

Cultural Heritage and Contemporary Change
Series II. African Philosophical Studies, Volume 22

Philosophy, Race and Multiculturalism in Southern Africa

Zimbabwean Philosophical Studies, III

Edited by
Fainos Mangena & John Douglas McClymont

The Council for Research in Values and Philosophy

**Copyright © 2018 by
The Council for Research in Values and Philosophy**

Gibbons Hall B-20
620 Michigan Avenue, NE
Washington, D.C. 20064

All rights reserved

Printed in the United States of America

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication

Names: Mangena, Fainos, editor.

Title: Philosophy, race, and multiculturalism in southern Africa / edited by
Fainos Mangena & John Douglas McClymont.

Description: First [edition].. | Washington DC : Council for Research in
Values and Philosophy, 2018. | Series: Cultural heritage and contemporary
change. Series II, African philosophical studies ; Volume 22 | Series:
Zimbabwean philosophical studies ; 3 | Includes bibliographical references
and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2018027134 | ISBN 9781565183360 (pbk. : alk. paper)

Subjects: LCSH: Philosophy--Africa, Southern. | Racism--Africa, Southern. |
Multiculturalism--Africa, Southern. | Philosophy, Zimbabwean. |
Racism--Zimbabwe. | Multiculturalism--Zimbabwe.

Classification: LCC B5625 .P45 2018 | DDC 199/.68--dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2018027134>

Acknowledgments

We would like to take this opportunity to thank those who contributed directly and indirectly to the production and publication of this book. Many thanks go to the Executive Director of the Council for Research in Values and Philosophy in America (Washington, D.C.), Dr. Hu Yeping, who supported this project by attending the conference as our guest of honour, and was also instrumental in the publication of the book volume.

Many thanks also go to the University of Zimbabwe leadership which allowed the Philosophical Society of Zimbabwe (PSZ) to host the conference at the University of Zimbabwe on the 13th of May 2017. The Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Professor Itai Muwati and his Deputy, Professor Nisbert Taringa, both graced the occasion, for which we thank them.

Some members of the Department of Religious Studies, Classics and Philosophy, who are not in the PSZ Executive Committee, participated as members of the organizing committee, and these include Dr. J. Maritz and Ms. Barbara Chibvamushure. To them we can only say: May God bless you!

Dedication

This volume is dedicated to all the people in Southern Africa who have invariably suffered as a result of xenophobia and racial discrimination.

Table of Contents

Preface	vii
<i>Fainos Mangena</i>	
Introduction: Revisiting the Themes of Race and Multiculture in Southern Africa	1
<i>Fainos Mangena & John Douglas McClymont</i>	
Part I. Race and Culture	
1. Racial Prejudices in Current South African Philosophical Discourses	11
<i>Fainos Mangena</i>	
2. Racism and Discrimination in Zimbabwe: Cues from Noam Chomsky's Universal Grammar	29
<i>Francis Matambirofa</i>	
3. The Legacy of Racism in African Philosophy: Lessons from Nyerere's Socialism	47
<i>Joyline Gwara</i>	
4. Race, Culture and Philosophy: Interventions from a Zambian Philosopher	63
<i>John Mweshi</i>	
5. Race, the Colonial University and Xenophobia in Grahamstown, South Africa	77
<i>Prolific S. Mataruse</i>	
Part II. Multiculturalism and Ubuntu	
6. Multiculturalism, Tolerance, Ethnic Hierarchy and Xenophobia in Southern Africa	97
<i>Tarisayi Andrea Chimuka</i>	
7. Multiculturalism and Class in Zimbabwe	119
<i>Oswell Hapanyengwi-Chemhuru</i>	
8. Multiculturalism, Contraception and Cultural Perversion in Zimbabwe	145
<i>Chipo Marble Hatendi</i>	

9. Animals and Power in Ancient Greek and Kalanga Oral Wisdom Literatures: A Comparative Analysis <i>Madlozi Moyo</i>	159
10. The Politics of Hermeneutics: An Inquiry into the Pneumatological Conflicts in the Multicultural Apostolic Faith Mission in Zimbabwe <i>Phillemon Chamburuka</i>	175
11. Multiculturalism and Education in Zimbabwe <i>Clive Tendai Zimunya & Chipso Marble Hatendi</i>	195
Part III. Culture and Values	
12. A New Paradigm Shift in Human Relationships: The Case of Reciprocity and <i>Humwe</i> in Selected Fictional Narratives <i>Ruby Magosvongwe</i>	211
13. Some Misconceptions about Culture: Views from a Zimbabwean Classical Thinker <i>John Douglas McClymont</i>	233
14. Old People's Homes (OPHs) as a Legacy of Colonialism in Zimbabwe: Perspectives from <i>Hunhu/Ubuntu</i> Cultural Philosophy <i>Ngoni Makuvaza & Ruth B. Gora</i>	251
15. Negotiating Cultural Diversities in Zimbabwe's Nation-Building Project: An Interrogation of Theatrical Perspectives <i>Ngonidzashe Muwonwa & Nehemiah Chivandikwa</i>	269
Contributors	289
Index	295

Preface

FAINOS MANGENA

The title of the book volume, *Philosophy, Race, and Multiculturalism in Southern Africa*, was born out of the theme of an International Philosophy Conference which was held at the University of Zimbabwe on 13 May 2017 under the auspices of the Philosophical Society of Zimbabwe (PSZ) and the Council for Research in Values and Philosophy (RVP) based in the United States of America.

The book addresses three pertinent issues, namely, philosophy, race, and multiculturalism, especially as they play out in Southern Africa. My conviction is that if there is one thing that has divided the world, it is the issue of whether or not Africa has a well-defined philosophy worthy of celebration. This debate, which started with Western philosophers such as G.W.F. Hegel, David Hume, Immanuel Kant and Lucien Levy-Bruhl, is more than five decades old, and yet its influence on contemporary philosophical thinking in South Africa still abounds.

It is also important to note that, apart from this seemingly tired debate, there have also been debates centred on the issues of ethnic difference in Africa, particularly in South Africa and Zambia, which have seen fellow black Africans fighting and killing each other through what has become known as xenophobia. These unfortunate developments have prompted some contributors in this book to ask questions similar to the following: Where has the African spirit of brotherhood gone? Do African boundaries really matter? How pragmatic is the philosophy of *hunhu/ubuntu* in uniting the people of Southern Africa?

The volume is made up of fifteen well-argued papers which are divided into three parts, namely; race and culture, multiculturalism and *ubuntu*, and culture and values. Contributors have been drawn from diverse academic backgrounds so as to make the book appealing to a wider readership. This book is the third in a series of volumes published on Zimbabwe by the Council for Research in Values and Philosophy in the last 10 years. The first, was entitled: *The Struggles after the Struggle: Zimbabwean Philosophical Studies I*, published in 2008 (edited by David Kaulemu). The second was entitled: *Philosophy in African Traditions and Cultures: Zimbabwean Philosophical Studies II*, published in 2015 (edited by Fainos Mangena, Tarisayi Andrea Chimuka and Francis Mabiri). We trust that this volume will be a worthy contribution to the series.

Introduction
**Revisiting the Themes of Race and
Multiculture in Southern Africa**

FAINOS MANGENA & JOHN DOUGLAS McCLYMONT

This volume is a product of a collaborative effort between the Philosophical Society of Zimbabwe (PSZ) headquartered at the University of Zimbabwe's Department of Religious Studies, Classics and Philosophy, and the Council for Research in Values and Philosophy (RVP) based at the Catholic University in America, Washington, D.C. The two philosophical bodies agreed to have a conference running under the theme "Philosophy, Race and Multiculturalism in Southern Africa," and the PSZ was given the mandate to organize the conference, which took place on the 13th of May 2017 at the University of Zimbabwe's main campus. The above theme was considered to be topical and relevant, given that Southern Africa as a region was experiencing spates of ethnic and racial conflicts as a result of xenophobia and academic racism. While xenophobia had seen foreigners from countries like Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Malawi and Zambia being targeted for attack by native black South Africans who accused them of taking their jobs, academic racism was seen in the philosophical writings of some radical white philosophers in South Africa, who still viewed blacks and their philosophies as not measuring up to their "standards." This conference set the record straight that Africans needed to re-claim their place and space so as to unapologetically fight the scourge of xenophobia and racism, through embracing the idea of multiculturalism. Below, we give an outline of the papers that make up this volume.

In the first paper, Fainos Mangena is engaged in critical conversations with renowned South African philosophers on the subject of race and African philosophy. These include: Rafael Winkler,¹ Augustine Shutte,² Thaddeus Metz,³ and Douglas F.P. Taylor.⁴ In his attempt to rebut the claims of these philosophers, Mangena makes use of the critical contribu-

¹R. Winkler, "Who has authority to talk about identity?" *Mail & Guardian*, 7 February 2017, <https://mg.co.za/article/2017-02-07-00-who-has-authority-to-talk-about-identity>.

²A Shutte, *Philosophy for Africa* (Cape Town: UCT Press (Pty) Ltd, 1993).

³T. Metz, "Toward an African Moral Theory," *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, 15 (2007), 321-341.

⁴D.F.P. Taylor, "Defining *Ubuntu* for Business Ethics: a Deontological Approach," *South African Journal of Philosophy*, 33 (3) (2014), 331-345.

tions by Mogobe Ramose,⁵ Makinde⁶ and Coetzee and Roux.⁷ Mangena makes it clear that the philosophical racism exhibited in the works of the above-mentioned white South African philosophers should not be tolerated, and that there is a need for African philosophers of black extraction to break free from the shackles of racism and chart their own destiny.

In the second paper, socio-linguist Francis Matambirofa, arguing in a Zimbabwean context, and dealing with the same problems as Mangena in the first paper, postulates that the ideas of multiculturalism and anti-discrimination should be invoked to deal decisively with the problems of racism, especially against blacks and Asians. Thus, Matambirofa advocates a complete rejection of any racial discrimination deodorized and given academic respectability by some academics, especially in South Africa. Matambirofa thinks that in order to deal with the problem of racism in Zimbabwe, there is need to draw some lessons from Noam Chomsky's universal grammar, which holds that: "All human beings are endowed with an innate capacity for culture acquisition, evolvment, development and/or abandonment." The foundational argument he presents is that humans are fundamentally the same, and that variations in culture cannot constitute sufficient grounds for any form of discrimination whatsoever.

The third paper by Joyline Gwara is another contribution on the problem of racism in philosophy in Southern Africa, with a particular focus on Zimbabwe. In this paper, Gwara argues that Western philosophers have continued to monopolize discourses on philosophy, including African philosophy, thereby causing unnecessary confrontations between them and indigenous black philosophers, who justifiably believe that they are better qualified to define and characterize African philosophy by virtue of their rootedness in African culture. The paper proceeds by critically defining racism, as well as identifying "the challenges associated with the subjective element in the definition of the same."

One of the critical works Gwara uses to unravel these issues is by Chitando and Mangena⁸ who look at the history of philosophical racism in the University of Zimbabwe soon after independence, where there were more white philosophers than there were black philosophers, and the

⁵See M.B. Ramose, *African Philosophy through Ubuntu* (Harare: Mond Books, 2000), and by the same author, "The Death of Democracy and the Resurrection of Timocracy," *Journal of Moral Education*, 39 (3) (2010), 291-303.

⁶M.A. Makinde, *African Philosophy, Culture and Traditional Medicine* (Athens: Africa Series Number 53, 1988).

⁷P.H. Coetzee and A.P.J. Roux (eds.), *Philosophy from Africa* (London: Routledge, 1998).

⁸E. Chitando and F. Mangena, "Philosophy in the 'House of Stone': A Critical Review," *South African Journal of Philosophy*, 34 (2) (2015), 226-229.

curriculum had a bias towards white supremacist values. In the final analysis, the paper argues that Nyerere's idea of socialism could be improved and utilized to deal with the challenges posed by racism in Southern Africa.

Like Mangena, Matambirofa and Gwara, who seem to think that race has perverted indigenous cultures, and thereby distort their philosophies, John Mweshi argues, in the fourth paper, that culture plays an important role in shaping one's philosophy. Unlike Mangena, Matambirofa and Gwara, who prefer to focus more on philosophical narratives of racism in Southern Africa, Mweshi focuses more on the issue of culture, arguing that philosophy can be understood better if an attempt is made to analytically define culture in relation to other related concepts such as race and civilization without confusing these concepts. For Mweshi, before one proceeds to engage in debates on racism in African philosophy, it is important to clarify key concepts. As Mweshi puts it, "Clarity is crucial, especially in academic discourse, where it is essential to operationalise or give specific meaning to many of the terms in common usage." Thus, "[i]n treating culture, race and civilization as aspects of human society, this discussion maintains that these concepts should be clearly disentangled, in order to appreciate how each relates to philosophy."

In the fifth paper, Prolific Mataruse provides a critical reflection on "events that happened in Grahamstown, South Africa, drawing a connection between the seemingly separate and disconnected incidents of xenophobia (2015) and #Rhodes Must Fall (2015), #Rhodes So White (2015), #Fees Must Fall (2015 and 2016), and the anti-rape-culture protests (2016) – events which featured in several debates on the transformation of South African tertiary education in general and Rhodes University in particular." The reflections are based on Mataruse's personal experiences as a student at Rhodes University, which is located in Grahamstown, South Africa. Mataruse argues that the incidents or demonstrations cited above are a clear indication that people of colour (black South Africans) are still being racially discriminated against by their white counterparts in sectors of higher education.

In the sixth paper, Tarisayi Andrea Chimuka argues that the Southern African region is currently experiencing serious economic and political challenges triggered by the economic and political instability in Zimbabwe. Chimuka argues that the Zimbabwean crisis has led to some Zimbabweans migrating into neighbouring countries such as South Africa in search of better employment opportunities. This has put strain on South Africa's resources, resulting in native South Africans, especially blacks, becoming frustrated and venting their anger on foreigners through xenophobia. This development has prompted Chimuka to challenge the promise of multiculturalism in promoting regional integration. This is a very

powerful paper coming at a time when there are ethnic and racial tensions in the region.

In the seventh paper, Oswell Hapanyengwi-Chemhuru argues for the need to promote social solidarity, especially as Zimbabwe comes to grips with the new curriculum introduced by the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education, which has opened up teaching on religions other than Christianity, which was traditionally the norm. Hapanyengwi-Chemhuru argues that Zimbabweans must be tolerant of each other and, for that to be possible, there is need to embrace a multicultural education which will put every Zimbabwean on an equal footing. This is a well-argued paper very relevant to contemporary Zimbabwe, which is threatened by ethnic differences and racial tendencies as a result of the political polarization of the last two decades.

Chipo Marble Hatendi argues, in the eighth paper, that the idea of contraception poses many challenges in a multicultural society like Zimbabwe, where cultures always conflict when it comes to family and reproductive issues. Hatendi explores the perceptions of the Shona people regarding the idea of contraception, in order to ascertain whether or not these perceptions can be universalized. Hatendi uses the tried and tested philosophy of *hunhu/ubuntu* as her tool of analysis. Her contribution is important in that it helps women to understand the gender-related, cultural and religious dynamics involved in the discourse of family planning in Zimbabwe.

The ninth paper by Madlozi Moyo is a reflection on the deployment of animals in the depiction of human political relations in Greek and Kalanga orature. Moyo proceeds by asking critical questions such as: How are animals used to dispense political wisdom in Greek and Kalanga orature? Which animals are symbols of power, and which animals are symbols of weakness? How do the two bodies of ancient Greek and proto-literate Kalanga literature assign literary roles to animals? As Moyo argues, “mention of animal virtues is essential in a praise poem because it transfers an animal’s power into the human world. In that sense animals have cultural capital which is used by both artisans and poets to give their recipients cultural status.” This knowledge is critical in that it helps human beings, especially the Kalanga people, to appreciate the value of animals in their lives and the need to protect them

In the tenth paper, Phillemon Chamburuka takes the reader through the ‘politics’ of pneumatology as found in one of Zimbabwe’s biggest Pentecostal churches, the Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM) in Zimbabwe. He does so by interpreting Pauline and Lucan pneumatological traditions on glossolalia with a view to showing that multiculturalism had an influence on the development of pneumatological traditions in the early church, and continues to do so in present-day Zimbabwe. This is a very important contribution, given the emergence of Pentecostal prophets in

Zimbabwe since 2007, and the way they have changed the Christian way of worship because of their emphasis on the prosperity gospel, linked with the discourse of glossolalia.

In the eleventh paper, Clive Tendai Zimunya and Chipso Marble Hatendi argue in support of the move taken by the Zimbabwe government, through the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education, to introduce the new curriculum which opened the way for the teaching of Islam and other non-Christian religions. Contrary to the views of the general public, Zimunya and Hatendi believe that this development promotes social cohesion. Their view is that Zimbabwe is a multicultural society, and as such it should give equal respect to all religions. To them, the inclusion of Islam in public schools should be seen as a step in the right direction.

In the twelfth paper, Ruby Magosvongwe discusses two concepts which she considers to be key in building harmonious human relations in Southern Africa, in general and in Zimbabwe, in particular. These concepts are reciprocity and *humwe*. Magosvongwe's discussion of these concepts is informed by Charles Dickens's *Great Expectations*,⁹ Ayi Kwei Armah's *Two Thousand Seasons*¹⁰ and Mashingaidze Gomo's *A Fine Madness*.¹¹ Her discussion places a premium on tapping the wisdom from these fictional narratives with a view to showing that something worthwhile can be found in these narratives that points towards harmonious human relations. Magosvongwe argues that literature is one window through which human beings can better understand themselves, their cultural values and their worldviews. This is a very relevant and lucid contribution which enriches this volume. In our time, issues of relationality and togetherness have become very urgent because of the fractured nature of our societies, as a result of modernity and globalisation.

In the paper entitled "Some Misconceptions about Culture: Views from a Zimbabwean Classical Thinker," John Douglas McClymont begins by re-marking that "the theme of culture is an important one whenever we are looking at interactions between Africa and the West." In order to foreground his thesis, McClymont asks critical questions such as: Are all cultures equally valid, or is one better than another? Can culture be separated from other elements of human life, such as religion? How should people of African roots respond to Western culture? McClymont then presents ten myths which he thinks serve to distort the true meaning of culture. Worthy of particular mention are: Myth 1, whereby culture is not related

⁹C. Dickens, *Great Expectations* (Centennial Edition) (Geneva: Heron Books, 1961).

¹⁰A.K. Armah, *Two Thousand Seasons* (Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Publishers, 1973).

¹¹M. Gomo, *A Fine Madness* (London: Ayebia Clarke, 2010).

to religion; Myth 2 that culture can be more or less ignored in the realm of reasoning and epistemology; Myth 3 that there is no objective truth, only different cultural perspectives; Myth 4 that no belief from one culture can ever be binding on another culture; and Myth 5 that my culture is perfect. There is no doubt that the relevance of this paper lies in its ability to promote tolerance, and peaceful co-existence, which we consider to be the hallmarks of development.

In the fourteenth paper, Ngoni Makuvaza and Ruth B. Gora interrogate the place of Old People's Homes (OPHs) in the context of Shona culture, and they use two approaches to defend their claim. Firstly, they look at these OPHs from a positive perspective where they see them as addressing a persistent social problem in the name of destitution. Nevertheless, they also look at these OPHs from a negative perspective, whereby they see them as contributing to the erosion of our cultural values, given that once these old people are domiciled in these homes, younger generations would fail to access their wisdom, as the OPHs would become "locked libraries." In their bid to unlock these libraries, Makuvaza and Gora call for the resuscitation of *chirere chigokurerawo* (the principle of reciprocity) augmented by the philosophy of *hunhu/ubuntu*.¹² This paper is important in two ways. On one hand, it is important to note that the paper sees the introduction of OPHs as a positive development in Zimbabwe, considering that the plight of elderly people, just like the plight of other disadvantaged groups such as orphans and the disabled, is sometimes overlooked by the government. On the other hand, it is equally important to applaud the two contributors for standing their ground in saying that the concept of OPHs is not African, and may sometimes tend to uproot the African from his or her cultural roots.

In the fifteenth paper, Ngonidzashe Muwonwa and Nehemiah Chivandikwa introduce the notion of "how theatrical performances as sites of socio-cultural and socio-political constructions may be implicated in the struggle for nation-building and identity-constructions within the context of cultural diversity or multiculturalism." Their view is that a nation is a cultural zone of contact comprising many contact spaces, such as the areas of education, media, politics and sports as well as cultural activities. As Muwonwa and Chivandikwa argue, "the chapter demonstrates how theatre complexly reflects the way the state inherited plural and diverse national colonial political structures, national in the negative political sense,

¹²M. Gelfand, *The Genuine Shona – Survival Values of an African Culture* (Gweru: Mambo Press, 1967), p.72; N. Makuvaza, "Philosophical Reflections on the Provisions of Primary Education in Zimbabwe: An Investigation into whether or not *hunhu/ubuntu* can be incorporated into the Philosophy of Education," unpublished D.Phil. Thesis (University of Zimbabwe, 2015), p.102.

and modified them, in the process creating a modified version of colonial diversity or multiculturalism in which the state sought to dominate all cultural, economic and political spaces.”¹³

Disclaimer

The viewpoints of each author are their own, and inclusion of an author in this publication does not imply agreement with or endorsement of their views. We are not here expecting authors to adhere to a “party line” but are allowing people of different perspectives to express themselves. The papers were first drafted while Mugabe was in power in Zimbabwe, and do not necessarily reflect the impact of events in Zimbabwe in November 2017 which included his subsequent resignation.

References

- Armah, A.K. (1973). *Two Thousand Seasons*. Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Publishers.
- Chitando, E. and Mangena, F. (2015). “Philosophy in the ‘House of Stone’: A Critical Review.” *South African Journal of Philosophy*, 34 (2), pp. 226-229.
- Coetzee, P.H. and Roux, A.P.J. (eds.) (1998). *Philosophy from Africa*. London: Routledge
- Dickens, C. (1961). *Great Expectations* (Centennial Edition). Geneva: Heron Books.
- Gelfand, M. (1967). *The Genuine Shona – Survival Values of an African Culture*. Gweru: Mambo Press.
- Goh, D.P.S. (2008). “From Colonial Pluralism to Postcolonial Multiculturalism: Race, State Formation and the Question of Cultural Diversities in Malaysia and Singapore.” *Sociology Compass*, 2(1), pp. 232-252.
- Gomo, M. (2010). *A Fine Madness*. London: Ayebia Clarke.
- Makinde, M.A. (1988). *African Philosophy, Culture and Traditional Medicine*. Athens: Africa Series Number 53.
- Makuvaza, N. (2015). “Philosophical Reflections on the Provisions of Primary Education in Zimbabwe: An Investigation into whether or not *hunhu/Ubuntu* can be incorporated into the Philosophy of Education.” Unpublished D.Phil. Thesis, University of Zimbabwe.

¹³Cf. D.P.S. Goh, “From Colonial Pluralism to Postcolonial Multiculturalism: Race, State Formation and the Question of Cultural Diversities in Malaysia and Singapore,” *Sociology Compass*, 2(1) (2008), 232-252.

- Metz, T. (2007). "Toward an African Moral Theory." *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, 15, pp. 321-341.
- Ramose, M.B. (2010). "The Death of Democracy and the Resurrection of Timocracy." *Journal of Moral Education*, 39 (3), pp. 291-303
- _____. (2000). *African Philosophy through Ubuntu*. Harare: Mond Books.
- Shutte, A. (1993). *Philosophy for Africa*. Cape Town: UCT Press (Pty) Ltd.
- Taylor, D.F.P. (2014). "Defining *ubuntu* for Business Ethics: a Deontological Approach." *South African Journal of Philosophy*, 33 (3), pp. 331-3.
- Winkler, R. (2017). "Who has authority to talk about identity?" *Mail & Guardian*, 7 February 2017. <https://mg.co.za/article/2017-02-07-00-who-has-authority-to-talk-about-identity> (accessed 5 April 2017).

Part I
Race and Culture

1.
**Racial Prejudices in Current South African
Philosophical Discourses**

FAINOS MANGENA

Introduction

Developments in philosophical research in South Africa in the last two decades have prompted me to write this paper. These developments seem to point to one thing, that is, that philosophy – and by extension African philosophy – in South Africa is still a preserve of the white mind. Commenting on the organization and structure of the Philosophical Society of Southern Africa (PSSA), Mabogo More¹ remarks that “South African philosophy is not yet free from racism because indigenous black philosophers are marginalized by the white philosophers who control in heavy-handed fashion, the Philosophical Society of Southern Africa.” In this paper I dialogue with some of articles penned by white philosophers in South Africa that seem to confirm what I and More consider to be traits of philosophical racism in these articles. In particular, I dialogue with contributions by Rafael Winkler,² Augustine Shutte,³ Thaddeus Metz,⁴ and Douglas F.P. Taylor.⁵ I also make use of the interventions by

¹M. More, “Racism and Academic Philosophy in South Africa,” 3rd March 2017, <http://www.theconmag.co.za/2017/03/03/racism>.

²R. Winkler, “Who has authority to talk about identity?” *Mail & Guardian*, 7 February 2017, <https://mg.co.za/article/2017-02-07-00-who-has-authority-to-talk-about-identity>.

³A. Shutte, *Philosophy for Africa* (Cape Town: UCT Press (Pty) Ltd, 1993).

⁴T. Metz, “Toward an African Moral Theory,” *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, 15 (2007), 321-341.

⁵D.F.P. Taylor, “Defining *Ubuntu* for Business Ethics: a Deontological Approach,” *South African Journal of Philosophy*, 33 (3) (2014), 331-345.

Ramose,⁶ Makinde⁷ and Coetzee and Roux⁸ to defend my claims. I begin this installment by a brief history of racism in academic philosophy in South Africa.

A Brief History of Racism in Academic Philosophy in South Africa

It would be a sign of outright naivety for one to think that racial overtones in contemporary South African philosophical discourses are of recent origin. Research shows that they go as far back as the 1970s. As a matter of fact, philosophical literature records that the history of African philosophy is the history of the struggle between indigenous blacks wanting to assert themselves as *bona fide* philosophers, especially with regard to Africa, and white philosophers wanting to show that they were born with the skills to prescribe philosophies across cultures, as they believed that philosophy was for the white race.

It seems that white philosophers have always looked down upon their black counterparts when it comes to philosophizing, with controversial submissions from G.W.F. Hegel, Lucien Levy-Bruhl, Immanuel Kant and others justifying our claim. These white philosophers labored vehemently to demonstrate the “foreignness” of philosophy to Africa. This same attitude, though somewhat non-aggressive, seem to be prevalent among some white philosophers in South Africa today.

Eminent black philosopher Mabogo More⁹ traces the history of racism in academic philosophy in South Africa back to the apartheid era and beyond. In his entry into this debate, More¹⁰ begins by relating his first encounter with philosophical racism in South Africa before responding to Winkler’s article in the *Mail & Guardian* of 7 February 2017. He begins by narrating his ordeal at the hands of the Philosophical Society of Southern Africa (PSSA) when he was a member in the 1970s.

⁶See M.B. Ramose, *African Philosophy through Ubuntu* (Harare: Mond Books, 2000), and by the same author, “The Death of Democracy and the Resurrection of Timocracy,” *Journal of Moral Education*, 39 (3) (2010), 291-303; “On the Contested Meaning of ‘Philosophy,’” *South African Journal of Philosophy*, 34(4) (2015), 551-558; “But Hans Kelsen was not Born in Africa: A Reply to Metz,” *South African Journal of Philosophy*, 26 (4) (2007), 347-355; and “I doubt therefore African Philosophy Exists,” *South African Journal of Philosophy*, 22(2) (2003), 113-127.

⁷M.A. Makinde, *African Philosophy, Culture and Traditional Medicine* (Athens: Africa Series Number 53, 1988).

⁸P.H Coetzee and A.P.J. Roux (eds.), *Philosophy from Africa* (London: Routledge, 1998).

⁹More, op. cit.

¹⁰Ibid., p.1.

He remarks thus:

In 1976, the third Annual PSSA Conference was scheduled to be at the University of Pretoria. On learning that two black philosophers (George Mashamba and I) were attending, the then Head of Department refused to have the conference hosted by his department and university. Black people were not welcomed at Tukkies even though they were members of the PSSA. To accommodate us, the conference was moved to UNISA. Both I and Mashamba refused to attend.¹¹

As if that was not enough, More¹² remarks that:

In 1977, at the Fourth Congress of the PSSA held at Potchefstroom University, a white cashier called me a “Kaffir” at the Cafeteria. She did this in the presence of my white colleagues. None of these...made a fuss about the incident except to quietly mumble a few...words to the hostile cashier that I was part of the group (a different “Kaffir”).

Tired of being a lone “school Kaffir” among white men with an attitude, and tired of being constantly insulted in many ways than one, More stopped attending the annual philosophy conferences from that year on. As More¹³ recalls, “I think I remained the only black philosophy lecturer in South Africa until Joe Ndaba became a philosophy lecturer at the University of Zululand and Vincent Maphai joined the department of philosophy at Wits university. Maphai’s presence encouraged me to attend again when Wits hosted the annual philosophy conference in 1983. When I got there, I realized that things hadn’t changed a bit so I stopped participating in academic philosophy conferences in South Africa.”¹⁴

Having narrated his story as a victim of philosophical racism, More¹⁵ then responds to what he refers to as “the problematic article penned by Winkler in the *Mail & Guardian*” of 7 February 2017. For starters, Winkler is an Associate Professor of Philosophy in the Department of Philosophy at the University of Johannesburg, South Africa. With reference to this article, More¹⁶ remarks that:

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid., p.1.

¹³Ibid., p.2.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵Ibid., p.1.

¹⁶ Ibid.

The problem for me is the transformation of a meta-philosophical issue into an epistemological issue. Winkler takes it upon himself to question the legitimacy of the complaints raised by young black South African philosophers about the treatment meted out to them by the PSSA. He questions their authority to talk about whom and what they are. He implies that since they do not have the authority to talk about their experiences they, by that very fact, do not know who and what they are.

For those who are ignorant about what had transpired prior to this debate, More¹⁷ argues that “the issue was prompted by an all-white panel discussion on South African Identity.” Black philosophers had not only questioned the constitution of the panel, but the continued marginalization of everything black (philosophers, philosophy, students, etc.) by the PSSA. In his response Winkler remarks that the real problem of the all-white panel was not racism, but “who has the authority to speak about South African identity.” Winkler¹⁸ thus speaks in metaphorical language, saying:

There is no doubt in my mind that the white man cannot experience the anti-black oppression of racialised institutions, just as a man cannot experience the gender oppression of patriarchal institutions. But this does not mean that someone who experiences these kinds of oppression has the authority and knowledge to speak about them.

As Winkler asserts, “authority is a property of our judgments insofar as we purport to say something true by means of them, and not of our experiences.”¹⁹ For Winkler,²⁰ “it is doubtful that the oppressed worker in a capitalist system, the oppressed woman in patriarchal institutions, will always produce a reliable discourse on the coercion and domination to which they are constantly subject.” In my world, there will always be two sides to a coin. What Winkler seems to be suggesting is that if the oppressed people cannot produce a reliable discourse about their plight under the vestiges of capitalism or the debilitating conditions of patriarchy or the callousness of racism, then the oppressor can do that on their behalf.

In fact, he confirms this when he avers that, “when I talk about racism, South African Identity or African philosophy, my aim is to say some-

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Op. cit.

¹⁹More, op. cit.

²⁰Op. cit.

thing true about such things.”²¹ It is probable that Winkler believes that white philosophers in South Africa hold the cardinal truth about which race is superior (white or black), and about who should define South African Identity and African philosophy.

This view sounds scandalous, though, especially as it indirectly endorses P.W. Botha’s 1985 remarks as former president of the Republic of South Africa:

Pretoria has been made by the white mind for the white mind.... The Republic of South Africa that we know of today has not been created by wishful thinking. We have created it at the expense of intelligence, sweat and blood....We do not pretend like other whites that we like Blacks....The fact that Blacks look like human beings do not necessarily make them sensible human beings. Hedgehogs are not porcupines and lizards are nor crocodiles simply because they look alike....Intellectually, we are superior to the blacks; that has been proved beyond reasonable doubt over the years.²²

It is critical to note that the problem of philosophical racism has continued unabated in the last forty or so years, if we go by More’s submissions. In 1993, Augustine Shutte, a white philosopher, wrote a book entitled: *Philosophy for Africa* – probably just to confirm what More had witnessed in the 1970s, that philosophy was for the white mind, and not for the black mind.

I have no doubt in my mind that this book received applause from the white community of philosophers, particularly in South Africa, but it is also on public record that the book received criticism from indigenous black philosophers who felt that Shutte had overstepped his mandate as a philosopher of occidental origins by prescribing a philosophy for Africa.

As Ramose²³ puts it, “the title of the book may best be explained in terms of the doctor-patient relationship in Western medicine whereby the doctor is regarded as qualified and competent to prescribe specific medicines for the cure of the patient.” Shutte also shows a streak of racial arrogance when he writes in the dedication of this book that, he wants to be “helped to be African.”

For Ramose, this will help him (Shutte) to be able to prescribe a Philosophy for Africa as he will have secured a position higher than the

²¹Ibid.

²²P.W. Botha, “Botha’s Speech 1985,” <http://www.nairaland.com/248669/bothas-speech-1985-must-read>.

²³Ramose (2003), p.121.

African.²⁴ These indigenous black philosophers reacted by penning a book entitled *Philosophy from Africa* which was edited by PH Coetzee and APJ Roux and published in 1998, just to set the record straight that Africans had an authentic philosophy. Ramose,²⁵ for instance, challenged Shutte for holding onto the view that Africa had wisdom while the West had philosophy. He argued thus:

If philosophy means, at least, etymologically, love of wisdom then it is difficult to understand the basis for the assumption that Africa does not have philosophy, for to ascribe wisdom to Africa is at the same time to concede that Africa does have a philosophy.²⁶

Mangena,²⁷ (2016: 60), in total agreement with Ramose, also accuses Shutte of being prescriptive when he argues thus: “If it is not possible for an African philosopher of black extraction to prescribe an authentic philosophy for the Greeks, it logically follows that it is not possible for a Greek philosopher or German philosopher or American philosopher to prescribe an authentic philosophy for Africans.” This, however, should not be interpreted to mean that a white philosopher cannot say something true which the black man/woman cannot ignore or vice-versa.

Philosophical discourses in South Africa continue to reflect the dominance of a white South African voice even on matters to do with African values and culture, as was the case in the apartheid era. As we speak, the PSSA is controlled by whites, to the extent that indigenous black philosophers have no say with regard to the day-to-day operations of this society. For instance, the South African Journal of Philosophy, a flagship journal of the PSSA, has always been edited by a white South African philosopher – though of course with the assistance of a black philosopher here and there.

In the last nine years, three philosophers, all white, have edited this journal, namely David Spurrett from the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Abraham Olivier from the University of Fort Hare, and now Andre Hurst from the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University. Not only that, but it took more than ten years to have an article written by a black philosopher published in the journal. This point is corroborated by Ramose²⁸ who

²⁴Ibid., p.122.

²⁵Ibid., p.119.

²⁶Ibid., p.121.

²⁷F. Mangena, “Ramose’s Legacy and the Future of African Philosophy,” *Philosophia Africana*, 18 (1) (2016), p.60.

²⁸Ramose (2015).

argues that, “it is the case that since 1994 we may cautiously speak of a trickle of articles authored by members of this group (indigenous South Africans) appearing in the journal.”

This state of affairs is meant probably to protect the interests of the white community in South Africa. In fact, it is better to call this society the *Philosophical Society of White South Africans* (PSWSA). What is even more disturbing is that below the name PSSA in the logo, there is a caption which reads: “Representing the interests of the academic philosophical community in Southern Africa.” This caption gives the impression that white philosophers in South Africa who are members of the PSSA have a right to prescribe philosophy for all the people in Southern Africa.

This thinking, no doubt, resonates well with the views expressed in Shutte’s project *Philosophy for Africa*. These views, however, are not correct, as black philosophers in Southern Africa are qualified to produce an authentic African philosophy by virtue of being rooted in African cultures and traditions.

While racism in academic philosophy in South Africa during the time of More, and Shutte, seemed to have been open and much more revealing, in present day South Africa, there has been a cosmetic attempt to portray a situation of racial tolerance where racial barriers appear to be broken down, when in actual fact there are still signs of the same problem, especially in the philosophical content currently being produced by white philosophers. In this article, I will review some controversial claims by Thaddeus Metz²⁹ and Douglas F.P. Taylor³⁰ who, to me, still point to the view that racism, though not being talked about openly, is still rife in academic philosophy in South Africa.

A Review of Some Parts of Metz’s “Toward an African Moral Theory” Project

In his introductory remarks, Metz³¹ argues that, “in the literature on African ethics, one finds relatively little that consists of normative theorization with regard to right action...” Metz³² maintains that “the field lacks a well-defended general principle grounding particular duties that is informed by such values and that could be compared to dominant Western theories such as Hobbesian egoism or Kantian respect for persons.”

²⁹Op. cit.

³⁰Op. cit.

³¹Op. cit., p.321.

³²Ibid.

In his opening statement under “Clarification of the Project,” Metz³³ remarks that:

In seeking to construct an African theory of right action, my aim is to develop a principle that sub-Saharan Africans ought to believe, given adherence to claims they typically deem to be less controversial than it. First...I am not just recounting what sub-Saharan Africans, or a majority of them, happen to believe about rightness. I go beyond moral anthropology in that I seek to unify variegated commonsensical beliefs and to argue that one such unification (which may not be widely held) is better than others. Second, this project is also not plainly prescriptive, for I do not assert that the favoured theory is in fact true. In other words, that people should indeed conform to it.

