VOICES FROM THE INSIDE: THE SHAPING OF LANGUAGE USE AND LITERACY IN ZIMBABWE.

By

Adam S. Meyer

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of English

1998

ABSTRACT

VOICES FROM THE INSIDE: THE SHAPING OF LANGUAGE USE AND LITERACY IN ZIMBABWE.

By

Adam S. Meyer

An institutional system of education is the product of the negotiation of group interests in a given society. The arena in which this negotiation takes place may be understood as a "market" (Bourdieu, 1991) in which members with larger amounts of linguistic capital are able to maintain superior access. Over time, a system reflective of unequal relations in the market is established that comes to serve the needs of a minority. This is especially true of inherited colonial systems of education, because of the powerful influence of colonial interests (the colonizing government, commercial interests, colonial administration, and the settlers) in the formation of the system. The focus here is upon one such system, that of post-colonial Zimbabwe, with the aims of better understanding what it is like, and how it could be improved in the central area of language education. Language education has become naturalized through a phenomenological process of legitimation (Berger and Luckman, 1966). Internal and external institutions that promote and maintain a unified linguistic and cultural market in Zimbabwe utilize legitimations such as "modernization" and "unity" to maintain the status quo in language education. This process is critically examined in order to locate institutional agency for the language planning process within a society. Once agency is located and the nature of the market is recognized, the concept of critical pedagogy (Giroux and McLaren, 1992) is utilized as a

transformatory influence upon language education. Critical pedagogy recognizes levels of individual subjectivity operating within a historical context. Critical pedagogy also advocates relevance and equity in the curriculum. This dissertation shows that Zimbabwe has institutionalized a non-Zimbabwean concept of reading in its secondary education. Through their unique approach to narrative, Zimbabwean writers produce works that represent the negotiation of identity in historical context. These works contain narrative voices that explore different areas of identity relevant to a Zimbabwean audience, especially during Zimbabwe's second Chimurenga period. These works can be utilized in the spirit of Pratt's contact zone approach (1991) to explore multiple voices of identity relevant to a Zimbabwean audience. These voices are reflective of the role English plays in the negotiation of power relations in Zimbabwean society. The central thesis of this dissertation is that the introduction of approaches to literacy and literature that interrogate contact zone issues is useful for exposing structures of domination in Zimbabwe's language market. Awareness of these structures is important for students so that they may understand their reality in terms of the social forces that shape it; this awareness can then lead to a development of student ability to more confidently negotiate those social forces.

For my *Ambuya* Virginia Cone

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Thanks to my wife Marcy for always being there for me, my son Gavin for the much needed "recharge" hugs, Mom and Dad who gave me the support to carry on, and to my grandparents who are my professional and spiritual role models. Thanks also to my extended family who were always supportive.

Special thanks go to the immensely supportive guidance committee of my chair Kenneth Harrow, Marilyn Wilson, David Dwyer, and David Plank. Their flexibility and support was the key "enabler" for the completion of this dissertation. The support of the African Studies Center (Title VI African area training program) under David Wiley, Yacob Fisseha, and MSU's Africanist core faculty provided valuable language and area studies training. I would also like to thank Mr. Robert Vassen for his professional support and friendship; his impeccable integrity always set an example. A very special thanks to my Zimbabwean colleagues: my good friend Dr. Albert Natsa who always went the extra mile, and Mr. Thompson Tsodzo for his support. I must also thank Mr. John Sadler of UCLES (Cambridge) for his assistance in the area of Zimbabwe's exam localization.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER 1
THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN AFRICA 7
The Framing of Language Choice in Africa 9
Roots of Language Planning as a Field 14
Institutions and Legitimations of LP 15
Bourdieu's Market 20
Role of Education 24
Giroux's Critical Pedagogy 26
Legitimation and Nation States 31
A Source of Legitimations: Language Policy 32
Structural-Functional Discourse 33
Interactionist Discourse 36

CHAPTER 2
THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN THE ORIGIN AND MAINTENANCE OF SYMBOLIC DOMINATION IN ZIMBABWE 42
English Competence, Access, and Equity 45
Historical Background 46
Hostile Settlers and African Agency 52
White Education 54
African Education 58
Class Interests 66
African Language Development in Zimbabwe 70
Challenges for the New Government 72
Current Zimbabwean Language Education Policy and Practice 74
Britain and UCLES 75
Localization and the O Level 78

CHAPTER 3
LITERACY AND LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION IN ZIMBABWE 83
Literacy, Orality and Language Socialization 86
Relative Focus on Personal Involvement 94

The Literacy-Orality Relationship: Toward Language Socialization 97
Literacy Events and Cultural Knowledge 102
Contact Zones 103
National Reading Curriculum 109
The Zimbabwean-UCLES Ordinary Level Examination System 113
Agents of Change? 119

CHAPTER 4
TOWARD DIALOGUE: AN INVESTIGATION OF VOICES
FROM THE INSIDE 124
Authors, Teachers and Audience 126
Narrative Focus: Genette's Narratology 132
Zimbabwean Literary Analysis 134
Charles Mungoshi 137
"Ten Shillings" 141
"Coming of the Dry Season 144
Waiting for the Rain 148
Language Socialization 161
Chenjerai Hove 167
Bones 169
Hove's Language Socialization 178
Tsitsi Dangarmebga 178
Consequences of Analepsis 184
Women's History 186
Gender Roles and the Cash Economy 191
Language Socialization 195
Feminism in Zimbabwe 199
Summary 204

CONCLUSIONS 207

BIBLIOGRAPHY 224

INTRODUCTION

Not long ago I found myself in a very pleasant, yet unnerving situation. It was a clear day with a gentle breeze blowing through a nearby stand of pines. I'm paddling a canoe through the middle of a pristine lake; waterfowl are noisily climbing the far bank. Up in the bow, Ian, a friend, is doing his best to catch a rainbow trout. During the long silences that come with the meditative work of fishing, childhood memories of fishing trips in my native Minnesota flash through my mind. Finally, apologetically, I break the silence. In a half joking, half plaintive voice, I find myself saying more to myself than to Ian, "You know, I can't believe I'm in Zimbabwe right now." Looking back in mid-cast, Ian replies, "I can't either."

Located in Northeastern Zimbabwe, near Nyanga National Park and the border with Mozambique, Troutbeck is the fantasy creation of one Major McIlwiaine. This Irishman first established Troutbeck Inn (1950) by planting acres of forest on the bare hills (he made each visitor plant a tree) and building several lakes with a miniature dam system (McCrea and Pinchuck, 1990). In addition, Scottish trout were introduced to the lakes. Once introduced, the predatory trout wiped out all nautical faunas in the region's previously undeveloped tributary system. The pine forest, while a very lucrative and sustainable resource for Zimbabwe's forestry department, is carefully guarded.

If African writers can teach readers through metaphor, trout fishing in Zimbabwe may be helpful for an historian. The metaphor of Troutbeck points to the contradiction of a formerly established European system that is no longer a contradiction for most African countries. How does one successfully harness the lucrative but thorny legacy of

European "fish" and "trees"? For whom does one "conserve" the established environment? Who benefits from conservation?

This metaphor is relevant for issues surrounding African language education and literature: i.e., orality vs. literacy, African vs. European language use, ideologically committed writers vs. bourgeois authors. Throughout the ongoing debates, one thing remains quite clear: the contradictions have become naturalized. A dominant European linguistic and cultural market has been established and is maintained in African educational systems. This market is highly unequal and reproductive. Those that get more access to chances of European linguistic and cultural capital (in education), occupy a dominant position in the economic market. Literacy and educational attainment rates in most African countries are very low. In the case of Zimbabwe, an educational leader in Africa, literacy rates (rough estimates at best) range between 50%-70%. Two years of secondary is terminal for all but the most select few (Colclough, 1990). Institutional forces such as governmental policy, external educational agencies, and influential examination systems assist in the maintenance of these unequal market relations. While unequal market relations can be shown to exist in most countries, they are especially marked in African countries; European languages in formal education are utilized by an extreme minority.

To view issues of inequity as purely oppositional (rich vs. poor, European vs. African, outside vs. inside) is to obscure the historical complexity of these issues. Furthermore, it de-emphasizes African agency in the system. Dominant linguistic and cultural market forces established during a colonial period do not directly translate into country-wide cultural hegemony. A majority of Zimbabweans have chosen to participate

in English-based education, especially in elementary education, since the beginning of the 20th century. African parents understand that access to European linguistic and cultural capital is vital for the economic future of their children. They have historically sacrificed a great deal to maximize their childrens' chances of access. While English remains a second language for a majority, this does not imply that Zimbabweans cannot master English to satisfy their economic and political needs. As Street (1993) posits, "Different models of society and of the political generate different ideas about the role of language and cultural process" (32). The challenge for Zimbabwe is to what degree its educational system can produce what Anderson (1994) has called a "politically sufficient diffusion of bilingualism."

An institutional system of education is the product of the negotiation of group interests in a given society. The arena in which this negotiation takes place may be understood as a "market" (Bourdieu, 1991) in which members with larger amounts of linguistic capital are able to maintain superior access. Over time, a system reflective of unequal relations in the market is established that comes to serve the needs of a minority. This is especially true of inherited colonial systems of education, because of the powerful influence of colonial interests (the colonizing government, commercial interests, colonial administration, and the settlers) in the formation of the system. The focus here is upon one such system, that of post-colonial Zimbabwe, about which I will seek to understand what it is like, and how it could be improved in the central area of language education. This dissertation's proposal for improvement utilizes a contact zone approach to analyzing literature that draws specifically upon Zimbabwean texts written during Zimbabwe's second Chimurenga period. Unlike many literary analyses, this

interpretation is aimed directly at Zimbabweans. This dissertations central thesis is that the introduction of approaches to literacy and literature that interrogate contact zone issues is useful for exposing structures of domination in Zimbabwe's language market. Awareness of these structures is important for students so that they may understand their reality in terms of the social forces that shape it; this awareness can then lead to a development of student ability to more confidently negotiate those social forces. In this type of system, learners' backgrounds, not externally certified examinations, become a primary resource for language education.

Zimbabwe was chosen as the context for this dissertation for several key reasons. First, Zimbabwe had an historically important settler influence that continues to influence the educational system today; the establishment of racially separate educational systems created a set of market relations that continue to have an impact. Second, at the onset of black majority rule in 1980, the Zimbabwean government fully committed itself to transforming the unequal set of relations that had been established during the settler period; while the impacts of that transformation have been examined from a quantitative perspective (with attention to Zimbabwe's massive expansion in access), the qualitative issue of language education has gone largely unexamined. Finally, the recent move to "localize" Zimbabwe's examination system has mostly been examined from an administrative perspective; consequently, the questions of how language plays a role in examination (and therefore curriculum) have gone largely unexamined. The thesis proposed by this dissertation is not based on an analysis of quantitative research data. Rather, the thesis and framework aim to create new insight into language education theory and its potential application in Zimbabwe.

This dissertation develops a critical framework in order to examine the roots of unequal market relations in Zimbabwe, details a dialogic pedagogy, and develops an analysis of Zimbabwean literature. The dialogic pedagogy and literary analysis detailed in this dissertation are especially relevant in the context of Zimbabwe's current move toward a "localized" curriculum. The term "localization" has come to mean the inclusion of local content and the localization of examination administration; however, localization has not reshaped the colonial nature of language education in the system. This dissertation offers a specific application of critical literacy by showing how African authors can be "voices from the inside" for Zimbabwean students and teachers.

As noted in Harrow (1994), African literature has always been seen to have an educational function. African writers such as Chinua Achebe serve "the goals of the teacher by constructing mimetic [see chapter one] art" (62). However, while this mimetic or teaching function is recognized, most literary critics fail to engage thoroughly the difficult issue of "who" is being taught. Except for Ngugi, the issue of audience for African literature has been seen to be one of "double voice" -- the African author that writes in English addresses both a European and African audience. This problematic, often undeveloped, usually ignores the uneven linguistic and cultural relations in African educational systems. A specific development of a critical pedagogic approach using African literature can be shown to address issues of relevance and equity for an African audience.

This dissertation addresses the "double voice" issue for Zimbabwe in four chapters that examine the theory and practice of institutionalized language education. Chapter one proposes a critical apparatus with which to view the institutional framework

of African language education. Chapter two historically contextualizes this framework and describes the roots of institutionalized language education in Zimbabwe. Chapter three examines the theory and practice in Zimbabwean language education; in addition, it proposes a new a reshaping of the connection between theory and pedagogy. Chapter four's literary analysis examines the negotiation of identity and historical forces during Zimbabwe's second Chimurenga; through a close reading of Zimbabwean authors, a specific approach is developed for a more pluralistic and relevant view of English language education practice.

Chapter 1
THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN AFRICA

> All these questions [of a new language pedagogy] have less to do with literary production than with sociolinguistic analysis, an educational policy, a political program. (Glissant, 1989)

Institutionalized language education remains the most enduring facet of the colonial experience in Africa. During the course of their colonial administrations, each colonial power made its national language the official language of administration, business and post-primary education. In a post-colonial context, issues concerning language in African school systems are intimately connected to political, economic and educational discourse. A framework that critically examines these discourses as they relate to the institutionalization of language in African educational systems can provide a more complete understanding of African education. The primary goal of this chapter is to establish this framework in order to examine the complex interaction of structure and agency as they relate to language education. Borrowing from Wacquant's reading of Bourdieu (1991), the term "structure" should be understood as objectivated and institutionalized social positions; "agency" denotes the lived experience of agents, accompanying categories of perception and appreciation, and their influence upon action. (Wacquant, 1992) I synthesize a framework that draws upon Bourdieu's concept of influential market forces and also Giroux's focus upon the transformational potential of individual agency. This framework is necessary because of a tendency by relevant theorizers to emphasize "structure" or "agency" at the expense of a more complex

interactional view that can be contextualized. It is this more complex interactional view that lays the groundwork for a new approach to language education that is specifically developed in chapters three and four.

Since the late 1960s, new African governments have been confronted with two main policy options concerning language education: 1) to continue with the former colonial policies; or 2) to forge new language education policies. The discourse of many of the most influential language education institutions contributes to the maintenance of unequal colonial linguistic and cultural market relations. Specifically, the nature of the linguistic and cultural market, established in African countries during colonial and white settler periods, favors those who are in possession of more European linguistic and cultural capital (in the terms of Bourdieu 1991). This unequal distribution of capital is established and maintained by increasing the opportunity for access to that capital through formal education.

At the classroom level, teachers are active participants in a daily negotiation of the language curriculum. In this sense, they are important *agents* that have the potential to challenge (in daily practice) curriculum guidelines that reflect and maintain unequal relations of power. I would argue that one key goal of language education is to give students an opportunity to fully express themselves in language. This level of individual agency in the classroom is essential for students if they are to have a voice with which to negotiate individual identity in a society. Following up on this line of reasoning then, students and teachers are best served by a language curriculum that maximizes relevance (in content) and equity at the individual student level. At the classroom level, an active negotiation of the language curriculum entails addressing issues of power and identity in

language. Due to the influential settler experience in Zimbabwe's education system, highlighting this negotiation in English language curriculum is especially important.

As nation-states remain *the* most important units of organization and institutionalization, legitimations that promote national "unity" and "modernization" may be perceived as integral to nation-state interest. From a nation-state perspective, the analysis of Zimbabwean policy (in terms of power and unequal distribution of linguistic and cultural capital) may seem anti-institutional. Legitimations of "equity" and "local relevance" can be perceived as being in opposition to the nation-state's pursuits of unity and modernization. Instead of viewing institutional and individual interests as irreconcilable, I show the necessity of recognizing the complex *interaction* between structure (Zimbabwe's institutionalized interests in education and market forces) and agency (individual teachers, students, and individuals in general) within the educational system. Only when this structure-agency relationship is clarified can the formation and practice of language education be more fully understood. Failure to critically examine language education in institutionalized systems has lead to an inability to visualize alternative approaches. This contributes directly to the maintenance of the status quo.

The Framing of Language Choice in Africa

The process of choosing a national language is politically contentious for any nation, but it was especially so for newly independent countries in Africa during the 1960s and 70s. One of the most common reasons cited for the continued use of European languages is the degree of ethnolinguistic diversity and competition on the continent. Observer of African affairs in the late 1960s, Richmond notes: "Since tribal rivalries ran

high, the young governments had to be careful not to slight one ethnic group in favor of another" (Richmond, 1983). This view is echoed in a 1985 UNESCO report:

> With the unfortunate upsurge and hardening of ethnic and regional sentiments since independence in many African countries, the question of an indigenous lingua franca has become an extremely sensitive one, and it is not surprising that only a few African governments have been able to touch it so far. (802)

The citing of the threat of potential ethnic and regional rivalry, based on national language choice, can be seen as a central legitimation for a new African government's continued use of the colonial language in national administration and education.

Not only has the colonial language been viewed as a potentially unifying force, it has also been framed as a primary instrument of nation building and development: a tool for "modernization." As early as 1956, Knappert posited three main obstacles to nation building in Africa: language, education, and development. Among these factors, language can be seen as fundamental: without language there is no education, and without education, no development. This view of language in nation-states, far from recent, can be seen to have emerged at least as early as the rise of the nation-states of France and England.

Language choice also has implications at the inter-African and global levels of communication. Maintaining a European language can be seen to facilitate administrative communication at an international and regional level. In *English in Africa* (1991) Schmied points out that, for international purposes, English has become more, not less, important since colonial times. According to Schmied, this state of affairs involves more than the fact that the US has supplanted the UK as the leading English speaking world power:

> While for many Africans the feeling about English may subjectively be very mixed, it is an objective necessity for discussing national problems and expressing national points of view in pan-African and international forums (such as OAU) and for claiming a fair share of the international communication processes, be it in the political, economic, or technological fields. (20)

Therefore, at the regional and international level, African governments can be seen to have an interest in being perceived as participants in a global system where English is the lingua franca.

The educational language choice was the source of heated discussion among commentators in the 1960s and 70s (especially in Kenya and Tanzania); the discussion in the 1980s and 90s in Zimbabwe has ushered in a more local and pragmatic focus upon *modernization* issues for educational policy makers. That is, as a part of a larger national modernization effort, European language choice is viewed unquestioningly as *modern* while local languages are viewed as *traditional*. Important consequences of the acceptance of this dichotomy include the marginalization of the teaching of African languages and the unquestioned acceptance of English as the main language for education. This juxtaposition of roles of languages in development seems to have been largely accepted by Zimbabwean language scholars soon after independence (Ngara 1982, Zvogbo 1982). The acceptance of English as a language of development was highlighted at a lecture on educational issues in 1993 by Zimbabwe's then Permanent Secretary of Education and Culture. The ministry of Education and Culture is responsible for African language promotion in primary schools. When asked what language his children spoke at home, Permanent Secretary Sibanda replied: "Without English you are doomed. My children speak only English at home . . .. Shona is a language that is dying out" (Sibanda, 1993). In this personal response, Sibanda can be

seen to be drawing upon the concept of English as a "modern language," serving the economic needs of his children, irrespective of his official role as chief promoter of African languages in Zimbabwe.

Most African countries currently practice *de jure* European monolingualism in schools past the third year of primary schooling with numerous instances of *de facto* European language use in first year primary. This is striking when one considers that a sociolinguistic survey sponsored by the Ford Foundation (cited in Schmied 1991), estimated that the percentage of the population in eight African countries that had some degree of fluency in a European language was between 5% and 40%. In terms of literacy distribution and language education practice, this would be roughly analogous to having French as the official language of education in the US.

Formal policy statements from African governments in relation to educational language use are often structurally ambiguous and *de facto* European monolingual. For instruction in African languages, the 1987 Education Act of the constitution states, "Shona and Ndebele *may be used* as languages of instruction from grade 1 up to grade 3 in areas *where the majority of students are of Shona or Ndebele backgrounds*" (emphasis mine). The constitutional statement is optional (by its use of "may"), phrased in the passive (used by whom?), and conditional upon majority L1 classrooms (read: rural areas). Readers of the constitution are thus left to interpret the 1987 Constitutional Act as non-binding and without any real constitutional backing.

For the non-European linguistic majority in Zimbabwe, the ambiguity of African language promotion and continued use of a European language in education remains a

contradiction. This contradiction can only be understood through recognition of the phenomenological process of legitimation and naturalization. That is, from Zimbabwe's earliest contact with white settlers to the present day, English has become naturalized at the highest institutional levels through the continued use of legitimations that promote the status quo. As English has become naturalized as the language of administration and education, societal members have come to view its use as a primary avenue to access linguistic, cultural, and accompanying economic capital (realized through access to more highly paid jobs). A primary source of legitimations for the institutional promotion of the status quo in language education is the field of language planning.

Since language planning's development as an academic field, its dominant legitimations have included *modernization* and *unity*. Institutions that promote what Bourdieu (1991) terms a "unified linguistic and cultural market" utilize these legitimations. Initially developed for understanding France's early national development, Bourdieu's concept of a unified market is also helpful for understanding the early national development of Zimbabwe; a defined linguistic and cultural market emerged during the 100 years of highly inequitable governance of the Rhodesian white settler regime. Fairclough's (1989) view, initially developed for viewing evidence of power in discourse in modern day Britain, posits that social agents utilizing themes of modernization and unity can be seen to belong to a relatively small elite or *dominant bloc*. The concept of a dominant bloc is extremely relevant for understanding the often elite-dominated political structures that have governed African nations. In the academic field, language planning writers and researchers also utilize the concepts of modernization and unity in their work. In Africa, the dominant players in language

policy formation have drawn upon these themes, supported by the field of language planning, as the primary legitimations for the use of European languages in schools.

An alternative to this discourse has come mainly from a smaller group of language education policy researchers that draw upon the legitimations of *equity* and *relevance to local context*. Researchers that draw upon these themes usually advocate Freirian transformatory critical language pedagogy. Critical language pedagogy highlights the need for educators to emphasize multiple levels of subjectivity within the dialectic of identity and history. One example of this practice would be to highlight the theme of gender in the classroom discussion of a literary work and then to apply it to individual student experience. According to Giroux and McLaren (1992), this can only be accomplished through a critical language practice in classrooms that views language and its production as a form of historical argument or conflict. This approach, originally elaborated in Brazil, has since been adopted by African based researchers (Rubagumya, 1994; Natsa, 1994; Goke-Pariola, 1993; Moyana, 1988) in an attempt to rethink African language education.

Roots of Language Planning as a Field

The term "language planning"(hereafter LP) has many correlates that have been proposed as the basis for the global study of LP: Language *engineering* (Miller, 1950) *glottopolitics* (Hall, 1951), *language development* (Noss, 1967), *language regulation* (Gorman, 1973), and *language management* (Jernud and Neustupny, 1986). Haugen (1966) has articulated one of the most widely utilized definitions of language planning.

> Language planning is the activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community. (188)

Currently used by Haugen and others as the basis of internationally oriented language planning research, this definition of language planning can in fact be traced historically to 18th century Europe. While the French established a formal academy, the English adopted a generalized prescriptive grammarian approach. Both the English and French institutional approaches were forms of *ascertainment*. Baugh and Cable in *A History of the English Language* (1957) trace the English approach:

> Eighteenth-century attempts to deal with the English language and to direct its course fall under three main heads: (1) to reduce the language to rule and set up a standard of correct usage; (2) to refine it-that is, to remove supposed defects and introduce certain improvements; and (3) to fix it permanently in the desired form. (14)

At the turn of the twentieth century, Ferdinand deSaussure highlighted the parole/langue boundaries of language study. Viewing the study of language structurally or as a system is to treat it as *langue*; to study language according to its individual social manifestations of language is to focus on *parole*. Issues concerning parole may be seen to have been explicitly developed in LP discourse concerning language policy implications. As highlighted by Cooper in Fishman (1968), language policy-making involves decisions concerning the teaching and use of language, and their careful formulation by those empowered to do so, for the guidance of others. Language planning as a field primarily focuses upon issues of institutionalization, power, and language use.

Institutions and Legitimations of LP

On the surface, Haugen's structural definition of LP seems reasonable. Orthographies, grammars, and dictionaries are assumed to be a normal part of a language. It isn't often that one asks oneself, "where is my grammar from?" or, "who makes dictionaries?" The presence of a universal English grammar and English dictionaries are

not usually questioned at the surface level; they have even been electronically incorporated into the writing process to be checked by word processors. The institutional maintenance of language becomes invisible at the day to day level and consequently becomes a part of societal shared common sense. "Common sense" is understood here as Fairclough (1989) frames it (building upon Garfinkel 1967): assumptions and expectations are implicit, backgrounded, taken for granted, not things that people are consciously aware of, rarely explicitly formulated or examined or questioned (77). According to Fairclough (1989), the effectiveness of ideology depends upon it being taken as common knowledge. This concealment of ideology into common sense takes place in language. Fairclough views ideology as being tied directly to relations of power -- unequal relations. In his discussion of the concept of ideology, Thompson (1990) proposes a view of ideological phenomena as "meaningful symbolic phenomena in so far as they serve, in particular social-historical circumstances, to establish and sustain relations of domination" (56). In Berger and Luckman's (1966) view, language acts as a means and ends for institutionalization; it is a vehicle for the imposition of institutional order through the process of legitimation.

The institutional world of any society seeks legitimation, that is, ways by which it can be explained and justified. When legitimatons become *naturalized*, they become common sense. Berger and Luckman posit that for institutional maintenance purposes, it is important to interpret social meaning to societal members in various legitimating formulas. These formulas need to be consistent and comprehensive in terms of the institutional order, if they are to carry conviction to the new generation. At a societal level of operation, they are able to function by relying upon what Fairclough terms

background knowledge. This knowledge is shared through societal participation in institutional education, and maintained largely by media discourse. For instance, during the Cold War, the term "communist threat" could be utilized by US politicians in public speeches without audience members automatically questioning its meaning. Audience members would tend to utilize shared US background knowledge, formed to satisfy dominant bloc interests and promoted through the media, that allowed US citizens to understand communists and communism as a threat.

Berger and Luckman (1966) posit that as part of the institutional order, institutions rely upon mechanisms of social reproduction: "The children must be 'taught to behave' and, once taught, are 'kept in line' -- so, of course, are the adults. The more conduct is institutionalized, the more predictable and thus the more controlled it becomes" (62). In addition, there is an imposition of order or *logic* in a new institution. The logic does not reside in the institutions and their external functions, but in the reflection about them. Put differently, reflective consciousness (individual human consciousness) superimposes the quality of logic on the institutional order. As is implied by Berger and Luckman's reference to reflective consciousness, this order is only meaningful in relation to human interaction. Thus, this process of imposition follows from the naturalization of a contextualized logic or set of legitmations as internalized by individuals in a society. The vehicle for the imposition of this logic for humans is language:

> Language provides the fundamental superimposition of logic on the objectivated social world. The edifice of legitimations is built upon language and uses language as its principal instrumentality. The "logic" thus attributed to the institutional order is part of the socially available stock of knowledge for members of society and is taken for granted as such. (Berger and Luckman 1966, 64)

The social phenomena of sharing background knowledge and ideological common sense assumptions are not ones that entail automatic reproduction in the individual. It is important to understand that individuals, as agents, interact with and negotiate the legitimations upon which institutions are built. There is a dynamic negotiation present in the receiving and sharing of background knowledge. As Berger and Luckman (1966) point out, individual agency exists in dialectic with society:

> Consequently, social change must always be understood as standing in dialectical relationship to the "history of ideas." Both "idealistic" and "materialistic" understandings of the relationship overlook this dialectic, and thus distort history . . .all symbolic universes and all legitimations are human products; their existence has its base in the lives of concrete individuals, and has no empirical status apart from these lives. (128)

While institutions require ideological mechanisms for their maintenance, humans constantly negotiate the shape of those very institutions. In fact, while institutions do have a tendency to persist, deinstitutionalization can take place in certain areas of social life. One example Berger and Luckman (1966) offer is the emergence of a private sphere that is considerably deinstitutionalized compared to the public sphere in current society

To sum up the discussion of institutionalization and human agency to this point, new institutions are created, legitimated and eventually naturalized through human negotiation. Institutions are maintained by the imposition of an order through language. This view, up to this point framed in general terms, can be applied to Zimbabwe's specific use of language planning in education. Briefly, separate and unequal educational systems were created during the settler period; English as the language of education for the more lucrative non-labor oriented system that was introduced, legitimated and eventually naturalized. At independence, the Zimbabwean government implicitly

addressed the question of institutional legitimation and order through language by continuing to use English in administration, business, and schooling.

From a broader historical viewpoint, the real emergence of Language Planning as a field of study since the early 1960s coincides with the era of independence for many former British, French and Portuguese colonies. It is an important historical fact that nation states were originally artificially carved out of Africa by European colonial and white settler forces. As colonial powers drew national boundaries regardless of ethnic and language groups, the necessity grew, from the colonizer's point of view, for a central administration of regions that were extremely ethnically and linguistically diverse. The administration of ethnically diverse regions was an important facet of the original institution of European language use in Africa because it laid the groundwork for the utilization of the previously discussed legitimation of "national unity." Far from being a passive process of adoption however, it can be shown that legitimation can serve interests of certain groups over others. When this happens, it may be considered ideological. In the context of language education, a minority of those in Zimbabwe who possessed a competency in English at independence can be seen to be preserving relations of power based on linguistic capital.

Fairclough (1989), develops Berger and Luckman's view of the role of language in the institutionalization process by including the concepts of power struggle and agency. Fairclough posits that the *dominant bloc* exercise power through language:

> I don't assume that conventions are unitary and homogeneous; on the contrary, they are characterized by diversity, and by power struggle. In so far as homogeneity is achieved-as it is to some extent in the case of standardization-it is imposed by those who have power. (22)

Rather than treating language as *langue*, and outside societal influence, Fairclough frames the use of language as an interactional relationship, involving struggle within society. Linguistic phenomena are social phenomena of a special sort, and social phenomena are (in part) linguistic phenomena. As such, linguistic phenomena are also reflective of power relations within a society. When individuals speak to one another, they draw upon a set of social assumptions that give meaning to the interaction. Adherents of this view of language draw upon what shall be termed the *interactionist* discourse. In contrast with this discourse, a structural or instrumental language planner draws upon a discourse of language and society as separate entities. The focus here is less upon the social nature of language, but rather the functional purpose of the interaction. This discourse will be classified *structural-functional* as it seeks to highlight the system's instrumental qualities as opposed to the reciprocal relations within the system.

Bourdieu's Market

While previously discussed authors offer a developed view of the institutionalization process, this proposed framework is in need of further elaboration in its over-all operation. Without this elaboration, naturalization (as expounded so far) becomes an unaccountably universal process that operates mechanically across all institutions. The French scholar Bourdieu offers a more developed view of naturalization as a contextualized and negotiated *market* influenced process. According to Wacquant (1992), Bourdieu avoids the false opposition of structural necessity and individual agency by weaving together a structuralist and constructivist approach into *social praxeology.* This approach has two main positions: (1) there are objective spaces, or positions (institutionalized structures), and a distribution of social resources (the market) that in

turn define the external constraints influencing interactions and representations and; (2) the actual lived experience of agents (agency) can be used to understand categories of perception and appreciation that influence their action. (Wacquant, 1992) Thus, according to Bourdieu, the viewpoints of agents will vary systematically with the point they occupy in objective social space.

Dissatisfied with the decontextualized, asocial *langue* view of language, Bourdieu posits that language should be viewed mainly as a social-historical product. According to Bourdieu (1991), dominant - subordinate relations within a linguistic and cultural market are established during the process of state formation: The conditions are created for the constitution of a unified linguistic market, dominated by the official language. The market is maintained through a whole set of specific institutions and mechanisms, objectivated social positions, that have become a part of *habitus*. Rather than a more abstract shared "body of knowledge," habitus specifically consists of a set of historical relations "deposited" within individual bodies in the form of mental and corporeal schemata of perception, appreciation, and action. (Wacquant, 1993)

Bourdieu would posit that the linguistic policy of the state and even the overt interventions of pressure groups form only a superficial aspect of overall market maintenance. The key to maintenance of the official language is not an emphasis upon institutional control, but rather the operation of powerful market forces that govern the distribution of linguistic capital and in turn influence individual linguistic behavior. Individuals, as automatic participants in the linguistic and cultural market, adopt positions in the market that reinforce distribution of linguistic capital. Although the

context for Bourdieu's views draws largely upon his observations of French society, his view of linguistic and cultural market forces provide insight for Zimbabwean society.

While more than a decade has passed since a majority government has come into power in Zimbabwe, the former white minority government's policies still impact the current distribution of linguistic capital in the educational system. Former group A schools were schools reserved mainly for whites in low-density areas of Harare. Students in these schools receive more intensive English education from qualified teachers who are often paid supplemental salary bonuses from parent organizations. An increasing majority of students at group A schools may come from families that encourage an "English only" policy at home (Moyo, 1993). Group B schools were the urban schools that served tightly controlled Black high-density suburbs pre-1980. Children in these schools tend to come from home settings where Shona or Ndebele is spoken as a first language but also where parents often use English for work purposes. Government schools in rural areas serve communities that engage mainly in small-scale agriculture. Schools in rural areas often have difficulty in attracting qualified teachers due to a shortage of housing. Children come from family settings where an African language is predominantly spoken. The current multitiered educational system, connected to social market forces, is most noticeably divided along the lines of language background. Those students currently enrolled in former A group schools have the most number of chances for access to higher quality English language instruction. This access in turn prepares relatively more former Group A school students for higher levels of secondary and university education, where fluency in English is a prerequisite.

Bourdieu is clear on the point that participation in the market should not be understood as ensuring equitable distribution of capital: dominant and subordinate relations are a part of the operation of a market. Bourdieu (1991) outlines a process, largely unconscious, of *symbolic domination* in which those with more access to linguistic capital are in can maintain a superior class position over those who have less access. For Bourdieu, participation in the symbolic domination of the linguistic market is non-negotiable for both the dominated and dominators:

> All symbolic domination presupposes, on the part of those who submit to it, a form of complicity which is neither passive submission to external constraint nor a free adherence to values. The recognition of the legitimacy of the official language has nothing in common with an explicitly professed . . . belief, or with an intentional act of accepting a "norm." It is inscribed, in a practical state . . . through a long and slow process of acquisition, by the sanctions of the linguistic market . . . [and is] therefore adjusted to . . . the chances of material and symbolic profit which the laws of price formation of a given market objectively offer to the holders of a given linguistic capital. (51)

According to Bourdieu, different agents' linguistic strategies are strictly dependent on their positions occupied in the structure of the distribution of linguistic capital, which can in turn be shown to depend, via the chance of access to the educational system, on the structure of class relations. The linguistic market is established through a process of state formation with one dominant, legitimated language. Those in possession of more linguistic capital can enhance their chances of further access to that capital and thereby ensure a superior class position and the maintenance of the system. By linguistic capital, Bourdieu (1990) means a "specific criterion of linguistic competence"(73). More specifically, it is an "understanding and use of language that are the major points of leverage for teachers'assesments" that is operating at every level of the education system (73). In Zimbabwe, the major points of leverage come from superior English reading and writing skills in an examination-influenced curriculum.

Bourdieu's elaboration of the interaction between agency and structure is significant because it further explains the individual's role in the reproduction of unequal distribution and market relations; it also describes the position of the individual who participates in the system, even though he or she may be getting relatively little from it. What Boudieu's framework does not offer is a specific method of examining social positions and individual agency. His is a framework that operates mainly on a generalized model of efficiency and class domination in which the possibility of institutional change is minimized. In the case of Zimbabwe, one can clearly trace how institutionalized social spaces were actively negotiated by Zimbabweans. What Bourdieu's model offers is the concept of grounded market relations operating in an individual's societal background. An individual's unique attempt to negotiate his or her position can only be fully interpreted when it is related to societally defined spaces. One example of this is the differing responses of Zimbabweans to legally and socially constraining categories of race and class. The strength of Bourdieu's model would be to predict that large numbers of Zimbabweans would perhaps respond predictably to linguistic and cultural market forces. They would attempt to gain access to linguistic and cultural capital by increasing their exposure to English in the education system. The model's weakness -- a weakness for Bourdieu's model in general -- would be to fail to account for social change in social structures.

Role of Education

Focusing more upon the role of agency and ideology in domination, Fairclough posits that the dominant bloc (those in highest class positions), controls societies' institutions: police, civil service, law, religions, the media, and more to the point --

education. Because it contributes to the formation of the intellectual movement, education reproduces the ideology of the dominant bloc, which will typically choose an ideology that serves its interests or *agenda:*

> The general point is that education, along with all the other social institutions, has its "hidden agenda" the reproduction of class relations and other higher-level social structures, in addition to its overt educational agenda. (40)

Berger and Luckman (echoed in Althusser, 1971) identify an ideology as a definition of reality that becomes attached to a concrete power interest. In societal terms, the dominant bloc possesses the ideological power or ability to project their practices as universal and common-sensical; this projection is accomplished through combinations of coercion and consent. The consensual institution it uses for this projection is education. The use of the English language in Zimbabwean education is consistent with this view of power projection: first language to an extreme minority, English is accepted as instrumental in educational achievement. It is important to note that this power projection of English in Zimbabwe's educational system is not unique: educational systems around the world, including monolingual ones, utilize languages or language varieties that belong to be those of the economically privileged elite.

It is from this point of view that language use in education can be seen to be connected to the ideology of the dominant bloc. This connection has important implications for actually locating institutional agency and ideology, in the form of legitimations, within societal discourse. Fairclough is able to expose structures of power present in language by offering a systematic way of identifying legitimations through a practice called *Critical Language Study* (CLS). Usually utilized with spoken and written

texts, CLS is a form of discourse analysis. It differs from more traditional discourse analysis in that it attempts to highlight elements of power in language (discourse) by identifying the connections between micro structures at the textual level and macro structures (ideologies) of social institutions.

When discussing the role of ideology in education, it is important to establish the specific meaning of ideology and how it may be contextualized. For Thompson (1990), to study ideology is

> to study the ways in which meaning serves to establish and sustain relations of domination. Ideological phenomena are historical circumstances, to establish and sustain relations of domination. (56)

Examining language education discourse for ideology requires that we socially and historically contextualize that discourse. This discourse is a form of what Thomspon would term *symbolic phenomena*:

> We can grasp symbolic phenomena as ideological, hence we can analyze ideology, only by situating symbolic phenomena in the social-historical contexts within which these phenomena may, or may not, serve to establish and sustain relations of domination. Whether symbolic phenomena do or do not serve to establish and sustain relations of domination is a question which can be answered only be examining the interplay of meaning and power in particular circumstances, only by examining the ways in which symbolic forms are employed, circulated and understood by individuals situated in structured social contexts. (56)

For Berger and Luckman (1966), a natural affinity exists between those with an interest in maintaining established power positions and the personnel administering monopolistic traditions of universe-maintenance. "In other words, conservative political forces tend to support the monopolistic claims of the universal experts, whose monopolistic organizations in turn tend to be politically conservative" (122-23). At the general level of this chapter's framework, the practice of language education in the African context can be

seen to be supported by specific ideologies that can be uncovered in the discourse of language planning. In the more specific socio-historical context of Zimbabwe, practices in language education that were naturalized in the white settler period can be shown to have continued in the current system.

Giroux's Critical Pedagogy

As previously discussed, Bourdieu's market framework is helpful for elaborating the market forces operating upon an educational system; however, it does not tell us very much about the specific features of the market or manifestations at the individual level that go beyond simple market participation. Agency is framed as a surface feature of the system that cannot affect the deep mechanisms of the market. From a more specific critical pedagogical point of view, Giroux and McLaren (1992) posit that language education practice emanates from an authoritarian ideology that ties it to national identity, culture, and literacy. Giroux and McLaren also posit that "as the cultural mask of hegemony, language is being mobilized to police the borders of an ideologically discursive divide that separates dominant from subordinate groups, whites from Blacks [in the US], and schools from the imperatives of democratic public life." (7) Rather than remaining at a descriptive level of market features as Bourdieu does, however, Giroux and McLaren go on to propose an alternative educational model that recognizes relevance and equity as educational goals. This model depends upon agency at the level of teachers and students in order to transform the hegemony: this transformation is initiated through a critical pedagogy that recognizes the transformational influence of language.

Giroux and McLaren offer a transformatory model of education that includes an understanding of how language and subjectivity (related to issues of identity) intersect

with history and power. Furthermore, they address their approach to educational theorists interested in questions of student agency. Unlike Bourdieu's view of reproductive dominance, Giroux and McLaren detail a critical pedagogy for classrooms that they view as a potential way to break out of the reproduction of the authoritarian discourse on language and literacy education:

> The purpose of developing a critical language of schooling is not to describe the world more objectively, but to create a more ethically empowering world which encourages a greater awareness of the way in which power can be mobilized for the purposes of human liberation. Critical educational theory needs a language that understands how experience is produced, legitimated, and organized as a central aspect of pedagogy. We need to examine language and its production as a form of historical argument; furthermore, we need a language that is critical about its own mechanisms of authority. (11)

Thus, awareness of how language operates in relation to society and resistance to hegemony are introduced as resources at the individual and pedagogical level. Teachers, as active negotiators of the curriculum, enable students to develop an awareness or "foregrounding" (Fairclough, 1989) of hegemonic structures. In this critical pedagogy, teachers attempt to make students aware of their own transformative potential within the system. According to this perspective, human agents possess the capacity to remake the world both through collective struggle in and on the material world and through the exercise of their social imagination.

In *Border Crossings* (1992), Giroux's proposed role for teachers is a radical departure from a traditional conception of teacher roles. In order to empower students with a concept of transformative possibilities, Giroux is challenging teachers to make classroom knowledge relevant to the lives of their students. According to McLaren in *Border Crossings*'s introduction, students must be empowered with a voice that is established through an affirmation of student experience. This means that teachers, not

national curriculum committees or commissioned examination companies, must provide curriculum content and pedagogical practices which resonate with the life experiences of students. By advocating this departure from traditional roles, Giroux highlights a tension that all teachers inevitably face: to what degree can teachers be expected to be agents of social change? Cited in Graham-Brown (1991), Zimbabwean educator K.P. Dzvimbo has noted that after the change of power in 1980, teachers as a group were supposed to be agents of change, but the environment within which the teacher operates has not changed. According to Natsa (1994) what has been noteably lacking in Zimbabwe's approach to language education is an active collaboration on the part of government, University of Zimbabwe, and the county's system of teacher colleges toward developing a relevant and equitable language education that draws upon a critical pedagogy (Natsa, 1994). This dissertation develops a role for critical pedagogy and a transformatory approach to language education (chapter three) in the Zimbabwean context. In addition, it goes one step further by detailing a specific contact zone approach for interpreting Zimbabwean authors that exposes important features of Zimbabwe's linguistic market (see chapter four). Recognition of these features is important because it creates the opportunity for further dialogue about a more relevant and equitable language education for Zimbabwean language learners and educators.

