that have promoted Shona and Ndebele as the only national languages of Zimbabwe..... This has left the status of minority languages and their speakers at low ebb, since they have not been fully integrated into the national agenda

In Ndhlovu's (2008) work, languages such as Shona and Ndebele became languages of power and domination through print technology. Printing of such languages also created unified fields of communication. Furthermore, it gave a frozen form to language which was manifested through dictionaries and grammars while it created a sense of homogeneity as people use one common language. Encouraging

In a section of his article titled *Nationalism as an Ideology of Language Policy* Ndhlovu (2008) avers that while nationalism is the idea behind language policy in post-colonial Zimbabwe, there is an uneasy alliance between nationalism and multilingualism. He identifies intolerance as a culture that has given birth to the hegemonic language policy in Zimbabwe. However, Ndhlovu (2008) quickly acknowledges that there are no comprehensive language policy-related documents which spell out the policy relating to institutional and functional statuses of Zimbabwean languages. These documents include; *The 1987 Education Act* (Section 55 of part XI), *the 1990 National Cultural Policy of*

Zimbabwe, the 1997 position paper on Zimbabwe's language policy, the 1998 national Language Policy Advisory Panel Report, the 1990 Report on the Survey of the Teaching/Learning of minority languages in Zimbabwe and the 1999 Report of the Nziramasanga Commission of Enquiry in to Education and Training in Zimbabwe. The stipulations in some of these documents seem to mostly promote Shona and Ndebele in most of the key sectors of Zimbabwean life. This has led to the assimilation of minority groups into the hegemony of socio-politically powerful ethnic groups.

Ndhlovu (2008) also sees the question of English hegemony as irrelevant. He terms it the 'old and exhausted question of English hegemony' when he dismisses the necessity to refer to English as being hegemonic while continuously promoting Shona and Ndebele at the expense of minority languages. In light of the above, Ndhlovu (2008:8) proposes that, rather than nation building; Zimbabwe's efforts are more consistent with empire building where the languages of the political elite have to be spoken in every corner of the country. He also notes that 'the nexus of language and nation building in Zimbabwe is a complicated and multifaceted issue that interweaves processes of ethnic manipulation and exclusion'. Yet, on the other hand, nation building should be about inclusion, incorporation and managing diversity. Even when politicians talk they are uniting the Shona and Ndebele ethnic groups. This general belief derives from the fact that most Zimbabwean music is played in the two languages, poetry is recited in those languages and even the national anthem is in those two languages. Political leaders are seen as representing Mashonaland and Matabeleland. It is Ndhlovu's (2008) submission that 'the enterprise of fashioning new mental structures based on Shona/Ndebele linguistic norms has consequently ushered sentiments of stigmatising, downgrading, invalidating and excluding other language speakers from mainstream national activities'.

Hachipola (1998) carried out a survey which sought to identify the geographical extent of minority language communities and to document important issues pertaining to minority groups. Hachipola's (1998) survey is important to this study as he gives demographic information which has influenced many views and decisions on the language situation in Zimbabwe. He notes that although Zimbabwe is made up of many people with different ethnic identities, this fact is usually forgotten by the general population because the impression that has been created is that Zimbabwe has two categories of the African population, namely the Shona and Ndebele. He studies each language in detail taking into account the history and current trends surrounding the minority languages as well as their relationships with other languages. Of notable prominence is that, Hachipola (1998) condemns the non-use of minority languages in both electronic and print media. He also delves into the situation of these languages in the education system and notes that the languages could be taught but policy issues have become a hindrance. This idea can be extended to all other spheres where even national symbols, in this case the national anthem, also disregard the use of minority languages.

As the study concludes, Hachipola (1998) indicates that there are some minority languages that may become extinct in Zimbabwe. Among those there is Barwe (Chibarwe) and Tshwawo (Khoisan) which are now part of the officially recognised languages in Zimbabwe. One of the important recommendations made in Hachipola's (1998) study is that there is need to study the developments of minority languages in a historical dimension to discover how much they have departed from their Kinsmen in neighbouring countries. The researcher finds this recommendation worthy as it can be used in this study in order to unveil how the minority groups have historically consented to the hegemony exercised over them.

Gramsci's observation above on the connection between language and politics seems to be relevant in that the researcher is considering the national anthem which is also a political tool. Elevating the minority languages to official languages in Zimbabwe might then mean that the hegemony that has always existed should be re-organised in order to ensure full participation of all citizens in nation building. Hence, the national anthem as a political tool can be manipulated linguistically in order to fulfill new national needs.

Kuo's (1983) views on ethno-linguistic and cultural diversity are relevant to this study in the sense that Zimbabwe has taken a model which attempts to treat various ethnic groups on an equal footing. This has potential conflicts among people of the once marginalized groups as they may still feel inferior by being loyal to their ethnic communities. However, Kuo's conclusion is based on the belief that the spread of English for economic development could aid nation building. For this study, it is too early to conclude in the same manner as Kuo (1983) because the case of Zimbabwe is an African case unlike Kuo's and the idea of elevating African languages has dominated most language discussions in Africa.

The study appreciates the various complications and inconsistencies that are noted by Bamgbose (1991) in trying to build a nation through language. Zimbabwe has faced problems of tribalism which Bamgbose (1991) attributes to colonial legacy. At the same time, the elevation of sixteen languages to supposedly official status in Zimbabwe may present its own complications. Hence the study will dwell on the latent problems and opportunities presented by the current language stipulation in Zimbabwe's constitution.

Ndhlovu (2008) has dealt specifically with the case of Zimbabwe. This particular study benefits from Ndhlovu's ideas in terms of the situation prior to the promotion of sixteen languages to official status. These views point to a

protracted linguistic regime of Ndebele and Shona, which the researcher contends has now been theoretically changed through the 2013 constitution. The new constitution officially recognises sixteen languages. The implementation of this new provision will be part of the arguments to be raised in this study.

It is therefore the goal of the researcher in this study to investigate the treatment of minority languages in Zimbabwe in the wake of the 2013 constitution which has listed most of the minority languages as officially recognised. This treatment will be studied with regards to the presentation of national symbols, particularly the national anthem of Zimbabwe.

2.6 CITIZENSHIP AND NATIONHOOD

This section reviews literature which touches on issues of citizenship and nationhood in order to establish the relationship between the nation and citizenship. The position of language in this regard will also be exposed.

One researcher of note concerning matters of citizenship is Brubaker, who in his 1992 thesis discusses citizenship and nationhood in France and Germany. Brubaker (1992) avers that debates about citizenship are actually debates about nationhood. As an institutional and social psychological reality, the nation-state is seen as a distinctive way of organizing and experiencing political and social membership. It is also a way of characterizing and evaluating political and social membership. Brubaker (1992:7-9) provides a model which characterizes the membership of a nation-state. According to this model, six norms that determine membership in a nation are outlined as follows:

Egalitarian: There should be a status of full membership and no other. Basic and enduring gradations of membership status are inadmissible.

Sacred: Citizens must make sacrifices – etymologically perform “sacred acts” for the state. They must be prepared to die for it if need be. Profane attitudes toward

membership involving calculations of personal advantage are profoundly inappropriate.

Nation –membership should determine state membership. The political community should be simultaneously a cultural community, a community of language, mores and character.

Democratic: Full membership should carry with it significant participation in the business of rule.

Unique: Exhaustive and mutually exclusive, every person should belong to one state only.

Socially consequential: it should be expressed in a community of well-being. Membership should entail important privileges.

However, Brubaker's thesis handles the case of Germany where citizenry is defined in terms of a community of descent which restricts itself from non-German immigrants. Hence the above model is used by Brubaker (1992) to illustrate the situation which obtains in Germany. Brubaker (1992) also cites briefly the case of Sweden where he says national feeling and state institutions developed in tandem long before the age of nationalism. In Sweden, the sense of nationhood emerged in the course of political and military struggles against Denmark in the late 15th and 16th centuries. At that time, there were no sharp ethnic distinctions between Swedes and Danes. In these circumstances, national feeling was expressed in an attachment to political and institutional traditions, not ethnic or cultural distinctiveness. Another important point which is raised by Brubaker (1992) concerns the economic positions of immigrants. He postulates that popular motifs in France and Germany present immigrants in dirty, dangerous, unpleasant, ill-paid and menial occupations. This in turn affects the political status of immigrants as both political objects and subjects. To Brubaker (1992:31)

‘what really matters as a determinant of life chances is Immigrants’ social economic and cultural marginalization determined by their weak position in the labour and housing markets and the educational systems, a position affected by their social status as ethno cultural minorities’.

The researcher realises that Brubaker has referred to stereotypes in his observation. Stereotypes are a reality which exists among people of different cultures and even languages. Usually, minorities are stereotyped and this presents problems when trying to involve them in nation building.

Helbling (2008) has a study which considers communities in Switzerland. He describes citizenship as having to do with symbolic and emotional aspects of full membership in a nation-state. Thus, in the entire history of human kind, people have organized themselves in cultural groups and excluded those who were not considered to belong to them. However, Helbling (2008) also reminds us that conceptions of citizenship take different forms within a nation-state and change overtime. This means that culturalist approaches to citizenship will imply a homogenous and static citizenship. This becomes a dangerous approach in the sense that it does not allow for changes over time and tends to exclude individuals who are willing to be part of the citizens in the nation-state. Helbling (2008) proposes that if we are to understand nationalism and citizenship politics, there is need to demonstrate how a dominant view emerges within a group and how the process depends on material aspects and how they are influenced by power structures.

Helbling (2008) subscribes to a definition which describes citizenship as referring to a relation between governmental agents and whole categories of persons identified uniquely by their connection with the government in question. The relation between government and its subject population can be considered as a contract involving transactions that cluster around mutual rights and obligations and drawing visible lines between insiders and outsiders. However, such a

contract is never completely specified and Helbling (2008: 27) postulates that ‘it might vary in range, depend on unstated assumptions about context, be modified by practice and be constrained by collective memory’. In this case the definition of citizenship provided above allows for a multicultural approach to citizenship where citizens are not selected primarily on their economic or kinship status but on the basis of cultural categories that are considered as a crucial part of the nation. Hence, national citizenship is closely related to nationalism.

Nationality is understood as an attribute of the individual, and because this attribute is the same for everyone, nationality makes all individuals potentially equal and consequently seems to erase structural inequalities (Helbling 2008:38). Another argument posed by Helbling (2008) is that the most commonly used categories of nationalism or citizenship such as ‘civic –territorial’ and ‘ethnic’ are based on political discourses. This, in effect, means that the categories are ideologically laden and analytically ambiguous. Therefore, Helbling (2008) suggests a consideration of Weber’s (1978) idea of open and closed relationships. A social relationship is defined as ‘open’ to outsiders if participation in the mutually oriented social action is not denied to anyone who wishes to participate and who is actually in a position to do so. On the other hand, a relationship is ‘closed’ for outsiders if participation of certain persons is excluded, limited or subjected to conditions. Helbling (2008) is for the idea that the practice of citizenship is constrained by collective memory and depends on unstated assumptions. This implies that what people do in their daily lives should not be taken for granted but it should account for the wider patterns of social life which are located in a social space and shaped by social relations.

Buck (1961) dwells on issues of language and the sentiment of nationality. His stance is that contrary to the impression that nationality is something fixed and capable of exact definition; it is rather a product of historical development. As a product of historical development, linguistic descent is one of the most prominent

and demonstratable indications of national descent. In this way Buck (1961) claims that language is the most important factor in determining a nation. However Buck is quick to emphasise that language is not a universal criterion in determining nationality. He gives an example of Switzerland where the inhabitants do not regard themselves as Germans or French but Swiss due to a certain 'like-mindedness' that has been created by the socio-political environment in which they exist. Centuries of common history have created a sentiment of common nationality in spite of the difference in speech. Nevertheless, Buck (1961) presents European cases where questions of language rights have held the first place in national propaganda and have been the occasion of political upheaval, riot and revolution. Language and literature were used effectively in awakening national consciousness. European nationalities are, therefore, essentially language groups and especially for those in Eastern Europe which cannot be defined in political or geographical terms. Examples such as Rome whose political expansion was achieved through spreading its language are outlined. In the example of Rome, wherever its 'domination was complete and long continued the intensiveness of its organization inevitably resulted in the adoption of Latin and the extinction of the native languages' (Buck, 1961:50).

Piller (2001) discusses language naturalization as a basis in the ideologies of identity and citizenship. He avers that national belonging is a central facet of modern social identities. In Europe nation-building often went hand in hand with linguistic nationalism where nations were founded on the principle of 'one language, one nation' However, Piller (2001) also goes on to say that nations are not only imagined communities but they also embody exclusionary historical and institutional practices to which access is restricted through citizenship. In this regard, in as much as language may be the central constituent in the formation of a nation and national identity, nations may be built on other unifying myths than the one of a common language. Piller (2001:261) gives an example of the

European Union where the identity of the union is built on four ideologies which are:

- The idea of a common culture which is not pictured as unity but as a family of related cultures with a long history of exchanges and cross –fertilisation.
- The idea of common values resulting from a common heritage and shared memories.
- The political project to build peace after war and to prevent Europeans from ever waging war against each other.
- European identity is an economic identity which is driven by the search for economic modernization and prosperity under democratic governance.

Piller (2001) dismisses the view of national identities as essential and monolithic. He subscribes to the view that national identities are relational, cultural, historical and contingent. They are relational because identities are located in connections among individuals and groups rather than in the minds of particular persons or of whole populations. Identities are cultural because they rest on shared understandings and their representations. The historical nature of social identities lies in that memories, understandings and means of action are path-dependent. Social identities are contingent as they depend on various factors that interlink. This means that national identities cannot be understood independent of citizenship politics as national ideologies provide legitimation for citizenship. The researcher sees this view of social identities resembling a conglomeration of factors as useful to this study because the investigation of Zimbabwe as a nation necessitates a glimpse into the history, cultures and relations that exist among communities.

Brubaker's (1992) model which shows six norms that determine membership in a nation provides an idealistic scenario where citizens are expected to be culturally singular in order to form a nation-state whereas it is difficult to find a culturally homogenous nation or state. Emphasis seems to be on the exclusion of

those who do not belong to the dominant culture in the formation of the nation-state. In this regard the researcher will agree with Brubaker that the model of membership such as the above is strikingly out of phase with contemporary realities of state membership. For instance the case of Zimbabwe which this particular study is concerned with, presents a scenario of a multicultural community which is under the state and is attempting to be a nation. In Brubaker's (1992) presentation of Sweden's experience the researcher notes a similarity between the Swedish case and Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe is a multi-ethnic and multicultural society where nationhood is mainly linked to political and institutional traditions. However, issues of linguistic differences present challenges in Zimbabwe as far as that political participation and institutionalization of minority traditions is concerned.

Helbling (2008) points out that nationality makes all individuals potentially equal because of it being an individual attribute. This idea is important to this study because the researcher investigates the structural inequalities and how they affect nation building. It would be interesting to note whether these inequalities can be erased or not in society. In line with Weber's (1978) idea of open and closed relationships as proposed by Helbling (2008), this study will explore the nature of the nation in Zimbabwe where the participation of individuals in singing the national anthem may denote openness in the national relationship while the languages used in singing the same may point otherwise. At this juncture, it also becomes important for the researcher to point out that it is crucial to consider the attitudes of individuals for the understanding of nations.

The researcher concurs with Buck (1961) regarding a common history overriding speech or linguistic differences. In most African nations, people disregard these linguistic differences and forge ahead as nations. This may be due to the fact that nations are mostly built on political discourses. Concerning Buck's (1961) example of Rome which created its nation through spreading Latin, The

researcher feels that this type of nation building is imperialist in approach where one language is imposed on the community to the detriment of indigenous languages. It becomes imperative for citizens to be fluent in the dominant language in order to fit within the nation. Hence, the researcher concludes that such a nation is 'closed' in nature as there are conditions of participation.

Piller's (2001) ideologies of the European Union do not place emphasis on the issue of language yet the results of nation building are positive in the particular states. The researcher therefore is of the opinion that it is difficult to draw linguistic lines among members of a nation but this calls for an understanding of how language can be a resource that binds a nation of different characteristics together.

2.7 LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY AND MULTILINGUALISM

This study is given impetus by the existence and official recognition of many languages within the Zimbabwean set up. It is therefore prudent to review literature which discusses issues of multilingualism and linguistic diversity as these notions have an impact on nation building.

According to the European commission report of 2002, multilingualism is the ability of societies, institutions, groups and individuals to engage, on a regular basis, with more than one language in their day to day lives. This points to the fact that multilingualism is both an individual and a social phenomenon. Hence, multilingualism can be celebrated in society by acknowledging the multiplicity of languages as a resource rather than a problem. The European Commission (2005:2) comments on multilingualism and linguistic diversity in the following manner:

It is this diversity that makes the European Union what it is: not a 'melting pot' in which differences are rendered down, but a common home in which

diversity is celebrated, and where our many mother tongues are a source of wealth and a bridge to greater solidarity and mutual understanding.

Latin (1992) provides an analysis which demonstrates that language rationalization in multilingual settings will not be the typical pattern of African national development. He argues that for most of Africa the multilingual state will be the norm characterized by distinct parameters caused by the particular constraints of building a post-colonial state in the 20th century. Latin (1992) uses the game theory in order to analyse the trends of language use and the forces that influence language outcomes in Africa. In his game analysis, Latin (1992) points to a future equilibrium for many African states. He calls the equilibrium a 3+1 language outcome. This is where the interest will be in the elevation of indigenous languages. The 3+/-1 language outcome suggests that African citizens are envisaged to have a repertoire of 2 to 4 languages in order for them to participate fully in the nation. The researcher finds the issue of language repertoires interesting because it unveils the types of relationships between indigenous languages where some are seen as more advantageous than others. Latin (1992:5) defines these language repertoires as:

....the set of languages that a citizen must know in order to take advantage of a wide range of mobility opportunities in his or her own country.

Hence, the language repertoire of an entire citizenry consists in the set of languages that the model citizen must know in order to play an active role in family, society, economy and polity. In examining repertoires, Latin (1992) suggests that this enables us to see the overlapping use of different languages by the same people in the different social contexts. To the researcher, this points to the fact that language is not merely for communication but it enables one to play certain roles in society. Hence multilingualism should be viewed as a norm rather than an exceptional case.

Latin (1992) also discusses language repertoires as political outcomes. The aspect of nation building is highlighted in terms of the attempt by states to influence language repertoires of the citizens. Most countries in Africa are multilingual and Latin (1992) observes that African languages appear to be reproducing themselves over generations. This is contrary to the world trend observed by researchers like Laponce (1987) who shows that the number of living languages in the world is precipitously declining while the world trend may be that of a reduction in the number of living languages, Africa is apparently contradicting that trend. One question that arises regards what the language patterns in Africa mean for democracy, equality, economic growth and cultural autonomy. Such questions are viewed as interrogating whether indigenous languages in Africa can have an official voice. According to the research conducted by Latin (1992) African politicians have also raised such a concern. In his study, Latin (1992) reveals that politicians and intellectuals in Africa have ambivalent positions when it comes to language. At times, they speak as champions of their mother tongues arguing that each of the languages of Africa reveals and preserves Africa's rich cultural heritage. Yet at other times, these same intellectuals passionately advocate a politics in which each country chooses a single indigenous language as the official language of the state (Latin 1992). What this means is that a state's language policy is a product of the language repertoires of its citizens. It is therefore important to analyse the forces leading to the adoption of those repertoires.