As Metz maintains,

there is a strong epistemic reason to hold to it, in relation to certain moral intuitions common to sub-Saharan Africa and in comparison to other theoretical expressions of African morality...My goal is to present a fundamental and general principle, prescribing right actions, that is epistemically justified relative to the circumscribed set of African competitors and that could in future work be paired up against Western moral theories.³⁴

Metz³⁵ argues that he addresses the (English speaking) literature which he says is closer to his project. For Metz, most of this literature analyzes the values associated with the term *ubuntu*.³⁶ Metz postulates that the word *ubuntu* cannot be translated into English since it has many different connotations attached to it. He defines *ubuntu* as humanness, which figures into the maxim that “a person is a person through other persons.”³⁷

Metz³⁸ remarks: “In this article, I critically discuss the ways that the literature construes *ubuntu* as grounding a normative ethical theory of right action (or at least brings to mind such a construal), analytically setting aside *ubuntu* as a comprehensive world view or a description of a way of life as whole.” Metz continues by saying that he wants “to give the

³³Ibid., p. 322.

³⁴Ibid., pp. 322-323.

³⁵Ibid., p. 323.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸Ibid.

reader more of a sense of what the morality of ubuntu involves, and to present some criteria for an adequate moral theory....”

Please take note that I do not need to review the whole article to expose the racial innuendos in Metz’s project. The views captured in the first three pages of *Toward an African Moral Theory* will suffice.

Metz’s Argument: Critical Remarks

Firstly, it is important to note that Metz seeks to, as he says, “construct an African theory of right action” galvanized by “a principle that sub-Saharan Africans ought to believe....” By merely looking at this claim, one gets the feeling that Africa does not have an African theory of right action, and that Africans themselves cannot provide it, and that outsiders like Metz are better qualified to provide it. I argue that this kind of reasoning is problematic, since Africans do not need anyone from outside to construct an authentic African theory of right action.

My position is that African ethics need not necessarily be undergirded by a basic norm or principle that is developed by an outsider, as outsiders are not products or effects of African culture. As I defend my thesis, I prefer to go along with the view propounded by Makinde³⁹ which says that “philosophers are effects of their cultures....” So to claim to construct a theory of right action for people outside one’s culture is to undermine the rational capacities of those people, and this can only be motivated by nothing else except discriminatory and domineering tendencies gravitating towards racism.

In my view, there is nothing really wrong in outsiders adding their voices to discussion of already existing African bodies of knowledge – for example, showing some of the limitations of the philosophies of *ubuntu* or African humanism. In fact, philosophy is marked by contestations about the meaning and nature of reality, knowledge and value and some of the contributions by philosophers from outside one’s culture can be quite enriching. Yet there is something terribly wrong in prescribing or proposing a philosophy for people outside of one’s culture. Ramose⁴⁰ argues that African values, customs and beliefs constitute the body of knowledge called African ethics, and can only be defined by Africans themselves. By extension, I wish to argue that, if the relationship between language and philosophy is anything to go by, then outsiders would struggle to construct a genuine African philosophy, because they would usually lack the proper language to do so. For example, to be an expert on Hegel, it is often expected that one should be familiar with the German language,

³⁹Op. cit.

⁴⁰Op. cit. (2007).

and similarly to be an expert on *ubuntu*, one should be familiar with Bantu languages such as Zulu, Xhosa, Sesotho, Ndebele and Shona, among others. There seems to be no evidence that Metz is familiar with these languages. In fact, elsewhere, Metz is challenged by Ramose,⁴¹ who says: "...I wish to add to my criticism of Metz the point that as a frequent and speedy writer on *ubuntu* philosophy, he is yet to demonstrate in his writings on the subject a working knowledge of at least one Bantu language."

Secondly, it is critical to note that to claim, as Metz does, that, "...I seek to unify variegated commonsensical beliefs and to argue that one such unification (which may not be widely held) is better than others," is to make a racist statement, in the sense that one thinks that certain beliefs are merely commonsensical because they do not measure up to, or are not comparable to, what one holds as rational beliefs.

This point makes sense if one considers the claim which Metz makes that "the field lacks a well-defended general principle grounding particular duties that is informed by such values and that could be compared to dominant Western theories such as Hobbesian egoism or Kantian respect for persons."⁴²

The point which Metz is probably making here is that African ethics will only graduate from what he considers to be the stage of commonsense ethics if they are undergirded by a principle of right action just like the "dominant" Western theories. This thinking is in line with a somewhat racist argument presented by Shutte,⁴³ who argues that *ubuntu* should be the guiding principle in all philosophical transactions to do with Africa, but should be supported by the European idea of freedom in order to be a complete philosophy. It is also wrong to think that all moral theories worth to be taken seriously should be principle-based, as there are virtue-based theories originating from the West which have not been discredited as such.

If Metz has a stronger case to make, he should also consider criticizing virtue ethics to the same degree as he has criticized *ubuntu*; but this is not to be, and is a cause for concern to us as indigenous black philosophers. His silence on the "deficiencies" of virtue ethics gives the impression that, to him, virtue ethics can be used as a theory of right action. If this is the case, I therefore question why he does not believe the same can be said about *ubuntu* as understood traditionally. I believe that African ethics need not be compared to any theory of right action in order to be validated.

⁴¹Ramose (2015).

⁴²Op. cit., p.321.

⁴³Op. cit., p.124.

Of course, I am not opposed to the view that every theory of right action has its own weaknesses, and must be continuously modified so as not to remain closed off or stagnant. I am opposed to the view which calls for the prescription of a rule or norm for an existing body of knowledge, so as to suggest that, without the prescription of such a rule or norm, the theory collapses. African ethics does not need to be hybridized in order to make sense. The vacillation in Metz's argumentation is also a sure sign that Metz knows that he has no capacity (as an outsider) to construct an authentic African philosophy. This so because he argues that "...this project is also not plainly prescriptive, for I do not assert that the favoured theory is in fact true..."⁴⁴

This argument is inconsistent with the position which he wishes to advance, whereby he wants to come up with a principle of right action which sub-Saharan African people ought to believe. This vacillation points to one thing: that Metz is presenting an academic argument which is of more interest to the white community than the black community in sub-Saharan Africa. Metz also admits that his approach is prescriptive, suggesting that he considers himself to be the Messiah meant to deliver sub-Saharan Africa from the "poverty of knowledge," although he is not sure whether the ethic he is trying to develop is "in fact true."

Metz⁴⁵ also thinks that any theory that is not comparable to Western theorization does not measure up to the required standard. Against this backdrop, he argues: "My goal is to present a fundamental and general principle, prescribing right actions, that is epistemically justified relative to the circumscribed set of African competitors and that could in future work be paired up against Western moral theories."

There also seems to be inconsistencies as one reads Metz's view in *Toward an African Moral Theory*,⁴⁶ which seems to show the "inadequacies" of African ethics as exemplified through ubuntu, and his view in *African Values and Capital Punishment*,⁴⁷ which seems to take a conciliatory tone, especially as he regards *ubuntu* as a theory that is uniquely African and can be deployed to address African problems. These inconsistencies, in my view, are made more revealing by the statement: "I argue that characteristically African values provide good reason to reject the death

⁴⁴Metz, op.cit., p.322.

⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 322-323.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷T. Metz, "African Values and Capital Punishment," in *African Philosophy and the Future of Africa*, G. Walmsley (ed.) (Washington, D.C.: The Council for the Research in Values and Philosophy, 2011).

penalty, regardless of whether that has been appreciated up to now.”⁴⁸ On page 84 of the same essay, he says:

My claim is that there are ideas about the dignity of persons, the value of community, and the justifiability of violence that are common in the moral-philosophical worldviews of traditional black sub-Saharan societies and that upon philosophical clarification and refinement, can be seen to entail that capital punishment should be abolished.

We need to take note of two critical points in the above submissions by Metz. Firstly, although Metz does admit that African values are unique and can be deployed to address African problems, he still thinks that these values must be appreciated somewhere, although he does not tell us where these should be appreciated. My suspicion – if we go by his claims in *Toward an African Moral Theory* – is that these values must be appreciated by Western philosophers. This is so because in this work, Metz claims that African ethics (values) lack a comprehensive principle, a basic norm that can elevate it to the level of a theory of right action that is comparable to Western theories such as Hobbesian egoism or Kantian respect for persons.⁴⁹

Secondly, the claim that, “there are ideas about the dignity of persons, the value of community, and the justifiability of violence... that upon philosophical clarification and refinement can be seen to entail that capital punishment should be abolished”⁵⁰ is quite problematic. I do not quite understand what he means by “philosophical clarification and refinement.” This claim prompts me to ask two critical questions as follows: What is lacking in these ideas that they need “philosophical clarification and refinement?” Who should do the “philosophical clarification and refinement” and why? I am asking these questions because Metz does not explain why this “philosophical clarification and refinement” is necessary and who should do it.

My intuition tells me that in his mind, this “philosophical clarification and refinement” is probably beyond the scope of indigenous black philosophers, who (in his view) have failed to produce a “well-defended general principle grounding particular duties that is informed by such values and that could be compared to dominant Western theories such as Hobbesian egoism or Kantian respect for persons.”⁵¹ If this is the case,

⁴⁸Ibid., p.83.

⁴⁹Metz (2007), p.321.

⁵⁰Metz (2011), p.84.

⁵¹Metz (2007), p.321

then it probably means that for Metz, and others of a similar disposition, indigenous black philosophers are incapable of philosophizing about their own situation.

Reviewing Some Parts of Taylor's "Defining Ubuntu for Business Ethics: a Deontological Approach" Project

In the introduction of this project, Taylor⁵² makes an attempt to show the various ways in which *ubuntu* is defined and characterized, but he seems to be ignorant of and uninterested in definitions that attach a spiritual element to the definition of *ubuntu*, especially those definitions by Mkhize and Ramose.⁵³ He⁵⁴ quotes Mkhize, who remarks that *ubuntu* is characterized by "connectedness to and on-going fellowship with ancestors," and Ramose,⁵⁵ who observes that the *ubuntu* community comprises "the living, the dead (ancestors) and the yet to be born."

Taylor reacts to these definitions by noting that "this is an area in which I have no knowledge, nor experience, and it will therefore not be further discussed."⁵⁶ He argues that "part of the reason behind writing this paper was to avoid the problem of 'fluid' values" and he regards *ubuntu* as exemplifying such values. Taylor further argues that the paper acknowledges the comment of another synonymous reviewer that "any ethical theory or fundamental ethical principle worth taking seriously has both deontological and consequentialist aspects."⁵⁷

Taylor remarks that he deploys a deontological approach in line with the argument presented by Metz in *Toward an African Moral Theory*. He does this because he thinks that "ethical decisions, especially in a business context, are more easily interpreted and implemented when rules are applied."⁵⁸

Taylor explains why he thinks it is important to adopt a deontological approach in his re-definition and re-characterization of *ubuntu*:

To be able to address these issues and come up with a definition of *ubuntu* that can actually be used as a maxim in deciding ethical issues would be of value to all Africans, and I believe, internationally.⁵⁹

⁵²Taylor (2014).

⁵³Ramose (2010), p.300.

⁵⁴Taylor (2014).

⁵⁵Ramose (2010), p.300.

⁵⁶Taylor, op. cit., p.332.

⁵⁷Ibid.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹Ibid.

As Taylor maintains, “the need to develop a principle of right action arises because I believe that we require a foundation, a set of rules, from which to determine ethical business behavior...at this stage there seems to be no real principle of right action upon which to base any ethical decisions or to build a normative ethical framework.”⁶⁰ In showing that *ubuntu* “lacks” a principle of right action, Taylor asks: How does recognition of others’ humanity lead to an action-guiding principle, which is what *ubuntu* must be? He avers:

So many authors give lists of characteristics but no ground rules as to why these characteristics and not others constitute *ubuntu*. Numerous other authors try to describe what it is, if anything, that differentiates *ubuntu* from conventional Western philosophical (and ethical) thought...However, in my view, I could find nothing in their writing that allows me to use *ubuntu* as an action guiding principle of right action.⁶¹

For Taylor, “this is not to say that the various eminent writers on *ubuntu* are wrong; there is a strong resonance with much of what they describe as *ubuntu*. It is merely that they are writing about the essence of *ubuntu*, the evidence of *ubuntu* from a virtue ethics perspective and not attempting to create an ethical principle.”⁶² Taylor quotes Louw⁶³ who remarks that “our accounts of *ubuntu* can at best be innovative reconstructions, inevitably coloured by our (post-) modern values, beliefs and biases.” Taylor then seems to be hopeless in his endeavour to reconstruct *ubuntu* and add to it a principle of right action when he argues that “perhaps trying to determine an exact definition of a concept that appears to be internalized is fruitless.”⁶⁴

Taylor then goes on to suggest that “there are three possible interpretations of the *ubuntu* principle that require consideration before I attempt to develop a principle of right action. The first is the definition as expressed in King III, which describes *ubuntu* as humaneness; the second is that *ubuntu* is a variant of dignity and therefore Kantian in essence; and the third is the view proposed by Thaddeus Metz...that an action is right just so far as it promotes shared identity among people grounded on goodwill;

⁶⁰Ibid.

⁶¹Ibid., p.333.

⁶²Ibid.

⁶³D. Louw, “Power sharing and the challenge of *ubuntu* ethics,” *Power Sharing and African Democracy: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. Pretoria: Research Institute for Theology and Religion, C. Du Toit (ed.) (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 2010), p.8. <http://hdl.handle.net/10500/4316>.

⁶⁴Taylor, op. cit., p.333.

an act is wrong to the extent that it fails to do so and tends to encourage the opposites of division and ill-will.”⁶⁵

Taylor’s Argument: Critical Prospects

It is surprising to note that Taylor, just like Metz, wants to discuss a concept which he does not quite understand. He thinks that the idea of *ubuntu* is only horizontal, and yet it is both horizontal and vertical. That is, *ubuntu* cannot only be limited to the physical world as it also has a metaphysical (spiritual) dimension. My point is that it is not possible to separate the idea of *ubuntu* from the idea of spirituality, and yet Taylor does admit that this is an area in which he has no knowledge, nor experience, and will therefore not further discuss it.⁶⁶ This admission clearly destroys his project before it starts, because one cannot claim to prescribe a principle for an idea they do not quite understand or have no knowledge or experience of. Of course, Taylor can explore the implications of *ubuntu* in those areas where he does have experience, but if he misses the spiritual dimension of *ubuntu*, his ideas will be of no consequence to the black indigenous African who believe that morality is spiritual.

If Taylor wants to develop a genuine principle of right action for business in South Africa, then he should have made use of the views of Mkhize and Ramose⁶⁷ to build his argument, because their views on *ubuntu* are more authentic than those of Metz, which I consider to be cosmetic and driven by a desire to demonstrate that without the input of the Western mind, African ideas have no philosophical merit. Mkhize and Ramose’s knowledge and experience of *ubuntu* is quite profound for the simple reason that they as persons are the effects of indigenous African culture, that is, their roots are traceable to Africa.

The decision by Taylor to use Metz’s argument to build his own argument, notwithstanding the fact that Metz is not conversant with the element of spirituality which is key in the definition of *ubuntu*, is a sign that Taylor’s project is not authentic but is driven by his desire to demonstrate that whites are intellectually superior than blacks, which in my view is quite unfortunate, because intellect has nothing to do with skin pigment.

His acknowledgement, without criticism, of the view that “any ethical theory or fundamental ethical principle worth taking seriously has both deontological and consequentialist aspects”⁶⁸ also probably confirms his

⁶⁵Ibid.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 332.

⁶⁷Ramose (2010).

⁶⁸Taylor, op. cit., p. 332.

racial tendencies. We may ask: Who said deontology and consequentialism are the only hallmarks of ethics?

It is clear that Taylor is not motivated by a desire to come up with an authentic ethic that can be applied to the field of business in South Africa. Instead, he wants to demonstrate that blacks cannot rationalize, a view which cannot be endorsed by right thinking people. Taylor thinks that the definition of *ubuntu* we currently have does not help Africans; in other words, this definition does not really serve the ethical goals and aspirations of indigenous Africans resident in Southern Africa. Against this backdrop he remarks:

To be able to...come up with a definition of *Ubuntu* that can actually be used as a maxim in deciding ethical issues would be of value to all Africans, and I believe, internationally.⁶⁹

From the foregoing, it would seem that Taylor is not satisfied with the definitions of *ubuntu* by the first generation of indigenous African thinkers such as John S Mbiti,⁷⁰ Desmond Tutu,⁷¹ and Mogobe Ramose,⁷² and he thinks that such definitions would be much more valuable to the African if there were a white touch to them. This, in my view, is nothing but a prescriptivism which borders on the thinking that Africans cannot do the right things. Please note that I am cognizant of the fact that a people's philosophy will remain largely isolated from the rest of the world if its practitioners close their ears to foreign voices; but, as I noted earlier, I have serious problems with foreign voices that seek to undo what already exists for the purpose of trying to impose their own ideas.

Taylor believes that *ubuntu*, in its current state, is a hazy idea, as it lacks a foundation, and he believes that this foundation is required, if we are to determine the ethical behavior of people in business in South Africa.⁷³ In my view, anything that has no foundation has no basis of existence, just as a house without a foundation is not a house at all. In other words, Taylor is saying that Africans have no rational basis to hold on to *ubuntu* as an ethical theory unless this theory is revised by appending a principle of right action to it. This principle should be developed by himself, and Metz.

⁶⁹Ibid.

⁷⁰J.S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy* (London: Heinemann, 1969).

⁷¹D. Tutu, *No Future without Forgiveness* (London: Rider-Random House, 1999).

⁷²Ramose (2000 and 2010).

⁷³Taylor, op. cit., p.332.

Concluding Remarks

Having pointedly challenged Shutte, Winkler, Metz and Taylor in their failed bid to produce what they believe to be an authentic African philosophy, it is important that I propose the way forward for South Africa. To begin with, it is my view that as long as black South African philosophers take no interest in claiming their space, white philosophers will continue to mislead the indigenous black people of South Africa by producing literature which is out of sync with African realities, epistemologies and values. In the light of this challenge, I argue that black South African philosophers should take a stand and challenge the ideas inherent in the philosophies of Shutte, Winkler, Metz and Taylor. They can do this by constantly dialoguing these works with a view to present a correct picture of the nature and character of African philosophy. But while this is important, black South Africans should go a step further and break away from the white-dominated PSSA and form their own association, which has the capacity to genuinely address the needs and aspirations of present day South Africa, called something like “The Philosophical Association of South Africa (PASA).”

Such an association should be able to run its own journal and organize its own annual conferences where issues pertaining to African destiny are discussed. The reason is that as long as black South African philosophers remain as “members” of the PSSA, a society which they cannot control and lead, their voices will remain suffocated by the voices of their white counterparts, and South Africa will not go anywhere as far as philosophical reflection is concerned. It is critical to note that the *South African Journal of Philosophy* (SAJP), which is published by the PSSA, has always been edited by a white South African philosopher. This cannot be a coincidence. The idea is to make sure that white interests are safeguarded and black interests are somehow ignored. My argument is that it is important for black South African philosophers to form an association and establish a journal where they can freely contest their ideas.

References

- Botha, P.W. (1985). Botha’s Speech 1985. <http://www.nairaland.com/24669/bothas-speech-1985-must-read> (accessed 31 March 2017).
- Coetzee, P.H. and Roux, A.P.J. (eds.) (1998). *Philosophy from Africa*. London: Routledge.
- Louw, D. (2010). “Power Sharing and the Challenge of ubuntu Ethics.” C. Du Toit (ed.), *Power sharing and African Democracy: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. Pretoria: Research Institute for Theology and Religion. University of South Africa. <http://hdl.handle.net/10500/4316> (accessed 29 March 2014).

- Makinde, M.A. (1988). *African Philosophy, Culture and Traditional Medicine*. Athens: Africa Series Number 53.
- Mangena, F. (2016). "Ramose's Legacy and the Future of African Philosophy." *Philosophia Africana*, 18 (1), pp. 53-65.
- Mbiti, J.S. (1969). *African Religions and Philosophy*. London: Heinemann.
- Metz, T. (2011). "African Values and Capital Punishment." Gerard Walmesley (ed.), *African Philosophy and the Future of Africa*. Washington, D.C.: The Council for the Research in Values and Philosophy.
- Metz, T. (2007). "Toward an African Moral Theory." *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, 5, pp. 321-341.
- More, M. (2017). "Racism and Academic Philosophy in South Africa." <http://www.theconmag.co.za/2017/03/03/racism>.
- Ramose, M.B. (2015). "On the Contested Meaning of 'Philosophy.'" *South African Journal of Philosophy*, 34(4), pp. 551-558.
- _____. (2010). "The Death of Democracy and the Resurrection of Timocracy." *Journal of Moral Education*, 39 (3), pp. 291-303.
- _____. (2007). "But Hans Kelsen was not Born in Africa: A Reply to Metz." *South African Journal of Philosophy*, 26 (4), pp. 347-355.
- _____. (2003). "I doubt therefore African Philosophy Exists." *South African Journal of Philosophy*, pp. 22(2), pp. 113-127.
- _____. (2000). "African Philosophy through *Ubuntu*." Harare: Mond Books
- Shutte, A. (1993). *Philosophy for Africa*. Cape Town: UCT Press (Pty) Ltd.
- Taylor, D.F.P. (2014). "Defining Ubuntu for Business Ethics: a Deontological Approach." *South African Journal of Philosophy*, 33 (3), pp. 331-345.
- Tutu, D. (1999). *No Future without Forgiveness*. London: Rider-Random House.
- Winkler, R. (2017). "Who has authority to talk about identity?" *Mail & Guardian*, 7 February 2017. <https://mg.co.za/article/2017-02-07-00-who-has-authority-to-talk-about-identity> Accessed 5 April 2017.

2.

Racism and Discrimination in Zimbabwe: Cues from Noam Chomsky's Universal Grammar

FRANCIS MATAMBIROFA

Introduction

The ensuing critical analysis takes an interdisciplinary approach, to the extent that it extracts cues from linguistics and makes an attempt to extrapolate generalizations emanating therefrom in relation to the philosophy of multiculturalism.¹ Its basic premise is that any form of discrimination, whether racial or cultural, is largely a manifestation of deep-seated prejudice that has little or no logical reasoning to back up both its practice and existence. This is particularly pertinent in the context of Africa which, as Mangena² succinctly avers, "...is a recipient of many cultures as a result of European colonisation" to which we add, "*and rampant European racism*" as well. Berman and Paradies,³ quoting from Essed, define racism as "the definitive attribution of inferiority to a particular racial/ethnic group and the use of this principle to propagate and justify the unequal treatment of this group." The current paper's principal thesis is anchored on the understanding that advocacy of multiculturalism and antidiscrimination is necessitated chiefly by racism and related types of prejudices against groups of people such as Blacks and Asians. To bring the concerns of this article home, it must be stated that pre-independence Zimbabwe (that is, Rhodesia) was a bastion of white racism. This is voiced unequivocally by Chung,⁴ who writes as follows: "It was impossible to grow up

¹Multiculturalism as a political or social philosophy advocates equity, equality and the availing of equal opportunities to all people for upward social mobility in multiracial and multicultural societies, where targeted members ethnoracial groups which, in the context of colonial Rhodesia, comprised Shonas, Ndebeles, Tongas, Kalangas and the Changana, among others, were discriminated against in terms of jobs, education, health and dwelling places, and so forth.

²F. Mangena, "Ramosse's Legacy and the Future of African Philosophy," *Philosophia Africana*, 18 (1) (2016), p.59.

³G. Berman and Y. Paradies, "Racism, Disadvantage and Multiculturalism: Towards Anti-racist Praxis." *Ethic and Racial Studies* (2008), 3. https://bmw.curtain.edu.au/pubs/2009/berman_etal_2008.pdf.

⁴F. Chung, *Re-Living the Second Chimurenga: Memories from Zimbabwe's Liberation Struggle* (Harare: Weaver Press, 2007), p.27.

in colonial Rhodesia without becoming aware...of the deep hostility between the races.” At the heart of the argument being advanced here, there-fore, is a complete rejection of racial discrimination, deodorized and given academic respectability by some academics such as the ones of which Mangena⁵ is unapologetically critical.

Given the interdisciplinary underpinning of the present exegetical exposition, along with the well-known complexity of racial discrimination, we will quite uncharacteristically first draw arguments from the fundamental design of language ability in humans as a biological endowment and/or platform from which all natural languages of the world spring. Thus, starting from the natural-language-abilities stand-point, we shall then migrate and extrapolate the same argument to the question of culture variation and discrimination, which the entire multiculturalism enterprise addresses as a bulwark against racist “shame” and discrimination. Babacan and Hollinsworth⁶ say the following about racism:

Sociologists often refer to ‘race’ as a social construction. The notion of ‘race’ has no biological base and modern science proves that the human physical differences do not constitute differences in ‘race’....Yet human societies continue to operate as if these differences are real. Terms such as ‘race’ are used to highlight the view that reality is socially constructed, that our conceptions, and understandings are socialised and mediate between ourselves and our social environment.

In view of the above, the advocacy of multiculturalism as a political philosophy in today’s global village is triggered by countless prejudicial manifestations of irrational discrimination and the “othering” of targeted groups, such as Blacks and Asians, on the basis of their culture, skin pigmentation, ancestry, place of origin, in addition to a host of other inconsequential and/or hairsplitting arguments arising from certain cultural groups’ fantasies. Taking a cue from the generativist linguistic theory of Universal Grammar as developed by Noam Chomsky, we argue that, at a very basic, abstract level or realization, all human beings are endowed with an innate capacity for culture acquisition, evolvment, development and/or abandonment. The foundational argument is that humans are fundamentally the same and that variations in culture cannot constitute sufficient grounds for any form of discrimination whatsoever.

⁵Op. cit.

⁶H. Babacan and D. Hollinsworth, *Confronting Racism in Communities Project: A Final Report on the Nature and Extent of Racism in Queensland* (Paddington: Centre for Multicultural Pastoral Care, 2009), p.2.

Universal Grammar and Universal Culture

The existence of an abstract, Universal Culture that we promulgate here is analogous to what in Chomsky's generative linguistics theory is referred to as the Language Acquisition Device (LAD), which every human being is born with, and which enables humans to acquire any language to which they are exposed, irrespective of race, colour, ethnicity, religion and culture. Similar in design to the tenets of this linguistic theory is our extrapolative claim here that humans equally have an innate ability to acquire any culture to which they are given exposure, through this innate Culture Acquisition Device (CAD). In this scheme of analysis, we argue for the occurrence of the same fixed principles of cultural universals in human societies, which are logically non-discriminating on the basis of any parameter, whether race, religion, gender or anything else. A demonstration of this fact shall be the major preoccupation of the second half of the present analysis. If granted, the inevitable and normal differences in cultures would in our scheme of analysis presently be viewed as the parameters of variation, which, more importantly, can never be the logical and rational basis for any form of discrimination whatsoever. Our ultimate thesis therefore is that the need for the welcome political philosophy of multiculturalism is reinforced by the infantile irrationality that mirrors the present state of the cultural development of the human race as an aggregate, especially in that segment of humanity which surprisingly sees itself as perching upon the pinnacle of human civilization.

This irony is commented upon by Matambirofa⁷ who, while refusing to entirely go along with Mkanganwi's⁸ unqualified, blanket characterization of the Shona as being in possession of a "...a superior culture of a peace-loving people," however, has the following to say about colonial racists of the founding times of the Southern Rhodesia settler colony:

It seems the underlying text then was a sarcastic accusation of violence perpetrated by 'civilised' white colonialists, who, in contrast to the peace-loving, 'savage' Shona, ignited the catastrophic wars of black resistance which they quelled with violent brutality.

⁷F. Matambirofa, "Language Use and the Depiction of Violence in Pre-Colonial Shona Folk Narratives," *Journal for Studies in Humanities and Social Sciences*, 5(2) (2016), 137.

⁸K. Mkanganwi, "Introduction," *Ngano Volume 1*, G. Fortune (ed.) (Harare: Department of African Languages, University of Rhodesia, 1973), p.ii.

From the above, it would seem that multiculturalism is the project of those who enjoy privilege and power but are not entirely in agreement with some sections of their own groups, sitting unrepentant at the opposite end of prejudice and power. Multiculturalism's basic design is to blunt the excesses of inequality by advocating anti-racism, anti-discrimination and equity among different groups of people within the same society.

Continuing with an interdisciplinary streak, the major point of this study is to argue that all humans are equal, owing to the identical manner of acquisition of both language and culture. At the threshold of these abilities, racism and discrimination belong more to the category of articles of faith than to anything rational, even as they are known in the social sciences to be mere constructs that are bereft of actual substance in themselves and by themselves. The point of the discussion at this stage is to demonstrate the fact concerning the basic design of features of language, in as much as individual languages themselves obviously differ, but they have an indisputable common source, that is, the human mind itself. This comes out clearly in Fromkin and Rodman⁹ who write that "...human language is universal in the sense that all members of the human species have the ability to learn a language....The more we learn about the human linguistic ability, the more it is clear that language acquisition and use... are...dependent...on a much more abstract cognitive ability, biologically determined, that accounts for the similarities between spoken...languages." Subsequent to a demonstration and analysis of this point, it shall be argued by analogical extrapolation that the same fact obtains for human cultures as well. The principal concern of the argument here is that multiculturalism is a natural phenomenon, with the corollary being that racism and cultural discrimination as perverted social constructs are nothing but prejudicial socially-sanctioned human behaviours. In the context of Australia, which in many ways is similar to Zimbabwe with minimal modification as far as racism is concerned, Babacan and Hollinsworth¹⁰ describe racism as follows:

No matter how offensive we find race and how unimpressed we are by the scientific research on it, it remains a great motivating force behind peoples' thought and behaviour. It cannot be wished away. Race is as real as people want it to be and we do not wish to deny its reality...we are interested not in the genetic aspects of race, but in the social reality of race. In other words, we are in-

⁹V. Fromkin and R. Rodman, *An Introduction to Language* (sixth edition) (Orlando, Florida: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1998), p.20.

¹⁰Op. cit., p.2.

terested in the reasons why people believe in the existence of race and the ways in which their behaviour is affected by their beliefs.

As already indicated above, language arguably is one of the many natural abilities of human beings whose practical performance shows partiality to neither race nor culture. There are many theories that are associated with language study, such as descriptivism, structuralism, formalism and functionalism. For the current purposes, we shall use Chomsky's¹¹ generativist, formal approach, which is concerned with how the human mind produces and processes language, to understand the dynamics of racism and discrimination in Zimbabwe.

The theory regarding how the human mind produces and processes language is founded on the observation that humans are born already equipped with the ability to acquire language through what is called the Language Acquisition Device (LAD) to which reference has already been made. The LAD may also be viewed in terms of Universal Grammar (UG). Chomsky¹² (1981) regards Universal Grammar as a system of rules and systematic principles common to the human species and available to each and every individual prior to exposure to any language or what in a specialized way may be called *experience*.¹³ Thus, within Universal Grammar, there is recognition of the occurrence of Absolute Universal principles which all languages, without exception, possess. These differ from Relative Universals, which are general tendencies occurring in some language but which, nevertheless, are not possessed by all languages.¹⁴

UG is therefore the foundation for acquiring any and/or all human languages. In support of this same view, Haegeman¹⁵ argues that human beings with normal mental faculties are able to learn any language, thus corroborating the aforesaid observation that human beings have the ability to learn any natural language. It would be appropriate, in keeping with the principal point of this analysis, to note that UG is certainly not an ability that is the preserve of any particular race, colour or creed. Thus no race or

¹¹N. Chomsky, *Lectures on Government and Binding* (Dordrecht: Floris, 1981).

¹²Ibid.

¹³Universal Grammar, it must be noted, is in itself a function of multiculturalism, to the extent that it is not a respecter of persons of any race, as it is shared equally among humans. It is an inherent language ability that is equally shared by all natural language users, and does not avail privilege to ethnolinguistic or ethnoracial groups on the bases of such parameters as a group's language or race or any other parameter of variation relating to language ability in humans.

¹⁴A. Radford, *Transformational Syntax: A Student's Guide to Chomsky's Extended Standard Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

¹⁵L. Haegeman, *Introduction to Government & Binding Theory* (second edition) (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994).

group of people can claim, on any rational basis, superiority of language ability, or the superiority of their native language, for that matter, over other fellow human beings' languages or mother tongues.

In Zimbabwe, for instance, a child can be born to a white family, and, if predominantly exposed, say, to an indigenous language like Shona, that white child, will, irrespective of their race, end up acquiring Shona as part of their native idiom, in addition to English. The reverse is true also, for a Shona child, if brought up in an English language environment, would acquire English as a native language. In the case of the white farmers of Rhodesia who lived in secluded and isolated farms, and whose children grew up among black children with whom they played and socialized, there are numerous cases of many white children who became fluent speakers of indigenous languages such as Ndebele, Shona¹⁶ or Venda. Thus to even attempt to link race with the claim to superiority of a language would be as absurd as it is fallacious, particularly so for a linguist who appreciates first-hand the complexity of grammatical rules, and yet still realizes that they are still flawlessly mastered by a native speaker in possession of a low Intelligent Quotient (IQ).

Haegeman¹⁷ suggests two properties of Universal Grammar from which we will draw the analogy and therefore strategic link between theoretical linguistics and multiculturalism and non-discrimination. The author posits that UG contains a set of absolute universal notions and principles which are fixed and common for all languages. The second important property of UG, as explained already, is that there are language-specific properties which are not fully determined by UG, but which vary cross-linguistically, which are called, in specialized jargon, Parameters of Variation. The Parameter of Variation essentially are concerned with the limits within which natural human languages vary.¹⁸ The corollary is a tacit admission that languages stem, primordially from a common architectural design or device, and, as they have subsequently evolved and developed into distinct entities, changes have occurred over successive long periods of time. As an illustrations, all languages of the world, whether Shona, Kiswahili, Cantonese, English, Warlpiri, among numerous others, use a system of rules, that is, grammar, to make communication possible within their speech communities, while at the same time they exhibit similar

¹⁶One of the leading political figures from the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), Roy Bennet, in the Government of National Unity (GNU) that was inaugurated in 2013, was so fluent in the Manyika dialect of the Shona language that he hardly spoke with an accent. If he spoke while obstructed, say, by a wall, one could hardly tell that he was a white man, on account of his native fluency in Shona.

¹⁷Op. cit.

¹⁸Radford, op. cit.

word categories such as verbs, nouns, auxiliaries and adjectives, among others. For instance, it will be noticed that in the case of the official Zimbabwean languages of Shona and English, both are typologically configurational, to the extent that, in their syntax, they exhibit a linear order in the sentence that commences with the Subject, on the outer, left periphery while moving on to the Verb, and with the Object coming last – an order that is abbreviated as SVO. However, the same languages have numerous variations in morphology, phonology and semantics. For example, Shona being a Bantu, agglutinating language, brings in morpheme baggage around the verb stem as a morphological hub in a sentence, while English as a Germanic language with less inflection than other languages, does not do this.

The syntactic theory that was promulgated by Noam Chomsky in a series of publications crystallizing in the famous Government Binding theory, which is also sometimes referred to as Principles and Parameters, posits that there are no absolute rules or constructions in the grammar of a language. Kaviti¹⁹ elaborates on the same notion as follows: “What the framework proposes are universal principles which are believed to be part of the initial state of the language faculty, critically referred to as the Language Acquisition Device. What is worth noting is that the Universal Principles offer opportunities for variations which are called parameters.” Thus, while the principles are universal, nevertheless the natural human languages of the world differ in parametric values that they select for each parameter in question. An attempt has been made to exemplify some of the simpler issues for the benefit of non-specialists in language matters.

The Culture Acquisition Device

In our quest to dismiss all forms of discrimination on the basis of whatever parameter: race, culture, gender, creed or colour, we posit that as well as there being an innate language ability in humans to acquire language through the LAD, so there is an ability by humans to acquire a culture through what we have here called the Culture Acquisition Device (CAD). The point of convergence between LAD and CAD is that both phenomena seem to exhibit universal principles that are inescapable and innate, while at the same time there is evidence of parametric variations within both concepts. A close and critical analysis of multiculturalism, its concerns, and the projects for which it stands, such as bringing parity, equity, anti-discrimination and equality, fundamentally stems from how

¹⁹L. Kaviti, “A Minimalist Perspective of the Principles and Parameters in Kikamba Morphosyntax,” unpublished Ph.D. Thesis (University of Nairobi, 2004), p.41.

multicultural societies and communities perceive and treat the parametric variations of culture that we argue are embedded within CAD. The fact that human beings are a cultural species cannot be a subject for debate. In addition, we here go on further to argue that there is a rational basis for thinking in terms of a common, primordial and abstract super-culture of which all cultures of the world are only abstractive instantiations.

In elaboration, and even more crucially, given the point of this entire discussion, let us assume that on the one hand a particular Culture *T*, where T stands for *Tonga Culture*, has hypothetically picked parameters of cultural variation from the postulated super culture e.g. 2, 5, 7, which in exemplification might stand for the following: 2 = a woman can smoke marijuana, 5 = burial must not be at noon, and 7 = the chief is always succeeded by his oldest son. On the other hand, Culture *S*, which stands for *Shona Culture*, has chosen parameters 3, 6, 9 which correspond to the following parametric precepts: 3 = mice are a delicacy, 6 = the groom always pays *lobola* to the bride's father, and 9 = respect for elders is a must. These respective choices of two distinct Zimbabwean cultures, in itself do not make any one of the two cultures superior to the other, not by any stretch of the imagination, as tribalism, racism and other forms of discrimination would mislead the world into thinking and believing. What in illustration has been said about Tonga and Shona cultures applies without exception to the vast variations of other cultures of the world.