Giroux and McLaren raise the important theoretical issue of the connection between Bourdieu's proposed dominant linguistic market and cultural hegemony. While it is clear that English is the market dominant language in Zimbabwe, it is also the case that English is a second language for most Zimbabweans. The establishment of highly unequal linguistic and cultural relations may or may not be directly translated into

cultural hegemony for the majority. In Gramsci's (1971) formulation, hegemony is achieved through the combination of "spontaneous" consent given by the great masses to "the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group," and the existence of a coercive state apparatus that enforces discipline on those groups who do not "consent" either actively or passively (12). While Gramsci's discussion of hegemony is a relevant issue for this dissertation's framework, Sassoon (1982) has noted that Gramsci's views are highly contextualized in time and place (Italy and France in the early twentieth century). The historically important factors in the negotiation of hegemonic influence in language education for Zimbabwe are specifically analyzed in Chapter two.

When discussing hegemony, it is important to emphasize that Bourdieu's work does not develop structure and agency as existing in a pure dialectical relationship. Bourdieu's market framework recognizes the interaction of objectivity and subjectivity; however, these levels do not exist in a pure dialectic, exerting equal influence upon society. Wacquant (1992) has noted that epistemologically, there is a priority given to an objectivist over subjectivist approach: Bourdieu's position is that agents are born into predetermined social spaces with a fully internalized habitus. It is the combination of the concepts of social space and habitus that can lead to a potentially deterministic approach in Bourdieu's work. Bourdieu and Passeron's (1990) discussion of reproduction in education is indicative of this perspective:

> In reality, because they correspond to the material and symbolic interests of groups or classes differently situated within the power relations, these pedagogic actions (PA) always tend to reproduce the structure of the distribution of cultural capital among these groups or classes, thereby contributing to the reproduction of the social structure. The laws of the market which fixes the economic or symbolic value, i.e. the value qua cultural capital, of the cultural arbitrariness produced by the different PA s and thus of the products of those PA s (educated

> individuals), are one of the mechanisms - more or less determinant according to the type of social formation - through which social reproduction, defined as the reproduction of the structure of the relations of force between the classes, is accomplished. (11)

I would argue that Bourdieu's automatic participation in the linguistic/cultural market is in fact better framed as an ongoing *negotiation* between institutional structure and individual agency that leads to the shaping of a more unique habitus for the individual. The concept of individual negotiation leading to a unique habitus is especially pertinent when one considers the wide variation of different individuals' responses in different social-historical contexts.

Contextual differences are pertinent for interpreting Giroux's work as well. Though he works from the context of the US educational system, his advocated critical pedagogical approach is relevant, if not more so, for post settler-regime Zimbabwe. A critical pedagogy in education is vital for a country attempting to transform colonial structures of domination as Zimbabwe was from 1980. Unfortunately, Giroux severely weakens his approach to a critical pedagogy by failing to translate it into specific language curriculum applications. It is as if he views an actual translation of critical pedagogy as somehow unimportant. If one posits that the individual and cultural implications of education are being negotiated daily in the classroom, it is then imperative that a relevant curriculum be developed to satisfy the implications of a critical pedagogy. In the Zimbabwean case, this means that a curriculum that satisfies the goals of relevance and equity should be outlined. This curriculum would recognize the uniqueness of Zimbabwe's social-historical context and also serve as a cultural resource.

Legitimations and Nation-States

Fairclough (1989) highlights the three step process of language adaptation of nation states that is widely accepted by most LP scholars: standardization, codification, and prescription. According to Fairclough, these three steps facilitate an original capitalistic goal of economic efficiency. Through a naturalizing hierarchy, the goals of bureaucratic efficiency and modernization are satisfied for the state. This hierarchy increases communication by maintaining a language that can be shared. Fairclough adds that the establishment of a "standard variety" (through prescription) serves a dual function of being a "national" language belonging to all classes and sections of the society, and yet remains in many respects a "class dialect." (57) It is a class dialect because it is the dominant bloc that makes most use of it, and gains most from it as an asset -- as form of "cultural capital" analogous to capital in the economic sesnse, as Pierre Bourdieu has put it. (57-8)

There are also organizations beyond nation-state boundaries that share external and internal institutional interests. These shared interests translate into organizational support (in the form of language education material support) of shared institutional maintenance; this maintenance is realized in monopolistic traditions of what Berger and Luckman term universe maintenance:

> It should not surprise us, then, that a profound affinity exists between those with an interest in maintaining established power positions and personnel administering monopolistic traditions of universe-maintenance. In other words, conservative political forces tend to support the monopolistic claims of the universal experts, whose monopolistic organizations in turn tend to be politically conservative. (123)

The concept of "universe maintenance" is especially relevant in the discussion of the role of African governments in educational policy, LP analysts, and external institutions; all

can play the role of universe maintenance personnel (hereafter referred to as LP players), directly or indirectly, in the educational LP institutionalization process in Africa.

A Source of Legitimations: Language Policy

A subgenera or type of LP discourse that is a more applied view of how LP should be implemented is called "language policy writing." Its practitioners, LP analysts, normally link abstract LP thinking to concrete prescriptions.

In a brief review, I will show that Eastman's *Language Planning* (1983) and Jacob and Beer's *Language Policy and National Unity* (1985) are a part of a structural-functional discourse of LP while Tolefson's *Planning Language Planning Inequality* (1991) and Goke-Pariola's *The Role of Language in the Struggle for Power and Legitimacy in Africa* (1993) are a part of interactionist discourse. The goal of this review is to identify assumptions, agendas, and agency within the texts, and to show how these may function as a resource for LP players. Legitimations of unity, efficiency, and modernization function prominently in the interpretation of the structural-functional discourse, while equity and relevance to local context are the underlying themes of the interactionist discourse.

Structural-Functional Discourse

The structural-functional discourse of LP is drawn upon by those interested in institutional control: members of the dominant bloc. Accordingly, structural-functional LP accepts the imposition of order through language, regardless of social context. Structural-functionalists seek to systematize LP so that it may be framed as an instrument for nation building.

Eastman (1983), the author of the first LP textbook appropriately titled *Language Planning, an Introduction*, attempts to systematize LP by initially drawing upon sociolinguistics and then relating LP to other fields. Eastman draws directly upon Fishman's (1971a) characterization of LP as it relates to sociolinguistics:

> The systematic sociolinguistic study of language planning begins with the study of how writing systems are created and spelling systems revised, and extends to the study of how to assist government or other official efforts to manipulate language. (Fishman, 1971a)

The focus of Eastman's *Language Planning* is to frame LP as a conscious step by step process in which planners (usually government representatives) choose a sufficiently "developed" (with orthographies and writing systems) language. In Eastman's view, language planners engage in a systematic LP process in order to enhance communication and to "encourage feelings of national unity and group cooperation" (Eastman, 1983).

After establishing LP as a branch of sociolinguistics, Eastman characterizes the "universal" aspects of LP and then relates them to a wide variety of disciplinary fields:

> The sociologist needs to know how standard languages influence social structure . . .the anthropologist needs to know how to standardize languages, develop practical writing and spelling systems . . .the linguist needs to know how to plan language change; the second-language teacher needs to know how to plan a curriculum so that the desired learning takes place. (ix)

Thus, once language planners (with the help of anthropologists and linguists) fully describe the languages of a country, language choice becomes a matter of centralized governmental choice for specific developmental outcomes. This view of LP has been called the *instrumental approach* by Appel and Muysken (1988). Once standardized, language is separated from society in a direct cause-effect relationship: if you adjust the language situation, you affect society.

Relating LP to economics, Eastman agrees with Fishman (1968) that "linguistic unity or homogeneity usually characterizes a nation that is economically more developed, educationally more advanced, and politically more modernized." Holding that linguistic homogeneity is economically desirable, Eastman examines all other fields in the context of maximizing economic resources. Anthropologists standardize languages in order to make them "efficient and uniform" (69). In addition, anthropology is useful for socially mobilizing or civilizing a language in that it is concerned with intracultural and cross-cultural communication (69). Linguists can help identify trends in language change in order to devise more accurate language plans. Educationists can assist students in literacy acquisition and learning a second language. Thus, in each academic field, Eastman links the agenda of LP to the instrumentalist concept of social engineering.

Jacob & Beer's *Language Policy and National Unity* (1985) addresses itself directly to the dominant bloc. Their view of multilingualism can be seen as part of the larger nation-state ideology. That is, it is desirable to have a unified state which can carry out its policies with one language: "the state exercises power and policy in order to maintain *national unity in* the face of potential *disintegration*"(4). In this view, the primary agent of LP is the state. Beer and Jacob see the function of the state as a producer of unity through persuasion or coercion, or some combination of both. In addition, Beer and Jacob are highly instrumental in their view of LP in that they view a monolingual nation state as an inherent solution to a theoretically weaker multilingual state. In addition, they view the agenda of the state as being controlled by the dominant bloc. It is useful to highlight the figurative language Beer and Jacob use to convey their view of the negative aspects of multilingual contexts:

> If one includes spoken dialects, the magnitude of the *potential problem increases* still further...[The role of the state is] more or less successful management of these potentially conflict-ridden *cleavages* between different language groups. Language policy becomes the *social glue through* which . . . by confrontation, accommodation, or benign neglect, governments seek to bond these *human fissures* into a stable political and social whole. (4)

The Beer and Jacob text is far from unique in its figurative framing of the "problems" of multilingual countries: the structural-functional school draws heavily upon this highly suggestive imagery of *cleavages*, *social glue*, and *fissures*. In essence, multilingual countries are framed as fragile amalgamations of "dialects" waiting to fall apart. To use the two most popular metaphors of national integration, it is the job of the government to make sure that the country is more of a melting pot than a salad bowl. One tool the government can use for the melting is language policy.

Beer, Jacob and Eastman are instrumental in their views on LP and articulate the major legitimations that African governments have often utilized in order to continue with a former colonial language in education: unity vs. fragmentation along ethnic lines; modernization vs. underdevelopment. It is seldom that heads of state or ministers venture to favor openly a policy of instrumentalism over linguistic/cultural diversity. Rather, they rely upon the legitmations of unity and modernization that have become naturalized through institutionalization and are now largely a part of societal background knowledge.

Interactionist Discourse

Tollefson in *Planning Language, Planning Inequality* (1991), has noted that books and professional articles are just beginning to appear in which connections are explored between LP and decolonisation, LP and national, group, and personal identity; the relationships between planning itself and the necessary conditions of ownership of the

plan, are being exposed. Writers, in pursuing this critical view of LP, are "interactional" in the sense that they view LP as a social process involving equal participation of national planners and local participants in the plan. Both Tollefson and Goke-Pariola are examples of writers from this interactional perspective.

Like Fairclough, Tollefson focuses on what he terms the *hidden agenda* that is legitimized in LP. For Tollefson, LP is typically an enterprise of the dominant bloc. He shares the conception of the structural-functional discourse that language policy is one mechanism available to the state for maintaining its power and that of groups that control state policy. Tollefson's position is that the importance of language policy is fundamentally rooted in the rise of the modern state. LP can therefore be seen as a mechanism for allocating political and economic resources among social groups. The social elite is the social group that benefits most from a national language policy. Tollefson's definition also ascribes specific social goals to these *owners* of the language plan.

> Language planning-policy means the institutionalization of language as a basis for distinctions among social groups (classes). That is, language policy is one mechanism for locating language within social structure so that language determines who has access to political power and economic resources. Language policy is one mechanism by which dominant groups establish hegemony in language use. (16)

Thus, the social and economic systems of the state create conditions that ensure that vast numbers of people will be unable to acquire the needed linguistic competence. This view of LP assumes that language is one arena of social struggle in which groups seek to exercise power through their control of language. To develop this thesis further, one way to ensure hegemony and satisfy the legitimation of modernization in Africa is to pursue a monopoly over language use in education in the form of European

monolingualism in higher education. Monolingualism has been associated with the goal of modernization.

Tollefson views language as one criterion for determining which people will complete different levels of education. He points out that when people must learn a new [second] language to have access to education or to understand classroom instruction, language becomes a factor in creating and sustaining social and economic divisions. Rather than advocating a specific practice in LP however, Tollefson focuses upon developing critical awareness of the inequitable effects of LP. In addition, he exposes the underside of the modernization legitimation by showing that it has been used to institutionalize inequality and exploitation.

Goke-Pariola in *The Role of Language in the Struggle for Power and Legitimacy in Africa* (1993), develops the concept of interaction in LP further to include parental agency in the educational market. He notes that parents involved in the education process of their children are not ignorant of issues of language and power. Goke-Pariola posits that for most African families, the reason the children are in school is not to learn more of their own language or culture; it is to get a head start in the education game. In this pragmatic view of education, it is clear that most of these parents will not tolerate anything that they could perceive as diverting their children from the goal of mastering English as early as possible.

This is a reaction not simply based on parents' preferences, but one also determined by their reading of the government's position. In essence, in a national sociolinguistic context where home languages are marginalized, parents see that government may have a double agenda of promoting home languages in rural primary

schools while favoring a European language at higher levels of education. There may even be a perception that government employees, through their superior class position, are hypocritically attempting to increase job prospects for their own children. Goke-Pariola asserts that parents understand that the relative power of English and other languages of colonial domination in Africa is directly contingent upon the role of education as the key to elite status (97). Therefore, Goke-Pariola rightfully highlights parents as agents in an educational market process that contributes to a movement away from local African language promotion due to "backwash" effects from English secondary level practice: this effect influences language education practice in earlier grades. It is perhaps at this level of parental perception that any pedagogy/curriculum innovation will face the steepest obstacles.

Similar to Giroux, Goke-Pariola advocates an alternative to this form of *de facto* European monolingualism: a Freirian transformatory view of education. In this view, neither educational institutions, the policies that inform them, nor their curriculum are recognized as neutral, given their link to the economy. In what Goke-Pariola terms "the revolutionary perspective," relevant education is not an ideal: it is a pragmatic solution to a social problem; it is an important, fundamental political right. In the English language classroom, a relevant education is one that assists students in the apprehension of the role of human beings as the principal agents of change in their environment. (123) Goke-Pariola posits that the adoption of this interactional view of education is a necessary precondition to the determination of what would constitute an appropriate language education for previously colonized African societies. (123) For Goke-Pariola,

this transformatory view of education necessarily includes a realignment of power in favor of indigenous languages.

While Goke-Pariola and other language experts may advocate and prescribe the teaching of African languages over parental objections, Bourdieu's concept of market forces might lead one to classify this prescriptive view as economically oppressive. I do not question the fundamental economic market power of English in Zimbabwe and therefore would disagree with language experts, especially non-African experts, who claim to know what is best for Zimbabwean families by prescribing African language education. It is my own view that Zimbabwean families have voted with their school fees for English as the language of education of their children. It is with this position in mind that this dissertation develops an alternative approach to English language education. I would agree with Anderson (1983) that "language by itself is not an instrument of exclusion: in principle, anyone can learn any language"(122). This is especially the case in the multilingual nations of Africa. The question that Anderson correctly identifies is "whether the administrative and educational systems, particularly the latter, can generate a politically sufficient diffusion of billingualism" (122).

In Tollefson's and Goke-Pariola's conceptualization of LP, the involvement of the majority as players in the language education process fits with an interactionist view of language use in education. In response to the structural-functional discourse's legitimations of unity and modernization, the interactionist discourse offers alternative themes of equity and relevance to local context. Clearly, interactionist legitimations complement Giroux's advocated critical pedagogy. What Goke-Pariola and Tollefson do not examine is the potential of a reshaping of English language education practice within

a dominant European linguistic/cultural market. Rather, they argue that the sociolinguistic situation must somehow be "realigned" to favor home language legitimation. In addition, they fail to contextualize their positions in a detailed social-historical analysis that would illuminate the complex interaction of structure and agency.

Specific groups within societies adopt definitions of reality to serve their interests: these are known as ideologies. Writers and scholars of LP are "universe maintenance personnel" in Berger and Luckman's sense of the term. Those in positions of power, interested in maintaining the status quo, draw upon structural-functional legitimations of "unity" and "modernization." Groups interested in changing the status quo draw upon interactionist legitimations that include "equity" and "relevance." These legitimations, or ideologies, once uncovered, can also be seen to form the foundation of discourse surrounding LP in language education. With this critical framework of language education established, chapter two goes on to contextualize the framework's structure-agency dynamic in Zimbabwe.

Chapter 2
THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN THE ORIGIN AND MAINTENANCE OF SYMBOLIC DOMINATION IN ZIMBABWE

Zimbabwe, unlike most African colonies, had a substantial number of European settlers in the colony and post-independence nation state; and not too surprisingly white settler interests were directly reflected in the education system. Dzvimbo has pointed out that education, like land and political liberties, was denied to Africans since the imposition of white domination -- first by the British South Africa Company from the 1890s to the 1920s, and second, by British colonial and white settler rule from the 1920s to 1980 (Dzvimbo, 1988). This is not to imply that there was no education for Africans per se; rather, Europeans consciously shaped a racially segregated educational system that established and then maintained a privileged position for European language and culture as an important way of maintaining socio-economic dominance over Africans. Language education played a crucial role in the education system: advanced proficiency in English was utilized by colonial educators for the maintenance of unequal market relations based on race and class. While settler domination operated in the societal foreground, the educational system increasingly naturalized *symbolic domination* in which those with more access to linguistic and cultural capital (Europeans) were in a superior class position to those who had less access (Africans). The white Rhodesian school system's adoption of a Cambridge Ordinary (O) level in the 1930s and the Advanced (A) level examination by 1955 became a part of this

naturalized symbolic domination. From a more general point of view, the education structure accomplished white settler goals of domination through language education. By de-emphasizing race as a factor, it further strengthened dominant-subordinate relations by increasing over-all participation in the system.

Class-consciousness related to education was severely limited for Africans due to the racially based economic barriers erected by the settler regime. Educational access was an issue around which African nationalists originally organized. At the same time, uneven market relations were established between a more highly educated African minority and the majority of Zimbabweans who attended what became known as Class II and III schools. At independence, the new government promised redress of the issues of access and equity in education by promising a "free and meaningful" education for all Zimbabweans. During Zimbabwe's first decade of independence, the legal elimination of race and primary school fees contributed directly to a massive increase in educational access. At the same time, the issue of educational equity has gone largely untouched as the increasingly linked factors of class and English competence become ever more important. The O and A level examination system, naturalized during the white settler period, has become increasingly influential with little or no modification to English competence requirements.

It is not possible to understand the development of language education in Zimbabwe without some knowledge of the history of African language development. Language development in Zimbabwean education can be understood only in relation to white settler and African interests. Strong ethnic identification with language and region was influenced by early colonial educational policy. The use of Shona and Ndebele in

African education was encouraged by colonial administrators who adhered to a Phelps-Stokesist influenced view of a separate, more "traditional African" labor based curriculum for Africans. Colonial education officials in the 1920s and 30s attempted to encourage Africans to learn through home languages and to focus on primary education as terminal and labor based. In resistance to this labor track education policy, African parents understood that a more academic education based on advanced English competence held more economic promise for their children. Thus, from the beginning of Zimbabwe's educational history, Africans viewed an African curriculum through African languages as less beneficial than a European curriculum through English.

The post settler government in Zimbabwe officially adopted a policy stance of "access to all" in education; this stance transformed the physical landscape of primary and secondary education with massively increased enrollment. Despite this gain in access, the fundamental nature of symbolic domination within the linguistic and cultural market remains largely unchanged from the colonial period. Class, not race, has emerged as the primary factor in determining access to valued English linguistic and cultural capital. The practice of symbolic domination has been strengthened through an expansion in access without market transformation: increased competition for places in secondary and university, based on examination results, is driving an understandable but uncritical pursuit of English competence on the part of parents and educationists in Zimbabwe.

The focus of this chapter is upon historically tracing of important institutional forces in Zimbabwean language education. Chapter four will draw upon this examination for the central analysis of the writings of Zimbabwean authors themselves. Living

through a critical period in the formation of Zimbabwean society (the second Chimurenga), these authors intimately represent many of the historic and current influences of language education as they specifically relate to the negotiation of identity.

English Competence, Access, and Equity

Several terms are historically salient in the context of Zimbabwean language education. The term *English competence* will be utilized simply as possessing knowledge and ability in the English language. Historically, English competence in Zimbabwe has meant different ranges of ability for different time periods. Early Rhodesian concerns in the educational system were to provide basic reading and writing skills. Later in the colony's history language education standards rose so that English competence included an increasingly higher level of literacy skills.

By "access to education" I follow the general meaning of approaching, entering, or making use of (American Heritage, 1992) formal education. Early in the colony's history, access was interpreted as the establishment and maintenance of a formal primary system for whites. Much later in the colony's history, limited access to a formal system was extended to blacks while white access was developed for secondary and university education.

"Equity," or the state, quality, or ideal of being just, impartial and fair (American Heritage, 1996) was interpreted initially by the settler government as applying to the white community only. There was a concern that societal divisions were forming within the white community due to differences in the quality of educational provision for rural white farmers and urban based settlers. This potential division was feared in the context of white minority status within the colony. The settler government attempted to organize

educational provision so as to make it equitable in the white community, and also to protect white race and class interests. Equity between predominantly white and black educational systems was not pursued by the settler government. Within government regulated black education, there was early on a division in the quality of educational provision between class I, II, and III schools. This division contributed to the naturalization of inequitable educational provision for blacks. A better education required the payment of restrictively high fees; therefore, class background became an early factor.

Historical Background

By AD 1000 an African population that may have spoken a form of what is currently known as Shona, had established an empire, probably centered on what is now Great Zimbabwe (near current day Masvingo), and, through Arab intermediaries, traded gold for commodities from as far away as China (Stoneman and Cliffe, 1989). According to Bourdillon (1987), the Portuguese began a period of conquest and trade with the interior of East Africa in the fifteenth century. They came into contact with and had "dealings" with Shona leaders for about five centuries (4). By the nineteenth century, the series of empires that had been politically powerful in the area had declined under pressure from the Portuguese, slave-trading, and finally Nguni (Ndebele) incursions from the Zulu state to the south (Stoneman and Cliffe, 1989). Ndebele settled in the south-west and incorporated large numbers of resident Shona into their state (Bourdillon 1987, 14). In 1890, under the auspices of the British South Africa Company (BSAC), Cecil Rhodes' Pioneer Column invaded the area, initially in search of gold. It has been

speculated that Rhodes, having recently developed mines in Kimberly, South Africa, may have invented the white settlement of Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) as one way of absorbing white unemployment (Rotberg, 1988). After finding little gold, agriculture soon took over as the backbone of the settler colony (Stoneman and Cliffe, 1989).

During the early 1900s African competition in agriculture (which was superior at the time) was undercut and eventually destroyed by the wresting of land and labor away from indigenous people. With virtually no supervision from Rhodes (head of the BSAC) or Britain, settlers relied upon a highly oppressive South African model of direct white rule. According to Rotberg (1988), white native commissioners, in full accord with white settler interests, alienated land, appropriated property, and abused their tenants and laborers. An ordinance of mid-1885 declared that all cattle in Matabeland (southwestern Zimbabwe) and their offspring held by Africans were the property of the British South Africa Company. In addition, a hut tax was imposed upon the Shona in a settler effort to recruit scarce labor. These forms of early settler repression have been credited with sparking the first Chimurenga (war of liberation) between Africans and settlers that began in 1896 and was only put down in 1897 after much bloodshed.

The colony was ruled by the BSAC until 1923 when whites (then numbering 35,000) opted for the status of self-governing colony under Britain rather than union with South Africa. The colony had a constitution, an elected legislative assembly, and the vote was given to all who had property qualifications. Sections of the Constitution could not be amended by the Legislature, and the United Kingdom had power to legislate for Southern Rhodesia by Act, or Order in Council. Young (1969) has noted that while this

arrangement appeared to offer some check to an unrestricted pursuit of settler interests, real power was exercised by settlers with little interference from the British Government.

Following the economic "war boom" of World War II, there was a great expansion in white settler population -- doubling from 100,000 to 200,000. At the same time, the African population was also increasing. This meant that the economy would require a greater infusion of industrial workers from the African communities; whites anticipated an increased potential for conflict over issues of land ownership as a result of increased numbers of African workers. During this period, Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) also appeared to be a promising area of mineral development. Driven by white Southern Rhodesian (now Zimbabwe) concerns for increased opportunity for economic growth, proposals were finalized in April 1952 in a Lancaster House agreement for the creation of the Central African Federation.

Britain supported the creation of the Federation under the assumption that with increased economic growth and prosperity, race relations would improve. According to Atkinson, British statesmen came to show increasing concern over the retarding of relations between the racial groups in central Africa (Atkinson, 1982). The grant of independence to India and Pakistan in 1947 brought a new sense of obligation in the former empire to build up a multi-racial Commonwealth, based on an equal partnership between the many different peoples concerned (Atkinson, 1982). This spirit of multi-racial cooperation was not shared by settler administration, especially in the area of educational provision. While white education was placed under federal jurisdiction,

black education remained a territorial responsibility. This meant that black education's budget would remain insignificant compared to white education.

Partly due to pressure from black nationalists such as Joshua Nkomo's Zimbabwean African People's Union (ZAPU) party in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the Federation was eventually dissolved by 1963. Settlers in Southern Rhodesia viewed the potential of black organized resistance as a direct threat and began to mobilize to protect their interests. The Rhodesian Front (RF), the white extremist party, took over in 1963 and declared unilateral independence (UDI) from Britain in 1965. This move was an unambiguous rejection of British constitutional proposals for gradual African political advancement. The RF party, under its Prime Minister Ian Smith's leadership, was fully committed to the consolidation of white hegemony and the further development of a system of separate racial development. A group that had split from ZAPU, the Zimbabwean African National Union (ZANU) and ZAPU formed a common "Patriotic Front" (PF) to resist the white regime. Rhodesia's economy was one of the most unequal in the world during the UDI period: the 3% white population controlled nearly two-thirds of national income and nearly all the capital in industry and mining (Stoneman and Cliffe, 1989). Britain during this period refused to recognize Rhodesian independence but also acknowledged the fact that its influence was limited due to Rhodesia's original 1923 semi-autonomous status (Mtshali, 1967).

During UDI, education for Europeans remained a national responsibility while African education became the responsibility of district councils and private bodies. Under the RF's education plan in 1966, advancement to secondary school was to be

"bottlenecked" at 12.5% for African children. Funding for black education dropped from 8.6% GNP to 2% in 1967 (Zvogbo, 1981) while white education's budget remained unaffected. This meant that the government spent 12 times more per primary school pupil in the European system and nearly three times more in the secondary system (Dorsey, 1989). The regime's final attempt to maintain white privilege was enacted in the 1979 Education Act. The Act relied on the colonial zoning system and was designed to bar children whose parents did not reside in the former European suburbs from attending Group A (formerly all-white) schools (Dorsey, 1989).

Under the impact of sanctions and the PF guerrilla war, the white regime was forced to settle at the Lancaster House Conference in 1979. With the election victory of the ZANU-PF party under Robert Mugabe, the country was renamed the Republic of Zimbabwe in 1980. ZAPU and ZANU went separate ways at independence (later to be rejoined in 1988). After being elected to power, ZANU-PF quickly backed away from its original promise to redistribute white-owned land after independence (a stance that only recently was reversed toward redistribution). Historical commentators have called this a "calculated move" on the part of Mugabe's ZANU-PF party due to fears of white capital flight (Stoneman and Cliffe, 1989). While socialist in rhetoric, ZANU-PF's handling of the Zimbabwean economy remained largely capitalist in character after independence.

One of the important promises made by ZANU-PF during the liberation struggle was free access to a meaningful education. President Mugabe reiterated this commitment in the opening line of his speech to the World Congress of Education International in 1995:

> As one who is no stranger to the teaching profession, and *in the context of our firm belief and commitment, as government and people of Zimbabwe, to access and equity in education*, I had no hesitation in accepting the invitation to officially open the First World Congress to be organized by Education International. (Mugabe, 1995 - emphasis mine)

Undeniably, the promise of increased access was carried out in an unprecedented explosion of primary and secondary educational provision: From 1980-1990 the number of primary schools increased from 2,401 to 4,549 and enrollment rose from 820,000 to 2.4 million; the increase in the number of secondary schools and enrollment was even more impressive with an increase from 177 schools in 1979 to 1,517 in 1992. Enrollment for these years jumped from 66,215 to 687,742 (Mugabe, 1995). The logistical and infrastructure implications of such an expansion are truly staggering and should be recognized as a fundamental shift in previous policies of educational provision. As with the handling of the land question however, the content of the remainder of Mugabe's address at Education International was indicative: strategies for improving educational access were discussed while a concrete discussion of issues of equity was never mentioned.

ZANU focused on issues of *quantity* (majority access to primary) during the first decade of independence in the 1980s; a key issue that it now faces is the more difficult questions of educational *quality* (qualified teachers, equitable provision) in a period when economic conditions are strained. Societal divisions based on class and geographic location are extremely predictive of educational advancement. In addition, annually over 200,000 graduates of secondary and higher education are produced while new job creation often is as low as 5,000 positions (Dzvimbo, 1993).

Commentators often highlight the colonial-settler heritage as a main source of inequities that exist in the current system (Zvogbo, 1986; Moyanna, 1988; Dorsey, 1989; Graham-Brown, 1991). Their portrayal of the settler influence upon education sometimes de-emphasizes African agency in the negotiation of the education system prior to independence. Current questions of equity in education can only be understood in relation to an historical examination of the establishment and maintenance of uneven linguistic and cultural relations in education. Africans gained access to education and also established an awareness of education's link to class position by at least the 1930s. This class-education awareness, while not fully actualized during the settler period due to the established system, has manifested itself after independence. It can be historically shown that a majority of Africans mobilized for provision of more English academic style of higher education and that a minority actually gained access to it. This mobilization laid the foundations for class based symbolic domination in post independence Zimbabwean education. Once racial barriers were legally removed and access expanded, class became an even more important educational factor. Previously naturalized institutions of symbolic domination continued to operate within the system, especially at the secondary level.

Hostile Settlers and African Agency

Sybille Kuster offers a valuable synthesis of existing Zimbabwean educational history and a general thesis for the shaping of education between 1890-1962: the settler regime was generally hostile toward any form of non-labor related African education and was primarily interested in *controlling* African education. The administration was not trying to co-opt Africans (as "cultural imperialism" theorist's hold) or work toward an

eventual partnership (through a so-called "civilizing mission") with Africans. In addition, Kuster goes on to posit that African agency and missionary efforts shaped the development of an African primary and secondary education that did not necessarily adhere to colonial/settler interests.

While Kuster posits that African groups participated in the shaping of educational opportunities early in Zimbabwe's history, she also attempts to de-link that participation from the creation of different class based interests. Kuster asserts that African groups negotiated an education system that was "syncretic": i.e., consistent with self-defined forms of African socio-economic and cultural life. Kuster borrows from Meintjes's (1990) concept of "contradictory and syncretic mission culture" to signify a general mixing of Christianity and African belief systems that need not be necessarily contradictory. Kuster goes on to develop her concept of educational synchrony as mission education directly serving "African interests." What is problematic about her formulation of synchrony is the way it overly generalizes the character of African interests in education and downplays the powerful influence of European settler market forces. This concept of synchrony as it applies to education is weakened by the fact that she provides little evidence for the specific shapes of the phenomenon. The evidence she does cite tends to be confined to examples of religious observance. I would argue that there is sufficient historical evidence to show that different class interests, reflected in educational demands, formed as early as the beginning of the twentieth century in the missionary and settler influenced education system. There was a creation of subordinate linguistic and cultural market relations among Africans: a superior market position, reflected in class position, was dependent upon maximizing access to English education.

While missionaries, colonial administration, and a settler regime institutionalized an English academic education intended for whites, African groups early on identified the economic benefits of an English education and pursued access to it throughout the colony's history.

Ironically, Kuster attempts to de-emphasize the formation of class interests of Africans in education while at the same time showing numerous examples of new classes of jobs emerging as early as 1910. Education offered not only the possibility of economic advancement, but also more social mobility than would otherwise have been possible, especially for young men and women. Through her examination of the historical evidence, Kuster shows that mission education offered opportunities for economic advancement that were not tied to more traditional categories of age, maturity and sex. If young men could gain capital from a job that required education (teacher, police officer, messenger, boss boy), they could avoid the traditional practice of required service to the chief for land. Furthermore, the teaching profession was one of few professional fields open to women (Kuster, 1994, Challiss, 1982). Drawing upon Kuster's own marshaling of the historical evidence, I would posit that these opportunities, while limited, formed the basis of an initial linkage between education and class-consciousness.

White Education

Early in Rhodesia's history, the administration's main concern was to ensure universal access to basic primary education for white settlers; this was logistically difficult in a new colony with a dispersed white farmer population. According to Atkinson (1972, 1982), the main issue that faced white education in the colony until the

1920s was how to make it compulsory and free; the perception at the time was that a majority of whites had to be brought into the educational system in order to survive as a dominant class. Atkinson (1972) cites an early Farmer's Congress held in 1916 in which a legislative member contended that education had to be compulsory and free for one main reason: class distinctions among the European community were to be de-emphasized so that the European minority could remain strongly united. After the grant of Responsible Government in 1923, resource allocation for education increased and attendance in primary schools greatly expanded. In addition, a correspondence course was initiated for more geographically isolated white students in order to bring them into the system. Challiss (1980) notes that it was during this time that European secondary education also began to expand as large numbers of young white Rhodesians were completing primary education. By the time the 1930 Compulsory Education Act requiring school attendance was passed, most European children between ages seven and fifteen were enrolled in schools (Atkinson, 1972).

After the initial push for compulsory primary attendance in the 1920s, the main concerns of the settler administration revolved around three issues: the increased provision of secondary education; provision of an education that would maintain racial superiority; and preparation of whites for positions in the colonial economy. To these ends, British style examinations were adopted by most schools in the 1930s as a part of an overall trend toward the expansion and reinforcement of a British modeled academic form of schooling. This adoption of British examinations was also reflective of a larger discussion about appropriate curriculum in Rhodesian schools. According to Atkinson

(1972), concerns of local relevance and technical education were largely ignored by parents in favor of a traditional academic curriculum:

> Among a people grown accustomed to the responsibilities of political and economic power, there was an exaggerated respect for the type of preparation thought necessary for the professional and administrative classes; technical and manual skills were down-graded as appropriate only to the less successful groups in the community. (82)

When given the choice between South African and British examinations by educational administrators, two schools (Prince Edward and Dominican Convent, Salisbury) decided to take Cambridge Certificate during 1938, the remaining high schools followed during 1939 (Atkinson, 1972).

Atkinson's interpretation of increased reliance upon a more academic curriculum is that settlers were interested in maintaining the economic status quo: the European minority already held a monopoly of administrative posts in government and commerce. More technical and manual occupations were held in low esteem in a rural community, where extensive supplies of African labor were available at very low wages. Due to the racial basis of the colony's economy, whites continued to pursue a more British academic curriculum into the 1940s and 50s that largely de-emphasized local/technical areas. In essence, whites perceived academic training as more consistent with their legally institutionalized race and class positions.

The Cambridge Certificate was widely utilized until 1963 when British examination boards collaborated with the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland to create a new General Certificate of Education. This new certificate tested individual subject areas and allowed for specialization in high school. According to Ayerst (cited in Atkinson, 1972), then senior inspector of the Ministry of Education in England, the new

examination's approach to curriculum meant that Rhodesia, then part of a central African federation, could better develop economically by producing more professionally qualified men and women. According to the inspector, this development was needed, especially in the context of a decline in the demand for white unskilled labor in primary production.

The concept behind subject specialization was that it allowed for a smoother transition into the British modeled university system. The British model relied upon the specialized Advanced (A) level examination system. Entrance to the newly established University of Rhodesia (1955) was based on performance in the standardized A level subject examination system. Atkinson (1972) notes that the adoption of the relatively high standards of A level performance in the Central African Federation taxed most secondary schools' abilities to produce qualified candidates and contributed to an initially slow growth rate in student numbers at the British style university: the University's first intake of students numbered 68 in 1957 (Atkinson, 1972). Unlike primary and secondary education, the University of Rhodesia had a multi-racial charter that allowed all qualified African candidates entrance: enrollment by 1967 was 432 Europeans, 211 Africans, and 74 for other groups (Atkinson, 1972). This multi-racial charter is reflective of the collaboration between British administration's desire for racial integration and a relatively progressive group of white Southern Rhodesian philanthropists. This emphasis on racial integration was possible in university education (and not secondary) due to the relative need for Cambridge's certification of the new university. While the charter guaranteed the possibility for African access to university education, the institutional impact of the Charter must be understood in the context of Southern Rhodesia's education system: competition with whites for places at university was effectively

undercut by the compromised African system at primary and secondary levels. Nevertheless, 211 Africans did take places that otherwise would have gone to whites.

African Education

While the earliest African education in the colony was sponsored by missionaries, colonial administration early on expressed a direct interest for the institution of a labor-oriented curriculum. Earl Grey, administrator of colonial Zimbabwe from 1896 to 1898 stated that "The very first steps towards civilizing the Natives laid in a course of industrial training which had to precede the teaching of [religious] dogma" (Cited in Challis, 1982). Missionaries during this period largely went along with the colonial administration's labor curriculum policy. In 1903, at the Southern Rhodesia Missionary Conference (SRMC), all missionary societies expressed their agreement with the view that a modified form of education for Africans which centered upon the provision of simple industrial training was desirable (Challiss, 1980). In addition, missionary societies had to work on slim budgets and saw in manual training a means of reducing the expenditure necessary to build schools, churches and other mission facilities (Challiss, 1982).

This labor oriented policy extended to language education in that English proficiency was viewed as purely functional. Early colonial views of African education as they related to curriculum and language are summed up by Atkinson (1972):

> Africans were to be given such training as would enable them to become more efficient workers in agriculture and industry, and perhaps render more efficient service to European employers. There was no great interest in giving them instruction in the three Rs. Though a further

> provision in the Ordinance of 1903 required African pupils to be taught to speak and understand the English language, this was intended to have a purely functional use only. (90)

Thus, early on there was an understanding on the part of colonial administrators that Africans should be taught English instrumentally for manual labor purposes.

While there was general agreement with the general policy outline for a labor oriented curriculum on the part of missionaries, they disagreed over the specific amount of time and quality of English education for Africans. By the early 1900s, missionaries viewed English education as an important part of African schooling. Kuster (1994) notes that some provision of English education served several important functions for missions: 1) to enable Africans to read scriptures and to enhance and spread Christian beliefs; 2) to recruit and keep more church members (especially young) and; 3) to expand the geographical territory of the mission as training African teaching staff to take up new posts required higher literacy skills (Kuster, 1994). Thus, one important source of this conflict was the "market" driven nature of Christian recruitment: African educational provision, especially English academic education, became a key factor in the mission societies' competition to establish spheres of influence.

Most importantly, this competition in English education is indicative of the early development of African agency in education. Missionaries, fearing the loss of members, were responding to African demands. In fact, regardless of the mission education's proselytizing function, Africans early on applied pressure for the provision of increased English curriculum. Kuster (1994) notes that missionaries intent on winning and maintaining African pupils did not adhere to the administrative directive of 1907 that called for basic English for master servant relations: "In an effort to meet African

demands, various mission societies, such as the Anglicans at Epiphany and St. Augustines's, soon offered advanced instruction in the English language" (88).

Missionaries thus had to negotiate educational demands of African students and parents, the constraints of government curriculum regulation, and extremely limited government grants. In view of these constraints and in an effort to expand educational provision, missionaries and the government arrived at an agreement in which standards were reduced to expand the missionary education system. This system created different financial grant levels and accompanying curriculum requirements. The curriculum requirements in turn established stark differences in how much English language exposure was offered in each class of school. Schools were divided into three classes by 1907. Class I schools were boarding schools under European supervision for four hours of instruction a day for 180 days. Two hours a day were required for industrial and agricultural subjects. The teaching of English was integrated into the curriculum. Class II schools were day schools that were also to be under European supervision, but were only required to provide two hours of instruction a day for 180 days. There were no requirements for industrial training, and teachers were expected to teach English and instill "habits of discipline and cleanliness." Class III schools were taught by African teachers, and the only requirements were that basic English be taught (Atkinson, 1972). Thus, by 1907 a system with highly differentiated provision in education and English training was established. Pupils who attended the Class I system received twice the exposure to education in English as those in Class I or II schools.

Demand for educational access increased greatly over the next two decades. From 1908 to 1917, Atkinson (1972) notes that enrollment numbers in Class I schools

increased by 126%, Class II schools by 667%, and Class III schools by 911%. From 1908 to 1927 enrollment increased 415%, 993%, and 2,808% respectively. High fees were introduced as a way of managing the huge demand: entrance fees from 3 pounds to 8 pounds for courses that usually lasted for three years were instituted in Class I and II schools. The quality between the different classes of schools varied greatly. Atkinson (1972) sums up the state of most African educational provision, especially where expansion was greatest -- in class III schools -- during the period:

> The system of education, in fact, become dominated by large numbers of small and indifferently organized schools, where the teacher's training was likely to be of an extremely rudimentary kind. Little more could be expected from such schools than a training in basic English vocabulary and in certain habits of discipline and cleanliness. They could not be said to be giving, in any sense, an education capable of raising the African to higher levels of productivity, or of enabling him to profit from European experience. (92)

Despite the issues of inequity in the curriculum and the introduction of fees, demand for all forms of education accelerated during this period.

Where was the greatly increased demand, even for extremely limited class III education, emanating from? Kuster (1994) posits that the connection between education and socio-econonomic benefits, especially for youth and women, is perhaps the most compelling explanation for the increase:

> Africans could expect to benefit considerably from the exploitation of the economic possibilities connected with a certain level of education. Job opportunities - though limited - comprised employment as police and court interpreters, post-office messengers, menial clerks, drivers and as so-called "Boss boys" on European farms. (81)

In addition to these positions for young men, the teaching profession represented one of the only professional fields open to women. Simply stated, increased economic opportunities and the potential for increased social mobility among some groups in the colonial economy drove the increasing demand for education.