Governments want to have some say in the language chosen for official purposes but at the same time, citizens have their own agendas. With such a situation in mind, the researcher observes that the process of nation building alters the language repertoires of the citizens. According to Latin (1992) when rulers have established power over several territorially distinct speech communities, they are easily able to induce some members of these communities to become at least

bilingual so as to translate documents from the language of the speech community to that of the ruler. More and more members of the newly incorporated speech community will find it useful to learn the language of the ruling elite. This reminds the researcher of linguistic hegemony which is a situation where a particular language dominates over others yet without repressive force. Citizens find it sensible to learn the dominant language without questioning the status of their own languages.

Hornberger (2002) studied multilingual language policies which recognize ethnic and linguistic pluralism as resources for nation building. The example considered in Hornberger's study is that of post-apartheid South Africa which introduced a transformative policy in 1993. The policy embraces language as a basic human right and multilingualism as a national resource. However, Hornberger (2002) notes that to construct a national identity that is multilingual and multicultural constitutes ideological paradoxes which are a challenge to implement. Multilingual language policies essentially entail opening up ideological and implementational space in the environment for as many languages as possible. In particular they promote endangered languages to flourish rather than disappear.

Nonetheless, Hornberger mentions that in implementing multilingual language policies, there are challenges of confronting community attitudes which favour the language of power in the society. An example given is one study by Banda (2000) who explores the paradox whereby black and coloured parents in South Africa increasingly demand English medium instruction in schools even while academics and researchers agree that English medium instruction is largely responsible for the general lack of academic skills and intellectual growth among blacks at high school and tertiary levels (Banda 2000:51 in Hornberger 2002). The above example shows that the inheritance of a language of power creates a deep suspicion of the less powerful languages. This breeds a situation where multilingual language policies become difficult to implement.

Concerning the definition of linguistic diversity by the European Union, the researcher is interested in the point of languages as a bridge to greater solidarity and mutual understanding. Feelings of solidarity in this study are associated with the concept of the nation and the question lies in whether linguistic diversity promotes nation –building or it becomes a problem in the process. Multilingualism can be seen as a problem when one considers issues of identity.

Gorter et al (2012) bring the issue of the impression of monolingualism in many countries. The researcher also notes a similar problem in Zimbabwe which has been echoed by Ndhlovu (2008) as well where Shona and Ndebele have been made the only languages that exist in the country. Furthermore, the history and political movements have been the main cause of Zimbabwe’s linguistic make-up and as such, the vitality of most of the languages has been affected, especially in the status variables.

Bayiga’s (2016) study is important to the present study because she brings out some realistic conclusions about relations between languages in a multilingual set up. The researcher here may borrow from Orwell and say, all languages are equal but some are more equal than others. Bayiga’s views will help the researcher in unravelling Zimbabwe’s linguistic endeavours as far as nation building is concerned.

Broeder et al (n/d) also emphasise the difficulty in maintaining multilingual language policies. The researcher is interested in how attitudes may derail the process of nation building in a multilingual society. Although financial support might be unavailable, the willingness of the powers that be together with the concerned communities should matter in the acceptance of multilingualism.

Hornberger (2002) notes that multilingual language policies promote endangered languages to flourish rather than to disappear. In this regard, the researcher observes that the language policy of Zimbabwe also embraces minority languages

in an effort to promote their wider use. However, implementation seems to be difficult to fulfill in some sectors of which the reasons for that will be accessed from the data to be collected in the study.

2.8 THE LINGUISTIC HISTORY OF ZIMBABWE

This subsection gives a history of the languages that are spoken in Zimbabwe. For a better understanding of the history and current situation of Zimbabwe's minority languages, below is a linguistic map showing the locations and concentrations of the minority linguistic groups in Zimbabwe.

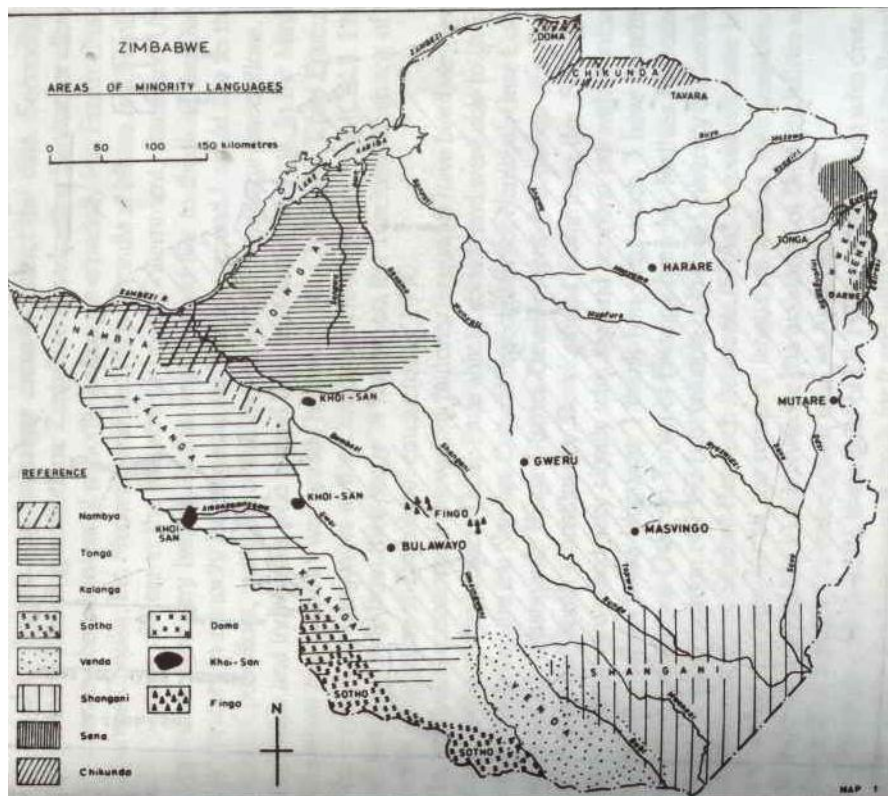


Fig 1. Map showing areas of minority languages in Zimbabwe

Hachipola (1998) gives an outline of the historical information concerning minority languages in Zimbabwe. The same history is also outlined by

Mumpande (2006). Below is the historical account of Zimbabwe's previously marginalised linguistic groups as chronicled by Hachipola (1998).

Chewa

The Chewa people left their home (Nyasaland) for mostly social and economic reasons. According to the Report of the Committee of 1935, people of the Nyasaland were naturally ambitious and liked to travel that is why they are found in Zimbabwe and other countries in the region. As early as 1909 Southern Rhodesia started recruiting labour from Nyasaland to work in plantations, commercial farms and mines. This is because migrants from Nyasaland were intelligent and educated, at the same time wages in Nyasaland were lower than in Southern Rhodesia. Hence the Chewa are found in various locations in Zimbabwe where there has been need to employ a large workforce of skilled or semi-skilled labour in the colonial era. Schools around mining areas taught Chewa as it had become an important lingua franca at that time. Local people were not involved in mining activities hence mining areas became dominated by the Chewa. However Chewa was later removed from the school syllabus and replaced by local languages. Even though the Chewa have managed to maintain their language up to this era, they have not isolated themselves from their host communities. They have also learned to speak the languages of their hosts. However, one major problem recorded by Hachipola (1998) is that the younger generations of the Chewa people are not interested in speaking their language anymore. They adopt the major language of the province where they find themselves. Some have even adopted Shona or Ndebele names because they are embarrassed to be identified as Malawian.

Chibarwe

This is the language which is mainly spoken in Mozambique in Barwe province. The speakers of Chibarwe are very few in Zimbabwe and they are mainly found

along the Zimbabwe-Mozambique boarder in Nyanga district. The Barwe found in Zimbabwe came as a result of escaping from the Portuguese in Mozambique. Chibarwe has never been taught in schools in Zimbabwe even in the areas where it is spoken. The Barwe also tend to adopt the language of the community into which they moved. The language that all the Barwe are functional in is Manyika, which is a dialect of standard Shona.

Kalanga

Hachipola (1998) records that Kalanga is spoken mainly in Bulilima and Mangwe districts in Matabeleland South. It is also found in Nyamandlovu, Kezi, Matobo and Tsholotsho districts. Outside Zimbabwe the Kalanga are found in Botswana from the boarder with Zimbabwe up to Francistown. In Botswana, Kalanga is treated as a significant ‘minority’ language. Ndebele plays an important role in the lives of the people of Bulilima and Mangwe districts. Particularly because Bulilima and Mangwe are in Matabeleland where Ndebele is the major language, the Kalanga people have to learn to speak Ndebele and those who are at school have learned how to read and write the language. However, the Ndebele people who live among the Kalanga do not have to learn Kalanga.

Nambya

Nambya is spoken mainly in Hwange District which is in Matabeleland North province. Hachipola (1998) avails that when Wankie Coal Mine was opened in 1902, only foreigners from Malawi and Zambia came to work there. Although Nambya was the local language in the area, it got dominated by Chewa because the Chewa people were more educated than the Nambya and they constituted most of the human resources at that time. The language of instruction in schools and communication in all other sectors became Chewa. This sowed the seeds of undermining the Nambya language. By the time the Nambya people started to

assert themselves, other languages had already been established. Chewa had also lost its prestige and was eventually replaced by Ndebele.

Ndau

At the time Hachipola carried out his research, Ndau was classified as a dialect of Shona. However Ndau seemed not to be close to the other three Shona dialects (Zezuru, Karanga and Manyika). By 1998 Hachipola (1998) noted that ‘pressure is mounting in Ndau areas to have Shona replaced with Ndauhave been calling upon the government to give Ndau the minority language status just like Kalanga (Hachipola, 1998:2-3). The current situation is that now Ndau has been included in the officially recognized languages of Zimbabwe through a constitutional provision of 2013.

Shangani

Hachipola (1988) observes that the Shangani are a community which is spread in four countries in Southern Africa; namely Zimbabwe, Mozambique, South Africa and to a lesser extent, Swaziland. In Zimbabwe, the Shangani are predominantly found in Chiredzi district of Masvingo province. The Shangani came to Zimbabwe as followers of Soshangana, one of Zwide’s military leaders who was Tsonga. His followers came to be known as Shangani. Attempts to teach Shangani in Chiredzi district have faced setbacks due to the unavailability of qualified teachers to teach Shangani. Lack of interest is also a contributing factor as the language has been handled like an extra-curricular activity in schools. This, to the researcher points to the attitudes that stakeholders have towards Shangani as a language.

Sotho

Sotho is spoken mainly in Gwanda district in South -western Zimbabwe. The Sotho people came to Zimbabwe from Lesotho and the Transvaal province of South Africa. They came with Mzilikazi who used them as porters and fighters as he was running away from Shaka. Sotho was actively taught in schools in Gwanda district during the colonial days in various missionary-run schools. However it remains unclear why Sotho was phased out of the school system. Because the Sotho community is found in a province in which Ndebele is a dominant language, many Sotho speakers are either bilingual or have totally shifted their linguistic allegiance to Ndebele.

Tonga

The Tonga people in Zimbabwe are found in Binga district. However there are other areas where the Tonga have spread to. Some Tonga people are found in Kariba, Hwange and others are in Gokwe. Linguistically, the Tonga of Zimbabwe are one and the same with those found in Zambia. Due to the fact that most Tonga are found in Binga district, Binga was given the mandate to teach Tonga in its schools. In the colonial days Tonga teachers came from Zambia together with the material used in teaching. Tonga was gradually phased out when there were problems concerning the recruitment of teachers from Zambia. This was after Zambia had gained its independence; Rhodesia had declared the unilateral Declaration of independence and borders between the two countries were closed. Ndebele then took over and replaced Tonga in schools with other schools even teaching Shona.

Tswana

Tswana people are found in Bulilima district in Matabeleland South province. The largest concentration of the Tswana is in the area called Mpoengs. This is the area along the Botswana-Zimbabwe boarder. The Tswana in Zimbabwe are said to have come into Zimbabwe during the time that Mzilikazi was fleeing

northwards from South Africa. On his way, he brought with him all the people he found in the northern Transvaal. The area in which the Tswana are found is largely a Kalanga speaking area. Hence the Tswana learn Kalanga for their day to day functions. However the most functional language for the Tswana people in this area is Ndebele. Hence most of them end up being trilingual. Tswana has never been taught in schools in Zimbabwe.

Venda

In Zimbabwe, the Venda people are found in the Southern part of the country, in Beitbridge district. The Venda are said to be an offshoot of the Lemba people who came from South Africa in groups. Beitbridge district is one area in which the linguistic situation is quite complex. The two dominant local languages that are Ndebele and Shona are widely spoken in some areas of the district. Ndebele is the dominant language of Matabeleland South Province where Beitbridge is situated. At the same time, Shona communities share a boundary with Beitbridge district on the north-eastern part. Hence, some Venda people come under the influence of Shona while others are influenced by Ndebele.

Xhosa

The Xhosa people in Zimbabwe are generally known as Amafengu. The Xhosa were brought into Zimbabwe by Cecil John Rhodes when he moved from Cape Town to Bulawayo. He had employed the Xhosa as his workers. Rhodes allocated the Xhosa some land in Mbembesi area where they mingled with Ndebele communities. Most Xhosa people speak Ndebele in addition to their language because Xhosa has never been taught at schools.

Khoisan

The Khoisan people are found mainly in the Tsholotsho district of Matabeleland North province. These are a nomadic type of people whose life depends on

gathering food and hunting animals. They claim to be related to the Basarwa of Botswana. The Khoisan in Zimbabwe constitute a very small community. Through the years, the Khoisan have adopted other languages spoken in Tsholotsho that is Kalanga and Ndebele. Non-Khoisan people look down upon the language and as a result members of the Khoisan community do not want to speak their language.

2.9 SUMMARY

This chapter has presented the theoretical framework that undergirds the study. It has also reviewed literature from different scholars who have studied national anthems and issues of language and nation building. Many perspectives have come to the fore which has created a better understanding of national anthems and how language contributes to the building of a nation. What can be summarily said is that national anthems express the nation, they are a political tool, they may change to suit the incumbent regime and they are meaningful whether as history or propaganda. On the other hand, language is an important aspect of society which can also be manipulated to fulfill elitist ambitions. In the same manner as national anthems, language can hold a people together, it can even separate them. The identity which is formed by belonging to a particular linguistic community can positively contribute to nation building. Hence, in this chapter, language and the national anthem intersect at the point of nation building where the language(s) used to present or express the national anthem in Zimbabwe have a bearing on the efforts towards nation building. Hence, the various points established in the review reveal the extent to which the different approaches to nation building may apply in the contemporary societies. At the same time, Bourdieu's theory of practice provides the ground for analyzing the trends in language practices where different situations and attitudes ensue. The next chapter explains the research design and methodology and also presents the data gathered through questionnaires and interviews.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter the theoretical underpinnings of the study were discussed. The concept of the nation was discussed from its three schools of thought which are primordialist, the constructivist and the modernist approaches. The vertical and horizontal dimensions of nation building were also highlighted. It was established that the modernist approach attempts to bring together ideas from the primordialist/essentialist and constructivist approaches, especially by the powerful groups in society while the vertical and horizontal approaches take the feelings of the population into cognizance. Bourdieu's theory of practice was also discussed and it emerged that society is not equal but rather, there are elements which determine the various positions that different groups of people occupy in the social space. A review of literature related to this study was also undertaken. The major point was that multilingualism can either be a resource or a problem

in the building of nations. At the same time it was stated that national anthems are political tools which attempt to build the nation using languages chosen by the authorities. In this chapter, the researcher explores the research design, the research method and instruments to be used when conducting the research. It explains how the research will be carried out by outlining the procedures to be used in the collection of data from the different linguistic communities under study. Data that has been collected using the different methods is also presented in form of tables in this chapter.

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

A research design is central to every study. According to Rugg and Petre (2007), a good research design enables one to achieve more and better results because it allows for a systematic way of finding out things as opposed to treasure hunting. This means that, the research design involves a whole outline of methodologies and philosophies that guide the study in the process of collecting data (Creswell 2008). Hence, the research design provides an overall framework which guides the selection of data collection procedures. This study will use a qualitative research design since it deals with human experiences and opinions. The qualitative design allows for the interpretation of human behaviour and human relations in given settings in order to bring out meaning. According to Strauss and Corbin (1998), qualitative design makes use of methods that can be used to obtain the intricate details about phenomena such as feelings, thought processes and emotions. The qualitative approach has its roots in social sciences where it is concerned with understanding why people behave as they do, their knowledge, attitudes, beliefs and fears (Chiromo, 2009). This study investigates the state of nation building in Zimbabwe from the perspective of language use in the national anthem which different language groups sing in languages that are not their own. Hence, their feelings of belonging to the nation and attitudes towards their own languages and dominant ones are assessed through qualitative research. The next

section discusses the research paradigm, which in other words is the philosophy that informs this research.

3.2.1 Research Paradigm

There are a number of research paradigms that can guide qualitative research. According to Grbich (2007), they include positivism, interpretivism and post modernism. The interpretive paradigm is the most commonly used in qualitative research. It entails that knowledge is constructed jointly in interaction by the researcher and the participants through consensus. It acknowledges that reality is fluid and knowledge changes. The study will adopt the interpretive paradigm since the elements in the study constitute knowledge and human opinions. According to Blanche et al (2006), interpretivism is about understanding phenomena in context. It uses mental processes of interpretation which allows researchers to understand phenomena and the meanings attached to it. The important role of the researcher therefore is not only to read actions and meanings but to interpret them as well as to attach meaning to the actions, words and observed phenomena. Blanche et al (2006) proceed to say that the interpretivist paradigm deals with the understanding of different factors at play in a qualitative context. They point out that in the interpretivist paradigm, the understanding of the communicative intentions and the understanding of knowledge of the socio-historical and linguistic content are important. These enable the researcher to understand the context in which meanings are derived. Gephart (1999) notes that the assumptions of the interpretivist paradigm are that research is based on the intersubjective world which science can represent with the concept of actors, and that it should be based on the social construction of reality. In terms of focus, the interpretive paradigm focuses on meanings and the patterns that are derived from the meanings. It is from these patterns that a qualitative researcher is able to interpret words and meanings to arrive at conclusions. Based on this focus, the goal of the interpretivist paradigm is to describe meanings, understand members

and examine how objective realities are produced. Saunders et al (2006) posit that interpretivism is an epistemology that advocates the necessity of the researcher understanding the differences between humans in their role as social actors. It emphasises the issue of conducting research among people as subjects rather than objects. Along the same lines, Schwandt (2000) notes that the interpretive paradigm deals with meanings that constitute the action. He further argues that there are differences as to how actions are interpreted but what stands out is that interpretivism stresses the role of actors.