Cultural Universals

There is no doubt that human beings universally have the ability as well as the intrinsic need to acquire culture for a host of reasons, some of which may be to avoid conflicts and to maintain group cohesion and identity. Multiculturalism seeks an equitable co-existence of different cultures with regard to opportunities and other privileges within a delineated geographical space. It is instructive for us to revisit the anchoring term itself, which is culture. Provided below is a comprehensive definition and/or explanation of the term culture, by Mugo²⁰ (1996: 33), who observes:

Human beings create culture as they relate to their material environment and total reality in their capacity as producers and as agents of human development/change....They create two main genres of culture: material culture and non-material culture. The first manifests itself through tangible objects. The second thrives

²⁰C.G. Mugo, "Gender, ethnicity, class and culture," *Conflict and Culture in Africa*, O. Ansu (ed.) (University of Botswana: National Institute of Development Research and Documentation, 1996), p.33.

in the realm of ideas. By material culture we mean the production of...houses, beds, clothes, food products, cooking utensils, cars and artistic products....By non-material culture we mean the production of knowledge for consumption at the intellectual and imaginative levels,...Ideas, beliefs, philosophies, norms, ideologies...are examples of non-material culture substance....It is in this manner that fields of knowledge are carved out: science, history, literature, technology, law, architecture and so on.

Prah, as quoted in Matambirofa,²¹ argues that culture "...distinguishes us from other animals. Humans learn and create culture as a social heritage, which is generationally transferred as material and non-material fabrication of the human genius." While different cultures have their own parameters of variation which render them unique, nonetheless the above definitions and explanations about culture are fairly common to all cultures. It is on this basis that no culture should logically claim superiority over another, much as no language can claim superiority over the language next to it within the languages' ecological compass.

One trump card of Cecil John Rhodes in his enterprise of imperial expansion was what he hypocritically trumpeted as Britain's civilizing mission in "savage Africa" where people were still living in the Stone Age era, without a civilization. This meant that blacks, whom the British civilizing project was designed to redeem, had no material or non-material culture to write home about, and herein lies the element of racism and cultural discrimination. However, giving just one example to counter this view, the architectural and civil engineering marvels of the Great Zimbabwe monument sounds a death knell to the racist denigration of the Shona as not having a civilisation. Commenting on the advanced civilization of the Shona people before it was ever known that the British would one day arrive and disrupt Shona technology, Ellert²² remarks:

In precolonial Zimbabwe, technology and the arts were successfully combined to produce the material requirements of a culture dating back a millennium....Shona speaking people...raised up stone walled settlements which were to become symbolic of

²¹F. Matambirofa, "Diaspora, Cultural Disintegration and Underdevelopment: The Case of Zimbabwe, 2001-2011," *Global Diasporas and Development: Socio-economic, Cultural, and Policy Perspectives*, S. Sahoo and B.K. Pattanaik (eds.) (New Delhi: Springer, 2014), p.257.

²²H. Ellert, *The Material Culture of Zimbabwe* (Harare: Longman Zimbabwe, 1984), p.i.

power and prestige. The most important of these is the Great Zimbabwe near Masvingo.

From what has been noted above, it is logical to argue that no culture must denigrate another for the simple reason that it is different from it. However, it is common knowledge that the world is polluted by all manner of irrationality, prejudice and discrimination diligently fanned by chauvinist bigots, some of whom are patently ignorant of a whole sea of different cultures across the globe because they view life through some limiting pinhole of their own making.

In our definition and explanation of culture, we have already touched on some universals which bring unity to the notion of culture vis-à-vis humanity as its unique consumers. We now wish to proceed and highlight a sample of some such universals, which, following the analogy of UG, are what may then be called Universal Culture Principles (UCP) from which no culture is exempt. Owing to constraints, both in time and space, we will not be able to exhaustively list such principles. However, in human organization, one of the universals pertains to the institution of marriage. The institution of marriage is as old as humanity itself, although a cursory examination of different cultures of the world soon reveals a variegation of parameters with which marriage is contracted and maintained cross-culturally; marriage may be patrilocal, matrilocal, polyandrous, monogamous or polygamous, and there are other even more subtle variations that include *cohabitation* or *mapoto* in Shona culture.

Marriage is often referred to as the first institution of human living. The numerous variations that exist in this human arrangement across cultures and races on the entire globe hardly conceal the existence of the marriage institution as a universal cultural facet of human existence. Marriage is a function of UCP, and different cultures of the world have abstracted from it their preferred settings for its consummation and maintenance. Its point and constitution certainly go beyond mere procreation.

In addition to the above, it is also evident that humans throughout the world have a plethora of rituals, ceremonies and festivities which center on certain common and communal achievements, deaths, births, rites of passage and other marked events that also act as the bricks and mortar that weld social groups together at national and family levels.

The cultural parameters of variation on account of which certain people find an excuse to attack and discriminate against other cultures are rooted in the manner and detail with which different, individual cultures are packaged. For instance, the Shona might not understand why, for example, Zimbabweans of Indian descent cremate their dead; and Zimbabweans of white descent might be vexed by the Shona performing an all night vigil singing and drumming when a person dies. This by itself cannot conceivably be the basis for any form of discrimination whatsoever,

which would be as infantile as it is illogical. However, the whole multi-cultural enterprise is designed to blunt this emotive illogicality as it is practiced by groups of bigots who take offense at seeing people other than themselves in existence. There is no question that discrimination is fed and fueled by disparities in political as well as socio-economic privilege and means. At a global level, Goma²³ spells out this imbalance in financial means and influence when he remarks:

Cultural cooperation in the “global village” offers remarkable opportunity for progress...However this will not be easy to realize, because of the regrettable present reality of the continuing existence of powerful nations which still dominate others and of nations which depend on the former...Thus, in any arrangements for cultural cooperation between Africa and the rest of the world, the words of the strong are likely to carry more weight than the words of the weak.²⁴

What Goma²⁵ observes at the highest level, which he calls the “global village,” is true and applicable downwards to not only individual countries but specific, individual towns, cities and villages in multicultural settings across the globe, be they in the United States of America, Canada, Britain, Germany or Australia, to name but a few countries. Dominant and economically advantaged ethno-racial groups and people will always have the proclivity as well as the means to dictate to neighboring economically impoverished groups and communities.²⁶

²³L.K.H. Goma, “Cultural Cooperation in the ‘Global Village’: Africa and the Rest of the World,” *Conflict and Culture in Africa*, O. Ansu (ed.) (University of Botswana, National Institute of Development Research and Documentation, 1996), p.59.

²⁴Goma draws our attention to rich nations such as Britain, United States, France, Germany and others, whose voice carries relatively more weight than that of African countries in world bodies such as the UN and its various arms, like UNESCO. For a number of years now, UNESCO has had to drastically cut spending and expansion of its programs owing to the withdrawal of funding by the United States in protest against the admission of Palestine into UNESCO.

²⁵Op. cit.

²⁶In the current global village, there is undisputed evidence that white Caucasian groups are relatively wealthier than other racial groups in countries such the United States, Canada, Australia, Germany and some others. There is a convergence of wealth and influence which whites can exercise to include or to exclude other racial groups through various means such as policy lobbying, legislation, petitioning or the outright practice of naked racism.

It is important to observe that when examining UCPs, as the basis upon which people practicing various cultures must perform respect and tolerate others, there is always the question of religion, which is also a cross-cultural phenomenon. By *religion* we refer to the belief or lack thereof in some powerful, supernatural and mostly invisible deity to which all creation ultimately defers. The super-material entity/entities may be conceived in different ways, depending on the parameters of religious variation, and may attract worshippers and believers, and be denied or questioned by atheists and agnostics. Note that as a parameter of religious variation, atheists are included here to the extent that they are definable in terms of disbelief in God and nothing more or less. They therefore do have a “religion,” albeit a non-existent one.

World religions, such as Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism and several others, including African Traditional Religion (ATR), as instances of the parametric variation of religious culture, are some of the biggest sources of global conflicts and discrimination.²⁷ Conflagrations that are precipitated and fueled by religious differences are among the oldest and most destructive in terms of deaths, hatred, anxiety and the unmeasured barbarity which is unleashed on those practicing a religion that is loathed by the opposing force. Apart from the common and intractable ignition of conflicts stemming from race differences, some of the conflicts currently raging in countries like Iraq, Syria, Yemen, Central African Republic and Israel, among others, are the result of religious differences.

In Zimbabwe, the Christian proselytizing that started towards the close of the nineteenth century came more or less at the same time as colonisation. Although missionaries such as Moffat and Helm, among others, had come a little earlier to seek favour with Lobengula, the Ndebele king, they had however failed to win converts in any meaningful way until the military silencing of black Africans through the *Chimurenga* conquests of 1896/97 and the subsequent unrolling of the colonial project by the British through the British South Africa Company (BSAC). Prior to that, Africans had clung to their indigenous religious practices that involved ancestral worship and the veneration of alien spirits, *mashavi*, which white missionaries described as repugnant and diabolical. That, during this colonial

²⁷Christianity and Islam are monotheistic religions, and often these have clashed with ATR whose approach to religious worship and practice is diametrically different from both Christian and Islamic worship. Moreover, in the case of Zimbabwe, and much of Africa as well, Christianity was introduced more or less in tandem with the process of colonisation and the racist denigration of the African person, and also his religion, which revolves around ancestral deification and worship

period, Christianity could easily be confused with racism cannot be doubted, given certain experiences. Martin and Johnson²⁸ relate the experiences of the late Air Marshall Josiah Tungamirai who went to a Catholic Minor Seminary close to Gweru, called Chikwingwizha, which on Sundays hosted in its church white schoolboys from the nearby whites-only Guinea Fowl School:

Segregation, either through separate services or sitting in pews on different sides of the church, existed in services and in the taking of communion. One of the priests, a history teacher, spoke vehemently about the guerrillas, whom he said would not go to heaven.

Religion has thus been used to discriminate and to practice racism against groups perceived as heathen and uncouth, as in the examples provided above. Thus, the multicultural project which seeks to bring understanding, tolerance and conflict management is ironically necessitated by a failure to realize the commonality of the human person. It is basically a blind failure to see another person as the ego's own parameter of variation that is mirrored in the person standing next to it. Discrimination, under such circumstances, is often relegated to a negative religious belief in which logic and rationality are recklessly abandoned, being instead willfully allowed to give way to irrationality and emotionalism, which serve as free-flowing conduits of hatred without cause.

Indeed, the trove of illustrations from which to pick and demonstrate the UCPs which we earlier referred to as CAD along the same lines argued for the existence of LAD are numerous. We here only chose to discuss those aspects of culture that are prominent and undisputed, such as gender roles in the context of how language is used in Zimbabwe. And in regard to gender, it is undisputed that all cultures, starting from a purely obvious biological premise, recognize the complementary differences between males and females. It is an equally anthropologically attested truth that roles, in the home and elsewhere, are ontologically gendered. This principle of CAD as it particularly relates to women is spelt out poignantly by Mugo²⁹ who quotes Robin Morgan as saying:

Not only are females among most of the poor, the starv-ing, the illiterate, but women and children constitute more than 90 percent of all global refugee populations.... The abuse of children is a

²⁸ D. Martin and P. Johnson, *The Struggle for Zimbabwe: The Chimurenga War* (Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1981), p.76.

²⁹Op. cit., p.39.

woman's problem because women must bear responsibility for children in virtually all cultures....Since women face such physical changes as menarche, menstruation, pregnancy, childbearing, lactation and menopause – in addition to general health problems we share with men – the crisis in world health is a crisis for women.

In his examination of the foremost burden of feminist literature, Matambirofa³⁰ observes that “with regards to gender, the most basic argument has been that men wield social power and patriarchal society has therefore been constructed to serve the interests of patriarchs at the expense of ‘matriarchs’” Thus, it is fairly obvious that with regard to CAD, hypothetically it would seem as if people from the four corners of the earth sat together and allocated each other tasks guided by considerations emanating from gender principles. In the foregoing, we have, however, concentrated our illustrations on issues that relate to women in particular. The universal and global cry of women may be expressed in different ways, but the common essence of it all is that men have, from time immemorial, been suppressive and oppressive of women, and that, therefore, power must henceforth be equally shared between the patriarchs and the matriarchs.

However, in keeping with our argument in this article, we hasten to indicate that there are parametric variations within the broad spectrum of gender. While most societies in the world are patriarchal, there are some societies that are matriarchal and matrilineal, fewer though they are in comparison. There are some Polynesian communities in which it is reported that women perform masculine roles that are normally performed by men in patriarchal set-ups. However, within the matriarchal setting, Appiah³¹ inadvertently introduces a parameter of cultural variation when offering this cautionary comment:

Never assume that individual women cannot gain power under patriarchy....Never confuse matrilineal society with a society where women are in public control.³²

³⁰F. Matambirofa, “The Problematics of a Feminist ontology: Reflections on the Zimbabwe Women Writers Poetry Project – *Ngatisimuke: Nhapitapi ye Nhorimbo*,” *African Womanhood in Zimbabwean Literature: New Critical Perspectives on Women's Literature in African Languages*, Z. Mguni, M. Furusa and R. Magosvongwe (eds.) (Harare: College Press, 2006), p.90.

³¹K.A. Appiah, *In My Father's House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p.184.

³²Appiah is cautioning us not to be misled by the stereotypes or outer frameworks of cultures. With regard to matriarchal societies, he is reminding us that

Closer to home, within the Southern African region, the current writer is aware that the Chewa people of Malawi are matrilineal as well as matrilocal in marriage. This provides a parameter of variation vis-à-vis the Shona of Zimbabwe, who are patriarchal and patrilocal. In the Chewa system, which is in some ways akin to the Tonga system, it is the maternal uncle who will be in control of affairs affecting the family in general, and not the woman or the wife herself, and this the point that Appiah seems to be pointing out when he cautions that in matrilineal society it does not follow that women are in public control. Perhaps women in that case may represent what has been referred to as the powers behind the throne.

Concluding Remarks

In the foregoing, we have argued that the multicultural enterprise is noble to the extent that it seeks to achieve equity, equality and parity in interracial, multiracial and multicultural settings throughout the world. We have, however, vehemently decried the fact that this project is necessitated by purposeful and willful human greed, and a foolhardy unwillingness to share financial and power privileges, that lead to the creation of empty constructs such as race into which prejudicial concepts are loaded and erroneously believed in like articles of faith. Owing to the emptiness of the terms that are created and deployed like biblical truths in order to cordon off “undesired” groups of people, we have found it instructive to try and argue against the irrationality of it all by demonstrating that human beings are born equal, and that for all things essential to life, they all draw from some God-given abilities that are unique to their species, such as language ability and culture ability.

Regarding these two, following some insight and inspiration from the linguistics guru Noam Chomsky, we have argued that there is an abstract, primordial super-language that is called LAD to which all languages are indebted regarding the universal principles that are unchanging in any given natural language. Equally true is the fact that natural human languages have parameters of variation, and this must be pretty obvious since there are different languages in the world. Although that was not the main point of the analogy, it however leads us to arrive at the indisputable

although women may wield power, it may not be exhibited in the same way that it is deployed in patriarchal societies, where power is often exhibited with pomp and pride. Equally true is the fact that in patriarchal societies, some women may wield awesome power. In Shona society, for example, the senior daughter in the family or clan – the *zitete* – can on some issues literally dictate to her own brothers or her nephews in matters relating to say the marriage of their daughters or some weighty issues affecting the family from a spiritual point of view.

conclusion that given the basic design features of language, such as: arbitrariness, double articulation, displacement, discreteness, trans-generational transmission, among others, of human language, no speakers of a language can, on purely rational grounds, claim superiority of their language over that of other speakers.’ Inspired by Chomsky, and by analogy with LAD, we postulated and posited the existence of CAD, that is, the Culture Acquisition Device, in humans as a species. We defined and explained it as a natural endowment of humans for acquiring a culture as an intrinsic necessity for living a normal human life. If granted, CAD is an abstractive aggregate of all human cultures from which different cultures of the world differ only as a function of what in detail they have chosen and adopted to live by.

As a consequence, no culture is better than another, to the extent that it serves well its consumers and practitioners. Hypothetically, it is possible that a group could very well, in alternative circumstances, have chosen or evolved a culture like one of those that they now, for various reasons, lampoon and look down upon. The long and short of it is that there is no reasonable cause to discriminate against, attack, segregate and target social groups simply because of their culture, skin colour, social standing, religion or whatever other parameter of variation may be used to further the interests of racism and discrimination.

References

- Appiah, K.A. (1992). *In My Father’s House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Babacan, H. and Hollinsworth, D. (2009). *Confronting Racism in Communities Project: A Final Report on the Nature and Extent of Racism in Queensland*. Paddington: Centre for Multicultural Pastoral Care.
- Berman, G. and Paradies, Y. (2008). “Racism, Disadvantage and Multiculturalism: Towards Anti-Racist Praxis.” *Ethic and Racial Studies*, pp.1-19. https://bmw.curtain.edu.au/pubs/2009/berman_et_al_2008.pdf (accessed 23 February 2018).
- Chomsky, N. (1981). *Lectures on Government and Binding*. Dordrecht: Floris.
- Chung, F. (2007). *Re-Living the Second Chimurenga: Memories from Zimbabwe’s Liberation Struggle*. Harare: Weaver Press.
- Ellert, H. (1984). *The Material Culture of Zimbabwe*. Harare: Longman Zimbabwe.
- Fromkin, V. and Rodman, R. (1998). *An Introduction to Language* (sixth edition). Orlando, Florida: Harcourt Brace & Company.
- Goma, L.K.H. (1996). “Cultural Cooperation in the ‘Global Village’: Africa and the rest of the World.” O. Ansu (ed.), *Conflict and Culture*

- in Africa*. University of Botswana, National Institute of Development Research and Documentation.
- Haegeman, L. (1994). *Introduction to Government & Binding Theory* (second edition). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Kaviti, L. (2004). "A Minimalist Perspective of the Principles and Parameters in Kikamba Morphosyntax." Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. University of Nairobi.
- Mangena, F. (2016). "Ramosé's Legacy and the Future of African Philosophy." *Philosophia Africana: Analysis of philosophy issues in Africa and the Diaspora*, 18(1), pp.53-65.
- Martin, D. and Johnson, P. (1981). *The Struggle for Zimbabwe: The Chimurenga War*. Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House.
- Matambirofa, F. (2016). "Language Use and the Depiction of Violence in Pre-Colonial Shona Folk Narratives." *Journal for Studies in Humanities and Social Sciences*, 5(2), pp.126-138.
- _____. (2014). "Diaspora, Cultural Disintegration and Underdevelopment: The case of Zimbabwe, 2001-2011." S. Sahoo and B.K. Pattanaik (eds.). *Global Diasporas and Development: Socioeconomic, Cultural, and Policy Perspectives*. New Delhi: Springer.
- _____. (2006) "The Problematics of a Feminist ontology: Reflections on the Zimbabwe Women Writers Poetry Project – *Ngatisimuke: Nhapi-tapi yeNhorimbo*." Z. Mguni, M. Furusa and R. Magosvongwe (eds.), *African Womanhood in Zimbabwean Literature: New Critical Perspectives on Women's Literature in African Languages*. Harare: College Press.
- Mkanganwi, K. (1973). "Introduction." G. Fortune (ed.), *Ngano Volume 1*. Harare: Department of African Languages, University of Rhodesia.
- Mugo, C.G. (1996). "Gender, Ethnicity, Class and Culture." O. Ansu (ed.), *Conflict and Culture in Africa*. University of Botswana: National Institute of Development Research and Documentation.
- Radford, A. (1981). *Transformational Syntax: A Student's Guide to Chomsky's Extended Standard Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

3.

The Legacy of Racism in African Philosophy: Lessons from Nyerere's Socialism

JOYLINE GWARA

“The Whites should be grateful that blacks have not yet started to kill them” (Statement by one panelist at the Philosophical Society of Southern Africa Annual General Meeting of the 17th of January 2017).

Introduction

The coming of the Europeans to Africa resulted in Africa being categorised as a continent of the “Others.” This categorisation of the Africans by Westerners resulted in Africa being denied cultural expression and representation. Africans were unjustifiably labelled with the tags: savage, barbarian, primitive, irreligious and illogical. Not only did Westerners give the Africans derogatory names, they also coined the name “Africa.” In other words, as the Westerners were responsible for naming the continent of “Africa,” it also followed that they deliberately ignored the history of Africans prior to their coming. Against this background, Western philosophers have monopolized discourses on philosophy, including African philosophy, thereby creating a rift between them and indigenous black philosophers who believe that they are better qualified to define and characterize African philosophy by virtue of their rootedness in African culture. In light of the above, this paper aims at dialoguing with the historical birth of racism in the Enlightenment period and its impact or influence on the contemporary world. In the same spirit an attempt is made to try and provide possible ways to deal with this legacy of racism that is still evident in our contemporary Zimbabwean society. The paper begins by giving a definition of racism and the challenges associated with the subjective element in the definition of the same. In the final analysis, the paper advocates the adoption and development of Nyerere's socialism, which calls for equality of human beings regardless of race, colour or creed.

The Concept of Race in African Philosophy

There has always been a problem of whether or not racism is real. However, in this paper I try to answer this question in the affirmative. In other words, once it is accepted that racism is still a challenge in Africa

today, it becomes necessary to make the reader understand what the concept of race entails. According to Takezawa, Smedley and Wade,¹ racism is the theory or idea that there is a causal link between inherited physical traits and certain traits of personality, intellect or culture, and, combined with it, the notion that some races are inherently superior to others. In his definition of race, James² has called for the subdivision of humanity into a small number of groups based on five criteria as follows: (1) Races reflect some type of biological foundation, be it Aristotelian essences or modern genes; (2) This biological foundation generates discrete racial groupings, such that all and only all members of one race share a set of biological characteristics that are not shared by members of other races; (3) This biological foundation is passed from generation to generation, allowing observers to identify an individual's race through her ancestry or genealogy; (4) Genealogical investigation identifies each race's geographic origin, typically in Africa, Europe, Asia, or North and South America; and (5) This inherited racial biological foundation manifests itself primarily in physical phenotypes, such as skin colour, eye shape, hair texture, and bone structure, and perhaps also in behavioural phenotypes, such as intelligence or delinquency.

However, though widely held, this understanding of the concept of race has been seriously criticised by both scientists and philosophers alike. As noted by Naomi Zack,³ believers in racism make two assumptions. First and foremost, they believe that races are made up of individuals sharing the same essence. Secondly, they believe that each race is sharply discontinuous from all others. In his discussion of the potential grounding of race in biology, Appiah⁴ argues:

There are heritable characteristics, possessed by members of our species, that allow us to divide human beings into a small set of races, in such a way that all the members of these races share certain traits and tendencies with each other that they do not share with members of any other race. These traits and tendencies and characteristics...constitute, on the racialist view, a sort of racial essence.

¹Y.I. Takezawa, A. Smedley and P. Wade, "Race," *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1981). <https://www.britannica.com/topic/race>.

²M. James, "Race," *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (2016). <https://www.plato.stanford.edu/entries/race>.

³N. Zack, *Philosophy of Science and Race* (New York: Routledge, 2002), p.63.

⁴K.A. Appiah, "Racisms," *Anatomy of Racism*, D.T. Goldberg (ed.) (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990), pp.4-5.

Appiah draws the conclusion that the concept of race has no connection with biology. In the same spirit, Haslanger⁵ argues that, "our everyday racial classifications do not point to meaningful biological categories. She further explains that "there are no 'racial genes' responsible for the different clusters of physical or cultural differences between members of racial groups..." However, Appiah and Haslanger seem to miss the point when they dissociate the concept of race from biology. My point is that the concept of race is still very closely linked to biology, though in a non-essentialist and non-discrete manner.

Having explored the historical roots of racism, it is critical to find out why race and philosophy are intertwined. To begin with, philosophers such as David Hume, Immanuel Kant and G.W.F. Hegel have made the link between race and philosophy much more revealing by portraying the African mindset as utterly inferior when compared to the European mindset. Their basic argument was that Africans lacked the capacity to reason. For purposes of saving time and space, I will briefly explore the works of Hume and Kant which, in my view, earned them the title "continental racists."

In his essay entitled *Of National Characters*, Hume⁶ argues, "I am apt to suspect the Negroes, and in general all other species of men to be naturally inferior to the whites. There never was any civilized nation of any other complexion than white..." After receiving serious criticism from other philosophers, he then revised this version in 1776 where he removed the reference to other species and left the Negroes. The revised version now read: "I am apt to suspect the Negroes to be naturally inferior to the whites. There scarcely ever was a civilized nation of that complexion, nor even of individual eminent in action or speculation..." It is clear here that, Hume fails to give a fair analysis of a continent and its long and distinguished history; instead he presents a "race."

Hume judges a person's intellectual abilities on the basis of his or her racial descent, that is, his or her skin colour. Hume maintains, thus, amongst the black people, there are "no ingenious manufacturers..., no arts, no sciences. On the other hand, the most rude and barbarous of the whites...have still something eminent about them...Such a uniform and constant difference could not happen...if nature had not made original

⁵S. Haslanger, "You Mixed? Racial Identity without Racial Biology," *Adoption Matters: Philosophical and Feminist Essays*, S. Haslanger and C. Witt (eds.) (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), p.266.

⁶D. Hume, "Of National Characters: Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects" (1753). <https://www.google.co.zw/search?q=Hume+of+National+Characters&spv=2&ei=6Kd6WqeHM4P0UK6ijagI&start=10&sa=N&biw=781&bih=381>.

distinction between these breeds of men.”⁷ Here there seems to be a paradox in Hume’s thinking. Elsewhere, he denies the view that there are causal relations between objects. Here he seems to be making a U-turn by suggesting that there is a causal connection between blackness as a skin colour and one’s intellectual prowess. This is quite confusing.

Two decades later, and following in Hume’s footsteps, another German Philosopher Immanuel Kant wrote his essay, *Of the Different Human Races*. In this essay, Kant argues that all humans descended from a common human “lineal root genus” in Europe, which contained the biological “seeds” and “dispositions” that could generate the distinct physical traits of race when triggered by divergent environmental factors, especially combinations of heat and humidity.⁸ Kant argues that this, combined with patterns of migration, geographic isolation, and in-breeding, led to the differentiation of four distinct, pure races: the noble blond of northern Europe; the copper-red of America and East Asia; the black of Senegambia in Africa; and the olive-yellow of Asian-India.⁹

In further developing his ideas, Kant notes that individuals from different races are able to breed together with their children resembling the physical traits inherited from both parents.¹⁰ For Kant, not only does blending indicate that the parents were part of a common species, but it also indicates that they are of distinct races. For the physical traits of parents of the same race are not blended but often passed on exclusively: a blond white man and a brunette white woman may have four blond children, without any blending of this physical trait, whereas a black man and a white woman will bear children who blend white and black traits.¹¹ Such inter-racial mixtures account for the existence of liminal individuals, whose physical traits seemed to lie between the discrete boundaries of one of the four races. People who do not fit neatly into one or another race are explained away as groups whose seeds have not been fully triggered by the appropriate environmental stimuli.¹²

The above characterisations of black people and white people no doubt, mark the genesis of racism in the intellectual domain, in particular in African philosophy. While the former are viewed in negative terms based on their skin colour, as primitive, savage, barbaric and backward, the latter are viewed as civilized, enlightened and developed. It is, however, not the scope of this paper to give a critical analysis of Hume and

⁷Ibid.

⁸Bernasconi and Lott, in James, op. cit.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰James op. cit.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Bernasconi and Lott, in James, op. cit.

Kant's views about the Africans, because there is philosophical commentary already on the views of these philosophers; and also, there is need to look at current developments in philosophy with a particular focus on Southern Africa. It is, however, important to highlight a few fallacies these two philosophers made in history. It is critical to note that both men arrived at their conclusions without valid and sound premises. In my opinion premises which seek appeasement first and truth second are a good example of bad philosophy or bad logic. In order for these philosophers to give a fair assessment of Africans, they ought to present views which balance emotion with logic, and they should also accept the truth even when it inconveniences them. In my view, a good philosopher should be in a position to think critically and open-mindedly about issues. The arguments presented by Kant and Hume lack the qualities of a good philosophy, as they demonstrate an outpouring of unjustifiable emotions. As indicated by Richard J. Gray,¹³ "the prejudice of race is nothing other than an unreasonable hate of one race by another, the loathe of rich and powerful people for those that they consider inferior to themselves."

In light of the above, this paper argues that there is no way that we can discuss the concept of race without making reference to colonisation. The effects of Hume and Kant's ideas are that they aided in the political colonisation and subjugation of the Africans which they believed to be an inferior race. Though later on the Africans became politically independent, the aftermath of colonisation ushered in a new form of colonisation called mental colonisation. Years after Africa's attainment of political independence from the European colonial powers, the colonial mentality still lingers on like a fog on the African consciousness. This is clearly articulated in Chitando and Mangena's article *Philosophy in the 'House of Stone': A Critical Review*¹⁴ in which they trace the development of philosophy in Zimbabwean universities in the early years of independence, which to them still pointed to the segregation of blacks by whites. According to Chitando and Mangena,¹⁵ though the University of Zimbabwe became the first university to offer Philosophy in the country, staff and students were predominantly white in the 1980s.

They note further that, although the situation changed in the 1990s, as the University had been billed as "a non-racial island of learning," blacks remained marginalised as a result of the "bottleneck system" which

¹³R.J. Gray, *Francophone African Poetry and Drama: A Cultural History since the 1960s* (North Carolina: McFarland and Company, Inc, Publishers, 2014), p.35.

¹⁴E. Chitando and F. Mangena, "Philosophy in the 'House of Stone': A Critical Review," *South African Journal of Philosophy*, 34 (2) (2015), 226-229.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p.227.

the colonial regime had employed. Consequently, disciplines such as Philosophy remained a preserve of the whites.¹⁶ It then follows that, even though the Zimbabweans had attained their independence from the coloniser, their minds were still colonised and in need of emancipation. In Zimbabwe, the philosophy curriculum was only reviewed in 2017 to reflect the aspirations of the black people. Before that, it reflected white minority interests. This scenario also obtained in other countries in Southern Africa, including South Africa, Mozambique and Namibia, where philosophers were predominantly white on the eve of independence, and all this pointed to one thing, that the blacks were still colonised years after their countries had attained independence.

There are certain characteristics that point to a colonised mind, and these characteristics can widely be seen in an African mindset. Firstly, a colonisation of the mind involves the intervention of the coloniser's mind in the mind-set of the colonized, such that the effects of this interaction cannot easily be overcome. Another characteristic of the colonisation of the mind is that of the imbalance of power between the coloniser and the colonised. Also, both the coloniser and the colonised may be or may not be aware of their roles as coloniser or colonised respectively. Thus, willingly or unwillingly, both parties might participate in the process of mental colonisation. In Zimbabwe, for instance, social systems like families, cultural practices, religion and education amongst others can be used as ways of conveying mental habits which may result in mental colonisation. Of these social systems, education is of paramount importance.

There are some educational paradigms which perpetuate the act of mind-colonisation. Paulo Freire observes in his book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, that the "banking" model is one of those paradigms in education that promote colonisation of the mind. He defines education as:

...an act of depositing, in which the students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor. Instead of communicating, the teacher issues communiqués and makes deposits which the students patiently receive, memorize, and repeat. This is the 'banking' concept of education, in which the scope of action allowed to the students extends only as far as receiving, filing, and storing the deposits....In the banking concept of education, knowledge is a gift bestowed by those who consider themselves knowledgeable upon those whom they consider to know nothing....The teacher presents himself to his students as their necessary opposite; by considering their ignorance absolute, he justifies his own existence. The students, alienated like the slave in the Hege-

¹⁶Ibid.

lian dialectic, accept their ignorance as justifying the teacher's existence – but, unlike the slave, they never discover that they educate the teacher.¹⁷

What Freire is saying here is that the student (the colonised) is the depository while the teacher (the coloniser) is the depositor or account holder. This means that the teacher is the one possessing knowledge, while the student is the one in dire need of knowledge. Applied to Africa, it is important to note that the statement according to which colonialism portrayed the African minds as inferior justified the need for a tutor; and through prolonged tutorship, Africans could hopefully acquire the moral and intellectual virtues of the West. In response to this kind of mentality, Ramose argues that Africa's education systems require a radical overhaul, and that failing to do so is to condone racism, which is an injustice.¹⁸

Those stereotypes that are created by racism and colonialism respectively are still evident even in Southern Africa. In his spirited effort to show that there is need for a change of mind set, Ramose begins by questioning the origins of the name "Africa." Ramose¹⁹ notes that, the name Africa was imposed on the people of the said continent by Westerners, and that the designation "Africa" on its own poses some serious problems for the indigenous people of the continent. Thus, in his search for the meaning of the name "Africa," Ramose:

...discovered that the Greeks called the continent of Africa *Libya* or *Aphrike*, meaning "without cold," while the Romans called it *Africa* (from the Latin *Aprica*, which means "sunny"). The Romans also called this continent *Afrig* or the land of the *Afrigs* – which was a name given to the Berber community south of Carthage.

For Ramose, the name "Africa" was applied to the northern coast of the continent which was regarded as the southern extension of Europe. Ramose makes it clear that the name "Africa" was a description of the Graeco-Roman experience of the climate of the particular region. It was never about the experiences of the people of that particular region and

¹⁷P. Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (30th anniversary edition), M.B. Ramose (tr.) (New York: Continuum Press, 2004), p.72.

¹⁸Cited in F. Mangena, "Ramose's Legacy and the Future of African Philosophy," *Philosophia Africana*, 18 (1) (2016), p.57.

¹⁹Cited in Mangena, *Ibid*.

their philosophy. Ramose argues that later on, the name “Africa” was extended to the entire continent.²⁰

In order to further support the point that racism has created some stereotypes, the paper borrows from social psychology, in particular, the Clark doll experiment which was performed in the 1930s. In this experiment, psychologists Kenneth Bancroft Clark and his wife, Mamie Phipps Clark designed the “Doll Study” as a test to measure the psychological effects of segregation on black children. Using four identical plastic, diaper-clad dolls, African American children between the ages of three and seven were asked questions to determine racial perception and preference. Surprisingly and disappointingly, the majority of the children preferred the white doll and attributed positive characteristics to it, while attributing negative characteristics to the black doll. From their findings the Clarks argued that, if society says it is better to be white, Negroes may also agree. And a child may try to escape the trap of inferiority by denying the fact of his own race. In 2006, the same experiment was reproduced in South Africa and the results were almost similar to those of the 1930s:

Children’s responses to the experiment showed remarkable similarities to the ones in the Clark doll experiments conducted in other parts of the world, in that white children showed a high own “race” preference, which was not present in black or mixed “race” children.²¹

It can clearly be deduced from this experiment that the race mentality has caused much prejudice, to the extent that black people have developed a sense of inferiority and self-hatred. This has resulted in African people wanting to emulate their “masters,” something close to what Freire called the “fear of freedom.” This “fear of freedom” is not only evidenced in the social and political arena, but its effects also spill into the intellectual arena. In the intellectual arena, this kind of thinking has its lasting effect in the development of African philosophy. For the most part, some African philosophers have aligned themselves with the coloniser’s mind-set and wanted to emulate their superiors. For instance, Mbiti and Kagame, following Tempels, thought that there was a difference between the African and Western conceptions of reality.²² Their characterisation of

²⁰Cited in Mangena, *Ibid.*, p.54.

²¹K. Shutts, K.D. Kinzler, R.C. Katz, C. Tredoux and E.S. Spelke, “Race Preferences in Children: Insights from South Africa,” *Developmental Science* 14 (6) (2011), 1288.

²²What I mean here is that the fact that these philosophers accept without questioning that African philosophy is ethno-philosophy points to a view that African

African philosophy as ethno-philosophy only assisted in perpetuating the difference between West and Africa. In view of this, just as Tempels had described the Bantu people as more "emotional" in their thinking activity, Leopold Sedar Senghor followed in the same spirit and described the Europeans on one hand as having "an objective intelligence" and the African or Negro, on the other hand, as having "feelings of it."

In an attempt to defend their identity from their attackers, some African philosophers ended up being just like their attackers in their thinking about their fellows. This is evidenced in the debate on whether African philosophy does or does not exist. Those philosophers who defended it on the basis of it being ethno-philosophy were by and large like their attackers. In the words of Jay M van Hook,²³ they were "settling for an inferior and idiosyncratic conception of philosophy which lacks the intellectual rigor of Western ethno-philosophy, thereby virtually guaranteeing their own marginalisation in the world market." Thus, these philosophers had borrowed a leaf from their attackers, as they also aided in perpetuating the "otherness" of Africa. In my view, there is no difference in what certain professional philosophers have said about African philosophy and what earlier on Lucien Levy-Bruhl had said about the African mentality. Ethno-philosophy is more or less a buttress of Levy-Bruhl's description of the Africans as a people of a "primitive mentality." For Westerners, the African mind does not work like its Western counterpart, nor does it follow the same principles.

On the other hand, Pyke²⁴ notes that "[s]everal anti-colonial writers concerned with the psychological effects of colonialism on the oppressed in North Africa and South America described a 'colonized mentality' marked by a sense of inferiority and a desire to be more like the colonizers." In light of Pyke's observation, I note that professional philosophers such as Kwasi Wiredu, Paulin Hountondji, Henry Odera-Oruka and Peter Bodunrin, like Westerners, believe that for something to pass as philosophy, in the proper sense of the word, it must involve rigorous, sustained and independent thought. This can be seen as uncritically trading in Western currency in the conception of what African philosophy is, or should

thought lacks critical individual analysis, as opposed to Western philosophy which is taken to be rigorous, critical, and individual. In my opinion this only reinforces the views of Hume and Kant that reason is for Westerners whereas emotion is for Africans.

²³J.M. Van Hook, "African Philosophy: Its Quest for Identity," *Quest*, 7 (1) (1993), p.33.