Also, from a macroeconomic point of view, the restrictive nature of the white government's hold on the economy contributed to increased African desire for an English academic curriculum. The form of agricultural and industrial education advocated by government was designed to minimize competition from African farmers and artisans. As this training turned out to be of small benefit due to increasingly legalized settler dominance, "African aspirations were directed to literary [English] training as the kind of education which would be the most likely to improve chances to obtain better paid jobs in the European sector" (Kuster, 1994: 87). There is evidence that African families were starting to understand this relationship between a narrowing of economic opportunity and English education: the lack of academic instruction and the exclusion of English at two missionary schools in Matabeleland led to their closure in 1909 due to student withdrawal (Flood, 1973 cited in Kuster 1994). The fact that Africans would not accept a curriculum without more English training was recognized by the educational administration by at least 1915 (Kuster, 1994).

Class I and II schools were more responsive to African curriculum demands, and instituted advanced instruction in English by 1910. As previously mentioned, a fee structure was instituted to manage demand at these schools, effectively limiting enrollment to a minority. Challiss (1980) notes that this economic minority had access to the very education that promised the highest economic rewards. I posit that the three-class system, fully established by 1910, was the historical foundation of unequal market relations in African education that exist today. It was a system by which a minority in a superior class position gained access to a highly valued English academic education. This education was directly associated with the perceived superior European curriculum

that could give access to better paying jobs. By 1927, enrollment in Class I schools was 4160, enrollment in Class II schools was 6470, and Class III schools had an enrollment of 86, 421. The only documented form of African resistance to this system came in the form of protest for more English curriculum. According to Atkinson (1972), there were student strikes on this issue by 1921, reflecting student agency in the negotiation of the curriculum:

> Matters were made worse by an impatience felt by many pupils with their rate of progress in the English language . . .This attitude was responsible for the first school strike, which took place towards the end of 1921. Twenty-nine boys in junior four decided that they were being kept back in English through being refused a reading-text, and declined to do any work. . During the summer of 1922 there was a second strike by thirty boys, on the grounds that insufficient time was being allowed for literary instruction. (100)

Evidenced by the increased and vocal demand for more English curriculum, African students and parents were correctly identifying white administration's ideology of separate and unequal development. Wishing to gain access to benefits from the white economic sector, African students and parents were attempting to maximize exposure to an English- based curriculum.

While exposure may have been the goal of many African families, Atkinson (1972) hints at the practical difficulties in teaching English as a second language. He notes that there was limited knowledge about the teaching of English as a second language in general: "Though teachers were required to impart no more than the basics of oral communication, they were nevertheless given very little help in finding suitable teaching techniques" (91). This lack of training on the part of teachers, many of whom were unqualified and affiliated with missions, seems to have remained unaddressed. Colonial administrators, most of whom wanted a docile work force and believed that Africans did not have the intellectual capacity to cope with a purely academic education,

did not identify the systematic development of an ESL methodology and teacher training as a priority.

The lack of initiative for development in areas such as ESL may have stemmed from a prominent educational philosophy, eventually linked to racial separation, that was sweeping colonial states during this period -- Phelps Stokesism. The term "Phelps-Stokesism" is derived from the name of a fund bequeathed in 1909 an American heiress, Miss Caroline Phelps-Stokes, for the welfare of Blacks in the US and Africa (Challiss, 1984). Influential in the US and Africa in the 1920s, Phelps Stokes commissions endorsed racially differentiated educational policies on the grounds that they would preserve traditional African life and also alleviate possible racial friction between whites and blacks. This philosophy, based on Booker T. Washington's proposed strategy for ameliorating post-civil war race relations in the US, provided colonial administrators with an argument for separate and less resource intensive educational systems for Africans. Challiss notes that by 1925, this policy was already in place in then Rhodesia. According to Kuster (1994), there was African and missionary consciousness and resistance to legally instituted economic, educational, and geographic separation by the late 1930s. This consciousness was sparked by the double standard of colonial reliance upon Phelps-Stokesist policies that rhetorically claimed to "support" African ways of life through a separate educational system:

> In the 1920s and 1930s settler pressure, state legislation and ensuing economic developments resulted in the creation of a socio-economic framework which rendered the administration's promotion of what was to be, in essence, the separate development of Africans in the reserves along lines of "traditional African practices and beliefs" impracticable and anachronistic . . . the Phelps-Stokesist policy of restricting African aspirations to the "simple needs" of rural community life and of providing Africans with an adapted education centered on rudimentary practical skills was bound to provoke resentment and suspicion among Africans. (167)

Kuster goes on to point out that resentment of policies during this period was tapped by leaders of African proto-nationalist organizations which came into existence in the 1920s and 1930s. Members of these groups were educated Africans, many of them urban-based and therefore representative of a certain upper class stratum of African society rather than the African population at large (Kuster, 1994). This group was also interested in maintaining and increasing access to advanced English based education, especially at secondary levels. Thus, colonial administration's use of Phelps-Stokesism encountered stiff resistance: African families had already made the connection between English based education and increased opportunity for economic advancement.

Ranger (1970) notes that most of the proto-nationalist organizations, especially in Matebeland, were organized around the issue of a right to representation by the early 1920s. These organizations largely represented African labor's interests. African leaders shifted their strategy from protest to participation after realizing that real power lay in the hands of white settler interests rather than Britain. While franchise was theoretically open to blacks, its requirements effectively excluded the overwhelming majority. Early political leader Martha Ngano summarized the differences between the African franchise requirements and realities in a petition in 1924: 1) yearly wages of 100 pounds -- the absolute highest for blacks being 50 at the time); 2) English literacy - while most Africans receive instruction in home languages; 3) Africans were not allowed to count live stock as wealth -- the main local index of wealth (Ranger, 1970). Thus, proto-national organizations identified English literacy and education as instrumental for participation in the colony's economy, not for open resistance. This political mood

would change by the 1960s and 70s, as it became clear that whites had no intention of allowing real participation.

Atkinson cites an increase in demand for secondary training for factory workers in 1942 as a key factor in the establishment of the first government school. This school, in Goromonzi, had a full range of classes up to Cambridge certificate level by 1949 with an enrollment of 202 boys and 31 girls. A second government secondary school, Fletcher High School, was established in Gwelo during 1957 (Atikinson, 1972). Though extremely selective, secondary education became at least a possibility for Africans by the 1960s. By 1970, 83,000 African students were expected to complete primary school with 26,000 spots open for some kind of secondary course (Atkinson, 1972).

Class Interests

Current Zimbabwean historical commentators attempt to separate the early establishment of black class interest from the concept of African agency in education; as a result, there is a lack of continuity between educational historiography and any in-depth treatment of current Zimbabwean trends. For example, Ranger's (1970) criterion for the foundation of meaningful class interests is based on the ability for an African elite to form coalitions and translate group interests into political action. There is little evidence of this kind of elite-mass mobilization until 1960 (Ranger, 1968). While I would agree that organized political action is one criterion, political action represents class formation at an advanced stage. One should trace class interests to their foundation in early differentiation of educational provision based on economic constraints. Attention to this foundation is an important historical factor because it highlights the character of African participation and negotiation in the colonial economy through education. It is clear that

Africans from all economic backgrounds understood the relation between English education and economic opportunity.

A further example of historiographical discontinuity in class awareness and educational developments is Kuster's (1994) position concerning the "syncretic" nature of African education during the colonial period:

> The supposed culturally imperialist impact of colonial education and missionary influence was mitigated and negated by the resilience of African cultural and social practices, the reinterpretation and appropriation of Western culture and Christian beliefs, and the emergence of a syncretic rather than European-controlled form of culture on most mission stations. (229)

Clearly then, there is sufficient evidence to show African interests in the shaping of educational provision. African parents, students, and early political organizations have been shown to be active negotiators of educational provision. Rather than recognizing the complexity of African agency however, Kuster oversimplifies it into an extreme cultural imperialist argument. Kuster (1994) frames the argument too narrowly: one must accept or reject the premise that Europeans were intentionally attempting to mentally colonize Africans. There is clearly little evidence of settler strategies for mental colonization of Africans. Further evidence of an inability to analyze the complexity of African agency can be adduced from the absence of discussion of the role of language in education by historical commentators. Acceptance of the naturalized position of English in education is total and the historical roots of its naturalization are not discussed beyond a direct identification with the European education system. I would argue that evidence has not yet been provided on the syncretic nature of educational provision in Zimbabwe, especially in language education, from 1920 onwards; rather, the evidence points toward African agency in the pursuit of increased access to English education.

To view English so unproblematically is to miss a fundamental point of Zimbabwean social and economic reality: the foundation of class differences during the colonial period and beyond rested upon possession of advanced English competence which could only be gained through a formal English education. A minority of Africans who attended Class I and II schools had superior access to this type of competence due to their class position (ability to pay high fees). This position and accompanying competence could be exploited, though in a limited fashion, through further access to secondary education. Success at secondary school rested upon passing a Cambridge examination written in English. By the 1920s and certainly into the 40s and 50s, maintenance of a superior class position was increasingly linked to an English based academic education. Those who could actually take full advantage of this class - education linkage (progression into secondary and beyond) were in an extreme minority.

We can approach the issue of this lacuna in Zimbabwean historiography by evoking Bourdieu's market framework. Clearly, the concept, as framed by Kuster (1994), of "cultural imperialism" de-emphasizes African agency. Cultural imperialism requires the elimination of African agency and cultural identity. If however, one were to reintegrate the concept of African agency within a dominated educational and linguistic market, a more complex framework that explains continued English influence and African agency may be posited. That is, the roots of Zimbabwe's class based system of educational provision can be found in the naturalization of English competence. Bourdieu would posit that black Zimbabweans of all classes support the dominant-subordinate nature of the postcolonial linguistic market through their active participation in it.

Kuster and other commentators would resist this interpretive move as their understanding of Zimbabwean consciousness and agency in education seems to be one that is shared by an undefined majority. There is a notable lack of historical investigation of the origins of class interests and the nature of Zimbabwean educational participation. While links are made to the rise of a nationalist movement among frustrated secondary school leavers and rural councils' desire for development of upper primary education (Kuster, 1994), there is no in depth examination of the character of educational advocacy. Current evidence points to politically organized urban-based groups, working with missionaries, that advocated increased English education and secondary education by the 1940s. Historical evidence from the 1920s and 30s shows that an ability to pay higher school fees, and therefore class position, was a key factor for access into class I schools. Students who attended Class I schools received superior exposure to an economically valuable English curriculum.

What has yet to be historically investigated is the thesis that the minority of African students who received increased exposure to English curriculum were able to economically translate that educational experience into better paying employment. If a majority of Class I school leavers occupied superior economic positions in the settler controlled African economy, the next area to investigate would be the degree to which those economic positions allowed initial Class I students to send their own children to Class I schools, and perhaps secondary institutions by the 1940s and 50s. If this contributing factor to reproduction of class through increased access to English education were to be historically shown, an argument could be supported for the creation and reproduction of unequal market relations.

What *can* be shown is that African parents and students, responding to the settler controlled market, participated in overwhelming numbers in the education system. In current day educational practice in Zimbabwe, different class interests point to a naturalization of the unequal character of pre-independence educational provision, enforced through minority possession of advanced English competence. Dominant market relations based on linguistic and educational capital offer a model that more fully integrates the historical evidence and current reproduction of class relations in Zimbabwe's educational system.

African Language Development in Zimbabwe

While it is important to understand the historical development of Zimbabwe's educational system, early trends in African language development also contributed, perhaps indirectly, to the process of naturalization of English in Zimbabwean education. It has been recognized and detailed by Ranger (1983), that in many cases throughout Africa, the constructs of ethnicity and language were influenced by colonial institutions. In Zimbabwe's case, there was no such group as the "Shona," though there were smaller groups (Manlike, Zezuru, Korekore) who seemed, at least to missionaries, to speak mutually intelligible languages. Colonial administrators and missionaries, looking for larger units of administrative control and less linguistic and cultural ambiguity, classified areas, languages, and ethnic groups. Hence in 1931, C.M. Doke, a South African linguist, was hired by the Rhodesian government to describe and classify the Shona language and people. Literally given the power to name entire groups and their relationships through linguistic analysis, Doke was one of the most influential contributors to the concept of the

Shona people. The concept of Shona as a unified language and people, a separate field of study itself, has since become largely naturalized in Zimbabwe.

After Doke's study was completed, the use of Shona and Ndebele was increasingly utilized in the Phelps-Stokesist influenced concept of Africanization and separation of educational curriculum in Rhodesia. Blacks were encouraged to learn through home languages and to focus on primary education as terminal. In addition, in 1953, the Literature Bureau was set up under the Native Affairs' auspices with specific duties:

> The expansion of African education after the World War II and the opening of the university in Salisbury in the 1950s made the creation of literary texts in the vernaculars an urgent necessity. In order to encourage writing, the Bureau organized annual literary competitions; quite a few of the prize-winners later became leading Shona and Ndebele writers . . . By far the greatest market however were the schools which began to use Literature Bureau-sponsored books as supplementary reading material. (Veit-Wild, 1993: 73)

The major tasks that the Literature Bureau had to tackle were the ongoing unification of the various Shona dialects into one standard Shona and the standardization of Shona and Ndebele orthography and grammar rules. In practice, the Literature Bureau always had a double function: on the one hand, it played a very important role in promoting vernacular writing and providing the means for its development; on the other, it also attempted to control the emergence of critical political literature in African languages through its promotion of traditional themes. Veit-Wild notes that this institution was influential in separating the development of English writing as well:

> The literature Bureau cultivated the trivial and folklorist nature of indigenous writing over the next decades and prevented it from tackling any serious issues; it thus ensured that this literature remained apolitical and isolated, branded as "native," and that it followed a completely separate development from black writing in English. (Veit-Wild, 1993: 74)

Veit-Wild (1993) also notes that the Literature Bureau kept a tight grip over content issues so that the censoring and banning of any political or socially critical book went hand in hand with the cultural policy of "indigenisation" of black writing in African languages (216). Thus, the initially European-sponsored development of Shona and Ndebele in Zimbabwe shows that there was an administrative attempt to influence African writing toward traditional and apolitical themes.

How successful the settler government was in this perhaps somewhat ironic goal of control through linguistic promotion is difficult to assess. To do so would require extensive language attitude and popular culture studies that span several generations of Zimbabweans. This was initially attempted with prominent Zimbabwean authors by Veit-Wild in her 1993 work *Teachers, Preachers, Non-Believers: A Social History of Zimbabwean Literature.*

What remains clear is that there was wide spread African resistance, rural and urban, to Phelps-Stokesist inspired educational policy. It came in the form of demand for more English academic curriculum. Posited prior even to Kuster's work, Metzler (1988) noted that a demand for an academic curriculum increased probably due to a perception that the settler controlled black education system was not structurally linked with either the subsistence mode of production or any other vital sector of the economy. While there is little evidence for a fully developed class-consciousness even in 1980, I posit that there was a general conviction that there were economic benefits of an English academic curriculum as early as 1930. This association and previously discussed demand for English curriculum laid the foundation for an education system that utilizes what can be described as English symbolic dominance. That is, the Zimbabwean majority participates

in a system that favors advanced English competence as a prerequisite for increased educational access. Shona and Ndebele continue to be the first languages of an overwhelming majority while English is the language of education.

Challenges for the New Government

The new government did not passively accept the educational policies of the previous regime. As previously mentioned, during the first decade of majority rule, a majority of resources were committed to the expansion of access to primary and secondary education. In addition, the University of Zimbabwe's Department of Teacher Education faced the task of redeveloping and expanding teacher education. The newly created national CDU was to provide new curriculum guidelines for the teaching of all subjects. Subjects like history, and social studies have been made to focus more on African experience and values than they were before 1980 (Natsa, 1994). As previously discussed, President Mugabe, a former school teacher, remains committed to the concept of education as a way of improving the quality of life of Zimbabweans (Mugabe, 1995).

As Zimbabwe approaches the twenty-first century, it faces severe constraints on its ability to carry out educational reform. Colclough's 1990 Education Sector Study highlights a few of these constraints:

> [1] There are still considerable pockets of poverty in the country – vulnerable groups include farm workers, poor peasants, the un- or under-employed, low paid urban workers, some resettled people and people in the remote and sparsely populated areas. The differences in living standards between the modern and traditional sectors are still striking, and indicative of the little change in the distribution of wealth that has occurred during the last decade. . . .[2] Employment generation in the formal sector is put at less than 20,000 new jobs (net) per year over the 1990s compared with over 250,000 school leavers per year most of whom will have O levels. Even with a return to rapid economic growth, the labor market will not be able to absorb all job seekers. (3)

The current system is suffering from a disjunction between a generally weak economy, and a system that is producing graduates (with O levels) will immediately encounter difficulty finding employment. Those without O levels face even less chance of finding a job (Colclough, 1990).

In the short term, groups that are facing economic insecurity will probably not be interested in the relationship between language curriculum and issues of equity and relevance in education. Daily struggles for basic necessities are naturally foregrounded for groups under economic stress. The central thesis of this dissertation highlights a more long-term perspective; the current system, negotiated during the white settler period, is in need of critical examination. This is not to say that initial connections have not been made by Zimbabweans; former Minister of Zimbabwean Education Fay Chung (1988) has noted that examinations have a very strong influence on the curriculum and in the way it is conceived and implemented. Within the examination system, English fluency plays a crucial role as one cannot pass without passing the English subsection. Pertinent language policy and examination support is critically examined here in order to explain current practice being promoted in the examination system.

Current Zimbabwean Language Education Policy and Practice

As previously noted, a 1987 educational clause in the constitution states that "Shona and Ndebele *may* be used as languages of instruction from grade 1 up to grade 3 in areas *where the majority of students are of Shona or Ndebele backgrounds*" (Educational Act, 1987 - emphasis mine). This statement can viewed as structurally ambiguous; there are multiple interpretations that can lead to various African LP practices

in education. Also, this statement must be viewed in the context of current educational practice: in all schools English takes over as the language of instruction from grade four onwards in preparation for the nation-wide Cambridge examination system (conducted in English). This combination of contextual factors translates into a non-incentive for the educational utilization of Shona or Ndebele, even in early primary school. It has been observed that many schools situated in predominantly Shona or Ndebele speaking neighborhoods prefer to introduce English as the medium of instruction right from grade one. The explanation often offered for this practice is that it prepares students for later grades where they will be expected to function completely in English (Natsa, 1994).

These perceptions and practices are striking when one considers countrywide examination figures. The rate of total cohort progression (beginning in primary) past Zimbabwean O levels ranges around 5% (Calculated from Ministry of Education and Culture transition rates in Colclough, 1990). This means that about five out of one hundred students starting in grade one will advance beyond roughly the third year of secondary. Failure to pass the English section of the O level examinations means failure to advance beyond O levels. In addition to this low rate of progression, there are signs that a majority of incoming first year students at the University of Zimbabwe are reading well below O level ability (McGinley, 1984). This means that those who presumably pass Advanced levels (two years after O levels), are in actuality reading at much lower levels when tested independently. What therefore seems to be taking place in Zimbabwe is a continuation of a monolingual European educational LP that is consistent with Bourdieu's pattern of symbolic domination. This practice may be characterized as one of

initial access to primary education while issues of equity are in part "sidestepped" as the majority pursues access to higher education with limited English competence.

Britain and UCLES

The development and maintenance of English language education in Zimbabwe should not be viewed as purely internal historical phenomena. The British-based institution, University of Cambridge Local Examination Syndicate (UCLES), is perhaps one of the most influential institutions for language education practice in Zimbabwe due to the close connection between examinations, curriculum and teaching. Through continued collaboration with the Zimbabwean government, UCLES indirectly supports the linguistic minority's interests. These interests are directly tied to the maintenance of the highly uneven class oriented education system that functions through symbolic dominance. Specifically, Zimbabweans remain dependent upon British based UCLES's interpretation of "English standards" for a Zimbabwean based examination system. English standards should be understood as a level of competence that is roughly comparable to a native British English speaker at the same stage of education. These standards are reflected in the English reading and writing curriculum in the Zimbabwean secondary education. The specific contours of these standards in the O level examination will be examined in the following chapter.

While direct British colonial presence has ended in Africa, the British Council, established by the British government as the main institution for spreading British language and culture (Spolsky, 1995), is still active as a supporter of English education in Zimbabwe. Established in 1934 with support from private business interests, one of the Council's original missions was to consider a scheme for furthering the teaching of

English abroad and to promote a wider knowledge and understanding of British culture generally (Phillipson, 1992). In essence, the British Council serves as the educational "middle man" between foreign governments interested in developing their English education systems and English educational/cultural agencies.

In addition to funding and coordinating educational assistance projects, Spolsky (1995) has noted that the British Council formed a Joint Committee with UCLES as early 1944 (Spolsky, 1995). UCLES is one of the largest private examination companies in the world. From the early part of this century, Spolsky describes UCLES as an organization that has had a history of a humanistic concern for subjective judgment that is combined with smug certainty in the infallibility of their unexplained collective opinions (337). He describes their views as originally traditional and elitist; they were examining the extent to which foreigners, who wanted to teach English or be recognized as knowing it, had assimilated the ability to perform like ideal British candidates, and to share their common literary culture. The First Certificate in English was added to the UCLES examination system by director Roach in 1939. By the 1980s it was examining about a quarter of a million students a year in sixty countries (Spolsky, 1995).

By 1987 the overseas examination syllabus had four guiding principles: the priority of a communicative approach; the importance of listening and speaking; the authenticity of reading and listening; the avoidance of culture bias. According to Spolsky, in officially accepting these principles, UCLES has shown sensitivity to the major trends in language teaching in general.

Surrounding these principles is also a keen UCLES sensitivity to the legitimation of *maintaining standards*, especially in measuring English language proficiency. In

essence, reliance upon this concept depends upon a shared concept, connected to Cambridge's educational prestige, that UCLES is in possession of "the standard." When one places UCLES' legitimation in the context of English language testing as international big business, as Spolsky's work does, this organization's institutional power can be seen as very influential in Zimbabwean language education practice.

While the O level examination is taken by most Zimbabwean students in the equivalent of US tenth grade, its influence is felt much earlier in the educational system. The Zimbabwean Junior Certificate (ZJC), taken by primary school leavers, administered completely by Zimbabwean educationists, utilizes similar approaches to the Cambridge system. At present, the ZJC is a watered-down version of the O level English exam and is used as a training exercise for the O level. Based on the highly selective British model, the O level can be seen as the highest goal that most school children can hope to achieve.

Localization and the O Level

Perhaps one of the most understudied innovations in African education is the concept and process of "localization." The process, on the surface, is represented as a smoothly oiled (and agentless) machine that somehow makes the education more "relevant" and "meaningful" for the majority of students while at the same time "maintaining standards." In the case of Zimbabwe, localization for the O level examination system (completed in 1994) has largely meant a change to local exam administration (largely for distribution and marking) and an inclusion of African/Zimbabwean themes in some curriculum content areas. What localization has not done is to change any of the *ways* in which the English language subject examinations (both writing and reading sections) are formed or marked. I would argue that this

amounts to a "surface" localization. By leaving English examination formation and marking procedures largely intact and in the hands of UCLES, fundamental issues of language use, language curriculum coordination, and examination autonomy remain unaddressed.

Prior to the commencement of the localization process in 1984, Zimbabwe candidates were examined by three different private boards from the UK: University of London Schools Examination Board (ULSEB); Associated Examination Board (AEB); and UCLES (University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate). While the specific institutional source for the push for Zimbabwean localization in 1984 (Rakuni, 1995) is not clear, there is evidence that there was an overall recognition on the part of the educational administration on the need to move to address issues of relevance in the curriculum. UCLES proposed that it would consolidate the examination (Sadler, 1995b). The adoption of these innovations was financially supported by the British Overseas Development Administration (Sadler, 1995b). Localization was in Zimbabwe's best financial interest as it allowed it to assume the majority of responsibilities of its own examination system. One estimate is that the Zimbabwean government went from spending nine million Zimbabwean dollars to around two million (Sadler, 1995b). As the examination's sole certifying body, UCLES certifies the development of English syllabuses and question papers. Consultants from the UCLES office in Britain visit Zimbabwe regularly for this purpose.

Zimbabwean teachers and administrators were tapped from the beginning of the localization effort to discuss issues of content reformation of the curriculum. For example, new material in Zimbabwean history was introduced that included a treatment

of African kingdoms (Rakuni, 1995). In the area of English language however, "there were few issues" (Sadler, 1995c) related to localization. In other words, there was no questioning of the *way* English was currently being taught in schools or marked in examinations. The main concern of UCLES and government officials during localization was a very non-local one: maintenance of English standards and test security to ensure perceived examination integrity. According to one UCLES official,

> We [UCLES] still supervise the marking of the question papers and attend all the grading meetings to make sure that the standards adopted in Zimbabwe are equivalent to those obtained in the rest of the world. The main problem in Zimbabwe is the security of the examination. I have a colleague in Zimbabwe at present making unannounced calls on various schools throughout the country to ensure that there is no mal-practice. (Sadler, 1996d)

This concern for security and integrity, while reflecting a concern for in-country legitimacy for the examination, can also be seen as a concern for the development of markets elsewhere in the world. For instance, if the examination answers are not secure in Zimbabwe, could they also be at risk in Malaysia? The concept of the equivalence of "standards" with the "rest of the world" also points to a global rather than local examination priority.

In essence, UCLES can be seen to be engaged by the Zimbabwean government as an instrument for legitimating the examination system. The shared perception of "English standards" being maintained with local Zimbabwean administration seems to be the goal of the government in the English language section, At the same time, UCLES maintains an examination service monopoly and upper administrative institutional control, through paid certification, of one of the most influential Zimbabwean institutions of language education -- the O and A level examination system.

UCLES' influence is substantial, especially in the context of the relative professional power and global prestige it wields. It benefits through its affiliation with British governmental agencies and a perceived interpretive claim of "English standards." Through its most recent collaboration with the Zimbabwean government in localization, it has established a monopoly over Zimbabwe's examination certification procedures. As a private company, UCLES pursues its own interests as they relate to language education in Zimbabwe. UCLES's institutional interests complement Zimbabwean dominant bloc interests in that institutionalized symbolic dominance in education continues to be legitimated.

As previously discussed a specific representation the influence of these broadly outlined forces can be found in Zimbabwean literary sources. At the level of the negotiation of individual identity, the power of these institutionalized forces of language education forces will be examined in the works of Zimbabwean authors (chapter four). These authors intimately represent these historic and current influences as they specifically relate to the negotiation of identity in the period of the second Chimurenga. In addition, while not resolving the issue of the degree language education's hegemonic influence, Chapter four's analysis of Zimbabwean authors will allow for a detailed analysis of these issues.

In Zimbabwe, power projection through LP in education has been emphasized by the nature of the political economy of the settler enterprise. Separate educational systems were created in which the African system was perceived to be inferior to the European. An intense demand for access to the European system developed among an

African elite who understood the economic connection to superior education. The European school curriculum, especially at secondary levels, reflected the colonizer's language, culture, history, religion, and ways of life. In Bourdieu's (1991) terms, a unified cultural and linguistic market was created, certainly by the 1960s and 70s, in which an English academic curriculum was more highly valued.

Current Zimbabwean language education policies can be seen as evidence of an historically grounded institutional momentum that will carry Zimbabwe into the twenty-first century. In this sense, Zimbabwe can be seen to be moving toward the integration of its elite into the larger linguistic and cultural "market" that includes other global participants. Britain, through British based UCLES, is one the most powerful sources of economic, linguistic, and cultural capital for English language education in Zimbabwe. UCLES does not have African based language education as a part of its institutional or market interest; rather, European monolingualism contributes to a superior market position for UCLES. Thus, a market bias can be seen to have been formed, from within and without Zimbabwe, that favors the practice of an English monolingual educational policy. The most influential external institution for Zimbabwe's language education, due to the powerful linkage between educational advancement and the passing of English language O level, is the British based UCLES. The following chapter suggests an alternative pedagogy that would lead to a more contextualized, less examination-driven English language curriculum. This curriculum, while not necessarily in UCLES interest, would satisfy Zimbabwean concerns for relevancy while preserving English as the language of education.

Chapter 3
LITERACY AND LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION IN ZIMBABWE

> It goes without saying that the criteria suggested in the book for the selection of texts are proposed on the assumption that school syllabuses are Africanized or modified to meet the needs of African pupils. Overseas examinations which do not take into account the needs of particular countries and regions tend to defeat the whole purpose of education for development, especially in the arts where the content of education necessarily reflects the culture and world views of particular societies. It is my earnest hope, therefore that where African schools still teach syllabuses designed by British and other overseas examination boards, the authorities will do something to make the education of their children relevant to their own conditions and to the aspirations of the peoples of Africa. (Ngara 1984, 3)

Specific institutional forces that influence the current language education in the area of reading include Zimbabwe's early reading curriculum and UCLES certified English O level examination system. The O level has an especially important effect on language education due to an examination "backwash" effect: this effect influences language education practice in earlier grades. The O level and early reading curriculum guidelines, perhaps the two most influential institutionalized language education guidelines, draw upon a concept of English reading that is decontextualized and skill based. After examining the current approaches to literacy in the reading curriculum and examination system, this chapter will focus specifically on reshaping this concept of literacy to include a dialogic view of language socialization relevant to Zimbabweans. A critical pedagogy that utilizes a contact zone approach to literature is joined with this new concept of literacy. Chapter four will draw directly upon this new approach to language socialization and pedagogy in order to fulfill this dissertation's central thesis of *praxis*--a specific and contextualized analysis of Zimbabwean literature that draws upon Zimbabwean voices.

The structural limitations for this innovation are important to recognize as they detail important constraints that students and teachers must face daily in their negotiation of the curriculum. At the same the introduction of approaches to literacy and literature that interrogate contact zone issues is useful for exposing structures of domination in Zimbabwe's language market. They offer the potential to give the learner the awareness of the relationship between power and language and to locate him or herself socially among a wide array of subjectivities. This awareness is important for students so that they may understand their reality in terms of the social forces that shape it; this awareness can then lead to a development of student ability to more confidently negotiate those social forces. In this type of system, learners' backgrounds, not externally certified examinations, become a primary resource for language education.

This issue of "localness" in African language education is not new. Ngugi (1986, 1993) has suggested an alternative approach in language education by proposing the sole use of African languages in the curriculum. While such an argument may be appealing, especially for those that feel African culture is not served by European languages, it de-emphasizes the powerful institutional roots of language education. In response to market factors, Zimbabweans have actively chosen English over African languages in education since the early part of this century. In contrast to Ngugi, Achebe (1965) argues that European languages have become vehicles for African national and cultural expression, "able to carry" African experience (29). That is, like other varieties of English (i.e., American, Australian, and Canadian), one can have a distinctly Nigerian (or other African nationality) form serves the communicative needs of the people. Supporters of this counter-argument often fail to detail the specific ways that European languages function

in education. Language curriculum and examinations are distinctly non-local and promote highly unequal relations in the Zimbabwe's linguistic market. I am attempting to map out a middle ground in this discussion by recognizing three important factors: 1) the institutional roots of language education; 2) a reconceptualization of literacy 3) development of resources for language education.

Current conceptualizations of the reading process and literacy should be understood in relation to earlier theoretical trends. By the 1960s and 70s, New Criticism, the reigning critical mode from the from the 1950s on, found itself isolated and perceived as elitist because it had excluded the reader from the reading process. The effort to let the reader back into the interpretation process was initiated by what was later to be termed the reader-response approach. What made reader-centeredness different from New Criticism was its questioning of the positivistic approach; it privileges the reader's socially constructed meaning of a text over meaning residing completely in the text. Reader-centered theorists have been able to enter partnerships with other disciplines on the reading process (Tompkins, 1980) in order to create new approaches to interpretation that can be viewed as transactional.

One important development in the alliances of reader-centered theorists was in the area of schema theory. Schema theorists posit that readers have a repertoire of schemas or frames that they bring to a reading. In addition to letter and word recognition, the reader draws upon schemas so that meaning can then be negotiated or transacted between the text and the reader. A more elaborated view in the form of psycholinguistic reading theory has been articulated by authors such as Goodman (1968), Smith (1988), Edelskey (1988), and Weaver (1988). Their work details how higher level reading strategies such

as schema recognition and background knowledge work with lower level reading strategies such as letter and word recognition.

Psycholinguistic reading theory can play a significant role in the formation of any language education curriculum that has equity and relevance as goals since it takes into account the sociolinguistic context of the teacher and the student. The psycholinguistic model of reading highlights the interaction of reader, text, and sociolinguistic context (Weaver, 1988). Goodman (1976) states that common experience, concepts, interests, views, and life styles of readers influence how and what they take from the reading. This approach to reading theory is relevant to both Bourdieu's market framework and Giroux and McLaren's critical pedagogy: from Bourdieu's market perspective, psycholinguistic reading theory highlights the importance of identifying the shape of the valued linguistic competence within the market of the educational system; from a critical pedagogical perspective, a psycholinguistic approach to reading offers a model that can describe Giroux's levels of subjectivity in the reader (forms of background knowledge) and social context in the reading process.

Literacy, Orality and Language Socialization

> Primitive education was a process by which continuity was maintained between parents and children . . .. Modern education includes a heavy emphasis upon the function of education to create discontinuities . . .. Illiterate into the literate. (Goody & Watt 1968, 59)

> Literacy events must . . .be interpreted in relation to the larger sociocultural patterns which they may exemplify or reflect . . .It is only on the basis of such thorough-going ethnography that further progress is possible towards understanding cross-cultural patterns of oral and written language uses (Heath 1983, 74)

Children -- Zimbabwean and non-Zimbabwean -- are influenced by oral backgrounds. Zimbabwean oral tradition remains an important part of language socialization. When discussing curriculum and examination reform in Zimbabwe, it is

thus important to examine the conceptual and contextual relations between what is commonly referred to literacy and orality. The ongoing discussion about literacy and orality in relation to society and the individual can be traced back to Plato (examined by Havelock, 1963). In the past three decades, the discourse surrounding the effects of literacy and orality has become increasingly polarized into "cognitivist" and "sociocultural" approaches. Members of the cognitivist approach (Vygotsky, Luria, Goody & Watt) posit that literacy leads to individual and societal cognitive transformation. The sociocultural approach (Scribner & Cole, Tannen, and Heath) posits that literacy can only be examined from within a sociocultural context. While it is not always the case, the views of cognitivists and socioculturalists tend to be mutually exclusive.

While it is perhaps somewhat of an oversimplification to label authors from Vygotsky to Goody and Watt as *cognitivists*, the term refers specifically to their approach to literacy and its implications. These authors share the overall position that there are important cognitive consequences of literacy. In addition, these authors conflate the effects of literacy and schooling in their treatment of language socialization processes. As a result, *home oral and school literate* phenomena are emphasized by cognitivists as salient categories. The underlying theme then of the cognitive approach to literacy is the stress placed upon the process by which individuals move away from oral to literate cognitive backgrounds.

The major empirical problem that is suggested by Luria and Vygotsky's studies is how difficult it is to separate the influence of literacy from that of formal schooling since they usually go together. Schooling involves learning a set of complex role relationships,

general cognitive techniques, ways of approaching problems, different genres of talk and interaction, and an intricate set of values concerned with communication, interaction, and society as a whole (Wertch, 1985). Since the introduction of literacy is always accompanied by the introduction of new forms of social organization, differences in thinking processes cannot be attributed to literacy *per se*. Cognitivists in the field have drawn upon Vygotsky's classifications of schooled and unschooled. These studies have not infrequently been used to make generalizations about literacy itself (Street, 1984). The leading cognitivists in the field (from Luria and Vygotsky to Greenfield and Olson) have all tested schooled as opposed to unschooled subjects rather than literate/non-literate ones.

One example of the effects of conflating schooling and literacy is Greenfield's study of a Wolof village in Senegal (Greenfield, 1972). In her study, Greenfield analyzed discourse in an attempt to examine formal operations and logical thought processes. Greenfield's central hypothesis about literacy and language socialization was that context-dependent speech is linked with context-dependent thought, which in turn is the opposite of abstract thought. Abstraction is the mental separation of an element from the situation or context in which it is embedded. Oral speech depends on context to communicate meaning; it is therefore egocentric and takes for granted a common point of view as though no others were possible (Greenfield, 1972).

The unschooled Wolof in Greenfield's study experienced what she termed a failure in the "structure of communication." It seemed that the unschooled Wolof children lacked Western self-consciousness; they did not distinguish between their own thought or statement about something and the thing itself (72). For Greenfield, literacy

has the direct effect of creating the ability for abstraction. "Writing is practice in the use of linguistic contexts as independent of immediate reference . . .. Once thought is freed from the concrete situation the way is clear for symbolic manipulation . . .." (175). Thus, like Vygotsky and Luria, Greenfield does not separate the effects of literacy and schooling. This leads to a dichotomy in her study of schooled/literate/logical/urban Western versus unschooled/illiterate/rural Wolof.

In addition to Vygotsky and Luria's original conflation of schooling and literacy, there is also an underlying assumption about there being less cognitive development in the individual coming from an oral background. In her Wolof study, Greenfield attributes a "lack of communicative structure" to a maternal language socialization process that depends on demonstration and concrete physical situation. She then likens her characterization of language socialization to what Bernstein termed "language deprivation" (Berstein, 1971) in his study of working class children in England. By treating solely the cognitive implications of literacy and schooling, Vygotsky, Luria and other cognitivists fail to form hypotheses about the cognitive effects of orality; they proceed as if there is a cognitive void prior to literacy and schooling. This then is an unresearched assumption that was established early on and continues in current language socialization studies.

While Vygotsky and Luria's approach may have been the initial foundation for views on literacy, Goody and Watt's influential article "Consequences of Literacy" (Goody & Watt, 1968) presented a sweeping historical, social, technological, and psychological account of literacy. Probably more than any other work of its time, this article has framed the discourse of literacy and orality studies. Concerned about what

they perceived as a "diffuse relativism" emanating from anthropology's rejection of the distinction between the thinking of "primitive" and "civilized" peoples, between "mythopoeic" and "logico-empirical" modes of thought, Goody and Watt believed that the reaction had been pushed too far and that anthropologists and sociologists had in fact turned a blind eye on some of the most basic problems of human history (Goody, 1968). In "Consequences" and later works, Goody and Watt detailed their view of the important distinctions between the cognitive skills and social achievements of oral and literate cultures.

Orality for Goody and Watt consists of an information transmission system in which all beliefs, and values, all forms of knowledge, are communicated between individuals in face-to-face contact and stored in human memory. Goody and Watt contrast this conception of orality with "technology of the intellect" or literacy. In this system, words accumulate successive layers of historically validated meanings. Since oral societies have cultural repertoires that are stored solely in memory, they are subject to forgetting and modification. Literacy, with its more permanent form of institutional memory, allows for the development of higher intellectual forms such as logic, the distinction of myth from history, the emergence of skepticism, and the ability to challenge and reinterpret social dogma (Goody, 1968). In addition to differences in social levels, literacy also has a profound impact on the social identity of the individual.

This characterization of literacy's wide reaching effects, while appealing to Western common sense assumptions, is made without reference to directly supporting studies. This is later remarked upon by Scribner and Cole (1981) in the introduction to their work on Vai literacy in Liberia:

> [In this] line of theorizing [Havelock, Goody, Watt] we may find many of the propositions about literacy and thought that dominate discussion in other scholarly and practical arenas: written language promotes abstract concepts, analytic reasoning, new ways of categorizing, a logical approach to language. It is striking that the scholars who offer these claims for specific changes in psychological processes present no direct evidence that individuals do, in fact, process information about the world differently from those in societies without literacy. (7)

Throughout "Consequences" and later work, Goody and Watt caution against any extreme views of a "great divide" between primitive and modern societies being inferred from their work. While these are certainly politically correct sensitivities, they are not consistent with most of the central themes of Goody and Watt's work. Street (1984) has remarked on these periodic qualifications and has remarked upon the "circularity" of Goody and Watt's (1968) statements about literacy. This circularity is evident in the following quotes:

> Nevertheless, although we must reject any dichotomy based upon the assumption of radical differences between the mental attributes of literate and non-literate peoples . . .there may still exist general differences between literate and non-literate societies . . .. Writing establishes a different kind of relation between word and its referent, a relationship that is more abstract . . . (44)

> The individual has little perception of the past except in terms of the present; whereas an analysis of a literate society cannot but enforce a more objective recognition of the distinction between what was and what is. (53)

Evidence for the circularity of their argument comes from the empirically undeveloped connection between writing systems and the ability for superior abstract reasoning. If to write is to automatically process more abstractly, then the argument becomes circular. While Goody and Watt may attempt to shield their argument from critics with cautionary remarks, their position is that literacy creates individuals and societies that are capable of higher levels of abstraction and objectification.

Rather than examining the interaction of the two modes of language socialization, Goody (1968) labels oral practices within literate societies as "restricted literacy." This kind of literocentric terminology, combined with an overall lack of treatment of orality,

points to a value judgment about the innate social utility of literacy. Most importantly, the view of orality as restricted helps to naturalize the assumption that orality has fewer beneficial social and cognitive consequences than literacy.

Socioculturalists (Scribner & Cole, 1981; Tannen, 1985; Heath, 1983) posit that literacy can only be examined from within a sociocultural context. For a socioculturalist, there is no one *literacy*, but many different *literacies* that take on different forms in different cultural contexts. Coming from a variety of disciplines and approaches, socioculturalists view literacy less as abstract and more as a socially influenced practice. Scribner and Cole speak of "literacy practices" while Heath's study details what she terms "literacy events."

In their landmark study among the Vai in Liberia, Scribner and Cole (1981) set out to address many of the issues raised by the cognitive approach to literacy studies:

> The Greenfield - Brunner (Greenfield and Brunner, 1966) thesis explicitly maintained that schooling pushes cognitive growth to new levels; Luria, Goody, Havelock, and others claimed that literacy is linked to abstract and logical reasoning-processes that are at the high end of the developmental continuum. We refer to this phase of our experimental research as testing for general consequences of literacy. (114)

Scribner and Cole recognized the fundamental importance of attempting to isolate the effects of literacy from schooling in order to focus on literacy. They therefore chose the context of the non-schooled literacy of the Vai people of Liberia. This study was an attempt to uncover the empirical validity of the claim of literacy's cognitive effects.