The interpretive paradigm is chosen for this study because it allows the researcher to penetrate issues of language, nation building and the national anthem through the use of data from the social actors whose opinions and consequent experiences generate meaning and conclusions for the study.

3.2.2 The Case Study

Qualitative research sheds more light on phenomena by studying in depth a single case phenomenon. According to Creswell (1994:12), ‘in a case study, a single person, program, event, process, institution, organisation, social group or phenomenon is investigated within a specified time frame, using a combination of appropriate data collection devices’. This entails that a case study is particularly concerned with developing a deep analysis of a distinct situation. This study is concerned with Zimbabwe’s national anthem and how its rendition may be affected by the 2013 Constitution of Zimbabwe whose founding provision number six (6) officially recognizes sixteen languages. This case of the national anthem is appraised in relation to the ideas of nation building which the Zimbabwean constitution attempts to address through the language provision.

3.3 TARGET POPULATION AND SAMPLING

According to Flick (2006), sampling is connected to the decision about which persons the researcher will obtain data from and from which groups they should

come. What this implies is that in any research, data cannot be collected from everyone who surrounds the researcher but the collection is guided by the topic of research and the specific demands from the study which arises from the research questions. The group of individuals which researchers are interested in for the collection of data is known as the target population. According to Burns and Grove (1997:236) a target population is 'the entire aggregation of respondents that meet the designated criteria'. The target population may also have varying characteristics which are determined by the sampling methods. In this particular study, the target population, from which samples were drawn, basically includes speakers of former marginalized languages in Zimbabwe, university academics who major in the field of languages and those who are conversant with issues of nation building. The speakers of former marginalized languages are important for this study because they are the ones who are affected by the exclusion which exists in the current rendition of the national anthem. Hence, their feelings and attitudes need to be extracted through interaction with them. However, the researcher chose to limit the scope of the study to four linguistic groups in Matabeleland provinces. Data was drawn from among the Kalanga and Sotho communities in Matabeleland South Province and the Tonga and Nambya communities in Matabeleland North Province. This choice was guided by the fact that most marginalized languages in Zimbabwe are found in the Matabeleland province and these particular groups have been at the forefront in the fight for the recognition of their languages. University academics are relevant in so far as they have knowledge on the sociolinguistic trends in Zimbabwe and how these trends can possibly affect or contribute to nation building.

A sample gives the plan or criterion for choosing the subjects of the study (Blaxter et al 2001). Thus, sampling is critical in the creation of a representative part of the population. Through sampling, parameters are determined in terms of

characteristics of the whole population. There are a number of sampling techniques which researchers can use. For this particular study, the researcher used purposive sampling which is a non-probability sampling technique. The basic idea in purposive sampling is that who a person is and where that person is located within a group is important. The researcher uses his/her own judgement to select the sample based on research goals. Purposive sampling allows one to choose participants who illustrate some feature or process in which the study is interested. According to Denzin and Lincoln (1994), researchers seek out groups, settings and individuals where the processes being studied are most likely to occur. Two sub-types of purposive sampling were used in the study and these are stakeholder sampling and expert sampling. These sub-types were used in the selection of groups of participants in this study as they have vital information which is relevant to the study. According to Palys (2008), stakeholder sampling is particularly useful in evaluation research and policy analysis. The strategy involves identifying the major stakeholders who may otherwise be affected by a program or service being evaluated. In this study, stakeholder sampling was used to identify participants from among speakers of former marginalised languages in Zimbabwe as they are the major stakeholders in the 2013 constitution's language stipulation.

Expert sampling is where one draws a sample from experts in the field one is studying. It is used when a researcher needs the opinions or assessment of people with a high degree of knowledge about the study area. Another reason for using expert sampling is to validate information from other sampling methods. Hence, this study engaged Zimbabwean academic experts in the area of language and nation building in order to validate information from the stakeholders, who in this case are the speakers of former marginalised languages.

3.4 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF THE STUDY

Since the study was conducted with people and the information sought could be deemed sensitive, it demanded responsible behaviour on the part of the researcher and that of the participants (Deacon et al 1993). Therefore, taking part in the study was voluntary. The participants signed a consent form to give consent to participate. According to Baker (1999), informed consent...

‘... is achieved if the subject knows what the study is, understands his/her level of confidentiality in the study, comprehends the objectives of the study and agrees to co-operate’

In this way, invasion of privacy is avoided and coercion is also excluded. The researcher explained the study to the participants in a comprehensible manner. In addition, the matter under discussion in this study (national anthem) is of national and government concern hence this requires full disclosure of the findings. The researcher has to be trustworthy enough to expose all findings of the study. Since the study will overallly be a desk top research that will involve minimal human participants, no foreseeable physical discomfort, inconvenience and harm will be experienced by human participants. Works by other authors used in any part of the study will be acknowledged. The highest level of objectivity in discussions and analysis will be maintained throughout the study.

All aspects of the study will be open for inspection and understanding of others through the University of South Africa’s Institutional Repository once the study is successfully completed.

3.5 DATA COLLECTION TOOLS

Data collection tools are ways of eliciting data from the informants. In this study, the tools of data collection that are going to be used are the interviews and questionnaires. Below is a description of these tools and how they were used in the study.

3.5.1 Interviews

This study adopts interviews as guided by Mason's (1996:24) view of qualitative interviews that:

The term qualitative interviewing is usually intended to refer to in-depth, semi-structured or loosely structured forms of interviewing...

Therefore, this study used semi-structured interviews. A semi-structured interview is one in which questions are open ended and give the participants room to provide details about the subject of research. According to Samkange (2012) the use of open ended questions allows for the exploration of ideas and further probing. In a semi-structured interview, questions that are not on the list may come up as a result of the response given by an interviewee. Hence, the semi-structured interview contains probing questions which help the researcher in eliciting more information from the participants. Semi-structured interviews also take place and flow like a natural conversation as they provide interactional exchange of dialogue either face to face or telephonically. They extract more information because they allow the interviewer and the interviewee to develop unexpected themes in the course of the conversation. Interviews were necessary for this study in the sense that information comes from the people and the interview environment helped the interviewee to give the appropriate information. The population for the interviews includes members of the former marginalized groups who are actively involved in language issues. Most of the marginalized languages in Zimbabwe have associations that represent them in various forums; hence two members from each of these active associations were targeted for interviews, making it a total of eight language activists. These were met together at once in a focus group interview. Also, five university academics were interviewed individually for their deep knowledge on language issues and nation building. Some of the academics are also advocates in the area of

multilingualism and language revitalization. Their views were considered as relevant especially in explicating the constitutional clause on languages in Zimbabwe.

However, the modes that were used in interviewing the participants include focus group interviews and face to face interviews for those who could be physically reached by the researcher upon appointment and telephone interviews for those who were not easily reachable physically. The interviews were recorded for the purpose of closer analysis at a later stage while the interview guide will be attached as part of the appendices at the end of the study. Below is a table showing the interviewee profiles.

Table 3.1 Interviewee Profiles

Target Group	Number
Academics	5
Language activists (Kalanga)	2
Language activists (Nambya)	2
Language activists (Sotho)	2
Language activists (Tonga)	2
Total	13

3.5.2 Questionnaires

Questionnaires comprise of a list of questions which are written down on paper for the respondents to fill in their answers on the same document (Rugg and Petre 2007). The most prominent characteristic of questionnaires is that they cover a larger population in a shorter space of time. At the same time, respondents have the liberty of answering the questions at their own time and without fear of being known who they are, hence potentially sensitive questions have a fair chance of getting a true response (Chiromo 2009). The questionnaire is relatively economic in both cost and time. Questionnaires can be open-ended or close-ended. For the purpose of this study, the open-ended questions did not put a parameter on the respondents. This means that the respondents could say anything they feel is appropriate for the research. They had the liberty to give detail to their response, thus bringing in distinctive and new responses. In fact, the open ended questionnaire is more appropriate for qualitative research where detailed responses are the basis of arriving at conclusions. The recipients of the questionnaires were eighty people among the general population of the marginalized speech communities, with equal distribution of twenty in each of the four targeted language groups. The study enlisted the services of research assistants in distributing the questionnaires to the relevant communities. The general members were given questionnaires because attempting to interview them would take a long period of time as their geographical locations are so much apart. Questionnaires have the strength of being a tool that people can relate with due to the anonymity of respondents. Below is a table which shows the targeted language groups, their locations within Zimbabwe, and the number of questionnaires allocated to each location.

Table 3.2 Distribution of questionnaires

Target Group	Location	Number of Questionnaires Distributed
Kalanga	Plumtree	20
Sotho	Gwanda	20
Tonga	Binga	20
Nambya	Hwange	20
	Total	80

3.6 RESPONSES FROM QUESTIONNAIRES

The questionnaire responses were generated from respondents with no specific classification other than belonging to the particular linguistic group. Hence some discrepancies in the understanding of language issues and the expression of the national anthem will be noted. Professional qualifications were not required by the study in order to give respondents latitude to engage in their different capacities since the subject of the study impacts on people of all walks of life in their ordinary capacities. The table below shows the response rates of the questionnaires.

Table 3.3 Response rates for questionnaires

Linguistic group	Location	Number of questionnaires distributed	Number of responses	Percentage
Kalanga	Plumtree	20	17	85%
Sotho	Gwanda	20	15	75%
Tonga	Binga	20	20	100%
Nambya	Hwange	20	13	65%
		Anticipated total 80	Actual total 65	Overall percentage 81,25%

Table 3.3 indicates that the questionnaires which were completed and received by the researcher were 65. Hence for the processing of the questionnaire data, 65 counts will constitute 100 %.

3.6.1 Data from Questionnaires

The questionnaire for the study was designed with an aim to decipher the understanding and attitudes of former marginalised groups when it comes to issues of language and nation building. The first question related to biographical information and the researcher was interested in the age groups of the respondents as the different age groups would give a picture of how marginalised groups perceive themselves from generation to generation. The table below shows the different age groups that participated in the study.

Table 3.4 Age group distribution of participants

Age group	Count	Percentage
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Less than 20yrs	3	4.62 %
21 – 30yrs	24	36.92 %
31 – 40yrs	17	26.15 %
41 – 50yrs	6	9.23 %
51 – 60yrs	8	12.31 %
More than 60yrs	7	10.77 %
Total	65	100 %

Table 3.4 shows that the highest rate of responses was obtained from respondents who are in the ages between 21 and 30 years followed by those in the 31 to 40 years age group. This might be an indication that the middle aged citizens are the most active and are interested in seeking understanding of the circumstances that surround them.

The data presented below shows the frequencies of the responses to a question that sought to establish the mother tongue of the respondents. Such a question was crafted from an understanding where marginalised groups in Zimbabwe have been existing under a hegemonic environment and this might have an effect on the way these groups understand themselves.

Table 3.5 The mother tongue

Question 2: What is your mother tongue?	Count	Percentage
Ndebele	13	20 %

Kalanga	10	15.38 %
Sotho	12	18.46 %
Tonga	20	30.77 %
Nambya	10	15.38 %
Total	65	100 %

What emerged from 20% of the respondents is that their mother tongue is Ndebele. This may be chiefly because the areas of former marginalised languages where the study was conducted are in predominantly Ndebele areas. However, there are some respondents who expressed that their mother tongues are the former marginalised languages. In most of the cases, the researcher notes that it is the bilingual nature of the respondents in those linguistic communities which leads them to acknowledge their indigenous languages as mother tongues. According to Mbah (2012), an indigenous language differs from a mother tongue in that the indigenous language refers to the language spoken by a group of people who originated in a particular speech community before interference of other languages. The indigenous language carries the history and culture of the particular society. On the other hand, the mother tongue refers to the first language that one learns to speak, it might not be necessarily one's indigenous language. In this case, the respondents indicate socio-linguistic relations that are affected by domination and relative strength against minor groups as Bourdieu (1972) puts it.

On the other hand, there are some very assertive linguistic communities, despite the marginalisation they have been facing over the years. For example, the Tonga speakers do not want to see themselves as dominated by the Ndebele. This is evident where respondents from this group strongly articulated that their mother

tongue is Tonga. Below is a table showing the linguistic distribution of responses reflected on Table 3.5 above.

Table 3.6 Distribution of responses on mother tongue by linguistic group.

Linguistic group	Total responses	Responses favouring Ndebele		Responses favouring former marginalised language
Kalanga	17	Count %	7 41.18 %	10 58.82%
Sotho	15	Count %	3 20 %	12 80 %
Tonga	20	Count %	0 0 %	20 100 %
Nambya	13	Count %	3 23.08 %	10 76.92 %
Total	65	Count %	13 20 %	52 80 %

While the Nambya seem to express assertiveness in identifying Nambya as their mother tongue, their language practices show effects of hegemony. This and other practices will be evidenced later in the chapter when language practices of the different linguistic groups are presented.

Respondents were also asked whether they know what the constitution stipulates and says about their languages. Their views are presented in the tables below.

Table 3.7 Respondents who know the constitutional clause on language

Question 3a: Do you know the constitutional position regarding the status of your language?						
Category	Kalanga	Sotho	Tonga	Nambya	Total	Percentage
Yes	11	10	13	4	38	58,46%
No	6	5	7	9	27	41, 54%
				Total	65	100%

Only 38 out of 65 respondents indicated that they know what the constitution says about the status of their languages. However, due to different factors, the different linguistic groups exhibit different trends although at some point they may seem to have similar experiences. The table below shows the distribution of respondents who know what the language stipulation actually says about their languages. This information was extracted from the respondents using a follow-up question to question 3a which sought clarity.

Table 3.8 What respondents know about the language clause in the constitution

Question 3b: What does the constitutional clause say about the status of your language?		
Type of response	Number of responses	Percentage

It is now an official language	14	21,54%
It is officially recognised	24	36,92%
Do not know	27	41,54%
Total	65	100%

For the respondents who affirmed that they know the constitutional clause on language, they raise issues of debate as they reveal different understanding of the clause. While 36,92% know exactly what the constitution says, 21,54% display a somewhat skewed view of the clause.

Question 4a sought to establish the language in which respondents sing the national anthem.

Table 3.9 Language used by respondents to sing the national anthem.

Question 4a: In what language do you generally sing the national anthem of Zimbabwe?				
Linguistic group	Total responses	Language used	Count	Percentage
Kalanga	17	Kalanga	7	41%
		Ndebele	10	59%
Sotho	15	Sotho	6	40%
		Ndebele	9	60%
Tonga	20	Tonga	20	100%

		Ndebele	0	0%
Nambya	13	Nambya	5	38%
		Ndebele	8	62%

It can be noted that from each linguistic group, over 50% of respondents sing the national anthem in Ndebele with the exception of the Tonga speakers. It also has to be noted that the Ndebele and Shona versions of the national anthem are the only official renditions in Zimbabwe, making the other translations unofficial.

Table 3.10 A summary of findings reflected on table 3.9

	Kalanga	Sotho	Tonga	Nambya	Total	Percentage
Those preferring to use Ndebele	10	9	0	8	27	41,54%
Those preferring to use other languages	7	6	20	5	38	58,46%
Total	17	15	20	13	65	100%

Table 3.11 Reasons why respondents prefer singing the national anthem in Ndebele

Question 4b: why do you prefer using that particular language?
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• It is the language I learnt first• Because my school is dominated by Ndebele people• Because Ndebele is considered a main language in Zimbabwe• I don't prefer Ndebele but people have a negative attitude towards singing in our language• I don't prefer Ndebele but I am forced by circumstances• It is a national language of the country• Because I understand the meaning more than in any other language• Because it is widely spoken• It is how I was taught and Ndebele is the language I know better• It is a requirement to sing the national anthem in Ndebele when you live in Matabeleland North or South• It is a language that is favoured in Matabeleland regions and bridges the minority languages in Matabeleland provinces• I don't prefer the Ndebele anthem but I was taught the anthem in Ndebele before it was translated to my language• My language was not official• The region I grew up in uses Ndebele, hence I learnt Ndebele• It is one of the two national languages that were taught in schools• It makes me understand my status in my nation.

The responses in table 3.11 bring to light issues of language choices as guided by the prevalent language practices which, in this case, reflect the dominance of Ndebele in the Matabeleland regions.

Table 3.12 Reasons why respondents prefer singing the national anthem in former marginalised languages.

Question 4b: Why do you prefer using that particular language?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Because it is my mother tongue • To preserve and promote my language • I understand what I sing better in my language • To feel I play a part as a unique citizen • To understand the message carried by the national anthem • It makes us fully recognised and be part of the rest of the nation

Responses to question 4b for those who prefer using former marginalised languages indicate that identity is important to speakers of any language. What is revealed is that despite the dominance of Ndebele in Matabeleland provinces where the respondents reside, former marginalised languages are still seen as a marker of identity which separates the speakers from the dominant language.

Question 5 of the questionnaire sought to then follow-up on issues of identity which were brought out by question 4b in order to give an insight into the relationship between language, identity and national expression.

Table 3.13 Significance of using one's language in singing the national anthem.

Question 5: Of what significance would be using your own language in expressing national symbols like the national anthem?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It gives pride, understanding and comfort

- It promotes our languages and gives honour
- It strengthens patriotism
- It gives a sense of being recognised and included in national issues
- It creates a sense of belonging
- It signifies the importance of all languages and their speakers in the country
- It removes inferiority from marginalised citizens and gives confidence
- It brings out our different cultures.

Table 3.14 Distribution of respondents on whether citizens can fully participate when their languages are not being used.

Question 6a: Do you think citizens can participate fully in the nation when their languages are not being used for national expression?		
	Count	Percentage
Yes	12	18.46%
No	53	81.54%

As can be seen from the results reflected in the above table, 81.54% are of the view that citizens cannot participate fully when their languages are not being used. On the other hand, only 18.46% believe that citizens can exercise full participation when their languages are not being used for national expression. The tables below show a summary of the reasons why respondents agree or disagree with question 6a. Hence, question 6b is a follow-up to the previous question.

Table 3.15 Reasons why citizens are able to participate in the nation when their languages are not used.

Question 6b. Give reasons for your answer. (yes)
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Citizens can take advantage of the dominant language to grow and add their own for maximum productivity• They participate to a certain extent because there is a lot that has been left unsaid and the status quo has become normal• They are educated and are proficient in the dominant languages

Table 3.16 Reasons why citizens cannot participate in the nation when their language is not used.

Question 6b: give reasons for your answer. (No)
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• They might feel used by dominant linguistic groups• They can only be fully functional in their own languages• They feel excluded in important issues• They feel undermined and exploited• They feel irrelevant when using other people's languages• They feel like outsiders• They feel inferior• They are excluded and discriminated from everything• They do not feel represented• They feel they are not needed• They feel the nation serves the interests of the dominant groups

Table 3.17 Respondents' proposed solutions to the language situation in Zimbabwe.