²⁴K.D. Pyke, "What is Internalized Racial Oppression and Why Don't We Study It? Acknowledging Racism's Hidden Injuries," *Sociological Perspectives* 53 (4) (2010), 551.

be. Imbo²⁵ supports this view when he criticizes Hountondji, whom he accuses of emphasizing literary and scientific values, apparently oblivious that these values are prescribed within the parameters of a European discourse. Imbo accuses Hountondji of uncritically bowing at the feet of Europe. In his words, he asserts that:

Before Hountondji can claim science, writing, and philosophy as the universals to which Africans can aspire he has a duty to examine the framework within which they were previously developed in a manner that excluded the non-Western world. Hountondji boldly lays claim to an equal right to literacy, science, and philosophy – but fails to acknowledge the implications of the European cultural context of their development. He fails, therefore, to examine Europe’s former usurpation of the right of ownership over these concepts.²⁶

Kebede²⁷ argues that the whole purpose of colonialism becomes problematic, since the possibility of closing the gap with the West, the so-called civilising mission of colonialism, is thereby lost. The debts that inferior races owe to the superior one are all that is left. The idea of other races being slaves by nature to the superior race could not have been better intimated. To this effect, Mangena²⁸ quotes Ramose who has it that “for centuries, discourses on Africa have been dominated by non-Africans as Africans have had an infinity of spokespersons...to define the meaning and experience and truth for them.” Ramose is challenging Shutte and other like-minded “African philosophers” who seem to think that they are better positioned to prescribe a philosophy for Africans than are Africans themselves.²⁹ He further argues that, this conclusion is based on the premise that “a particular segment of humanity is rational....It is the same premise that was used to justify colonization and Christianization....”³⁰ Ramose maintains:

Despite the fact that the Papal Declaration had included the African in the realm of reason, it failed to exterminate the struggle for

²⁵Cited in F. Ochieng-Odhiambo, *Trends and Issues in African Philosophy* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 2011), pp.108-109.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷M. Kebede, “Africa’s Quest for a Philosophy of Decolonization,” *Philosophy Faculty Publications*, Paper 109 (2004), p.3. http://ecommons.udayton.edu/phl_fac_pub/109.

²⁸Mangena, 2016, p.56.

²⁹Cited in Mangena, Ibid.

³⁰Cited in Mangena, Ibid.

reason from the consciousness of the many generations of former colonizers who came after the declaration. Thus, until this day, Africa is still struggling with this kind of philosophical racism. However, despite this wave of philosophical racism, Western philosophy has struggled to permanently set its roots in Africa for the simple reason that it has failed to speak to the experiences, needs and aspirations of the Africans of black extraction.³¹

In other words, the values of the coloniser or oppressor, who considers the colonised to be inferior and backward, were internalised by the colonised, and thus they suffered a loss of self-esteem and started to hate themselves and what they represented in the worldview of the oppressor. In this case, whiteness became associated with goodness and purity, while blackness stood for everything evil and tainted. Taking magic as an example, the thinking was that good magic was “white” magic, while bad magic (aimed at harming others) was “black” magic.

Though Mudimbe³² notes that, in African philosophy, there are still remnants of the coloniser's influence on the thinking of even some prominent African scholars, he fails to provide a solution to this problem of racism. It is worth noting that there are some proposed solutions to the problem of racism. In this paper, I however propose a solution to the problem of racism which comes in the form of liberating education and affirmative action. It is important to note that other solutions have been proposed before.

For instance, with regard to the problem of racism, Memmi³³ takes a radical stance by arguing that revolt is the only way out of the colonial situation, and the sooner the colonised realize it, the better. Following Memmi's argument, the paper calls for the need to decolonise the African mind, which is still tied up in the shackles and chains of racism. Though I do acknowledge that the call to “decolonise the mind” is not my invention, I believe that the phrase can apply in the area of African philosophy, in particular as an attempt to resolve racial disparities in Southern Africa. In light of this, I argue that there is need to go back to our “roots” as Africans in order to build unadulterated African knowledge systems, that is, systems that are not permeated or defined by Western standards. Retreating back to our roots will, no doubt, allow us to mine philosophy from African cultures.

³¹Cited in Mangena, *Ibid.*, p.57.

³²V.Y. Mudimbe, *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy and the Order of Knowledge* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998).

³³A. Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1967), p.127.

In order to end racial tendencies and its adverse effects in the African intellectual landscape, the Africans ought to stop blaming whites or trying to emulate them, as noted above, but ought to focus on empowering their own communities through education. This education should be anchored on African concepts such as *hunhu/ubuntu* or socialism. Though I am very much aware that there are some scholars who have attempted to downplay the value of *hunhu/ubuntu* and socialism in the contemporary world, I seek to show that the arguments they offer against them are not solid enough to render them useless. Let me invite Matolino, one of the scholars who have passionately criticised both socialism and *ubuntu* in his recent writings, to speak. In an article entitled: *A Response to Metz's Reply on the end of Ubuntu*, Matolino³⁴ argues against socialism when he asserts:

Unfortunately for Metz, his recommended path is neither new nor effective on the continent. Nkrumah, Leopold Sedar Senghor, Julius Nyerere and Kenneth Kaunda have all written extensively on what can be described as the African notion of being and politics. Nkrumah's consciencism, Senghor's negritude, Nyerere's ujamaa and Kaunda's humanism share a key feature with Ubuntu...

Although Matolino is somehow justified in his critique of both *ubuntu* and African socialism, I am compelled to argue that these theories can be developed in order for them to fit in the contemporary society. This is one of the very few ways whereby Africans would be able to reclaim their status as rational and civilised beings. Going back to one's "roots" is not a new phenomenon in African philosophy. To this end, I argue that in order to deal with racism there is need to decolonize the African mind by embracing and developing Julius Nyerere's socialism.

In his criticism of capitalism, Nyerere notes that "[c]apitalism fosters excessive individualism; promotes the competitive rather than the cooperative instinct in man; exploits the weak; divides the society into hostile groups and generally promotes inequality in the society."³⁵ For Nyerere, African socialism benefits all members of society. His socialism is a blend of economic cooperation and racial and tribal harmony, a policy of the type advocated by Kwame Nkrumah. The philosophical underpinning in African socialism is to build a society in which all members have equal rights, and equal opportunities, in which all can live at peace with their

³⁴B. Matolino, "A Response to Metz's Reply on the End of Ubuntu," *South African Journal of Philosophy*, 34 (2)(2015), 219.

³⁵Cited in J.A. Akinpelu, *Introduction to Philosophy of Education* (London: Macmillan, 1981), p.115.

neighbours without suffering or imposing injustice, being exploited, or exploiting; and in which all have a gradually increasing basic level of material welfare before any individual lives in luxury.³⁶ Nyerere's African socialism is a complete rebuttal to the colonial project, which was intellectually founded on the arrogant presupposition of "African inferiority" and "European superiority." The ideal society for Nyerere is based on freedom, equality and unity.³⁷ For him, equality enables man to work together, and it is only in a unified society that members live and work in peace. Nyerere asserts that African socialism is:

...essentially an attitude of the mind which involves a change in personal attitude and a reconciliation of individuals but goes beyond these to effect structural change consistent with the socialist outlook, creating a pattern of justice in which creative and justice in which equality and freedom for all is be assured.³⁸

Following Nyerere, I argue that, there is no need for Africa to sacrifice its cherished traditions, values, and cultural identity on the altar of policies, doctrines, and theories coming from some other places; instead Africa should harness its cultural resources to deal with this tide of racism through educating its people as well as educating white Africans. It is the conviction of this paper that at the core of Nyerere's African Socialism lies the spirit of brotherhood or familyhood which arises from African cultural traditions. In Nyerere's mind, all Africans are brothers and sisters in the same family known as Africa. Developing Nyerere's ideas, I argue that all human beings, whether black or white, are brothers and sisters in the same family, known as "rational beings." It is ironic to find brothers and sisters discriminating against one another. Nyerere's *ujamaa* can be used to advocate national unity and the shunning of racist acts.

Conclusion

From the foregoing discussion it has been seen that an attempt to define the concept of race as having biological connotations has always posed challenges to both philosophers and scientists. However, in this paper I argued that, the concept of race could not be dissociated from biology, but should be understood in a non-essentialist and non-discrete manner. It has also been indicated that racism has been perpetuated by the

³⁶J. Nyerere, *Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1968), p.340.

³⁷*Ibid.*, p.16.

³⁸*Ibid.*

philosophies of such prominent philosophers and Hume and Kant, who regarded Africans as inferior to Europeans. In conjunction with colonisation, racism left behind some undesirable states of mind for Africans. The effect of colonising the mindset of Africans was the rise of some scholars who believed in difference between the Africans and Europeans, and thus ended up stressing, like their colonisers, the “otherness” of the Africans. There also resulted the rise of African philosophers who thought African philosophy should embrace Western standards. These two schools of thought are evidence that racism has had some lasting effects on the mental states of Africans, in particular African philosophers. Thus, even after gaining political independence, Africans have suffered a new form of colonisation, that is, mental colonisation. The paper argues for a need to decolonise the African mind by returning and developing the rich African concepts of traditional society, especially through the socialism of Julius Nyerere.

References

- Akinpelu, J.A. (1981). *Introduction to Philosophy of Education*. London: Macmillan.
- Appiah, K.A. (1990). “Racisms.” D.T. Goldberg (ed.), *Anatomy of Racism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Barry, H. (2009). *A Short History of African Philosophy*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Chitando, E and Mangena, F. (2015). “Philosophy in the ‘House of Stone’: A Critical Review.” *South African Journal of Philosophy*, 34 (2) pp. 226-229.
- Clark, K.B. and Clark. M.P. (1950). “Emotional Factors in Racial Identification and Preference in Negro Children.” *The Journal of Negro Education*, 13, pp. 341-350.
- Freire. P. (2004). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (30th anniversary edition). M.B. Ramose (tr.). New York: Continuum Press.
- Gray, R.J. (2014). *Francophone African Poetry and Drama: A Cultural History since the 1960s*. North Carolina: McFarland and Company, Inc, Publishers.
- Haslanger, S. (2005). “You mixed? Racial identity without racial biology.” S. Haslanger and C. Witt (eds.), *Adoption Matters: Philosophical and Feminist Essays*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press
- Hume, D. (1997). “Negroes...Naturally Inferior to the Whites.” E.C Eze (ed.), *Race and the Enlightenment: A Reader*. Oxford. Blackwell Publishing.
- _____. (1753). “Of National Characters: Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects.” <https://www.google.co.zw/search?q=Hume> (accessed 3 February 2018).

- James, M. (2016). "Race." *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. <https://www.plato.stanford.edu/entries/race> (accessed 12 January 2017).
- Kant, I. (1997). "This Fellow Was Quite Black...A Clear Proof That What He Said Was Stupid." E.C. Eze (ed.), *Race and the Enlightenment*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Kebede, M. (2004). "Africa's Quest for a Philosophy of Decolonization." *Philosophy Faculty Publications*, Paper 109. http://ecommons.udayton.edu/phl_fac_pub/109 (accessed 8 March 2018).
- Mangena, F. (2016). "Ramose's Legacy and the Future of African Philosophy." *Philosophia Africana: Analysis of Philosophy and Issues in Africa and the Black Diaspora*. 18 (1), pp. 53-65.
- _____. (2014). "Ethno-Philosophy is Rational: a Reply of the Two Famous Critics." *Thought and Practice: A Journal of the Philosophical Association of Kenya (PAK) New Series*. 6 (2), pp 23-38.
- Matolino, B. (2015). "A Response to Metz's Reply on the End of Ubuntu." *South African Journal of Philosophy*. 34 (2) pp. 214-225.
- Memmi, A. (1967). *The Colonizer and the Colonized*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- Mudimbe, V.Y. (1998). *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy and the Order of Knowledge*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Nyerere, J. (1968). *Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism*. Nairobi: Oxford University Press.
- Ochieng-Odhiambo, F. (2011). *Trends and Issues in African Philosophy*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc.
- Pyke, K.D. (2010). "What is Internalized Racial Oppression and Why Don't We Study It? Acknowledging Racism's Hidden Injuries." *Sociological Perspectives* 53 (4), pp. 551-572.
- Shutts, K., Kinzler, K.D., Katz, R.C., Tredoux, C. and Spelke, E.S. (2011). "Race Preferences in Children: Insights from South Africa." *Developmental Science* 14 (6), pp. 1283-91.
- Sogolo, G.S. (2003). "The concept of cause in African thought." P.H. Coetzee and A.P.J Roux (eds.), *The African Philosophy Reader*. London: Routledge.
- Takezawa, Y.I. Smedley, A. and Wade, P. (1981). "Race." *Encyclopedia Britannica*. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/race>.
- Van Hook, J.M. (1993). "African Philosophy: Its Quest for Identity." *Quest*, 7 (1), pp. 28-43
- Zack, N. (2002). *Philosophy of Science and Race*. New York: Routledge.

4.

Race, Culture and Philosophy: Interventions from a Zambian Philosopher

JOHN MWESHI

Most Hegel scholars, intent on rebutting the charge that Hegel was racist, have avoided confronting the issue of how his negative judgement of foreign cultures grounded his Eurocentrism... Yet by including the category of race in his Encyclopedia, Hegel signalled that he regarded race as an important issue in philosophy, and by locating it under the category of 'natural mind,' he indicated that race mattered because of its effect on human consciousness.¹

Introduction

As the above quotation indicates, there are several discussions in philosophy (classical and modern) too numerous to mention here which, directly or indirectly, suggest that race is a significant factor in philosophy.² This discussion will argue that the view that race has a significant bearing on one's philosophy is unfounded. In contrast, I argue that culture can play an important role in shaping one's philosophy. However, given that both culture and philosophy are complex and the interaction between the two is even more so, this discussion will not attempt to specify how cultures influence philosophies. Rather, the objective is to clear the way for such discussions by illustrating that the role that culture plays in shaping philosophy can be better understood if culture is not confused with other concepts such as race or civilization. Again, because of the complex nature of the concepts involved,³ the discussion will rely mainly on descriptions (or operational definitions) in an analytic fashion, as opposed to exploring or stipulating alternative narratives for these concepts.

¹M.H. Hoffheimer, "Race and Law in Hegel's Philosophy of Religion," *Race and Racism in Modern Philosophy*, A. Valls (ed.) (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2005), p.196.

²For example, some discussions have also raised issues with some of the views expressed by philosophers such as John Locke, David Hume and Immanuel Kant on race.

³I am also mindful of the fact that including all these concepts in one discussion may not do justice to their richness.

As Socrates is reported to have insisted, an argument (or a discussion in general) can be greatly helped if there is some level of clarity regarding the concepts with which the disputants are discussing. Of course, the objective definitions that Socrates was looking for may be hard to come by in philosophy or in the social sciences in general. Be that as it may, this challenge does not obliterate the need to search for clarity. Clarity is crucial especially in academic discourse where it is essential to operationalise or give specific meaning to many of the terms in common usage. In treating race, culture, and civilization as aspects of human society, this discussion maintains that these concepts should be clearly disentangled in order to appreciate how each relates to philosophy.

The discussion is divided into four sections. The first section introduces the concepts of culture and race. It examines the association between the two, and points out that, in fact, culture is more closely linked with ethnicity than with race. The second section addresses the relationship between culture and civilization in order to substantiate the difference between the two concepts. The third section examines some of the problems that arise from confusing the concepts of culture and civilization. An argument that the role culture plays in shaping philosophy can be better appreciated if the concept of culture is disentangled from race is then put forward in the final section. In concluding this section, I also look at whether the main challenge to doing philosophy in Africa is racial or cultural, and I frame the discussion within the context of my own experiences in Zambia.

Culture and Race

Generally, culture is the context in which people live their lives. In particular, it is a combination of social traits such as ideas, beliefs, values, attitudes and practices “shared by racial, ethnic, religious, or social groups of people.”⁴ As the two authors rightly point out, culture does not *only* refer to categories that “we are born into (racial or ethnic groups), but also to those we choose to belong to such as religious or other social groups.”⁵ From this it follows that one’s culture cannot be restricted to one’s race or ethnicity. In other words, culture is much more open than the case may be with race or ethnicity. Culture is also considered to include material aspects such as artefacts and important historical sites, and these are perhaps

⁴S. Zion and E.B. Kozleski, *Understanding Culture and Cultural Responsiveness* (Denver, CO: National Centre for Culturally Responsive Educational Systems, 2005), p.16.

⁵Ibid.

much more significant for concerns about heritage, as they are not as *dynamic* as some of the non-material aspects of culture mentioned above.

A thorough analysis of the characteristics of culture⁶ reveals that the tendency to put people in particular cultural boxes is problematic and seems to have outlived its usefulness. This association is problematic in the sense that it has persisted in spite of the understanding that “culture” and “race” are concepts with totally different meanings. Moreover, the same race may involve people with different cultures, and people from different races may share the same culture.

Unlike culture, which we can claim to understand with some degree of consensus, the debate as to what race means still rages on, and perhaps in the direction of a dead end. As Adam Hochman says:

We should abandon attempts to save the category of race. There is no good way to make sense of the category from a biological or a social perspective. There are no races, only groups misunderstood as races: racialized groups.

He thus concludes:

We need to be talking about racism, racialization, and racialized groups, not “race.” Given that “race” fails as both a biological and a social category, let’s consign it to the dustbin of history’s bad ideas.⁷

However, it seems that abandoning “race” as a category (ontological) need not entail abandoning “race” as a concept. Doing so might make it difficult to even understand what racialization is, or for that matter even what a non-racial society would mean. Besides, even if we abandon the concept of race, that would not mean that the problems associated with it will automatically disappear.

For practical purposes, we can entertain certain claims about the concept. As Zion and Kozleski⁸ (2005: 14) claim, “race is a [mere] political concept,” that is to say, “it is the arbitrary division of humans according to their physical traits and characteristics.” To the extent that the concept of race has been used to treat certain groups of people in certain ways, Zion and Kozleski have a point. Further, such experiences and perceptions

⁶For instance, culture is dynamic and not static, and not only can it be acquired, but it can also be lost.

⁷A. Hochman, “Racism is Real, Race is not: A Philosopher’s Perspective” (2017). <http://theconversation.com/racism>.

⁸Op. cit., p.14.

have been used by individuals to identify with some groups and not others. Some, such as Hochman⁹ maintain these characteristics are not biologically sufficient to underlie the category of race. Socially, the point is that such characteristics cannot be used to judge a person's character, culture, or identity. Alternatively, the physical aspects of a person do not entail or warrant any value judgements.

Apart from the habitual association of culture with race¹⁰ there may be a temptation among some scholars to ground the supposed relationship between the two in the discourse of "gene-culture co-evolution." This discourse is informed by two major claims, namely that (a) there is a parallel between culture and genetic evolution in the way both cultural and genetic elements reproduce themselves; and b) cultural elements, such as morality, can be considered to be evolutionary adaptations with fitness or survival value for the human species. These two claims, in and of themselves, do not appear to be problematic. Problems and controversies mostly arise when one wants to infer more from the supposed relationship between genes (biology) and human culture. For example, one can argue that if race is based on biological traits inherited from parents, then genes have a significant bearing in determining a person's race. The question then is: Can one deduce from this that genes can in the same process determine a person's culture? To do so would be a mistake, because culture and genes operate (and are acquired) in totally different ways. Whether in terms of physical traits or behaviour, genes basically operate at the level of individuals, whereas culture operates at group levels. It is difficult to see how a group of unrelated individuals can *genetically* inherit a pattern of behaviour even if, for argument's sake, we admit that some habits can be inherited from parents. In contrast, it is easy to appreciate why they may share certain socially learned behaviours or attitudes, because culture is acquired through learning. This learning process can also be reflected in changes in behaviour or attitudes.

Further, culture is also more closely associated with a person's ethnicity than with race. In particular, culture is an essential characteristic of an ethnic group, whereas a person's race will not immediately tell you their culture or ethnicity. All of the known human races (maybe with a few exceptions) involve different ethnic groups. Unlike race, ethnicity cannot be defined in terms of any of the physical characteristics of a person, and is thus more of a political or social construct than race. Even

⁹Op. cit.

¹⁰As Zion and Kozleski (op. cit., p.16) note, "the United States has historically focused on the use of race as the most significant cultural identifier, a narrow definition of an individual that does not allow for individual identity development and the influences around diversity..."

though ethnicity is shared by a group, identification with an ethnic group comes, or should also come, from individuals themselves, as opposed to being imposed by society. A person may choose whether or not to identify with a particular ethnic group.¹¹ In contrast, a person's race does not seem to be up for choice. Hence, from this perspective, race and ethnicity do not mean the same thing. The race category is often much broader than ethnicity.

If a person's culture is more closely associated with ethnicity, then, given that a race often comprises different ethnic groups, it is problematic to suppose that a single culture can or does apply to an entire race. To this extent, notions such as "Western culture" or "African culture" would appear to be more myths than realities. However, the concept of Western culture appears to be taken for granted, whereas some scholars have challenged the idea of an African culture, arguing that this notion, just like the idea of an "African mentality," "distorts the richness and cultural diversity of African peoples."¹² It is plausible that one can speak of these concepts at a certain level of abstraction, but such abstractions may be too abstract to be applicable. In practical terms, however, especially in this era, individuals or groups can traverse different cultures, adopt what they like and ignore what they do not like. Whatever the case, the point still remains that racial and cultural identities relate to different issues.

Culture and Civilization

In contrast to the description of culture presented in the previous section:

A civilization usually develops a complex economy along with equally complex sciences and technologies... a sophisticated writing system, literature, arts and music, a coherent legal system, advanced social institutions, political and military organizations, with all their corresponding material manifestations.¹³

¹¹For instance, in South Africa "coloureds" (people from mixed marriages between whites and blacks) are seen and think of themselves as a distinct group, whereas in the United States they see themselves simply as black people.

¹²J.A. Ciaffa, "Tradition and Modernity in Postcolonial African Philosophy," *Humanitas* 21 (1 & 2) (2008), 128.

¹³R. Wei, "Civilization and Culture," *Globality Studies Journal* 24 (2011), 1-2. For this reason, it is possible to make a fairly adequate assessment of a civilization based on its institutions and the standards that characterise such institutions. On the basis of institutions and infrastructure, civilizations can be compared to each other. It is for this reason that it is also possible to assess the civilizations of societies that are no longer in existence, but have left behind significant physical

From the above, it is tempting to suggest that an overlap between culture and civilization would be much more apparent in areas such as literature, arts, and music, or in the material aspects. However, it would be premature to talk about overlaps without a clear illustration of the difference between the two concepts.

One way to draw out the difference between culture and civilization is to consider how the two concepts relate to institutions. In doing so, it is helpful to employ the distinction between formal and informal institutions. To this effect, it is easy to understand culture with reference to informal institutions of society, whereas civilization can be restricted to formal institutions.¹⁴ This differentiation is not intended to imply that formal institutions are devoid of culture, nor that civilization has no impact on the informal aspects of society. Rather, the point is that the kind of culture that obtains in formal institutions such as universities or corporations is different from ordinary culture in that it is highly specialised, and civilization often originates from and is propagated by formal institutions.

From this perspective, one begins to appreciate how or why different societies can have different cultures but partake of the same civilizations. For example, countries in the west such as the United States, and those in the east such as China or Japan, are composed of totally different cultures while partaking of the same products of civilization such as in economics, trade, science and technology.

In view of the analysis of culture and civilization provided above, it is opportune now to argue that the progression of human ventures such as science, technology and economics can be better understood in relation to civilization as opposed to culture. In fact, science and technology have undergone advancement at various stages in different civilizations, and thus cannot be a prerogative of any particular *culture*. To this extent, Kwasi Wiredu is correct to point out that it is a mistake to compare African traditional thought or culture to science. As he argues, science is not a preoccupation of ordinary people even in the Western context. To assume

infrastructures. Such kinds of assessment are not possible, or are at least extremely difficult, if culture is what is at issue. Attempts to understand a society's culture adequately may only be possible if a society is still in existence, or if one relies on records relating to its existence, as opposed to merely looking at the artefacts left behind.

¹⁴In view of the distinction between formal and informal institutions, what seems to happen is that when scholars are looking at rural areas or so-called primitive societies, the focus is on the informal aspects of life, perhaps because there are not many formal institutions, if any, to talk about. In contrast, when attention shifts to urban areas/ modern societies, the focus is (almost exclusively) on the formal aspects of life or sectors of society.

that science and technology are the defining features of Western culture and to compare Western culture to other cultures on this basis is not only highly problematic, but also amounts to a serious misconception of Western culture. This leads not only to a lack of clarity in terms of what “Western culture” is, but also to a serious misunderstanding of other cultures, especially by Western scholars.

For example, the view that science and technology are the defining features of Western culture has been dominant in comparing Western culture to African culture(s). Mistakenly, this perspective has been adopted also by some African thinkers such as Leopold Senghor. When comparing black Africans to white Europeans, for instance, Senghor claims that while an “African is a man of nature...Whites approach the world in the manner of a scientist or an engineer...”¹⁵ Contrary to Senghor’s claims, as other scholars have emphasised, “there is nothing specifically *Western* about the scientific understanding of nature,” and “scientific thinking is a basic human capacity, one which holds important benefits for persons regardless of their cultural settings.”¹⁶ Hence, science remains relatively the same whether it is undertaken in the west, east, north or south. Of course, the only major differences are usually in terms of funding and other investments, such as time and human capital.

Western culture has indeed customs and mores that would provide a more suitable basis for comparisons with other cultures.¹⁷ Cultures may differ from one another, but they do share some fundamental elements as expressions of all that is common to humanity.¹⁸ It is thus an overstatement to think that the difference between Western culture and other cultures can be explained only in terms of the influence of science or technology.¹⁹ Of course, this way of thinking is likely to occur and often fed by the conceptual confusion between culture and civilization. This also poses a challenge in terms of understanding the role culture plays in shaping philosophy.

¹⁵L. Senghor, “On Negrohood: psychology of the African Negro,” *African Philosophy: Selected Readings*, A. Mosley (ed.) (New York: Prentice Hall, 1995), p.117.

¹⁶Ciaffa, op. cit., p.133.

¹⁷B. Hallen, *A Short History of African Philosophy* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), p.20.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p.26.

¹⁹For instance, consider the suggestion that “cultures in the West may have lost ‘the so-called spiritual’ and the values it inspired have been severely curtailed by the influence of science and technology,” K.A. Appiah, *In my Father’s House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), p.135; see also Hallen, op.cit., p.47. This loss, real or apparent, can be explained by other social factors as opposed to the influence of science and technology.

Some Problems in Confusing Culture and Civilization

Ironically, one of the problems that arise from confusing culture and civilization involves the use of the term “culture” to describe so-called primitive societies, whereas the term “civilization” is used to refer to modern or progressive societies. As Wei writes:

...anthropologists and ethnographers in the West have used “culture” in discussing the primitive societies they study, while “civilization” has to a large extent been reserved for describing modern society. Hence the current situation in which it is unproblematic to say “Western Civilization” and “Western Culture” and, to some extent, even “primitive culture” or “primitive cultures,” but unacceptable to speak of “primitive civilization” or “primitive civilizations.”²⁰

While the above conceptual alignment may have been a convenient distinction for the scholars involved, there are a number of problems with the differentiation of culture and civilization involved in the above citation. To start with, in spite of giving the impression of distinguishing between culture and civilization, the above perspective still seems to maintain that culture and civilization are synonymous but only applicable to different kinds of society.²¹ In so doing, it obscures clearly defined meanings that differentiate culture from civilization.

An exclusive association of culture with primitive societies also gives the impression that there is a misunderstanding involving a lack of appreciation of the nature of the relationship between culture and civilization. There may be no problem in associating civilization with cities as opposed to rural areas. This does not imply that culture is exclusive to rural areas, or that it is irrelevant to life in the cities as some scholars suggest, as, for instance, when they claim “that ‘civilization’ should be used when cities are referred to and ‘culture’ when rural areas not yet urbanized are discussed.”²² Arguably, life in the city may be more advanced than life in the rural areas. It is also true that civilization is often geared toward bringing about improved conditions of living and in some cases immense

²⁰Wei, op.cit., p.3; see also P. Bagby, *Culture and History: Prolegomena to the Comparative Study of Civilization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), pp.74-76.

²¹I do concur with Wei (op. cit., p.3) here when he notes that “one of the reasons for the semantic entanglement of ‘civilization’ and ‘culture’ is that when theorists try to define ‘civilization,’ they unconsciously or unconsciously envisage ‘culture.’”

²²Braudel, cited in Wei (op. cit.)

wealth. Even from this, one cannot deduce that civilization is superior to culture.

Scholars who think that civilization is superior to culture seem to have an implicit assumption that partaking of the benefits of a civilization means that one is “civilized.” In fact, this assumption is also rooted in ordinary usage where the terms “civilization” and “civilized” are used synonymously. This association is problematic as it obscures the precise meaning of each of these two terms. The term “civilization” is better used to capture the state of affairs in society or how a society is organized, whereas the term “civilized” relates primarily to human conduct. A civilized person is expected to be capable of observing certain social mores, or manners of character or dress.²³ Nonetheless, such expectations would only seem to be realistic within the confines of a particular society (culture), e.g. the Victorian. In fact, insofar as human behaviour is what is at stake, it is difficult to see how the term “civilized” can be applied to an entire society. This is because it is likely that some sections of any society will fall below what is expected of civilized conduct. In contrast, the services of a civilization, for example, transportation, the Internet, or other social amenities are usually assumed to be available (even though not often equally or equitably accessible) to all members of society.

Once comparisons between culture and civilization are clarified, one would see that the conceptual *hierarchy* between the two concepts does not seem to have a basis, or, at least, it is not warranted. In fact, as some scholars have argued, civilization cannot be considered superior to culture in the case where a person who may be part of a civilization is not “cultured.” If culture is understood to represent “whatever is refined and elegant” or “the higher levels of inner refinement of a human being,”²⁴ as some scholars suggest, then it is difficult to see how culture can be inferior to civilization. Hence, this discussion concurs with the understanding that culture and civilization should be treated as distinct concepts notwithstanding the fact that it is still possible to understand each of these terms as overlapping.²⁵ Nevertheless, comparing the two may still seem

²³In my view a fundamental indicator of what it means to be “civilized” is the rejection of violence in all its forms. Perhaps that is the reason why non-combatants are called civilians. Hence, to be civilized remains a real challenge as those who proclaim to be civilized are themselves often in the forefront perpetuating violence, militarily or in some other form.

²⁴Cf. I. Wallerstein, *Geopolitics and Geoculture: Essays on the Changing World-System* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p.202.

²⁵In view of this fact, it is difficult to find a basis upon which one can compare culture and civilization. Further, whereas it is difficult to compare one culture to another, it is quite easy to compare one civilization to another. Arguably, while we could assert what a particular culture may be more predisposed to, e.g.,

problematic. Overall, the position taken in this paper is that both culture and civilization are aspects of the same reality, namely, human societies. Consequently, there is, perhaps, no need to argue about which of the two is superior or inferior, bigger or smaller²⁶ as that may amount to reifying these notions. Another important clarification here involves a realization that the terms “civilized” and “cultured” seem to be better synonyms of each other in comparison with “civilization” and “culture,” or “civilization” and “civilized.”

Philosophy and Culture

In an attempt to explain why lawyers tend to disagree so much on issues, one lawyer publicly explained: “Where you have ten lawyers, expect ten different legal opinions.” This is startling, especially if you consider the fact that there are *usually* only two sides to any given case. Nevertheless, this paper cannot help entertaining the above saying in an attempt to depict philosophy; there are as many philosophies as there are philosophers, all of which, however, are influenced by the assumption that human beings are rational creatures.²⁷ In addition, all philosophy is often sparked by a sense of wonder (as opposed to mere curiosity),²⁸ or a search for clarity in terms of the meanings attached to ideas or phenomena.

For schematic purposes, one can distinguish three different styles in philosophy. First, there is a distinction between the quest for insight (philosophy of insight) and philosophical systems. The defining element of the philosophy of insight is the urge for clear answers, whereas philosophical systems are characterised by grandiose claims and, of course, the ability to construct such claims.²⁹ Plato’s or Hegel’s philosophies are typical examples of philosophical systems, whereas Socrates and the pre-Socratic philosophers, for instance, fall within the style of philosophy of insight. Contemporary philosophy constitutes the third category, as it seems to exhibit an aversion both to the quest for grandiose claims and to

religion or politics, that would not justify the conclusion that one culture is better than another.

²⁶See Wei, *op. cit.*

²⁷This can be in terms of “pure reason” or the capacity to discern good from bad. Cf. O.A. Oyeshile, “On Defining African Philosophy: History, Challenges and Perspectives,” *Humanity & Social Science Journal* 3(1) (2008), 62.

²⁸As Plato reportedly insisted, “vulgar curiosity does not make a philosopher.” B. Russell, *The History of Western Philosophy* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1945), p.120.

²⁹J. Mweshi, “On Africanising the Philosophy Curricula: Challenges and Prospects,” *South African Journal of Philosophy* 35(4) (2016), 464.

clear answers.³⁰ Generally, the three different styles of philosophy differ by the extent to which they involve speculative constructions, critical examination, and analysis of ideas,³¹ depending, of course, on the attributes of individual philosophers.

Apart from the methods or styles involved, the cultural context in which philosophers find themselves can also have a significant bearing on their philosophies: hence the recognition in this discussion that culture has a significant role to play in shaping philosophy, provided it is appreciated that the association of culture with race is problematic. To associate culture with race would seem to imply that race also has an essential role to play in philosophy, an idea that seems totally superficial. For instance, whereas the Greeks may be credited for having inspired Western philosophy as we know it, this achievement has something more to do with their culture than their race, a culture that was conducive not only to imagination but also freedom of thought.³² The significance of culture for philosophy is to do with the context in which certain thoughts and ideas emerge, as opposed to the racial attributes of the people involved. This point applies not only to Western philosophy, but to African philosophy as well. If the foregoing analysis is correct, then it is incorrect, or at least, problematic, to associate culture with race and in turn race with philosophy.

In arguing that culture has a significant role to play in shaping philosophy, one should also appreciate that this is a complex relationship. As a result, it is difficult to spell out its nature and scope in a global sense, not only because philosophy is complex, but also because culture is diverse.³³ Cultural diversity is a reality not only at the global or regional level, but also at the institutional level. To this extent, the distinction between formal and informal institutions discussed earlier in the second section is also another important aspect. For example, there may be philosophers whose thinking was primarily influenced by ordinary experiences, whereas the thinking of others may have more to do with their exposure to formal institutions such as universities. Be that as it may, these are spheres (informal/formal) that any philosopher in this era has to deal

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Oyeshile op. cit.

³²D. Palmer, *Looking at Philosophy* (Mountain View CA: Mayfield Publishing Company, 1988), pp.1-3.

³³Suffice it just to note that a lack of interest in philosophy could be cultural, and a lack of interest in culture can be a danger to philosophy. As Palmer (op. cit., p.109) notes in relation to the Teutonic tribes and their new "barbarian" emperors: "They were not interested in culture as it had been known in Classical times," and as a result "[p]hilosophy as the Greeks and Romans had understood it was in danger of perishing."

with, and how one traverses them may depend on individual attributes or institutional factors, or on a combination of both.

Taking into account the analysis of and distinction between culture and race presented in this discussion, we can now ask if the main challenge to doing philosophy in Africa is racial or cultural. To deal with this issue in a concrete fashion, I will restrict the discussion to some of my experiences in the Philosophy department at the University of Zambia (which is the oldest and only Philosophy department at a public university in Zambia to date). Considering the limited diversity in staff composition, I am unable to explore the racial issue directly and at this level. Instead I will focus much more directly on the cultural aspect.

For some years since the 1980s, the department has been teaching traditional Western philosophy (and to some extent African philosophy as inspired by some controversies from Western philosophy and literature). Viable areas for African philosophy in fields such as moral philosophy/ethics and social political philosophy remain largely unexplored, as staff members seem to be preoccupied with Western philosophies. Ironically, some foreign lecturers of European descent have shown much greater interest in African ethics or political philosophy in comparison with the local staff. From the point of view of this discussion this trend poses a challenge, and should be a source of concern. Generally, in fact, there is a concern about the teaching of Western philosophy in African universities.³⁴ At the core of this concern is the view that philosophy in Africa should be culturally relevant. Besides the proverbial search for knowledge or wisdom, Enyimba Maduka writes that:

Philosophy is an attitude of the mind which is informed by one's cultural and existential setting. Philosophy is thus culture bound, as every philosophy and in effect every philosopher is a product of his socio-cultural environment or setting.³⁵

From this perspective, a major concern about the teaching of Western philosophy in African universities (especially in a dogmatic fashion) is that it is either gravely decontextualized or not directly relevant to the local problems or solutions that philosophers should be engaging with.

³⁴Some of these concerns can be found, for instance, in the work of G.S. Sogolo, author of "The concept of cause in African thought," *The African Philosophy Reader*, P.H. Coetzee and A.P.J. Roux (eds.) (London: Routledge, 1998), and also in the work of Theophilus Okere (as cited in Hallen, op.cit.), Enyimba Maduka, Membe Edet and Uchena Okeja, to mention but a few.

³⁵E. Maduka, "Racism and Philosophy: An Examination of Humean and Kantian Racial Thoughts" (2017). <https://www.academia.edu/34824712/>.

In addition, the teaching of Western philosophy in African universities poses another challenge in terms of the interaction between local staff and philosophy lecturers of European descent. If not properly explored, the attitude of philosophy lecturers of European descent toward African lecturers or students may be misunderstood as outright “racism.”³⁶ But there is an alternative view. Whether we like it or not, Western philosophy is part of the cultural heritage of Europeans. Even “African Europeans” (Africans of European descent) share in this heritage, or at least that is how they feel. When Westerners or African Europeans are sceptical about Africans doing philosophy, maybe what is at issue is the feeling, consciously or unconsciously, that Western philosophy is not part of the cultural heritage of Africans. The point here is not that philosophy is the preserve of a particular culture. Rather, unlike science we cannot separate a philosophy from the philosopher or the cultural context in which both the philosophy and philosopher emerged. Approaching the issue from this perspective may allow us not to get entangled in the confusion between racial and cultural boundaries. We cannot change the past, but we can shape the future by contributing to the building of our own African philosophical (cultural) heritage.³⁷

References

- Appiah, K.A. (1992). *In My Father's House*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bagby, P. (1963). *Culture and History: Prolegomena to the Comparative Study of Civilization*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Ciaffa, J.A. (2008). “Tradition and Modernity in Postcolonial African Philosophy.” *Humanitas* XXI (1&2), pp. 121-145.
- Gintis, H. (2011). “Gene-Culture Co-Evolution and the Nature of Human Sociality.” *The Royal Society*, 366, pp. 878-888.
- Hallen, B. (2002). *A Short History of African Philosophy*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Hochman, A. (2017). “Racism is Real, Race is not: A Philosopher’s Perspective.” <http://theconversation.com/racism> (accessed 3 August 2017).