The study included a cognitive battery sampling five domains of intellectual activity that have figured prominently in speculations of literacy's effects: abstract thinking, taxonomic categorization, memory, logical reasoning, and reflective knowledge

about language. In order to test hypotheses about psychological consequences and degrees of literacy, Scribner included a reading comprehension test. Contrary to Greenfield's (Greenfield, 1972) findings, Scribner and Cole found the members of the Vai literacy community provided answers on a language objectification task that reflected a Vai view of the world, rather than confusion between words and things. Of all the survey tasks, logic problems proved the most predictable and demonstrated the strongest effects of schooling. While schooling was shown to have an effect on logic, literacy had no effect on logic, abstraction, memory or communication. On tasks closely related to script activities, such as reading or writing with pictures, some nonliterates did as well as those with school or literacy experiences (Scribner and Cole, 1981).

These discrepancies between posited effects of literacy and schooling led Scribner and Cole to challenge the hypothesis that schooling affects thinking by equipping children, in Greenfield's (1972) terms, with a "written language." The one hypothesis they generated about the linkage between schooling and the resulting form of literacy is that school fostered abilities to engage in expository talk in "contrived situations." They found that claims about the mediating effects of written language "lose attraction as well as explanatory power" when applied to the Vai literacy context (Scribner and Cole, 1981).

In the course of their research, Scribner and Cole's findings led them to the conclusion that literacy is a set of socially organized practices which make use of a symbol system and a technology for producing and disseminating it. Literacy is not simply knowing how to read and write a particular script, but applying this knowledge for specific purposes in specific contexts of use. The nature of these practices, including

their technological aspects, will determine the kinds of skills associated with literacy (Scribner and Cole, 1981).

What Scribner and Cole's work provides, unlike most language socialization studies, is an empirical attempt at confirming the cognitive effects of literacy. Scribner and Cole have treated literacy and schooling in its social context while attempting to uncover possible cognitive consequences of each. In the works of cognitivists, schooling and literacy are conflated. Until this flaw is addressed, works that draw upon this school/literacy conflation cannot distinguish activities and contexts and therefore cannot directly infer their respective cognitive consequences.

While Scribner and Cole explicitly set out to study literacy, they might have provided more insight to orality if they had focused more closely on the social context and potential cognitive consequences of regular language socialization for unschooled, illiterate Vai. To provide this contextualization would have added valuable depth to their conceptualization of knowledge acquisition through language. Heath refers to this contextualized knowledge acquisition as Barthes's "ways of taking" from the environment (Barthes, 1974). It is in this sense that Scribner and Cole have something in common with preceding cognitvists: by focusing solely on literacy as a form of knowledge acquisition, the alternative of orality remains potentially "less developed" or "less logical."

Relative Focus on Interpersonal Involvement

Long interested in the discourse features of what has been popularly termed oral and written communication, Tannen has arrived at less polarized interpretations about the effects of literacy. She views many the features of orality and literacy as overlapping.

She notes that orality and literacy are superimposed upon and intertwined with each other: no individual is completely "oral" or "literate." Rather, people use devices associated with both traditions in various settings (Tannen, 1985). Tannen believes that the polar distinctions between orality and literacy have arisen mainly from the types of discourse analyzed: casual conversation for spoken modes and expository prose for written form. She has therefore decided to move away from the categories *orality* and *literacy* and prefers to refer instead to "features reflecting relative focus on interpersonal involvement" (Tannen, 1985).

Spoken casual conversation and written expository prose are the types of discourse that have been traditionally analyzed to show differences between modes of communication. Tannen has remarked that this is no coincidence and that indeed there is something typically written about message-focused communication and something typically oral about interpersonal involvement (Tannen, 1985). The mistake has been to view conversation and expository prose as exclusive. The key then for Tannen is to analyze the relative focus on involvement as contrasted with relative focus on information. This approach has the marked advantage of de-emphasizing the artificial separation of modes of communication in order to focus on the more universal features of the discourse.

This does not mean for Tannen that there are no useful distinctions in modes of communication. Tannen points out that there are some notable paralinguistic features of the oral mode that include pace, pitch shifts, amplitude shifts, expressive phonology, and expressive tone quality. For Tannen, this constitutes an elaboration of the paralinguistic channel. In writing, on the other hand, the nonverbal and paralinguistic channels are not

available. Therefore, in writing, the relationships between ideas, and the writer's attitude toward them, must be lexicalized (Tannen, 1985).

An example of Tannen's innovative approach is her "rethink" of what it is to be a good reader and a writer. The act of reading is a matter not so much of accurate decoding, but of discerning a familiar text structure and hypothesizing what information will be presented, so that it can be efficiently processed when it comes. Tannen notes that by making maximum use of the context of prior texts, readers are using highly context - sensitive skills, strategies that she suggests are interactive (i.e., a familiar author or writing style) or involvement-focused (i.e., a familiar genre) (Tannen, 1985). In a similar vein, good writing for Tannen is an act of recontextualization of an audience, in which the writer must successfully contextualize his or her audience in order to communicate successfully.

Rather than attempting to attribute direct cognitive consequences to literacy, Tannen is more interested in the features of the discourse itself. This approach places her more within the sociocultural camp. Markedly absent from both the cognitive and sociocultural approaches is Tannen's thorough attention to the level of discourse. It offers the opportunity to form a well-grounded view of the actual features of spoken and written discourse from which to base a more thoughtful interpretation.

This polarization of views on literacy becomes especially relevant in Zimbabwe when one attempts to view the overall lack of language socialization praxis taking place in the educational system. A comparable situation in language education has been noted in US schools by linguistic anthropologist Heath (1983) and also Tannen (1985). Both researchers have remarked that there is strong evidence in the literature of teachers

tragically unable to recognize discourse patterns that deviate from the school norm due to the fact that teacher and student have different linguistic and cultural backgrounds (Tannen in Olson, 1985). One working hypothesis may be that students from an African language background (with more oral than written experience) will generally be better served in classrooms where teachers are aware of and attempting to incorporate background knowledge in reading instruction.

While there seemed to be a dialogue forming between psychology and linguistic anthropology in the works of Scribner & Cole (1981) and Heath (1983) in the early 1980s, these researchers have moved markedly away from their earlier work; this is unfortunate since their earlier studies are groundbreaking works that seek to address the fundamental issues of language socialization that could integrate the concepts of literacy and orality. Literacy and orality do not occur in isolation: in either school or home contexts. Thus, it is important that any conception of literacy take cognizance of implications of orality, as they are a part of the background knowledge of a majority of Zimbabweans.

The Literacy-Orality Relationship: Toward Language Socialization

Edward and Thomas', *Oral Cultures, Past and Present, Rappin' and Homer* (1991) is one of the few recent works to directly address the interaction between oral and written traditions. Edward and Thomas actually call attention to the possible reasons for the scarcity of work on orality:

> It is important to remember, however, that when we discuss differences between orality and literacy, we do not do so in a social vacuum. The literate assumption that the oral tradition is in some way inferior to the literate has important implications for the status of the most comfortable using oral strategies . . .. [An] awareness of the different strategies and aesthetics of oral performance would represent an important challenge to the all-pervading ethnocentrism which is the hallmark of mainstream society. (220)

There are in fact a great deal of similarities between oral and written transactions. Finnegan posited many of the similarities in *Orality and Literacy* (1988):

> We need to remember that oral literature is only one type of literature, a type characterized by particular features to do with performance, transmission, and social context with the various implications these have for its study. But for all these differences, the view is that there is no essential chasm between this type of literature and the more familiar written forms . . . (25)

Also, the audience for an oral performance is more closely linked to the actor while in a *reading performance* both the actor and the audience interact in the consciousness of the same person. Both oral and written literatures need to have *continued performances* in order for them to exist. Iser (1989) relies on what he terms "literary anthropology" to provide the answer for why we continually "repeat the play " of representation and interpretation in writing:

> Representation arises out of and thus entails the removal of difference, whose irremovability transforms representation into a performative act of staging something. This staging is almost infinitely variable, for in contrast to explanations, no single staging could ever remove difference and so explain origin. (245)

Repetition of oral literature in many African communities also plays a societal role. The performer may sense a problem in the community and use oral literature to address it; there is a wide range of roles for oral literature in many African societies.

Iser suggests that the nature of audience participation is similar in both the oral and written tradition. A successful reading performance requires the full participation of the reader. Iser draws upon the metaphor of staging in order to make a point about the similarities between the process of reading and an oral performance:

> The staged play of the text does not, then, unfold as a pageant that the reader merely watches, but is both an ongoing event and a happening for the reader, enabling and encouraging direct involvement in the proceedings and indeed in the staging. (258)

In a similar vein, Finnegan (1988) posits that oral performance draws upon the concept of staging for its audience:

> This visual aspect is sometimes taken even further than gesture and dramatic bodily movement and is expressed in the form of a dance, often joined by members of the audience (or chorus). In these cases the verbal content now represents only one element in a complete opera like performance which combines words, music, and dance. (5)

Clearly, there is a convergence in the areas of reader and audience involvement. One additional overlap is that oral and written performance always takes place in a cultural context. Iser places importance upon context in the historical component of his paradigm:

> No matter what the constitutive presuppositions may be, fiction will always be a mode of exercising an impact and its effect will vary according to requirements necessitated by the context in question. (267)

African oral literature is also highly contextualized in the culture from which it emanates. In the past two centuries (and especially in the past fifty years), a written tradition has been built up that is more accessible to outsiders in sub-Saharan Africa, but also requires sensitivity and experience to the socio-historical context from which it emanates.

Finding the point of convergence between the work of oral and literary theorists is important for an understanding of language socialization, but a direct correlation between orality and literacy should not be attempted. An important difference is face-to-face interaction. In a social exchange there is a face-to-face interaction so that partners in the exchange can ask each other questions to see how well they understand each other. Iser (1989) notes the potential differences for a reader:

> The reader, however, can never learn from the text how accurate or inaccurate his views of it are. . . There is no such frame of reference [oral context] governing the text-reader relationship; on the contrary, the codes that might regulate this interaction are fragmented in the text, and must be reassembled or, in most cases, restructured before any frame of reference *can be* established. (32)

In oral literature, the artist is usually face-to-face with his public and can take advantage of this "framing" to enhance the impact and even sometimes the content of the words (Finnegan, 1989). There is a social closeness (with feedback) and immediate context in oral literature that is lacking in written literature.

As previously highlighted, Tannen (1985) posits that written modes focus more on the communication of information and lexicalization while conversational oral modes focus less on the information in favor of interpersonal involvement and contextualization. These modes and styles are not exclusively bound, however; written texts can draw upon contextualization and involvement (with a specifically implied audience), and oral discourse may be able to utilize lexicalization. Tannen's approach is useful for understanding how oral and written communication can overlap, and also for suggesting innovative ways of viewing written and oral discourse.

Bakhtin's (1981) discussion of dialogic utterances (oral and written) adds a valuable dimension to Tannen's concept of relative involvement because it investigates the author's ability to draw upon (and refer back to) multiple voices in discourse. Bakhtin posited that texts, oral and written, exist in a context of *heteroglossia*, the

> base condition governing the operation of meaning in any utterance. It is that which insures the primacy of context over text. At any time, in any given place, there will be a set of conditions--social historical meteorological, physiological--that will insure that a word uttered in that place and at that time will have a meaning different than it would have under any other conditions. (428)

To view a text dialogically is to understand specific utterances as part of a "greater whole" where there is a "constant interaction between meanings, all of which have the potential of conditioning others" (426). An individual (author and reader) does not exist outside of dialogue -- "a dialogue in which the consciousness of a speaker encounters the

consciousness of another speaker; a dialogue that reveals conflicts; a dialogue that embodies history and culture" (Moraes 1996, 94).

Utterances, oral and written, do not exist outside of living interaction. Utterances encounter other utterances, and the "social arena" is composed of a social background facing another social background (Moraes, 1996). According to Bakhtin (1981), the authentic environment of an utterance, the environment in which it lives and takes shape, is dialogized heteroglossia, anonymous and social as language, but simultaneously concrete, filled with specific content as an individual utterance (272). However, oral and written texts are not equal in their ability to dialogize heteroglossia: Bakhtin viewed the literary text (especially the novel) as a form that could give the greatest degree of order to a specific discourse.

In Zimbabwe, oral and multilingual traditions contribute to heteroglossia; in heteroglossic Zimbabwean novels, these traditions contribute to what Bakhtin referred to as "double voiced" discourse. With this in mind, one must approach texts with the awareness that multiple voices are usually present. How do these multiple voices interact in the text? As Harrow (1994) points out, one cannot reduce the presence of multiple voices to a "simple binary opposition, to a clear ambivalence, or to a contradiction reduced to simple term." A more helpful approach is to view multiple voices in a text as contributing to a "concerto, often with one voice given prominence, but always with a polyphonic accompaniment" (52). As this concerto emanates from the historically located negotiation of identity in language, it is also reflective of underlying power struggles. In his interpretation of important African novels, Harrow posits the double-voiced dialogue is "*always* marked by that element of coercion that entered into the

acquisition of the author's *written* language, containing and constraining the unvoiced echoes in Ewondo or Ibo or Wolof or Kikuyu" (152-emphasis Harrow's). While I would agree that one main voice is dominant at the level of written discourse of novels, the degree to which the author represents it as coercive varies. This level of representation is influenced by each author's attempts to highlight language socialization as a theme in his or her novels. This point will be further developed in chapter four in a narrative analysis of several Zimbabwean novelists.

Literacy Events and Cultural Knowledge

In Zimbabwe, as in most of Africa, grade three primary teachers are presenting knowledge that is linguistically and culturally new to most students when making the transition to English as the medium of the classroom. This is true in the case of the majority of Zimbabweans for whom Shona or Ndebele is their first language. Most children from these backgrounds experience two transitions: from Shona (or Ndebele) to English and from oral medium to written. I would agree with Bourdillon (1977) when he points out "that in this transitional stage, the teacher might attempt to emphasize the social origins of Shona oral and English written knowledge so that students and teachers could explicitly discuss and recognize features of oral and written discourse."

Heath's specific focus upon social context of "literacy events" is one innovative way of discussing differences between home and school culture (Heath in Saville-Troike, 1982). In the context of reading, the means of making sense from books and relating their contents to knowledge about the real world is but one way of taking (49). A "literacy event" is an occasion in which written language is integral to the nature of participant's interactions and their interpersonal processes and strategies (50). In Shona,

the closest translation of the words *cultural knowledge* is "ruzivo rwemagamuchidzanwa" or literally "ways of doing and knowing things passed down from the ancestors." Zimbabwe is a society in which literacy events occur in a full range of social contexts. There is an active publishing industry that produces nationally distributed newspapers, magazines, school texts, literary works, and other written materials in at least three languages. In addition, computers are being introduced in some schools, thereby introducing electronic print as a literacy event. While English reading is the focus of this dissertation, reading as a language skill cannot be seen to operate in isolation from the individual's full store of background knowledge. In many ways this dissertation is about *ways of taking* (to adopt Heath's use of Barthes, 1974) in Zimbabwe. How teachers, students, and authors negotiate language education involves an ongoing dialogue between the speaker and listener, as well as linguistic and cultural knowledge, and a specific historical context.

The main implication of this approach is to view classroom interaction as dialogical: the individual exists simultaneously in a dialogue with student and teacher background knowledge and historical context. In order to fully detail this new model of language education, the pedagogical space (context) in which this occurs must be further elaborated.

Contact Zones

Reshaping a language education in a way that integrates background knowledge and historical context requires a transformation of current approaches to literacy and, no less important, the context of literacy instruction. Pratt (1991) offers a way of

envisioning the space of negotiation between identity and historical context in what she calls the *contact zone*:

> I use this term to refer to social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today. (34)

This concept of a contact zone is useful because it specifically investigates the historically contextualized sites of cultural conflict that teachers, students, and authors must negotiate when they are to be found in a text. This approach stands in contrast to the transmission oriented monolingual model. Pratt suggests a new model that is based on the assumption that the most revealing speech situation for understanding language is one involving a gathering of people, each of whom speaks two languages and understands a third and hold only one language in common with any of the others. Here Pratt is advocating a multicultural and multilingual approach in the US educational system. In Zimbabwe, this is a part of most students' daily negotiation of the educational system.

Bizzel (1994) takes Pratt's proposal one step further by offering a new way of understanding English studies "in terms of historically defined contact zones, moments when different groups within the society contend for power to interpret what is going on" (167). For Bizzel, this means including as much material (literary and otherwise) as possible that is relevant to the issue being contested. Time periods can be short or long, literatures of different groups, languages, or continents can be considered together, all genres are admitted (167). One example of change in approach would be away from "19th century British literature" to a specific contact zone such as "British - African contact in West Africa from 1800 to 1920." Bizzel notes that the priority in such a class

would be to explore how each group (within a text) represented itself imaginatively in relation to the others, rather than attempting to represent what groups were "really" like (167).

This contact zone approach is extremely relevant in the context of exam localization in Zimbabwe. As examination and curriculum planners attempt to make subject areas such as history more relevant to Zimbabweans, they will also need to realign the traditional boundaries of English language studies. This would mean including materials from Zimbabwean writers that address relevant Zimbabwean contact zones. In order to form an outline of those zones, it is necessary to engage in a close reading of materials emanating from different periods in Zimbabwean history. The period (and resulting contact zone) that the following chapter examines (in literary works) is what might be called "twentieth-century Chimurenga society" with a special focus on the late 1960s through the 1970s.

In order to identify this zone it is necessary to engage in a careful reading of Zimbabwean social history and literature. For a contact zone to take on a specific shape with specific boundaries, it is important to examine the concept of a shared community. The importance of addressing this issue becomes immediately apparent when one asks, "What is Zimbabwean (or Russian, British, American for that matter) literature?" One way of viewing narratives is to understand them as dialogues between an individual and his or her community. This community can have a number of different historically relevant layers-- racial, economic, gender, and linguistic. These layers are often negotiated within the broader concept of "nation." The boundaries contained in a

narrative are dialogized in an ongoing and ever shifting interaction between the narrator, characters, and readers.

When discussing how groups imaginatively represent themselves, Anderson's (1994) concept of "imagined communities" is pertinent. What are important factors in the specific negotiation of imagined communities? According to Anderson, human communities, or nations, exist as imagined entities in which people will never know most of their fellow members, meet them or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion (15). Anderson points to two factors in eighteenth century Europe as vital for the birth of the concept of nation: the novel and the newspaper. Each invention is able to support the idea of a sociological organism moving calendrically through homogenous, empty time (31). While a bourgeoisie minority initially had access to national print languages in reading and writing, this minority was key for building the modern concept of nation states. What is striking about ex-colonial states, especially in Africa, is that the national print languages are used by a tiny fraction of the population in conversation or paper (Anderson, 1983). If, as Anderson posits, imagined communities are generated from language communities (with national print access), Zimbabwe has a number of communities (notably Shona and Ndebele) within the settler formed nation-state. Anderson highlights the challenge to ex-colonial states like Zimbabwe as to whether or not they can generate a politically sufficient diffusion of bilingualism. I would extend Anderson's position to say that the challenge to a state like Zimbabwe is to *reimagine* itself in relation to its plurality of language communities and colonially influenced boundaries.

As discussed by Pratt, this reimagining is by no means a conflict free proposition. Historical commentators point to a possible 16th - 17th century pre-colonial rivalry (often drawn upon and exaggerated by current day political groups) between Ndebele and Shona speaking groups. In addition, there is historical and archeological evidence of several Shona speaking empires prior to Ndebele contact. More importantly, by closely examining colonial contact, one may witness an uncomfortable disjunction, supported by education, that Anderson (1994) comments upon:

> In the colonies things were very different. Youth meant, above all, the *first* generation in any significant numbers to have acquired a European education, marking them off linguistically and culturally from their parents' generation, as well from the vast bulk of their colonized agemates . . .. In the colonies, then, by 'Youth" we mean 'Schooled Youth,' at least at the start. This in turns reminds us again of the unique role played by colonial school-systems in promoting colonial nationalisms. (Anderson, 109)

Students and teachers of the 20th century Zimbabwean contact zone, studying in English, may find themselves asking challenging and uncomfortable questions about the very foundations and current practices of their educational system. When studying pre-colonial society, they may also encounter issues that point to inter-group conflict that is currently drawn upon by current political groups.

This is not to say that Zimbabweans cannot engage in a national dialogue in English. Anderson points out that,

> Nothing suggests that Ghanaian nationalism is any less real than Indonesian simply because its national language is English rather than Ashanti. It is always a mistake to treat languages in the way that certain nationalist ideologues threat them - as *emblems* of nation-ness, like flags, costumes, folk-dancers, and the rest. Much the most important thing about language is its capacity for generating imagined communities, building in effect *particular solidarities.* After all, imperial languages are still *vernaculars,* and thus particular vernaculars among many. (122)

As previously detailed, there is ample evidence to show that Zimbabweans -- Shona and Ndebele speaking -- have chosen English as their language of formal education. The real challenge is the implementation of what Anderson calls a "politically sufficient diffusion of bilingualism." That is, the challenge in Zimbabwean education is for English to be utilized as an instrument for national inclusion rather than exclusion.

What makes Anderson's concept so intellectually promising is that it implies that one can encounter the nation through an investigation of narratives. Bhabha builds upon this line of inquiry in *Nation and Narration*:

> To study the nation through its narrative address does not merely draw attention to its language and rhetoric, it also attempts to alter the conceptual object itself. If the problematic "closure" of textuality questions the "totalization" of national culture, then its positive value lies in displaying the wide dissemination through which we construct the field of meanings and symbols associated with national life . . .. For the nation, as a form of cultural *elaboration* (in the Gramscian sense), is an agency of *ambivalent* narration that holds culture at its most productive position . . .. (3- emphasis Bhabha's)

Here Bhabha is in part referring to Bakhtin's rejection of monologic approaches to language and literature. According to Bakhtin's (1981) "dialogic imperative" the "pre-existence of the language world releative to any of its current inhabitants, insures that there can be no actual monolgue" (426). In addition to Bhabha's agreement with this imperative, he highlights the ambivalent character of examining the different layers that make up a narrative. The narrative exists dialogically; the dialogue present in the narrative constantly refers to a backgrounded order; this order may be perceived as a collection of voices that make up the "nation."

In Zimbabwe, a pedagogic approach that recognizes polyphony in narrative would have the effect of opening up language education classrooms to an explicit examination of identity that draws upon a dialogic approach to language, background knowledge, and

historical context. Student teacher, and authorial background knowledge could be equally validated through more personal examinations of different contact zone issues: children who speak Shona as a first language could choose to examine issues of discrimination in texts from different time periods; English speaking children could choose to examine issues ranging from neo-colonialism (often manifested in earlier Zimbabwean writing) to cultural dislocation. These are all heteroglossic issues that most Zimbabwean authors treat in their novels. Bizzel (1994) points out that by focusing upon difference as an asset, students and teachers can understand how groups and individuals represent themselves imaginatively in relation to others in texts. In addition, by including historical context as an important factor, this approach offers a way to initially focus on rhetorical analysis. Rather than maintaining the boundary between content (literature) and the traditionally inferior pedagogy (composition), students can more freely experiment in their own approaches to writing about texts (Bizzel, 1994), bringing in their own background knowledge as members of the "nation."

If, as stated by President Mugabe, the party platform, and the constitution, the Zimbabwean government wishes to address issues of equity and relevance in education, it could facilitate these goals by shifting its language education curriculum away from largely institutionalized monolingual (English only) and monodialectal (standard written forms) notions of literacy. Such a substantial move, not unlike the massive campaign toward expanded access in the 1980s, would transform the nature of Zimbabwe's language education system. It would entail coordination at the levels of teacher training, curriculum design, and examination formation. As no market transformation can occur without mass participation, parents and students would need to be deeply involved.

Starting points for this involvement can be found in a reconceptualization of literacy toward language socialization, and Pratt's "contact zone" approach to language education. How different would such an approach be from current English language curriculum and examination practice in Zimbabwe?

National Reading Curriculum

An analysis of English reading curriculum guidelines is an important starting point for assessing current practice; this is because educational planning and implementation is extremely centralized in Zimbabwe. All primary curriculum guidelines are formulated by an institution called the Curriculum Development Unit (CDU). Secondary curriculum guidelines, linked closely with the examination system, are set at the national level through a collaboration of Zimbabwean and UCLES curriculum officials. Textbooks are subject to governmental approval. Several companies produce the overwhelming majority of textbooks in Zimbabwe.

In an effort to understand the general shape of early language education guidelines in Zimbabwe, the national English reading syllabi for the third grade will be examined. While third and fourth grades are the initial grades that English is officially supposed to enter the curriculum, it is interesting to note that the curriculum makes an immediate distinction between students with pre-existing English competence, and without. The following excerpts focus on the early goals of the language curriculum:

> a) The syllabus for each Grade is based on a list of *functional objectives* . . . Functional means that the aim is not to practice language structures for their own sake, but to use language for *functional communication*. Hence structures are introduced and taught with *real-life purposes* in view (Grade 3 Syllabus, 1 - emphasis mine)
>
> b) There is a division of the objectives between Core and Enrichment. The Core is the basic language which all children should be able to learn for active use during the year. Enrichment

> consists of further suggestions to teachers whose classes, *for one reason or another*, have time to explore *a wider range of language*. (Grade 3 Syllabus, 1- emphasis mine)
>
> c) With English L2 speakers, bear in mind their language and reading abilities in both languages. (Grade 3 Syllabus, 41)

The first important point to note is that the syllabus's approach is termed *structural – functional.* Not directly related to the use of the term in Chapter two, a structural-functional syllabus means that language is broken up into discrete *structures* (parts of speech), their use in everyday life or *function* (asking questions, making statements) is identified, and a link is made between the structure and function.

The second point to note about the curriculum is that, while there is a real- life "functional" focus to it, there is an accepted notion of separation between "those who have a wider range" or "L2" and those who should stick to the "core" objectives. English is a first language for fewer than 5% of Zimbabwe's population. Therefore, the guidelines alert teachers to this minority and encourage their separation and pursuit of an enriched portion of the curriculum. In addition, the wording of point c) is quite striking; the cautionary "bear in mind" for English as a second language students seems out of place as these students are the norm and not the exception. These excerpts show that there are already distinctions based on English background knowledge present at the beginning of third grade.

What is it that restricts the "range" of the majority of "core" English students? Is there something lacking in their background knowledge? Zimbabwean students who are not "enriched" most likely have little or no English literate background that they bring to the English curriculum. Shona, Ndebele, Kalanga, Tonga, and Shangaan, first languages spoken the majority of the country, all have a long spoken traditions. Tannen (in Olson,

1985) posits that the act of reading efficiently requires highly context -sensitive skills rather than pure decoding. Much of the "reading work" that a reader does may be matter of discerning a familiar text structure and hypothesizing what information will be presented. In this sense, the interpretation of a written text differs from oral performance in terms of immediate frame of reference rather than interpretive abilities. Therefore, for Zimbabwean students with mainly oral background knowledge and linguistic experience, written language in the classroom presents unfamiliar frames of reference. This is not to say that unfamiliar frames of reference *automatically* result in difficulty or failure in textual interpretation; rather, a lack of awareness about differences in framing can contribute to a less relevant language education practice for the majority. In addition, it may make the task of learning to read more difficult, and overall levels of reading achievement may be lowered. It is this sensitivity to frames of reference that is notably lacking in the national syllabus. Most striking in the curriculum is the immediately prescribed remediation for those who do not possess a "wider range" of English reading ability. As third grade is the first official transitional year for students, immediate remediation suggests that only a minority will be able to function with advanced English competence in higher grades; thus, current educational practice can be seen to reinforce a functional-structural focus and the marginalization of the majority's linguistic and cultural background. This policy also accommodates the white minority population.

The potential strength of psycholinguistic reading theory for Zimbabwe is that it offers a framework to conceptualize the reading process that incorporates the interaction of reader background knowledge, text, and a wider sociolinguistic context. This model also does not exclude the beginning/lower levels of the reading process such as letter and

word recognition; it establishes an interaction between higher level processes such as schema or frame recognition and lower level strategies. Rather than remediation, a psycholinguistic approach to reading would actively highlight the frames within a written text that may be problematic for some learners.

In 1992 at a primary teacher training college outside of Harare, I asked the head of English subject training, "What theories or approaches do you utilize in your teaching of reading?" The response was "I'm not sure what you mean, we teach *reading* here." For this teacher's college, there was lack of an explicit conceptualization of the reading process, or at least of alternatives to the approach currently employed. A preliminary examination of the national English syllabus shows definite evidence of a naturalization of symbolic dominance in the early reading curriculum; when joined with an analysis of the English O level examination, a more complete view of language education becomes possible. I would agree with former Education Minister Chung that one must take the examination system into account -- especially the O level examination -- in order to understand its influence upon the shape of the early reading syllabus.

The Zimbabwean-UCLES Ordinary Level Examination System

> One European critic, Henry Latham (1877) pointed out that teaching in England was becoming (just as it was, he said in France) subordinate to examinations rather than its master. (Spolsky 1995, 21)

The secondary school cycle is comprised of three two year stages: Form 1 and 2; Form 3 and 4; and Form 5 and 6. The result of the ZJC examinations, taken at the end of Form 2, are used to determine pupils' interest and capabilities in order to channel them into the appropriate Form 3 classes. Form 4 is not only terminal for the majority of

pupils who attempt it, but it also controls access to tertiary institutions and to a better paying job in the modern sector. Form 5 and 6 (Advanced level) studies prepare students for entry into the university and other institutions of higher learning (Colclough 1990, 6).

The influence of the O level is felt much earlier in the system. The Zimbabwean Junior Certificate (ZJC), taken by primary school leavers, utilizes approaches similar to the Zimbabwean-Cambridge O level system. At present, the ZJC is a simplified version of the O level English exam and is used as a practice exercise for the O level. In view of examination pass rates (5% for an elementary cohort), the O level can be seen as the highest goal that most school children can hope to achieve.

The O level examination system was fully localized by 1994. As mentioned in Chapter two, localization meant a change-over to Zimbabweans of exam administration duties and an inclusion of African/Zimbabwean themes in some curriculum content areas; it did not change any of the ways in which the English subject examinations, especially the reading section, are formed or marked. The control that UCLES exerts over the examination formation and marking process is considerable. A Chief Subject Examiner, usually a headmaster who has taught English, drafts questions and marking schemes collected by regional and local examiners. These examiners attend training sessions conducted under the auspices of UCLES (Sadler 1996d, Rakuni, 1995). Questions and marking schemes are then sent to the UCLES chief. The UCLES representative makes comments, and the draft exam is amended in the light of those comments. The examination is then printed, proof-read and vetted [approved] by a UCLES examiner (Saddler, 1996d). Once the exam has been administered by local Zimbabwean education

officials, local markers, paid by UCLES, mark the exams over a three-week period. Roughly 600 exams are marked by every examiner (Sadler, 1996d).

The English O level exam formation and marking procedure before localization and after were virtually identical (Sadler, 1996d). This consistency with earlier examination marking procedures was initially seen to make sense as the training for marking (during the localization process) was carried out by examiners from UCLES, who would have followed the pattern as it is administered in the United Kingdom (Sadler, 1996d). The only change was the insertion of a second part to the comprehension paper, which substitutes for an oral examination. It is a test of register in a variety of situational responses. For example, the student is given a social scenario, and then asked to select from several possible responses that would reflect his or her knowledge about social register (usually level of formality) in speech. The marks available for this register section slightly decreased the overall weighting of the rest of the comprehension section.

To give a feel for the reading section of the O level English section before and after localization, I will provide a brief preliminary analysis of the reading sections of exams from 1984 (UCLES), 1988 (UCLES), and 1994 (UCLES and Zimbabwean Ministry of Education and Culture). It should be noted that the reading section forms only one part of the English language exam. Other parts include graph interpretation, guided writing, and social register judgment skills. This analysis will show that the contextual framing of the readings and the reading questions have not been altered after localization. The context and required background knowledge of the readings are distinctly non-Zimbabwean. The questions require lexical knowledge (based on the text) with a balance of schema comprehension skill required for short answer questions.

The text of the 1984 reading section is an excerpt of a short story (source not cited in examination) about three male mountain climbers traversing a gorge. The story is written from the perspective of one of the climbers and describes, through detail and dialogue, the harrowing experience of a climbing trip gone wrong. The questions following the reading included 17 lexical and 8 comprehension item questions. The lexical items ranged from synonym identification to idiomatic explanation: "write a short phrase that means the same as held him up"(UCLES 1984, 4). The comprehension questions ranged from specific detail comprehension/inference, such as "which of the men who held on to the rope was in front?"(4) To larger level, "Quote a short phrase and a short sentence in which he does so [climber mentions his feelings], and in each case explain *in your own words* what the feeling was" (4).

The 1988 reading is about the experiences of a male hunter turned photographer in a wildlife reserve in Northern India. The story is written from the perspective of the hunter and describes, mainly through reflection, the life of a hunter. The questions following the reading included 18 lexical and 7 comprehension items. Lexical questions, similar to the 1984 exam, included synonym items such as "Suggest *one* word or a short phrase which could replace practically without changing the meaning" (UCLES 1988, 4) and idiom questions such as "shoot it cleanly What does this mean?" (4) Comprehension questions were also similarly formed with a specific schema focus such as "Say why there was a ban on tiger-shooting" (4) to "explain why this [the title] is the title of the story" (5).

The 1994 reading (part of the first exam to be officially localized) is about the social effects of the 19th century industrial revolution and mass production. The excerpt

is written from an historian's point of view and describes the social life of workers of the period in detail. The questions following the reading included seventeen lexical information questions and three questions based on comprehension. Lexical questions were similar to prior examinations: "Give one word or phrase which means the same as again in line 16"(4). Comprehension questions were similar to earlier versions in that they required short answers: "Apart from the advantages of being employed as a factory worker, why did the weaver have to go to the machine?"(4).

Thus, beyond a shift in narrative voice (to historian), the 1994 localized exam remains consistent with previous exams. The reading excerpts remain non-Zimbabwean (mountain climbing, tiger hunting, and 19th century industrial setting) and require highly non-Zimbabwean contextual knowledge for over-all schema comprehension. The questions, lexical and comprehension, are based on full schema recognition. Each exam requires about the same load of lexical and text comprehension, within two or three items. This preliminary view of the exams shows that very little has changed before and after localization. The conformity in lexical and schema items of these examinations suggests that a priority has been placed upon consistency and thus the maintenance of the "English standard" legitimation. That is, while history may be contextualized, English language is a non-Zimbabwean context oriented subject.

This finding weakens Spolsky's claim (Spolsky, 1995) that the 1987 international Cambridge syllabus reflects the major trends in language teaching -- specifically in the areas of authenticity of reading texts, and the need to avoid culture bias. These principles are not evidenced in the reading section before or after localization. As the O level localization was a collaborative effort, it is difficult to know to what degree Zimbabwean

scholars shaped the localization of the reading section. It may be the case that Zimbabweans overrode possible UCLES concerns about textual authenticity and cultural sensitivity in favor of consistency with previous English language examination content.

The distinctly "non-local" and narrow vocabulary-schema nature of the English language section has an impact upon examination results and even upon approaches to English language teaching. Teachers aware of the general O level format and content are likely to have students engage in isolated word memorization without regard to Zimbabwean contextual relevance. The influential non-Zimbabwean nature of the O level English language section has yet to be reshaped as History and other subjects were in the initial localization efforts. A true English language localization would entail two main approaches: 1) selecting reading texts that are more closely related to background knowledge to which a majority of Zimbabwean candidates have access; 2) offering lexical and comprehension items that emanate from those texts. In addition, localization of English curriculum and examination practice would include a reshaped notion literacy that draws upon previously discussed psycholinguistic theories of reading.

This discussion of relevance in the curriculum and testing raises a larger question about reading evaluation in general. What if these questions were to be given to British or American students? Would the same non-local argument still hold? I believe it would. The concepts of background knowledge and frames of reference remain salient. Frames of reference are a part of background knowledge as they draw upon a student's language learning experience. Beyond this issue, there is one critical difference between a US/British contexts and Zimbabwe: English is a second language to a majority of Zimbabweans. An adherent to the psycholinguistic approach to reading would suggest

that a Zimbabwean student is engaging in two processes when a distinctly non-local text is drawn upon for an examination: 1) lower level letter/word recognition, and; 2) higher level schema formation and recognition that draws upon background knowledge. In view of the linguistic market of English education in Zimbabwe, my position is that a true localization of the O level reading section would include reading excerpts from Zimbabwean authors that draw upon Zimbabwean background knowledge. Part of this dissertations central thesis, to be developed in chapter four, is that Zimbabwean authors tend to draw upon Zimbabwean background knowledge in their writing; specifically, they produce a narrative discourse that has multiple levels of relevance for Zimbabweans.

Giroux's advocacy of transformative pedagogy is an initial step in the development of a resource for language education that addresses issues of relevance and equity for the individual A further step needs to be made, especially in African countries, to expand the concept of literacy; this expansion must take into account both oral and written modes of language socialization. It must recognize, as Moraes (1996) has pointed out in her Bahktinian approach to language education, that

> language is, in itself, social because language would not exist if there were no social intercourses. The dialogic linguistic exchange, in which there occurs dynamic interrelations among people's consciousness, neither exists outside people's context and their historical location, nor outside interpenetrating relationships with another's reactions or another's word. (40)

The current approach in Zimbabwean language education is *monologic* and *monoglotic* in the sense that it values one specific form of one language over all others: standard British English. Failure to engage in a reconceptualization of literacy and to unite literacy policy and practice would probably lead to a treatment of surface issues, and even possibly

legitimate the current status quo of English symbolic domination by first language speakers of English.

Agents of Change?

One could argue that, once independence was achieved in 1980, schools have not been viewed as sites for social change but rather social maintenance. The central issue, from a transformative perspective, is to what degree schools can be expected to be sites for social change. Dzvimbo (1988) has pointed out that even if teachers start out viewing themselves as agents of social change, the school environment that they enter can be extremely constraining (cited in Graham-Brown, 1991). To what degree would teachers, usually underpaid and overworked, feel motivated to adopt a dialogic approach to literacy in their classrooms?

VanSlyck (1997) posits that Pratt's concept of the contact zone is helpful for teachers because it would allow them the opportunity to position more specifically in a pedagogic space along with students. VanSlyck personalizes this approach when she says,

> I want students to acquire the analytic skills that will bring about a reflective, dialogic approach to any given text and to the cultural issues it raises, and I want them to feel that we (all of the members of the class, including the instructor) have shared in the construction and execution of this dialogue. This can be achieved only if I identify myself, like everyone else, as an individual speaking from a specific subject position and as someone who does not have all the answers. (153)

Thus, the teacher is being included as an active member of the class; as an active member, she is attempting to explore her own subject position in the contact zone along with students. Whether or not teachers would be able to utilize such an approach as a language teaching resource remains an open question. In my own observations and questioning of Zimbabwean teachers and teacher trainers, I found a general lack of

satisfaction with the centralized, decontextualized, test-driven nature of the language curriculum.

The issues of whether teachers view themselves as "part of the class" as well as agents of change points to larger political issues that have been discussed by Freire. Known as the pioneer of movements that have been termed "popular education" (Graham-Brown, 1991) and "liberation pedagogy," Freire does not view literacy as a simple skill or technique to be acquired. Rather, it is a means to empower people by enabling them to understand, "name," and eventually influence or change forces of political and economic oppression that they encounter. Freire believed that is was the role of educators to assist students by empowering them with a form of critical literacy that would lead to eventual political change. During the mid-1970s Freire directly participated in a collaborative popular literacy project with the government of Guinea-Bissau. While not evaluative in nature, a collection of correspondence, *Pedagogy in Process: the letters to Guinea-Bissau* (1978) provides evidence of his support of the collaboration. Currently, there are collections of individual classroom studies, but there are so far no documented works that systematically evaluate national approaches to popular education in Africa. The closest related works tend to combine individual classroom experiences with a position of advocacy for popular education at the national level (Rubagumya, 1994).

Freirian approaches to literacy education have been advocated in the Zimbabwean context. Black resistance to the Rhodesian government in the 1970s was the backdrop to the intellectual formation of Zimbabwean reading theorist Toby Moyana. Moyana drew extensively on Freire to discuss what he viewed as negative practices among the black

Zimbabwean elite uncritically pursuing English language education. For Moyana, one sign of this pursuit was the practice of artificially "speaking through the nose" with a British accent (Moyana, 1988). He saw this practice as a sign of larger systematic issues. Moyana noted that Freire saw the uncreativity of colonized people; a person is reduced to a spectator not a recreator of the world. Moyana's goal as an educator (he was a secondary teacher in Zimbabwe) was to produce a meaningful form of literacy practice that led to a "control of reality for one's own betterment." This approach included the Freirian practice of listing and association to draw out bases of meaning for students to pursue critical English literacy acquisition. According to Moyana, the language of domination could turn into the language of new consciousness when focused on the realities of the oppressed. Moyana's work, *Education, Liberation and the Creative Act* was published posthumously in 1988 after a tragic car accident silenced this important voice in Freirian inspired scholarship. Until recently there have been no outstanding literacy experts in Zimbabwe to continue Moyana's line of Freirian influenced scholarship. The most recent contribution is Natsa's (1994) doctoral dissertation. Natsa surveyed 810 English and Shona teachers and conducted classroom observations of 16 of them in order to investigate secondary school language teachers' conceptions of literacy and how these conceptions relate to literacy instruction in Zimbabwe (Natsa, 1994).

At the national level, there is currently little support in government circles or at University of Zimbabwe for research into Freirian approaches to education (Natsa, 1994). Graham-Brown (1991) has pointed out two main obstacles for the inclusion of popular education experiments, especially in developing nations: 1) Organizations involved frequently need to rely on funding from external sources; 2) The concept of

education as a received package of knowledge affects people as well as governments, and there are often difficulties in persuading people that this is "proper" education, especially if there is no certification (72). For Zimbabwe, an additional obstacle for popular education initiatives may be the highly centralized nature of educational planning. The President and head of the one party state, Robert Mugabe, is also the head of the University; all teacher training colleges are supervised by the University; the government pays all teachers salaries and; all curriculum is state approved. Due to these close linkages of the state and education, there may be an inherent conservatism built into Zimbabwe's system: when one questions the status quo in education (as popular education does), one indirectly questions the legitimacy of the state.