Question 7: What do you think can be the solution to the language situation in Zimbabwe?		
Solution	Count	Percentage
Teach and learn all languages	17	26.153%
Promote equal recognition and use of all languages	27	41.538%
Give enough resources to develop marginalised languages	9	13.486%
Take the laissez-faire approach	8	12.307%
To continue using dominant languages as they are understood by most citizens	4	6.153%
Total	65	100%

3.7 DATA FROM COPAC REPORTS

In the process of drafting the new constitution for Zimbabwe, the Constitution Parliamentary Select Committee (COPAC) collected data covering various issues. Different strata were used and they include; children, diaspora, institutions, outreach and parliament. Statistical reports were produced and for this study the researcher adopts statistics specifically on languages from Version 2 of the National Statistical Report of October 2012. Statistics from the outreach are of interest to the researcher since people of all walks of life were consulted. However, selected responses are tabled for the purposes of this study.

Table 3.18 Summative statistics from various arms of society concerning the issue of language

Response	Children's parliament %	Diaspora %	Institutions %	Parliament %
All local languages should be officialised	100 %	100 %	100 %	100%
Shona, Ndebele and English must be officialised	100%	100 %	100 %	100 %
Equality and non-discrimination among languages	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %
English to be the international	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

language of Zimbabwe				
Local languages should be taught in schools		100 %	100 %	100 %
All local languages should be respected, promoted, recognised and protected	100 %	100%	100%	100%
The following are Zimbabwe's languages: Shona, Ndebele, Kalanga, Nambya, Chikunda, Venda, Xangani, Chewa, Nyanja,	100%	100%	100%	100%

Sotho, Tonga, Xhosa, Pfumbi, BarweHwesa, Thswawo, Doma, English and Sign Language				
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This table shows the rates of response for different sectors on issues of language during the constitution making process. The rates seem to be influenced by the interest in influencing policy as well. However, the recipients of the intended reforms on language also have their own opinions as shown in table 3.19 below.

Table 3.19 Provincial outreach statistics (with special focus on Mat North, Mat South and Bulawayo Metropolitan province)

Response	Bulawayo	Matabeleland North	Matabeleland South
All local languages should be officialised	<i>---(there is no figure recorded here probably because Bulawayo boasts of Ndebele which is already an official language)</i>	50.53 %	40 %

Equality and non-discrimination among languages	0 %	47.34 %	22.42 %
Diminish status of English	0 %	1.06 %	0 %
English to be the international language for Zimbabwe	0 %	2.66 %	1.21 %
Local languages should be taught in schools	65.52 %	71.28 %	79.39 %
All local languages should be respected, promoted, recognised and protected	72.41 %	62.23 %	78.18 %
Nationalise all indigenous languages	0 %	18.62 %	2.42 %
Right to use language of choice	0 %	3.19 %	1.82 %

Parliament and courts to use local languages	0 %	3.72 %	0 %
There should be a language policy	0 %	1.06 %	0 %
Promote and tolerate multilingualism	0 %	2.13 %	0 %
There must be public translators	0 %	0 %	0 %
An act of Parliament should specify the function of all languages	0 %	0 %	0 %
The following are Zimbabwe's languages:	0%	0.53 %	0 %

The researcher chose to include figures from Bulawayo province as well because it is the hub of the Ndebele language which has dominated Matabeleland North and South. It is a language of prestige in all the three provinces. Statistics from Bulawayo Metropolitan province indicate a high level of complacency and this could be due to the fact that the Ndebele speakers do not perceive any problem since their language is already in the mainstream. Matabeleland North is where the Tonga and Nambya speech communities are found. The province seems to have high responses towards officialisation of all local languages and equality

among local languages. This could be due to the active role being played by language associations in fighting against Ndebele hegemony in the province. As for Matabeleland South, which houses Sotho and Kalanga, responses are lower than those of Matabeleland South in many categories except on the teaching of local languages and respect for all local languages.

3.8 DATA FROM INTERVIEWS

The researcher carried out interviews with 13 individuals. Of the interviewed participants, 5 are university academics who were interviewed individually and 8 are language activists who are educated and have at least a Bachelor's degree. The language activists were interviewed in a focus group interview. The interviews were recorded and transcribed for easier reference on the part of the researcher. Some non-verbal behaviours were noted by the researcher and they may be useful in convincing the researcher on the stance that the interviewees seem to take. A number of thematic issues came out from the interviews and these seem to compliment the results of the questionnaires. The tables below show the themes that came out from the two groups of interviewees.

Table 3. 20 Themes and categories from academics

Theme	Category
1. The language situation in Zimbabwe	1.1 A new dawn in language planning
2. Contribution of the language clause to nation building	2.1 Identifying a paradox of <i>official</i> vs <i>officially recognised</i>

	2.2 Language as a strong tool for building nations
3. Views on languages used in the official renditions of the national anthem	<p>3.1 Language as an expression of values</p> <p>3.2 The feasibility of translating the national anthem into all recognised languages</p>
4. Challenges in practical implementation of former marginalised languages	<p>4.1 Lack of government commitment to language issues</p> <p>4.2 Resources for implementation</p> <p>4.3 Status quo as a factor</p>
5. Recommendations on language choices and usage in national symbols	<p>5.1 Government to allow people to sing the national anthem in their languages and provide means for official translations</p> <p>5.2 Language does not matter but the values expressed should be paramount in national symbols</p>

Table 3.21 Themes and categories from language activists

Theme	Category
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1. Official recognition of former marginalised languages in the constitution	1.1 an encouraging and hopeful situation
2. Progress in the implementation of former marginalised languages	2.1 Limited resources 2.2 <i>Officially recognised</i> may not be binding
3. Perceptions on the languages used to officially render the national anthem	3.1 Compromising the identity of the marginalised groups 3.2
4. Language empowering society to be effective in the nation	4.1 Inferiority complex negatively affecting marginalised groups
5. Extent to which former marginalised speech communities participate in nation building	5.1 The need to maximise efforts in supporting former marginalised groups

3.8.1 Content analysis

The major task for a researcher is to find answers to the research questions of the study. This has an influence on the kind of analysis to be chosen. In the words of Strauss and Corbin (2008), the analysis of data is concerned with the organisation of data, detecting patterns in the data, questioning the patterns in the data, drawing inferences from the data as well as substantiating or contesting those inferences

as the basis for developing arguments . This particular study is qualitative in nature and at the same time is informed by the interpretive paradigm which seeks to attach meaning to a society's experience. Hence, the study will use content analysis. Cole (1998) says that content analysis is a method of analysing written, verbal or visual communication messages. As a method of research, content analysis allows the researcher to test theoretical issues in order to enhance understanding of the data. The interview data will be presented qualitatively, that is, it will be in narrative form where arguments will be created using thematic categories as emerging themes will serve to integrate responses gathered through different methods. Where the need arises, some quantitative methods of presenting data such as graphs and pie charts will be weaved in.

3.9 SUMMARY

This chapter has presented the research methodology which was followed in this study. Of note, the chapter has elaborated on the research paradigm, research design and methodology, the target population, sampling techniques, as well as the presentation of data collected through questionnaires. Data collected through interviews was summarised in themes. The next chapter analyses and interprets data based on the results that have been presented in this chapter.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter analyses and interprets the data that is presented in chapter 3. Data analysis entails ‘...the process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of collected data’ (Marshall and Rossman 1990:111). Interpretation, on the other hand, is the process of attaching meaning to quantitative data. Data for this study was collected through questionnaires, COPAC reports and interviews. The questionnaire and the COPAC reports produced quantitative data while the interviews produced qualitative data. Hence, in this chapter the analysis will focus on the following thematic areas:

The questionnaire survey (a quantitative approach)

- The constitutional position on language
- Language choices for singing the national anthem
- Language, identity and national expression
- Proposed resolutions on language and nation building in Zimbabwe

Data obtained through questionnaires was elicited from people of all walks of life aged between late teens and above 65. The survey only sought the age-groups of the respondents because age allowed the respondents to participate without the interference of their socio-economic status.

COPAC reports (a quantitative approach)

- Socio-economic position of respondents
- All languages to be officialised
- Local languages to be respected, recognised and protected
- The right to use language of choice

The interviews (a qualitative approach)

- The language situation in Zimbabwe
- Contribution of the constitution's language clause to nation building
- Views on languages used for national symbols
- Challenges in practical implementation
- Recommendations on language choices for national symbols

The themes to be discussed under interviews will bring out ideas from the individual interviews with academics and focus group interviews with language activists.

4.2 THE QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY

4.2.1 The constitutional position on language

Founding provision six (6) of Zimbabwe's 2013 constitutional amendment provides that:

The following languages namely Chewa, Chibarwe, English, Kalanga, Koisan, Nambya, Ndau, Ndebele, Shangani, Shona, sign language, Sotho, Tonga, Tswana, Venda and Xhosa are the officially recognised languages of Zimbabwe.

In the previous chapter, table 3.7 shows that 58.46% of respondents know the constitutional position regarding former marginalised languages in Zimbabwe. The graph below shows the knowledge comparisons among the four linguistic groups that were being considered in this study. While the graph presents percentages, the statistics resonate with the counts presented in table 3.7 in the previous chapter.

Figure 4.1 Knowledge on the constitutional position of former marginalised languages

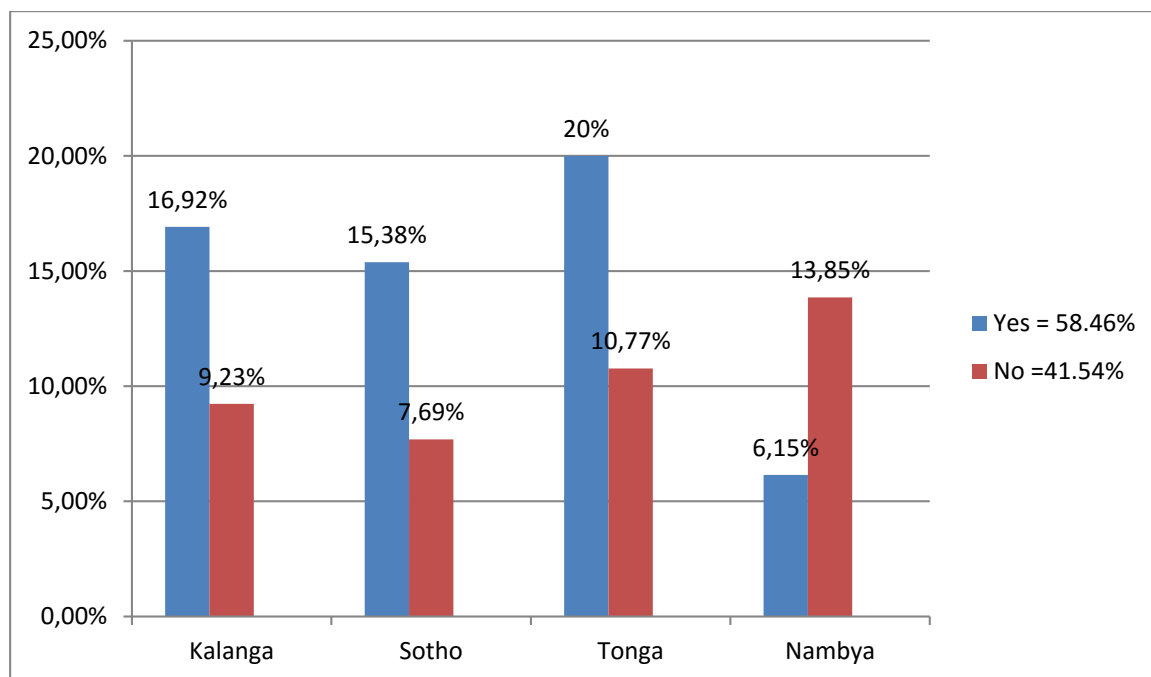
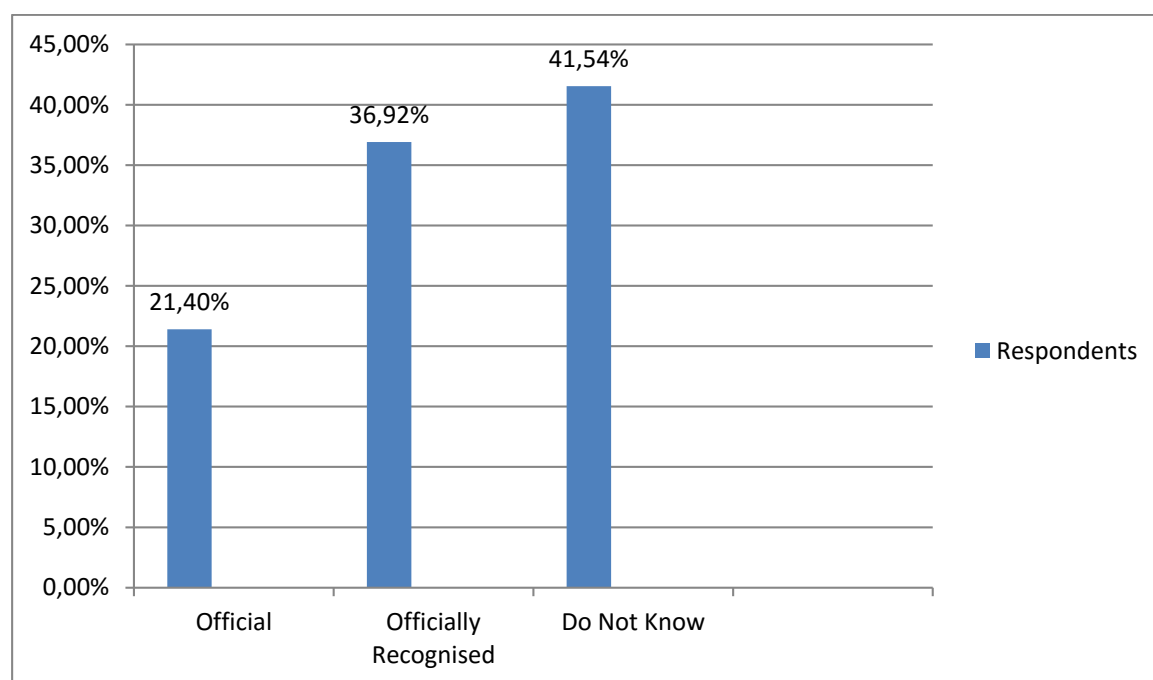


Figure 4.1 exposes that of the 58.46% who expressed that they know the position that has been articulated by the constitution concerning their languages, the highest number comes from the Tonga linguistic group while the least number is from the Nambya community. This might be an indication that the Tonga communities have strong advocacy programmes when it comes to language activism. While the Nambya might also be active in their own way, the results of activism do not yield the desired goals. This could be chiefly because the Nambya people have generally given in to the dominance of Ndebele while the Tonga have always displayed resistance and sought their autonomy.

However, those who know what the constitution actually stipulates are torn between *official* and *officially recognised*. Only 21.54% believe that the former marginalised languages are now official while 36, 92% express that the languages are officially recognised. This seems to raise a debate on whether the phrase *officially recognised* means the same as *official*. In interview data which is analysed later in this chapter, such a debate is raised and it comes out that *officially recognised* which appears in the constitution is rather confusing for the ordinary citizen. Therefore judging from the variety of responses in the

questionnaire survey as shown in figure 4.1, it is apparent that the participants have mixed views regarding the expression in the constitution. The mixture of the views might be interpreted as being partly due to excitement about the seeming elevation of marginalised languages and partly due to the misconception of the phrase *officially recognised*. Following the discussion above, Figure 4.2 below shows the specific knowledge that respondents have about the constitutional stipulation on language.

Figure 4.2: What respondents know about former marginalised languages



4.2.2 Language choices for singing the national anthem

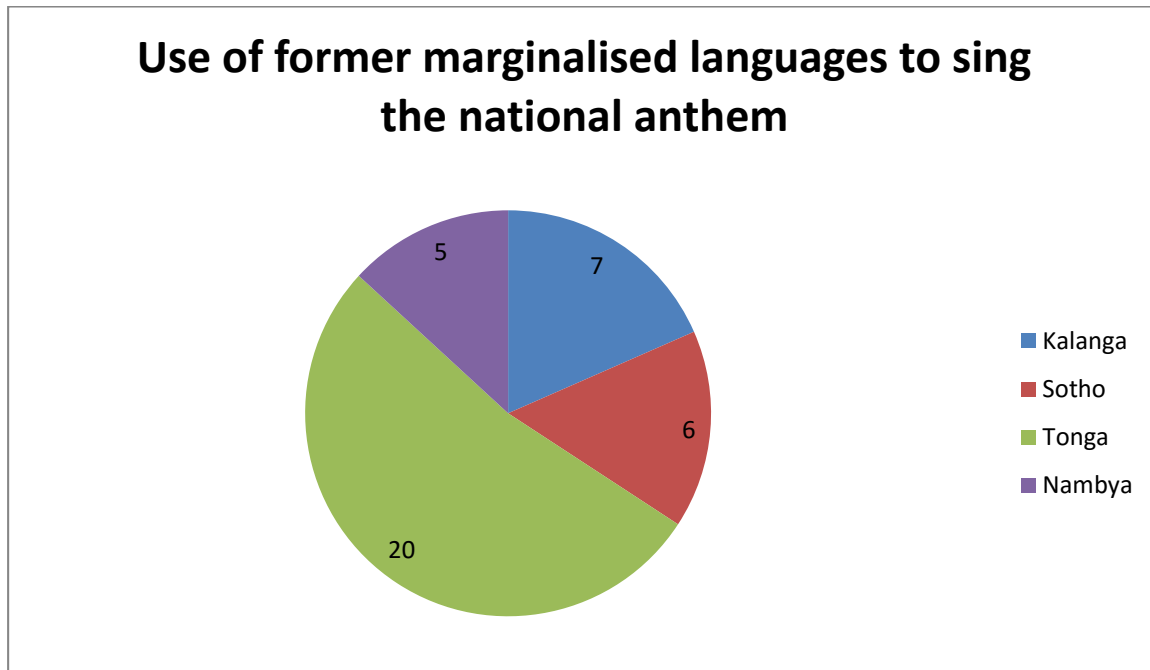
Table 4.1 languages used by respondents to sing the national anthem

	Kalanga	Sotho	Tonga	Nambya	Total	Percentage
Those preferring	10	9	0	8	27	41,54%

to use Ndebele						
Those preferring to use other languages	7	6	20	5	38	58,46%
Total	17	15	20	13	65	100%

It is evident from the table above that 58,46% of the respondents prefer to sing the national anthem in former marginalised languages. This is more than half of the respondents and the indication might be that they all favour using their languages. However, when one takes a closer look at the table, it shows that the group with the highest number of respondents who prefer singing the national anthem in their language is the Tonga. The Tonga respondents all noted that they sing the national anthem in Tonga. This may have historical connotations where the Tonga as a linguistic community were not subsumed under the Ndebele. Although Ndebele as a language has been taught in Tonga areas, the Tonga speakers have not given priority to Ndebele. They have always made efforts to exercise autonomy in many spheres of life. The pie chart below shows the distribution of respondents who use the former marginalised languages to sing the national anthem.