³⁶There are instances, for instance when one is told that you cannot study such and such a philosopher as he is too difficult, or that “I appreciate your criticism against his argument, but he can’t be wrong (therefore you are wrong).”

³⁷I may add here that the Southern African region seems to be lagging behind in this quest in comparison, for instance, with West Africa.

- Hoffheimer, M.H. (2005) "Race and law in Hegel's philosophy of religion." A. Valls (ed.), *Race and Racism in Modern Philosophy*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.
- Maduka, E. (2017) "Racism and Philosophy: An Examination of Humean and Kantian Racial Thoughts." <https://www.academia.edu/34824712/> (accessed 7 August 2017).
- Mweshi, J. (2016). "On Africanising the Philosophy Curricula: Challenges and Prospects." *South African Journal of Philosophy*, 35(4), pp. 460-470.
- Oyeshile, O.A. (2008). "On Defining African Philosophy: History, Challenges and Perspectives." *Humanity & Social Science Journal*, 3(1), pp. 57-64.
- Palmer, D. (1988). *Looking at Philosophy*. Mountain View CA: Mayfield Publishing Company.
- Russell, B. (1945). *The History of Western Philosophy*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Senghor, L. (1995). "On Negrohood: psychology of the African Negro." A. Mosley (ed.), *African Philosophy: Selected Readings*. New York: Prentice Hall.
- Wallerstein, I. (1994). *Geopolitics and Geoculture: Essays on the Changing World-System*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wei, R. (2011). "Civilization and Culture." *Globality Studies Journal* 24, pp. 1-9.
- Wiredu, K. (1995). "How not to compare African thought with Western thought." A. Mosley (ed.), *African Philosophy: Selected Readings*. New York: Prentice Hall.
- Zion, S. and Kozleski, E.B. (2005). *Understanding Culture and Cultural Responsiveness*. Denver, CO: National Centre for Culturally Responsive Educational Systems.

5.

Race, the Colonial University and Xenophobia in Grahamstown, South Africa

PROLIFIC S. MATARUSE

If students are demanding free education, they are reminding us of how retrograde our social priorities have become. (Angela Davies, 2016)¹

The problem is not simply one of poverty, a lack of means, but of the glaring disparities that assault people day in and out. A seething sense of injustice exists generating rancor and insubordination. (Hein Marais, 2011)²

Introduction

This paper reflects on events that happened in Grahamstown, South Africa, drawing a connection between the seemingly separate and disconnected incidents of xenophobia (2015) and #RhodesMustFall (2015), #RhodesSoWhite (2015), #FeesMustFall (2015 and 2016), and the anti-rape culture protests (2016) – events which featured in several debates on the transformation of South African tertiary education in general and Rhodes University in particular. The moniker University Currently Known as Rhodes University (UCKAR) gained currency following the protests. Rape and fees were used as signifiers of systemic social failures, and also as reference points in protesting a culture of exclusion, inequality and indifference. The discussion brings out selected incidents where it was felt people problematized the achievement of the rainbow nation at the expense of people of colour in South Africa. The paper contains reflections on these protests without an attempt to reach any firm conclusions, and draws some links between the protests and the xenophobic attacks. The reflections are based on personal experiences of the author, interviews and conversational analysis. The experience of the author is important as it provides a first-hand account of the events. The interviews helped in understanding the views of participants and victims of the in-

¹A. Davies, *17th Annual Steve Biko Lecture* (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 2016).

²H. Marais, *Pushed to the Limit: The Political Economy of Change* (Claremont: UCT Press, 2011).

cidents being reflected upon. Conversational analysis was important in that it provided access to both the public and hidden transcript of thoughts and actions by the protesting black community of Grahamstown. These experiences are useful in the study as, according to Gilroy,³ individual experience has potential to help dissect multicultural societies. In this paper, the terms “black people” and “people of color” are used interchangeably to describe those people that were made to feel inhuman by apartheid’s alterity politics, despite tonal differences.

At the Expense of the People of Colour

The presence of two major courts, a magistrate’s court and a High Court opposite each other in the one major street of the small town of Grahamstown, reeking of unemployment and poverty on one hand and opulence on the other, especially around Rhodes University, speaks volumes about historical separateness. The town itself is a carrier of memory; it remembers history in ways that disturb the present. This study is inspired by James Baldwin’s⁴ arguments in the debate with William F Buckley, where it was asked if “the American dream had been achieved at the expense of the negro.” The study uses his postulates to offer a critique of simplistic avowals of universality or multiculturalism, race and the university in South Africa. For Baldwin⁵ racial exclusion as an experience damaged the most private inner self of those left out, by destroying their sense of reality. This makes discussing whether the rainbow nation is at the expense of the people of colour in South Africa a hideously loaded venture.

In various conversations, Black South Africans are usually incorrectly described as “lazy” in hushed tones. The temptation is to use this to define the indigenes. A much better understanding contextualizes this in the structures of apartheid and neo-liberalism, which are still to be grappled with, and their legacy of structural economic weaknesses and inequalities aggravated by contemporary failures of policy – and job losses, as there was a casualization of labour and massive divestment by companies.⁶ Yet amidst all this, the importation of labor thrives simultaneously and locals find themselves unequipped to function in the contem-

³P. Gilroy, *After Empire: Melancholia or Convivial Culture?* (New York: Routledge, 2010) p.7.

⁴J. Baldwin, “The American Dream and the American Negro,” *New York Times*, March 7, 1965.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Marais, op. cit., p.4

porary system. As Neocosmos⁷ reiterates, “apartheid left a legacy of anxieties, interests, and historical conditions reflecting racial exclusion.”

A perceptive glance at South African society tells of a broken social fabric in the black communities – a family unit that is broken, a dysfunctional education system with hundreds of thousands of school dropouts per year, prevalent drug abuse and extreme violent crime, including the world’s highest number of rape cases per year, and the highest number of HIV/AIDS infected people in the world at 5,700,000. (Joint United Nations Programme on HIV and AIDS 2007). According to the South African Police Services (SAPS) Crime Statistics (2015/2016) from reported cases, it is estimated that about twenty thousand people per year are murdered in South Africa, with a rate of about 51 a day, and about 143 reported sexual offences a day. In one township district in Cape Town the rate was about seven homicides a day. Clearly South Africa has a high crime rate, although crimes such as rape and thefts are under-reported in comparison with murder.⁸ The violence has mostly affected people of colour. That black lives and property are easily expendable is captured in the discourses of various protests movements in South Africa, and is traced back to apartheid, to the extent that it has become clichéd.

Under apartheid, the family collapsed with the social fabric as blacks were pushed out into racial ghettos and co-opted into employment systems that strained and broke families, increased stress and resulted in children forming surrogate family structures like gangs.⁹ American social-ologist Sarah van Geldr¹⁰ notes that the effect on children was that it led to deviant and criminal behaviour as “the solid core of contributing adults” diminished, and community institutional foundations fell apart, tearing the community safety nets. Basically, through many years, spanning two centuries, of the racist cultures in which parents failed to cope with hardships, systemic issues of single parenting, a direct result of apartheid’s migrant labor and pass policies that broke families, were introduced, leading to promiscuity, drugs and alcohol. Most of the time children were (and are still) being left to manage themselves in adult-less communities. In Grahamstown, several non-governmental organizations have opened aftercare facilities to help assist with parental care when parents are not at

⁷M. Neocosmos, *From ‘Foreign Natives’ to ‘Native Foreigners’: Explaining Xenophobia in Post-Apartheid South Africa, Citizenship and Nationalism, Identity and Politics* (Dakar: CODESRIA, 2010).

⁸N. Brodie, “Are SA whites really being killed ‘like flies’? Why Steve Hofmeyr is Wrong” (2013), *Africa Check*. <https://africacheck.org/reports/are-white-afrikaners-really-being-killed-like-flies/>.

⁹D. Pinnock, *Cape/Gang Town* (Tafelberg: Cape Town, 2016).

¹⁰In Pinnock, op. cit., p.3.

home. For Baldwin¹¹ this sort of thing is a logical outcome of prolonged unresolved racism, as racial oppression and exclusion attack the centrality of the family unit in social cohesion by disempowering parents through absence and the lack of economic means. The family system disappears, and people feel rootless and alienated. It would, therefore, be logical to argue that the family was never recovered after the official end of apartheid.

The failure to grapple with apartheid's differences, no doubt, led the people of colour to question the 1994 election that brought in the rainbow nation, after prisoners had negotiated peace deals. The failure to recover basic community structures such as the family, education, employment, housing and health has caused some to feel the hollowness of the embrace of constitutional democracy,¹² and for some a revolution has been suspended.¹³ It seems it is now clear to some that the rainbow nation was achieved at the expense of the people of colour in South Africa. South African national days are contested, such as Heritage Day, Freedom Day and Reconciliation Day, because of the merging of nostalgia and melancholia. Gqola¹⁴ asks: "Where have all the rainbows gone?" The inequality suffered by the people of colour in South Africa, described by Msimang¹⁵ as "the strongest victims in the world," happened "at the expense of justice," entrapping blacks in poverty while giving "white South Africans the freedom to reinvent themselves." What this means may be inferred from the reflections of Baldwin¹⁶ on the situation in America – that people of colour eventually make some grave discoveries about social differences as they grow up in a *de facto* segregated society, or even if they happen to stay on the wrong side of town. They are disillusioned by the fact that the flag they had paid allegiance to had not done the same for them.

The most painful reality is that in the country of their origin and around which their life and identity revolve, most people of colour discover that their country has not actually evolved a place for them beyond the pacifying social grant, the reality being that they are uneducated, unskilled, and unemployed, and the only job for them is to be a cleaner, a waiter, a cashier, a maid, or a grounds person. The discovery that poverty

¹¹Op. cit.

¹²C. Africa, "Have South Africans Accepted Democracy?" *Institute for Justice and Reconciliation*, 8 (3) (2010), 10-11.

¹³A. Habib, *South Africa's Suspended Revolution: Hopes and Prospects* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2013), p.34.

¹⁴P. Gqola, "Where have all the Rainbows Gone?" *Rhodes Journalism Review*. 24 (6/7) (2004), 6.

¹⁵S. Msimang, "The Strongest Victims in the World," *The Daily Maverick*, February 25, 2016, p.1.

¹⁶Op. cit.

and pain has a colour, and that the colour is black and usually female, begins a disaffection and demoralization that is based on skin colour and gender, something which skewed inequalities of access provision largely increase. From his experience of racial exclusion in America Baldwin¹⁷ argues that, in as much as one may have accepted such a catalog of disaster, which tries to convince them that they are a worthless human being, it becomes most devastating when one sees it happen in their offspring or relatives. The fact of the matter is that the very near impossibility of averting the same fate befalling this other generation really marks the intractability of the expense black people pay for political compromise.

Baldwin¹⁸ also discusses the effect on children of racial exclusion suffered by their parents. For him, racial exclusion leads to questions that seek a rectification of that wrong. Applied to Africa and to South Africa, this explains why it seems there is a trend of protests towards the end of the second decade after a post-colony's independence. It may be because of a younger generation coming of age, that refuses to accept the limitations of a previous generation. #FeesMustFall, #RhodesMustFall and #RhodesSoWhite, the rape culture protests and the so-called "service delivery protests" have made South Africa the protest capital of the world. Young people hear and see the tenacious black African who would arrive in South Africa with nothing, and start working in trenches, selling homemade perfumes and vegetables in the night. He would then go ahead to graduate from their university, drive a car and dress better, buy a house, and send her child to that school up-town.

He would tell them of tales about the black people in their country, how despite the poverty of their nations and the tyranny of their rulers they would live with a sense of pride, responsibility, quality education and skills acquired, which black South Africa will only see in its chosen few and the foreign stranger. People of colour hear of land reform across the Limpopo in Zimbabwe, and that gets them excited. This awakening is not in any way an act of government, but rather migration and general common sense have given citizens a new sense of themselves beyond the menial jobs, crime and violence with which common exclusionary narratives have associated them. While the intention after apartheid was to be recognized as human, the effort now shifts to the acquisition of respect, safety and the ability to enjoy the full rights of citizenship.

Having been disappointed by the ineptitude of leaders both in the apartheid and post-apartheid era, those seeking redress become suspicious of the same leaders. For Baldwin¹⁹ it is logical that people will turn away

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid.

from authority because of past abuses and ongoing abuses facilitated by the state's omission or commission. Black people no longer entirely believe what their black leaders and the white world tells them because of their horrible experience since 1994. Therefore, when Nelson Mandela achieved the rainbow nation amid the limitations of white intransigence, it sounded very much like a statement of emancipation for all time. It is only now that the poor are in rebellion, as Pithouse²⁰ puts it; it is evident that bitterness, scorn and even laughter over the futility of such a venture has had a strong echo from the township. Unless it is accepted that the new identity under construction is one in which everyone needs each other, and that those black people who have historically suffered the expense are not an object of charity but also of serious investment, as some of the people who built the country, it seems the same ominous clouds will gather around South Africa, and the vultures will be circling.

Racism, Restaurant Workers and Xenophobia

Usually contemporary racism is subtle and nuanced, prolonged by institutional cultures and systems, but, in some places in Grahamstown, it feels like living in colonial history all over again. Here I provide a real life narrative of how the disadvantage of people of colour combined with rumour to produce xenophobia in Grahamstown. Having worked in one of the restaurants, I kept some notes during that xenophobic time, which notes I present below. In that restaurant, whose name I withhold to protect the largely undocumented migrant workers working there, the white employer described her employees as monkeys, and on another day slapped a black manager for delaying to come to a shift. I kept a record of these outstanding events. In interviews with restaurant workers from thirteen restaurants in Grahamstown, I gathered that all restaurants in Grahams-town were white-owned, and in fact, there was hardly any Black-South-African-owned shop in Grahamstown central business district as of May 2017. Interviewees said that while there were notable exceptions, most of the working conditions at this restaurant could be generalized to other restaurants and even supermarkets. Restaurants in South Africa may therefore be referred to as a site for grievances and residual racism.

There were several cases of workers quitting jobs over unpaid overtime. In one instance, a griller resigned, and his replacement had a family tragedy with the passing on of his father at Settlers Hospital in Grahams-town. When that employee asked for an advance and off days to attend

²⁰R. Pithouse, *Writing the Decline: On the Struggle for South Africa's Democracy* (Johannesburg: Jacana Media, 2016), p.19.

his father's funeral, the restaurant owner became livid. I also recorded notes about a case of verbal abuse as follows:

The worst part is that I see that this employer has frustrated people on multiple levels she may never know. She walked into the kitchen and shouted at an employee who makes the curries, a sweet tender Xhosa mother. We called her Mama Tildah [not her real name]. However, we had a discussion, after she had been curtly called Tildah and dressed down all her dignity except her clothes in racial outbursts of "how you people" *blacks* are dirty, lazy and in this case supposedly stealing some curry. She never answered back but the white woman never knew that she had stirred a hornet's nest. After she left basic questions were asked: Do we in our collective African cultures call her Tildah at that age? Do we as humans address each other with such disgust? Does a request for replenishing curry mean you are told how the whole African people "are messy and incapable?" South Africa is both a colony and a post colony. Ugh, was this the colony? We asked, are we free?

In times like these, our vulnerabilities united us. The grievances in that time were many and varied, as recorded in my notes:

We remembered how at the close of the restaurant, we were not supposed to be on the premise but standing outside in the car park or road. People work on holidays in the restaurants and never get paid the double salary. The eight-hour day does not apply there. White restaurant workers are treated better than blacks....Black employee bags are searched at the end of a shift and white employees are not. Frequently you hear another white person or those accepted blacks, being told that these people steal. Visitors to black employees are either prevented from talking to them or when allowed it has to be way outside the restaurants. Obviously, white friends walk in, chat, and leave. What is in a skin? However, at times it cut across the racial divide. I remember one white female waiter who worked the afternoon and left with no pay because there were no customers. Another waiter walked away with R25 pay after a six-hour shift (it was calculated on a commission basis).

This shared suffering resulted in togetherness with those who would turn out to be involved in xenophobic attacks, making conversations unusually frank. As I recorded in my notes:

So much came up and we were reminded with love and warning: foreigners are much more preferred in employment than we are, they would rather have you managing us than have one of us. It benefits in that they will not need to pay the minimum wage or any benefits.

A few days later, in October 2015, physical xenophobic attacks began. Grahamstown had indeed become the place “where poverty meets xenophobia.”²¹ The incidents were triggered by rumor that a bearded Pakistani businessman was killing indigenes in the townships and mutilating their bodies for business charms. For days at the work place, there would be news that another body had been found. I wrote in my notes what I was told: “These Pakistanis are killing us.”

Xenophobia directly resulted from the Taxi Drivers Association (TDA) protest and was reinforced by the Street Committees and the Makana Municipality councilor’s decisions, the rhetoric being meant to protect the community from the accused Pakistan migrants. There was heightened political fervor emanating from the taxi strike and Fees Must Fall happening at Rhodes University at the same time. The TDA strike and Fees Must Fall were noted by those involved in the xenophobia as events that had heightened political fervor. The attacks began in Bathurst Street, where there were several foreign owned shops, spreading to the townships.²² While xenophobia in South Africa has usually been described as Afrophobic for its attack on other black African nationals,²³ the xenophobia in Grahamstown primarily targeted Pakistanis and people whose physical appearances were reminiscent of that of the Pakistanis, such as Somalians and Ethiopians.²⁴ Other foreigners were fearful and reported verbal xenophobic attacks, resulting in some staying indoors and others eventually moving from the townships.

When it came to the destruction of property, shops belonging to foreigners from Pakistan, Ethiopia, Egypt, Palestine, Somalia, China, Nige-

²¹P. O’Halloran, “Where Poverty meets Xenophobia: Grahamstown, a city in crisis,” *Daily Maverick*, October 27, 2015. <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2015-10-27-where-poverty-meets-xenophobia>.

²²K.J. Van Rensburg, F. Mthonti and M. Erskog, “Xenophobia in Grahamstown: We are not leaving!” *Daily Maverick*, October 29, 2015, p.1. <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2015-10-29-xenophobia>.

²³J.P. Misago, “Xenophobic Violence in the ‘Rainbow’ Nation,” *Aljazeera*, March 1, 2017. <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2017/03/xenophobic-violence-rainbow-nation-170301075103169.html>; G. Nicolson, “Gauteng Xenophobia: Gigaba and Mashaba Trade Accusations,” *Daily Maverick*, February 28, 2017. <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2017-02-28-gauteng-xenophobia>.

²⁴O’Halloran, op. cit.

ria, Zimbabwe, Senegal, Sudan, Bangladesh and Malawi in the location were looted and destroyed. After the looting of the shops and the chasing away of the owners, most of the local residents had to walk longer distances to town to buy necessities such as bread. When the Fees Must Fall demonstration stopped at Rhodes, the xenophobia went on for a few more days. Rhodes University during this time issued a call to its international students to seek refuge in safe spaces established by the university. The Makana Municipality also created safe spaces to host affected foreigners, with cases of over five hundred men being evacuated and women left behind.²⁵ This was not enough to curb attacks; anti-xenophobia campaigns by police and local activists, including the Unemployed Peoples Movement, the Rural Peoples Movement and Masifunde, and at least three military helicopters and police rubber-bulleted eventually stopped the attacks.

While officials were reported in state media as saying the deaths were true, they claimed the rumored link to the supposed bearded male Muslim serial killer was false. The locals, judging by the discussion in the restaurants, were insisting it was true. At one of the schools in the location students were given a day-off to go to the funeral of one student who had allegedly been killed by this mysterious man. The conflicting narratives of the officials, including police, and the anti-xenophobia campaigners, on one hand, and the strength of the rumor in the location, on the other, need to be accounted for.

As I observed from a safe distance, a typical day during the xenophobia involved singing liberation songs and chanting slogans, such as *Amandla Ngaawethu*. Looted materials were brought to work and sold to other foreigners who were not Pakistanis. In my notes, I recorded that,

I was shown merchandise, or loot rather from the night. In the two days that followed, such things were to appear more frequently. Most significant and alarming was a digital camera. The memory card inside still contained pictures of the Pakistan family and I asked this excited fellow to at least delete the photos. I was afraid. Achebe would say, when a slave sees another slave die he should not celebrate knowing that he could be next. However, I had the love of these South African man and women for now.

One of the restaurant workers explained how the people from the townships felt vulnerable, detached and alienated from Grahamstown. One frequently given example by interviewees was drug abuse – indicating that in almost every street in the township, there were one or more

²⁵Van Rensburg et al., op. cit., p.1.

drug-selling houses and a multiplicity of taverns that sold beer to all, including the under-aged. On a field visit to one tavern called Mandisa the researcher saw police officers and teenagers amicably drinking alcohol at the tavern. One teacher explained how students at a school called Nombulelo in the location frequently referred to the town center, which hosted Rhodes University, as Grahamstown, while the rest of the town was called iRhini. iRhini is Grahamstown's Xhosa name. There were fruitless attempts to change the name in 2007 after President Thabo Mbeki said in Parliament that Colonel Graham, the town's namesake, was a butcher, and had become unpopular, having been accused of slaughtering the Xhosa who had lived in the area before the arrival of white people, and imprisoning their Chief, MakhandaNxele, at Robben Island, where he drowned trying to escape in 1819.

In 2016, the town's municipality, known as Makana Municipality, resolved on three names, Makana, Lynx, or Rhini, and discussion of these is still ongoing. Complaints were made in interviews that black history had been erased or covered-up by colonial names. Some of the names included Grahamstown, Settler City, Settlers Hospital, Settlers Monument and Rhodes University. Worthy of mention at this point is the history of Steve Biko, who broke with liberal white student politics after being denied access to Rhodes University residences, an event which led to the formation of the South African Students Organization (SASO), as Biko²⁶ (1987: 11) recounts in *I Write What I Like*. Later on in life, Biko came to Grahamstown to appear before the town's High Court. Therefore, as apartheid became history, this memory stayed, despite it being officially neglected, as one Grahamstown resident, in an interview, recalled when talking of Biko's visits to the town. Memory here comes from remembering, from the certainty of experience, of having been there.

In this case, this is probably where reification and precariousness have further explanatory potential. Reification is a form of social and cultural anxiety.²⁷ In this case, subjectivity is invaded by the image, so that categories created, such as the "rainbow nation" and "constitutional democracy" in South Africa becomes disconnected from experience. The result is that social degeneration and nostalgia appear as the meaning vanishes. "Precariat," according to Standing²⁸ and Jørgensen,²⁹ is a neolo-

²⁶S. Biko, *I Write What I Like: Steve Biko. A Selection of His Writings* (Oxford: Heinemann, 1987), p.11.

²⁷T. Bewes, *Reification or the Anxiety of Late Capitalism* (London: Verso, 2002).

²⁸G. Standing, *The Precariat: The New Dangerous Class* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2011), p.8.

²⁹M.B. Jørgensen, "Precariat (What it is and what it isn't), Towards an Understanding of What it Does," *Critical Sociology*, 42 (7-8) (2016), 959-974.

gism combining the words “precarious” and “proletariat” to define a condition that emerges from the state of precariousness and is used to describe a new class of people whose residency, labour, work, citizenship and social protection are unstable. From the example of the restaurant workers, one glimpses that “the precariat has a feeling of being in a diffuse, unstable international community of people struggling, usually in vain; to give their working lives an occupational identity.”³⁰ Given the neoliberal policies of the South African government since the official end of apartheid in 1994 and its emphasis on individualism and competition, it is therefore expected that South Africa should have a huge mass of poor people.³¹ Unfortunately, a combination of memory and precariat subjectivities completes a sense of expense and loss, which creates nostalgia and desperation in agents as the structure threatens their lives.

The University and Challenging Coloniality in South Africa

The simultaneous protests at Rhodes University during the xenophobic period resulted in people of colour questioning the University as a project, as well as the failures of the South African polity in general. The defacing of the statute of Rhodes at the University of Cape Town (UCT) in 2015 by Chumani Maxwele and other students triggered protests. At UCT, the protests were about a statue of Cecil John Rhodes; in Grahamstown there is a university named after him. The fight moved on to the issue of Rhodes University’s name change, and it seems that by the time of writing the protest had become dormant, except for the popularity of the moniker University Currently Known as Rhodes University (UC-KAR) representing how the issue had remained pending.

The name change debate was clearly about more than names, being also about the whiteness of the institution which the Rhodes So White campaign had denounced. Matters of concern ranged from #PurpleFees, referring to expensive fees, to the teaching of the “dead white men” (a canon composed by the white man), and the prevalence of white staff and white students, which made the University seem unwelcoming for both black professors and students alike. Most Rhodes University academic staff are white, and most Rhodes University support staff are black. Most Rhodes University students are black, but white students are disproportionately represented in terms of national demographics. Whites make up only 10 per cent of the population,³² but a lot more than 10 per cent of

³⁰Standing, op. cit., p.26.

³¹Marais, op. cit.

³²Statistics South Africa, *Community Survey 2016 in Brief: Report 03-01-06* (2016). <http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/03-01-06/03-01-062016.pdf>.

Rhodes students. In 2012, the black student population at Rhodes University was 66 per cent, the highest it had ever been in history, which probably accounts for the constant reference to Rhodes University as one of the elite universities in South Africa.³³ The University became a symbol of what was assumed to be wrong about South Africa: the rush to go on with life, without addressing the defects and distortions resulting from colonialism, taking for granted the disadvantage people of colour had suffered.

A gridlock over issues of substantive democracy and equality over the years resulted in a radicalization of students and activists. A movement insisting on radical equality arose in universities. It was frequently noted that the 2015 protests were much more peaceful than the militant 2016 protests. Petrol bombs, vandalism, and a wide array of disruptions characterized the 2016 protests. At Rhodes University, students would set off alarms, damage toilets, block roads and disrupt lectures. At one point, roads were blocked with medical waste that included syringes. The Rhodes Library had to be transformed into a fortress, with cage wire covering the glass entrance. End of year examinations at Rhodes University in 2016 were written under armed guard.

The hash tag became a generation's symbol of power and influence. From #RhodesMustFall came forth several other hash tags relating to what some have called Fallism. Etymologically, it is clear that the term "fallism" resulted from the use of the phrase "Must Fall." Fallism's meaning is broad, defined by Mpofu-Walsh³⁴ as "a nascent, complicated and emerging viewpoint, combining aspects of decolonial thought, black consciousness, radical feminism, and pan-Africanism." Examples of hashtags in the Fallist movement include: #Chapter2.12, #RUReferenceList, #RhodesSoWhite, #PurpleFees, #ZumaMustFall, #ANCMustFall, #PatriarchyMustFall, #NationalShutdown, #KingGeorgeMustFall. Booyesen (2016: 2) adds #TransformWits, #TheStatuteMustFall, #FeesWillFall, #Fees-HaveFallen, and #OpenStellenbosch. The Rhodes University Facebook page known as #UCKAR is a parallel page to the University's Students Representative Council (SRC) page, and is actually the default functional page for expressing general student mood and relations.

The discourses around Fallism in the academia ran deep. The one common thread was decolonization or institutional transformation in the

³³Rhodes University, "Rhodes University Digest of Statistics Version 17: 2013" (2013), p.c. <https://www.ru.ac.za/media/rhodesuniversity/content/humanresources/documents/vicechancellorwebadvert/RU%20Stats%20digest%202013.pdf>.

³⁴S. Mpofu-Walsh, "The Game's the Same: Must Fall Moves to Euro-America," *Fees Must Fall: Student Revolt, Decolonisation and Governance in South Africa*, S. Booyesen (ed.) (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2016), p.82.

higher education sector. Efforts towards transforming and decolonizing academic faculties, both in terms of personnel and course content, began. The introduction of more African readings by black authors and further reassessments of course structure and content were demanded. Some texts and some authors, including University staff, were targeted as problematic and intransigent, refusing to move towards decolonization. From personal observation, several philosophical scholars became ideologically influential. Frantz Fanon provided the texts of the hour – *The Wretched of the Earth*, *Black Skin White Masks* and related commentaries from Lewis Gordon, Nigel Gibson, and Achille Mbembe among others. Faculty strained to fill in equity requirements by searching for black South African staff, and in some instances, retirements and resignations were effected.

The University and academy were scrutinized not just in South Africa but also outside South Africa, with the conclusion that their current neo-liberal market format offered no hope for the aggrieved people of the world. Colonial symbols at Oxford, Harvard and Yale among many other universities were contested and at times removed from campuses.³⁵ Other theoretical influences on Fallism were the black power theories in African-American studies and practice. This resulted in scholars such as C.L. R. James, W.E.B/ Dubois, Sylvia Wynter, Angela Davies, Cedric Robinson, Robin Kelley and bell hooks (pen name spelt in small caps for Gloria Jean Watkins) among others being frequently evoked as part of thinking through popular struggle. In fact, Angela Davies was invited in 2016 to Johannesburg to give the Annual Steve Biko Lecture, at which she was received as a living legend, an inspiration for the ongoing protests.³⁶

An illustration from Fees Must Fall which shows disenchantment and disillusionment with public life, politics, leaders and messiahs was its efforts towards a leaderless revolution and radical alternatives. The leaderless protests did not have structures, but were fluid in form. At Rhodes, this usually led to unending quarrels in the Black Students Movements, but it allowed radical interpretations on the way forward, making the Fallist movement unpredictable. The emergence of Asinamali as a leaderless amorphous student organization was not only an alternative to the SRC, but spearheaded the 2016 Rhodes University Fees Must Fall that remained unresolved until it eventually wore out after the prolonged closure of the University. At times post-modernist perspectives were used with the aim of deconstructing essentialised and valorized notions of society, while, the

³⁵S. Chan, “Historical Figures, Campus Controversies,” *New York Times*, January 29, 2016. <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/01/29/education>.

³⁶N. Koza “Angela Davis Pays Homage to Fees Must Fall Movement, Female Activists,” *Eye Witness News*, September 10, 2016. <http://ewn.co.za/2016/09/10/Angela-Davis-pays-homage-to-fees-must-fall-movement-and-female-activists>.

Fallist movement “attained profound black consciousness, African nationalist, and pro-black-African tenors.”³⁷ The politics of respectability became a thing of the past. Revered nationalists such as Steve Biko were recast, highlighting gender problems within the struggles in the phrase, “black man,” like in “Black Man, you are on your own,” came under the spotlight of radical black feminism.³⁸ Students and youths in South Africa had risen against the liberators, in a trend with strong iterations in student protests in other parts of Africa for example Zimbabwe and Côte d'Ivoire where student movements were pivotal in the development of multi-party politics.³⁹

Despite Rhodes University having attempted such transformation as in the naming of a few of their buildings after South African icons, such as Lilian Ngoyi, Chris Hani, Nelson Mandela, Charlotte Maxeke, Joe Slovo and Steve Biko – protesting students were however far from satisfied. It is important to heed the warning of Tabensky and Matthews⁴⁰ that superficial changes may disguise continuities, as “many institutions are struggling to shift their institutional cultures.” Symbolic politics would stand in the way of genuine transformation. This sort of intransigence would directly lead to the prominence of identity politics. The presence of identity politics is a result of the racial other and has echoes of Fanon’s⁴¹ conclusions that this othering led to a continuous asking of, “In reality who am I?” As Gordon⁴² notes, the issues of race, class, gender and sexuality cannot be separated in areas where whiteness prevails. Identity politics became the foremost character of South African politics in general.

Identity politics as assuaged in South African tertiary education protests has three characteristics. Firstly, it has given rise to essentialized

³⁷S. Booysen (ed.), *Fees Must Fall: Student Revolt, Decolonisation and Governance in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2016), p.3.

³⁸Davies, op. cit.

³⁹M. Mamdani, “Higher Education, the State and the Marketplace,” *Journal of Higher Education in Africa*, 6 (1) (2008), 1-10; T.M. Luescher-Mamashela and T. Mugume, “Student Representation and Multiparty Politics in African Higher Education,” *Studies in Higher Education*, 39 (3) (2014), 500–515

⁴⁰P. Tabensky and S. Matthews (eds.), *Being at Home: Race, Institutional Culture and Transformation at South African Higher Education Institutions* (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2015), p.2.

⁴¹F. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press 1963), p.252.

⁴²L.R. Gordon (2015). “Race and Justice in Higher Education: Some Global Challenges, with attention to the South African context,” *Being at Home: Race, Institutional Culture and Transformation at South African Higher Education Institutions*, P. Tabensky and S. Matthews (eds.) (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2015), p.157.

identities. In conversations held in the presence of the author Fees Must Fall made reference to “black pain” and “white monopoly capital;” while the anti-rape protests referred to “privileged white males” who were constantly told “to check their privilege,” and the “brutalised body of the black woman.” Rhodes University Reference List (#RURReferenceList), an anonymous social-media-published list of eleven alleged rapists, resulted in vigilantism as the alleged perpetrators were abducted by girls, beginning a protest led by Chapter 2.12 against rape culture. As one student in an interview put it “to be Black, female and South African is the new mantra.” Sexuality was also marked by using phrases like “as a gay person,” and “as a queer/transgender black woman.” At times there were radical forms of dress such as male students coming to lectures dressed as females, complete with dresses, skirts, makeup, female hairdos, high heels and hand bags.

In the second place, some of the identities invoked were also fluid or inexact, thereby generating uncertainties in demands at times. The ambiguities of skin colour led to various questions. Did “black” include “coloured” and did “black pain” include students from affluent backgrounds? Were students themselves not part of the elite since they lived in elite spaces? What of the poor vs. rich students?

The third characteristic of identity politics as manifested during the protests was the presence of exclusionary tendencies, with someone not belonging to a particular social location being described as incapable of fully understanding black pain, or the experiences of different gender or sexuality in South Africa. White students were, for example, stopped from attending Black Students Movements (BSM) meetings at Rhodes University, an issue which led to the BSM eventually stopping its meetings over this controversy.

Conclusion

In South Africa, tacit hostility and indifference to the claims of restitution and endangerment by precariat subjectivities is producing unconventional or unruly politics. Findings have related deep-seated anger in the black community as seen in the townships of Grahamstown and with regard to the connectivity of memory, rumour, paranoia and the notion of the stranger. At the base of these events in South Africa is a deep question: who are we? Are we a multicultural society, thereby universalised, or are we a particular society of identity politics divided by categories of race, gender, sexuality, culture and class? These complicated questions are also used as standpoints for critiquing the state, whiteness, Nelson Mandela and the rainbow nation. This research is a product of the quest to understand the problems of South Africa between 2015 and 2016 as national debates gripped a small town, revealing new voices and essentialized

identities that are a philosophical and practical challenge for the rainbow nation. The conclusions point to a discussion of exclusionary concepts of belonging, citizenship and rights as signified by migrant workers, the subaltern politics of the working poor and the place of the University as part of the forces that are seen as reproducing inequality. These are recommendations indicative of the mood of South African people of colour, indicating that extensive talk of transformation is being forced to give way to meaningful change.

Apart from the specific situation of South Africa, these protests are part of a universal discussion on similarly placed millions of people around the world, whose lives are unstable and, as xenophobia shows, are capable of being swept up by extreme right or left politics. The challenge for the Left, which is battling to unite the losers in such a system, is to develop a language appealing to the broader mass of society beyond their immediate category of identity politics. This requires composite theoretical frames, including those relating to race, gender, ethnicity and class, in developing the language for unity in the struggle. The conclusion reached in this paper is that xenophobia, high levels of crime, drug abuse and other problems facing South Africa and several other nations are the price of inequality. The universal aspect of the protests in South Africa is that, as people relearn to be human for modern times under the stresses of globalization, a strong movement of marginalised individuals and groups is rethinking the relationship of citizens to government by emphasising the political strategy of power from below.

References

- Africa, C. (2010). "Have South Africans Accepted Democracy?" *Institute for Justice and Reconciliation*, 8 (3), pp. 10-11.
- Baldwin, J. (1965). "The American Dream and the American Negro." *New York Times*, 7 March 1965.
- Bewes, T. (2002). *Reification or the Anxiety of Late Capitalism*. London: Verso.
- Biko, S. (1987). *I Write What I Like: Steve Biko. A Selection of His Writings*. Oxford: Heinemann.
- Booyesen, S. (ed.) (2016). *Fees Must Fall: Student Revolt, Decolonisation and Governance in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
- Brodie, N. (2013). "Are SA whites really being killed 'like flies'? Why Steve Hofmeyr is Wrong." *Africa Check*. <https://africacheck.org/reports/are-white-afrikaners-really-being-killed-like-flies/> (accessed 12 September 2017).
- Chan, S. (2016). "Historical Figures, Campus Controversies." *New York Times*, 29 January, 2016. <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/01/29/education> (accessed 15 September 2017).