Freire's promise of a popular education that empowers language learners has a clear role in the post-settler context of Zimbabwean society. That role is to make the teaching and learning of reading more relevant by drawing upon reader background knowledge. The direct implication from this view is that Zimbabwe needs to move away from an examination system that disempowers students and teachers and forces them into pursuing a monoglotic (British English) approach in language education. Texts that tap directly into student background knowledge tend to emanate from Zimbabwean society, not British. The specific shape of language education advocated by this chapter is one that draws upon a sociocultural view of literacy and a contact zone pedagogy in the classroom. This approach, which unites literacy theory and with practice, would have the effect of opening up language education classrooms to an explicit examination of identity that draws upon a dialogic approach to language, background knowledge, and historical context.

Chapter 4
TOWARD DIALOGUE: AN INVESTIGATION OF VOICES FROM THE INSIDE

Clearly, it is one thing to advocate a new approach to language education, and quite another to engage in an investigation of dialogue within a specific contact zone. Zimbabwean novelists, through their investigation of identity in language and use of different strategies in narration, represent a natural resource for pedagogy of the contact zone. In addition, approaching Zimbabwean novelists from a language education perspective furnishes a new dynamic for the interpretation of Zimbabwean literature. This dynamic is generated through a relational interaction in which the reader, narrator, and represented characters are shown to be simultaneously engaged in dialogue.

This approach to literary interpretation utilizes Pratt's concept of "the pedagogical arts of the contact zone" (1991). Because a contact zone is bounded by time and space, it allows one to view a literary work in relation to all relevant material (literary, cultural, historical, biographical, and others) within the zone (Bizzell, 1994). Pedagogical arts of the contact zone then become, in Pratt's words,

> exercises in storytelling and in identifying with the ideas, interests, histories, and attitudes of others; experiments in transculturation and collaborative work and in the arts of critique, parody, and comparison (including unseemly comparisons between elite and vernacular cultural forms); the redemption of the oral; ways for people to engage with suppressed aspects of history (including their own histories); ways to *move into and out of rhetorics of authenticity*; ground rules for communication across lines of difference and hierarchy that go beyond politeness but maintain mutual respect; a systematic approach to the all-important concept of *cultural mediation*. (40 - emphasis in original)

By proposing a reshaping of literary study into contact zones, Pratt opens up a pedagogical space for students and teachers to more freely investigate multiple levels of identity--multiple voices-- in a specific social and historical context.

This approach is especially suited for an investigation of the intersection of literary interpretation and pedagogy; the text is seen as a product of an individual drawing upon multiple levels of identity in an historical context. The specific contact zone for this investigation will be the representation of Shona society in transition during the late 1960s and early 1970s, at the peak of African resistance to the Rhodesian white settler regime. This strategy, related to Miller's (1990) project to engage in a dialogic interpretation, is aimed primarily at understanding the interpretive space of Zimbabwean readers.

It is important to note that this analysis should not be interpreted as an all encompassing "how to" guide for Zimbabwean secondary teachers for the teaching of literature. To be prescriptive in this area would be to engage in the same top-down approach that has been highlighted as a key problem in Zimbabwean education. Teachers need to build upon the background knowledge represented in their classrooms. Rather than a prescription then, the implications of this analysis will be understood differently by Zimbabwean educators at various levels and in various contexts. As will be discussed in the chapter, all of these authors come from Shona backgrounds; all are at least secondary school educated; all have written complex novels that are internationally famous. Due to the level of language, an appropriate target audience for these novels would be students in their second or third year of secondary education. Teachers and students wishing to fully

tap into suggested themes would also want to find additional interpretive resources to bring to this specific contact zone (as this dissertation does).

While the incorporation of the concept of contact zone may contribute to the reshaping of critical literary study and language education pedagogy, it is also important to focus on what the author actually does in his or her narrative. Gennette's narratolology will be utilized as a way of engaging in a closer reading that recognizes the formal aspects of each author's unique narrative approach. Zimbabwean authors frame time and space in importantly different ways in their narratives. Zimbabwe's most influential English authors, Mungoshi, Marechera, Chinodya, Hove, and Dangarembga, create markedly different narratives, all set in the period of the second Chimurenga. These distinct narrative styles have specific implications for how Zimbabwean readers may enter into dialogue with the novels.

Authors, Teachers and Audience

Before engaging in literary interpretation, three important issues must be addressed: Who is the audience for Zimbabwean writers who write in English? Can traditionally powerful Western market forces be "decentered" or "reshaped" in a Zimbabwean language education context? Even if we accept that a reshaping can take place, is its transformative potential grossly overrated?

Harrow (1994) posits that two major themes, present in early African literary works, are *recuperation* (in the French sense of salvaging), and *education*. These themes are represented through the use of devices of mimetism, intended to serve the need for education or social meliorism (61). Harrow views Achebe as a prime example of an author who views his work this way: "[T]he past needs to be created not only for the

enlightenment of our detractors but even more for our own education"(cited in Harrow, 61). Of the three Zimbabwean authors chosen for this chapter's narrative analysis, Hove is the one that comes closest to viewing (and discussing) his own writing in this way: "Writers have this immense responsibility of persuading the world to listen to the many cries of Africa. . . . African writers have to perform the task of helping to awaken the consciences of the world. . . .."(Hove in Veit-Wild 1993, 314). In addition to his sense of "writer as representative," Hove has a specific view of how African writers can rediscover oral forms through the act of creation in writing: "We owe the world the complex fusion of the arts so ably celebrated in our dances and rituals. . . combined in a unique artistic harmony. . .which makes fascinating reading today" (314). Hove's intention is to "cleanse" the colonial language (English), "to the extent of *representing them* [oral forms] *to our former colonizers* as languages which can be used to depict human dignity, not human slavery and anger"(314 - emphasis mine). As inspiration, Hove invokes "the great masters of oral narrative to whom we are accountable" (314). When discussing "salvage," "education," and "cleansing," Harrow, Achebe, and even Hove tend to emphasize the "double voice" of African literature: African novels are directed at a former colonial audience as well as an African one.

In order for literature to be dialogical, however, it must have a literate audience in a shared language. The debate over who the audience is for writers who write in English has traditionally been represented by two key authors: Ngugi wa Thiong'o and Chinua Achebe. Ngugi, often termed an "idealist" for his views, asserts that only African languages can represent African thoughts:

> An African writer should write in a language that will allow him to communicate effectively with peasants and workers in Africa - in other words, he should write in an African language. . . . Literature published in African languages will have to be meaningful to the masses and therefore much closer to the realities of their situation. (Ngugi 1986, 153).

Ngugi's position is that African writers who write in a former metropolitan language should be called "anglophone," "francophone," or "lusophone writers." For Ngugi, the natural development of African languages and cultures was violently displaced in the late 19th century by European colonial powers. He posits that the proliferation of a "Euro-African literature" in Africa is evidence of the continuation of cultural imperialism. This literature is written primarily for the consumption of a small African elite and wider international audience. While this view is initially persuasive, it is distinctly non-Bakhtinian in the sense that it omits the concept of double-voicedness. For Ngugi, multiple voices (African and European) are not present in a narrative discourse written in a European language: the discourse is European, and therefore foreign to a majority of Africans. Ngugi de-emphasizes the polyglot nature of most African societies. Furthermore, Ngugi does not draw upon the concept of influential market forces -- forces that affect the work of even ideologically committed authors. As Miller (1990) points out, "Ngugi's anti-imperialist intention may be subverted by the forces of the market; the material text may be appropriated for mass consumption in English" (286).

Achebe offers what has been termed a more "pragmatic" view: "I have been given this language, and I intend to use it" (Achebe 1977, 55). He states, "the conscious creative African writer who wishes to use English as a literary medium has to struggle to adapt this medium to the sociocultural environment" (Achebe 1965, 29). Rather than writing in standard English however, Achebe has chosen to "Africanize" the language by

integrating proverbs and utilize some syntactic features that are "at once acceptable and able to carry his particular experience" (29). Ngugi views this attempt to Africanize English as accepting a "fatalistic logic" -- i.e., that English occupies an unassailable position in African literature. Unlike Ngugi, Achebe draws upon a sense of polyphony: he believes that African voices can be evoked in English. In addition, the concept of market forces is implied by Achebe's acceptance of the market position of English in Nigeria; however, he fails to elaborate on how those forces may directly influence his own work.

While Ngugi points out the contradictions of a "Euro-African literature" and an accompanying publishing/scholar industry, Arnove (1993) posits that Ngugi "quickly falls back on a conflation of a)cultural imperialism, or the incorporation of the educated classes into the colonial educational and political institutions; and b)imperialism as a specific historical mode of capitalist exploitation that establishes particular forms of political domination in the interest of its stability of and expansion (282). In other words, it may be the case that there is a limited effect upon African language practices, while wider colony/nation-state integration into the global economic system is taking place. For Arnove, Ngugi's *Decolonizing the Mind* (1986) rests upon a confusion between the categories of hegemonization (incorporation), domination, exploitation, and on a generalization from Ngugi's experience as a member of the educated elite (283). This distinction between categories is relevant when one considers that colonial hegemony, in the systematic form of educational institutions, was unevenly achieved among different colonies (284).

In the case of Zimbabwe, the actual numbers of those who readily draw upon English as a language of communication *and expression* remains uncertain. There are few detailed studies about the full extent of European language use and literacy. As previously noted, literacy rates in 1980 were estimated between 30-40%, while they are currently estimated at around 60-70% (Colclough, 1990). These estimates, if even roughly accurate (within 20%), would put general English literacy in a different position from that in Kenya or Nigeria, where literacy rates are much lower. It is important to note that these percentages reflect potential *access* to English reading; being literate does not necessarily imply that one will read novels. As shown in chapter two, Zimbabwean parents and children have overwhelmingly chosen (probably for economic reasons) an English based education since the early 1900s. Regardless of the percentages and attitudes, Arnove raises the important point, especially for Zimbabwean readers, that English use is undeniably reflective of a superior market position for the user.

Miller views these issues of audience dialogue as fundamental to the success of his project in *Theories of Africans* (1990). For Miller, a careful approach to African literature is one in which the interpreter recognizes his relative position and attempts to dialogue with the text:

> [T]he *failure to relativize* one's own beliefs is more dangerous than the failure to stay within them. Unless the Western critic attempts to suspend-hold in at least temporary abeyance-the systematic criteria and judgments that emanate from Western culture, ethnocentrism will persist forever. . . The Western critic must, of course, avoid the converse error, that of being deluded into thinking his/her beliefs have been completely suspended and that his/her analysis is transcendentally "free.". . . my response to the bind of relativism is neither to seek some miraculous solution to it nor to ignore the real problems it poses; relativism both underpins and undercuts an intellectual endeavor like this one. . . .I will therefore not pretend to transcend or abandon the American academic scene, but from within it I will attempt a dialogue with another scene, whose issues and language are partially, *problematically* different. (65 - emphasis Miller's)

At a 1994 ASA conference panel on new approaches to African literature, the differences in the critical stances of Miller and Harrow were discussed metaphorically. Miller compared his approach to viewing African literature "through a glass" -- with accompanying refractions and difference for readers outside of the cultural context. Harrow related his approach to engaging in an "embrace" -- with its accompanying love enabling and arising from direct contact (ASA, 1994).

While both metaphors highlight an ongoing discussion in literary criticism, this representation of the reading transaction may be of more use to Western critics than African readers. The context or field of literary interpretation itself, largely dominated by Western critics, can pose problems in approaching African literature: the "double voice" of African narratives (addressed to both an African and Western audience) may become more monologic due to a number of factors. After examining Kourouma's attempts to subvert elite francophone patriarchy in *Les Soleils des independances* (1970), Miller (1990) recognizes that historical, national and market forces themselves influence the frames of interpretation for a work:

> Dialogism within a certain frame can ultimately serve a monological end; reciprocity may be a trap. . . . A critical novel such as *Les Soleils des independances* can be coopted, and it has been in the Ivory Coast, in the sense that the book now circulates freely and poses no threat to the regime. (244-5)

As a separate but related issue, can a close reading of Zimbabwean novels be expected to be educationally transformative? According to Holquist (1990), Bakhtin was optimistic about the potential of novels in this regard:

> On this account [the pedagogical potential of dialogic reading], literary texts do not merely reflect changes in development, but also serve to bring them about. Literary texts are tools; they serve as a prosthesis of the mind. As such, they have a tutoring capacity that materially effects change by getting from one stage of development . . .Novelness, and not just the novel,

> is the name of Bakhtin's hero because it enables such particular texts [polyphonic ones] . . . .to be "great expectations," i.e. good education in the Bakhtinian sense of putting the future into dialogue by being always in advance of current states of consciousness. (83)

This view of the pedagogic potential of novels is one that is in agreement with a contact zone view of literary works; the use of polyphonic texts allow an individual to explore "states of consciousness" in language. Zimbabwean language curriculum does not currently offer the opportunity to specifically engage in dialogic language education.

For Eagleton (1983), the belief in the transformative capacity of literary study is overrated, especially by what he terms the "liberal humanist" establishment:

> [This belief] is weak because it usually grossly overestimates this tranformative power, considers it in isolation from any determining social context, and can formulate what it means by a "better person" only in the most narrow and abstract of terms. . . .Liberal humanism is a suburban moral ideology, limited in practice to largely interpersonal matters. (207)

While Eagleton's position is concerned mainly with the practice of literary study at Western universities, his critique is appropriate: it points to a need to be skeptical of literary approaches that emanate from an academy composed mainly of Western critics. By framing the analysis within the secondary language education context of Zimbabwe, this chapter's analysis will be decentered from a purely academic literary approach. At the same time, two approaches that are utilized in the Academy -- dialogism and narratology -- will be drawn upon as specific ways of focusing the interpretation on an investigation of levels of identity relevant to Zimbabwean readers.

Narrative focus: Genette's Narratology

While social-historical context is important for investigating the dialogue between Zimbabwean writers and readers, it is important to analyze the specific shape of the

narrative itself. How are time and space brought together? How is polyphony specifically evoked? Who is the narrator? Who is the implied narratee? Genette proposes five main categories (with accompanying subcategories) for narrative investigation: order, duration, frequency, mood, and voice. Two categories that are most salient for this analysis are "mood" and "voice."

According to Eagleton (1983), "mood" can be subdivided into "distance" and "perspective."

> Distance concerns the relation of the narration to its own materials: is it a matter of recounting the story (diegesis) or representing it (mimesis), is the narrative told in "direct," "indirect" or "free indirect" speech? "Perspective" is what might be called "point of view," and can also be subdivided: the narrator may know more than the characters, less then them, or on the same level; the narrative may be 'non-focalized," delivered by an omniscient narrator outside the action, or "internally focalized," recounted by one character from a fixed position, from variable positions, or from several character-viewpoints. (105-6)

When attempting to understand the nature of a narrative, specific attention must be paid to the constantly shifting nature of who is doing the speaking (narrator, character) and the speaker's represented position (within or outside the text). The narrative can be focalized completely through a character in the text (for internal focalization) or *upon* a character (for external focalization). The latter refers to a focus upon the actions and dialogue of a character without the reader knowing what he is thinking or feeling.

"Voice" concerns the act of narrating itself -- what kind of narrator and narratee are implied?

> Various combinations are possible here between the "time of the narrative" and the "narrated time" between the action of recounting the story and the events which you recount: you may tell of the events before, after or while they happen. A narrator may be "heterodiegetic" (absent from his own narrative), homodiegetic" (inside his narrative as in first-person stories), or "autodiegetic" (in which he is not only inside the narrative but figures as its principal character). (106)

In Genette's (1980) view, "I" in a narrative is identifiable only in reference to the person who is the source of the utterance, and the action described is understood in relation to the implied moment of the utterance (212). One must necessarily tell a story in a present, past, or future tense - temporal determinations of the narrating instance are manifestly more important than spatial determinations (215). In combination with temporal markers, Gennette views the novelist's choice of narrative postures as influential; i.e., the story may be told by one of its characters or by a narrator outside of the story. From this general distinction, Gennette goes on to classify three types of narratives: heterodiegetic, homodiegtic, or autodiegetic. From a Bakhtinian perspective, these modes of narrative representation become important for investigating voices that may enter the text at different levels (narrator, character) and refer to different historical frames. These frames can enter the story from national and international levels.

The analysis of this chapter utilizes Gennette's narratology as a way of moving the discussion of Zimbabwean novels away from subjective historical judgment. Rather, the focus will be upon the formal features of how authors evoke Zimbabwean polyphony in their narratives. Mungoshi employs an omniscient narrative voice that explores the thoughts and feelings of his characters when facing settler influenced social constraints across several generations of characters. Hove creates a unique (Shona-evoking) homodiegetic narrative in several characters while examining the life of a farm worker in search of her son. Dangarembga's autodiegetic narrator reflects upon her social conditions and the development of her feminist consciousness.

Zimbabwean Literary Analysis

Writers in Zimbabwe write from a full range of subjective historical frames, from Rhodesian expatriate Doris Lessing to Zimbabwean nationalist Chenjerai Hove. The focus here will be upon writers who write in English, and who also evoke an Afrophonic subtext that emerges from the interstices of the text (Harrow, 1994). Expanding upon Bakhtin's concept of dialogization of heteroglossia in the novel, Harrow (1994) posits that African writers produce polyphonic texts. Polyphony requires specific attention in African literature: "[I]n Africa, this basis is what is most heavily overlaid with palimpsests and echoes, voices that are forcefully unspoken" (51). In essence, different languages (European and African) and different forms of language socialization (written and oral) are represented in the narrative. This characteristic shapes a narrative in which there is a "complex weave of voices and registers, with full heteroglossia "(52). A direct implication for readers of these texts is educational function. Voices dialogue with and *educate* readers about the world they live in. While Hove has been explicit about the mimetic shaping of his work, it will be shown that both Mungoshi and Dangarembga engage in the creation of mimetic art as well.

Within the polyphonic narratives in Zimbabwean literature, there are specific historical influences upon the negotiation of identity. In contrast to many African states, Zimbabwe has a history of strong internal European settler influence -- white settler influence transformed the economy and society of what is now Zimbabwe. While this historical experience leads Zimbabwean writers to thematize conflicts and tensions between African and European culture (a feature of African literature posited by Harrow, 1994), it can also lead them to represent such conflict at the level of individual identity.

This is especially the case for Mungoshi and Dangarembga, with their attention on the internal psychological effects of an oppressive settler influence upon their characters. Within the oppressive settler context, formal educational experience (with attention to issues of English language socialization and historical context) has played an important role in influencing Zimbabwean writers in the development of their narrative styles and themes.

A pioneer in the social history of Zimbabwean literary production, Flora Veit-Wild has amassed a wealth of biographical and social history in her work *Teachers, Preachers, Non-Believers* (1993). Inspired by Irele's advocacy for utilizing an understanding of socio-political factors and authors' responses to these factors (Irele, 1991), Veit -Wild attempts to create a comprehensive view of Zimbabwean literature in the vernacular and English. Administering an open-ended questionnaire to ninety-six published Zimbabwean authors, she has roughly classified this massive number of authors into three generations in order to discuss generational trends in Zimbabwean social history and literature. The authors chosen for this dissertation include authors from those born in Veit-Wild's second (1940-59 Mungoshi, Hove) and third (1960-later Dangarembga) generational categories of Zimbabwean writers.

In attempting to make generalizations across such an expanse of material, Veit-Wild has simplified certain levels of biographical/historical interpretation. One consequence of this approach is for Veit-Wild to classify authors according to whether they have "succeeded" or "failed" to represent Zimbabwean "reality" (in the singular). Chennels (1993) has characterized this tendency in Veit-Wild's work as "political correctness":

> These remarks, however assume that perceived formal failures in the novel derive from perceived political incorrectness. She is, of course being "politically correct" in suggesting that there was only one possible way of looking at the events of the late 1970s; that is her prerogative. But as a critic I have to protest at the simplistic political judgments being offered as cause for ill-analyzed defects at the formal level. (116)

Veit-Wild's ability to read Zimbabwean literature tends to rest less upon her ability to "open" a text for Zimbabweans, and more upon her personal view of historical reality. Veit-Wild sets up a seemingly static relationship between the individual and history; that relationship is marked by acceptance of English cultural hegemony. Those writers whom Veit-Wild interprets as deferring to the inevitability of English cultural hegemony over the Zimbabwean majority become more "authentic" (Mungoshi and Dangarembga) while those who resist it are portrayed as "faking it" (Hove).

How each author depicts English hegemony is also highlighted by their representation of language socialization among different characters and in the narrative voice. Through an omniscient narrator speaking in the present tense, Mungoshi mimetically represents contrasts in language socialization between different generations. Hove creates a Shona-like narrative voice that is shared by all of the narrative positions, thereby suppressing difference. In a shifting "dream time," the different narrators address the reader and other characters, leaving the impression of ongoing oral participation in a Shona community. Dangarembga, due to her employment of autodiegetic narration, also suppresses difference in language socialization by focalizing represented dialogue through an analytical retrospective English voice. In the case of Hove and Dangarembga's works, the prominence "English voice" is represented more at the level of the character's negotiation of different socio-ideological forces.

Charles Mungoshi

Born in 1947 in a village in Manyene Tribal Trust Land near current day Chivhu (central Eastern Zimbabwe), Mungoshi's early years were spent helping his father on a small plot of land between large European farms (Veit-Wild 1992, 269). By 1959 he went to Daramombe boarding school for standard four. From 1963 to 1966 Mungoshi, attended St. Augustine's secondary school. St. Augustine's was and is a school with a reputation of hard work, often leading to admittance to the University of Zimbabwe (Tsodzo, 1997). Unlike most other writers, especially those writing in English, Mungoshi did not pursue further education beyond O levels. He is also an exception among most Zimbabwean writers because he never worked as a teacher (Veit-Wild 1992, 273). One of the most influential and prolific of Zimbabwean writers, Mungoshi has published over forty novels and short stories in both English and Shona, and his Shona stories are often used as readers for primary and secondary school (274).

The period in which Mungoshi received his primary and secondary schooling -- the 1950s through the 70s -- was a period not only of political but also racially based economic stress. African parents were expected to finance their children's education while white education was fully subsidized. In 1965, missions and parents shouldered half of the entire African educational budget of the year (Moyana, 1979) . Regardless of blatant financial and social discrimination based on race, Zimbabwean parents viewed education as a priority for their children. Sometimes the whole family stepped in to secure the education of a child. Veit-Wild (1993) has noted that parents and other relatives had the highest expectations of the results of their investment; this, in turn could create great tension in the beneficiaries. According to Veit-Wild, the emotional strain of

high expectations was aggravated by the bottlenecked selection process to which the African pupil was subjected. Black students could watch their white age-mates comfortably pursuing their "right" to education up to fifteen years of age, while they had try their utmost to be among the 12.5 per cent [among a small school population to begin with] who were allowed to progress up to O level.

Mungoshi, a pre-O level student in the 1960s, may have ended up choosing a writing career as a result of this institutionalized racial selection process. In an interview with Veit Wild (1993), he states:

> When I discovered that I wanted to be an "inventor" and was told that no Africans ever became "inventors" (wrong information probably) I was so depressed I concentrated on writing (politics). Also when I discovered that all I wanted to do was write, I found this conflicting with my teachers' (later parents') expectations and when I didn't do other subjects there was a never-ending conflict in me. (184)

While Mungoshi employs irony in his parenthesis, his comments on being directed into a different stream of education correspond to a retention of Phelps-Stokesism in the educational system during the early 1960s. The Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in 1967 intensified racial segregation in education. In 1967, the Rhodesian government spent 15 times as much on a European child (120 pounds) as on an African child (eight pounds) (Veit-Wild, 1993). Mungoshi, who did not progress beyond the O level, comments on the degree to which societal pressure (and the curriculum that accompanied it), affected his self-image:

> Our reading of English stories was making us painfully feel backward in the creative art of story -writing. I say painfully to emphasize the psychological anguish we were undergoing - the background from which we carved our stories and novels, especially those written in English and Shona.. . I felt , could not adequately express half of what I felt. It was a real feeling; that Shona was inadequate. . .I personally experienced something more than just an uneasiness over my uncertain, identityless existence as the no-longer-exact great-great-grandson of Mungoshi, nor as yet the white-black boy that I was being groomed into. There had been that black class teach in Std 1 who had written this motto on the classroom blackboard: 'Think, Talk, Act in

> English'. . . ..I felt very desolate. It was the feeling that I always had for someone whom I knew to be an orphan. (190)

Veit-Wild's interpretation of Mungoshi's comments about this period of his life is that they are representative of a wider sentiment of estrangement among members of his generation in Zimbabwe. How representative Mungoshi might have been, however, needs to be placed in context. An O level candidate in the mid 1960s, Mungoshi was a member of a very small cohort. This feeling of intense alienation, while perhaps representative of this group, cannot be extrapolated to the wider population.

The further students progressed up the educational ladder and into the selective bottleneck of the O level, the more race became a salient issue to many students whose parents were making economic sacrifices. This awareness, as expressed by Mungoshi, may have reached into a self-conscious linguistic and cultural "split" between "Englishness" and home language and culture. Mungoshi has been quoted by Veit-Wild (1993) as saying, "You are caught in between the old and the new. You are not yet in western ways, nor do you belong to your parents any longer" (192). At this time (1950s and 60s), there was also a split between poorer rural and more elite urban educated Black groups. Rural Blacks were struggling for access to basic primary schooling while better educated and politically active urban groups were pushing for access to quality secondary education (Kuster, 1994).

As previously noted in Chapter Two, Ian Smith's UDI government maintained strict political control over the curriculum and promoted the use of home languages in primary schools well into the 1970s. This meant that there was very little tolerance for the emergence of critical voices in either English or Shona writing. Due to state

censorship, Mungoshi's initial English works, *Coming of the Dry Season* (1972) and *Waiting for the Rain* (1974), had to be published abroad. Mungoshi explores the theme of alienation at the individual and societal level through a heterodiegetic standard English narrative in his early short stories. While still employing a heterodiegetic narrative, his novel *Waiting for the Rain* (1974) is a site of more Shona influenced experimentation.

"Ten Shillings"

"Ten Shillings" (Mungoshi, 1972) centers around Paul Masaga, a young man with a Junior Certificate (JC), desperately looking for work in Salisbury (now Harare):

> He was tired. He did not care what kind of work he did now. Two years of walking up and down the city. Two years of being kicked here and there in the locations. Two years of begging for food. Two years of sleeping in gutters and drainpipes. *Mararapaipi*, they called him, pipe sleeper. (38)

The mainly omniscient standard English narrative voice, with some internal focalization upon Paul's thoughts, highlights the racial and economic tension Paul experiences as an unemployed man with a JC. English influenced Shona is shown with the Shona-English compound of "marara" (one who sleeps) and "paipi" (pipes). After two years of looking for a job, Paul's "heart had not beaten as it would have done two years ago when he was still new to the city. He had grown up since then" (38). In an initial heterodiegetic analepses (reference to antecedent information that is separate from, but related to the primary time line of the narrative) focusing upon his "growing up," Paul has two main realizations about life in Salisbury: that Europeans are racist and that his education is worthless. As previously mentioned, the reader learns of Paul's experiences through a heterodiegetic narrative voice that is omniscient, but often focalized through Paul :

> It had depressed him at the start, but he had learned to accept it, as he had learned to accept many more situations in life. The thing to know was that a JC was not important. It was a mistake to have ever thought so. The price one paid for going to a missionary school with a

> motto and believing all that they told one. *Education, Paul thought sardonically, it awes us as did the bicycle, the motorcar and the aeroplane. It is a Western thing and we throw away brother and sister for it but when it fails we are lost.* (39-emphasis mine)

Here, at the point of focalization (italicized), it is possible to see an omniscient (heterodiegetic) narrator entering into a dialogue with the character Paul, and by extension, the reader. The reader is put in a position to witness two voices (narrator's and Paul's) agreeing with the negative assessment of a Western mission education. For a Zimbabwean reader, one that has probably received or is about to receive the equivalent of a JC level of language education, the narrator-character dialogue immediately demands a response. What is the reader's experience? Are they in agreement?

The theme of class differences among black Zimbabweans is briefly touched upon by the narrator's analeptic representation of dialogue between Paul and gatekeepers at job-sites:

> It used to embarrass him in the first days. He would approach those *stuck up gatekeepers* who would ask him, "What kind of job are you looking for?"
> "A clerical job."
> "Oh, you educated boys! Everyone out of his mothers' belly talks of being a clerk! Do you think Salisbury is run by an army of clerks? Why don't you be humble like me and go dig on the road?" *They* would gather round him and laugh. (40-emphasis mine)

What makes the *iterative* narrative (narrating one time what happened a number of times, Genette, 1980, 116) interesting (see emphasis in above) is that it is not clear through who the narrative is being focalized. Without further clarification between who is portraying the gatekeepers (a seemingly generic group), it would seem that there is a convergence between the consciousness of the narrator and Paul. Thus, this instance of narrative convergence, or perhaps a more focalized narrative (through Paul), may be perceived as more monologic (converging narrator and character) for a Western rather than Zimbabwean reader.

After the initial analepsis, the story line becomes more temporally defined. In addition, there is a marked increase in directly represented dialogue, and an increased focalization of the narrative upon Paul's experience. This shift takes place in the story when he applies for and gets a job in a tobacco company. On his first day at work, he reports to his foreman, Mr. Thomson, "who Paul could not think of anything to call him except a Rhodesian farmer" (sic). Attempting to hand Thomson the letter of employment, the Rhodesian exclaims,

> God! And a deaf one too! I said are you the bugger who is going to work for me?. . . .I'm not talking about your bloody letter. I can't read. All I want to know is whether you have come to work for me or not. A simple question. Can't you answer that? (40).

Later, Paul is fired by Thomson but is given ten shillings compensation from the man who originally hired him. Surprised by this act, Paul "was so used to Mr. Thomson's type of settler that this other one came as a surprise to him and he did not know what to think" (40). Mungoshi, through the heterodiegetic narrator, ends the story largely focalized through Paul's thoughts:

> He looked at the note. A crisp new note. The first he had owned in two years. He felt sad and generous. People cannot help being what they are, he said to himself. With tears of goodwill he forgave everybody for the misery of the world. (43)

Here, the reader is placed in a position to witness a man, traumatized and depressed, forgiving "everybody" for the misery he is experiencing.

It is through Paul's interaction with Thomson that the theme of language socialization is ironically highlighted in the text. Paul has difficulty understanding Thomson, not because of Paul's skills in standard English language but because of Thomson's illiteracy and his employment of an abusive and colloquial form of Rhodesian English: "Listen chum. . .Don't tell me you think. I do all the thinking for all of you

bunheads here and you listen and do, see? My, I think, I think. You think my ass" (41). Paul's superior education and use of standard English evokes only anger and hatred on the part of the white Rhodesian. Through Paul and a heterodiegetic narrator, Mungoshi represents the frustration and desperation of a JC certificate holder during the period of Rhodesian white settler rule. Unable to find work in an agricultural cash-crop economy, Paul is at the mercy of an illiterate and racist Rhodesian farmer in a tobacco grading operation. His education is in fact shown to be a liability as he irritates the boss, Thomson, with his questions

This story of a jobless "JC" is still resonant in Zimbabwean society. The character of the curriculum remains very academic and not linked to economic production in Zimbabwe. There is a vast number of secondary - school leavers, many with ZJCs (Zimbabwean Junior Certificate), who make up the frustrated population of those, like Paul, looking for work for at least two years. As a resource for English literary and language educators, "Ten Shillings" directly addresses the issues of race and class that students may encounter by their second year of secondary when attempting to find a job.

"Coming of the Dry Season"

In "Coming of the Dry Season"(1972) a heterodiegetic narrator represents the inner conflict Moab Gwati experiences between his wage job and his mother's needs. This conflict is later reenacted with a prostitute. After sleeping with Chipo, "a girl he had picked up in Mutanga's" (44), Moab sends her home because he has no more money and does not want her to know about it: "he gave her a shilling for bus fare and a two-shilling piece for the fine weekend and patted her back in farewell. She said she had never been so happy in all her life" (44). While watching her bus depart, remembering he is

penniless until his next paycheck, Moab falls into a deep depression, trying to forget his responsibilities to what he perceives as an overly demanding mother who lives in a rural area. He remembers her words as he enters a deep depression:

> "Zindonga mwan'ngu, remember where you come from." A warning, a remonstrance, a curse, and an epitaph. With it, he could never have a good time in peace. Guilt, frustration and fury ate at his nerves. (45)

The narrator alludes to the cause of Moab's guilt ridden feelings toward his mother when referring in heterodiegetic analepses back to the relation between Moab's current employment and his mother:

> When he spent four years without employment she had almost died from despair. She had cooked beer to the ancestors and then he told her he was working. And her health improved. He knew that she had stood on her thin little legs and danced the *mbaviarira,* which is both a praise to the ancestors and a prayer for the dead. He knew she had burned good luck roots for him. (45)

Here, through reference to the already existing linkage between the character's employment and his mother's utilization of traditional ceremony, the heterodiegetic narrator educates the reader about Shona customs; thus, the implied reader is either non-Zimbabwean, or not familiar with Shona custom. Another interpretation is that it is a "reminder" to a Shona audience that attempts to forget or suppress ties to family located in rural areas -- much the way Moab does. Moab perceives himself to be trapped by his traditional obligations to his mother and experiences a deep sense of guilt.

As in the previously analyzed work, the narrative voice in "Coming of the Dry Season" seems to merge with that of the main character (see emphasis below) when discussing Moab's inner conflict is described:

> *It seemed he could never do enough for her.* He had sent her money and clothes and a hundred - pound bag of mealie meal with his first pay. . .yet there seemed no end to the things she needed. *Her voice asked for far more than he could give.* (45-emphasis mine)

Again, this places the reader in direct dialogue with (potentially) an increasingly monologized voice. It is a position that may lead the reader, especially one in Moab's position, into questioning the reasonableness of the mother's demands. As if in reply to the Moab's narrative voice, the mother's voice is presented directly:

> Couldn't you find work somewhere near me? You know it won't be long and as you are my first born you must know all that you must do for me - for your own good - before I am gone. When I am gone you won't set anything right yourself. (45-6)

Here the reader "hears" Moab's mother reminding Moab of his family responsibility as eldest, thus highlighting the conflict between Moab's responsibility as wage earner (in a colonial economy) and first born son (traditional family head). This opens up the originally monologic narrative for the reader, especially a non-Zimbabwean one, because a previously unknown traditional family tie is referred back to. For a Zimbabwean reader, this tie may be commonly assumed, and therefore would reinforce the narrative's effect as a reminder traditional responsibilities.

After reading a telegram that his mother has died, Moab enters his room to find Chipo naked and in his bed: Chipo says,

> "I came yesterday evening. your door was unlocked. I waited for you all night. Where have you been?" She sounded exactly like his mother. He hated her (48).

Moab, dumbfounded, questions why she is in his house. Chipo responds:

> "But . . . .but. . . you slept with me."
> "So what's that? Haven't you slept with many others? Why do you come to me?"
> "But you are different. Moab, I wish you would marry me. I ask for nothing else."
> She looked at him sadly and her mouth twisted as if she had a pain somewhere. "I have been alone too long." (48)

Assuming she wants money and feeling "trapped," as he did with his now dead mother, Moab tells her he is penniless. Chipo says, "I didn't come for your money. I have too much of that" (48) Moab, not comprehending, responds, " Then why did you come back? Your type always comes back for money!" (48) Quickly dressing,

> "she took her handbag from the peg above the bed. From it she took a purse. Tilting the purse towards the light, so that Moab saw the thick wad of pound notes in it, Chipo extracted a shilling and two shilling piece [the three shillings that he had given her the weekend before] and slapped them on the table beside Moab's right elbow." (49)

Suddenly weak, "He felt damned" (49).

Moab's deep sense of guilt over perceived neglect of his mother has led him to a more destructive life style where he attempts to forget his problems through drink and abuse of women. After the death of his mother, he cannot escape this sense of guilt as Chipo comes to symbolize his dead mother. Through Moab's participation in the cash-labor economy (in the background of the story), the narrator shows its damaging effects upon the traditional family roles of mother/son and husband/wife. Moab, despite his ability to find work and send support back to his mother, cannot escape the guilt of "not doing enough." In the story's background, Mungoshi engages in social commentary by representing the pressure and objectification that women may experience due to brutal economic forces of a cash economy (that can lead to prostitution) and the traditional search for a husband. As previously highlighted in Chapter Two, in the extremely restrictive white-settler economy, one of the few economic avenues open to women was the teaching profession.

As in much of his work, Mungoshi's employs the heterodiegetic narrative voice of an educated/educating Zimbabwean. This voice tends to contrast with Moab's internally focalized dialogue and consciousness. This contrast become evident with the previously discussed transposition to Shona; " 'Zindoga, mwana'ngu, remember where you come from.' *A warning, a remonstrance, a curse and an epitaph*" (45 - emphasis mine). Here one sees a clear separation between Shona and English. There is little representation of a Shona echo within English, but rather a split represented by direct character dialogue and a few Shona words sprinkled in the internally focalized narrative.

As an accomplished author in both English and Shona, Mungoshi clearly has mastery over both languages and chooses to keep them separate for most of the stories of this collection. He does so by giving primacy to an English educated heterodiegetic narrative voice. Drawing upon Mungoshi's own language socialization experience, one can see how this tendency for a Standard English omniscient voice at the highest narrative level may have developed. His early childhood was one spent in more rural isolation with his Shona speaking family. From form four he was enrolled as a boarder in an English Mission setting, often with British priests as teachers. By 1972, Mungoshi, still at the beginning of his writing career, may have been attempting to establish his English and Shona narrative voice along separate lines. In an interview with Sicherman (1990), Mungoshi expressed his views about writing in Shona and English: "The Shona experience would be slightly different from what I would write in English, so from this material [collected notes, chunks of dialogue or description] you would have two books, one in English and one in Shona" (125). Mungoshi successfully uses a dominant English

narrative to portray characters that are experiencing societal alienation, often due to their formal (English) educational experience.

Waiting for the Rain

Mungoshi's first novel in English, *Waiting for the Rain*, was originally banned by Rhodesian Prime Minister Smith's UDI government, and it was published in 1975 in England. The mid 1970s were an intense period of fighting in the war for black Zimbabwean independence. According to Cheney, 1972 marked the real beginning of the second Chimurenga (war of liberation). It was the beginning of a dirty war that brutalized both sides and led to the deaths of almost thirty thousand people (Stoneman and Cliffe, 1989). During the 1970s, Zimbabwean society was undergoing a process of decolonization in which traditional as well as western values were being questioned.

According to Moyana (1989), the arrival of Mungoshi on the literary scene with *Waiting for the Rain* (1975) heralded a new kind of writing for Zimbabweans. For Moyana, it is a liberatory language that "tells it like it is," for it is a *language of indictment*, a language that sets out to capture the raw realities of exploitation with a concreteness that gives freshness to old words (Moyana 1989, 33). As evidence of this "new language," Moyana cites Mungoshi's portrayal of the land:

> Not until you cross Chambara River into the old village with roofless huts and gaping doorways and the smell of dog shit and burnt rags are you at home. And then the signature of time truly appears in the work-scarred body of an abandoned oxcart with its shaft pointing an accusing finger at the empty heavens, and inevitable stray dog-all ribs and the fur worn down to the sore skin - rummaging for something to eat among the ruins. (Mungoshi 1974, 40)

The "indictment" to which Moyana is referring is Mungoshi's indirect representation of the white regime's economic exploitation of the rich high and middle veldt regions and

its effects upon African society. While the theme of alienation -- geographic and psychological -- runs throughout most of Mungoshi's works, it is intensely focalized through three generations of characters. *Waiting for the Rain* is a polyphonic novel: contextualized social themes, themes that are still relevant to Zimbabweans, are highlighted in the dialogic interaction of the characters, narrator, and the reader. With one marked exception, the generationally oriented voices are represented through an English heterodiegetic narrative voice, partially focalized through the characters. In contrast to what we find in previous works, the narrative voice of *Waiting for the Rain* is in the present, thereby having the effect of lessening narrative distance and enhancing the dialogic interaction between the narrator, characters and reader.

The novel opens with an heterodiegetic representation of Sekuru's (Lucifer's grandfather) recurring dream:

> Things are happening here and there and whether you can see them or not you can't certainly say the old Man doesn't see them. The air trembles with roaring thunder and the earth grumbles with earthquakes and shrieking lightning splits the darkness into quivering shreds of light and he is a lonely whirling little dot who has to hold his own to stay alive. Way, way ahead of him is a pinpoint flash which keeps on going farther and farther, but it's all right. . . .It is under there, together with the feeling of being very near to, and involved in, the pulsing and flashing brilliant centre. This is the Old Man's drum. (1)

However, in the next part of Sekuru's dream, the narrative briefly becomes homodiegetic and potentially more internally focalized; the narrator, perhaps unknown, directly addresses the reader directly as *you*:

> But you don't hear it because you are making so much noise with your cracked little tin toys. . . . . If you could only stop and listen, you would hear it. It has the very rhythm of something disturbing the deep bowels of the earth. You don't hear it? It is there! Always has been there! Once you hear it , it fills you up, it shakes you down to the roots, then you realize in a flash that it's not itself that has been absent but you: it is it that hears you and answers. (1)

This section of narrative, taking place in the dream time of Sekuru's nightmare, is the only point in the novel when the narrative may become homodiegetic, with a voice inflected by the Shona community emanating from the dream of Sekuru. For Mungoshi's work, this represents a marked, if brief, departure from the usual narrative. The voice seems to be attempting to address a Zimbabwean who is making too much noise with "cracked little tin toys." In a direct appeal, the voice is attempting to persuade the reader to get in touch with him or herself, to listen to his or her "drum." Usually associated with Sekuru, the drum is the central metaphor in the novel that stands for recuperation of a dynamic tradition. It is also shown as a way of educating characters and the Zimbabwean reader about themselves.