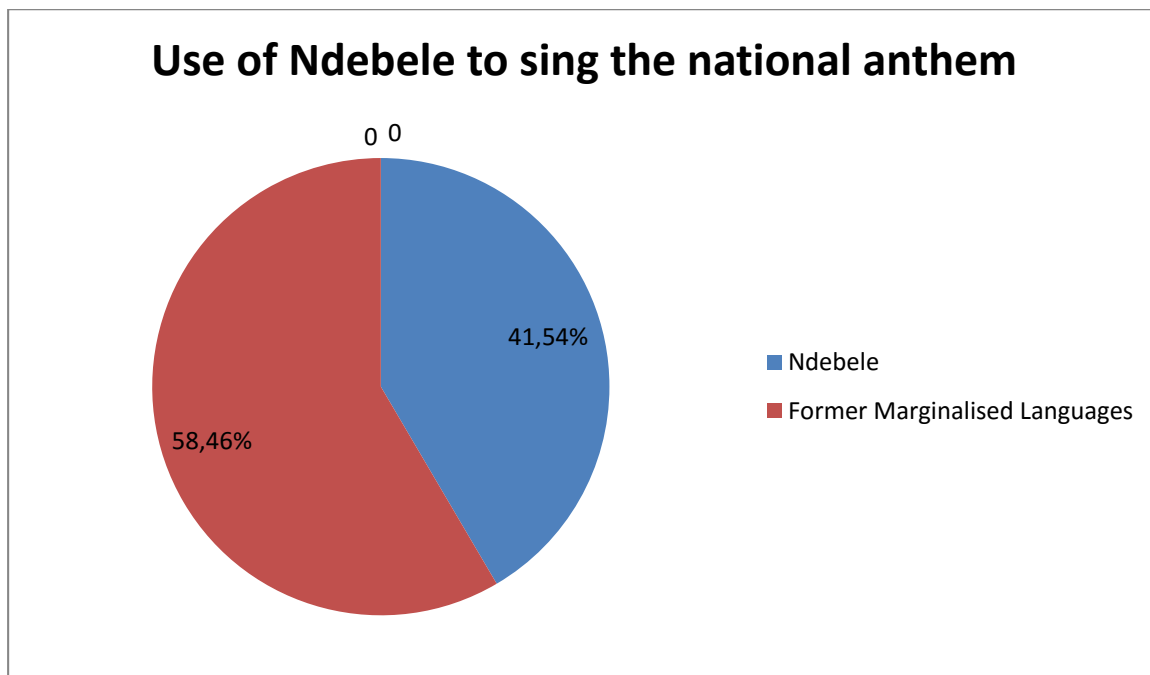
Figure 4.3 Distribution of respondents who use former marginalised languages to sing the national anthem



The responses tabulated in the previous chapter (see Table 3.12) show that respondents choose to sing the national anthem in their own languages in order to feel that they are full citizens in the nation. Thus, the respondents feel that belonging to the nation is their right like every other citizen; hence it does not mean that they have to be subsumed under dominant groups. According to Helbling (2008), nationhood is an attribute of the individual, but it is the same attribute for everyone therefore it makes everyone potentially equal and erases structural inequalities. In this regard, speakers of former marginalised languages see the need to erase linguistic differences and involve all languages in national endeavours. However, while respondents indicate a latent functionality of former marginalised languages, they also reveal some results of activism and advocacy within the former marginalised groups. The fact that individuals can sing the national anthem in the former marginalised languages confirms the existence of unofficial translations of the national anthem. It would seem as if marginalised groups play an active role in involving themselves in national issues.

Figure 4.4 below shows the respondents who use Ndebele to sing the national anthem. In the figure, those who use the different former marginalised languages are compressed into one bunch in order to bring out the comparison.

Figure 4.4 Respondents who use Ndebele to sing the national anthem



Respondents who noted that they use Ndebele to sing the national anthem comprise 41.54%. This is a very significant figure which is almost half of the respondents. It can then be argued that the dominance of Ndebele over other languages in the Matabeleland regions has turned the language into a resource that is viewed as necessary in order for one to participate in the nation. Respondents who expressed that it is not a matter of preference to sing the national anthem in Ndebele revealed that it is a matter of the position of the language in the society. Furthermore, Ndebele has been part of the life experience of the marginalised groups in Matabeleland. For example, it is the language that has been taught in schools for many generations and it has become inseparable

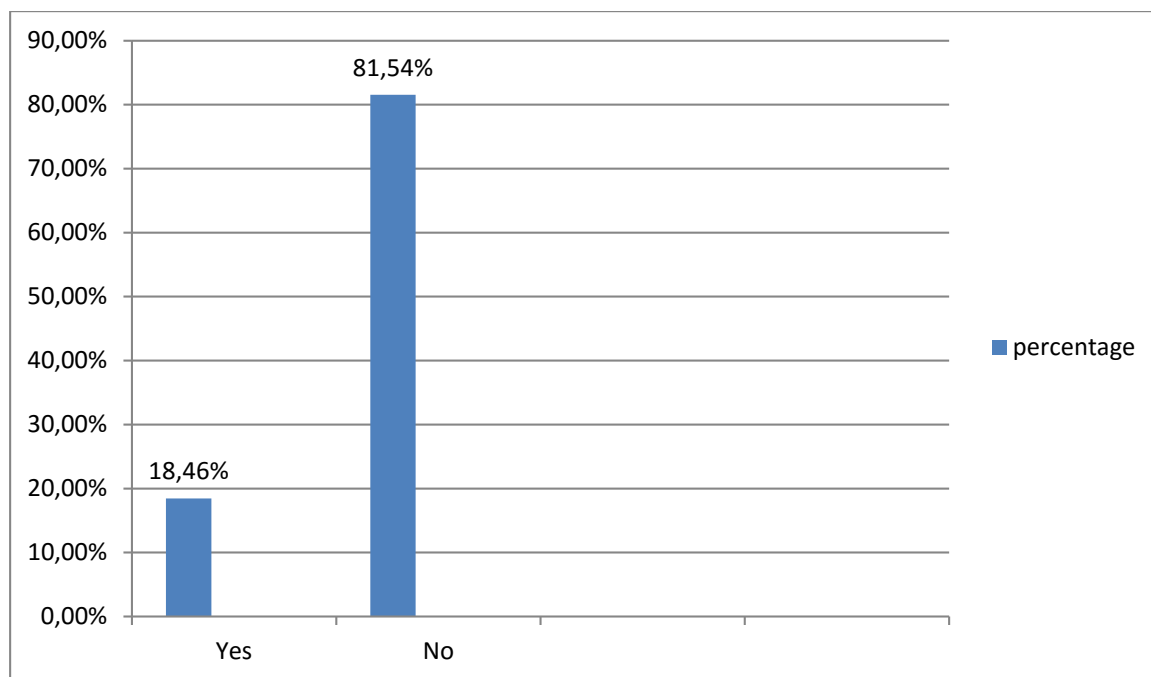
with individuals who are from marginalised groups. At the same time, some respondents revealed the different attitudes towards marginalised languages where they associate them with lower status and negativity.

4.2.3 Language, identity and national expression

The objective of question 5 was to evoke an insight into the relationship between language, identity and national expression. It is worth noting that language remains a powerful resource which is symbolic when it comes to national identity (Bamgbose 1991). Hence, respondents were asked to give the significance of using their own languages in expressing national symbols. What came out was that a sense of belonging and confidence can be boosted when using one's language in expressing national symbols like the national anthem. This then explains the efforts undertaken by the marginalised groups to translate the national anthem as alluded in the analysis on 4.2.2 above.

Question 6a was on whether citizens can participate fully in the nation when their languages are not being used. In response to that question, 18.46% were positive that citizens can participate without the use of their languages. On the other hand, 81.54% disagreed and expressed that without the use of their languages, citizens cannot participate fully in any national concerns. Figure 4.5 shows the distribution of the responses.

Figure 4.5 Distribution of responses on whether citizens can participate fully in the nation when their languages are not being used



Question 6b which was a follow-up to question 6a needed the respondents to give reasons why they agree or disagree with question 6a. The responses that were rendered show that the 18.46% who agree that citizens can function fully without their languages feel that it is possible to take advantage of dominant languages for one's maximum participation. It was also mentioned that the marginalised groups are educated enough to be proficient in dominant languages and therefore nothing can stop them from participating. Another view was that citizens only participate to a certain extent and the status quo has become normal. These views point to the fact that in Matabeleland, where data was collected, and indeed in Zimbabwe, the marginalised groups have found a *habitus* in the dominant languages. It seems normal for them to operate under linguistic hegemony although they may not fully express themselves. This means that despite the acceptance of the status quo by the marginalised groups, the nation is constructed on a framework which gives a choice to the citizens if they want to participate.

On the other hand, the 81.54% who disagree with the above express that it is not possible for citizens whose languages are not being used to participate in the nation. Some of their responses are tabulated on table 4.2 below.

Table 4.2 Reasons why citizens cannot participate fully as Zimbabwean Citizens when their languages are not being used

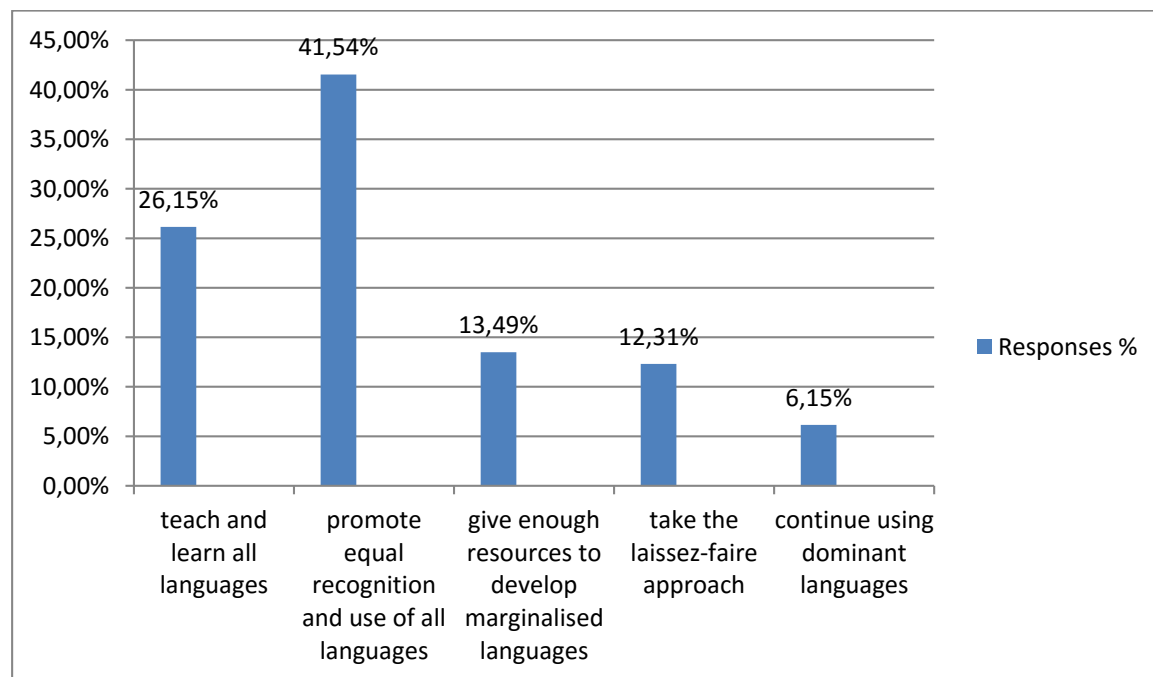
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They might feel used by dominant linguistic groups • They can only be fully functional in their own languages • They feel excluded in important issues • They feel undermined and exploited • They feel irrelevant when using other people's languages • They feel like outsiders • They feel inferior • They are excluded and discriminated from everything • They do not feel represented • They feel they are not needed • They feel the nation serves the interests of the dominant groups

The main idea in the above responses is that citizens whose languages are not being used feel excluded and unable to participate their rights as Zimbabwean citizens. The inferiority complex may be due to their identity not being recognised. Language and identity are closely intertwined. Hence, a nation will be seen as exclusive if it ignores the languages of others.

4.2.4 Proposed resolutions on language and nation building in Zimbabwe

Question 7 sought to seek the opinion of respondents on how the issues of language and nation building can be approached in Zimbabwe in order to find solutions. The respondents brought out a variety of reactions which are presented graphically below.

Figure 4.6 showing the various responses on proposed resolutions



The responses on figure 4.6 above show a variety of ideas that respondents proposed as possible solutions to the language situation in Zimbabwe. The most favoured solution is to promote equal recognition and use of all languages. This may be guided by the constitutional clause which is already in place. However, this promotion should also be hinged on availability of resources to reach the equal use of all languages. In fact, all the proposed solutions are related to the issue of resource provision except the last solution on the continuation of use of dominant languages. This solution shows lack of hope for a future for the once marginalised languages and thrives on the hegemonic advantage of dominant languages.

4.3 COPAC REPORTS

Besides the questionnaire survey that was used to collect data, a desktop approach was also used. In this research, COPAC reports were analysed. These are reports that were compiled during the constitution-making process by the Constitutional Select Committee. The reports were perused to get data for this study in the area of language. The figures that are presented below display trends that echo what is in table 3.19 in Chapter 3.

4.3.1 Socio-economic position of respondents

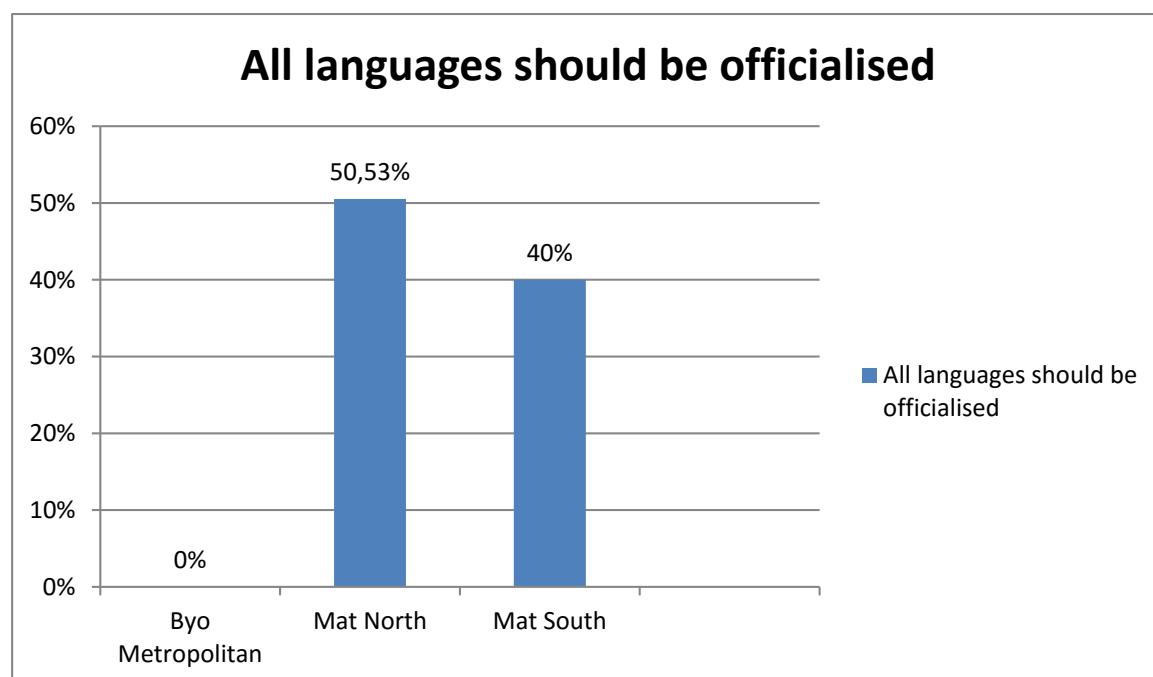
As mentioned in the previous chapter on section 3.7, the COPAC survey was carried out with different strata of society. It is therefore important to delineate the status or background of participants who took part in the survey conducted by COPAC whose statistics this study has adopted. What can be noted is that participants were drawn from different strata of society and this has a bearing on the type of results that were achieved. COPAC collected data from Children, Diaspora, Institutions, Parliament and ordinary citizens through outreach meetings. Children were represented by the children's parliament which is a junior arm of government while the diaspora involves Zimbabweans who reside outside Zimbabwe. Submissions from the diaspora were also made through the website. Institutions relate mostly to the educational establishments where knowledge is the major concern. The parliament constituted the government of the time. The outreach meetings were held in the various provinces with people of all walks of life. Concerning the issue of language, the results on the motion reflect that ordinary citizens who were reached through the outreach meetings showed a variety of response rates, probably due to different levels of understanding which are influenced by the different exposure to the issue of languages. Other sectors of society who were consulted showed a high level of responses due to exposure and perhaps the agenda of nation building. The Children, Diaspora, Institutions and Parliament all scored 100% agreement for all

issues concerning languages. The figures below show the response rates on issues concerning languages that were collected from provinces during the constitution-making process.

4.3.2 All languages to be officialised

As reflected in the drafting instruments provided by COPAC (2012), it was agreed that all local languages should be officialised. Different linguistic groups in different provinces took part in the survey and the results of the provinces chosen by this study are shown in the figure below.

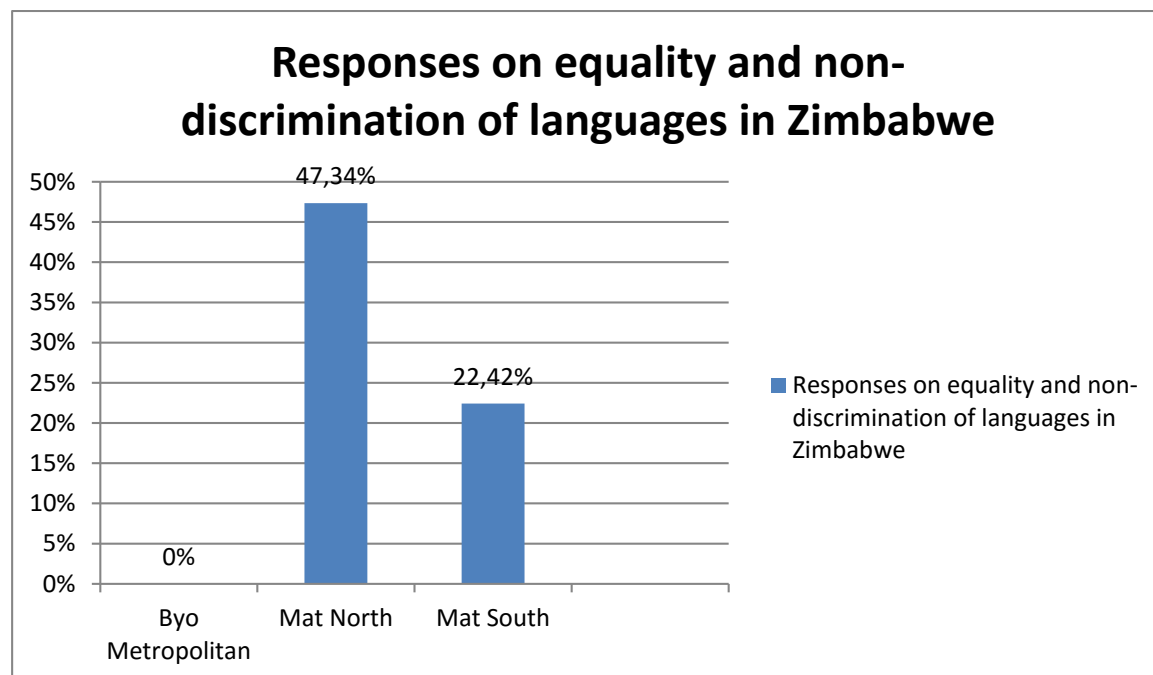
Figure 4.7 COPAC provincial statistics on ‘all languages should be officialised’



The above figure shows the different ways in which the different provinces engulfed the suggestion to officialise all local languages. Bulawayo Metropolitan province has 0% chiefly because it is the centre of the Ndebele language which dominates other languages found in Matabeleland North and South. Hence, the linguistic communities in the Matabeleland provinces display a desire to change the status quo. This is also evidence of active work being done in terms of

advocacy in Matabeleland North province where the Tonga speakers, who have been noted to be assertive earlier in this study, are found. However, contrary to what the drafting instruments and survey advocated for, the constitution has only officially recognised the languages.