- Davies, A. (2016). *17th Annual Steve Biko Lecture*. Pretoria: University of South Africa.
- Fanon, F. (1963). *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press.
- Gibson, N. (2015). "Thinking outside the Ivory Tower: Towards a Radical Humanities in South Africa." P. Tabensky and S Matthews (eds.), *Being at Home: Race, Institutional Culture and Transformation at South African Higher Education Institutions*. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.
- Gilroy, P. (2010). *After Empire: Melancholia or Convivial Culture?* New York: Routledge.
- Gordon, L.R. (2015). "Race and Justice in Higher Education: Some Global Challenges, with attention to the South African context." P. Tabensky and S. Matthews (eds.), *Being at Home: Race, Institutional Culture and Transformation at South African Higher Education Institutions*. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.
- Gqola, P. (2004). "Where have all the Rainbows Gone?" *Rhodes Journalism Review*, 24 (6/7), pp. 6-7.
- Habib, A. (2013). *South Africa's Suspended Revolution: Hopes and Prospects*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
- Hodgkin, K. and Radstone, S. (2006). *Contested Pasts. Memory, History, Nation: Contested Pasts*. New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers.
- Jørgensen, M.B. (2016). "Precariat (What it is and what it isn't): Towards an Understanding of What it Does." *Critical Sociology*, 42 (7-8), pp. 959-974.
- Koza, N. (2016). "Angela Davis Pays Homage to Fees Must Fall Movement, Female Activists." *Eye Witness News*. <http://ewn.co.za/2016/09/10/Angela-Davis-pays-homage-to-fees-must-fall-movement-and-female-activists> (accessed 3 June 2017).
- Luescher-Mamashela, T.M. and Mugume, T. (2014). "Student Representation and Multiparty Politics in African Higher Education." *Studies in Higher Education*, 39 (3), pp. 500-515
- Mamdani, M. (2008). "Higher Education, the State and the Marketplace." *Journal of Higher Education in Africa*, 6 (1), pp. 1-10.
- Marais, H. (2011). *Pushed to the Limit: The Political Economy of Change*. Claremont: UCT Press.
- Maxwele, C. (2016). "Black pain led me to throw Rhodes poo." *Business Day*, March 16, 2016
- Mpofu-Walsh, S. (2016). "The Game's the Same: Must Fall Moves to Euro-America." S. Booyesen (ed.), *Fees Must Fall: Student Revolt, Decolonisation and Governance in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
- Misago, J.P. (2017). "Xenophobic Violence in the 'Rainbow' Nation." *Aljazeera*. 1 March 2017. <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/>

- 2017/03/xenophobic-violence-rainbow-nation-170301075103169.html (accessed 4 July 2017).
- Msimang, S. (2016). "The Strongest Victims in the World." *The Daily Maverick*. 25 February 2016.
- Neocosmos, M. (2010). *From 'Foreign Natives' to 'Native Foreigners': Explaining Xenophobia in Post-Apartheid South Africa, Citizenship and Nationalism, Identity and Politics*. Dakar: CODESRIA.
- Nicolson, G. (2017). "Gauteng Xenophobia: Gigaba and Mashaba Trade Accusations." *Daily Maverick*, 28 February 2017. <https://www.daily-maverick.co.za/article/2017-02-28-gauteng-xenophobia> (accessed 8 June 2017).
- O'Halloran, P. (2015). "Where Poverty meets Xenophobia: Grahamstown, a city in crisis." *Daily Maverick*, 27 October 2015. <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2015-10-27-where-poverty-meets-xenophobia> (accessed 18 July 2017).
- Pinnock, D. (2016). *Cape/Gang Town*. Tafelberg: Cape Town.
- Pithouse, R. (2016). *Writing the Decline: On the Struggle for South Africa's Democracy*. Johannesburg: Jacana Media.
- Rhodes University (2013). "Rhodes University Digest of Statistics Version 17: 2013." <https://www.ru.ac.za/media/rhodesuniversity/content/humanresources/documents/vicechancellorwebadvert/RU%20Stats%20digest%202013.pdf> (accessed 1 July 2017).
- Statistics South Africa (2016). *Community Survey 2016 in Brief: Report 03-01-06*. <http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/03-01-06/03-01-06-2016.pdf> (accessed 1 July 2017).
- Standing, G. (2011) *The Precariat: The New Dangerous Class*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Tabensky, P. and Matthews, S. (eds.) (2015). *Being at Home: Race, Institutional Culture and Transformation at South African Higher Education Institutions*. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.
- Van Rensburg, K.J., Mthonti, F. and Erskog, M. (2015). "Xenophobia in Grahamstown: We are not leaving!" *Daily Maverick*, 29 October 2015. <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2015-10-29-xenophobia> (accessed 8 July 2017).

Part II
Multiculturalism and *Ubuntu*

6.

Multiculturalism, Tolerance, Ethnic Hierarchy and Xenophobia in Southern Africa

TARISAYI ANDREA CHIMUKA

Introduction

21st century Southern Africa is experiencing serious economic and political challenges triggered especially by the meltdown in Zimbabwe. The crisis in Zimbabwe has led to an avalanche of migrations into neighbouring countries in search of relief. South Africa, the strongest economy in the sub-region, has always attracted foreign labourers in the past. However, the scale and magnitude of the outflow of people from Zimbabwe into South Africa from 2008 has been unprecedented. The problem was compounded by an influx of refugees from war-torn countries. This ended up straining the hosts on provisions of social services and employment creation for their citizens. In the end, it became increasingly difficult to improve on accommodating and treating people of other ethnic groups and races with dignity. Resentment towards foreign immigrants is bred by both the host government officials and ordinary citizens. These new-comers are accused of committing crime, spreading diseases and other vile offences.¹ Such negative attitudes towards foreigners sometimes lead to hate crimes.

The rise in xenophobic attacks points to this intolerance and poses a serious challenge to the promise of multiculturalism as well as dampening prospects for regional integration and economic development among the Southern African Development Community (SADC) member countries. The question this paper asks is: Can renewed calls for tolerance and recognition of diversity in the name of multiculturalism solve the problem? This paper evaluates the practical efficacy of multiculturalism in Southern Africa and points to the limits of this ideal in the context of the sub-region. The paper also proceeds by asking the question: To what extent does multiculturalism hold promise? The paper employs the method of conceptual analysis to show the promise of multiculturalism in promoting development in the SADC region.

¹G.N. Lesetedi and M. Tirero, "Reverse Xenophobia : Immigrants' Attitudes Towards Citizens in Botswana," *African Migrations Workshop: Understanding Migration Dynamics in the Continent at the Centre for Migration Studies* (Accra: University of Ghana, 2007), p.2

In pursuance of the set objectives, the paper is divided into four sections. The first section defines, and examines the importance of, tolerance and multiculturalism. The second examines hierarchies and how they have been maintained in Southern Africa, from pre-colonial Africa up to the post-colonial present. The third focuses on xenophobia and how it threatens peace, happiness and well-being in Southern Africa. The last section suggests a way forward in the creation of a conducive environment for integration and progress.

Multiculturalism and Tolerance as the Framework for Regional Integration

In this section, we cannot proceed to define and discuss the notions of multiculturalism and tolerance without placing them within the context of globalization. This is so because globalization has led to renewed calls for multiculturalism and tolerance across the globe. Globalization generally refers to the process of continuous integration of the countries of the world. In the words of Al-Rodhan,² it involves, “the transnational and transcultural integration of human and non-human activities.” Globalization also relates to:

Economic integration; the transfer of policies across borders; the transmission of knowledge; cultural stability; the reproduction, relations, and discourses of power; it is a global process, a concept, a revolution, and “an establishment of the global market free from socio-political control.”³

Globalization has combined the political, economic, cultural, religious, ecological, geographical and ethnic processes.⁴ It speaks of the need to integrate markets and open up potentials for wider growth, as well as increasing opportunities for the raising of standards of living, especially in the developing countries. As Irani⁵ and Noruzi put it:

²N.R. Al-Rodhan, *Definitions of Globalization: A Comprehensive Overview and a Proposed Definition* (Geneva: Geneva Center for Security Policy, 2006).

³*Ibid.*, p.3.

⁴J. Sheffield, A. Korotayev and L. Grinin, “Globalization as a Link Between the Past and the Future,” *Globalization: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*, J. Sheffield, A. Korotayev and L. Grinin (eds.) (Arizona: Emergent Publications, 2013).

⁵F.N. Irani, “Globalization and Challenges: What are the Globalization's Contemporary Issues?” *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 1(6) (2011), 216-218.

In popular discourse, globalization often functions as little more than a synonym for one or more of the following phenomena: the pursuit of classical liberal (or free market) policies in the world economy (economic liberalization), the growing dominance of western (or even American) forms of political, economic, and cultural life (westernization or Americanization), the proliferation of new information technologies (the Internet Revolution), as well as the notion that humanity stands at the threshold of realizing one single unified community in which major sources of social conflict have vanished (global integration).

For the 21st century, globalization has also meant the free movement of labour.⁶ Apparently, forces of globalization act as the underhand agent for labour mobility. Thus, the problem of migration and the integration of people into the host countries is economically induced.⁷ Globalization is also believed to trigger the mobility of people seeking better fortunes. These migrations, which are understandable, begin to be viewed with animosity as they transform the ethnic composition of the different communities of the world. Nevertheless, diversity has become a common feature of the modern globalized life. Globalization has mixed fortunes if construed either as positive i.e. promoting new forms of supra-national societies or as threatening or diffusing national identities.⁸

Multiculturalism is often associated with globalization in the sense that multiculturalism involves management of the various people of different ethnic origins scattered by the processes wrought by globalization. The guiding philosophy is cultural pluralism. According to the UNESCO Multicultural Library Manifesto:

Cultural Diversity or Multiculturalism refers to the harmonious co-existence and interaction of different cultures, where culture should be regarded as the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group, and that it encompasses, in addition to art and literature; lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs. Cul-

⁶M. Messkoub, "Migration: Is the 21st Century Different?" *Development Issues*, 11(2) (2009), 2.

⁷N. Harris, "Immigration and State Power," *Development Issues*, 11 (2) (2009), 4.

⁸P. Catenaccio, "Between Multiculturalism and Globalisation: Considerations on Language Use, Identity, and Power," *Mots Palabras Words*, 3 (2003), 59.

tural diversity or multiculturalism is the foundation of our collective strength in our local communities and in our global society.⁹

Thus, both globalization and multiculturalism demand the operation of tolerance at various levels ranging from the work place, social configurations and the political arena. Historically multiculturalism has always dealt with managing mass migration and cultural diversity. Thus, in those countries composed of people of various cultural backgrounds, forbearance appears imperative. The Southern Africa sub-region is inundated with calls to cultural pluralism in the wake of migrations. The question is: How should multi-cultural diversity be promoted in an environment characterized by volatility?

While it may not be easy to answer the above question, it is, however, reasonable to argue that multiculturalism finds credence in the liberal idea of tolerance. Tolerance generally refers to willingness by one party to put up with things from the other party, which may ordinarily be regarded as disagreeable to them as individuals or groups. This translates to allowing space to those individuals or groups one least likes.¹⁰ In a Preface to the UNESCO publication *From Words to Action*, Fredrico Mayor observes that tolerance is not a biological aspect of human beings, but has to be learnt:

Tolerance, as we well know, is neither built into our behaviour, in the way that physiological needs like hunger and thirst are, nor a universal value practiced by everyone. As the basis of democratic culture, in which truth is relative and differences are legitimate, tolerance is incompatible with totalitarian regimes, which advocate a single belief system. And yet, in a world that aspires for peace and where democracy is on the rise, it is still not a universal fact.¹¹

This alone implies that tolerance is not congenital in people. Rather it is a result of civic education. Thus it is relative to time and space as well as to people and communities. Forbearance is always a fluid concept. For some scholars, notably Corneo and Jeanne, tolerance begins in the home and cascades into civil society. As Corneo and Jeanne argue:

⁹UNESCO, *The Multicultural Library: A Gateway to a Multicultural Library Manifesto* (Geneva: IFLA/UNESCO, 2012) p.1.

¹⁰Y. Hazama, "Determinants of Political Tolerance: A Literature Review," *IDE Discussion Paper (288)* (Chiba: Institute of Developing Economies, 2010), p.1.

¹¹F. Mayor, "Preface," *From Action to Words: Defining Tolerance*, S. Paul (ed.) (Paris: UNESCO, 1997), p.5.

Value systems chosen by parents for their children affect the esteem enjoyed by individuals in society. Intolerant individuals attach all symbolic value to a small number of attributes, and are disrespectful of people with different ones. Tolerant people have diversified values and respect social alterity.¹²

Tolerance amounts to accommodating difference, and a commitment to pluralism. This is something people who are locked in tribal and other spurious identities are not prepared to accept. In the words of Corneo and Jeanne:¹³

Tolerance may promote peaceful coexistence between diverse groups and favor individual self-actualization. Conversely, intolerance hinders the manifestation of proclivities and talents and demands a heavy toll on those who dare to be different. Minorities enjoy a substantial degree of protection only in tolerant societies, and that protection strengthens democratic political rights.

Hazama¹⁴ discusses the major determinants of tolerance by identifying the four stages determining it: (a) authoritarianism (b) education (c) contact and (d) threat. Authoritarianism occurs in individuals who use hierarchy to exploit others in relationships such as parent-child, one's sexual partner and so forth. The goal at this stage is to celebrate the strong and pour scorn on the weak. Authoritarianism is associated with repression, a desire to blame others, lack of affection and rigidity among others.¹⁵ Education is seen as another aspect of tolerance. Ordinarily, it is believed that the more one gets educated, the more tolerant one becomes.

In emerging democracies, there is little evidence that higher levels of education will always correspond to more tolerance, the reason being that it takes quite some time for liberal values to permeate into society through schools.¹⁶ There is also the view that contact at various contexts reduces prejudice and increases tolerance. These points of contact can be casual or intense – perhaps in sport or schools or settlements.¹⁷ Hazama observes that high levels of tolerance are expected in integrated projects than the segregated ones.¹⁸ Finally, threats or competition are seen as serious trig-

¹²G.A. Corneo and O. Jeanne, "A Theory of Tolerance," *Journal of Public Economics* (January 2009). <http://TolerantPeopleJanuary3009.pdf>.

¹³Ibid., p.1.

¹⁴Op. cit.

¹⁵Op. cit., p.2

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid., p.3.

gers of intolerance. If one group is perceived by the host nationals as posing a threat or competition for jobs or other scarce resources, intolerance heightens.¹⁹ Hazama's treatment of tolerance is very useful. It places emphasis on the basic conditions essential for permanent or temporary members to live in the state. Integration into society does not necessarily require minorities to befriend members of the majority groups in order to enjoy membership. The minimum requirements needed to accord space to a member are provided for in the policies and laws of the state. Should anything be amiss, the relevant government departments must intervene accordingly.

Levels of tolerance are bound to vary from one society to another, and those with high levels of tolerance are generally considered to be progressive, liberal and democratic; while those that remain traditional and closed are not considered as progressive or liberal. In contemporary society, the challenge of refugees resulting from the war in Syria is putting strain on the levels of tolerance in host communities. In Southern Africa, multiculturalism has become a very precarious affair. Thus, the meeting of people of different backgrounds has led to simmering conflicts waiting to erupt.²⁰ Indeed, there are periodic and spontaneous spurts of violence, mostly among the black communities. A point of immense interest is that, although there are many foreign nationals also from neighbouring countries and from far afield, black on black violence is rife and is a cause for concern. White foreigners are largely viewed as investors and potential employers while fellow blacks are seen as economic vultures, carriers of diseases and morbid criminals.²¹ The attack on blacks by blacks in Southern Africa flies in the face of the ideal of pan-Africanism.²² For Nantambu,²³ one important aspect of this ideology was to make black people come together against the racism of the West. The case of South African xenophobic attacks slaps right into the face of pan-Africanism. However, this is not without cause. The lack of development and political mismanagement by some countries in Southern Africa has led to high levels of

¹⁹Ibid., p.4.

²⁰I. Saleh, "Is it Really Xenophobia in South Africa or an Intentional Act of Prejudice?" *Global Media Journal*, 9(2) (2015), 298.

²¹D.A. McDonald, "Guess Who's Coming to Dinner: Migration from Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe to South Africa," *International Migration Review*, 34(3)(2000), 813.

²²Pan-Africanism is the belief that African peoples, both on the African continent and in the diaspora, share not merely a common history but a common destiny: see M. Mankalani, "Pan-Africanism" (2017). <http://exhibitions.nypl.org/africanage/essay-pan-africanism.html>.

²³K. Nantambu, "Pan-Africanism Versus Pan-African Nationalism: An Afro-centric Analysis," *Journal of Black Studies*, 28(5)(1998), 561-574.

economic migrants mainly from Zimbabwe into South Africa, Botswana Namibia and Mozambique in search of better living conditions.

Manifestation of Violence and Ethnic Hierarchies in Africa

To begin with, it is critical to note that most of Africa's socio-political problems emanate from violence. Ndlovu-Gatsheni²⁴ observes that violence is endemic to the continent and cuts across the sections of the African societies. This violence is sparked by certain identity conceptions of communities and their perceptions of others as they stand as obstacles in the pursuits of their dreams of well-being and happiness. However, Paul Zezela²⁵ points to the destructive nature of violence when he argues that violent conflicts preclude economic development and constrict the prospects of democracy. Focusing on the violence of colonialism, Ndlovu-Gatsheni²⁶ contends that violence was created by "the negative processes of Western modernity, as the African and Western worlds met under highly racialized, hegemonic and hierarchical and unequal terms." As Ndlovu-Gatsheni²⁷ maintains, "the most pervasive and despotic hierarchy was that between the Westerners as possessing superior knowledge and the African as having inferior knowledge." This resulted in the "coloniality of power" which became a model for all colonial hierarchies; sexual, political power, technical know-how, religious, economic, racial, ethnic and so forth.²⁸ This is what Ramon Grosfoguel had noted earlier, that the coloniality of power had led Africans to be labeled as people without writing, history, development, democracy and rights.²⁹ This dichotomy was based primarily on conquest³⁰ and the belief in the racial supremacy of the European colonizers.³¹

²⁴S.J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *The Logic of Violence in Africa. Working Paper No. 2.* (United Kingdom: Ferguson Centre for African and Asian Studies, 2011), p.2.

²⁵P.T. Zezela, "Introduction: The Causes & Costs of War in Africa from Liberation Struggles to the War on Terror," *The Roots of African Conflicts: The Causes and Costs and The Resolution of African Conflicts: The Management of Conflict Resolution and Post-Conflict Reconstruction*, N.A. Zezela (ed.) (Addis Ababa: OSSREA, Oxford: James Currey, Athens: Ohio University Press, 2008), p.1.

²⁶S.J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *Coloniality of Power in Postcolonial Africa: Myths of Decolonization* (Dakar: CODESRIA, 2013), p.4.

²⁷Ibid., p.5

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹R. Grosfoguel, "Transmodernity," *Journal of Peripheral Cultural Production of the Luso-Hispanic World*, 1(1) (2008), 7.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹E.A. Salani, "Understanding Apartheid in South Africa through the Racial Contract," *International Journal of Asian Social Science*, 5(4) (2015), 204.

One temptation is to present European imperialism as the only process of violent incursions; yet pre-colonial African life too was marred by violence, which also created its forms of hierarchies and ethnic taxonomies. Pre-colonial communities were not homogeneous. According to Morgan Ndlovu³² pre-colonial communities had identities and aspirations that were varied and never belonged to one nation-state. Green³³ argues that in highly centralized kingdoms such as the Ndebele, the Zulu, the Baganda and others, ethnicity was an important issue. In some cases, the ruling group would be foreign while the lower classes would be local. This was true in Burundi, Rwanda and among the Ndebele of South-west Zimbabwe. Centralized societies had a caste system.³⁴ The Ndebele Kingdom, for instance, absorbed and assimilated ethnic groups such as the Sotho, Tswana, Rozvi and Kalanga.³⁵ In the case of the Ndebele, for instance, a delicate balance between coercion and consent had to be struck.³⁶ The Ndebele state has always been characterized by particularism.³⁷ Thus, the people of Matebeleland have always looked at themselves as unique and separate from the other peoples of the rest of the Zimbabwean plateau. They have considered themselves to be *uMthwakazi*.³⁸ *Mthwakazi* is the name given to the pre-colonial or proto-Ndebele Kingdom of the 19th century.³⁹ *Mthwakazi* has also been taken to refer to the inhabitants of Mate-

³²M. Ndlovu, "Mobilizing History for Nation-building in South Africa: A Decolonial Perspective," *Yesterday & Today*, 9 (2013), 1.

³³E.D. Green, "Ethnicity and Nationhood in Pre-Colonial Africa: The Case of Buganda," *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 16 (1) (2010), 6.

³⁴S. Torrance, "Indigenous Origins of Institutions in Sub-Saharan Africa," *CREDIT Research Paper*, 13/06 (2006), 3. Madhusudan Subedi ("Some Theoretical Considerations on Caste," *Dhaulagiri Journal of Sociology and Anthropology*, 7[2013], 52) understands a caste as a small group of persons closely knit, marrying within the group and having a close heredity and tradition within a hierarchical system. Furthermore, a caste has the additional attribute of stratification ascribable to birth and hierarchical interaction.

³⁵C.G. Mazarire, "Who are the Ndebele and the Kalanga in Zimbabwe?" *Konrad Adenauer Foundation Project on 'Ethnicity in Zimbabwe* (Zimbabwe: Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 2003), p.4. <http://ir.uz.ac.zw/bitstream/handle/10646/314/Mazarire-Ndebele-and-Kalanga.pdf?sequence=1>.

³⁶S.J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, "Dynamics of the Zimbabwe Crisis in the 21st Century," *Africa Journal on Conflict Resolution*, 3(1) (2003), 111. "Nation Building in Zimbabwe and the Challenge of Ndebele Particularism," *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, 8(3) (2008), pp.27-56.

³⁷S.J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, "Nation Building in Zimbabwe and the Challenge of Ndebele Particularism," *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, 8(3) (2008), 30-31.

³⁸*Ibid.*

³⁹Ndlovu, *op. cit.*, p.1.

beleland and the Midlands provinces. This particularism forms a special identity construction which places emphasis on Ndebeleness, and tends to hinder efforts at national integration.

Cyprian Muchemwa⁴⁰ laments how ethnic considerations among the Ndebele and Shona have played out in creating a deeply divided nation. Ndzumuunani⁴¹ argues that the search for own identity free from Shona, Ndebele or Tswana has also led to the Bakalanga to assert themselves as a unique people. In other instances, ethnicity has been used to prop up one ethnic group as supreme over others. Solomon Mutsvairo has, through his novels, attempted to show the dominance of Zezuru figures in the history of Zimbabwe.⁴² Major liberation movements in Southern Africa have created another axis of conflict and dissonance. As these movements transformed into political parties, they boasted of having single-handedly brought about independence, and consequently claimed sole legitimate political space in the state at the detriment of other parties. The issues above are related to the many hierarchies found in the different communities of Southern Africa. Peters and Peters⁴³ argue that some are found in access and control of farming land. Others are based on gender, ethnicity or economic status.⁴⁴

Thus, in pre-colonial and colonial Africa, ethnic hierarchies and intra-ethnic rankings existed. Obviously this bred discontent and intolerance. Royalty was intolerant of commoners. Women, particularly those joining families through marriage, were considered foreigners and treated as *vatorwa* (second class citizens). Those who migrated from other places following a relative, be it a sister or an uncle, were similarly treated. The same treatment faced those considered as war booty. In such instances, cultural majorities deprived the minorities their space, yet these other groups were supposed to enjoy full membership in the communities in question. Obviously, in matters such as this, there are generalizations

⁴⁰C. Muchemwa, "Building Friendship Between Ndebele and Shona Ethnic Groups in Zimbabwe," D.Phil.Thesis (South Africa: Durban University of Technology, 2015), p.1.

⁴¹E. Ndzumuunani, *The Rebirth of Bukalanga: A Manifesto for the Liberation of a Great People with a Proud History Part I* (Maphungubgwe News Corporation, 2012).

⁴²N. Grand, "Solomon Mutsvairo as a Historical Artist: The Interface of History and Fiction," *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, 3(4) (2009), 72-73.

⁴³B.L. Peters and J.E. Peters, "Women and Land Tenure Dynamics in Pre-colonial, Colonial and Post-colonial Zimbabwe," *JPIA* (1998). <http://www.princeton.edu/jpia/past-issues-1/1998/10.pdf>.

⁴⁴A. Snellman, "Social Hierarchies, Prejudice, and Discrimination," D.Phil. Thesis (Uppsala, Sweden: Uppsala University, 2007), p.7.

made. As a matter of fact, there are unique and intricate stories which we cannot discuss here.

In present day Southern Africa, the magnitude of conflicts has increased as a result of migrations. Over the last few years there have been lots of intra-state and inter-state migrations making the region volatile. Boswell⁴⁵ argues that internal migrations into South Africa have neither been smooth nor peaceful, because of the prevalence of acrimony and violence in countries like Zimbabwe. This violence has led to migrations or population movements. Consequently, these population movements have had socio-economic and political ramifications for both the sending and receiving countries. One hopes that the changes in Zimbabwe's political landscape in the last few months will bring glad tidings to the region. Southern Africa badly needs the social and economic development necessary for stability to set in.

Attacks on African Foreigners: a Mark of Ethnic Intolerance?

Xenophobia has been described as something of a global phenomenon, closely associated with the process of globalization. It has been noted that it is particularly prevalent in countries undergoing transition. According to Neocosmos⁴⁶ this is because xenophobia is a problem of post-coloniality, one which is associated with the politics of the dominant groups in the period following independence. This is to do with a feeling of superiority, but is also, perhaps, part of a "scapegoating" process described by Harris,⁴⁷ where unfulfilled expectations of a new democracy result in the foreigner coming to embody unemployment, disease, poverty and deprivation. The fear for others or for foreigners is significant in that it blocks plural beliefs and otherwise positive things associated with foreigners.⁴⁸ In addition to fear, xenophobia is also associated with other obstructive aspects such as envy, resentment or feelings of incongruity.⁴⁹ The United Nations Convention on Human Rights adds further dimensions to xenophobia that include acts of direct discrimination, hostility or violence and incitement to hatred. Xenophobic acts are always intentional,

⁴⁵R. Boswell and S. Barbali, "Engendering Migration in South Africa," *Agenda* (2007), 141-149.

⁴⁶M. Neocosmos, "From Foreign Natives' to Native Foreigners: Explaining Xenophobia in Post-Apartheid South Africa," *Citizenship and Nationalism, Identity and Politics* (Dakar, Senegal: CODESRIA Monograph Series, 2006).

⁴⁷Harris, 2002.

⁴⁸D.H. Kim, "Xenophobia and Racism," *Critical Philosophy of Race*, 2(1) (2014), 23.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*

as the goal is to humiliate, denigrate and/or hurt the person(s) and the “associated” group of people.⁵⁰

Before discussing xenophobia, it is important to come up with an operational definition of the term. According to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, xenophobia is:

A broad notion, associated with a variety of meanings. The term “xenophobia” comes from the Greek words ξένος (xenos), meaning “foreigner,” “stranger,” and φόβος (phobos), meaning “fear.” Manifestations of xenophobia are usually triggered by intense dislike or hatred against people that are perceived as outsiders, strangers or foreigners to a group, community or nation, based on their presumed or real descent, national, ethnic or social origin, race, colour, religion, gender, sexual orientation or other grounds.⁵¹

Solomon and Kosaka⁵² define xenophobia as “the fear or hatred of foreigners or strangers.” For Solomon and Kosaka,⁵³ xenophobia is embodied in discriminatory attitudes and behaviour, and often culminates in violence, abuses of all types, and exhibitions of hatred. Jean Pierre Misago adds that xenophobic violence is usually a collective action by a community or groups of people against strangers, but there may be other material, cultural, political and economic factors at play.⁵⁴ As Misago⁵⁵ avers:

Its main characteristics include murder, assaults causing grievous bodily harm, looting, robbery, arson attacks (burning of people and property), displacement, intimidation and threats, harassment, eviction notices, etc. This type of violence has become a longstanding feature in post-Apartheid South Africa.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹UNHRC, “Race and Xenophobia” (2013). <https://nhri.ohchr.org/EN/Themes/Racial/Documents/Xenophobia>.

⁵²H.A. Solomon and H. Kosaka, “Xenophobia in South Africa: Reflections, Narratives and Recommendations,” *Southern African Peace and Security Studies*, 2 (2) (2008), 5-30.

⁵³Ibid., p.5

⁵⁴P.J. Misago, “Responding to Xenophobic Violence in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Barking Up the Wrong Tree?” *African Human Mobility Review* (2016), 444.

⁵⁵Ibid.

The outbreak in 2008 of xenophobic attacks in South Africa against foreign nationals from mostly neighbouring Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Malawi has led to a re-definition of the notion of “African brotherhood/sisterhood” which originally considered borders to be artificial. It is tempting when examining the causes of this phenomenon to focus on post-independence violence while ignoring deep-seated structural problems in the affected communities. Xenophobic violence erupted in 2008 in South Africa resulting in the death of over sixty people and the displacement of over ten thousand others.⁵⁶ Some researchers estimate the displaced persons to be in the hundreds of thousands.⁵⁷ The May 2008 violence is portrayed as a spree of irrational and spontaneous attacks following years of prolonged, simmering tensions.⁵⁸ These events and other subsequent developments ought to be understood in the broader context of cross-cultural interactions, identity as well as conceptions of citizenship.⁵⁹ However, some scholars contend that xenophobic acts pre-existed the May 2008 attacks; it is only that they were not highlighted.⁶⁰ For Naicher⁶¹ this can only point to the fact that the phenomenon was inherited from apartheid.

For Misago, as long as government departments and agencies continue to make a wrong diagnosis, they literally “bark up the wrong tree, instead of muzzling the dogs that bite.”⁶² Emphasis is placed on public attitudes and not on the real triggers of xenophobic violence.⁶³ With regard to the statistics of victims of xenophobia attacks, it is important to note that the majority of those murdered were mainly foreign immigrants, and a third were South African citizens married to foreigners who had refused to attack their partners or simply belonged to minority groups.⁶⁴

⁵⁶A. Hadland, *Violence and Xenophobia in South Africa: Developing Consensus Moving to Action* (South Africa: Human Sciences Research Council, 2008), p.2.

⁵⁷J. Anderson, “Threat and the Logic of Target Selection: Analyzing South Africa’s Xenophobic Attacks.” Paper presented at the Comparative Politics Workshopin (2014), p.2.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹M. Krönke, “Trends in Attitudes toward Foreigners in South Africa, 1997-2011,” *Afrobarometer Dispatch* 44 (2015), 1.

⁶⁰P.J. Misago, *Tensions, Territory and Terror: Understanding Violence against Foreigners in South Africa* (Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand, 2008), p.9.

⁶¹C. Naicher, “The Languages of Xenophobia in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Reviewing Migrancy, Foreignness, and Solidarity,” *Agenda* (2016), 1-15.

⁶²Misago (2008), p.9.

⁶³Ibid.

⁶⁴Ibid.

Contrary to governmental efforts to allay the fears of people, attacks on foreigners continued after 2008, resulting in an increase in cases of murder, injuries, threats of mob beatings, destruction of property and businesses, together with displacements.⁶⁵ As a matter of fact, double the number of foreigners died as a result of xenophobic attacks in 2011 than did in 2008, and such attacks continued up to 2016.⁶⁶ As Misago observes:

In all provinces, this violence occurs mostly (but not exclusively) in poor and economically marginalized informal settlements where citizens (many of whom are themselves internal migrants) and immigrants meet amidst poor living conditions and a general scarcity of public services, employment and business opportunities.⁶⁷

From the look of things, xenophobic violence is far from over. The recurrence of xenophobic attacks shows that the problem is still around.⁶⁸ Either the envisaged interventions are futile, or society is still in a state of denial that the problem exists.⁶⁹ South African society denies that there is xenophobia. Few are charged with xenophobic violence.⁷⁰ Thus, there is a culture of impunity.⁷¹ The police have reverted to evacuating foreigners from hot zones, rather than allowing for protection of foreigners and their properties in the areas where they have chosen to stay. However, it needs to be pointed out that xenophobia is not exclusively a South African problem. It is also found in many other countries.⁷² It has only become of so much interest here because the region is promoting integration.

Bronwyn Harris⁷³ observes that the xenophobic attacks are symptomatic of a form of psychosis. If this point is granted this would suggest that the communities where outbursts of xenophobic violence occurred are sick. Such a suggestion appears too harsh and insensitive to the struggles of the citizens of the host countries. It leads to questions such as: Does this mean that the preferences of cultural majority groups are un-

⁶⁵Ibid.

⁶⁶Misago (2016), p.449.

⁶⁷Ibid.

⁶⁸Ibid.

⁶⁹Ibid.

⁷⁰Ibid.

⁷¹Ibid., p.452.

⁷²R. Adeola, "Preventing Xenophobia in Africa: What Must the African Union Do?" *AHMR*, 1(3) (2015): 254.

⁷³B. Harris, "Xenophobia: A New Pathology for a New South Africa?" *Psychopathology and Social Prejudice*, D.A. Hook (ed.) (Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, 2002).

grounded? Does this mean the concerns of the stranger must be listened to more than those of the citizens? For Kersting,⁷⁴ some scholars point to ethnicity as a trigger of xenophobic violence, while, for Adjai,⁷⁵ other scholars point to race; others point to the political dimension of access to economic and other life resources. A disturbing aspect of the xenophobic attacks is that it represents mostly a black-on-black violence.⁷⁶ This scuttles the Pan-African ideology of Africa for Africans nursed during the rise of African nationalism.⁷⁷ This paper, however, focuses on the historical and economic aspects of the xenophobic attacks.

According to Kim,⁷⁸ the issue of xenophobia cannot be easily separated from racism and nativism. Although contexts may vary and manifestations may be different, they do affect immigrants and all those considered foreigners in a profound way. For some scholars, isolating and marginalizing strangers is part of group identity formation. Xenophobia allows the group to establish dominance and exclude foreigners.⁷⁹ In South Africa, foreigners have been objects of hatred for several reasons. The first is King Goodwill Zwelithini's inflammatory speech during a "moral regeneration event."⁸⁰ In this speech, the King literally referred to black foreign nationals as lice or ants. Obviously, the message was clear: these "bugs" needed to be exterminated. The second reason is a structural argument pointing to the country's widespread poverty, inequality, and concomitant frustration at the non-delivery of basic services, exacerbated by economic competition allegedly posed by foreigners. A third explanation invokes South Africa's supposed inherent violent tendency and the opportunistic and sporadic actions of criminal elements.⁸¹ Solomon and Kosaka⁸² sum it all up by saying:

⁷⁴N. Kersting, "New Nationalism and Xenophobia in Africa: A New Inclination?" *AfricaSpectrum*, 44 (1) (2009), 7-18.

⁷⁵C.A. Adjai, "Migration, Xenophobia and New Racism in Post-Apartheid South Africa," *International Journal of Social Science Studies*, 1(1) (2013), 192-205.

⁷⁶R. Hendrickse, "Xenophobia in South Africa: A Domestic Dilemma or a Global Discontent?" *XXI IPSA World Congress of Political Science, 12-16 July 2009* (Santiago: Universidad De Chile, 2009), p.1.

⁷⁷C. Blacke, "An African Nationalist Ideology Framed in Diaspora and the Development Quagmire: Any Hope for a Renaissance?" *Journal of Black Studies*, 35 (5) (2005), 574.

⁷⁸Op. cit., p.21

⁷⁹Ibid.

⁸⁰Krönke, op. cit., p.1.

⁸¹Ibid.

⁸²Op. cit., p.5

Studies on xenophobia have attributed such hatred of foreigners to a number of causes: the fear of loss of social status and identity; a threat, perceived or real, to citizens' economic success; a way of reassuring the national self and its boundaries in times of national crisis and a feeling of superiority; and poor intercultural information.

Furthermore, xenophobes presumably do not have adequate information about the people they hate and, since they do not know how to deal with such people, they see them as a threat.⁸³ When xenophobes see people in the streets, how do they tell whether one is local or foreign? Even where foreigners are involved, what makes it obvious that xenophobia basically derives from the sense that non-citizens pose some sort of a threat to the recipients' identity or their individual rights? Our view is that a distorted notion of citizenship can lead to xenophobia, when it becomes apparent that the government does not guarantee protection of individual rights.

Xenophobia emerges out of structural and historical conditions.⁸⁴ According to the UNHRC, to properly understand xenophobia in South Africa, there is need to place xenophobia in the spectrum of the broader history of that country:

To truly make sense of xenophobia in South Africa means placing it within an extended history of the politics of exclusion established during the colonial era and Apartheid, a history which continues to shape concepts of rights to belonging, space and opportunities. The history of the 'alien' in South Africa society begins during the colonial era but achieved a more sophisticated if insidious status during the Apartheid era. During this period, the state used the idea of the alien to deny both political rights and rights of residence to the city's 'surplus people'. The system was legitimized in the name of promoting the welfare and security of the then white citizenry. Any interloper who was not explicitly required and authorized in urban areas was seen as a drain on resources and a threat to the desired cultural and political order, a legacy that continues to shape not only the approach to foreign 'others' but to domestic migrants who are often considered unentitled trespassers too.⁸⁵

⁸³Ibid.

⁸⁴Misago (2008), p.5

⁸⁵UNHRC, op. cit., p.22

Patrick Bond et al.⁸⁶ attempt an analysis of the deep structural causes of xenophobia in South Africa. For them, triggers of xenophobic violence may be events unrelated to the structural causes which produce friction between locals and immigrants. They castigate general approaches such as blaming it on individual xenophobes, neighbourhoods and communities.

Having said that, it is critical to note that the manifestation of xenophobic violence in the SADC region is caused by what Kymlicka⁸⁷ and Cohen-Almagor have called the “politicization of “ethno-cultural diversity.” Other scholars suggest that xenophobic attacks are caused by the tussle for control of urban spaces.⁸⁸ There is no doubt that xenophobic violence has threatened regional integration which is key for development.⁸⁹ As Chingono⁹⁰ puts it:

Regional integration discourse assumes that neighbouring countries that have similar economic, sociopolitical and security problems may benefit from integrating their economies because this creates a situation of mutual interdependence and development. Also countries may need regional integration arrangements even if they do not have similar problems. Regional integration creates larger economic spaces and allows for economy of scale, which may increase efficiency, competitiveness and faster growth.

In addition, Chingono⁹¹ observes that the vision for the development of the SADC region by the architects has not always materialized as envisioned. There have been challenges, some of which were never anticipated. Contrary to expectation, regional cooperation does not necessarily lead to socio-economic prosperity. On the contrary, it may generate inter-state tension or conflicts especially when the states do not have

⁸⁶P.A. Bond, T. Ngwane and B. Amisi, “Xenophobia and Civil Society: Why Did it Happen?” (2011). [http://5_Why_did_it_happen\(2\).pdf](http://5_Why_did_it_happen(2).pdf).