Sekuru is represented as the senior keeper of history and tradition -- he is the calm eye within the storm of generational conflict. According to Mungoshi in an interview with Sicherman (1990), this is the assumed role of an elder:

> He's the oldest one, and if parents panic, then what do you expect of the children? This is not only theory but something an African man or woman must experience in life. You must grow up; when you are that age, you must have a kind of wisdom, so the Old Man has thought of things. He sees what's happening; he doesn't panic as the others do. The rest of the family is rather confused. (119)

As someone who remembers the first Chimurenga, he is skeptical of the newest generation's resistance efforts. He warns a member of the young generation, his nephew John, about the hidden dangers of assimilation when resisting the current white-settler regime : "I am only thinking it will be a long fight - what with the snares they have set - sugar, that talking machine of yours, all those other things they have brought and *their gods you have taken as your own drum.* Its going to be a long fight" (32). As Stratton

(1986) points out, resistance to white settler oppression is seen by Sekuru as less political and more ideological. It is a conflict between values invested in the land by opposing forces -- between Western capitalism and Shona communalism. While the present war may be won by John's generation, the battle will be lost if they take the enemy's "drum" as their own (14).

Throughout the novel, Sekuru constantly refers to his understanding of the underlying conflict of values, and how they are manifested in a blind pursuit of consumer goods. One item that is represented as both a consumer good and a direct influence upon world view is the radio that John intends to give to Lucifer. While his questions about the radio seem at first naive, "I have often wondered - tell me: are there any people in that thing [the radio] of yours?" (29), Sekuru insightfully identifies the world view/perspective presented by the commentator's broadcasts (in Shona): "Oh, so they are really playing someone else's drum?"(30). This comment reflects a basic understanding of mass communication and state ideology, especially in Rhodesia during the period of the early seventies. According to Cheney,

> Rhodesia's whites were convinced they were fighting communism, not their compatriots, and with heavy press censorship and complete control of radio and television, Smith was able to keep them in a state of ignorance. (113)

Attempting to explain what the commentators are talking about in a headline summary, John says, "It's the news, Sekuru. . . .All over the world, Sekuru, All over the world"(31). Anderson (1983) posits that a national news medium (in this case radio broadcasts) is an essential contributor to a sense of nationally shared communities, for literate as well as illiterate community members:

> [W]ith increasing speed capitalism transformed the means of physical and intellectual communication, and intelligentsias found ways to bypass print in propagating the imagined community, not merely to illiterate masses, but even to literate masses reading different languages. (128)

Thus, Mungoshi is representing a specific trend in national identification, facilitated through technology: in twentieth century colonial states, mass media provides a sense of language community and national membership by referring to the boundaries (what is "outside" and "inside") of a community. Sekuru points out the fact that this sense of imagined community can be influenced by taking on the "enemy's drum." Sekuru is an elder and participant in the first struggle against white-settler alienation of land. His communal referent points include his family and a wider community referred to as *we*:

> The Old Man is quiet. He tastes humiliation again. Then he says: "We were defeated." Pause. "And we have stayed defeated." And that's all about that because you don't try and revive the experience of a toothache. (31)

Later in the novel, when describing the specifics of the initial Chimurenga, Sekuru refers to how they originally organized behind their chief, Ishe Moromo:

> We still had our own gods of whom we were proud. And because these gods meant the same thing to all of us, we rose like one man to fight the white men. . . .So we fought them. We fought hard. Four days and four nights we harassed them at Garapo's Hill. But they laid us low. . . .Most of our people gave themselves up. And these were the same people - drunk on whatever new kind of beer the white men had given them - our own people - who led the white men in their hunt for those of us who had escaped. . . .We later heard the news of what the white men did to those of our people whom they caught. . . .those who saw it swore that our people's heads were cut off, kept in medicines and sent to the white men's land. The same fate befell our chief, Ishe Maromo. (115)

John's social referent points extend beyond his immediate community to include linkages that he has made with resistance fighters across the country. These linkages include members from different geographic and language groups (non-Shona). This is referred to in the novel when he asks his grandfather to speak to his friends who "drove

from Bulawayo," a predominantly Ndebele speaking area. These alliances, formed initially through education and/or work associations, are based on different economic, social, and cultural levels of membership. These coalitions are informed with a new sense of national identity. For Sekuru, members of this resistance face the danger of unintentionally becoming sell-outs, due to the very foundations of their social and political linkages.

In an extended speech that is focalized through Gharabha (as listener), Sekuru says, "That is why I won't listen to anyone who speaks the way John does, fighting the white men and yet praying to the white men's gods. Because, once you do that, you will die like Kwari" (116). In this direct address without internal mediation -- Gharabha listens to the entire story without internal or external comment -- Mungoshi is placing the reader in the place of listener, along with Gharabha. This emphasizes the educational dynamic of Sekuru's story. According to Sekuru, Kwari chose to be the "white man's dog" and to "do his dirty work" during the first Chimurenga. After going to fight in World War I for Britain, he returned home, wounded:

> He had nothing. Those of his masters who had survived the war were given thousands of acres of land. And they wouldn't even give him the faithful dog's bone. He came to us but we didn't know him. So he went back to his masters whom he had served so well and they spat in his face. He persisted, and finally his masters were forced to do what they would do with a crippled rabid dog: they killed him. They accused him of rape and shot him. His children and relatives disowned him. And that is what comes from playing someone's drum. (117)

When asked whether Mungoshi had drawn upon Kwari as an actual historical figure, he replied that the "name is fictional but the story is true" (Sicherman 1990, 124). After telling the story of Kwari, Sekuru foregrounds its educational function for Gharabha (and also the reader-listener) by saying,

> Yes, I talk to you about this because I feel it's going to help you some day. Times and events change, but I don't think people change at all. And if you remember this you won't be in any trouble at all because you will be playing your own drum. . . . Let them, or whoever wants it, have the land. You keep your heart. Later on, you too will know that what grows on the land, what you see outside, first grows in the heart. Without first taking root in the heart, whatever grows outside quickly withers and dies. And they can touch you on the outside, but they can't touch your heart. That's your drum. And that is my medicine to you. (117)

A division is thus established by Sekuru between "them" -- White settlers or Africans like Kwari who desire simply to possess the land -- and "you" -- Gharabha and the Zimbabwean reader/listener whose connection to the land is felt from the inside.

While John is likened to Kwari, Gharabha is linked to his great-great ancestor Sambambwa. Gharabha tells the story of the Mandengu family's founder (originally told by Sekuru) through the dialogue of his drum and the wider community. After Mandisa opens the ceremony with a call to the community, "Who will carry my arrow and spear for me - ho?" and the community responds, Gharabha's drum begins to invoke the story of the founder. The omniscient narrator comments that Gharabha actually becomes his great-great-ancestor while playing the drum:

> His head snaps and he goes a long distance from this place and he can now see them - the people: helpless, dancing, begging, groveling for mercy, and now the loneliness deepens the further he goes and now he is his own great-great-ancestor in that story of the Founder of the Tribe the Old Man has often told him. (128)

Attempting to offer the performance to Lucifer as a gift -- as a way of coming closer to his estranged brother -- he is shocked and depressed to find that his brother has left in the middle of the performance, after finding the singing and dancing "monotone" and "tiring." After the performance, the village diviner, talking with Sekuru, can see that Gharabha has been with Samambwa. Sekuru sees that Gharabha is depressed, and attributes it to his inability to fit into his parents' expectations: "His parents think a wife

and children and going to church every Sunday would settle everything the matter with him." (130) The diviner replies,

> Of course they would rather go to church where they pray to someone of another tribe who doesn't know anything about them. And here is their own ancestor, Founder of the tribe, asking them to remember him and they turn their backs on him. Any wonder why this family is slowly being eaten away. (130-1)

Even though he is encouraged to play his own drum by his grandfather, Gharabha cannot fit into a society in which he is expected to attend church, have a job and take a wife. As a result, Gharabha seeks solace in drink, women, and his drum performances. Only by "crying with his drum" does Gharabha find catharsis, or sense of oneness with his community and environment:

> [I]n most cases the drink and women leave him tired and strangely lonely and sad. And there are only one or two purgatives left: a big cry, or nightfall and the drum.
>
> He prefers the drum to crying. Crying leaves him feeling weak and unprotected. Now with the drum, there is a sense of quiet strength, the strength of mountains and a hard and clear morning vision. And when he cries with the drum, it's because he suddenly sees - sees what? It is not quite seeing as feeling-seeing-living-being the whole thing at the same time. (85)

This feeling -- of trying to be true to oneself while not fitting in -- is also shared by Lucifer. In contrast to Gharabha in his manner of production of art, Lucifer attempts to isolate himself from his community through his drawing and poetry. Coming home in preparation to travel overseas for his studies, Lucifer has difficulty relating to all members of his family. For Mungoshi, Lucifer

> represents an attitude, a crisis we found ourselves in, at that time [mid 1970s]. . . . Lucifer is a kind of exile, even while he's in his own country. You are caught in between the old and the new. You are not yet in the Western ways, nor do you belong to your parents any longer. (120)

While Ghrabha is connected to Sambambwa, the family's traveling founder, Lucifer is linked to the story of Magaba, a traveler who was bewitched by the voice of a strange bird and led to his ultimate demise. After ignoring the elder's and the diviner's advice,

Tongoona chooses Lucifer over Gharabha to inherit the position of head of the family. Soon after, the story of Magaba is told to Lucifer by the village diviner in a section of the narrative where Lucifer is not sure if he is dreaming. Magaba, the hunter who is bewitched, is led to the Plain of Death by the voice of a strange bird, where he is eaten alive by vultures and ants.

Contrasting the two stories of the travelers Samambwa and Magaba, Zimunya (1983) has called their juxtaposition by Mungoshi the "mythic" structure of the novel (85). A Zimbabwean writer and critic, Zimunya feels that

> Gharabha is a sadder and more tragic figure than Lucifer. His ignorant self-enclosure drastically undermines his role. . . .Because they have succumbed to reactionary spiritual fatalism, the Old Man and Garabha have surrendered their destiny to more powerful elements. . . .This brave new world has taken many a sacrifice of lost savages. (92)

Stratton (1986) takes issue with Zimunya for this evaluation, especially in light of the educational message of the plight of the two mythic heroes. By focalizing the story of Samambwa through Sekuru's recounting of the story to Gharabha, the reader is placed in a position to view Gharabha as an individual true to himself and his family/community tradition. The diviner's recounting of Magaba to Lucifer in his dreamlike state enables the reader to view Lucifer's path as one leading to further separation and even death. This reading depends on the variable position of the reader as well; a Zimbabwean is free to identify with Lucifer when at the close of the novel he "watches the leprous skin of his country slough off and fall back dead behind him" (180) or with Gharabha, who is able to whistle a tune that he has made up himself, with "the unerring ear of the old musicians." This evaluation is focalized through Sekuru, who feels "the boy is home," and therefore dialoguing with the community. Lucifer's perception of himself in relation to his

community is completely internalized, isolated, and presented through the "eye of an impartial tourist" (180). Only by removing himself from his family and community can Lucifer find relief from the tension and guilt he feels.

Betty, the main female character of the third generation, finds her options are constrained by traditional gender expectations and a lack of opportunity in the settler cash economy. John refers to the lack of opportunity when he initially greets Betty:

> Hello Betty! I thought the last time I was here I heard you say you were going to Salisbury to look for a job. What happened? No luck, eh? Good for you. The city isn't exactly the kind of place I would recommend for our sisters these modern days, ha-ha-ha-ha! (28)

Upset at the insensitive sharing of her secret, Betty "hates John and she doesn't take long with her greetings before she returns to the kitchen" (28). Thus, Betty, like Chipo and other female characters in Mungoshi's works (Stratton, 1987), is expected to live up to the rest of the family's expectations, while males are essentially independent. Most important, Betty must carry the burden of a family curse that has been passed down through Raina's mother Mandisa -- she cannot have children due to a displeased ancestor. In defiance of tradition, Betty has an affair with the regional agricultural demonstrator and gets pregnant. Her lover is portrayed as "distant, living in the home with an asbestos gray roof" (37). Betty can only observe "the house hard from afar"(38), out of fear of seeing his wife. The superior class and gender position of the official (not thoroughly developed by Mungoshi) presumably gives him the relative security to have an affair with a local woman (Betty) without fear of reprisal from the community. Betty, caught between the worst of traditional and settler economy constraints, is in a situation where her frustrations become unmanageable and eventually come out in her language socialization strategies: angry violation of tradition (talking back to elders) or silence.

Stratton points out that there is a tendency in Mungoshi's work to represent disrupted gender roles not as the result of a feminist challenge, but rather as occurring due to disruptive effects of settler domination. In addition to women finding few places besides prostitution in the cash economy, fathers lose their ability to parent their children. This becomes apparent when Lucifer and Tongoona discuss Lucifer's trip overseas. Tongoona, asking Lucifer about the costs of the trip, is concerned that he is losing face as a parent:

> "Your European friend," Tongoona says, scratching his head: "did you tell him that your father is a very poor man?"
> Lucifer looks up: "Why would I want to tell him that?"
> "Well, I thought you might have been as indiscreet as to tell him that." Pause, as if looking for words then: "Anyway, I am not saying that he shouldn't have done what he did - - I could have sent you overseas myself if you had told me you wanted to go overseas." (73)

By paying for Lucifer's education, the white settler mission is subverting traditional gender roles and parental involvement in education.

By the end of the novel Tongoona is symbolically displaced as head of his own family. The only white person portrayed in the novel, a priest who is Lucifer's academic advisor, becomes more of a "father" to Lucifer than Tongoona. The parting of Lucifer at the end of the novel with the "white father" is shown by Mungoshi as more of an assimilation into a white family.

> Old Mandisa, to forestall her own tears, says: "No use crying now. he is gone, no longer ours. . . . The white Father is now in the car." He blows the horn.
> Raina starts forward and in a sudden outburst of motherly passion grabs and clasps Lucifer to her breast. Lucifer quickly wrenches away from her and hurriedly enters the metal security of the car . . . . He speaks to the white Father: "We can go now, Father" . . . . Like a false skin, the people peel back as the car moves forward. . . . The car picks up speed and Lucifer watches the leprous skin of his country slough off and fall back dead behind him. . . . Lucifer leans back and tries to look at his country through the eye of an impartial tourist. (197-180)

In the context of leaving his village and heading toward Salisbury with his white father, the imagery of "skin peeling off" can be seen as a metaphor for the changing of Lucifer's skin as well. This resonates with Mungoshi's earlier comments about his self - image during his formative secondary years.

This "white-black boy" phenomenon that Mungoshi comments on, while highlighted during white colonial rule, is a theme that echoes current day Zimbabwe realities. By the time students reach University, class divisions in language education experience are socially manifested in derogatory terms utilized by student groups. When students from different backgrounds come together for the first time, there is tendency among students to classify each other into two main groups based on ways of speaking: "RB," stands for rural background, and "Nose Brigades" refers to the relatively nasal sound of British pronunciation English. These divisions have been translated into student government organizations as well (Natsa, 1994).

Mungoshi's views on the topic, as represented in his literary works, are that the English education process leaves one neither "black" nor "white," but rather "desolate." "I felt very desolate. It was the feeling that I always had for someone whom I knew to be an orphan" (in Veit-Wild 1993, 190). Mungoshi has recognized that Lucifer may be an autobiographical projection of the kind of thinking he was going through during the mid 1970s (Sicherman, 1990). In fact, he proposes that Lucifer may represent the position of most Zimbabwean writers:

> It's interesting that none of us so far has written anything since Independence that you could consider serious, except in poetry - and in poetry you can change your attitude. A sustained work that examines who we are right now - no one has said anything. We have still to shed a few of Lucifer's feathers. (120)

Mungoshi's socio-historical question -- how many of Lucifer's feathers Zimbabwean writers have had to shed - is one that requires further investigation of other authors' approaches.

Another important societal question that Mungoshi raises through his use of narrative is gender roles. According to Stratton, through his portrayal of female characters, Mungoshi makes it clear that Shona male chauvinism is a societal weakness. Betty, doomed to spinsterhood and barrenness because of a family curse, is unable to fulfill herself through the roles of wife and mother -- the only acceptable forms of self-definition that her society affords to women. She remains home, unlike Chipo (in "Coming of the Dry Season"), the drudge of the family and the butt of jokes (Stratton 1986, 16). By comparing societal impacts upon two members of the same family (Betty and Lucifer), it is clear that gender more seriously constrains Betty in two ways: 1)as a girl, she has not been given similar educational opportunities as Lucifer and; 2)traditional family duties make her more of a servant to the family than an individual. Stratton (1986) posits that Mungoshi's portrayal of women caught between two worlds places him in the "pantheon" of men and women writers who raise their voices in protest against the oppression of women. While it is clear that Mungoshi's representation of women's issues is a part of much of his work, his contribution toward Zimbabwean feminism is limited -- no female characters are shown to be successfully asserting their agency. In addition, through the use of heterodiegetic narration, Mungoshi maintains more distance from female than from male characters; while present, the reader "sees" and "hears" less

of the internal dialogue that occurs for female characters. As a result, Mungoshi's male characters are consistently more complex and are typically the focus of his stories.

Language Socialization

While the treatment of alienation and erosion of Shona society is powerfully represented by Mungoshi, what makes the novel thoroughly polyphonic is its rich portrayal of language socialization strategies across generations; different generations show different language socialization values and skills. According to Bakhtin, the highlighting of these differences is the essence of a novelistic plot:

> The novelistic plot must organize the exposure of social languages and ideologies, the exhibiting and experiencing of such languages: the experience of a discourse, a world view and an ideologically based act, or the exhibiting of the everyday life of social, historical and national worlds or micro worlds. . . .of age groups and generations linked with epochs and socioideolgical worlds. . . . What is realized in the novel is the process of coming to know one's own language as it is perceived in someone else's language, coming to know one's own belief system in someone else's system. (365)

With the exception of Old Japi, the eldest generation is portrayed as custodians of traditional language socialization practices. They guide and correct the two younger generations in traditional language socialization practice, a practice under stress from the disruption of settler influence.

Throughout the novel, traditional morning greetings (asking how one has slept) are exchanged within the family. It is way to show respect to one's family members. This greeting is shockingly absent when Betty, a member of the youngest generation, bursts in on Old Japi, her grandmother, to serve her breakfast. Without greeting her she says, "If you don't like it you can throw it out to Kutu, the dog "(20). While this lack of respect is breathtaking, it shows the frustration and resentment Betty is experiencing over her situation. When Mandisa asks Betty where she is going, Betty explodes, again

violating language socialization tradition: "Who told you I am going to the township? Is that why you dragged your dirty curse to this place to drag me into the mud with you?" (34). As previously discussed, in defiance, Betty gets pregnant. The village diviner "sees" that Betty is pregnant and declares the fetus already stillborn: "But the soil won't let you hold that baby" (145). Betty, responding only with silence, "bites her lower lip and stares back at them. Her eyes are very bright" (145)

Gender is an additional factor in the enforcement hierarchy of language socialization tradition. Old Japi is interrupted constantly throughout the novel by her husband, Sekuru. When attempting to recount a story, Japi is cut off by Sekuru: "Why don't you shut up and let those who know how to talk tell him?" (55) Sekuru seems to preside over all family wide dialogues. At the end of a family argument, the departure of Sekuru seems to terminate the discussion, almost as if his presence were required for a family discussion: Quietly, Sekuru stands up and says:

> "Well - see you tomorrow sonny."
> He goes out, closing the door softly behind him.
> A strange silence falls in the room.
> Betty comes in quietly and sits down in her place, her face an inscrutable mask.
> Outside, a dog barks: voices. Everyone turns towards the door, letting out their pent breath gratefully. . . .. (58)

Both Mandisa and Sekuru frequently interrupt and guide the discourse of the middle generation. As soon as Lucifer enters the household, Raina berates him for not writing home while he was at school. Quietly, Mandisa cautions Raina, "Aika Raina. . . .Let him eat first then you can ask him what it is you want to ask him." (47) Later, when Raina is irate at Lucifer, Mandisa steps in again:

> "Don't shout at him," Old Mandisa says quietly.
> "I am not shouting at him," Raina retorts, her voice rising even higher.

"You want to explain to him properly," the old woman advises. (57)

When Tongoona berates Betty for assuming ownership over her own blankets (that are to be used by her younger brothers and sisters), both Mandisa and Sekuru intervene: "Aika, Tongoona," Old Mandisa says and the Old Man makes a noise in his throat as if to say: "You too are just another baby." Tongoona keeps quiet (57). When Lucifer's cousin John presents him with the gift of a radio, the entire family becomes involved in a hand clapping - giving thanks ceremony. When it is Lucifer's turn to express thanks, he stammers, "well-I don't really know what to say. . . .I hope - I - shall be able to do as much for you." Mandisa, as a keeper of the traditional discourse, shakes her head and says, "That's not how we say it. The Earth hears you." Raina, Lucifer's mother goes on to say "What you will do for him is a secret between your heart and the soil" (66). During a family meeting, the village diviner tells Lucifer that he is being cursed by a neighbor to marry his daughter. Lucifer's responds in protest: "But this is unfair!" Matandangoma, in disgust, reprimands him: "Where on earth did you get such language from? We don't know it here" (143). Both Lucifer and Betty seem unable or unwilling to fit into the older generations' expectations of language socialization.

In addition to highlighting the violation of tradition in language, one can hear an "echo" of Shona expression in the older generation's dialogue. In a dispute about a family decision, Mandisa says to her daughter, "Then you are only a woman. You have no mouth. Let it be as his father wishes"(16). Here both the content and form of the cautionary remark evoke traditional language socialization strategies. While Mungoshi has not directly "translated" *Waiting for the Rain* from Shona, he has evoked a Shona way of communicating between generations that is under threat of being eroded by settler

influence. Mungoshi links his attempts to evoke Shona in his novel to his use of present tense:

> I feel closer to things when I write in the present tense. . . .In the sections where there's a kind of translating from a Shona thought to English - Kuruku's speech, for example - I felt myself forced almost physically to write that way. (Sicherman 1990, 121)

In addition to Sekuru's talks with Gharabha, Kuruku's long talk to the Mandengu family represents an important focal point for the opposition to settler influence; this opposition is manifested in language style and thematic content. In this passage Kuruku, whose son has been detained for eight years for suspected resistance, is lecturing Lucifer about the curse of being black, and how he must resist:

> Remember that you are black and that no soap on earth will wash that colour away. And out there, where you are going, your heart is just the colour of your face: murky, dirty. And no amount of sleeping with the whitest of their womenfolk nor any amount of eating at the same table with them will ever make you clean enough in their eyes. So, go there, see everything and envy nothing. Hear everything and reveal nothing. Come back to us here and true's God we will send them looking for shelter in the underbrush like so many rats. By Those-Long-Gone, we will make them have a taste of their own medicine, the thankless grabbers. (63)

Here Kuruku is emphasizing the need for resistance to whites *globally* as opposed to locally (as Sekuru does), because of their racial discrimination. When John attempts to calm Kuruku (his father) by saying "now, now", Kuruku becomes infuriated: "You talk to me this way when I have brought seven children into a world that teaches them that the name 'Father' is just an empty shell to hide nothing between the legs?" (64) Lucifer's white father is also represented through his language socialization. As the priest first enters the village, he immediately violates language socialization tradition. A stranger to the village, he scolds a mother ("in very poor Shona") for disciplining her daughter. Talking to the child, he says, "Mother bad, huhn? Mother take you away, haahn?" (170).

In contrast to his character's dialogue, Mungoshi's heterodiegetic narrative voice tends to conform to English lines. In describing Raina's (Lucifer's mother) activities, the language is efficiently descriptive: "She decides to leave the yard for Betty to do after dispatching the children to school. She will do Lucifer's room. She will personally sweep out the chicken crut, smear the floor with cow dung to stay the dust, and clean the cobwebs in the corners" (19). Mungoshi experiments with language mainly, and most creatively, at the level of character dialogue. Moyanna's claim, that Mungoshi employs the same language as Achebe "that uniquely retains the burden of the African idiom" (Moyana, 123), is applicable only when coupled with the recognition that the evocation of Shona is highlighted in contrast to the narrative voice. This contrast is reflective of Mungoshi's experience within a highly British influenced curriculum and examination system.

Mungoshi's ability to produce a polyphonic novel in English contradicts Veit-Wild's (1993) generalization of a required minimum educational achievement for writers of English. According to Veit-Wild, "perfecting the pupils' control of the English language usually only took place in a full secondary school course; hence many Zimbabwean writers with less education have felt unable to express themselves freely in English" (Veit Wild, 220). It is interesting to note the irony that Mungoshi failed to complete his upper secondary work *due* to his focus upon writing;

> Charles continued to write with such concentration that he did very mediocre work in his "O-levels" and did not qualify for Sixth Form. . . . I felt that school in his eyes was an irrelevancy. . .I think he was right. It was; it really stood in the way of what he had to do and was an irrelevancy (Father Pearce in Veit-Wild, 1993: 272)

From one of the most prolific Zimbabwean writers, there are clear patterns of contextualized, dialogic, and relevant experience emanating from a reading of his texts. In addition, Mungoshi's masterfully represents language socialization practice across several generations. Readers of Mungoshi, especially Zimbabwean reader, are able to enter into the dialogic space of the second Chimurenga. That space is where readers can come to understand historically relevant forces (white settler influence, African resistance, class, patriarchy, gender roles) and their impact upon the negotiation of individual identity across different generations, generations that they may not have direct access to. In addition, because the narrative voice is heterodiegetic and focalized through multiple characters, the negotiation of that identity can be seen to vary according to each individual's background. Due to the resulting polyphony that is represented, Mungoshi's works are an ideal resource for a dialogue oriented critical pedagogy that explores Zimbabwe's second Chimurenga contact zone.

Chenjerai Hove

The son of peasant farmers near Zvishanvane in the Midlands of Zimbabwe, Chenjerai Hove was born seven years after Mungoshi in 1954. At age ten, Hove moved with his parents to Kadomoa, a small town west of Harare. He went to school in this area and was a graduate of Kutama mission school in 1966. In addition to having an over-all high reputation and excellent Shona studies program, Kutama is also President Robert Mugabe's alma matter (Tsodzo, 1997). After graduating as a teacher from Gweru teachers' College in 1977, Hove worked as a teacher until 1981, experiencing the effects of civil war during this time. He actively participated in the armed resistance to Ian

Smith's regime. In 1981, he moved into editing, furthering his education at the same time with two BA degrees in Language and Literature at the University of Zimbabwe (Veit-Wild 1993, Tsodzo 1997).

Like Mungoshi, Hove writes both in English and Shona. Unlike most Zimbabwean writers, however, he consciously and creatively evokes a Shona influenced narrative voice in his novels. His first English novel, *Bones* (1989), explores the experience of a woman in search of her son during Zimbabwe's second Chimurenga. His second novel, *Shadows* (1991), is about a forbidden romance in a rural area. He has also written several collections of poetry: *Up in Arms* (1982), *Swimming in Floods of Tears*, (1983) and *Red Hills of Home* (1985).

In his novels, Hove creates a homodiegetic English narrative voice that contains the echoes and word play of Shona. In *Bones,* the narrative is internally focalized among several individuals across thirteen chapters. A heterodiegetic narrative point of view for the "spirits" is introduced for two chapters. The spirit voice evokes themes of natural and human forces. It also makes historical allusions to the first Chimurenga in 1896. The connection between ancestors, earth, and human resistance is consistently highlighted by the spirits:

> What sky will not listen to the thunderous voice of the ancestors? What cloud will not shed its tears to cool the earth when commanded by the thunderous voice of the ancestors? Rise all the insects of the land. Sing the many torturous tunes of the land so that any strange ears will know that an uprising is at hand. Rise you the colourful birds of the rivers and the hills. Sing all the tunes of the land so that any stranger will know that this land is the land of rising bones. Rise all the children of the land and refuse to suckle from strange beasts. Then all the strangers will know that the power of the land is more than the power of any other miracle that can cheat the eye. (Hove 1988, 48)

This narrative voice represents a clear break from Hove's earlier work in poetry, lending strength to the observation of critics that Hove is consciously attempting to evoke a Shona-ness in his novels.

Out of the collection *Up in Arms* (1982), the poem "The Other Syllabus," conforms much more to a standard English style:

> I had the lab science, the ecology of texts
> and language of the pages
> I liked it all
> as my joy spilled
> with the test tube disasters
> and the teacher's harmless roar
> like a trapped mouse.
> Then I left the lab,
> Vomited from the lab syllabus.
> The streets, they had me also,
> A scuffle followed: the other syllabus
> Bosses frowned
> at my neat lab qualifications
> only to declare them rubble.
> Then I pocketed them,
> now a wounded lion.
> I crawled through the streets,
> streets that yawn in my face
> like starved ghosts turned bitter . . . (Hove, 1982: 47)

Though there is some non-standard usage ("Vomited from the lab syllabus"), the narrative voice differs markedly from Hove's later work in his novels. "The Other Syllabus" shows the experience of a school leaver, and the way the syllabus must be "absorbed" or "rejected" depending on economic utility for employment. This parallels Mungoshi's development in "Ten Shillings" of the disjunction between education and economy, though Hove may be referring to continuation in independence.

Bones

In *Bones* (1988), Hove tells the story of a farm worker, Marita, looking for her son who has gone off to fight in the guerrilla war against the white settler regime. The

narrative is focalized through four different characters: Janifa, the lover of Marita's son, narrates seven chapters; Marume, Marita's husband, narrates one chapter; Chisaga, the white farmer Manyepo's cook, narrates two chapters, and; The Unknown Woman, an urban woman, narrates three chapters. Gunner (1991) has pointed out that Hove has "set out a new fictional mode intent on speaking with the voice of those who were not literate but who were rich in courage and who were . . .at the center of the War as dispossessed peasants" (79). In ever-shifting "dream time," Marita's life is recounted through the interior voices of characters. Wylie (1991) posits that the constantly changing temporal and character focalization of the homodiegetic narratives can be seen to be encompassed by the heterodiegetic spirit voice, probably the mythical spirit of Ambuya Nehanda: this spirit voice "links the different viewpoints with a stream of oral memory and collective consciousness about the past struggles, the present, and the way this is all bound in a way typical of oral rather than recorded memory, outside chronological time"(79).

A spirit medium of Ambuya Nehanda , Charwe, was a major leader of the 1896 rebellion against the new colonial state. After she was captured, she was executed by the British for her part in the first uprising or *Chimurenga*. According to Lan (1985):

> A powerful and prolific oral tradition grew up around her name, her part in the rebellion and especially the last moments of her life after she was condemned: her refusal to accept conversion to Christianity, her defiance on the scaffold and her prophecy that "my bones will rise" to win back freedom from the Europeans. (6)

Guerrilla fighters from the second Chimurenga frequently invoked Nehanda and honored her medium as a way of showing spiritual and cultural continuity from the first Chimurenga to the second. In *Bones,* the spirit narrator clearly draws upon a mythical

oral tradition, merging the second Chimurenga (1960s to 70s) with the first (mid 1890s). As the spirit's voice is manifested in this passage, it clearly comes across as a anti-settler:

> Arise all the bones of the land. Arise all the bones of the dying cattle. Arise all the bones of the locusts. Wield the power of the many bones scattered across the land and fight so that the land of the ancestors is not defiled by strange feet and strange hands. (57)

By interweaving the other narratives with the spirit narrative, Hove is connecting an emerging sense of nationhood with what Anderson (1983) has called an "immemorial past." In this case, the voice of a national spirit serves as the connection. What hypothetically expands this sense of nationhood to all Zimbabweans (and not only Shona speakers) is that Hove does this in English, focusing on the story of a woman isolated from her immediate (Shona) community. In Marita's search for her son, she sets an example to a fellow worker (Janifa), and an "unknown" urban woman. In this case, language may be, according to Anderson (1983), "building in effect *particular solidarities.*" For Anderson, Hove's version of English may serve this function because "imperial languages are still *vernaculars,* and thus particular vernaculars among many" (122 - emphasis Anderson's). This is a universal characteristic of how nations are in fact *imagined* communities:

> It may appear paradoxical that the objects of all these attachments are "imagined"- anonymous, faceless fellow-Tagalogs, exterminated tribes, Mother Russia, or the *tanah air.* But *amor partriae* does not differ in this respect from the other affections, in which there is always an element of fond imagining. (140)

Hove's utilization of "dream time" and spirit narrative is an important way in which the characters dialogue indirectly with the reader. In contrast to Sekuru's skeptical view of the younger generation "playing someone else's drum," the directly represented spirit narrative provides more of a shared world view among the characters. Also, contributing

to this sense of unity, there is an absence of allusions to western signifiers that are found in Mungoshi's work -- sugar, radio, cars, planes, all are noticeably absent.

This sense of unity, while possible, must be further examined from the point of view of a specific Zimbabwean reader for whom the evocation of Shona in English and use of Shona spirit Nehanda can place the reader in a different position, depending on his or her background (Shona, Ndebele, other ethnicities, or white). Lan (1985) has remarked that so far, only the religious and political institutions of the Shona have contributed to the symbolism of the new state. This implies that underlying a white settler influence, there may be a potential hegemonic layer of Shona influence in national literature. Most well known Zimbabwean authors that write in English (Mungoshi, Marachera, Hove, Chinodya, and Dangarembga) also come from a Shona background. In Zimbabwe, it is fair to say that Ndebele and other groups are underrepresented in literary discourse in general. The double voice in *Bones*, inclusive at the level of access in English, can also be seen to be addressed to a community of English literate readers that are familiar with Shona community history and symbolism.

Similar to Achebe, Hove signals non-Shona readers with italics. The reader is informed that a *nhava* is a "bag" (5), but not told that it is a "small woven bag" often used for carrying small game (Hannan 1987, 463); when Janifa's teacher condescendingly refers to his students as *vafana* (6) or "imitators," the reader can only infer that is a negative term. When Janifa replies to Marita's question with "Chokwadi" the non-Shona speaker is left to infer its meaning ("that's the truth"). Unless non-Shona readers have read review articles of *Bones* or have a dictionary, they will not know that Marita's name means "wanderer," Marume is "man," and Manyepo is "one who lies." When Marita

tells Janifa that "I broke the water-pot which my ancestors asked me to bring home" the non-Shona audience is probably not aware of the important symbolism of a failed wife. (8) When the spirit voice talks of a "holy king" that accepts the gifts from the stranger without knees." (47) the reader may or may not be aware of the first European-Portuguese contact ("without knees" meaning Europeans wearing pants) and its ultimately destabilizing influences upon the early Shona speaking kingdoms. Lexical items, names, symbolism, historical references, and expressions are clearly not employed by Hove to exclude the non-Shona reader (interested readers can seek out further information and usually make inferences from the text). There is a uniqueness and richness of expression that emanates from Hove's employment of Shona expressions: Janifa reprimands Marita for leaving the farm by saying "a journey is for two people" (11). Marume scolds Marita by saying "a man with a beard must control his wife"(16). While such sayings enhance reader appreciation of Shona expression, specific lexical references do leave potential gaps in reader comprehension.

The central figure in *Bones*, Marita, is driven by her desire to find out about her son. A representation of Marita and her life is built "around her" through multiple external character dialogues that speak to Marita. She acquires the help of two other women, Janifa and the character "Unknown Woman," in her search. Marita asks Janifa to read a letter her son wrote to Janifa in school so that she can remember her son, and Janifa responds:

> I start reading it, putting the boy's voice into the words so that she can remember how he used to speak. I read and read without looking at her, but what's this breath that is moving the little bit of grass near my mouth? She is already leaning against me, listening, her eyes glowing and her breath bursting like a harsh wind. (6)

Difficult as it is for Janifa to share the words of her former sweetheart, she does so out of respect and love for Marita. Janifa is able to share Marita's pain of having lost her son, and goes on to become the "daughter in-law" Marita might have had. As they are both workers at Manyepo's farm, Marita, as counseling figure, able to show Janifa a critical voice that shows solidarity and also an awareness of the unfair treatment of farm workers. After Marita's death, Janifa continually remembers her voice: "Sit down and allow the night to pass . . .. I hear you say , Marita . . . Rest the weary body. The work I did at Manyepo's farm is enough for you also" (6).

Meeting Marita only during a bus ride, the Unknown Woman represents Marita as a supportive figure, full of spiritual grace:

> Marita is not someone I met on the bus. She is much more than that. Imagine, just think of it, a woman who gives me so much of what is inside her heart without crying. In our journey she took me to the well, back into the kitchen, then to the forest to gather firewood. It does not happen every day that someone you meet shows you the pain inside her heart, the troubles inside her mind. The mind is a hidden thing. The heart also is a hidden thing. Do they not say the mouth is a small cave with which to hide the things of inside. Many burdensome things which weigh inside the breast of a person. *Marita showed me all the burdens inside me, but she did so without shedding even a little tear or making me feel sorry for her. . . .*From the time Marita sat beside me on the seat of the bus, I felt her warmth seep into me, tickling my heart with a certain joy inside. (67 - emphasis mine)

Marita, able to open her heart without evoking pity for her position, is in a position to offer a sense of emotional well being to an unknown woman returning to her urban home. It is at this point in the story that the innovativeness and power of Hove's Shona-like narrative becomes clear. Through direct character dialogue, the reader is able to build a perspective of a woman and individual in her world that might otherwise have no voice. The Unknown Woman, and by extension the reader, is able view Marita as a strong and loving human being, regardless of her illiteracy or poverty. Marita's ability to relate to a

member of the younger generation (Janifa) and also an urban woman represents a powerful message of solidarity for Zimbabwean readers, presumably most of whom have attained advanced English literacy in order to be reading Hove's work. Hove is offering Zimbabwean readers an opportunity to dialogue with an individual that has a lot to say, but may not have the opportunity or ability to share her experience with a socially and geographically separated literate Zimbabwean society. The narrative section with Unknown Woman clearly supports Wylie's (1991) position that in the "dream time of the narrative, where voices of the living and the dead mingle, women give strength to each other" (83). In both the narrative representation and story, Hove is opening up a considerable amount of narrative space to traditionally marginalized voices. By building a world of voices that surround her, he innovatively allows the reader to approach and "hear" a woman who negotiates the historically located social constraints of gender, race and illiteracy during a period of resistance.

Marita shows her critical awareness of race and gender as societal factors when she considers her position on Manyepo's farm. Focalized through her husband Marume's thoughts (representing Marita's original comments to Manyepo), Marita's consciousness of these constraints is evident:

> Manyepo, look at my bare breasts, and these cracked feet, do you not think that my feet should be covered so that I can work better in the muddy soil of your fields? All the children staring at a woman's bare breasts, do you not think it is shameful? Why do you not give your own wife that chance to go around half-naked with flies cleaning their coats on her nipples? These things are not good, Manyepo. My own wife has been telling you these things for a long time, but you dared call her wide-mouth. (17)

In a reversal of roles, Marita attempts to educate and humanize Manyepo -- to help him to recognize the double standards based on race and gender. By directly addressing Manyepo, reminding him of Marita's protests, Marume is shown to be aware of these

constraints as well. In essence, Marita is speaking for her husband and the wider Shona farm-worker community; many of who still work on large white owned farms, called *purazi* by Zimbabweans that are still in operation today. Thus, in addition to Hove's use of narrative to show the constraints women faced during this period, he evokes an additional socially relevant layer of farm worker constraints. Marume shows the reader how Marita, despite her personal obstacles, manages to become critical voice for workers as well.

Hove adds another important voice to Marita's world -- an oppressive but compromised fellow farm worker. Chisaga, Manyepo's cook, raises issues of race and class from his own narrative perspective. Chisaga wonders of Manyepo, his white employer, "do you not know that the poor also see the rich . . . look at me now, poverty is like my stubborn friend . . .. Do you think I do not dream of riding in a car like yours which flows like water in the river?" (31). By and addressing the white farm owner directly, Chisaga shifts the address (away from Marita) in a way that places the reader in a position to focus on Manyepo:

> "Chisaga, you bloody crook, too quiet for nothing."[Manyepo]
> "Yes baas."[Chisaga]
> "Yes baas, yes baas, can't you say something more than yes baas? Bring us the whisky quick, the madam is burning of thirst."
> "Yes baas." (30)

Through his reported speech of Manyepo, Chisaga paints the picture of a drunken employer, ignorant of the concerns of his workers, and dependent upon his cook to take care of him.

In relation to the rest of the farm workers, Chisaga is in a superior class position. He uses this position as sexual weapon against Marita and Janifa. Chisaga initially desires Marita; "Yes, Marita, I have been wanting to sleep with you for a long time. I have been wanting to see how I can help you for a long time. A very long time" (31). When she runs away however, Chisaga finds and rapes Janifa;

> Now listen to me. You make any noise and your body will be found in the dam after the dam has dried. You are my wife and I will sleep with you now. Do you not know what you and Marita did to make me miserable? I am the tree that never forgets its wounds while the axe sits at home smiling after a day of eating into the tree's flesh. (92)

Rich in his use of "smiling axe" metaphor with Chisaga, Hove does not shy away from potential reader ambivalence and directly represents Chisaga's sadistic intentions. In addition, he adds an important voice to Marita's world--that of the compromised worker that attempts to secure a position in the farm hierarchy. Thus, the Zimbabwean reader is placed in a position to react negatively to Chisaga's rape of Janifa, but also comes to understand Chisaga's dilemma: by caring for Manyepo directly, he must accept the scorn of his fellow farm workers in addition to the drunken rages of his white employer. Not necessarily feeling sympathy for Chisaga, the reader comes to better understand the constraints of world that Marita is negotiating. Despite her critical voice concerning farm conditions, Marita cannot risk angering Chisaga too much for fear of rape. At the same time, Chisaga feels constrained by Marita's moral presence on the farm. This constraint is evidenced by his Chisaga's rape of Janifa *after* Marita's departure for the city.

In a section narrated by Janifa, she realizes her mother may have consciously put her in a position to be raped (going for water at an odd time of the day) in order to placate Chisaga: "I laugh at all this Marita, but I think my own mother was behind what Chisaga

did to me"(91). This interpretation, offered by Janifa, would greatly emphasize the level of unequal power relations based on Chisaga's position at the farm--mothers offering their daughter as a sacrifice. Marita's unique moral strength and influence is emphasized by fact that it is Marita, not Janifa's mother, who deters Chisaga from his plans of rape. More importantly, Janifa gains comfort by addressing Marita in her absence rather than her own mother.