Figure 4.8 COPAC provincial statistics on equality and non-discrimination among all languages

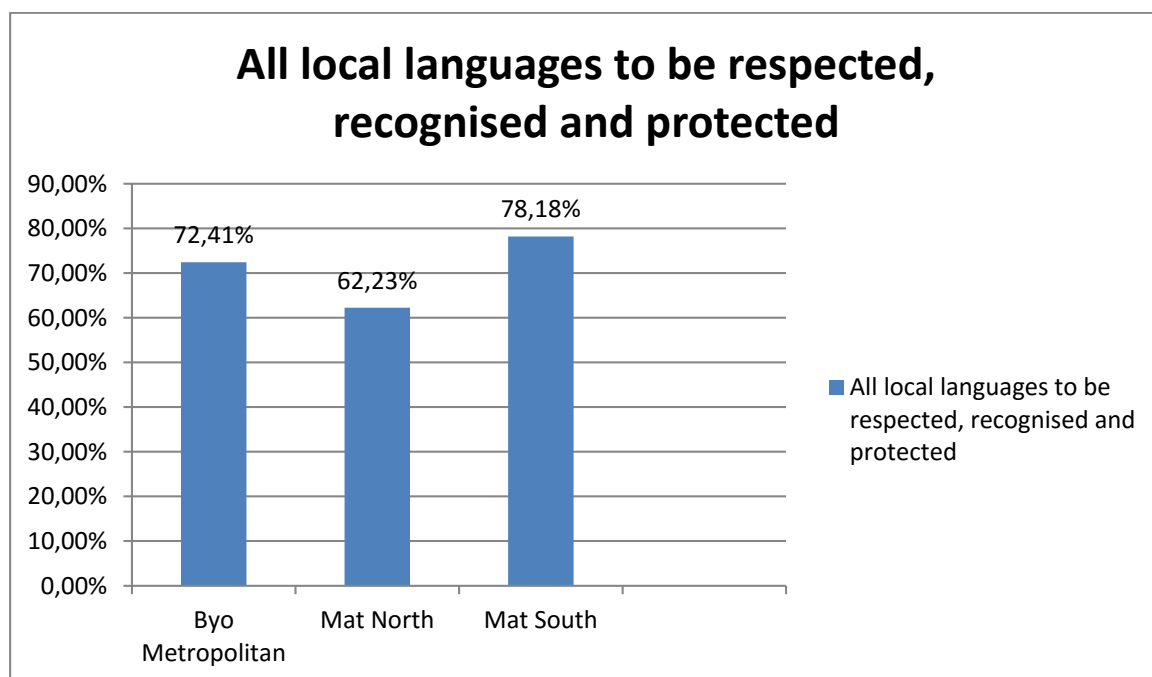


A similar trend displayed in figure 4.7 seems to appear again on figure 4.8 where Matabeleland North shows a higher response rate concerning language issues. The hope for equality might have relied on the languages being officialised, which has not been the case.

4.3.3 Local languages to be respected, recognised and protected

What seems to be unclear is what the recognition of any language entails. This is seen where the constitution adopts the recognition in tandem with official. Figure 4.9 shows how the respondents reacted to the suggestion of recognition of local languages.

Figure 4.9 COPAC statistics on the respect, recognition and protection of all local languages



In figure 4.9, it is apparent that respondents were euphoric about the respect, recognition and protection of their languages.

4.3.4 The right to use language of choice

In settings where multilingualism exists, citizens would accept the right to use which ever language they choose. An investigation regarding languages of choice was carried out by COPAC and the figure below shows how the participants responded to the option.

Figure 4.10 Right to use language of choice

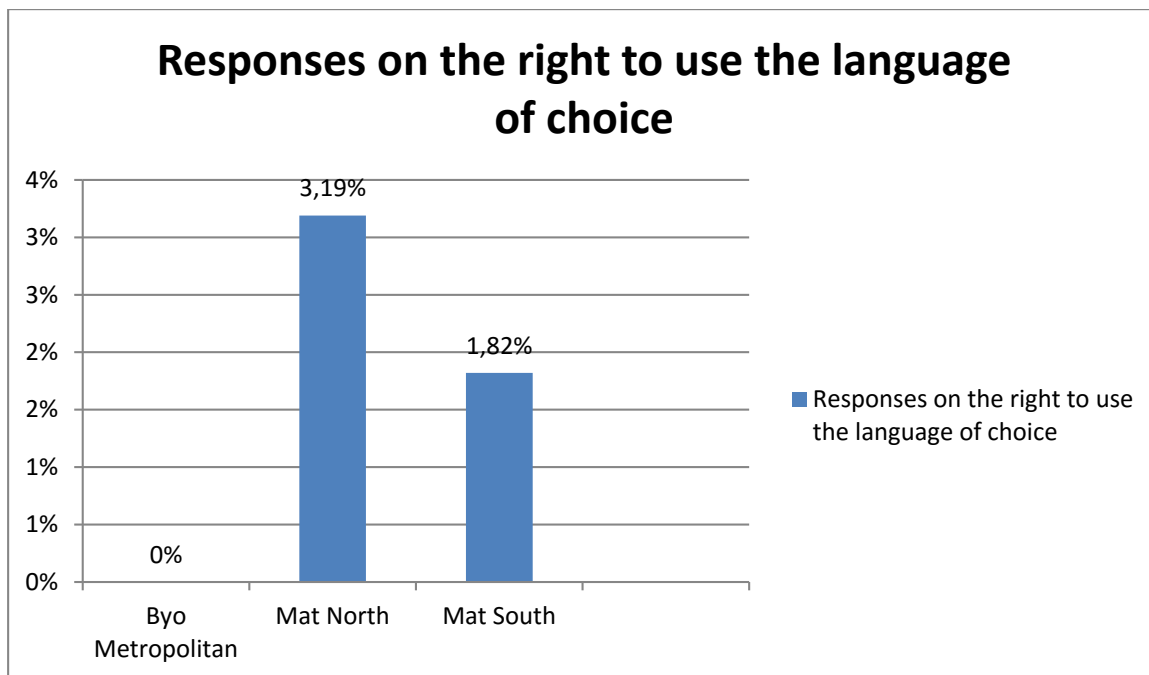


Figure 4.10 indicates low responses from the provinces in terms of citizens being able to exercise the right to use their language of choice in all settings. The low response might be as a result of citizens being complacent within the status quo and perhaps perceiving chaos if all languages are used at will. It becomes paradoxical to imagine that citizens who would want their languages officialised, respected, recognised and indiscriminate would at the same time shun the right to use the languages in all sectors. This displays some attitudes that may be a result of the socio-historical experiences of the marginalised groups in relation to the dominant groups.

4.4 QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION: INTERVIEWS

The purpose of the questionnaire survey was to determine the attitudes of the speakers of former marginalised languages towards using the dominant languages in singing the national anthem. The COPAC survey was also adopted in order to ascertain the stages which the constitution-making process took in order to come up with the final provision on languages in the 2013 constitution. The aims of the interviews are:

- To establish the role of language in nation building
- To investigate whether the constitutional stipulation has an impact in changing the language practices in Zimbabwe
- To determine whether the national anthem as a tool of nation building plays its role when expressed in dominant languages

As alluded to in section 3.5.1 of chapter 3, focus group interviews with 8 language activists were conducted and 5 individual interviews were held with academics in the area of language and nation building. Themes that came out of the individual and focus group interviews will be tied together as common views emerge from the themes.

4.4.1 Theme 1: the language situation in Zimbabwe

The theme and its category are presented in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 the language situation in Zimbabwe

Theme	Category
1. The language situation	1.1 A new dawn in language planning

The researcher sought to establish the views of the respondents pertaining the language situation in Zimbabwe which has been influenced by the introduction of the language stipulation in the constitution.

Category 1.1: A New dawn in language planning

Respondents concurred that the 2013 language stipulation which has changed the language situation in Zimbabwe has brought in a new dawn in language planning. The language situation is now hopeful and brings many good prospects. Some of the respondents expressed it thus;

The general situation, I would say is a very encouraging one... we now

have a new perspective with regard to use of languages, we now have new hope that Zimbabwe, for the first time in the history of mankind ...has now realised the importance of indigenous languages because nothing can be done meaningfully without these languages. So we are as it were, moving out of a linguistic prison where only three...languages were dominating.

It means an improved status as far as my language is concerned becauseit says the government and all state institutions must take into cognisance the language preferences of people who will be affected by government communication which basically means that the status of the languages has improved in that the government is mandated to communicate with.....peoplein their language.

Gorter et al, (2010) provide that changes in the vitality of a language have important implications for individuals and societies. In this regard, the Zimbabwean language situation where sixteen languages are now officially recognised seems to have brought a new age and new opportunities for the once marginalised linguistic groups. Essentially, the former marginalised groups seem to be looking forward to a brighter future regarding their languages.

4.4.2 Theme 2: Contribution of language clause to Nation building

The theme and its categories are reflected in table 4.4

Table 4.4: Contribution of language clause to Nation building

Theme	Categories
2.Contribution of language clause to Nation building	2.1 Identifying the paradox of <i>official</i> versus <i>officially recognised</i> .

	2.2 Language as a strong tool for Nation building
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Category 2.1 Identifying the paradox of *official* versus *officially recognised*

The language clause in section 6 of Zimbabwe's constitution articulates that sixteen languages are officially recognised. It takes discerning individuals to note that the phrase *officially recognised* does not mean official. Respondents in the interviews indicated that the phrase *officially recognised* is problematic as it might be confusing to the ordinary citizens. It turns out to be tricky and raises many questions. Thus, their views are as follows:

*...definitely most people are used to the term official language...
but this officially recognised thing seems to be a vague term or
it is there to play some tricks somehow, because if a language is
recognised, or officially recognised, is it official and to what extent
can people enjoy linguistic rights when it is simply recognised?
...the term officially recognised is problematic.*

*The phrase officially recognised leaves some questions but the
burden of marginalisation on the speakers is reduced and
government has committed itself legally.*

The above responses show that academics have deeply analysed the terms *officially recognised* and *official*, and hence they have identified a problem. However, other sections among the language activists still believe that the recognised languages are official. This is evidenced by their expression of the desire to see the languages flourishing in every sector of society and this can be seen in the euphoric feelings expressed by some respondents.

To the ordinary person like me, it now follows that the constitution is a document that has been signed by the head of state and what it says must come into effect... meaning that the constitution says that sixteen languages are official and we must see them operating in our daily way of doing business.

Officially recognising our languages has instilled self-esteem and confidence that we also belong to Zimbabwe as a nation. It has reduced friction and created satisfaction among us, speakers of the once marginalised languages.

However, it also came to light that some respondents acknowledge that the constitution, being a legal document, is not easy to interpret. This may mean that either the excitement or the confusion about the phrase officially recognised may be due to misinterpretation of the stipulation. One of the respondents said;

The constitution is a piece of legal document which normally uses legal language and sometimes may have a different interpretation from a common person as compared to...maybe a law practitioner...when something is officially recognised... it might mean multiple things.

In academic circles, some individuals were involved in the process of coming up with the constitutional provisions on language. One of the respondents who is an academic professor in the area of language, and who was involved in the constitution-making process revealed that the phrase officially recognised is not as vague as some academics might believe, he revealed some technicalities which are not obvious to any ordinary person, he said:

I don't see the vagueness in the constitution. The constitution is very clear, there is a technical difference and I think that is where people are mixing up issues. The constitution clearly stipulates that the languages are officially recognised and that does not make them official languages of the country. I think people just need to get this technicality correct from the word go. Making them (the languages) official is something else but we start by officially recognising them and then an act of Parliament is the one which is going to make them official ... and it might not be all the languages...it is not practically possible.

The above response can be interpreted in many different ways. Firstly, it may mean that there is a dire need to educate the various linguistic communities or the nation on the meaning and implications of the language stipulation in the constitution. This is due to the fact that most speakers of former marginalised languages have shown excitement over the stipulation with the impression that their languages are now official. Secondly, the view by the previous respondent may also insinuate that language issues have been left to the elite who craft the laws and are able to interpret them while sidelining the major stakeholders who are the speakers of these languages. According to Helbling (2008), Bourdieu's theory of practice emphasises that in the field, those who are more powerful succeed in convincing the less powerful of their interpretation of the world. The less powerful perceive the more powerful as the legitimate holders of power. In this case, legitimisation implies that struggles about social boundaries are more about conviction rather than elimination of the marginalised. Therefore, the vague phrase in the constitution may connote a bid to sound inclusive in the effort of nation building.

At the same time, another respondent felt that official recognition seems to be a precautionary expression on the side of the government since officialising the languages would call for their development which needs resources that may not be available. The respondent expressed this as follows:

...I think it is a very tricky term that is created by a government...that cannot develop languages to the right status in order to serve in all functions of the state...it's precautionary, so that when people now speak out and say...One day some people will be reminded that they (the languages) are officially recognised...saying 'we now recognise them that they are languages spoken by a particular people in Zimbabwe', simply that!

Therefore, the above sentiments call for an outright definition of *officially recognised* which underscores its differences and similarities with *official*.

Category 2.2 Language as a strong tool for nation building

Bamgbose (1991) notes that many African countries are pre-occupied with how to ensure oneness and a sense of belonging together while taking into consideration the pluralistic nature of society. On the other hand, Latin (1992) reveals that politicians and intellectuals in Africa have ambivalent positions when it comes to language. At times, they speak as champions of their mother tongues, arguing that each of the languages of Africa reveals and preserves Africa's rich cultural heritage. Yet at other times, these same intellectuals passionately advocate a politics in which each country chooses a single indigenous language as the official language of the state. Respondents who participated in this study

revealed different sentiments regarding language as a strong tool for nation building. One of them expressed positive sentiments on language as follows;

Language plays a pivotal role in the development of nations because nothing can be done without languages... so, that alone, that clause which recognises languages in section 6 of the constitution, will certainly build national unity, contribute to nation building...

Along the same lines, another response was as follows;

Language is a strategic identity fabric for any person. It is a vehicle for anyone's culture. Culture and anyone's identity are things that are inseparable and when you want citizens of a particular nation to be effective, in both being themselves and contributing meaningfully to the corporate development of that particular society, the first most important thing is to help them to discover or rediscover and reconcile with their true identity.

The above responses show that society believes that language is a strong tool of nation building. It is believed that ethnic differences are buried through the recognition of other languages in the constitution and the identity crisis which compromises nation building is thwarted. Another respondent felt that the marginalisation of the languages had been through legal framework; hence nation building through language must take the same route. The respondent had this to say;

The marginalisation of other linguistic groups emanated from legal documents hence when recognition comes through the same, it shows the state's acknowledgement of the existence of the languages, hence building the nation through the legal framework.

The above respondent sees the issue of language practices as influenced by legal framework. Ndhlovu (2008) also considers the tendency to portray Zimbabwe as just bilingual as emanating from policy-related documents which spell out the policy relating to institutional and functional statuses of Zimbabwe's languages. Ndhlovu (2008) also notes an uneasy alliance between nation building and multilingualism in Zimbabwe. Hence, the multilingual nature of Zimbabwe can pose problems when it comes to nation building. One of the respondents who noted problems of multilingualism in nation building said thus;

Multilingualism is double edged in the sense that it can lead to nation building but it can also lead to sub-national issues ... I think we are approaching the whole concept of multilingualism from a very perfunctory understanding of what multilingualism is and what it can do ... in reality do we need sixteen official languages? ... it might be a divide and rule tactic because see what a force Matabeleland can be if they are just defined as Ndebeles ... while people may enjoy the languages, they are divided on the political front.

The respondent brings many issues to the fore. Firstly, Gramsci's idea that language is a political issue is brought out when the respondent refers to political strategies such as divide and rule. According to Gramsci, 'every time the question of language surfaces, it means that a series of other problems are coming to the

fore’. This presupposes that the ruling class may be threatened in terms of their established hegemony being curtailed. At the same time, language issues may be taken advantage of in order to strengthen the hegemony of the ruling class. Another point which is raised by the response above is that multilingualism is not always a resource when it comes to nation building. It may actually be a problem, especially if understood from a perfunctory basis. Along the same lines, Madiba (1999) observes that multilingualism can be seen as a barrier to nation building especially if a common language approach is used whereby one national language is adopted for use despite the existence of other languages. The Language Plan Task Group report of August 1996, commenting on the situation in South Africa, adopted that multilingualism can be a resource for communication where members of a nation need to communicate with each other but not necessarily in one language. It is also seen as a resource for democratisation since there is growing consensus among politicians that the democracy which is suitable for Africa is pluralistic democracy which ensures full participation of all citizens.

4.4.3 Theme 3: Views on languages used in the official renditions of the national anthem

The theme and its categories are reflected on table 4.5.

Table 4.5 Views on languages used in the official renditions of the national anthem

Theme	Categories
3. Views on languages used in the official renditions of the national anthem.	3.1 Language as an expression of values. 3.2 Feasibility of translating the national anthem.

Category 3.1 Language as an expression of values

Cerulo (1993) says that national anthems are the strongest and clearest statements of national identity. By the same token, Bamgbose (1991) believes that language

remains a powerful resource which is symbolic when it comes to national identity. These views can be intertwined to express the importance of language in expressing the national anthem. The national anthem, as seen through many responses in this study, is a national symbol which can be said to be expressing the values of the nation through different languages. In response to the question on the languages that are used to sing the national anthem in Zimbabwe one of the respondents said;

...the national anthem is a national symbol and you want to do (sing) it in your own mother tongue, so if you are to sing it in English it will not really give you the impact. If you sing it in Ndebele when you are not Ndebele speaking you will not really get ... because you must be inspired and have that sense of owning that national anthem. But this can happen provided you use your own language. The language that you use to dream, the language that you use to even express fear... that is the sound of your heart and it is the language that you must use to sing the national anthem. So as it is right now, it is good for the Shonas and Ndebeles and the English people but it is not really appropriate for these other language groups.