⁸⁷W.A. Kymlicka, “Democracy and Multiculturalism,” *Challenges to Democracy: Essays in Honour and Memory of Isaiah Berlin*, R. Cohen-Almagor (ed.) (London: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2000), p.89.

⁸⁸Misago (2008), p.12.

⁸⁹A. Saurombe, “Caught in the Winds of Change: Problems and Prospects” (Regional Integration for SADC), *Journal of International Commercial Law and Technology*, 4 (2) (2009), 100.

⁹⁰M.A. Chingono, “The Challenges of Regional Integration in Southern Africa,” *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 3(10) (2009), 397.

⁹¹Ibid.

shared ideologies or when the anticipated benefits are not forth coming.⁹² In so far as regional integration and development is concerned, ethnic conflicts go against the political vision of SADC, which is to have one united region that is politically and economically liberated.

Xenophobic Violence as Militating Against Economic Development in Southern Africa

In the sections above, we have seen how globalization has encouraged Southern African states to come together as a region to promote trade and economic activities. The desire to promote economic integration has always been the main goal in the formation of SADC. This integration has come to be regarded as a gateway to success and development. However, the emergence of xenophobic attacks in South Africa has signified a dissonance between the ideals of economic prosperity and socio-cultural harmony. Perhaps this is what Soko meant, when he described this as the polarization of and inequality between the rich and the poor.⁹³

One can argue that xenophobic attacks, wherever they occur in Southern Africa, point to some incongruence between the SADC ideals of integration and economic development and socio-cultural values. There is a sense in which the violent outbursts are reactions against perceived infiltration by foreign elements into cultural space. Yet the integration envisaged by politicians has theoretically allowed for the free movement of goods and people.

As McKnight⁹⁴ argues, there are intra-cultural conflicts within states, evidenced by the killing of locals at the height of xenophobic attacks in 2008. There are also inter-state cultural conflicts caused by migration. Whereas the flow of capital requires free flow of labour, cultural integration is slow to accommodate this development, and sometimes obstacles are created. SADC member states are careful to maintain a balance between fully opening up to market forces and maintaining their sovereignty. The questions to answer are: Is cultural integration keeping pace with these economic initiatives? Are there feasible interventions to ameliorate the situation?

In the age of globalization in Southern Africa, the call for multiculturalism would be understandable as it seeks to facilitate the flow of capital across states unhindered. However, the existence of local com-

⁹²Ibid.

⁹³M. Soko, "The Political Economy of Regional Integration in Southern Africa," *Review of Economic Studies*, 71(1) (2007), 265-266.

⁹⁴J. McKnight, "Through the Fear: A Study of Xenophobia in South Africa's Refugee System," *Journal of Identity and Migration Studies*, 2(2) (2008), 18-42.

munities, especially those in which xenophobic attacks occur, suggests that the flow of labour poses challenges for host communities, especially in the eyes of the poor who see foreigners as taking away their livelihoods either by snatching jobs away or preventing business entities from paying reasonable wages. Could philosophies such as *Ubuntu* be of any service to diffuse tensions?

Ubuntu has been regarded as an integral philosophy for peaceful existence in Southern Africa. The aphorism “*umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*” (a person is person through other people) has been celebrated as a maxim for peaceful co-existence and cultural integration. A number of scholars on *Ubuntu* – Ramose, Chuwa, Kunene and Nussbaum, among others – have pointed to exceptions to the use of violence to resolve issues. There is, however, a very serious issue when it comes to cultural integration in the SADC region. Among the poor and struggling masses, it is very difficult to accommodate or tolerate the foreigner when s/he comes to snatch away jobs and puts strain on service delivery of the host country. One wonders whether the solution does not lie with stricter border controls by the host states, rather than in citizens taking matters into their hands.

Conclusion

Xenophobic violence is antithetical to the spirit of regional and cultural integration in the SADC region. Given the dictates of globalization and regionalization of world economic activities, the movement of labour and goods is imperative. Thus, any form of ethnic and cultural violence, including the victimization of the foreigner in the hands of other citizens, is a travesty of justice. It is also counterproductive, as it goes against the political vision of integration and development. Perhaps member states need to do more to promote balanced development and create some equilibrium in the movement of labour. As things stand, the ethnic and cultural dissonance caused by the migration of labour is unlikely to fizzle away.

References

- Adeola, R. (2015). “Preventing Xenophobia in Africa: What Must the African Union Do?” *AHMR*, 1(3), pp. 253-272.
- Adjai, C.A. (2013). “Migration, Xenophobia and New Racism in Post-Apartheid South Africa.” *International Journal of Social Science Studies*, 1(1), pp.192-205.
- Al-Rodhan, N.R. (2006). *Definitions of Globalization: A Comprehensive Overview and a Proposed Definition*. Geneva: Geneva Center for Security Policy.

- Anderson, J. (2014). "Threat and the Logic of Target Selection: Analyzing South Africa's Xenophobic Attacks." Paper presented at the *Comparative Politics Workshop* in 2014.
- Blacke, C. (2005). "An African Nationalist ideology Framed in Diaspora and the Development Quagmire: Any Hope for a Renaissance?" *Journal of Black Studies*, 35(5), pp.573-596.
- Bond, P.A., Ngwane, T. and Amisi, B. (2011). "Xenophobia and Civil Society: Why Did it Happen?" [http://5_Why_did_it_happen\(2\).pdf](http://5_Why_did_it_happen(2).pdf) (accessed 13 February 2018).
- Boswell, R. and Barbali, S. (2007). "Engendering Migration in South Africa." *Agenda*, pp.141-149.
- Catenaccio, P. (2003). "Between Multiculturalism and Globalisation: Considerations on Language Use, Identity, and Power." *Mots Palabras Words*, 3, pp. 59-74.
- Chimuka, T. A. (2015). "Ubuntu: the Itinerary, Import and Utility of the Idea." *International Journal of African Society Cultures and Traditions*, 2(2), pp.58-78.
- Chingono, M.A. (2009). "The Challenges of Regional Integration in Southern Africa." *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 3(10), pp. 396-408.
- Corneo, G.A. and Jeanne, O. (2009). "A Theory of Tolerance." *Journal of Public Economics*. <http://TolerantPeopleJanuary3009.pdf> (accessed 22 December 2017).
- Desai, A. (2008). "Xenophobia and the Place of the Refugee in the Rainbow Nation of Human Rights." *African Sociological Review*, 12 (2), pp. 49-68.
- Elbadawi, I.A. (2000). "Why Are There So Many Civil Wars in Africa? Understanding and Preventing Violent Conflict." *Journal of African Economies*, pp. 1-32.
- Fourchard, L.A. (2015). "Xenophobic Violence and the Manufacture of Difference in Africa: Introduction to the Focus Section." *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*, 9 (1), pp. 6-11.
- Grand, N. (2009). "Solomon Mutsvairo as A Historical Artist: The Interface of History and Fiction." *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, 3(4), pp. 72-84.
- Green, E.D. (2010). "Ethnicity and Nationhood in Pre-Colonial Africa: The Case of Buganda." *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 16 (1), pp. 1-28.
- Grosfoguel, R. (2008). "Transmodernity." *Journal of Peripheral Cultural Production of the Luso-Hispanic World*, 1(1), pp. 1-38.
- Hadland, A. (2008). *Violence and Xenophobia in South Africa: Developing Consensus Moving to Action*. South Africa: Human Sciences Research Council.

- Harris, B. (2002). "Xenophobia: A New Pathology for a New South Africa?" D.A. Hook (ed.), *Psychopathology and Social Prejudice*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, pp. 169-184.
- Harris, N. (2009). "Immigration and State Power." *Development Issues*, 11 (2), pp. 4-7.
- Hazama, Y. (2010). "Determinants of Political Tolerance: A Literature Review." *IDE Discussion Paper (288)*. Chiba: Institute of Developing Economies.
- Hendrickse, R. (2009). "Xenophobia in South Africa: A Domestic Dilemma or a Global Discontent?" *XXI IPSA World Congress of Political Science, 12-16 July 2009*. Santiago: Universidad De Chile.
- Irani, F.N. (2011). "Globalization and Challenges; What are the Globalization's Contemporary Issues?" *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 1(6), pp. 216-218.
- Kersting, N. (2009). "New Nationalism and Xenophobia in Africa: A New Inclination?" *AfricaSpectrum*, 44 (1), pp. 7-18.
- Kim, D.H. (2014). "Xenophobia and Racism." *Critical Philosophy of Race*, 2(1), pp. 20-45.
- Kinge, G.T. (2016). "International Dimensions of Xenophobic Attacks on Foreign Nationals in Southern Africa." *Masters Thesis*. North West, South Africa: North West University.
- Krönke, M. (2015). "Trends in Attitudes toward Foreigners in South Africa, 1997-2011." *Afrobarometer Dispatch* 44, pp. 1-18.
- Kymlicka, W.A. (2000). "Democracy and Multiculturalism." R. Cohen-Almagor (ed.), *Challenges to Democracy: Essays in Honour and Memory of Isaiah Berlin*. London: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.
- Lesetedi, G.N. and Tirero, M. (2007). "Reverse Xenophobia: Immigrants' Attitudes Towards Citizens in Botswana." *African Migrations Workshop: Understanding Migration Dynamics in the Continent at the Centre for Migration Studies*. Accra: University of Ghana.
- Mankalani, M. (2017). "Pan-Africanism." <http://exhibitions.nypl.org/africanage/essay-pan-africanism.html> (accessed 12 January 2017).
- Mayor, F. (1997). "Preface." S. Paul (ed.), *From Action to Words: Defining Tolerance*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Mazarire, C.G. (2003). "Who are the Ndebele and the Kalanga in Zimbabwe?" *Konrad Adenauer Foundation Project on Ethnicity in Zimbabwe*. Zimbabwe: Konrad Adenauer Foundation. <http://ir.uz.ac.zw/bitstream/handle/10646/Mazarire-Ndebele-and-Kalanga.pdf?sequence=1> (accessed 17 October 2017).
- Mazur, B. (2010). "Cultural Diversity in Organisational Theory and Practice." *Journal of Intercultural Management*, 2 (2), pp. 5-15.
- McDonald, D.A. (2000). "Guess Who's Coming to Dinner: Migration from Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe to South Africa." *International Migration Review*, 34(3), pp.813-841.

- McKnight, J. (2008). "Through the Fear: A Study of Xenophobia in South Africa's Refugee System." *Journal of Identity and Migration Studies*, 2(2), pp. 18-42.
- Messkoub, M. (2009). "Migration: Is the 21st Century Different?" *Development Issues*, 11 (2), p. 2.
- Misago, P.J. (2016). "Responding to Xenophobic Violence in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Barking Up the Wrong Tree?" *African Human Mobility Review*, pp. 444-467.
- _____. (2008). *Tensions, Territory and Terror: Understanding Violence against Foreigners in South Africa*. Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand.
- Mrak, M. (2000). "Globalization, Trends, Challenges and Opportunities for Countries in Transition." *United Nations Industrial Development Organization*. Vienna: UNIDO.
- Muchemwa, C. (2015). "Building Friendship Between Ndebele and Shona Ethnic Groups in Zimbabwe." D.Phil. Thesis. Durban, South Africa: Durban University of Technology.
- Naicher, C. (2016). "The Languages of Xenophobia in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Reviewing Migrancy, Foreignness and Solidarity." *Agenda*, pp.1-15.
- Nantambu, K. (1998). "Pan-Africanism versus Pan-African Nationalism: An Afrocentric Analysis." *Journal of Black Studies*, 28(5), pp.561-574.
- Ndlovu, M. (2013). "Mobilizing History for Nation-building in South Africa: A Decolonial Perspective." *Yesterday & Today*, 9, pp. 1-12.
- _____. (2012). "The Construction of Nationhood in Secession Debates Related to Mthwakazi Liberation Front in Bulawayo's *The Chronicle* and *NewsDay* Newspapers in 2011." Master of Arts Thesis. Grahamstown, South Africa: Rhodes University.
- Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S.J. (2013). *Coloniality of Power in Postcolonial Africa: Myths of Decolonization*. Dakar: CODESRIA.
- _____. (2011). *The Logic of Violence in Africa. Working Paper No. 2*. United Kingdom: Ferguson Centre for African and Asian Studies.
- _____. (2008). "Nation Building in Zimbabwe and the Challenge of Ndebele Particularism." *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, 8(3), pp. 27-56.
- _____. (2003). "Dynamics of the Zimbabwe Crisis in the 21st Century." *Africa Journal on Conflict Resolution*, 3(1), pp. 99-134.
- Ndzumuunani, E. (2012). *The Rebirth of Bukalanga: A Manifesto for the Liberation of a Great People with a Proud History Part I*. Maphungubwe News Corporation.
- Neocosmos, M. (2006). "From Foreign Natives' to Native Foreigners: Explaining Xenophobia in Post-Apartheid South Africa." *Citizenship and*

- Nationalism, Identity and Politics*. Dakar, Senegal: CODESRIA Monograph Series.
- Peters, B.L. and Peters, J.E. (1998). "Women and Land Tenure Dynamics in Pre-colonial, Colonial and Post-colonial Zimbabwe." *JPIA*. <http://www.princeton.edu/jpia/past-issues-1/1998/10.pdf> (accessed 2 October 2017).
- Salani, E.A. (2015). "Understanding Apartheid in South Africa Through the Racial Contract." *International Journal of Asian Social Science*, 5(4), pp. 203-219.
- Saleh, I. (2015). "Is it Really Xenophobia in South Africa or an Intentional Act of Prejudice?" *Global Media Journal*, 9(2), pp. 298-313.
- Saurombe, A. (2009) "Caught in the Winds of Change: Problems and Prospects (Regional Integration for SADC)." *Journal of International Commercial Law and Technology*, 4 (2), pp. 100-106.
- Sheffield, J., Korotayev, A. and Grinin, L. (2013). "Globalisation as a Link between the past and the Future." J. Sheffield, A. Korotayev and L. Grinin (eds.), *Globalisation: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*. Arizona: Emergent Publications.
- Snellman, A. (2007). "Social Hierarchies, Prejudice, and Discrimination." D.Phil. Dissertation. Uppsala, Sweden: Uppsala University.
- Soko, M. (2007). "The Political Economy of Regional Integration in Southern Africa." *Review of Economic Studies*, 71(1), pp. 265-84.
- Solomon, H.A. and Kosaka, H. (2008). "Xenophobia in South Africa: Reflections, Narratives and Recommendations." *Southern African Peace and Security Studies*, 2 (2), pp. 5-30.
- Subedi, M. (2013). "Some Theoretical Considerations on Caste." *Dhaulagiri Journal of Sociology and Anthropology*, 7, pp. 51-86.
- Torrance, S. (2006). "Indigenous Origins of Institutions in Sub-Saharan Africa." *CREDIT Research Paper*, 13/06, pp.1-31.
- UNESCO (2012). *The Multicultural Library: A Gateway to a Multicultural Library Manifesto*. Geneva: IFLA/UNESCO
- UNHRC (2013). "Race and Xenophobia." [https://nhri.ohchr.org/EN/The mes/Racial/Documents/Xenophobia](https://nhri.ohchr.org/EN/The%20mes/Racial/Documents/Xenophobia) (accessed 12 November 2017).
- Zezele, P.T. (2008). "Introduction: The Causes & Costs of War in Africa from Liberation Struggles to the War on Terror." N.A. Zezele (ed.), *The Roots of African Conflicts: The Causes and Costs and The Resolution of African Conflicts: The Management of Conflict Resolution and Post-Conflict Reconstruction*. Addis Ababa: OSSREA, Oxford: James Currey, Athens: Ohio University Press.

Multiculturalism and Class in Zimbabwe

OSWELL HAPANYENGWI-CHEMHURU

Introduction

According to the Foreword in the Curriculum Framework for Primary and Secondary Education (2015-2022) by the Minister of Primary and Secondary Education, the Ministry endeavours to “expose the learner to the disciplines of science, technology, engineering, mathematics and heritage studies.”¹ Among other issues, the thrust of Heritage Studies is to facilitate learners to appreciate their history and “unique identity as Zimbabweans” which necessarily engages the diversity that characterises Zimbabwean society today. Dokora² further indicates that the Zimbabwe Curriculum Framework for Primary and Secondary Education “will promote unity in diversity of cultures” and that it should be founded upon the “philosophical orientation of *hunhu/ubuntu/vumunhu*.” This reasoning foregrounds the promotion of multiculturalism and multicultural education as strategies to inculcate solidarity, justice and truthfulness, with the central goal being the attainment of lasting peace and confidence in the future of Zimbabwe as a nation. Furthermore, this makes possible the strengthening of democratic practices and institutions in Zimbabwe.

However, the furore over the inclusion of other religions in the curriculum creates uneasiness for those in social classes that have enjoyed a privileged position within the state of Zimbabwe. Class interests therefore become a threat to solidarity, peace and harmony among Zimbabweans. This strengthens the argument for the need to engage issues of multiculturalism in Zimbabwe. Indeed, together with critical thinking, problem solving, analysis, interpretation, synthesizing information, research skills and practices, interrogative questioning, creativity, artistry, curiosity, imagination, innovation, personal expression, perseverance, self-direction, planning, self-discipline, adaptability, and initiative, multicultural literacy has been included among twenty-first century skills.³ But first we need to interrogate the concepts that are central to the discussion in this paper.

¹L.D.K. Dokora, “Foreword,” *Zimbabwe Curriculum Framework for Primary and Secondary Education 2015-2022*, Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education (ed.) (Harare, 2015), p.iv.

²Ibid.

³J. Bishop, *Partnership for 21st Century Skills* (2015). <https://www.imls.gov/assets/1/AssetManager/Bishop%20Pre-Con%20202.pdf>.

Defining the Concepts

It is important to be clear about the concepts that will form the subject of this discussion. Thus, this section will proceed by defining the concepts in question which are: Multiculturalism, reconciliation, class, and multicultural education. The concept of *vumunhu* will be engaged under the appropriate section to avoid repetition. Banks,⁴ one of the proponents and prominent theorists on multiculturalism, also confirms the multiplicity of perspectives, approaches and theories on multicultural education. While Knight views multiculturalism as a term that has become synonymous “with diversity and tolerance” and characterised by the acceptance of the existence of a “multiplicity of cultures,”⁵ Song,⁶ for her part, argues that the idea of multiculturalism is about how to make sense and respond to “the challenges associated with cultural and religious diversity.” In support of Banks’ view, Bloemraad⁷ provides a more comprehensive perspective, when he argues that multiculturalism has many faces. It can refer to:

a demographic fact (the presence of pluralism where people with different cultures, religions, languages and origins now live together), a particular set of philosophical ideas (whose focus is recognising, supporting and accommodating cultural pluralism – it holds that cultural neutrality is impossible since there is need for social equality), or a specific orientation by government or institutions toward a diverse population (policy implementation).

In this paper, we engage multiculturalism, focusing on the various aspects referred to in the above definition. We now proceed to explore views expressed by some scholars on reconciliation.

⁴J.A. Banks, “Multicultural Education: Historical Development, Dimensions, and Practice,” *Review of Research in Education*, 19 (1993), 3-49. American Educational Research Association. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1167339> (accessed October 11, 2017).

⁵K. Knight, “What is Multiculturalism?” *Griffith Working Papers in Pragmatics and Intercultural Communication*, 1(2) (2008), 106-107. https://www.griffith.edu.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0020/88121/10.-Kirsty-Knight---What-is-multiculturalism.

⁶S. Song, “Multiculturalism,” *Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy*, E.N. Zalta (ed.) (Spring 2017 edition), p.1. <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2017/entries/multiculturalism>.

⁷I. Bloemraad, “The Debate over Multiculturalism: Philosophy, Politics, and Policy” (2011), p.8. <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/debate-over-multiculturalism>.

Mawondo⁸ defines reconciliation as “a process that re-establishes love and understanding between two or more estranged parties.” In other words, reconciliation occurs where there are two or more parties that used to be one or collaborating, but their relations have been strained, cut off or estranged or they are in a state of war. This state of alienation/ war now requires resolution. Explaining Mawondo’s definition of reconciliation, Hapanyengwi-Chemhuru and Shizha⁹ argue that:

What is important is that the initial cause of the problem must be honestly reappraised with a view to finding a genuine solution. Reconciliation requires that all parties to the conflict must present their demands and that any proposed settlement should take into account these various demands. Reconciliation involves self-appraisal, negotiation and compromise.

Indeed, Bloomfield¹⁰ defines reconciliation as:

An over-arching process which includes the search for truth, justice, forgiveness, healing and so on...it means finding a way to live alongside former enemies...to coexist with them, to develop the degree of cooperation necessary to share our society with them, so that we all have better lives together than we have had separately.

Bloomfield¹¹ earlier on argued that the basic definition of reconciliation was “a process through which a society moves from a divided past to a shared future.”

Having defined reconciliation, we proceed to explore ideas on the notion of class as it relates to the discussion that unfolds in this paper.

⁸S.Z. Mawondo, “In Search of Social Justice: Reconciliation and the Land Question in Zimbabwe,” *The Struggles after the Struggle: Zimbabwean Philosophical Study, I*, D. Kaulemu (ed.) (Washington, D.C.: Council for Research in Values and Philosophy, 2008), p.3. <http://www.crvp.org/book/series02/II-12/chapter-1.htm>.

⁹O. Hapanyengwi-Chemhuru and E. Shizha, “Unhu/Ubuntu and Education for Reconciliation in Zimbabwe,” *Journal of Contemporary Issues in Education*, 7(12) (2012), 17. <http://ejournals.library.ualberta.ca/index.php/JCIE>.

¹⁰D. Bloomfield, “Reconciliation: An introduction,” *Reconciliation after Violent Conflict: A Handbook*, D. Bloomfield, T. Barnes and L. Huyse (eds.) (Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2003), p.12.

¹¹Ibid.

In engaging the idea of social class, we are aware that social class is conceptualized in various ways as a function of the theoretical or political orientation of the writer. Jantz¹² says that for sociologists, social class refers to a kind of social stratification. He further explains:

Social stratification is the ubiquitous characteristic of societies to organize people in a hierarchy of levels or ‘strata’ on a variety of dimensions. These dimensions include power, wealth, social status, education level, prestige of one’s occupation, social standing, and many others.

These constitute the basis of class and are also the source of conflict. Jantz¹³ further observed:

To Karl Marx, people’s social class membership was determined by their relationship to the means of production, that is, by what they did within a society’s way of producing goods and services. Marx saw two classes, capitalists and workers [in alliance with the peasant farmers]. Capitalists owned the means of production (factories, businesses, etc.) and workers labored in them. Other Marxists added a third class: the bourgeoisie (boo-zhwah-zee), composed of small business-persons, experts, and the major professionals (doctors, lawyers, professors). The bourgeoisie shares features with both owners and workers. Marxism is partly an analysis of the relationships among these two or three classes in the context of supposedly inevitable changes in economic and social systems.

Crucial from the Marxist perspective is the opening statement of the Communist Manifesto that states, “The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle.”¹⁴ If this is true, that means all societies before the attainment of communism will be characterised by class conflict. This is the starting point for the paper. Also, the concept of class based on ownership of the means of production is important to Zimbabwe, where there is a constant struggle to own land and mineral resources among the classes that make up Zimbabwe, hence the need to find ways to mitigate this conflict. In the next paragraph, we present definitions of multicultural education based on the views of selected scholars.

¹²K.M. Jantz, “Social stratification of Western culture” (2014), p.3. <https://kmjantz.wordpress.com/2014/07/15/social-stratification-of-western-culture/>.

¹³Ibid., p.2.

¹⁴K. Marx, *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (1848), p.14. <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1848/communist-manifesto/ch01.htm>.

Like many theories that have been generated by academics, multicultural education has been understood in diverse and complex ways. Bridges and Matas¹⁵ argue that “[m]ulticulturalism and multicultural education are constructs that hold different foci in different regions of the world.” Bode¹⁶ adds that many scholars on multicultural education define multicultural education as “a matrix of practices and concepts rather than a singular static notion.” The complexity is exacerbated by the phenomenon where some scholars have identified multicultural education with multiculturalism or multi-racialism. For example, in some cases, multicultural education has been equated to bringing people of diverse backgrounds together in a learning situation. Some scholars like Hlatywayo¹⁷ have restricted multicultural education to multi-racialism, as when he talks of it as “a mixture of learners *inter alia*, Blacks, Indians, Chinese, Coloureds, and Whites.” Muchenje and Heeralal¹⁸ view multicultural education as education for pluralism. For Bridges and Matas¹⁹ multicultural education incorporates variables such as gender, age, social class, locality, ethnicity, religion, primary language and ability, aiming at equity of access. Ali and Ancis, cited in Bridges and Matas,²⁰ identify two major strands of multicultural education:

1. Educating students at all levels “about issues of diversity; and
2. “Alternative teacher education approaches,” which are seen as having a strong “social justice agenda.”

For Bennet, multicultural education is “an approach to teaching and learning based upon democratic values and beliefs that affirm cultural pluralism within culturally diverse societies in an interdependent world.”²¹ Anderson defines *multiculturalism* as “an officially endorsed set of

¹⁵S. Bridges and C.P. Matas, “Investigating Multiculturalism as Policy and Practice in the Middle Years of Schooling: An Australian Study,” *Communicating in a World of Diversity* (Punjabgutta, India, ICFAI University Press, 2008), p.1.

¹⁶P. Bode, “Multicultural education” (2009), p.1. <http://www.education.com/reference/article/multicultural-education/#CA>.

¹⁷L. Hlatywayo, “Multicultural Education! How Schools Handle Learner Diversity at Four Zimbabwean Private Schools,” *International Journal in Commerce, IT & Social Sciences*, 2(1) (2015), 96.

¹⁸F. Muchenje and P.J.H. Heeralal, “Teachers’ Perceptions of the Implementation of Multicultural Education in Primary Schools in Chegutu District, Zimbabwe,” *Journal of Social Science*, 41(3) (2014), 325-333.

¹⁹Op. cit.

²⁰Ibid., p.3

²¹Cited in Bridges and Matas, op. cit., p.5.

principles designed to manage ethnic diversity.”²² The above examples show the diversity that characterises thinking on multicultural education. What is apparent is that multicultural education refers to a wide range of strategies, practices and policies aimed at the harmonious coexistence of people from diverse cultural backgrounds. The word “cultural” is here used in the widest sense that includes the uniqueness of subgroups or the “different other.”

Having defined the terms that are central to the discussion in this paper, we proceed to briefly examine the genesis of cultural diversity in Zimbabwe.

The Origins of Cultural Diversity in Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe can arguably be described as characterised by the existence of culturally plural societies, which are products of national and international phenomena such as pre-colonial migrations (like the Bantu migrations),²³ Mfecane,²⁴ colonization,²⁵ migrations from other parts of Africa, trade, and refugee-related postcolonial immigration movements.²⁶ In this paper we adopt Berry’s view that, “Culturally plural societies are those in which a number of different cultural or ethnic groups reside together within a shared political and social framework.” Indeed, we concur that it is no longer possible to locate societies that are not culturally plural anywhere in the world, that is, “no society is made up of people having

²²Cited in Bridges and Matas, op. cit., p.1.

²³J. Vansina, “New Linguistic Evidence and the Bantu Expansion,” *Journal of African History*, 36 (2) (1995), pp.173-195, JSTOR 182309.doi:10.1017/S0021853700034101; R. Oliver, “The Problem of the Bantu Expansion,” *The Journal of African History* 7 (3) (1966), 361. JSTOR 180108.doi:10.1017/S002185370006472.

²⁴S. Hadebe, “The significance of Ndebele historical fiction” (2016). http://1964.80.91/bitstream/handle/10646/29/Hadebe_Historical_themes_in_Ndebele.pdf?sequence=3&isAllowed=y; C.G. Mazarire, “Who are the Ndebele and the Kalanga in Zimbabwe?” *Konrad Adenauer Foundation Project on ‘Ethnicity in Zimbabwe*, Zimbabwe: Konrad Adenauer Foundation (2003), p.4. <http://ir.uz.ac.zw/bitstream/handle/10646/314/Mazarire-Ndebele-and-Kalanga.pdf?sequence=1>; K. Rasmussen, *Migrant Kingdom: Mzilikazi’s Ndebele in South Africa* (London: Rex Collins, 1978); J.D. Omer-Cooper, *The Zulu Aftermath: A Nineteenth Century Revolution in Bantu Africa* (London: Longmans, 1966).

²⁵Hadebe, op. cit.

²⁶V. Langa, “Zim Preferred Destination for Refugees,” *News Day*, July 18, 2017. <https://www.newsday.co.zw/2017/07/zim-preferred-destination-refugees/>.

one culture, one language, and one identity.”²⁷ In pre-colonial Zimbabwe, various indigenous groups took up occupancy of the land between the Zambezi and the Limpopo. Such groups included the San, the Shona, the Ndebele, the Tshangani, the Sotho, the Tonga etc.; in other words, the black communities of Zimbabwe. Colonial occupation brought Caucasians and Asians to Zimbabwe. Waves of immigrants have continued to come to Zimbabwe, even after the attainment of independence.²⁸ What does this mean for Zimbabwe? Such a question can only be adequately answered through an excursion into history.

Cultural pluralism has always generated conflicts among members of the various cultural groups. As Ranger²⁹ puts it, historical claims have been made of precolonial tension among the various African communities in Zimbabwe. Often highlighted is the tension between the Ndebele state and its Shona neighbours, whom it raided for various reasons, including refusal to pay tribute or resisting subjugation. More devastating in the history of Zimbabwe has been the conflict generated through the colonial subjugation of the African people by Europeans.³⁰ (Samkange 1969). In colonial states, the Europeans, though in the minority, constituted the ruling social class, as the African majority became the subservient class as class structures were based on racial cleavages.³¹ In independent Zimbabwe, the formation of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) through the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) can be interpreted as the response of the working class (in collaboration with the peasant class) to the ruling elite represented by the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF).³² Moyo³³ argues that the ruling elite were seen to be in collaboration with the white, Asian and to some extent coloured communities who controlled the means of production. It can therefore be regarded as a manifestation of class struggle in Zimbabwe.

As a consequence, Zimbabwean society is characterised by fluidity, hybridity and fragmentation. The Fast Track Land Reform Programme

²⁷J.W. Berry, “Integration and Multiculturalism: Ways towards Social Solidarity,” *Papers on Social Representations*, 20 (2011), paras 2.1-2.21. <http://www.psych.lse.ac.uk/psr/>.

²⁸Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency, *Migration in Zimbabwe: A Country Profile 2009* (Harare: International Organisation for Migration [IOM], 2010).

²⁹T. Ranger, *Aspects of Central African History* (London: Heinemann, 1968).

³⁰S. Samkange, *Origins of Rhodesia* (Los Angeles, CA: Praeger, 1969).

³¹S. Moyo, “Regime Survival Strategies in Zimbabwe after Independence,” *Journal of International Relations and Foreign Policy*, 2(1) (2014), 103-114. http://jirfp.com/journals/jirfp/Vol_2_No_1_March_2014/6.pdf.

³²Ibid.

³³Ibid.

that occurred after the year 2000 resulted in a new agrarian class structure in the rural areas.³⁴ Scoones et al.³⁵ argue that the rural society is now composed of new military-political elite farmers, “middle” farmers and entrepreneurs, and peasant farmers. Moyo³⁶ identified four classes of farmers – small producers, middle farmers, large farmers and estates. Writing about rural areas in Zimbabwe, Scoones et al.³⁷ argue:

While the old dualism of the past has not returned, some of the tensions that existed from the colonial era and throughout the first 30 years of independence remain. Rooted in different interests, different visions are projected of what farming is for and what farms should be like, and this in turn, is translated into policy framings and support structures.

Indeed, Scoones et al.³⁸ argue that the resettlement farmers are not “organised in any sense” but highly divided. Moyo³⁹ argues that the post-2000 land reform resulted in a range of exclusions and inclusions, culminating in a highly differentiated pattern. This created tensions and distrust, resulting in the need to find ways of living together while transcending divisive class interests.

Rationale for Finding Ways of Living Together

Clashes in social class interests have often degenerated into open war, as different social classes have failed to find common ground to maintain peace, and struggled to take over the means of production. In Zimbabwe, apart from pre-colonial tensions, this culminated initially in the Anglo-Ndebele war of 1893, the First Chimurenga War of 1896-97,⁴⁰ and the Second Chimurenga that resulted in the independence of Zim-

³⁴I. Scoones, N. Marongwe, B. Mavedzenge, F. Murimbarimba, J. Mahenehene, C. Sukume, “Livelihoods after Land Reform in Zimbabwe: Understanding Processes of Rural Differentiation” (2012). <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1471-0366.2012.00358.x/full>.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶S. Moyo, “Three Decades of Agrarian Reform in Zimbabwe,” *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 38(3) (2011). <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/03066150.2011.583642?scroll=top&needAccess=true>.

³⁷Op. cit., p.32.

³⁸Ibid., p.33.

³⁹Moyo (2011).

⁴⁰Samkange, op.cit.

babwe.⁴¹ Post-independence conflict occurred in the Midlands and Matabeleland provinces, which the former president of Zimbabwe, Robert Gabriel Mugabe described as a moment of madness, when Zimbabweans engaged in civil war that ended with the signing of the Unity Accord in 1987.⁴² (Murambadoro and Wielenga 2015). Citing Eppel, Murambadoro and Wielenga point to the post-2000 electoral violence which subjected various communities in the country to mass human rights violations. Furthermore, the International Monetary Fund Staff Country Report on Zimbabwe identified ethnic tensions as inhibiting export performance in Zimbabwe in 2005.⁴³ The tension was attributed to the Fast Track Land Reform Programme of 2001. The tension was further linked to the struggle of social classes for land ownership, which continues to be controversial.⁴⁴ As early as 1980, the need for peace building was recognised by Mugabe when he extended a hand of reconciliation to his erstwhile enemies.

Thus, immediately after the attainment of independence, the then Prime Minister of Zimbabwe was aware of the uncertainty about the future among the white, and expectations of retribution and restitution among Africans who had been dispossessed of their land and other material resources that formed the means of sustenance. It was imperative then to craft a policy that would enable the reconstruction of the war-ravaged country while rebuilding trust and tolerance and forging a common identity among the various cultural groups extant in the country. It was then that the president enunciated the policy of national reconciliation. Even now, rhetoric among some politicians displays an alarming level of lack of awareness of the destructive power of ethnic hate, an indication of failure to learn from history.

The Nature of the Policy of Reconciliation

While reconciliation was meant to assure those who were uncertain about the future, it was based on the recognition of cultural diversity in Zimbabwe. The purpose of the policy was to create peace and promote

⁴¹N. Bhebe and T. Ranger (eds.) *Soldiers in Zimbabwe's Liberation War* (Harare: University of Zimbabwe, 1995); D. Martin and P. Johnson, *The Struggle for Zimbabwe: The Chimurenga War* (London: Faber and Faber, 1981).

⁴²R. Murambadoro and C. Wielenga, "Reconciliation in Zimbabwe: The Conflict Between A State-Centred And People-Centred Approach," *Strategic Review for Southern Africa*, 37(1) (2015), 31-52. [http://www.up.ac.za/media/shared/85/Strategic%20Review/Vol37\(1\)/05murambadoro-and-wielenga-pp-31-52.zp59337.pdf](http://www.up.ac.za/media/shared/85/Strategic%20Review/Vol37(1)/05murambadoro-and-wielenga-pp-31-52.zp59337.pdf).

⁴³IMF, *Zimbabwe: Selected Issues and Statistical Appendix* (Washington, D.C., 2005), p.48.

⁴⁴Moyo (2014).

mutual understanding between and among the diverse people of Zimbabwe. As Luc Huyse⁴⁵ argues, “reconciliation prevents, once and for all, the use of the past as the seed of a new conflict. It consolidates peace, breaks the cycle of violence and strengthens newly established democratic institutions.” Reconciliation is crucial in the processes of creating peace, justice, tolerance and respect for one another. It would appear that it was on the basis of this line of reasoning that Mugabe, then prime minister of the new republic, enunciated a policy of National Reconciliation:

Surely this is now the time to beat our swords into ploughshares so we can attend to the problems of developing our economy and our society....I urge you, whether you are black or white, to join me in a new pledge to forget our grim past, forgive others and forget, join hands in a new amity, and together, as Zimbabweans, trample upon racialism, tribalism and regionalism, and work hard to reconstruct and rehabilitate our society as we reinvigorate our economic machinery.⁴⁶

The prime minister continued to elucidate the policy of national reconciliation:

Finally, I wish to assure all the people that my government will strive to bring about meaningful change to their lives. But everyone should exercise patience, for change cannot occur overnight. For now, let us be united in our endeavour to lead the country to independence. Let us constitute an oneness derived from our common objective and total commitment to build a great Zimbabwe that will be the pride of all Africa. Let us deepen our sense of belonging and engender a common interest that knows no race, colour or creed. Let us truly become Zimbabweans with a single loyalty.⁴⁷

Mugabe further proclaimed:

As we become a new people we are called to be constructive, progressive and forever forward-looking, for we cannot afford to be

⁴⁵L. Huyse, “Zimbabwe: Why Reconciliation Failed,” *Reconciliation after Violent Conflict: A Handbook*, D. Bloomfield, T. Barnes and L. Huyse (eds.) (Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2003), p.8.

⁴⁶V. De Waal, *The Politics of Reconciliation: Zimbabwe’s First Decade* (London: Hurst, 1990), p.46.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p.47.

men of yesterday, backward-looking, retrogressive and destructive. Our new nation requires of every one of us to be a new man, with a new mind, a new heart and a new spirit. Our new mind must have a new vision and our hearts a new love that spurns hate, a new spirit that must unite and not divide. This to me is the essence that must form the core of our political change and national independence.