Hove's approach to narrative in Bones has two important effects for readers. The first effect is that of mimesis; Hove is educating an audience about groups and a time period that have traditionally not been represented and continue to be marginalized in Zimbabwean society. Related to this educative function, Hove is creating a space in which the reader may dialogue with a range of individual voices in a specific space and time. Multiple voices combine to build a view of Marita and of her world through direct character representation. It is this double effect that lends such power to Hove's narrative and makes his work an appropriate choice for a critical pedagogy.

Language Socialization

Thoroughly integrated into all narrative positions, language socialization is de-emphasized at the surface of represented speech . According to Wylie (1991), Hove's efforts to project a Shona world-view in language result in "language itself becoming the major protagonist" (50). As most of the story's tension is derived from an interlocked dialogue of interior voices, realism is de-emphasized. It is as if, as members of tight knit community, there are few differences in language socialization strategies. Exceptions to this occur mainly at the level of unequal interaction between whites and blacks.

> "What is the bitch's name, ask her, in your language?"[Policeman]
> "Marita. I work her in the fields. I am not a bitch." [Marita] (57)

Language socialization differences in this context refer mainly to the differences in language communities and power that emanates from those communities. Manyepo, a white farmer, abuses his worker both verbally and physically. He speaks either English or chilapalapa (referred to by Rhodesians as "kitchen kaffir") -- a command based language. For the police, the language of interrogation is English. With just these few references to white language socialization practice in relation to Africans, Hove is clearly highlighting the oppressive power relations in a farming context.

Within the Shona community, the main violation of language socialization occurs at school. When a teacher finds Janifa with a love letter in her book, he is abusive in his treatment of Janifa: ". . .You bitch, all you keep in your dirty mind is love letters, nothing else. Take this rubbish and throw it in the rubbish pit, you prostitute of prostitutes" (3). Janifa reports to the implied narratee (not Marita) that the teacher represents school as an alternative to prison, and a place where he "would growl with the satisfaction of eating what everybody else thirsted for but would not have" (7). Through the representation of the interior voices of African farm workers, Hove represents a Shona community and, especially women, negotiating the societal constraints that were intensified during the second Chimurenga.

Objecting to Hove's portrayal, Veit-Wild has called Hove's treatment of these themes "romantic" and in a language

> that encloses the reader, it imposes concepts and images which seem fixed and closed, nothing remains suggestive. The language recreates a world of sayings and proverbs and registers and a sense of oneness with the land and with tradition. It celebrates a form of Africanness which does not exist anymore. (Veit-Wild, 1993: 317)

Veit -Wild fails to offer specific analysis of how the reader is enclosed and what mechanisms Hove utilizes to ensure closure. What she may be referring to is the collapsing of individual character language socialization strategies. In this sense, Bakhtin's parameters for a successful portrayal of the "exposure of social languages" are perhaps less accentuated. Hove's innovative linguistic strategy creates a less differentiated narrative voice that tends to minimize difference between individual character dialogue. This aspect of Hove's work is especially disturbing for Veit-Wild (1993) when she compares it to Mungoshi's:

> While in *Waiting for the Rain* Charles Mungoshi also expressed his love for his land and people, he showed at the same time that the unity with the land has been destroyed; he depicted the village community as sick and corroded. Hove seems to have chosen to ignore such fundamental feelings of rupture. He does not acknowledge the changes in society, the disruptions and the contradictions in people's lives as reflected in their language, in modern urban slang or new forms of oral culture. Ignoring all this, Hove's language seems, finally , artificial, a pose. (317)

While the surface manifestations of polyphony in *Bones* are not as marked, Veit-Wild's argument does not hold for conflict at the ideological-identity level. Hove's characters could not be more disrupted in their language socialization tradition. Marume, constrained by a lack of education and his fear of going back to the locations, can voice his identity only in relation to Marita. In contrast to her vocal resistance to Manyepo's treatment, Marume pleads, "What can we do Marita? We are sons in a strange land" (23). Chisaga, obsessed with possessing Marita and her opinion, is cooking for a man: "Cooking isn't a good thing for a man, not a man like me. But Marita thinks the job I do is the best on the farm" (29). Janifa, struggling to gain an education, is dependent upon Marita for guidance. Alluding to her inner conflict that eventually leads to her commitment to a sanitarium, Janifa says of Marita, "The things of inside are difficult to

understand all the time. The things of inside burn like a strong fire, but I only look at Marita and the fire inside me stops burning me to death" (41). Thus, what Veit-Wild seems to be objecting to in Hove is not language, but rather an interpretation of history and a representation of reality in language. Veit-Wild's view is that there are no Zimbabweans who experience reality as do those in Hove's novel.

With *Bones*, Hove has created Moyana's (1988) desired "new language" -- one that attempts to reflect Zimbabwean reality in a new way. A Zimbabwean scholar of critical pedagogy, Moyana drew extensively on Freire and Fanon to discuss his ideas of avoiding class consciousness in blacks' "aping of the white man" and artificially "speaking through the nose" with British grammar (Moyana, 1988). Moyana's goal was to produce a meaningful form of literacy practice that led to a control of reality for one's own betterment. Following Moyana's interpretation of Freire, the language of domination can be turned into the language of new consciousness when focused on the realities of the oppressed in Zimbabwe. While Moyana heralded *Waiting for the Rain* as utilizing a "new language," we have seen that Mungoshi's portrayal of this new language confined itself mainly to the level of a character dialogue and some degree of focalization. Going one step further with its homodiegetic narrators, *Bones* is a clear example of a work focused upon the realities of the oppressed -- at the levels of language style and content.

Hove's work refers to a current Zimbabwean reality in which the early accomplishments in educational access have not been extended to issues of relevance and equity. In a work of social commentary, *Shabeen Tales: Messages from Harare* (1992), Hove comments on this:

> African leaders do not dare embark too seriously on dynamic literacy programmes; a reading nation runs the risk of thinking about national affairs. To read is to infringe on the territory of the rulers, whose monopoly of wisdom must not be disputed. As a result, the burden of illiteracy will remain with the African continent for many years to come. Another denial of the people's participation. (24)

Hove points to a political hegemony under the current ruling party that is hostile toward the voicing of class criticisms:

> When people cannot understand what their leaders say, they are daily subjected to pitiful forms of popular participation. In their deafness, they are dragged to Harare International Airport to dance when President Robert Mugabe arrives from a trip with gains to the country of which the people are totally unaware. They are invited to cheer and shout in conference halls in which the President might be saying some of the most undemocratic things a President could ever say to an electorate. (24)

Evidence of highly uneven market relations is present in the current educational system. Class divisions and their impact upon language education are manifested geographically in Zimbabwe. Government and farm schools in rural areas farther out from Harare still serve predominantly Shona and Ndebele speaking communities that engage in small scale agriculture or work on large farms, as portrayed in the 1960s and 70s in *Bones*. Schools in these areas often have difficulty in attracting qualified teachers due to a shortage of housing. In 1987, the percentage of untrained teachers in district council schools (the type that serve rural areas) was 50% at the primary level and 45% at the secondary level. Reading and writing materials are not commonly available at these schools. There are thus still a great number of students who have teachers "eating what everybody thirsted for but could not have."

One way of viewing Veit-Wild's objection over Hove's style is that it represents the crux of the language use debate as it currently manifests itself in Zimbabwe: that is, the degree to which a widespread penetration of the settler economy and education

system has led to widespread European cultural hegemony in language use. In *Bones*, European hegemony is reflective in the language choice of the novel (English and not Shona), but is negotiated in the language socialization strategies of characters. While the issue of how many people actively engage in English reading awaits further empirical study in Zimbabwe, current evidence points to great differences between urban and rural areas. As noted in the previous chapter, Anderson (1983) has identified this as a central issue for developing countries in what he terms a "politically sufficient diffusion of billingualism"(122). Both Mungoshi's and Hove's contributions demand responses from Zimbabwean readers who negotiate their identities within similar contact zones. In the case of *Bones*, women in rural areas who struggle against immense social constraints of gender and class are especially well represented. In building a heteroglossic world around the figure of Marita, Hove forges a Shona-like narrative that has the double effect for the reader--especially the literate Zimbabwean reader--of mimesis and polyphony. What makes Hove's approach unique in Zimbabwean literature is his Shona-like narrative that he employs through his characters, in what Harrow (1994) has referred to as a the "meeting of two languages created by the externalization of the project of a speaker addressing the other through the voice of a character [in this case characters], through the mask, as it were" (346). Through his creation of this narrative, Hove is inviting readers (especially Zimbabwean ones), to dialogue in an under-represented social and historical space – that of illiterate farm workers during the second Chimurenga.

Tsitsi Dangarembga

Born in 1959 in Mtoko (eastern Zimbabwe), Dangarembga is the first Black Zimbabwean woman to publish a novel in English. While Dangarembga's parents were

studying for their degrees in the 1960s, she spent her early childhood in Britain. After returning to Zimbabwe, she went on to enroll at Marymount Mission in Mutare. The nuns of the school are very strict about morality and discipline and the school has some reputation for being elitist (Tsodzo, 1996). Dangarembga finished up her secondary education at Arundale School in Salisbury (now Harare) in the mid 1970s. After graduating, Dangarembga attempted to study medicine at Cambridge, but soon came back to do a degree in Psychology at University of Zimbabwe.

In *Nervous Conditions* (1988), Dangembga utilizes an *autodiegetic* English narrative, internally focalized through the character Tambudzai (Tambu). The narrative is analeptic (referring backward -- placing the narrator at some future point in time), highly descriptive (much more so than Mungoshi or Hove's work), and analytical. It explores themes related to the construction of gender and psychological development of individuals in pre-independence Zimbabwe.

Dangarembga decenters her own autobiographical experience (highly Anglophone/urban) by locating the narrative voice in Tambu, a character from a Shona rural area. Nyasha, Tambu's cousin, is a character who experiences alienation from Shona culture. This provides an autobiographical distance for Dangarembga that allows her to creatively project how an urban/assimilated girl with a neurosis might appear to an age mate from a rural background. Gender roles and the effects of patriarchy are examined by a critical Tambu.

Consequences of Analepsis

The autodiegetic narrator, Tambu, begins the novel with an analeptic reference to her brother's death: "I was not sorry when my brother died. Nor am I apologizing for

my callousness, as you may define it, my lack of feeling" (1). Thus, in the first sentence of the novel, Tambu establishes a dialogue with the implied narratee (someone who may react negatively to her lack of remorse) and *paralepsis* (that is, a situation in which the narrator, in order to limit himself to the information held by the hero at the moment of the action, has to suppress all the information he acquired later, information which very often is vital - Genette, 1980).

One consequence of this approach is that the reader is often left uncertain about important stages in the development of Tambu's critical awareness. This becomes evident with descriptions of Nhamo, Tambu's brother:

> The needs and sensibilities of the *women in my family were not considered a priority, or even legitimate.* That was why I was in Standard Three in the year that Nhamo died, instead of in Standard Five, as I should have been by that age. . .*Thinking about it, feeling the injustice of it, this is how I came to dislike my brother, and not only by brother, my father, my mother - in fact everybody.* (12 - emphasis mine)

From an undefined future point in relation to the story, the narrator has arrived at the critical awareness of the general societal oppression of women. In the present progressive, Tambu is "thinking about it." The reader is thus not certain at what point Tambu comes to dislike her entire family.

As the novel progresses, the reader's awareness of the narrator's future consciousness is reduced by increasingly less proleptic (future reference or "what will happen") narrative disclosure, but is still present due to her critically evaluative comments. In a period before Nhamo's death, when Tambu discovers for the first time that she cannot go to school for lack of family resources, she decides to grow her own

maize to sell for school fees. Her father thinks she should not mind staying home since she cannot "feed books" to her future husband:

> "Is that anything to worry about? Ha-a-a, it's nothing," he reassured me, *with his usual ability to jump whichever way was easiest.* "Can you cook books and feed them to your husband? Stay at home with your mother. Learn to cook and clean. grow vegetables." (15-emphasis mine)

Here the paraleptic interference emanates from Tambu's future narrative position, interjecting an evaluation of her father. Tambu grows enough mealies and her teacher Mr. Matimba agrees to take her into town to sell them. Once in town, a white woman named Doris, realizing Tambu needs school fees, is persuaded by Mr. Matimba to give Tambu enough money for a year of school:

> Mr. Matimba did speak for himself. He spoke most sorrowfully and most beseechingly.
> Doris darkened like a chameleon. Money changed hands, paper money from Doris' hands to Mr. Matimba's. (28)

During this time a crowd gathers around the transaction. It is from "the crowd" that the race as an issue is highlighted for Tambu:

> "They're kaffirs," interjected the youth. "They don't want to learn anything. Too much like hard work". . . .
> Money changed hands, paper money from Doris' hands to Mr Matimba's.
> The beefy youth was disgusted. "That's more than two crates of shumba. Wasted on a kaffir!" (28)

This difficulty of securing school fees for many Africans in the early 1960s remains a relevant issue in current day Zimbabwe. Tambu highlights the common practice of reserving financial resources for male education, therefore making female education extremely difficult. The attitude of Tambu's father is echoed in *Bones* by Janifa's father. Janifa's mother, in represented speech through Janifa, berates her husband: "No, do not use that piece of paper, it's for the girl, the school girl, child of school. Remember the other day you rolled your tobacco in her school report" (5).

Women's History

Unlike *Waiting for the Rain* or *Bones* there is little specific Zimbabwean historical or mythical allusion made by the characters or narrator in the novel. The setting is more generally framed -- usually by the narrator -- with dates and geographical place names that have little effect on the action:

> I was thirteen years old when my brother died. It happened in 1968. (1)
>
> My brother went to school at the mission where my uncle was headmaster and which was some twenty miles away from the village, to the west, in the direction of Umtali town [now Mutare]. (1)
>
> Then, just before Babamukuru went to England in 1960, he bought my father an ox-plough. (6)

Perhaps the most revealing temporal framing, especially in relation to gender roles, comes from Maigugu when she compares Tambu's situation to her own:

> "Don't you remember, when we went to South Africa everybody was saying that we, the women, were loose." Babamukuru winced at this explicitness. Maiguru continued. "It wasn't a question of associating with this race or that race at that time. People were prejudiced against educated women. Prejudiced. That's why they said we weren't decent. That was in the fifties. Now we are into the seventies. I am disappointed that people still believe the same things. (181)

From this reported speech, the narrator and the reader are placed in a position to compare temporal framing of prejudice against educated women. Unchanged for over twenty years (and perhaps more for the Zimbabwean reader), educated women are consistently looked down upon by the partriarchal society. Though Maiguru is aware of the discrimination against her, she nonetheless conforms to the traditional expectation that she take care of her family:

> "What it is," she sighed, "to have to choose between self and security. When I was in England I glimpsed for a little while the things I could have been, the things I could have done if - if - if things were - different - But there were Babawa Chido [Babamukuru] and the children and the family. And does anyone realize, does anyone appreciate, what sacrifices were made? As for me, no one even thinks about the things I gave up." She collected herself. "But that's how it

> goes, Sisi Tambu! And when you have a good man and lovely children, it makes it all worth while." (102)

In this passage the reader can see the conflict between Maiguru's awareness of herself as an individual ("self") and as a traditional mother ("security"). After a glimpse of her awareness of the things she gave up -- presumably an active career in teaching --she *suppresses* her inner struggle with an effort. By drawing upon the legitimization of family over self, Maiguru shows her own path of gender role negotiation.

While Maiguru highlights the geographic boundaries of South Africa and the Rhodesian gender roles in the 1950s to the 70s, Nyasha discusses her experience in England (from 1960-1965) in a different way, emphasizing her sense of alienation, rather than Maiguru's adaptation:

> The parents ought to have packed us off home. They should have, you know. Lots of people did that. Maybe that would have been best. For them at least, because now they're stuck with hybrids for children. And they don't like it. They don't like it at all. It offends them. They think we do it on purpose, so it offends them. And I don't know what to do about it , Tambu, really I don't. *I can't help having been there and grown into the me that has been there.* (78-emphasis mine)

While Maiguru is able to separate and suppress the questions that her experience in England raised for her identity, they have "grown into" Nyasha's very identity. To separate and suppress parts of her identity that do not fit into Zimbabwean life is to do violence to Nyasha's psyche.

Nyasha has difficulty fitting in *politically* because she can separate out the consequences of a settler influenced patriarchal culture. This is probably a result of an English education and social experience that has taught her to ask critical questions. This political awareness leads her to conform even less to gender role expectations of her

peers. While her friends are reading light romance, Nyasha's reading is oriented toward history:

> She preferred reality. She was going through a historical phase. She read a lot of books that were about real people, real peoples and their sufferings: the condition in South Africa, which she asked Maiguru to compare with our own situation and ended up arguing with her when Maiguru said we were better off. . . .She wanted to know many things: whether the Jews' claim to Palestine was valid, whether monarchy was a just form of government, the nature of life and relations before colonization, exactly why UDI was declared and what it meant. (93)

Certain that if she knew the facts, she could find the solutions, Nyasha is increasingly traumatized by the realization that she and her family are caught up in a system of racial oppression. The combination of identity related stresses manifests itself in Nyasha's eating disorder and uncontrollable rage. Toward the end of the novel, when Tambu is visiting Nyashsa on school vacation, Nyasha's "nervous condition" becomes apparent -- quoted extensively here to show Nyasha's damaging realization that there are no easy answers to the settler influenced patriarchy in Rhodesian history, and that she is a part of it:

> Then she sat on her bed and looked at me out of her sunken eyes, her bony knees pressed together so that her nightdress fell through the space where her thighs had been, agitated and nervous and picking her skin. "I don't want to do it, Tambu, really I don't, but it's coming, I feel it coming." Her eyes dilated. "They've done it to me," she accused, whispering still. "Really they have." And then she became stern. "It's not their fault. They did it to them too. You know they did." she whispered. "To both of them, but especially to him. They put him through it all. But it's not his fault, he's good." Her voice took on a Rhodesian accent. "He's a good boy, a good munt. A bloody good kaffir," she informed in sneering sarcastic tones. . . . *.We're groveling. Lucia for a job, Jeremiah for money. Daddy grovels to them. We grovel to him.*" She began to rock, her body quivering tensely. "I won't grovel. Oh no, I won't. I'm not a good girl. I'm evil. . . .Nyasha was beside herself with fury. She rampaged, *shredding her history book between her teeth* ("*Their history. Fucking liars. Their bloody lies.*"), breaking mirrors, her clay pots. . ..(201- emphasis mine)

Taking on the voice of her oppressors, Nyasha has come to the realization that her family is negatively influenced by settler influence. All family members, through Babamukuru, are dependent in one way or another on a settler economy that is based on settler shaped

history. Still at an age when she is actively negotiating her identity in relation to society, Nyasha's young critical awareness impacts with the reality of the settler experience during the second Chimurenga. Through her rejection of settler-oppression, Nyasha highlights the ongoing negotiation of societal gender constraints that women face in Zimbabwe. Nyasha's critical awareness is established outside of her community's and country's boundaries. For Nyasha, her inability to assert herself for "who she is" -- an intelligent, free thinking, and independent young woman -- emanates from the settler influenced patriarchy, not a pre-existing mental illness.

Cobham (1992) points out the importance of refocusing the discussion in African literary criticism to recognize how authors continually challenge overly simplified interpretations of identity:

> The transformation of the anti-imperialist struggle in Africa into a nationalist movement exacerbated a crisis of individual and collective identity that is staged in the African novel. To date most critics have seen these two levels of trauma in terms of an allegorical correspondence between the psychic crisis of the (usually educated) individual and the socio-political crisis of the modern nation state. However, we can also read the crisis of individual identity as a crisis of gender and sexual identities that parallels and intersects with the socio-political manifestations of disorder. (Cobham in Parker and Russo 1992, 43)

While the novel is oddly silent about the actual events and direct suffering of the war, Dangarmebga is opening a new area of investigation into the issues *surrounding* the second Chimurenga by focusing upon the way settler influenced patriarchy has affected gender roles and sexual identity, in an especially negative way for girls. Observed and reported by Tambu, Nyasha is a young girl whose expectations for intellectual and social independence are dashed upon a settler influenced patriarchy. While perhaps unique historically, the existence of "Nyashas" in the current social and educational system is increasingly probable.

Early in novel, after the death of her brother, Tambu moves in with Babamukuru's family at the mission in order to pursue her studies. Babamukuru's immediate family has just returned from a five year stay in England (for Maiguru and Babamukuru to complete their master's degrees). Upon their return, young Nyasha immediately experiences difficulties readjusting to life in Zimbabwe. In contrast to Tambu's passivity, Nyasha's posture is openly rebellious. Hill (1995) has noted that Nyasha's speech "disrupts and threatens the authority of gender- and race --determined status in colonial society -- a society mastered by Babamukuru" (79). Her resistance, mainly to the patriarchal Babamukuru, manifests itself in her dress, eating disorder, and language socialization. As Babamukuru's tolerance for Nyasha's behavior is generally low, a damaging cycle is established in which his vehement reactions spark further resistance from Nyasha. In the context of a power struggle with her father on most aspects of living, Nyasha internalizes her resistance in relation to food as well;

> "What did you say?" cried Babamukuru, his voice cracking in disbelief.
> "Didn't you hear me tell you I don't want to hear you answer back? Didn't you hear me tell you that just now? Now sit down and eat that food. All of it. I want to see you eat all of it."
> "I've had enough," explained Nyasha. "Really, I'm full." Her foot began to tap. Instead of sitting down she walked out the dining-room. (83-84)

As Nyasha grows thinner due to bulimia, Tambu grows larger at the nutrient filled table of Babamukuru: "I grew quite plump" (95). Later in the story, when Nyasha stays out late with a boy, Babamukuru becomes enraged and physically strikes Nyasha. After reminding Chido, his son, to stay out his quarrels with Nyasha,

> Babamukuru, gathering himself within himself so that his whole weight was behind the blow he dealt Nyasha's face. "Never," he hissed. "Never," he repeated, striking the other cheek with the back of his hand, "speak to me like that." (114)

Thus, in spite of the personal consequences, Nyasha resists Babamukuru's position as a patriarch in a white-settler dominated system. While Nyasha openly challenges Babamukuru, Tambu quietly observes, and experiences a growth in her understanding of the nature of oppression:

> [I was] feeling bad for her [Nyasha] and thinking how dreadfully familiar that scene had been, with Babamukuru condemning Nyasha to whoredom, making her a victim of her femaleness, just as I had felt victimized at home in the days when Nhamo went to school and I grew my maize. *The victimization, I saw, was universal.* It didn't depend on poverty, on lack of education or on tradition. It didn't depend on any of the things I had thought it depended on. Men took it everywhere with them. (116)

Both Nyasha and Tambu indirectly come to their awareness of oppression through education; however, they have different ways of handling the contradiction. Nyasha, through her self-destructive behavior, seems to be burning herself out. Tambu, on the other hand, is able to pursue the development of her critical voice without openly rebelling.

Gender Roles and the Cash Economy

At the homestead, Maiguru's interaction with the women of the extended family highlights the intersection of class and gender in the novel. During a "males only" *dare* or family meeting, all of the women are in the kitchen, attempting to listen through the door. In the course of their listening, the women could, according to Tambu,

> stop and consider the alternatives, but the matter was too intimate. It stung too saltily, too sharply and agonizingly the sensitive images that the women had of themselves, images that were really no more than reflections. (138)

While they could have chosen solidarity in the face of male dominance, the women

> retreated more resolutely into their roles, pretending while they did that actually they were advancing, had in fact initiated an offensive, when really, for each one of them , it was a last solitary, hopeless defense of the security of their illusions. (138)

In an initial attempt to find solidarity, many of the women look to Maiguru as a possible model due to her husband's place as head of the family. Her response is, " I don't want to intrude into the affairs of my husband's family. I shall keep quiet and go to bed" (138). While Maiguru's choice to stay out of the affair may have been personal, it is interpreted by the other women as "proudness." Maiguru's class position at the mission has isolated her from the daily difficulties that women experience in the rural area. While Babamukuru has been called upon to resolve the situation as head patriarch, an equivalent role does not exist for Maiguru and she has no intention of forging one.

This view of women contrasts markedly with both Hove's and Mungoshi's portrayal of female involvement in the family decision making process. Marita, though outside of her extended family, exercises her agency and independence in the face of daunting social constraints. In addition, she forges links of feminist solidarity with Janifa, a member of the younger generation, and the Unknown Woman, an urban woman. In *Waiting for the Rain*, Mungoshi's portrayal of the settler influenced conflict that Mandisa, Raina, and Betty experience is similar to Tambu's experience (with family concern revolving around Lucifer and not Betty), but less class based; women are portrayed as strong, even emasculating, but more generally oppressed as a group. Tambu is shown to be much more successful than Betty at exercising her agency, able to enter the cash economy by selling her mealies with the help of her teacher.

The cash economy also influences family relations between Babamukuru and Jerimiah, Tabudzai's father. Interested in his brother's success for the material benefits it will bring him, Jerimiah is happy to call out Babamukuru's praises;

> Our father and benefactor has returned appeased, *having devoured English letters with a ferocious appetite*! Did you think *degrees were indigestible*? If so, Look at my brother. *He has digested them*! If you want to see an educated man, look at my brother . . . Full of knowledge. Knowledge that will benefit us all. (36)

Hill (1995) has noted that Jerimiah's concept of gender roles is evidenced by his use of the food - knowledge metaphor. Babamukuru may "consume" books while the concept of Tambu "serving" books is seen as nonsensical. In an additional sign of subservience, Jerimiah essentially abdicates his direct role as Tambu's father to Babamukuru (eldest father). Against the expressed wishes of Tambu's mother, Jerimiah allows Tambu to be sent away to school. Jerimiah's immediate compliance with Babamukuru's wishes -- "Exactly! . . . She must be given the opportunity" (56) -- is more consistent with Tongoona's interaction with the white father, with his "blurred half-salute [that] becomes more and more like that of the recruit in the presence of his superior officers" (Mungoshi 1975, 169). Dangarembga, like Mungoshi, shows the impact that an education tied to the cash economy has upon extended family relations. Babamukuru's power as patriarch is shown as absolute because of his superior access to the settler influenced economy.

Despite her immediate family's lack of direct assistance, Tambu's ability to take advantage of rare settler-influenced societal opportunities is represented as working according to a "larger plan." Tambu's description is markedly similar to Lucifer's feeling of leaving his community:

> How can I describe the sensations that swamped me when Babamukuru started his car, with me in the front seat beside him, on the day I left my home? It was relief, but more than that . . . . What I experienced that day was a short cut, a rerouting of everything I had ever defined as me into fast lanes that would speedily lead me to my destination . . . . My horizons were saturated with me, my leaving, my going. There was no room for what I left behind. My father, as affably, shallowly agreeable as ever, was insignificant. My mother, my anxious mother, was no more than another piece of surplus scenery to be maintained. (58)

Thus, Tambu, seeing her opportunity, looks forward with little concern for parents. As for her sisters however,

> They were watching me climb into Babamukuru's car to be whisked away to limitless horizons. *It was up to them to learn the important lesson that circumstances were not immutable, no burden so binding that it could not be dropped. The honour for teaching them this emancipating lesson was mine. I claimed it all, for here I was, living proof of the moral. There was no doubt in my mind that this was the case.* (8 - emphasis mine)

Tambu, already by Form Four (fourth grade), has internalized her role as female liberator for her sisters. She has found a way to negotiate a new gender role that includes development of "horizons" through education. In addition, despite Tambu's initial certainty, the question of whether or not she is able to "liberate" her sisters is left open by the end of the novel. Their presence, while never prominent, is absolutely minimal by the second half of the novel. By the end of the novel, after finding out that she had been admitted to an elite multiracial school, the narrator explains her attitude this way: "That was how it was. That was how it would be. If you were clever, you slipped through any loophole you could find. I for one was going to take any opportunity that came my way" (179).

Like the rest of the family, Tambu is dependent on Babamukuru's generosity in a patriarchal, settler influenced society. Unlike Nyasha, Tambu is more calmly and quietly critical, not unlike Sekuru in *Waiting for the Rain*. She seems able to manage the potential conflicts of Western education, Zimbabwean society, and her own psychological development. This ability rests on her capacity to separate herself from her lack of awareness in the early part of her life, and presumably her suppression of the ongoing differences she experiences in maintaining contact with her family. How she manages

these psychological pressures is not developed in the novel. This is the "big question" that Dangarembga has promised to answer numerous times in her "next" novel (George and Scott, 1993).

One way of investigating how Tambudzai elides this psychological aspect is by considering the gap between the author's and the narrator's autobiographical experience. Dangarembga has never claimed to have experienced "traditional Shona" childhood. If one looks at her background, one finds that her first language is English and that she has been educated in relatively elite institutions. It is possible that Dangarembga (as author) used her own position as a model for Tambu's retrospective narrative voice; this leap in point of view -- from a rural girl slowly becoming aware of her own oppression to a woman who has developed a feminist consciousness through her education -- is one that demands the Zimbabwean reader's attention. Since paralepsis can never be fully suppressed, Tambu's future awareness stands in marked contrast to the presentation of her "old-self."

Language Socialization

Evidence of paraleptic contrast is present in the representation of language socialization. Different levels of language socialization among characters in the novel are painted with broad strokes by the narrator; the reader sees how different language socialization strategies operate mainly between Nyasha and others. Early on this is shown with Tambu's difficulty in communicating with Nyasha. Nyasha and her brother have just recently arrived from England: "They don't understand Shona very well anymore," her mother explained. "They have been speaking nothing but English for so long that most of their Shona has gone"(42). In addition, Nyasha has difficulty showing

respect through language, something proficient Shona speakers accomplish through the use of formal agreement markers (like "tu" and "vous" in French). As previously noted, this has devastating psychological and physical consequences in her interaction with Babamukuru. Babamukuru himself is affected in his language socialization; he has developed a speech impediment when speaking with Nyasha:

> "Er, Nyasha," began Babamukuru, "can you tell me why you are back so late?" (112)
>
> "And in that capacity I am telling you, I-am-telling-you, that I do not like the way you are always walking about with these-er-these young men. (113)
>
> "Er, Nyasha," he asked, cutting her greeting short and not even seeing me, "can you tell me why you are only coming in at this time at a quarter to seven?" (189)

Language socialization becomes especially noticeable in connection to the narrator Tambu. In contrast to Nyasha's inability to speak Shona, Tambu's progression in English is shown to operate as a seamless bilingual process, operating in concert with other areas of socialization:

> My English soon became fluent from all the reading I was doing and from talking to Nyasha all the time, but I spoke without an accent. I was not the headmaster's daughter but a poor relative whose background was as needy as anybody else's, if not more so,. As far as boys were concerned, I was obviously uninterested. (94)

By the end of the novel, Tambu masters even more languages:

> I threw myself into everything: exotic languages, like Latin and French and Portuguese, with unfamiliar sentence structures that told of brave legionnaires the enemy laying waste and a pupil who wrote with the pen of their aunts. I wondered a while at such strange constructions, and then remembered that I was no longer writing in English, finding on closer inspection that the structures were quite similar to our own. Still, I mused those foreign people had strange things on their minds. . ..(195)

After Tambu enters the elite convent school by the end of the novel, she is represented as interacting with her family at the homestead only once, and only through her mother's

monologue. After her mother warns her of too much "Englishness," Tambu initially suppresses the warning, but concedes to the narratee that "seeds do grow." While differences in language socialization are witnessed by Tambu, they are not discussed by the close of the novel when she returns for brief visits. This could be a result of the narrator's homodiegetic reduction of difference. Throughout the novel there is little development of polyphony (except for Nyasha) in character dialogue. The future Tambu (as narrator) is represented, through her narrative, as possessing more of a standard English voice.

This interpretation stands in stark contrast to McWilliams's (1991) reading of Tambu's narrative position:

> Her desire is to be rid of the atmosphere of the homestead that seems to cling to and sully her in her eyes. Yet this desire is intermixed with the surging realization that she can never forget her past; that her life at the homestead with her parents cannot be shed like a second skin. She vacillates between these two positions, never able to secure an absolute position on one or the other side of this divide [rural Shona-urban English]. (104)

McWilliams's reading of this "vacillation" rests upon a conflation of Tambu's represented character dialogue of Nyasha and the actual autodiegetic narrative position:

> Tambu's struggle for self-identity evolves into an awareness of her heteroglot complexity. She comes to sense that her identity is a composite of shifting selves; she is not only obedient, hard-working, self-abnegating, she is also adventurous, rebellious, strong-willed in her dialogically enervated position as daughter, cousin, niece, schoolgirl, confidante, and self. (105)

While it is true that Tambu cannot completely "forget" her home (an unrealistic proposition to begin with), there is little evidence of vacillation in the autodiegetic narrative. This narrator maintains her critical feminist position throughout, detailing the process through which

> [S]omething in my mind began to assert itself, to question things and refuse to be brainwashed, *bringing me to this time when I can set down this story.* It was a long and painful process for

> me, that process of expansion. *It was a process whose events stretched over many years and would fill another volume. . ..*(204 - emphasis mine)

By recognizing the temporal position of the autodiegetic narrator and the accompanying paraleptic interference, any negotiation of Tambu's identity is much less "heteroglot" than McWilliams posits.

Tambu's autodiegetic English narration represents the societal fracture lines of gender role negotiation in an extended Shona family. Through her represented external (language breakdowns) and internal (eating disorder) defiance of Babamukuru, Nyasha exhibits her resistance to patriarchy. Her resistance emanates from her socio-ideological formation (linguistically and socially) in Britain. Tambu's mother refers to this socio-ideological interference when she discusses the socially damaging effects of English language socialization or "Englishness" upon Chido and Nyasha:

> "It's the Englishness," she said. It'll kill them all if they aren't careful," and she snorted. "Look at them. That boy Chido can hardly speak a word of his own mother's tongue, and you'll see, his children will be worse. Running around with that white one, isn't he, the missionary's daughter? His children will disgrace us. You'll see. And himself, to look at him he may look all right, but there's no telling what price he's paying." She wouldn't say much about Nyasha. "About that one we don't even speak. It's speaking for itself. Both of them, its the Englishness. It's a wonder it hasn't affected the parents too." (203)

Tambu, able to dialogue with Nyasha, calmly and confidently builds her critical awareness while furthering her formal education. She seamlessly integrates her rural experience with that of the mission and eventually an elite boarding school. The reader, especially the Zimbabwean one, wants to know the full trajectory and development of Tambu's critical consciousness. How does she negotiate all of the societal constraints that face an African woman in pre - (and presumably post) independence Zimbabwe.

Does she fulfill her original commitment to teach her sisters the "lessons of emancipation"?

To what degree is Tambu's narrative voice connected to her educational background and education? As more and more upper-class families attempt to speak only English in their daily lives, this issue is an important one for many Zimbabwean readers. The negotiation of gender roles is also influenced by the language education process: many younger women may perceive that the only way out of the oppressive Zimbabwean patriarchal system is to seek out a superior language education that will afford them a degree of economic independence. Whether or not this adoption of language socialization strategy leads to community alienation is a question left open by Dangarembga's autodiegetic narrator.

Feminism in Zimbabwe

For the first time in Zimbabwean literature, Dangarembga offers a Zimbabwean feminist centered novel written by a woman. Her main contribution to Zimbabwean feminism is an explicit representation of how women may challenge gender roles and patriarchy in Zimbabwean society. This "opening" in this specific contact zone is critical to the feminist project of reconstructing femininity through the deconstruction of dominant ideologies (colonialism and patriarchy) and through developing an understanding of how these operate at the unconscious level in the Zimbabwean context. Babamukuru, through his prodigious "consumption of words" and role as family leader, represents the oppression that many women in Zimbabwe experience today. An important part of a Chimurenga period contact zone would include a discussion of patriarchal influence and women's negotiations of it.

While there is yet to be a mass movement of feminist thought and literacy in Zimbabwe, there is an extremely well articulated discourse emanating from writers such as Dangarembga and Veit-Wild. Veit-Wild (not a Zimbabwean herself) has noted that women in Zimbabwe find themselves caught -- as with Mungoshi's view on race -- between two worlds, the traditional and the modern. Migrant labor has steadily destroyed the fabric of the extended family. Men go to work in the cities, leaving the women behind to till the land, work hard to put their children through school, and to look after the elderly (Veit-Wild, 1987). This sex-based division of labor is constantly reproduced because the majority of the children that attend school are still boys. While the percentages of males and females attending school are roughly equivalent in primary levels, sex becomes an important differential factor in secondary school. By the time a 1982 form 1 (1st year of secondary) cohort reached upper sixth (12th grade), 31% were female. Drop out rates are aggravated by region as well: whereas in Harare only 6.8% of the girls drop out from primary school, the corresponding figure for Manicaland is 39.6% (Colclough, 1990). Graham-Brown (1991) reports that interviews with Zimbabwean families and school administrators in 1987 revealed that, in early secondary school, parents begin favoring boys. In addition, heavy demands are made on girls to do domestic and farm work while still attending school. Other obstacles for women that were mentioned included gender discrimination in the classroom (boys being called upon more) and teen pregnancy (194).

In *Nervous Conditions*, Tambu experiences all of these societal constraints through her struggle to achieve critical consciousness; yet, when examined closely, her own agency is only realized through unique events: the assistance of an empowering

teacher (Mr. Matimba); the generous gift of a white woman (Doris); the death of a male member of the family (Nhamo), the full financial support of an extended family member (Babamukuru); and, the recruitment drive and the provision of full scholarship at an elite convent school. How do Zimbabwean readers respond to this rare combination of life circumstances for Tambu? Are these "strokes of luck" the only openings women can hope for in their negotiation with patriarchy?

At a 1985 conference in Harare on "Women and Books" Akwe Amosu noted (cited by Veit-Wild, 1987) the often gender based discriminatory nature of literacy:

> We can say that literacy, while we talk about it as a tool, a neutral technology, is never neutral. The ability to read and write cannot be learned without practicing the skill as you go; women who learn on texts which continually undervalue women and ignore their existence will absorb a sense of their own insignificance both among the literate and wider terms. (172)

A major agent for social change in Zimbabwe, the war of liberation and independence from the early 1970s to 1980, promised to recast the traditional roles of women. Yet, despite the participation of women in Zimbabwe's liberation struggle, Veit-Wild (1987) posits that they may in fact be worse off:

> [During the War] in which the relation between men and women underwent a change, in which they saw each other in different roles and different contexts . . .the old ones [stereotypes], deeply rooted, still flourish. Excombatant women are not appreciated in the new Zimbabwe, many men regard them as women of easy virtue. (176)

Veit-Wild comments that over a decade later, Zimbabwe has many young girls who leave their rural homes to live in town. There, in the cities, traditional views of the inferiority of women mix and double-up with male chauvinist attitudes of Western origin (Veit-Wild, 1987).

Taylor (1993) points out difficulties and even dependencies that women readers may develop (Christian-Smith, 1993). She notes that the kind of romantic love portrayed in the romance genre leads to subordination of women and that needs and desires are socially constructed and naturalized by texts. Furthermore, romantic ideology, with marriage and motherhood as implicit goals, are found in many young reading books designed by publishers for girls. Dangarembga highlights this when Nyasha writes Tambu a letter in which she states:

> I find it more and more difficult to speak with the girls at school. I try, Tambu, but there is not much to speak of between us. They resent the fact that I do not read their romance stories and if I do not read them, then of course I cannot talk about them. (196)

For Taylor, one way to avert this undermining of women is to widen the range of discourses and forms of textual analysis available to girls. A Chimurenga contact zone discussion for girls in Zimbabwean classrooms would perhaps highlight the historically located negotiation of Tambu's and Nyasha's identities. What leads Nyasha to read more "serious" books (like history) and to do well in math? Why do her classmates resent her? A discussion of Nyasha and Tambu's negotiation would necessarily draw upon an understanding of feminist thought and gender role negotiation in Zimbabwe.

In a recent interview (George and Scott, 1993), Dangarembga voiced the need to develop a Zimbabwean based theory of feminism that moves away from possible dependency upon Western feminist theory:

> [Feminism is a] woman's consciousness definitely, and I think the woman's consciousness does have to define its position in society in terms of how much power women have and how much power women do not have. It has to be informed by the conditions of that society. . .this has been a problem for some young women of my generation who needed some kind of liberating theory to guide us, and then it was good, at that time, to have the Western theories there. But I think that we have to move beyond that and find our own point of departure, and that's where I'm at now. (314)

According to Dangarembga, there is a danger that Western theories, such as a Western theory of feminism that pursues Western women's goals, are not necessarily relevant for Zimbabwean women's reality. Rather than rejecting Western feminist theories outright however, she calls it, matter of "interrogating and fixing" theories:

> It is a process of thinking about something that shapes your consciousness and your perceptions. . . . .I don't think this is something that people in my part of the world did develop in relation to the western ideas and material culture that were brought in. I also think that theory has to become much more wide and particularly within the women's movement it has to really broaden its reach. (316)

Western concepts of feminism, perhaps tied to issues of class membership, are influences upon the nature of reading in Zimbabwe. In Zimbabwe women encounter a combination of race, class, and gender factors when pursuing literacy. These issues, while shown to be initially addressed by an increasingly critical young Tambu, are ultimately left undeveloped by the isolated and older Tambu. At the same time, by locating the narrative in the growing consciousness of Tambu, Dangarembga is refocusing the discourse away from a simple juxtaposition of traditional and modern themes, and more toward an interrogation of how an individual may negotiate gender roles in an emerging African nation. When approached dialogically, Dangarembga has constructed a novel that *requires* the reader's response to a number of "seeds that have been "planted" in Tambu's feminist consciousness. As Dangarembga has pointed out, these responses must emanate from Zimbabwean readers if a discussion of gender roles in the national frame of Zimbabwe is to take place.

Summary

Mungoshi, Hove and Dangarembga depict the dialogic negotiation of identity in the contact of zone of Shona and Rhodesian society during the 1960s and 70s -- a negotiation still relevant to Zimbabweans. The boundaries of the imagined communities in these works frame an ongoing interaction between the narrator, characters and readers of these narratives. In *Waiting for the Rain,* Mungoshi represents this inside/outside negotiation taking place at the boundaries of several generations of a Shona family. Through the direct address of multiple characters, Hove builds a world full of Shona – evoking voices in Bones. These voices, usually silenced by their inability to cross into an Standard English speaking world, transcend traditional language barriers in Zimbabwean literature to build a sympathetic view of a strong yet societally marginalized woman. From a more isolated and analytical narrative position, Tambudzai's autodiegetic narration in Dangarembga's *Nervous Conditions* exposes settler influence and patriarchy at the level of gender role negotiation and resistance.