The response above shows that some sections of society believe that every linguistic group should be given the opportunity to sing the national anthem in their own languages. This is consistent with Ndhlovu's (2008) view that nation building should be about inclusion, incorporation and managing diversity. This ensures that nation building is fostered as opposed to empire building. Another

respondent confirmed the nature of the national anthem as a national piece as well as the importance of expressing it in one's language. The respondent expressed thus;

*...things like a national anthem are national items.
And then a national anthem being there in the nation,
you have no option but to also sing it and also as a
way of identifying yourself ... but maybe where it might
be a challenge is how it then links up with my heart's feeling
of identity ... when I sing it, do I sing with understanding
or I sing because I was just given an explanation of what it
means and yet it is not taking the real me into its lyrics in
terms of the language, the vocabulary and ultimately the
understanding of what I am singing.*

The respondent is expressing the importance of singing the national anthem in a language that one understands. This brings out the hegemonic nature of the relationship between Ndebele and other languages within the Matabeleland Province of Zimbabwe. Speakers of former marginalised languages feel that due to Ndebele hegemony, they cannot find an identity as they attempt to participate in the nation due to the constraints posed by the dominance of Ndebele. However, other views on language as an expression of values were proffered where language was said to be laden with values and the same values should define the nation. One respondent had this to say;

*...even if we render it (national anthem) in
all the sixteen languages can we sing them?
Do we need to sing in all the sixteen languages?
It's something that cannot be done, it's weird ...*

There is unnecessary celebration of multilingualism because language is just an expression of values. A nation is built on values of which language is used to express those values.

The above responses point to the notion that language is not just anything one says, but the importance and dignity of language is in what it expresses. WaThiong'o (1987) speaks of language as a vehicle of culture and a means of communication. Culture embodies values and values are the basis of a people's identity, their sense of particularity as members of the human race. WaThiong'o's (1987) views resonate with what the above respondent suggests when he says that values should be identified first and then be expressed in different languages. This, in essence suggests that the respondent does not see any values carried by the national anthem and as a result it does not matter what language it is sung in.

Category 3.2 Feasibility of translating the national anthem into all the recognised languages

It should be noted that the study has realised that there are some unofficial translations of the national anthem among the different linguistic groups. This means that it is possible to have the national anthem translated if the different linguistic communities find it benefiting to them. Respondents in the interviews observed different sentiments concerning the translation of the national anthem to different languages. Some find it highly benefiting while others think it is vain effort. Respondents who appreciate the idea of translating the national anthem brought out the following opinions;

The unofficial translations are part of the contestation against Ndebele hegemony and

at the same time they show commitment of the communities to implement the language stipulation without government effort.

The national anthem should be translated deliberately and taught deliberately as an official move to make sure that everyone sings the national anthem in the languages they know better.

The current translations that have been made so far show pride and love for their language. Government should bring in professionals to help with translations since the supreme law now allows them to participate.

This shows that speakers of the former marginalised languages and some of the language advocates believe that it is feasible to translate the national anthem into the available local languages. However, other respondents have a contrary view as they think it is of no significance to translate the national anthem.

*...Yes we can sing and sing in the different languages
But will that help to build the nation? ... Is it possible to sing
in the sixteen languages whenever we have a national
gathering? ... There should be national languages to
be used in national gatherings. I am still struggling to
understand, of what service is it to sing in different
languages? This is not what people are clamouring for!*

This brings the idea that language issues are not automatically obvious because society has different attitudes and responses to the issue.

4.4.4 Theme 4: Challenges in practical implementation of former marginalised languages

The theme and its categories are reflected in table 4.6.

Table 4.6 Challenges in practical implementation of former marginalised languages

Theme	Categories
4. Challenges in practical implementation of former marginalised languages	4.1 Lack of government commitment to language issues. 4.2 Resources for implementation 4.3 Status quo as a factor.

Category 4.1 Lack of government commitment to language issues

The major challenge that has been cited by respondents concerning the practical implementation of the former marginalised languages has been government's commitment. Hachipola (1998) notes that policy issues have been a hindrance in the use of marginalised languages in Zimbabwe. Hence, policy comes from government and if it does not address certain issues, the government is deemed as not committed. Respondents from language associations expressed that the speech communities have a duty to claim their linguistic rights for implementation. This sentiment is confirmed by the efforts to put their languages into practice without government effort as alluded to in category 3.2 on translation of the national anthem.

At the same time, government commitment may be put into question due to lack or absence of proper channels to follow when trying to implement policy. A respondent who deals with issues of language policy in academia expressed that;

The major challenge has been on the part of education. People from marginalised groups have had their languages marginalised from the education system for a long time so they cannot just implement what they do not know. Government should then provide the necessary resources since it has shown commitment by providing the framework in the constitution.

However, the respondent advised that there should also be a cost-benefit analysis in order to ascertain the validity of implementation because not all languages can be elevated to the same status.

Category 4.2 Resources for implementation

Most respondents in the interviews noted that human and material resources are needed in order to ensure implementation of former marginalised languages in all sectors that may enhance nation building. Linguistic communities were also seen as pertinent in taking the initiative to find resources rather than wait for the government.

Category 4.3 Status quo as a factor

Some challenges in implementing the former marginalised languages were seen by respondents to be attitude-related. While part of the linguistic communities may take the initiative to contest Ndebele hegemony, part of them could be

complacent in the status quo because they look down upon their once-marginalised languages. Another respondent had this to say;

*Sometimes the language activists
pay lip service to the language cause
because they just want money but when
you look at it you ask yourself 'is this genuine?'*

This calls to question the sincerity of both the government and the language activists in attempting to change the status quo. Bamgbose (1991) asserts that it is not language that divides, but the attitude of the speakers as well as the sentiments and symbols attached to the language. Since the officially recognised languages had been marginalised for a long time, attitudes about the languages may be found among the elites as well as non-elites amongst the speakers of those languages. This may then contribute to the insincere approach to the issue of changing the status quo.

4.4.5 Theme 5: Recommendations on language choices and usage in national symbols

The theme and its categories are reflected in table 4.7

Table 4.7 Recommendations on language choices and usage in national symbols

Theme	Categories
5. Recommendations on language choices and usage in national symbols.	5.1 Government to allow people to sing the national anthem in their

	<p>languages and provide means for official translations.</p> <p>5.2 Language does not matter but the values expressed should be paramount in national symbols</p>
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Category 5.1 Government to allow people to sing the national anthem in their languages and provide means for official translations.

The researcher ensured that the interviews came to a halt with some recommendations as concluding remarks. The respondents recommended that government should allow citizens to sing the national anthem in their own various languages. However, with this recommendation came an obligation for government to ensure that translations are done professionally.

The government must allow people to sing the national anthem in their languages, if we are talking of nation building, if we are talking of national pride, if we are talking of identity... Then the government must make provisions for people to translate and then recognise officially the translated versions.

Another view was that in as much as government may allow citizens to use the languages they prefer in singing the national anthem, the speech communities themselves have a role of setting the pace and the direction that government should take. Some of the responses are as follows;

*Communities sometimes have got answers
which are not even suspected by the leadership,
which, when given space will actually maximise
the speed with which any society can grow.*

*The community sets the pace and government
should follow rather than waiting for government
to act first. Government should hear from the people
and when we work together it becomes 'our thing'.*

Another recommendation from the respondents was that the national anthem of Zimbabwe must take the same route as that of South Africa which is a rainbow anthem.

*Our national anthem can actually be
turned into a rainbow anthem at official
level, using the mutual intelligibility
pattern, just like what South Africa has done.*

Category 5.2 Language does not matter but the values expressed should be paramount in national symbols

It was felt by some respondents that it does not matter which language is used to sing the national anthem. Rather, values should be the paramount issue before language can be considered. Thus;

*A national anthem can only be a national
symbol if it treats the values of the people.
starting with the issue of language is starting
from the wrong end.*

According to Buck (1961), language is the most important factor in determining a citizenry. Despite that, Buck emphasises that language is not a universal criterion in determining nationality.

4.5 SUMMARY

The data for the expansive research was analysed and interpreted in this chapter. Data from the questionnaires and thematic constructs from the interviews have been considered under various categories and sub-categories.

The findings revealed that speakers of former marginalised languages prefer using their own languages as attested by the 58,46% of respondents who use the former marginalised languages to sing the national anthem. A high percentage of 81,54% agree that when their languages are not used, their participation in the nation is limited. However, the bone of contention is on whether the speech communities and the government are on the same wavelength as far as language issues are concerned since some respondents from the interviews reveal that the constitution uses a vague expression on the language clause.

The constitutional position on languages in the constitution of Zimbabwe presents a complicated position due to the manner in which it is expressed. The phrase *officially recognised* presents interpretation problems to the stakeholders as some are excited about the possible officialisation of their languages while other sectors are unsure what it means.

The language choices for singing the national anthem seem to be based more on activism and contesting Ndebele hegemony rather than a government directed endeavour. This has implications on nation building as some sub-national traits may arise in society.

The constitution-making process took account of the different sectors of society in seeking opinions regarding language issues and there was general consensus that all local languages of Zimbabwe should be officialised and everyone should have a right to use the language of choice.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the findings derived from quantitative data and qualitative data. The data is comparatively presented and discussed in order to establish validity. Data which is discussed in this chapter includes questionnaire data, interviews data and COPAC reports. The research findings are outlined according to the themes that have emerged from the data collected.

5.2 THE LANGUAGE SITUATION IN ZIMBABWE

The current language situation in Zimbabwe is such that the country is moving from the dominance of English, Shona and Ndebele to incorporate previously marginalised languages. This has largely been seen as a new dawn in language planning. According to Mazuruse in Magwa (2019:116);

For the first time since independence in 1980 in Zimbabwe, the 2013 Constitution has given national language status to a

considerable number of languages. This is a significant and exciting development, given that fifteen (15) of the sixteen (16) languages are specifically African.

Such a situation has definitely brought in a different era in Zimbabwe. Respondents who answered questionnaires and the interviewees display varying sentiments about the language situation in Zimbabwe. While some are excited, others expose reservations which cannot be ignored especially when considering the observable deadlock in the development of these languages.

5.2.1 Results from Questionnaires

The questionnaire responses show that while citizens from different linguistic groups in Zimbabwe are aware of the change in the language situation of Zimbabwe, there appears to be confusion between *official* and *officially recognised*. 21.54% believe that their languages are now official while 36, 92% know that the languages are officially recognised. 41,54% did not know the kind of development that has taken place in terms of languages in Zimbabwe.

5.2.2 Results from Interviews

Interview data shows that all interviewees concur that the 2013 constitution of Zimbabwe has heralded a new era in the area of language. However, the paradox between *official* and *officially recognised* was pursued by the interviewees and four positions were established as follows:

- 1) Officially recognised does not mean official
- 2) Officially recognised presents an ambiguous position
- 3) Official recognition means languages are official
- 4) Officially recognised is self-explanatory

Finding 1

With reference to the above mentioned results it is evident that the 2013 Constitutional Amendment has shaken the sociolinguistic fraternity of Zimbabwe as citizens feel they have found answers to the language predicament. Nonetheless, the solution that has been presented seems to have adverse effects in terms of the confusion that has been created in society. According to MacMillan (1998) language is a pre-requisite for the task of establishing an individual's place in society and has deep significance for the individual members of a group. This idea can be used in tandem with one's position in the social field, as postulated by Bourdieu (1972). Language therefore becomes an important resource which ensures the participation of members in the field. Hence, one may appreciate the excitement that comes with the constitutional position for the speakers of former marginalised languages. However, as far as status planning is concerned, the officially recognised languages have not been given a status as yet and so to conclude that they are official would be mistaken. Kloss (1969) attests that status planning refers to modifications in the social role of a language, in particular the role with respect to the state or the government. Thus, the officially recognised languages are yet to be conferred a status or clear position and this dismisses the euphoric approach displayed by the speakers of the particular languages. It is also in contradiction with what scholars such as Magwa (2019) and Mazuruse (2019) believe in terms of these languages being expected to function fully in every sphere of society. Therefore, the researcher finds that at the end of the day, officially recognised does not mean official while at the same time it is vague because it expresses a number of possible ideas.

5.3 CONTRIBUTION OF LANGUAGE CLAUSE TO NATION BUILDING

The constitution of Zimbabwe, for the first time, has included a section on language. While this might be seen as a step forward towards a language policy, it can also be seen as a strong attempt at bringing Zimbabwe's linguistic groups

together, hence nation building. Ndhlovu (2008:2) has lamented that Zimbabwe's post-independence tribal balancing policies "have promoted Shona and Ndebele as the only national languages of Zimbabwe ...has left the status of minority languages and their speakers at low ebb, since they have not been fully integrated into the national agenda". Therefore the constitutional clause on language can be viewed as a prompt response to such lamentations.

5.3.1 Results from questionnaires

Respondents in the questionnaire survey revealed that language is a form of identity and can be a necessary tool of national expression. They felt that citizens can fully participate in nation building or in the nation when their languages are being used, especially in the expression of national symbols like the national anthem. A paltry 18.46% felt that language does not matter when it comes to nation building as citizens can operate and contribute using the languages that have always dominated.

5.3.2 Results from interviews

Interviewees believed that language is a strong tool for nation building as revealed by the following response:

*Languages play a pivotal role in the development
of nations because nothing can be done without language.*

This then shows that it is a prevailing belief that since language is an identity tool, it can become a strong tool for nation building. On the other hand, other interviewees expressed that while language is necessary for nation building, it can also be used to divide citizens, especially in a multi lingual situation. To this effect, another respondent said,

*Multilingualism is double edged in the sense that it can
lead to nation building but it can also lead to sub-national
issues.*

Finding 2

The study finds that language is regarded as a strong tool of nation building by all sectors of society. Respondents who completed questionnaires were coming from all walks of life as ordinary citizens while the interviewees included individuals from academic circles and language activists. Hence, the perception of the role of language in nation building is similar across the board. However, a small figure of respondents who answered questionnaires revealed a possibility of complacency when it comes to language issues. Some citizens do not see the need for language in national issues.

Multilingualism was presented as a problem. This indicates the ambivalent positions of politicians and academics where at one point there is zeal for promoting languages and at a convenient time the language question falls off (Latin, 1992). In Bourdieu's terms, the indication is that language is a capital resource which is needed in order for one to be relevant in the social field. It can be manipulated to achieve what the dominant classes aspire for.

5.4 VIEWS ON LANGUAGES USED IN THE OFFICIAL RENDITIONS OF THE NATIONAL ANTHEM

The national anthem of Zimbabwe is currently being rendered in English, Shona and Ndebele officially. These are the languages which have dominated the socio-political discourse of Zimbabwe since independence. According to Mutemererwa, Chamisa and Chambwera (2015), every nation has its own identity which is mirrored through national symbols like the anthem. The identity can also be linked to the languages which express the national symbols. Different attitudes emerged from the responses provided by respondents on the languages used to render the national anthem.

5.4.1 Results from questionnaires

53.46% of respondents who participated in the questionnaire survey indicated that they prefer singing the national anthem in the previously marginalised languages. For those who sing in the Ndebele language, their reasons for doing so include:

- It is the language I learnt first
- People have a negative attitude towards my language
- It is a widely spoken language
- It is a language that bridges the minority languages in Matabeleland Provinces.

5.4.2 Results from interviews

Two views emerged in the interviews on the languages used to render the national anthem in Zimbabwe:

- 1) Language as an expression of values
- 2) Feasibility of officially translating the national anthem into former marginalised languages.

Respondents felt that in as much as the national anthem of Zimbabwe can be sung in the languages citizens prefer, language should be viewed as an expression of values which build the nation. Therefore, the national anthem itself should be laden with national values such that different languages can articulate these values. Some respondents felt that the national anthem should be translated to all officially recognised languages while others felt that the issue of translation should still link up with the issue of values.

Finding 3

The study finds that the citizens' preference to sing the national anthem in former marginalised languages stems from the euphoria created by the misunderstanding of the position of languages as officially recognised. As alluded to by one respondent in the interviews, official recognition does not make the languages

official. As the interviewee further asserts, it is impossible to make the entire languages official. This then explains the existence of the unofficial translations in that speakers of former marginalised languages have a desire to feel included in the nation and that inclusion should be based on their true identity. Latin (1992) observes that governments have a say in the language chosen for official purposes but at the same time, citizens have their own agendas. This is evident in Zimbabwe's situation where national symbols such as the national anthem are officially expressed in dominant languages while speakers of previously marginalised languages take action on their own to ensure that the national symbols are also expressed in their languages. In the constitution of Zimbabwe, section 6 (2) government states that 'an Act of Parliament may prescribe other languages as officially recognised and may prescribe languages of record'.

According to Mazuruse in Magwa (2019), the different linguistic groups in Matabeleland have operated as part of the Ndebele for a long time under the caste system and this has given them an Ndebele identity. In attempting to assert themselves as part of the nation, former marginalised linguistic groups have opted to take the constitutional stipulation on language to a practical level, though seemingly without government effort involved.

Again, it can also be found that there are some speakers of the former marginalised languages who sing the national anthem in Ndebele. Given their reasons in section 5.4.1, it can be noted that these speakers have created a habitus in the Ndebele language and feel more confident using it rather than the former marginalised languages. A habitus, according to Bourdieu (1984:82) entails a system of dispositions '...that produces practices in accordance with the schemes engendered by history'. This indicates the hegemonic situation that has thrived in Zimbabwe's history as well as some attitudes where speakers of marginalised languages do not see the necessity of having their own languages elevated.

It was also found that no matter the language used in singing the national anthem, what is important is expressing values as opposed to insisting on the language to be used. Therefore, what this pre-supposes is that some respondents see the national anthem as lacking in values. This means that whether the dominant language or the former marginalised languages are used to sing it, it is of no consequence as there are no values which aid nation building expressed in it.

5.5 CHALLENGES IN PRACTICAL IMPLEMENTATION OF FORMER MARGINALISED LANGUAGES

Since the enactment of the new constitution in 2013, there seems to be minimum activity as far as implementation is concerned. Kadenge and Kufakunesu (2018: 79) argue that;

...the lack of a robust and effective implementation programme militates against the development and promotion of all languages, especially those spoken by minorities in public domains of life.

In the spirit of the above observation, some challenges regarding the implementation of the constitution's provision have been seen to be the order of the day.

5.5.1 Results from interviews

Respondents in the interviews revealed that the implementation of the constitutional provision on languages in the mainstream is hampered by the lack of commitment on the side of the government. Government seems to have reneged on providing the relevant channels and resources for the practical realisation of the newly recognised languages. The status quo has also contributed in terms of creating attitudes towards indigenous languages that were marginalised.