This chapter has shown how an investigation of these narratives offers readers, especially Zimbabwean readers, an opportunity to engage in dialogic encounters in the historically and socially important contact zone of Zimbabwe's second Chimurenga. Mungoshi, Hove, and Dangarembga are creatively producing mimetic art through their thematic representation of second Chimurenga societal conflict. Although in English, these narratives represent several negotiations of identity in language -- several distinct styles of dialogized heteroglossia -- that emanate from the Zimbabwean socio-historical context. Introduction of these authors in the literature and language section of a new curriculum, especially in the context of localization, could lead to the reorienting of

language education toward the exploration of mimetic themes relevant to Zimbabwean students and teachers. The dialogic space created by their introduction would offer a new opportunity for students to encounter under-represented voices--voices that belong to a national majority.

From the perspective of an ongoing discussion in the pedagogic arts of the contact zone, it is relevant to note that Zimbabweans will soon observe the tenth anniversary of Dangarembga's *Nervous Conditions* and the twenty-third for Mungoshi's *Waiting for the Rain*; while Hove has continued to write novels (*Shadows*, 1993), it would seem that Mungoshi's and Dangarembga's ability to dialogue with current Zimbabwean society in more novelistic form is currently uncertain. At the same time, it should be recognized that a pedagogy of the contact zone draws upon all relevant resources. While Mungoshi and Dangarembga have moved into film writing and directing (Mungoshi has written Naria and Dangarembga directed Everyone's Child), Hove has taken up social commentary (*Shabeen Tales: Messages from Harare*, 1994). These sources, in combination with Zimbabwe's numerous literary, dramatic, and academic works, are promising ones for a further development of the pedagogic arts of the contact zone.

CONCLUSIONS

> Our aim is to forge for ourselves, a form of expression through which we could consciously face our ambiguities and fix ourselves firmly in the uncertain possibilities of the word made ours. (Glissant 1989, 168)

In his discussion of the educational system in Martinique, Glissant has identified three groups that have been created in a politically "insufficient" distribution of bilingualism. His characterization of these groups is relevant to the Zimbabwean context:

> a. Members of the liberal professions and functionaries (teachers, academics, doctors, lawyers, etc.) generally smug in their alienation-that is, who do not ask questions (except at the level of unconscious reflex) about the teaching they were offered and that they in turn retransmit. b. A small number of individuals, who, through the grid created by the system, and in more or less lucid way, begin to question it. This leaves behind an excluded majority that, after some formal training in elementary school, reverts to chronic illiteracy . . . . This illiteracy is strengthened, first, by the isolation of the country, and then through the absence of any kind of cultural organization to encourage the curiosity and passion for learning in an informal environment. Popular culture is not one of development of transcendence, it is a culture of survival, parallel to the economy of survival. (Glissant, 175)

Glissant goes on to state:

> If the community does not pay attention to its own psychological and social dilemma by lucidly isolating the contradictions that torment it and trying to resolve them-that is, by collectively entering the world of cultural responsibility-the revival of dynamism among the youth will never happen . . . . in this matter no director, no teacher - no matter how competent and skilled they are-should willfully underestimate the absence of a consensus, or the positive advantage of a revolution at the mental as well as the structural level. (Glissant, 181)

This dissertation has attempted to isolate some of the contradictions in Zimbabwe's language education system. It has done so by critically examining the institutional forces in Zimbabwe's uneven linguistic market. Market relations that were established during the settler period have continued into present day Zimbabwe. Specifically, groups in

Zimbabwe have linked the continuation of institutionalized language education to their interests.

The critical approach of this dissertation examines the fields of educational language planning and literacy studies; these fields supply legitimations for the continuation of institutionalized language education. From an institutional perspective, language planners in education favor the legitimations of "unity" and "modernity" over equity and relevance. This has resulted in a language education policy that maintains the status quo. From a reading theory perspective, literacy has been conceptualized as a decoding, decontextualizing, reading act at the expense of reader background and orality; literacy needs to be contextualized to include Zimbabwean language socialization practice. This notion of literacy and reading is not reflected in Zimbabwean or UCLES reading curriculum. I am in agreement with Street (1993) when he states,

> Literacy practices vary with cultural context, there is not a single, monolithic, autonomous literacy, whose consequences for individuals and societies can be read off as a result of its intrinsic characteristics: rather there are "literacices whose character and consequences have to be specified for each context. (Street 41)

Drawing upon a literary and pedagogic perspective, this dissertation develops the dialogic space of the second Chimurenga for Zimbabweans; Zimbabwean authors, through the creation of their polyphonic novels, uncover multiple layers of identity within a historical context relevant to a majority of Zimbabweans. Pratt's (1991) conceptualization of this multi-voiced, contextualized space of cultural negotiation -- a contact zone -- offers teachers a new approach and set of resources for the language classroom.

The material resource for the pedagogic application of a new conception of reading is Zimbabwean literature itself: Zimbabwean authors uniquely examine the

interaction of identity and historical forces in their work. In the case of Mungoshi, Hove, and Dangarembga, there are clear patterns that emerge from their representations of identity in the second Chimurenga contact zone. Hove's approach in *Bones* is especially innovative due to his unique attempt to represent the interior voices of illiterate Zimbabweans. Glissant's comments about the possible national role of authors are especially pertinent: "Perhaps in the face of the numbed linguistic sterility imposed on Martinicans [and perhaps Zimbabweans], the writer's function is perhaps to propose language as shock, language as antidote, a noneutral one, through which the problems of the community can be restated" (Glissant, 190).

From his narrative position, Mungoshi attempts to create a more holistic view of society during the second Chimurenga. This is a world in which a wide range of voices across generations is partially focalized by an omniscient narrator. This places the reader in a position to gain a holistic social perspective, with full access to character thoughts, attitudes, and secrets. The protagonist Lucifer serves as a focal point for family conflict, thus showing the reader the difficulties associated with a family member who gains an advanced education during the second Chimurenga period. For Zimbabwean readers, the main theme that they have the opportunity to explore through a close reading of the omniscient narrator is alienation, a theme that is extremely relevant for the minority that actually succeed in secondary education.

Moving from the outside to the inside, Hove creates a ring of narratives that revolves around the main character, Marita. This builds a view for the reader of not only Marita, but the under-represented social space (that of farm workers during the second

Chimurenga) that she inhabits. This space is one that is full of severe constraints based on race, class, and gender. These constraints are shown to be aggravated not only by war, but also by illiteracy. Despite the constraints she faces, Marita is directly shown by characters around her to be a strong figure with moral grace and authority. For the first time in Zimbabwean literature, Hove offers readers the opportunity to dialogue with characters that they otherwise may not encounter in a "new" language. This places Zimbabwean readers, trained more in a variety British English, in a position to question Hove's and their own use of language. This type of dialogue, at the level of language and society, is especially salient for Zimbabwean readers with advanced English competence-- especially when one views the geographic and class separation connected with language education.

In an opposite narrative direction, Dangarembga moves from the inside out. She utilizes the dialogic space created by an individual -- a critically aware Tambudzai -- to represent (through reported speech) the specific gender role negotiation of an extended family, especially the women members. The effect this has on the reader is to enable him or her to witness the story as it unfolds, but it also puts the reader at the same critical distance Tambudzai maintains through analepsis. From a more analytic perspective, a women's history is created in which major characters such as Maiguru and Nyasha are compared across time. By focusing upon Babamukuru, Dangarembga shows how the settler cash economy shapes not only gender roles, but also the entire extended family network; through his over-reactions and stuttering, the patriarch Babamakuru can be seen to be shaped and influenced by the same settler society that drives Nyasha to her "nervous condition." Due to the narrative position of Tambudzai, however, the

representation of Zimbabwean society remains woman-centered. Dangarembga is in fact offering a new form of novelistic dialogue in Zimbabwean literature, one that has a woman as the narrator. The importance of such a voice for Zimbabwean readers, especially female ones, cannot be underestimated. As a group, girls continue to be under-represented in Zimbabwean education.

Zimbabwean language educators may draw upon the voices represented by these authors. They are a vital resource for teachers to practice critical pedagogy in language education. Introduction of these authors' works in the O level examination may be the most influential as examination "backwash effect" is so powerful in the curriculum. If the current efforts toward examination localization include relevance and equity as goals, the current O level reading section, could be injected with Zimbabwean authorship.

It is not enough that "writers write," "readers read," and "teachers teach." Language education is a process that has a great potential to reinforce unequal linguistic market relations. In the context of Zimbabwe, the subordinate relations of the majority have been accentuated by the establishment and continuation of a white settler language education system. Through their popular recognition and integration into school reading lists, Zimbabwean writers could be seen less as "products" and more as influential "participants" in the Zimbabwean language education process. The influence of a national literature upon language education, while hardly unique to Zimbabwe, becomes an important dynamic to examine in the context of a formerly colonial educational system. While there have been some changes in the sphere of language education since independence, Zimbabwe continues to utilize a largely Cambridge designed curriculum and examination system. This system may be one factor that mitigates against the

foundation and maintenance of ties between a national literature and the formal language education system. In many ways, this dissertation is an opening to a long overdue discussion about equity and relevance in Zimbabwean language education. It has been shown that there has been some discussion among Zimbabwean educators in this area (Moyana 1988, Natsa 1994). Further contributions from Zimbabwean students, educators, and literary figures need to be made in the application of theory to practice. The application of a critical pedagogy can take place at numerous levels: among teacher educators, teachers, and students. This dissertation lays the necessary groundwork for this dialogue in three important ways.

First, this dissertation provides a theoretical framework for understanding the process of state legitmation of language education; this framework takes into account the exercise of power through language education and individual negotiation of societal market forces; it avoids a monolithic view of the exercise of power in language. This framework shows how all societal members contribute to the reproduction of relations in the linguistic market. In addition to offering a more process oriented view of language institutionalization, this framework is important if one is to realistically represent the transformative potential of critical educational practices. One does not "transform" an institution as established as language education. An additional contribution of this framework is the creation of potential for the development of a comparative approach in language education studies. Currently, collections of writings on language education take a wide variety of theoretical approaches that make comparison between social contexts (classroom, local, and national) difficult (see Rubagumya, 1994).

Secondly, this dissertation historically contextualizes the institutionalization of language education in Zimbabwe; without this contextualization, there is an inadequate understanding of how education specifically functions as a primary site for the reproduction of unequal market relations. While deinstitutionalization can take place in many sectors of society, language education is shown to be an enduring facet of the European settler experience in Zimbabwe. In addition, Zimbabwean groups, especially in urban areas and sites of secondary education, have actively lobbied for the establishment of English as the language of education. Aware of the inappropriate settler influenced curriculum at independence, the Zimbabwean government initiated a localization of the curriculum in all areas except for English. UCLES, a private international examination service that was hired by the Zimbabwean government to assist in localization, has understandably not taken the initiative to localize the English curriculum without government support. This is a task that requires Zimbabwean initiative.

Thirdly, this dissertation develops an alternative approach to language education practice that is pluralistic and more locally relevant to Zimbabweans. In order for a dialogic pedagogy to function, specific pedagogic approaches must be outlined. A contact zone approach to Zimbabwean literature appropriate for secondary age students has been developed in this dissertation; however, each teacher must contextualize and develop his or her own approach to reading. In order for a pedagogy to be more inclusive, teachers must take into account societal factors (age, language background, etc.) that are unique to student compositions of classrooms. Including Zimbabwean writers is ideal for this concern, as mimetic themes relevant to a full spectrum of Zimbabwean readers (in English) are present. The inclusion of Zimbabwean writers who

write in English also recognizes the central position that English occupies in the curriculum -- a position that is shown to be historically demanded by Zimbabwean students and parents. By including Zimbabwean authors in the reading curriculum (rather than British or international writers), a more inclusive space -- consistent with the demands of an influential examination-- is created for students and teachers.

The specific approach offered in this dissertation calls for the localization of the reading skill curriculum to include second Chimurenga period Zimbabwean authors. These authors represent themes that are extremely relevant to young Zimbabweans who are negotiating their identities in a competitive and inequitable educational system; this system has roots directly traceable to Zimbabwe's white settler period that was openly resisted in the second Chimurenga period. Through the positioning of their narratives, Mungoshi, Hove, and Dangarembga portray multi-voiced encounters in Zimbabwean communities; these encounters take place in the interaction between the narrator, characters and readers of these narratives. When reading these authors, readers-- especially Zimbabwean ones -- are drawn into an examination of the negotiation of identity in Zimbabwe.

I agree with Eagleton (1983) that the transformative capacity of literary study has a tendency to be overrated. In addition, I would extend this evaluation to include decontextualized calls for critical pedagogy. While proposing detailed theories of critical pedagogy, Feire, Giroux and McLaren all fail to make a sufficient amount of the important historical and local connections necessary for a dialogic pedagogy to work. This dissertation's analysis has aimed toward laying the groundwork for critical language educators interested in *praxis* – the joining of theory and practice. This requires a

detailed understanding of the historical roots and current practice of institutionalized language education of a specific country. In contrast to this view of praxis, Freire's (1978) call for praxis in Guinea-Bissau rests on political activism and solidarity with the "people." Discussing his experience in Chile, and how it is related to his collaboration in Guinea-Bissau, Freire states,

> Our *political choice* [not to be seen as foreign experts] *and its praxis* keeps us from even thinking that we could teach the educators and learners of Guinea-Bissau anything unless we were also learning with and from them . . .In our first meetings with Chilean educators, we listened much more than we spoke. When we did speak, it was in order to describe the praxis which was our in Brazil-not to prescribe for Chilean educators but simply to present the negative and positive aspects of our experience. *In learning with them and with the workers in the fields and factories*, it became possible for us also to teach. (Freire 9-emphasis mine)

A political activist stance, while not necessarily mitigating against the development of praxis, does not *in itself* lead to praxis in language education. The proposal of a critical pedagogy can and should be specifically adapted by local language educators. While Moyana (1988) is a Zimbabwean example of an educator who drew upon Freire for a contextualized view of language education, Guinea-Bissau has yet to produce a contributor to critical pedagogy. Evidence of a lack of concern for contextualization for Feire is that he has not followed up on his own collaboration: there has been no attempt to actually evaluate the impact of his collaboration on language education practice in Guinea-Bissau. Freire seems only partly aware of the importance of a contextualized view of language education, when in the "Final Word" section of *Pedagogy*, he states,

> As the experience described in the book progresses, I will feel obliged to continue to report experiences that may deepen the affirmations and analyses already offered or, indeed, correct some of them. I may add points not treated in this first report . . . One of the points to which I will need to return is that of language. The deeper I go in the Guinean experience, the more importance this problem assumes. It demands different responses under different circumstances. The fact is that language is inevitably one of the major preoccupations of a society which, liberating itself from colonialism and refusing to be drawn into neocolonialism, searches for its own re-creation. (Freire - Final Word)

No further reports incorporating this observation have been made by Freire. Thus, Freire's proposal for implementing a critical pedagogy, while politically sound (in a Marxist oriented revolutionary movement), remains outside a contextualized view of language education. As a result, Freire's proposed critical pedagogy is extremely limited in its usefulness for Guineans.

While a contextualized or contact zone approach has been developed in this dissertation, the systematic practice of utilizing this approach in the teaching of reading is currently undeveloped in Zimbabwe. Chapter three's analysis of Zimbabwe's educational system shows that language education is extremely centralized and test-driven. Language education practice reaching into primary schools can be seen to be influenced by concerns of O level English language performance. Despite the localization of other sections of the exam, the English section has not been noticeably changed (Sadler, 1995a). In the context of localization (and accompanying Cambridge certification), Zimbabwean educational representatives could be called upon to consult on the question of "What does localization mean for language education?" Until this question is addressed at the national curriculum-examination level, it is unrealistic to assume that teachers would systematically adopt an approach that is not reflective of centralized guidelines.

This does not mean that individual teachers or teacher educators could not use the approach advocated in this dissertation as a resource in their classrooms. This approach draws upon recent research in reading theory and pedagogy. A model of language learning that takes children's background knowledge into account should be seen as

useful for teachers who are developing approaches to teaching English as a second language in diverse classrooms. By focusing the teaching of reading upon levels of identity relevant to Zimbabwean readers, teachers are able to assist students in developing their own reading skills by tapping into background knowledge as a resource. In essence, a psycholinguistic approach to reading (with attention to background knowledge) lends itself well to secondary second language settings. There are a number of ways in which this approach can enter secondary language education contexts.

For example, a first form secondary teacher in a rural area may receive a diverse class made up of students from a number of different local primary schools. Those students may have received three years of English education, and still may be weak in English language skills. Dangarmembga's Tambudzai in *Nervous Conditions* has a similar experience when she moves in with Nyasha. A teacher may choose to assign, or read to the class, Tambudzai's experience of coming to the new school and working on her language skills. By understanding that the story is written from a point in the future, the teacher and the students can make sense of the reflective anglophone tone of Tambudzai's narrative. In addition, the teacher could use the excerpt as a resource for students to discuss, write, and read about a number of issues: What does it mean to be a girl in school? What does it mean to be the eldest girl in a family? How does it feel to come to a new school where you realize your English is not as good as you thought? These issues are all central points of contact between Tambudzai's identity and Rhodesian society. For more advanced secondary students, the teacher could introduce some of Dangarembga's biographical background (i.e., British education) as a way of problematizing the ways in which Tambudzai's narrative position is represented: How

realistic is Dangarembga's portrayal of Tambudzai's negotiation of Rhodesian society? How are social and historical factors that were relevant during this period portrayed as affecting Tambudzai?

Questions such as these are invitations for students to enter into a dialogue about the role of English in the negotiation of gender roles in Zimbabwean society. Statistics show that girls, especially in rural areas, gain less access to advanced English competence than do boys. Despite this inequity, teaching, historically and currently, has been a critical profession for the advancement of Zimbabwean women. As part of their profession, women have been drawing upon their competence in English (a central part of the teaching curriculum) as a key resource. From the early 1920s, teaching positions have allowed women to negotiate a more independent social and economic space in Zimbabwean society. This space is immediately present when students enter the classroom with a female teacher. From a student perspective, a female reader of *Nervous Conditions* would read Tambudzai's resentment of the unquestioned priority of her brother's education over her own (because he is the senior male in the family) from a different position (one that includes possible personal experience) than a male reader. That same reader might also have a less critical attitude of Tambudzai's desire to pursue her own development through advanced education and to de-emphasize familial responsibility.

Another major language education context in Zimbabwe is that of an urban secondary setting. Teachers often have students who have grown up in an urban setting (usually Harare) that sometimes have difficulty making connections to family members in rural areas. Mungoshi's themes of alienation among urban dwellers (i.e. in "Ten

Shillings") and those who leave the rural area to live permanently in the urban area (in *Waiting for the Rain*) would be possible narrative positions to explore. Paul, as a Junior Certificate (JC) holder desperately looking for a job, could tap directly into student concerns of the connection between education and employment. Is a JC currently marketable in the current job market in Zimbabwe? What issues does Paul deal with that are historically located? Are there similarities to today's education and employment context? In *Waiting in the Rain*, readers can see three members of the younger generation that are alienated from their family, all for different reasons; by discussing the characters' sources of alienation, readers can encounter many issues related to education and generational conflict that they themselves encounter. Do girls experience pressure to serve the family at the expense of their educations (as Betty does)? Do younger sons (like Garabha) often have difficulty fitting into the educational and employment expectations of the family? Are an inordinate amount of expectations loaded onto the eldest son as they are for Lucifer?

All Zimbabweans – male, female, young and old experience a generational and geographic friction related to English language education. Students immediately experience differences in expectations (from parents, teachers and classmates) when entering the classroom. A teacher with expectations of mastery of English for comprehension may be faced with a classroom of students who have family and personal expectations of mastery for short-term economic returns. Students who adjust to a school culture that promotes learning English as a goal in itself (i.e., literary studies, and creative writing) can run directly counter to parental and extended family expectations of returns (in the form of economic support) upon their substantial sacrifices. Students

reading Mungoshi's *Waiting for the Rain* may be intimately familiar with Lucifer's conflict with his parents -- his feelings of doubt about being designated the family head and his desire to be free to pursue his artwork as far away from home (in urban Salisbury or overseas) as possible. From a different perspective, students with parents who practice "English only" at home will experience differences with classmates who use Shona or Ndebele as their first language. These differences can lead to a sense of distinct class and even political separation (i.e., previously discussed "RB" and "Nose Brigades" at University). Participation in English language education is thus loaded with wider social implications and the potential for a sense of conflict for the individual.

One community that is certainly under-represented in formal education, but remains a sizeable group in Zimbabwe, is that of rural-based illiterate laborers. Hove represents this position through his portrayal of Marita. He effectively shows the immense societal obstacles an illiterate rural woman faces when attempting to navigate urban Harare. In essence, the community Marita represents is a silent one in the world of English literacy. From this silent community perspective, there are numerous themes that teachers in all secondary settings could tap into: What obstacles or forms of oppression do illiterate rural people face in current day Zimbabwe? How did the second Chimurenga intensify oppression for this group? Do students have any contacts with this community? How do they interact with these community members? Do students perceive that they experience forms of oppression related to their levels of proficiency in English?

This level of community interaction based on English competence is perhaps the most striking and most socially important in Zimbabwean society. Entire societal experiences are directly influenced by English competence in Zimbabwe. From a

historical perspective, 1980 was a fundamental turning point for the role of English language education in Zimbabwe's national and social experience. The introduction of mass education in a system that aims toward English competence means that entire segments of society over school age have more limited access to resources that require competency in English.

Related to the generational implications of English language education, illiterate parents and grandparents may be dependent upon sons and daughters (educated post-1980) for access to national resources. A student whose parents and grandparents have limited to no English proficiency might read *Nervous Conditions* and immediately identify with Tambudzai's negative reaction to her parents' economic dependency upon Babamakuru. The same patriarchy that initially limited her educational opportunity comes to depend upon her: more specifically, upon the possibility of economic remuneration connected to her advanced education. From a different societal perspective, Black Zimbabweans who gained advanced competence in English prior to independence saw the value of their competence increase; furthermore, their children's chances of access (through home support) increased as well. When reading the same novel by Dangarembga, students who come from such a background might sympathize with Nyasha's conflict with her parents over becoming too "English."

In all of these language education contexts there is a need to discuss the issue of how English interacts with African languages. In the specific case of Shona in Zimbabwe, do children and adults negotiate specific ways in which they use English? Hove consciously raises this question in his use of Shona-evoking English. This provides an opening for teachers to raise the issue in English language classes. Clearly, there are

specific ways in which Shona enters the English learning experience. Is there room in the English speaking community for the inclusion of a Shona influenced variety of English? Do other groups with different home languages have the potential to create different varieties?

This discussion of language varieties taps into the important issue of linguistic and ethnic diversity in Zimbabwean society. All authors discussed in this dissertation come from homes where Shona was a language of personal communication. While English is a resource for interethnic communication, this does not mean that there is one universal variety used by all Zimbabweans. Teachers from specific ethnic and linguistic backgrounds can highlight differences in varieties that children may bring to the classroom. In addition, specific cultural practices and expectations enter the classroom. While the potential for interethnic rivalry exists, diversity can be viewed as a resource for English language education. One example of this would be when authors use specific home language terms in their English writing. Equivalents or even more interesting differences in other languages could be discussed among students and teachers. One specific example is Mungoshi's English influenced Shona ("mararapaipi"-- pipe sleeper) in "Ten Shillings." Students from a Shona background may understand and identify with texts written by authors from a similar background in ways that differ from other students.

All authors offer numerous opportunities to engage in dialogue related to the negotiation of identity in language. By fostering that dialogue in classrooms, English language learning becomes immensely more relevant to Zimbabweans. Individuals have the opportunity to discuss and understand a myriad of experiences – many of which are

shared in the Zimbabwean context. The remaining factor that represents an obstacle to critical pedagogy and continues to be perceived as a threat to legitimacy, would be the notion that examination expectations were not being met. At that point it would be incumbent upon the teacher to make clear to parents and students how this approach would assist language learning through increased connections to background knowledge. Regardless of adoption at the national level, this approach offers teachers and students an opportunity to make meaningful connections in the classroom between their use of English in education and their own background knowledge. In a national context where language education is currently functioning as a gatekeeper to higher education and employment opportunity, teachers and students are in need of space for such a dialogue.

Without a national discussion concerning language education, the current failure rate in O levels -- as high as 90% in rural areas (Graham-Brown, 1991) -- may eventually lead to an increased disillusionment in the educational system in Zimbabwe. Due to the centralized nature of the education system, this in turn would call into question the legitimacy of the government. It remains an empirical question as to whether or not the utilization of Zimbabwean authors in the classroom will necessarily lead to better O level examination results -- attention to this question would satisfy the state legitimation of efficiency. What the inclusion of Zimbabwean authors in the language curriculum can offer is an opportunity for the creation of a dialogic space for teachers and students in language education; the creation of this space is consistent with an interactional view of language education. This view rests on the assumption that English language education is a key site in the negotiation of social identity and power in Zimbabwe.

Works Cited

Achebe, Chinua. *Morning Yet on Creation Day.* London: Heinemann, 1977.
___. "English and the African writer." *Transition* 4 (18) (1965): 27-30.
___. "Writers Talk: Ideas of Our Time." London: ICA Video, n.d.

Althusser, Louis. *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays.* Trans. Ben Brewster. London: New Left Books. 1971.

The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, Third Edition. CD-ROM. Houghton Mifflin Company, 1992.

Amuta, Chidi. *The Theory of African Literature.* New Jersey: Zed Books, 1989.

Anderson, Benedict R. *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism.* London: Verso, 1983.

Appel, Rene, and Muysken, Pieter. *Language Contact and Bilingualism.* London: Edward Arnold, 1987.

Arnove, Anthony. "Pierre Bourdieu, the Sociology of Intellectuals, and the Language of African Literature." *Novel* 26 (3) (1993): 278-296.

Atkinson, Norman. "Racial Integration in Zimbabwean Schools, 1979-1980. *Comparative Education.* 18 (1), (1982), 77-89.
___. *Teaching Rhodesians.* London: Longman, 1972.

Bakhtin, Mikhail. M. *The Dialogic Imagination..* Ed by Michael Holquist; Trans. by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1981.

Barthes, Roland. *S/Z.* Trans. by Richard Miller. New York: Hill and Wang. 1974.

Baugh, Albert C. and Cable Thomas. *A History of the English Language.* Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1957.

Berger, Peter. and Luckman Thomas. *The Social Construction of Reality.* New York: Anchor Books. 1966.

Beer, William R. and Jacob, James. *Language Policy and National Unity.* New York, 1978.

Bernstien, Basil. *Class, Codes and Control.* London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1972.

Bakhtin, Mikhail M. *Dialogic Imagination.* Ed. Michael Holquist. Trans. Caryl Emerson
and Michael Holquist. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1981.

Bhabha, Homi. K. *Nation and Narration.* London: Routledge. 1990.

Bizzell, Patricia. "Contact zones and English studies." College English Feb. v56, n2, (1994), 163-7.

Bourdieu, Pierre and Wacquant, Loic, J.D. *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *Language and Symbolic Power.* Ed. John B. Thompson. Trans. Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1991.
___. *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture.* Transl. Richard Nice. Sage Publications, London. 1990.

Bourdillon, Thomas J.E. "Curriculum and Culture." In *The Educational Supplement, supplement to Zambezia The Journal of the University of Rhodesia*, Salisbury: University of Rhodesia Press. 1977.

Carrell, Patricia L, Devine, Joanne, Eskey David E. 1988. Interactive Approaches to Second Language Reading, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Challiss, Robert J. "The European Educational System in Southern Rhodesia 1890-1930" *Zambezia,* vol 8 suppl., Salisbury, 1980.
___. "Phelps-Stokesism and Education in Zimbabwe" *Zambezia,*11, (1983), 109-125.

Chennels, Anthony J. "Marxist and Pan-Africanist Literary Theories and a Sociology of Zimbabwean Literature." In *Zambezia*, XX(ii), (1993), 109-129. Harare: University of Zimbabwe Press.

Christian-Smith, Linda K. *Texts of Desire: Essays on Fiction, Femininity and Schooling.* Washington, DC: The Falmer Press, 1993.

Colclough, C., Lofstedt, J-I., Manduvi-Moyo, J. *Education in Zimbabwe: Issues of quantity and quality, A joint Swedish/Zimbabwe Education Sector Study* (SIDA). Stockholm: SIDA press, 1990.

Coombs, Phillip H. *The Fourth Dimension of Foreign Policy.* New York: Harper and Row, 1964.

___. *The World Crisis in Education.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.

D'Amato, John. "The belly of the beast: On cultural differences, castelike status, and the politics of school." *Anthropology Quarterly,* 4, (1987), 357-360.

Dangarembga, Tsitsi. *Nervous Conditions.* Seattle: Seal Press. 1988.

Doke, C.M.. *Report on the Unification of Shona.* Salisbury: Government of Southern Rhodesia. 1931.

Dorsey, Betty Jo. "Educational Development and Reform in Zimbabwe" *Comparative Education Research,* 33, (1989), 40-58.

Dzvimbo, Peter. "Education in the New Zimbabwe" Proceedings of a conference held at Michigan State University in collaboration with the Faculty of Education, University of Zimbabwe, June 1986. Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich., 1988.

___. Lecture on "The Expansion of Education in Zimbabwe." University of Zimbabwe, Harare. 1993.

Eagleton, Terry. *Literary Theory: an Introduction.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1983.

Eastman, Carol. *Language Planning.* San Francisco: Chandler and Sharp, 1983.

Fairclough, Norman. *Language and Power.* New York: Longman. 1989.

Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth.* New York: Grove Press Inc. 1968.

Finnegan, Ruth. *Oral Poetry.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1992.

Fishman, Joshua. *Bilingualism in the Bario.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1968.

Flood, D.G.H. "The Contribution of the London Missionary Society to African Education in Ndebeleland 1859-1959" in *Christianity South of the Zimbezi, vol 1,* ed. by Anthony J. Dachs. Mambo Press: Gwelo, (1973), 97-107.

Freire, Paolo. *Education for a Critical Consciousness.* New York: Seabury Press, 1980.
___. *Pedagogy in Process: the letters to Guinea-Bissau.* New York: Seabury Press, 1978.

Garfinkel, Harold. *Studies in Ethnomethodology.* Prentice Hall, Englwood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1967.

Genette, Gerard. *Narrative Discourse: an essay in method.* Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1980.

Giroux, Henry. A. and McLaren Peter. "Writing form the Margins: geographies of identity, pedagogy, and power." *Journal of Education.* Boston: Boston University Press. 174 (1), (1992), 7-30.

Giroux, Henry. A. *Border Crossings: Cultural Workers and the Politics of Education.* New York: Routledge, 1992.

Glissant, Edouard. *Caribbean Discourse.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1989.

Goerge-Marangoly Rosemary. and Scott, Helen. "An Interview with Tsitsi Dangarembga." *Novel.* 26 (3), (1993), 310-318.

Goke-Pariola, Abiodun. *The Role of Language in the Struggle for Power and Legitimacy in Africa.* Lewiston: E. Mellon. 1993.

Goodman, Kenneth. "Reading: a psycholinguistic guessing game." *Theoretical Models and Processes of Reading*, 2nd ed., H. Singer and R. Ruddel (Ed.), Newark: International Reading Association, (1976), 497-505.

Goody, Jack. *Literacy in Traditional Societies.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968.

Graham-Brown, Sarah. *Education in the Developing World.* New York: Longman, 1991.

Gramsci, Antonio. *Selections from Prison Notebooks*, Ed. and Trans. by Quintin Joare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith. Lawrence and Sishart Ltd.: London, 1986.

Greenfield, Patricia.M. and Brunner, J.S. "Culture and Cognitive Growth." *International Journal of Psychology.* 1(2), (1966), 89-107.

Greenfield, Patricia. M. "Oral and written language: The consequences for cognitive development in Africa, the United States, and England." In *Language and Speech,* (1972), 169-178.

Gunner, Liz. "Power, Popular Consciousness, and the Fictions of War: Hove's *Bones* and Chinodya's *Harvest of Thorn.*" *African Languages and Cultures.* 4(1), 1991, 77-85.

Harrow, Kenneth. W. *Thresholds of Change in African Literature: The Emergence of a Tradition.* Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1994.

Haugen, Einar I. *Language Conflict and Language Planning: The case of Modern Norwegian.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966.

Havelock, Eric A. *Preface to Plato.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963.

Heath, Shirley. *Ways with words.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1983.

Heine, Bernd, *Status and Use of African Lingua Francas.* New York: Humanities Press Inc., 1970.

Hill, Janice E. "Purging a plate full of colonial history: The 'Nervous Conditions' of silent girls." *College Literature,* 1995, v22, n1, (1995), 78-113.

Hove, Chenjerai. *Shabeen Tales: Messages from Harare.* London: Serif, 1994.
___. *Shadows.* Harare: Harare: Baobab Books, 1991.
___. *Bones.* London: Heinemann, 1988.
___. *Swimming in Floods of Tears.* Mambo Press: Gweru, 1983.
___. *Up in Arms.* Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1982.

Irele, Abiola. "The Criticism of Modern African Literature." *Perspectives on African Literature.* London: Heinemann, 1971.

Iser, Wolfgang. *Prospecting.* Baltimore: John's Hopkin's University Press. 1989.

Kuster, Sybille. *Neither Cultural Imperialism Nor Precious Gift of Civilization: African Education in Colonial Zimbabwe 1890-1962.* Hamburg: Lit, 1994.

Kotey, Paul F. A. and Der-Houssikian, Haig. *Language and Linguistic Problems in Africa.* New York: Hornbeam Press Incorporated, 1976.

Laitin, David. *Language Repetoires and State Construction in Africa.* Chicago: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Lamb, David. *The Africans.* New York: Random House, 1983.

Lan, David. *Guns and Rain: Guerillas and Spirit Mediums in Zimbabwe.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.

Liebenow, Gus. *African Politics.* Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1986.

Mazrui, Ali. *Political Sociology of the English Language.* Paris: Mouton, 1979.

McCrea, Barbara and Pinchuck, Tony. *Zimbabwe and Botswana: The Rough Guide.* London: The Rough Guides Ltd., 1990.

McWilliams, Sally. Tsitsi Dangarembga's *Nervous Conditions*: At the Crossroads of Feminism and Post-colonialism. *World Literature* vol. 31, n1, (1991), 103-112.

Mckginley, K. "First-year Reading Levels at the Universtiy of Zimbabwe." In *Zambezia.* vol. 8, 1984.

Meintjes, Sheila. "Family and Gender in the Christian Community at Edendale, Natal, in Colonial Times" in *Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945.* Ed. by Cherryl Walker and David Philip. James Currey: Cape Town, London, (1990), 125-145.

Miller, Christopher L. *Theories of Africans.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.

Moraes, Marcia. *Bilingual Education : a dialogue with the Bakhtin circle* Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996.

Moyana, Toby T. *Education, Liberation and the Creative Art.* Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1988.

Moyo, S. Personal communication. University of Zimbabwe, Harare. July 12, 1993.

Mudimbe, V.Y. *The Idea of Africa.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994.

Mugabe, Robert G. Opening Remarks at the First World Congress of Education International Proceedings. Harare, 1995

Mungoshi. Charles. Some Kinds of Wounds. Harare: Mambo Press, 1980.
___. *Waiting for the Rain.* London: Heinneman, 1974.
___. *Coming of the Dry Season.* Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1972.

Mtshali, Vulindlela B. *Rhodesia: Background to Conflict.* New York: Hawthorn Books, 1967

Natsa, Albert. *An investigation of secondary school language teacher's conceptions of literacy and How these conceptions relate to literacy instruction in Zimbabwe.* Diss., East Lansing, Michigan State University, 1994.

___. Personal Communication. East Lansing, MI. July 16, 1994.

Ngara, Emmanuel. A. and Morrison, Andrew. *Literature Language and the Nation.* Harare: Baobab Books, 1989.

Ngara, Emmanuel.A. *Teaching Literature in Africa.* Harare: Zimbabwe Educational Books.
___. *Bilingualism, Language Contact and Language Planning.* Harare: Baobab Books. 1982.

Ngugi Wa Thiong'o. *Decolonizing the Mind. The Politics of Language in English Literature.* London: Heinemann, 1986.

Neyrere, Julius. *Education for Self-Reliance.* Dares Salam: Information Services Division, Ministry of Information and Tourism, 1967.

Olson, David R. and Torrance, Nancy. *Literacy, Language, and Learning.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Ogbu, John U. *Minority Education and Caste.* New York: Academic Press, 1978.

Permanent Secretary of Culture and Primary Education Sibanda. Lecture. University of Zimbabwe, Harare, July 10, 1993.

Phillipson, Robert. *Linguistic Imperialism.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Pratt, Mary L. "Arts of the Contact Zone." *Profession.* New York: MLA (1991), 33-40.

Rakuni, Mary. Personal Communication. September 12, 1995.

Ranger, Terrance.O. "The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa." *The Invention of Tradition.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1983.

___. *The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia.* Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1970.

Richmond, Edmun B. *New Direcitons in Language Teaching in Sub-Saharan Africa.* Washington DC: University Press of America, 1983.

Rubagumya, Casmir M. *Teaching and Researching in African Classrooms.* Bristol: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Rotberg, Robert I. *The Founder: Cecil Rhodes and the pursuit of power.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

deSaussure, Ferdinand. *Course in General Linguistics.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966.

Sadler, John. 1996d. "Issues Concerning Cambridge Localization in Zimbabwe." personal email communication (24, Feb. 1996).

___. 1996c. "Issues Concerning Cambridge Localization in Zimbabwe." personal email communication (22, Jan. 1996).

___. 1996b. "Issues Concerning Cambridge Localization in Zimbabwe." personal email communication (15, Nov. 1995).

___. 1996a. "Issues Concerning Cambridge Localization in Zimbabwe." personal email communication (7, Nov. 1995).

Sassoon, Anne S. *Approaches to Gramsci.* Writers and Readers Publishing Cooperative Ltd: London. 1982.

Saville-Troike, Muriel. *The Ethnography of Communication.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1982.

Schmied, Joseph. *English in Africa: An Introduction.* New York: Longman, 1991.

Scotton, Carol. *Choosing a lingua Franca in an African Capital.* Edmonton: Linguistic Research Inc., 1972.

Scribner Sylvia and Cole, Michael. *The Psychology of Literacy.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Sicherman, Carol. "We Have Still To Shed a Few of Lucifer's Feathers. . ." an Interview with Charles Mungoshi. *Zambezia,* (1990).

Spolsky, Bernard. *Measured Words.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Stoneman, Colin. and Cliffe, Lionel. *Zimbabwe: Politics, Economics and Society.* New York: Pinter Publishers, 1989.

Stratton, Florence "Charles Mungoshi's *Waiting for the Rain.*" *Zambesia.* XIII (I), (1986). 11-24.

Street, Brian. "Culture is a Verb: Anthropological aspects of language and cultural process." Papers from the Annual Meeting of the British Association of Appplied Linguistics. Trevelyan College, University of Durham, September 1991. Ed. by David Graddol Linda Thompson and Mike Byram, 1993.

____. *Literacy in Theory and Practice.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Tannen, Deborah. Relative focus on involvement in oral and written discourse. In D. R. Olson, A. Hildyard, & N. Torrance (eds.), *Literacy, Language, and learning: The nature and consequences of reading and writing.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (1985), 124-47.

Thompkins, Jane. P. *Reader-Response Criticism.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980.

Thompson, John, B. *Studies in the Theory of Ideology.* Polity Press, 1984

Tollefson, J.W. *Planning Language, Planning Inequality.* New York: Longman, 1991.

Tsodzo, Thompson. Personal Communication. East Lansing. July 19, 1994.

Tuman, Myron C. *Word Perfect: Literacy in the Computer Age.* Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburg, 1992.

UCLES. *Joint Examination for the School Certificate and Genderal Certificate of Education Ordinary Level: English Language Paper 2.* Cambridge: UCLES press. 1988.

____. *General Certificate of Education 1984, Examination Question Papers Volume I Ordinary Level.* Harare: Mazongororo Paper Converters Ltd., 1984.

UCLES and The Ministry of Education and Culture, Zimbabwe. *General Certificate of Education Ordinary Level: English Language Paper 2.* Cambridge: UCLES Press, 1994.

UNESCO *General History of Africa VII Africa Under Colonial Domination 1880-1935.* Berkely: University of California Press. 1985.

Van Slyck, Phylis. "Repositioning Ourselves in the Contact Zone." *College English.* 59(2), (1997), 149-170.

Veit-Wild, Flora. *Teachers, Preachers, Non-Believers: A Social History of Zimbabwean Literature.* Harare: Baobab Books, 1993.

___. "Creating a New Society: Women's Writing in Zimbabwe." *The Journal of Commonwealth Literature.* 22(1), (1987), 171-78.

Weaver, Carol. *Reading Process and Practice: from Socio-linguistics to Whole Language.* Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1988.

Werner, David. "The Politics of Language Status Planning in Kenya and Tanzania." Paper presented at African Studies Association Conference. Toronto, 1994.

Wertsch, James V. A Sociocultural Approach to Socially Shared Cognition. In L.B. Resnick, J.m. Levine, and S.D. Teasley (Eds.), *Perspectives on Socially Shared Cognition.* Washington, DC. : American Psychological Association, (1991), 85-100.

Wylie, Dan. "Language Thieves: English-Language Strategies in Two Zimbabwean Novelas." *English in Africa.* 18 (2), (1991), 39-62.

Young, Kenneth. *Rhodesia and Independence:* a study in British colonial policy. London: Dent, 1969.

Zimbabwean Ministry of Education. *Primary Grade 3 English Syllabus.* Harare: Curriculum Development Unit, 1986.

Zimbabwean Ministry of Education. *Primary Grade 4 English Syllabus.* Harare: Curriculum Development Unit, 1985.

Zimbabwean Parliament. "Amendment to Zimbabwe Education Act." Harare: Government Printer, 1987.

Zvogbo, Chengetai J. M.. *African Education in Zimbabwe: The colonial inheritance of the new state.* in *Issue.* XI (3/4), (1981), 13-21.

Zvogbo, Rungano J. *Transforming Education: The Zimbabwean Experience.* The College Press: Harare, 1986.