Finding 4

The research found that citizens expect the government to play a pivotal role in the process of practical implementation of former marginalised languages. The seriousness of the government concerning language issues is called into question as some respondents feel there is no sincerity at all. One may reveal that the 2013 constitutional amendment was enacted at a time when the country was looking forward to the plebiscite of July 2013. This might then be viewed as a strategy that would ensure temporary nation building on the verge of elections. As Gramsci cited in Jones (2001) postulates, when the issue of language is mentioned, other political problems come to the fore. Hence, the drawback by government to implement or to provide resources may be due to the fact that there might have been no intention to do so in the first place but to create excitement among the citizens, which would possibly lead to nation building.

5.6 PROPOSED RESOLUTION ON LANGUAGE AND NATION BUILDING

The issue of language and nation building, with special focus on national symbols (national anthem) is a contentious issue as speakers of marginalised languages feel they need to express themselves in their languages at all levels of society. At the same time, the ground for practical implementation is not level and critics also feel that it is not necessary to have all these languages on board. According to Vilhanova (2018:251);

Most African countries have lacked a coherent government policy in language development and the position of African languages have always been very ambiguous. Many African countries have made a declaration of intent to adopt a multilingual approach with the objective of promoting and developing African languages and empowering people through African languages.

5.6.1 Results from questionnaires

Participants who completed questionnaires revealed a host of issues that could help in harmonising the issues of language and nation building in Zimbabwe. The issues include;

- 1) Teaching and learning in all languages
- 2) Promoting equal recognition and usage of all languages
- 3) Availing adequate resources to rehabilitate and develop marginalised languages
- 4) Citizens to use whichever language they feel like
- 5) Continue using the dominant languages

5.6.2 Results from interviews

The results of the interviews brought out more or less similar sentiments as those of the questionnaire survey. Respondents felt that;

- 1) Government should allow citizens to sing the national anthem in their languages and provide means for official translations.
- 2) The values expressed through any language should be paramount in national symbols.

The interviewees felt that it is prudent for citizens to use their own languages. However, in that exercise the different linguistic groups were also seen as having a role of setting the pace and having some answers which the leadership itself might not have at a particular point in time. Thus:

The community sets the pace and government should follow rather than waiting for government to act.

On the other hand language was seen as having no role to play as long as the national anthem does not express national values. Values were seen as the paramount point which then can be expressed using different languages.

Finding 5

The study found that citizens keep calling upon the government to act when it comes to language issues. The promotion of equal language rights and recognition thereof and usage of all languages, all rely on government's provision of the necessary resources. However, the linguistic communities themselves should not be passive in the cause but need to work hand in hand with government for the forward enhancement of their languages. This being the case, government would need to provide the necessary structures in order to create a possible way forward for the marginalised, yet officially recognised languages.

5.7 RESULTS FROM COPAC REPORTS

The following sub-sections discuss results that were obtained from the reports compiled by the constitution parliamentary select committee (COPAC). The constitution was being amended in order to enhance nation building. For that reason, consultations were made with various sections of society. The results of the consultations are as reflected in version 2 of the National Statistical Report of October 2012.

5.8 SOCIO-ECONOMIC POSITION OF RESPONDENTS

Participants for the COPAC survey were drawn from different strata of society which included children, Diaspora, institutions, parliament and ordinary citizens in provinces. The statistics in all fields of enquiry reflect a 100% agreement to the issues raised except for the provincial statistics from the ordinary people.

Finding 6

The socio-economic level of respondents is crucial in determining the outcome of the survey. The children were represented by the junior parliament, which in a sense is an elite section of society. The diaspora were bringing in their submissions through the website and this might have had an effect or influence on the levels of commitment to the submissions. The institutions and parliament have similar interests of driving the ideology of the nation forward. Hence in their participation in the COPAC survey, the results could have been compromised by such positions. Ordinary citizens varied in their responses due to their different levels of knowledge and different interests.

5.9 ALL LANGUAGES TO BE OFFICIALISED

During the COPAC survey, it was established that Matabeleland North and Matabeleland South provinces (and indeed other provinces) positively responded to the suggestion to officialise all languages in Zimbabwe. This result was based on the “agreed issues” in the drafting instruments that guided the constitution making process. The drafting instruments compiled in October 2012 list the agreed issues as follows:

*All languages should be officialised
and the following are Zimbabwe’s languages:
Shona, Ndebele, Kalanga, Nambya, Chikunda,
Venda, Shangani, Chewa, Nyanja, Sotho, Tonga,
Xhosa, Pfumbi, Barwe, Hwesa, Tshwawo, Doma,
English and Sign language. English to be the
language of record for Zimbabwe. However, there
should be a framework in the constitution which
will make it possible to add more languages.*

Finding 7

All the languages which were listed were supposed to be given official status when the constitution was being drafted. However, what finally ensued in the constitution was just but official recognition of languages where the constitution says:

*The following languages namely
Chewa, Chibarwe, English, Kalanga,
Khoisan, Ndaou, Ndebele, Shangani,
Shona, Sign language, Sotho, Tonga,
Tswana, Venda and Xhosa are the
officially recognised languages of
Zimbabwe.*

The drafting instruments had exposed an ambitious position by giving all the languages official status. According to the drafting instruments, all local languages were supposed to be made official languages (COPAC 2012). This might have then raised fears of the challenges that could be faced in satisfying the needs of all languages at official level. Hence, the phrase *officially recognised* may be precautionary, as stated by one respondent in section 4.4.2, category 2.1 in the previous chapter. At the same time, the phrase *officially recognised* might have been useful at a particular point in time in creating excitement and hope for the linguistic communities.

5.10 LOCAL LANGUAGES TO BE RESPECTED, RECOGNISED AND PROTECTED

Participants in the COPAC outreach in the provinces provided very high positive responses concerning the respect, recognition and protection of local languages.

Finding 8

It is apparent that different linguistic groups yearn for the respect and protection of their languages. However, what is not clear are the means through which the languages will be protected and recognised.

5.11 THE RIGHT TO THE LANGUAGE OF CHOICE

The investigation carried out by COPAC revealed very low positive responses from participants in the various provinces. Matabeleland North had 3.19%, Matabeleland South 1.82% while Bulawayo Metropolitan had 0%. They did not agree with the right to use languages of choice.

Finding 9

Through the above results, the study found that citizens show a lack of knowledge about language rights as they contradict themselves on different aspects. If the languages are to be respected, it is also possible to have a right to one's language of choice. Nevertheless, the participants in the provincial outreach did not understand the connection. Apart from lacking knowledge, citizens might be showing satisfaction with the status quo and perceive the right to use any other language as absurd. This is a manifestation of some attitudes and perceptions that result from an uneven playing field as players attempt to strike a balance. Ndebele has become a hegemonic language in Matabeleland Provinces such that even speakers of the former marginalised languages hesitate doing away with it.

5.12 SUMMARY

While the language situation ushered by the 2013 constitutional amendment brings excitement and hope to the speakers of marginalised languages, respondents revealed mixed feelings about the new stipulation. The study therefore found that it is fair to appreciate the euphoria expressed by the marginalised groups but at the same time the task of elevating these languages is not yet over as there seems to be a gap in fulfilling what it means to officially

recognise languages. MacMillan (1998) posits that language is a pre-requisite for the task of establishing an individual's place in society and has deep psychological significance for the individual members of a group.

Language is regarded as a strong tool for nation building. Scholars like Ndhlovu (2008) have always presented an outcry on the exclusive nation building which has seen the exclusion of minority groups through language policies and practices. Respondents felt that participation in the nation can be enhanced if their languages are used. A minority of the respondents raised possible danger of language being divisive rather than building the nation.

Language was also seen as a vehicle of expressing values, meaning that national symbols like the national anthem should be built on values and then language should be used to express such values. It was seen as imprudent to over emphasise on language when national symbols are not value-laden.

The practical implementation of language stipulations was seen as relying more on government commitment. However, this does not dismiss the role that linguistic communities can play in forging ahead with advancing their languages.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is a rundown of the research with focus on the background of the study and the objectives that illuminated the study. The conclusions that have resulted from the research are stated in this chapter as well as the recommendations.

6.2 SUMMARY

The major thrust of this study has been to investigate nation building through the national anthem in Zimbabwe, focusing on the languages that are used to sing the national anthem in Zimbabwe. Focus was on fulfilling the following aim and objectives.

6.2.1 Main Aim

The main aim was:

- To establish whether the Zimbabwean national anthem can be a tool of uniting the linguistically diverse citizenry as an attempt towards nation building although the former marginalised languages are not represented in the official rendition of the song.

6.2.2 Objectives

In order to achieve the above aim, the study addressed the following objectives:

- To investigate the position and role of the national anthem in Zimbabwe.
- To establish the attitudes of the speakers of former marginalised languages towards the national anthem and nation building in Zimbabwe.
- To analyse the prospects of nation building through the national anthem in Zimbabwe in relation to the languages being used to sing it.

It was established that national anthems are political symbols which have a national purpose (Curtis, 2010). They connect citizens to memories of their history and present. Thus, each country expects to build a nation through the national anthem.

Nation building was understood as a process of inclusion, incorporation and managing diversity. However, problems of linguistic diversity had been noted by Ndhlovu (2008) as hindering nation building due to hegemonic tendencies.

Language becomes an important ingredient in nation building as it determines who is included in the nation and to what extent. Hachipola (1998) notes that although Zimbabwe is made up of various linguistic groups, this fact is forgotten by the general population because focus has always been on Shona and Ndebele which are hegemonic languages. Hachipola (1998) and Ndhlovu (2008) point out that policy issues have been a hindrance to achieving nation building in Zimbabwe. Hence the study discusses the latest language policy of Zimbabwe which attempts to be inclusive in view of nation building.

Data collection for the research was conducted in two phases. The first phase was conducted through questionnaires which were distributed to the four (4) linguistic groups that comprised the scope of the study. Those groups are; the Kalanga, Nambya, Sotho and Tonga. The second phase of data collection was through

semi-structured interviews that were held in two modes, that is, individual interviews and focus group interviews. The data from the questionnaires and interviews provided useful information that contributed to the discussions in the study. The questionnaire data was categorised and presented in frequency tables, while interview data was condensed into themes, categories and sub-categories. The themes that emerged from the interviews are the following:

- The language situation in Zimbabwe
- Contribution of the language clause to nation building
- Views on languages used for national symbols
- Challenges in practical implementation of Zimbabwe's language policy
- Recommendations on language choices for national symbols

The position of the different languages in Zimbabwe was established in terms of the constitution's declaration. Constitutional Amendment No. 20 of 2013 which officially recognises sixteen (16) languages comes at a time when scholars have lamented the exclusion of minority languages from the mainstream. Ndhlovu (2008) puts forward that nation building is the idea behind language policy in post-independent Zimbabwe. Furthermore, Ndhlovu (2008) notes an uneasy alliance between nation building and multilingualism. Hence the question of language and nation building in this study is informed by section six (6) of the constitution which says,

6(1) The following languages namely Chewa, Chibarwe, English, Kalanga, Nambya, Ndau, Ndebele, Shangani, Shona, Sign language, Sotho, Tonga, Tswana, Venda and Xhosa, are the officially recognised languages of Zimbabwe.

The researcher, therefore, sought information from mother tongue speakers of four of the newly recognised languages, i.e. Kalanga, Nambya, Sotho and Tonga.

These groups completed questionnaires. In the interviews, participants from the two dominant indigenous languages, i.e. Shona and Ndebele were also included in the discussions.

The focus group discussions and individual interviews were used to complement the questionnaire data.

Although there are mixed feelings about the language situation and language policy in Zimbabwe, most respondents indicated a preference for the former marginalised languages to be used in the official rendition of the national anthem.

One of the most important and basic steps in determining the relationship between language and nation building was to establish the knowledge of citizens on the constitutional position regarding language in Zimbabwe. The results show that 41,5% did not know what the constitution says about issues of language, while those who knew what the constitution says brought attention to the controversy between *official* and *officially recognised*.

The second step was to explore the language preferences of respondents with respect to singing the nation anthem. The research noted that in each linguistic group, over 50% sing the national anthem in Ndebele which is a dominant language, yet their preference would be to use their own languages. The reasons underlying the discrepancy between what respondents prefer and what seems to be practically possible for them are steeped in the hegemony of Ndebele. Ndebele has been perceived as a prestigious language which gives any individual an advantage in the Matabeleland provinces of Zimbabwe.

The third step involved determining the role of language in nation building from the respondents' perspective. What emerged was that language indeed plays a role in the building of nations as it promotes a sense of belonging and confidence.

Language also contributes to the extent to which citizens can fully exercise their rights in a nation. McMillan (1985) avails that language is a pre-requisite for establishing an individual's place in society and has deep significance for the individual members of a group.

Step four sought to understand challenges faced when it comes to the practical implementation of the constitutional clause on language. The findings revealed that government effort as far as providing effective implementation programmes is concerned, has been minimal.

6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendations relating to the findings of the research are noted below.

6.3.1 Recommendation 1: The need to understand the relationship between language and national symbols in multilingual societies

Both government and the citizens need to be aware of the intrinsic relationship between language and national symbols. In the findings of the study, it is clear that citizens understand that there is a connection between language and national symbols, albeit from a hegemonic standpoint. In order for nation building to be successful, it should be recognised that language itself is a symbol which enhances the expression of other national symbols such as the national anthem. Therefore, language should be harnessed as a resource which unites the multilingual communities of Zimbabwe. Every language becomes important to the enterprise of nation building.

6.3.2 Recommendation 2: Development of an explicit language policy for Zimbabwe

The findings of this study show that most of the problems encountered by citizens in the use of their languages to sing the national anthem stem from the confusion

and misunderstanding created by the language policy. What is evident is that Zimbabwe's language policy does not clearly spell out what it means by *officially recognised*. The researcher therefore recommends that as a starting point to nation building, if language is to be included, language policy should be clear and to the point. This will avoid unnecessary confusion as apparently, citizens feel they have been misled.

6.3.3 Recommendation 3: Government to partner citizens in policy implementation

Part of the findings revealed that the government is expected to play a visible role in the implementation of the language policy. This can be done by way of providing the necessary resources for implementation. Citizens should also play an active role in pushing forward for the use of their languages in expressing national symbols. The forefront of the nation building process should be occupied by the citizens. In the vertical and horizontal dimensions of nation building, citizens should perceive the government as a national symbol and at the same time government should accept the diversity of its citizens. This would ensure that national symbols belong to all citizens if their languages are used to express them.

6.4 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The study could not exhaust all areas covering the sociolinguistic realities and the issue of nation building in Zimbabwe. Hence the researcher recommends further study in the following areas:

- The significance of national symbols in a multilingual setting.
- The attitudes towards use of former marginalised languages in different national symbols and government institutions.
- Status planning in post 2013 Zimbabwe.

- Language rights in multilingual Zimbabwe.

6.5 CONCLUSION

Speakers of former marginalised languages in Zimbabwe hold the belief that their languages are important and they imbue the speakers with a sense of worth in a multilingual setting. Their concern is that since independence their languages have been ignored, resulting in the speakers being complacent under the dominance of Ndebele and Shona in different parts of Zimbabwe. National symbols such as the national anthem have been unofficially translated by former marginalised groups as an attempt to dislodge Ndebele in some parts of Matabeleland. However, what remains a problem is the standardisation of the translated versions from different geographical areas.

As stated previously, in earlier chapters, translating the national anthem into all the languages might not be the best solution for the language problem in Zimbabwe. The solution must begin with acceptance and respect for the diverse linguistic communities. Ndhlovu (2008) noted that there is a culture of intolerance for linguistic diversity, especially from the socio-political front. Hence, even politically generated national symbols do not reflect the linguistic diversity that exists in Zimbabwe.

Nhongo (2013) alludes that language planning in Zimbabwe has always been an elite game. This can be seen from the colonial era where English was imposed by the British colonisers. After independence, the government emphasised on the dominant indigenous languages through educational policies. However, in the 2013 constitutional amendment, one notes that it is purported that stakeholders at all levels were involved in the drafting of the language policy. While this might be the case as substantiated by the COPAC reports, the elitist nature of language planning activities is evident in the final product where there is a contradiction

between what was suggested by stakeholders and what obtains in the constitution (c.f Chapter 5, section 5.9)

The nation building approach in Zimbabwe seems to be more inclined towards the primordialist/essentialist approach. In this approach, the nation is believed to be a historical truism in which history and tradition provide an enduring grand narrative (Delanty, 2001). In this type of nation building, the elite are always the narrators of a history which is believed to be genuine. Consequently, there is a great chance of manipulating the history in order to legitimise hegemonic tendencies. Thus, the hegemony spreads to all spheres of society including language.

Having carried out this investigation, the researcher submits that nation building can be accomplished through national symbols such as the anthem. Such symbols are initially created to foster nation building. However, the dominance of Ndebele and Shona over other indigenous languages is problematic as it gives an impression that the nation requires proficiency in either of the two indigenous languages. Former marginalised languages should be accorded the status that they need in order to be used for national symbol expression, and indeed for the restoration of the dignity of their speakers.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Interview Guide for Academics in the area of Language

Questions

1. What is your general opinion about the language situation in Zimbabwe especially considering the 2013 constitution's stipulation on language?
2. How does the new constitutional stipulation contribute to nation building in both policy and practical terms?
3. The 2013 constitution upholds the national anthem as a sovereign symbol of the nation. What is your remark on the languages used to render the national anthem in Zimbabwe?
4. Then, how can you comment on the language question with regards to national symbols and nation building?
5. What do you consider to be the challenges when it comes to the practical implementation of the newly recognised languages in expressing national symbols?
6. What would you recommend with regards to language choices and usage in national symbols like the national anthem?

APPENDIX 2

Focus Group Interview Guide for Language Activists from Former Marginalised Linguistic Communities

Questions

1. What is your first language/ mother tongue?
2. What is your view on the official recognition of your language in the 2013 constitution?
3. Do you think there is progress so far in the implementation of formerly marginalised languages in all sectors of society?
4. How do you perceive the rendering of the national anthem in English, Ndebele and Shona?
5. How do you think language empowers society to be effective in the nation?
6. Do you feel your own language community contributes and participates in nation building in Zimbabwe?

APPENDIX 3

Questionnaire for Speakers of Former Marginalised Languages

Questions

1. Biographical information

Gender.....

Age Group

Less than 20yrs.....

21-30yrs.....

31-40yrs.....

41-50yrs.....

51-60yrs.....

More than 60yrs.....

2. What is your first language/ mother tongue?

.....

3. Do you know the constitutional position regarding the status of your language?

.....

- i) What does it say?

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4. In what language do you generally sing the national anthem of Zimbabwe?

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i) Why do you prefer using that particular language?

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5. Do you think it is important to use your first language to sing the national anthem?

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i) Why.....

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6. Of what significance / value would be using your own language in expressing national symbols like the anthem?

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7. Do you think citizens can participate fully in the nation when their languages are not being used for national expression?

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8. What do you think can be the solution to the language situation in Zimbabwe?

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