Henceforth you and I must strive to adapt ourselves, intellectually and spiritually to the reality of our political change and relate to each other as brothers bound one to another by a bond of national comradeship. If yesterday I fought you as an enemy, today you have become a friend and ally with the same national interest, loyalty, rights and duties as myself. If yesterday you hated me, today you cannot avoid the love that bonds you to me and me to you. Is it not folly, therefore, that in these circumstances anybody should seek to revive the wounds and grievances of the past? The wrongs of the past must now stand forgiven and forgotten. If ever we look to the past, let us do so for the lesson the past has taught us, namely that oppression and racism are inequalities that must never find scope in our political and social system.⁴⁸

Quite clearly this rendering of reconciliation resonates very well with the recognition of cultural diversity or a multicultural society with which the citizens of the new nation of Zimbabwe needed to come to terms. However, it would appear that this policy focused more on relations between two major racial groups, blacks and whites. There was very minimal, if any, application of reconciliation to relations among various groups of black people, including political parties, in Zimbabwe. Reconciliation seemed to be effective among the elite of the black and white communities. But within larger society, relations that existed during the colonial era continued unabated. Indeed, reconciliation in Zimbabwe is unfinished business. Fogg⁴⁹ has aptly warned that reconciliation “can never be a quick fix. It requires time and patience, an incremental approach and capacity to evolve and adapt to challenges and opportunities.” It therefore requires continued engagement as we seek to create lasting peace in Zimbabwe.

⁴⁸Ibid., pp.48-49.

⁴⁹K. Fogg, “Preface,” *Reconciliation after Violent Conflict: A Handbook*, D. Bloomfield, T. Barnes and L. Huyse (eds.) (Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2003), p.5.

Class as a Threat to the Promise of Multiculturalism

During the war of liberation in Zimbabwe, ZANU and ZAPU identified with the majority of the suffering African population. The black educated elite were the leaders of the liberation movements while the workers and the peasants provided the necessary support working with the fighters.⁵⁰ Owing to a confluence of interests, the black elite managed to rally the peasant farmers and the workers to unite in fighting the common enemy responsible for their oppression and disenfranchisement. The educated elite were the ruling class in the making. After independence, they took over the reins of power and continued to represent the interests of the black majority. Their preoccupation with the maintenance of peace with their erstwhile oppressors foreshadowed the need to reconcile different sections of the African community. In addition, during the onset of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme, Mazingi and Kamidza⁵¹ argue that the black elite became preoccupied with wealth acquisition as they appropriated A2 farms, that is, medium-to-large scale farms. Communal farmers were relegated to A1, the small-scale farms.

Mazingi and Kamidza⁵² further argue that the class division that emerged over the past 30 years resulted in the existence of a wealthy elite and a wealthy (although small) black middle class that could afford to send their children to good schools and access better medical facilities in and outside the country. There were groups of wealthy blacks from the business community, political circles, and beneficiaries of black economic empowerment deals. However, whites, Asians and to some extent coloured people continued to dominate the economy. Along the same lines, Ndoro⁵³ argues that the new black elite is bent on acquiring more and more wealth at any cost, hence the strained relations as various sections of the African community have felt they are not enjoying the fruit of independence. First came the Midlands/Matabeleland disturbances of the early 1980s which were ended by the unity accord in 1987. Second came the formation of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) in 1999. Third came the Fast Track Land Reform Programme or the Third Chimurenga, popularly known as *Hondo yeMinda* (War for Land), in

⁵⁰T. Ranger, *Peasant Consciousness and Guerrilla War in Zimbabwe: A Comparative Study* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).

⁵¹L. Mazingi and R. Kamidza, "Chapter 5: Inequality in Zimbabwe," OSISA (2011). http://www.osisa.org/sites/default/files/supfiles/chapter5_zimbabwe.pdf.

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³W. Ndoro, "Traditional and Cultural Heritage Systems: Nostalgia or Reality? The Implications of Managing Heritage Sites in Africa," *Linking Universal and Local Values: Managing a Sustainable Future for the World Heritage*, E. de Merode, R. Smeets and C. Westrik (eds.) (Paris: UNESCO, 2003).

2001. As we have already argued, these developments have generated diverse classes in Zimbabwe.

In 2003, Ndoro⁵⁴ warned of the danger of developing a black elite class that would acquire more land at the expense of the poor. Ndoro⁵⁵ further argued that during the colonial era, “the Smith regime battered and killed Africans in the name of national peace and stability; and any dissenting voice was quashed, and terrorism became synonymous with blacks.” Ndoro⁵⁶ also argued that after independence election periods were characterised by violence: threats, displacement, torture, abuse and sometimes even murder. These developments necessitate today a philosophy and policies that develop tolerance of diversity.

Multicultural Education as a Possible Solution

Given the challenges confronted by the process of reconciliation in Zimbabwe, we are of the view that for multiculturalism to succeed in Zimbabwe, multicultural education needs to be officially embraced, explicated and strengthened as a matter of policy. This is because multicultural education promotes the same values that are cherished by multiculturalism to the extent that some scholars use “multiculturalism” and “multicultural education” interchangeably. Banks and Banks⁵⁷ present multicultural education as providing “equal educational opportunities for students from diverse racial, ethnic, social-class, and cultural groups.” Kessler⁵⁸ argues, “The significance of multicultural education is that it gives individuals the opportunity to examine their own social and cultural biases, break down those biases, and change their perspective within their own setting.” According to Banks⁵⁹ one of the most important goals of multicultural education is assisting:

...all students to acquire the knowledge, attitudes, and skills needed to function effectively in a pluralistic democratic society and to interact, negotiate, and communicate with peoples from diverse groups in order to create a civic and moral community that works for the common good.

⁵⁴Ibid., p.14.

⁵⁵Ibid., p.15.

⁵⁶Op. cit.

⁵⁷Cited in K.C. Coburn, “3 Reasons multicultural education makes a better classroom” (2014), p.1. <http://blog.coe.hawaii.edu/3-reasons-multicultural-education-makes-a-better-classroom>.

⁵⁸Cited in Coburn, op.cit.

⁵⁹Cited in Coburn, op.cit., p.7.

Mostafazadeh, Keshtiaray, and Ghulizadeh⁶⁰ identify some of the components of multicultural education as:

Anti-racism, acceptance of diversity and plurality, peaceful co-existence with other groups, social justice, training of human capacities, promoting and the strengthening of respect for the differences of others, the human tendency to create social trends rather than specific, positive attitude to different cultures, helping to develop a positive self-concept, to protect minority languages, strengthening intracultural and inter-cultural communication.

We concur with Coburn⁶¹ that while some scholars may not think of education as a path to peace, they believe that it can deliver a curriculum that supports the cause of peace through tolerance and understanding from a critical cultural perspective. Furthermore, multicultural education, through exposing learners to diverse viewpoints and philosophies, enables them to “experience place and perspective at the same time,” resulting in a broader perspective on the world.⁶² Multicultural education can also be used to counter negative attitudes towards disability as well as gender. Thus, multicultural education fosters the values enshrined in multiculturalism. To avoid reinventing the wheel, we adopt Banks’ explication of multicultural education, cognisant that its origins lie in the struggles of black people for social justice and equity. This acceptance of Banks’ discussion is in itself an exercise in multiculturalism, as it entails borrowing developments from other cultures to enrich our own cultural perspectives, thereby creating a more humane society.

Banks⁶³ identifies and explicates five dimensions that make multicultural education an effective tool for promoting multiculturalism, and these are: content integration, the knowledge construction process, prejudice reduction, an equity pedagogy, and an empowering school culture and social structure.

Under *content integration*, it is argued that multicultural education demands the infusion of materials, ideas, values, concepts, stories and views from diverse cultures, ethnicities, and identities in the curriculum.⁶⁴

⁶⁰E. Mostafazadeh, N. Keshtiaray and A. Ghulizadeh, “Analysis of Multi-Cultural Education Concept in Order to Explain Its Components,” *Journal of Education and Practice*, 6(1) (2015), 1. <http://www.iiste.org>.

⁶¹Op. cit.

⁶²Ibid., p.3.

⁶³J.A. Banks, “Multiculturalism’s Five Dimensions” (2013). <https://www.learner.org/workshops/socialstudies/pdf/session3/3.Multiculturalism.pdf>.

⁶⁴Bode, op. cit.

Banks⁶⁵ explains content integration as “the extent to which teachers use examples, data, and information from a variety of cultures and groups to illustrate key concepts, principles, generalizations, and theories in their subject area or discipline.” These should be embedded in the school curriculum. In his discussion with Tuckers, Banks⁶⁶ concedes that multicultural education started as content integration, when aspects of the cultures of African Americans, Mexican Americans and Asian Americans were integrated into the school curriculum. This created the conception that multicultural education as content integration was more appropriate in the language arts and social studies than in maths and science. Banks⁶⁷ argues that, indeed, the sciences can still play the role of highlighting scientists and mathematicians who were from the marginalised groups, but that would still not be enough: hence the need for the knowledge construction process as an indispensable aspect of multicultural education.

In explaining the *knowledge construction process*, Banks⁶⁸ argues that it involves an appreciation of “the procedures by which social, behavioral, and natural scientists create knowledge and how the implicit cultural assumptions, frames of references, perspectives, and biases within a discipline influence the ways that knowledge is constructed within it.” There is need, according to Banks⁶⁹ for an awareness that “knowledge reflects ideology, human interests, values, and perspective” and that it is never objective, universal or neutral. From Banks’ perspective the teacher must help learners “to understand how knowledge is created and how it is influenced by the racial, ethnic, gender and social-class positions of individuals and groups” concerned.⁷⁰ Furthermore, Banks⁷¹ defines the knowledge construction process as “the extent to which teachers help students to understand, investigate, and determine how the implicit cultural assumptions, frames of references, perspectives and biases within a discipline influence the ways in which knowledge is constructed within it.” The focus is on helping “kids understand” and construct knowledge, question knowledge that is presented, and understand the historical situatedness of the source of knowledge, including “how to identify the writer’s purposes and point of view, and how to formulate their own interpretations of reality.”⁷² The questions addressed are: What is knowledge? What are the values that underlie knowledge? How do historians or scien-

⁶⁵Banks (1993), p.5.

⁶⁶Banks (2013).

⁶⁷Ibid.

⁶⁸Banks (1993), p.5.

⁶⁹Ibid., p.22.

⁷⁰Ibid., p.6.

⁷¹Cited in Bridges and Matas, op. cit., p.6.

⁷²Banks (1993), p.23.

tists construct knowledge? What did the author mean? Whose West? The idea is for learners to be aware that words used by authors and scientists are heavily loaded. Thus, they need to be interrogated.⁷³ In the process, the learners become critical thinkers and readers and contribute to knowledge construction. Thus, in explicating the knowledge construction process, Bode⁷⁴ argues that multicultural education engages learners in a critique of “the social positioning of groups through the ways that knowledge is presented, for example in scientific racism or the Eurocentric view” of the “discovery” of Africa in general and Zimbabwe in particular. Students can engage issues from male perspectives and interrogate how women and disabled persons would see the same issues.

As Banks⁷⁵ argues, “the prejudice reduction dimension of multicultural education is designed to help students develop more democratic attitudes, values, and behaviors.” Banks⁷⁶ explains *prejudice reduction* in terms of “lessons and activities teachers use to help students develop positive attitudes toward different racial, ethnic, and cultural groups.” As is the case with the previous principle, all teachers have a duty to strive toward *prejudice reduction* in their classrooms.⁷⁷ They need to be aware that many learners come to school heavily loaded with inherited prejudices against the different “other.” Cultures socialise children to cherish their own perspectives, values and ways of constructing meaning out of their experiences. Among other responsibilities, teachers then need to be sensitive to, and engage, these partialities which learners bring to the classroom. They should work towards encouraging positive racial and cultural attitudes. In prejudice reduction, the argument is that multicultural education should concentrate on lessons and activities that positively portray members of diverse ethnic, religious and cultural groups, and encourage positive social intercourse among the learners and the development of “more democratic attitudes and values.”⁷⁸ The idea is to develop a positive self-image among all learners. This can best be accomplished through democratic and intercultural curricula. The belief is that pupils’ attitudes, beliefs and perceptions can be changed to foster desirable qualities through countering inherited or socialised prejudices and through deliberate interventions. Such interventions can include cooperative learning.

The starting point of *equity pedagogy* is the acknowledgement of the different backgrounds which learners bring to school, depending on their

⁷³Ibid., p.2.

⁷⁴Bode, op. cit., p.1.

⁷⁵Banks (1993), p.24.

⁷⁶Cited in Bridges and Matas, op. cit., p.7.

⁷⁷Banks (2013), p.3.

⁷⁸Banks (1993), p.6.

social class status. There are the culturally disadvantaged (lower class) and those who are privileged (middle and upper class).

Banks⁷⁹ argues that “cultural deprivation theorists...believe that the major focus of educational reform must be to change the students by enhancing their early socialization experiences.” These theorists see one task of the school as to assist low-income and other disadvantaged students to “overcome the deficits that result from their early family and community experiences.”⁸⁰ Banks⁸¹ sees the weakness of the theorists as lying in this, that focus on the deficits of low-income and other disadvantaged children often prevents them from seeing their strengths. Furthermore, emphasis on students' deficits also does not allow the deprivationists to seriously consider structural changes that are needed in schools.

Unlike cultural deprivation theorists, cultural difference theorists tend to ignore social class. They point out that pupils bring rich cultures that conflict with the cultures of the school. Cultural difference theorists then focus more on ethnic culture than social class as barrier to learning. The inattention to class among cultural difference theorists is problematic in societies that have clear class structures.

From our perspective, what is critical is that the two groups of theorists are concerned with the welfare of the disadvantaged learners.

According to Banks⁸² equity pedagogy entails that teachers should modify “their teaching in ways that will facilitate the academic achievement of students from diverse racial, cultural, gender, and social-class groups.” As Banks⁸³ explains, “an equity pedagogy exists when teachers use techniques and methods that facilitate the academic achievement of students from diverse racial, ethnic, and social-class groups.” That is, teachers need to deliver their content in ways that enable all learners to understand. In other words, teachers need to change the way they teach so that they can reach out to all learners. Also, elucidating equity pedagogy, Bode⁸⁴ sees multicultural education as calling for the adaptation of teaching styles and approaches that facilitate improved academic performance for all learners. For example, some learners understand better when they learn in cooperative groups. This calls for teachers to use “a wide range of strategies and teaching techniques such as cooperative groups, simulations, role-playing, and discovery” so that all learners can benefit.⁸⁵ There

⁷⁹Ibid., p.29.

⁸⁰Ibid.

⁸¹Banks (1993).

⁸²Banks (2013), p.2.

⁸³Banks (1993), p.7.

⁸⁴Op. cit., p.2.

⁸⁵Banks (2013), p.2.

is need to appreciate the uniqueness of the experiences of each individual and family.

Regarding this dimension, Banks⁸⁶ says:

Here I'm talking about looking not just at individual classrooms, but at the total culture to see how to make it more equitable. For example, grouping and labelling practices, disproportionality in achievement, who participates in sports, in the interaction of the school staff. Now what does the school staff look like racially? We can talk about equity all we want to, but we must ask, who are the teachers? Who are the leaders? Are they diverse? In other words, we have to walk the talk.

Thus, equity requires that school culture needs to be inclusive, and to allow learners to learn in their indigenous languages. The school also needs to be empowering. In his explication of the dimension of *an empowering school culture and social structure*, Banks states that it describes "the process of restructuring the culture and organization of the school so that students from diverse racial, ethnic, and social-class groups will experience educational equality and cultural empowerment." In engaging this dimension of multicultural education, Bode⁸⁷ believes that it entails an interrogation of the school culture and structures by all members of staff with the intention of restructuring "institutional practices to create access for all groups." According to Banks⁸⁸ what needs to be interrogated are "grouping practices...labeling practices...the social climate of the school, and staff expectations for student achievement."

This can only be done by focusing on the school as a system. In other words, the concern is with those aspects of the institutionalized factors of school culture and environment that require transformation to facilitate improvement in the academic achievement and emotional development of students from diverse ethnic, racial, and social class groups. This is based on studies by scholars like Brookover and Erickson and Merton. Brookover and Erickson have developed a social psychological theory of learning that shows that pupils "internalize the conceptions of themselves that are institutionalized within the ethos and structures of the school."⁸⁹ This is in sync with Merton's "self-fulfilling prophecy." Schools should therefore be transformative, so as to ensure that all learners achieve academic and social success. If this is to happen, teachers, school heads, and other

⁸⁶Ibid., p.3.

⁸⁷Op. cit., p.2.

⁸⁸Banks (1993), p.7.

⁸⁹Ibid., p.34.

school professionals should collaborate in decision-making at school. There is need for greater parental participation in decision-making processes at school.

From the discussion above, we can conclude that multicultural education should include the integration of indigenous epistemologies, practices, values, and metaphysical beliefs into the curriculum. Learners have to be exposed to different ways of seeing and experiencing the world. This is in line with current curriculum reform in Zimbabwe. However, for multicultural education to gain acceptance in Zimbabwe, it needs to be informed by an indigenous philosophy. We therefore suggest a philosophy of *vumunhu* as the foundation of multicultural education. This makes it possible to fuse the epistemology, axiology and metaphysics of the African people, with the view of grounding them in an African philosophy. This is logical, given that the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education has adopted a philosophy of *vumunhu* in its curriculum framework.

***Vumunhu* as the Foundation of Multicultural Education**

Vumunhu, *Hunhuism* and *Ubuntuism* may be viewed as related. In their seminal work, *Hunhuism or Ubuntuism: A Zimbabwean Indigenous Political Philosophy*, Samkange and Samkange⁹⁰ define *Hunhuism* or *Ubuntuism* as “a philosophy that is the experience of thirty-five thousand years of living in Africa. It is a philosophy that sets a premium on human relations.” Since relatedness is central to *Vumunhu* the philosophy is best explained through the aphorism: *kunzi munhu vanhu or umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu* translated, “a person is a person through other persons.”⁹¹ In other words, “to be human is to affirm one’s humanity by recognising the humanity of others in its infinity variety of content and form.”⁹² As Louw argues, *vumunhu* enjoins us to have “respect for particularity, individuality and historicity” but within the context of a communal ethos which goes against oppressive conformity or narrow sectional or class interests. *vumunhu* emphasises the importance of tolerance of diversity of perceptions, perspectives and practices. In other words, when we deny the humanity of others and focus on our sectional interests we also deny our own humanity. Because the individual’s identity is a product of social pro-

⁹⁰S. Samkange and T. Samkange, *Hunhuism or Ubuntuism: A Zimbabwean Indigenous Political Philosophy* (Harare: Graham Publishing Co., 1980), p.34.

⁹¹A. Shutte, *Philosophy for Africa* (Rondebosch: University of Cape Town Press, 1993), p.46.

⁹²D.K. Louw, “Ubuntu: an African Assessment of the Religious Other” (1998), p.3. <https://www.scribd.com/document/263815419/LOUW-1998-Ubuntu-An-African-Assessment-of-the-Religious-Other>.

cesses, we can describe *vumunhu* as a unifying philosophy which serves as the spiritual foundation of African communities. This unifying philosophy was long captured in the aphorism by Mbiti⁹³ which is expressed as, “I am because we are; since we are, therefore I am.” Along the same line Ramose⁹⁴ argues that, “Ubuntu then is the wellspring flowing with African ontology and epistemology....Ubuntu may be seen as the basis of African philosophy.” Tutu⁹⁵ provides a detailed description of *vumunhu* as follows:

It is the essence of being human. It speaks to the fact that my humanity is caught up and is inextricably bound up in yours. I am human because I belong. It speaks about wholeness, it speaks about compassion. A person with Ubuntu is welcoming, hospitable, warm and generous, willing to share. Such people are open and available to others, willing to be vulnerable, affirming of others, do not feel threatened that others are able and good, for they have a proper self-assurance that comes from knowing that they belong in a greater whole. They know that they are diminished when others are humiliated, diminished when others are oppressed, diminished when others are treated as if they were less than who they are. The quality of Ubuntu gives people resilience, enabling them to survive and emerge still human despite all efforts to dehumanize them.

To lose one’s humanity is to lose the penultimate purpose of life. One can lose one’s humanity through failing to relate to others as human beings, through failing to identify and place one’s self in appropriate relations with others,⁹⁶ promoting class interests and discrimination based on gender and disability. *Vumunhu* is essential because it “acknowledges that reality is a dynamic whole in a constant change, an explication of the

⁹³J.S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy* (second edition) (Oxford: Heinemann, 1989), p.141.

⁹⁴M.B. Ramose, *African Philosophy through Ubuntu* (Harare: Mond Books, 1999), p.49.

⁹⁵Cited in F.L. Hord and J.S. Lee, “Ubuntu – An African Philosophy (I am because we are)” (2008), p.26. <http://www.peoplesawa.com/fr/bnnews.php?nid=1993>.

⁹⁶O. Hapanyengwi-Chemhuru and N. Makuva, “Hunhu: In Search of an Indigenous Philosophy for the Zimbabwean Education System,” *Journal of Indigenous Social Development*, 3(1) (2014), 1-15. <http://www.hawaii.edu/sswork/jisd>.

undivided whole that is in a perpetual state of flux.”⁹⁷ (Forster, 2007: 13). Manda⁹⁸ avows that *Vumunhu* leads to a comprehensive understanding of the process of cultivating cohesion and positive human interaction with one another and with creation in daily life. Central to *Vumunhu*, according to Louw, is *humwe/simunye* (“unity (is strength),” or “we are one”), focusing on the whole, that is the community and its well-being. Forster⁹⁹ argues that *Vumunhu* is “the communal way of life which deems that society must be run for the sake of all, requiring cooperation as well as sharing and charity....Ubuntu consequently, is the quality of being human.” The above discussion shows that *Vumunhu* engages and promotes the values prominent in multicultural education in a much deeper way but, more importantly, in a way that a Zimbabwean will be able to relate to, a way that transcends class interests and stresses national interests.

Conclusion

Vumunhu maybe the pillar on which multicultural education should be founded if it is to be relevant to the Zimbabwean context. *Vumunhu* has the potential to mitigate the effects of class interests, which tend to overshadow national interests and the need for diverse cultural groups to coexist. *Vumunhu* can further inform the processes and goals of reconciliation, without which multiculturalism will remain a mirage and peace elusive. Indeed, Nkrumah¹⁰⁰ warned us, “Practice without thought is blind: thought without practice is empty.” Thus, *Vumunhu* and reconciliation should be the thoughts behind the practice of a multicultural education that is conscious of the negative impacts of class interest on human well-being.

⁹⁷D. Forster, “Identity in Relationship: The Ethics of ubuntu as an answer to the impasse of individual consciousness,” C.W. Du Toit (ed.), *The Impact of Knowledge Systems on Human Development in Africa*, C.W. Du Toit (ed.) (Pretoria: Research Institute for Religion and Theology, 2007), p.13. http://sun.academia.edu/DionForster/Books/188619/Identity_in_relationship_The_ethics_of_ubuntu_as_an_answer_to_the_impasse_of_individual_consciousness.

⁹⁸D.S. Manda, “Ubuntu Philosophy as an African Philosophy for Peace” (2009). <http://www.africafiles.org/articles.asp?ID=20359>.

⁹⁹Op. cit., p.259.

¹⁰⁰K. Nkrumah, *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for Decolonisation* (London: Panaf, 1978), p.78.

References

- Banks, J.A. (2013). "Multiculturalism's Five Dimensions." <https://www.learner.org/workshops/socialstudies/pdf/session3/3.Multiculturalism.pdf> (accessed 24 September 2017).
- _____. (1993). "Multicultural Education: Historical Development, Dimensions, and Practice." *Review of Research in Education* 19, pp. 3-49. American Educational Research Association. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1167339> (accessed 28 August 2017).
- Berry, J.W. (2011). "Integration and Multiculturalism: Ways towards Social Solidarity." *Papers on Social Representations* 20, paras 2.1-2.21. <http://www.psych.lse.ac.uk/psr/> (accessed 26 August 2017).
- Bhebe, N. and Ranger, T. (eds.) (1995). *Soldiers in Zimbabwe's Liberation War*. Harare: University of Zimbabwe.
- Bishop, J. (2015) *Partnership for 21st Century Skills*. <https://www.imls.gov/assets/1/AssetManager/Bishop%20Pre-Con%202.pdf> (accessed 26 August 2017).
- Bloemraad, I. (2011). "The Debate Over Multiculturalism: Philosophy, Politics, and Policy." <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/debate-over-multiculturalism> (accessed 26 August 2017).
- Bloomfield, D. (2003). "Reconciliation: An introduction." D. Bloomfield, T. Barnes and L. Huyse (eds.), *Reconciliation after Violent Conflict: A Handbook*. Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance.
- Bode, P. (2009). "Multicultural education." <http://www.education.com/reference/article/multicultural-education/#CA> (accessed 8 December 2016).
- Bridges, S. and Matas, C.P. (2008). "Investigating Multiculturalism as Policy and Practice in the Middle Years of Schooling: An Australian Study." *Communicating in a World of Diversity*. Punjagutta, India, ICFAI University Press.
- Coburn, K.C. (2014). "3 Reasons multicultural education makes a better classroom." <http://blog.coe.hawaii.edu/3-reasons-multicultural-education-makes-a-better-classroom> (accessed 11 May 2017).
- De Waal, V. (1990). *The Politics of Reconciliation: Zimbabwe's First Decade*. London: Hurst.
- Dokora, L.D.K. (2015). "Foreword." Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education (ed.), *Zimbabwe Curriculum Framework for Primary and Secondary Education 2015-2022*. Harare.
- Fogg, K. (2003). "Preface." D. Bloomfield, T. Barnes and L. Huyse (eds.), *Reconciliation after Violent Conflict: A Handbook*. Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance.
- Forster, D. (2007). "Identity in Relationship: The Ethics of ubuntu as an answer to the impasse of individual consciousness." C.W. Du Toit

- (ed.), *The Impact of Knowledge Systems on Human Development in Africa*. Pretoria: Research Institute for Religion and Theology. http://sun.academia.edu/DionForster/Books/188619/Identity_in_relationship_The_ethics_of_ubuntu_as_an_answer_to_the_impasse_of_individual_consciousness (accessed 23 November 2017).
- Hadebe, S. (2016). "The significance of Ndebele historical fiction." http://196.4.80.91/bitstream/handle/10646/29/Hadebe_Historical_the_mes_in_Ndebele.pdf?sequence=3&isAllowed=y (accessed 17 October 2017).
- Hapanyengwi-Chemhuru, O. and Makuvaza, N. (2014). "Hunhu: In Search of an Indigenous Philosophy for the Zimbabwean Education System." *Journal of Indigenous Social Development*, 3(1), pp. 1-15. <http://www.hawaii.edu/sswork/jisd> (accessed 10 May 2017).
- Hapanyengwi-Chemhuru, O. and Shizha, E. (2012). "Unhu/Ubuntu and Education for Reconciliation in Zimbabwe." *Journal of Contemporary Issues in Education*, 7(12), pp. 16-27. <http://ejournals.library.ualberta.ca/index.php/JCIE> (accessed 21 August 2017).
- Hlatywayo, L. (2015). "Multicultural Education! How Schools Handle Learner Diversity at Four Zimbabwean Private Schools." *International Journal in Commerce, IT & Social Sciences*, 2(1), pp. 95-106.
- Hord, F.L. and Lee, J.S. (2008). "Ubuntu – An African Philosophy (I am because we are)." <http://www.peoplesawa.com/fr/bnnews.php?nid=1993> (accessed 15 August 2017).
- Huyse, L. (2003). "Zimbabwe: Why Reconciliation Failed." D. Bloomfield, T. Barnes and L. Huyse (eds.), *Reconciliation after Violent Conflict: A Handbook*. Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance.
- IMF (2005). *Zimbabwe: Selected Issues and Statistical Appendix*. Washington, D.C.
- Jantz K.M. (2014). "Social stratification of Western culture." <https://kmjantz.wordpress.com/2014/07/15/social-stratification-of-western-culture> (accessed 13 October 2017).
- Knight, K. (2008). "What is Multiculturalism?" *Griffith Working Papers in Pragmatics and Intercultural Communication*, 1(2), pp. 106-118. https://www.griffith.edu.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0020/88121/10-Kirsty-Knight---What-is-multiculturalism (accessed 22 November 2017).
- Langa, V. (2017). "Zim Preferred Destination for Refugees." *News Day*, 18 July. <https://www.newsday.co.zw/2017/07/zim-preferred-destination-refugees/> (accessed 17 October 2017).
- Louw, D.K. (1998). "Ubuntu: an African Assessment of the Religious Other." <https://www.scribd.com/document/263815419/LOUW-1998-Ubuntu-An-African-Assessment-of-the-Religious-Other> (accessed 23 November 2017).

- Manda, D.S. (2009). "Ubuntu Philosophy as an African Philosophy for Peace." <http://www.africafiles.org/articles.asp?ID=20359> (accessed 23 November 2017).
- Martin, D. and Johnson, P. (1981). *The Struggle for Zimbabwe: The Chimurenga War*. London: Faber and Faber.
- Marx, K. (1848). *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1848/communist-manifesto/ch01.htm> (accessed 24 September 2017).
- Mawondo S.Z. (2008). "In Search of Social Justice: Reconciliation and the Land Question in Zimbabwe." D. Kaulemu (ed.), *The Struggles after the Struggle: Zimbabwean Philosophical Study, I*. Washington, D.C.: Council for Research in Values and Philosophy. <http://www.crvp.org/book/Series02/II-12/chapter-1.htm> (accessed 31 December 2011).
- Mazarire, G.C. (2003). "Who are the Ndebele and the Kalanga in Zimbabwe?" *Konrad Adenauer Foundation Project on Ethnicity in Zimbabwe*. Zimbabwe: Konrad Adenauer Foundation. <http://ir.uz.ac.zw/bitstream/handle/10646/314/Mazarire-Ndebele-and-Kalanga.pdf?sequence=1> (accessed 17 October 2017).
- Mazingi, L. and Kamidza, R. (2011). "Chapter 5: Inequality in Zimbabwe." OSISA. http://www.osisa.org/sites/default/files/sup_files/chapter_5_-_zimbabwe.pdf (accessed 14 October 2017).
- Mbiti, J.S. (1989). *African Religions and Philosophy* (second edition). Oxford: Heinemann.
- Mostafazadeh, E., Keshtiaray, N. and Ghulizadeh, A. (2015). "Analysis of Multi-Cultural Education Concept in Order to Explain Its Components." *Journal of Education and Practice*, 6(1). <http://www.iiste.org> (accessed 11 May 2017).
- Moyo, S. (2014). "Regime Survival Strategies in Zimbabwe after Independence." *Journal of International Relations and Foreign Policy*, 2(1), pp. 103-114. http://jirfp.com/journals/jirfp/Vol_2_No_1_March_2014/6.pdf (accessed 15 October 2017).
- _____. (2011). "Three Decades of Agrarian Reform in Zimbabwe." *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 38(3). <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/03066150.2011.583642?scroll=top&needAccess=true> (accessed 13 October 2017).
- Muchenje, F. and Heeralal, Prem J.H. (2014). "Teachers' Perceptions of the Implementation of Multicultural Education in Primary Schools in Chegutu District, Zimbabwe." *Journal of Social Science*, 41(3), pp. 325-333.
- Murambadoro, R. and Wielenga, C. (2015). "Reconciliation in Zimbabwe: The Conflict Between A State-Centred and People-Centred Approach." *Strategic Review for Southern Africa*, 37(1), pp.31-52. [http://www.up.ac.za/media/shared/85/Strategic%20Review/Vol37\(1\)/05mu](http://www.up.ac.za/media/shared/85/Strategic%20Review/Vol37(1)/05mu)

- rambadoro-and-wielenga-pp-31-52.zp59337.pdf (accessed 23 November 2017).
- Ndoro, W. (2003). "Traditional and Cultural Heritage Systems: Nostalgia or Reality? The Implications of Managing Heritage Sites in Africa." E. de Merode, R. Smeets and C. Westrik (eds.), *Linking Universal and Local Values: Managing a Sustainable Future for the World Heritage*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Nkrumah, K. (1978) *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for Decolonisation*. London: Panaf.
- Oliver, R. (1966). "The Problem of the Bantu Expansion." *The Journal of African History*, 7 (3), p.361. JSTOR 180108 doi:10.1017/S0021853700006472 (accessed 19 July 2017).
- Omer-Cooper, J.D. (1966). *The Zulu Aftermath: A Nineteenth Century Revolution in Bantu Africa*. London: Longmans.
- Ramose, M.B. (1999). *African Philosophy through Ubuntu*. Harare: Mond Books.
- Ranger, T. (1985). *Peasant Consciousness and Guerrilla War in Zimbabwe: A Comparative Study*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- _____. (1968). *Aspects of Central African History*. London: Heinemann.
- Rasmussen, K. (1978). *Migrant Kingdom: Mzilikazi's Ndebele in South Africa*. London: Rex Collins.
- Samkange, S. (1969). *Origins of Rhodesia*. Los Angeles, CA: Praeger.
- Samkange, S. and Samkange, T.M. (1980). *Hunhism or Ubuntuism: A Zimbabwean Indigenous Political Philosophy*. Harare: Graham Publishing Co.
- Scoones, I., Marongwe, N., Mavedzenge, B., Murimbarimba, F., Mahenehene, J. and Sukume, C. (2012) "Livelihoods after Land Reform in Zimbabwe: Understanding Processes of Rural Differentiation." <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1471-0366.2012.00358.x/full> (accessed 10 May 2017).
- Shutte, A. (1993). *Philosophy for Africa*. Rondebosch: University of Cape Town Press.
- Song, S. (2017). "Multiculturalism." E.N. Zalta (ed.), *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2017 edition). <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2017/entries/multiculturalism> (accessed 8 April 2017).
- Vansina, J. (1995). "New Linguistic Evidence and the Bantu Expansion." *Journal of African History*, 36 (2), pp.173-195. JSTOR182309.doi:10.1017/S0021853700034101 (accessed 16 July 2017).
- Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency. (2010). *Migration in Zimbabwe: A Country Profile 2009*. Harare: International Organisation for Migration (IOM).

Multiculturalism, Contraception and Cultural Perversion in Zimbabwe

CHIPO MARBLE HATENDI

Introduction

The idea of contraception is very topical and it affects women globally. This paper explores the perceptions of the Shona people regarding the idea of contraception in order to ascertain the extent to which the philosophy of *hunhu/ubuntu* approves or disapproves this idea in a multicultural Zimbabwean society. The objective of this paper is to answer the question: Is there a conflict between the ethical values of *hunhu/ubuntu* and the use of modern contraceptives? The paper also makes an attempt to distinguish modern contraceptives from traditional contraceptives in order to make my discussion more revealing. I restrict my discussion to the Shona people because of my experiences growing up in Shona society where traditional methods of contraception were commonly used. I begin the paper by defining and characterising key terms informing this research such as *hunhu/ubuntu*, multiculturalism, contraception, and cultural perversion.

Defining *Hunhu/Ubuntu*

The word *hunhu/ubuntu* has its origins in the Bantu languages of Southern Africa. *Hunhu/ubuntu* as a philosophy focuses on people's allegiances and relations with one another.¹ It manifests itself through various human acts clearly visible in social, political, and economic situations, as well as among the family. It is based on belief in a universal bond of sharing that connects all humanity.² *Hunhu/ubuntu* is premised on the idea of communal belonging that is best expressed by the statement "I am because we are; since we are therefore I am."³ What this means is that no individual can be self-sufficient or self-contained, as individuals depend on

¹S. Samkange and T. Samkange, *Hunhism or Ubuntuism: A Zimbabwean Indigenous Political Philosophy* (Harare: Graham Publishing Co., 1980), p.34.

²M.B. Ramose, "The Philosophy of *Ubuntu* and *Ubuntu* as a Philosophy," *Philosophy from Africa* (second edition), *A Text with Readings*, P.H. Coetzee and A.P. Roux (eds.) (Cape Town, South Africa: Oxford University Press, 2002), p.237.

³J.S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy* (London: Heinemann, 1969), p.215.

each for survival. Thus, *hunhu/ubuntu* emphasizes sharing benefits, burdens, responsibilities and obligations.

Hunhu/ubuntu can be seen and felt in the spirit of willing participation, unquestioning cooperation, warmth, openness, and personal dignity demonstrated by the indigenous black population.⁴ As a social philosophy *hunhu/ubuntu* embodies virtues that celebrate mutual social responsibility, trust, mutual assistance, sharing, unselfishness, caring and respect for others among other ethical principles.⁵ In this paper, I strongly appreciate *Ubuntu* since it appropriately and uniquely address pertinent issues in the African society such as the xenophobic attacks in South Africa. Having defined and characterized *hunhu/ubuntu* as an indigenous philosophy, it is critical to define multiculturalism in order to buttress the foregoing.

Understanding Multiculturalism

In this section I will consider definitions that are important to this study. I will begin by defining multiculturalism. To begin with, multiculturalism as a concept that has been defined from different perspectives such as philosophy, anthropology, sociology and political science. In general terms, multiculturalism refers to the acceptance of cultural diversity.⁶ In simpler terms, it implies the culturally heterogeneous composition of a society. The concept of multiculturalism is closely related to other concepts such as ethnocentrism and authoritarianism. Ethnocentrism and authoritarianism are seen as characteristics of individuals or groups, while multiculturalism is more relationship-oriented, and assumes a context of cultural heterogeneity and actual or possible intercultural contact.⁷

Eagan⁸ looks at multiculturalism from the perspective that cultures, races, and ethnicities, particularly those of minority groups, deserve special acknowledgement within a dominant political culture. That acknowledgement can take the form of recognition of contributions to the cultural life of the political community as a whole, a demand for special

⁴C.B. Gade, "The Historical Development of the Written Discourses on *Ubuntu*," *South African Journal of Philosophy = Suid-Afrikaanse Tydskrif vir Wysbegeerte*, 30(3) (2011), 309.

⁵M.O. Eze, "What is African Communitarianism? Against Consensus as a Regulative Ideal," *South African Journal of Philosophy*, 27(4) (2008), 387.

⁶S.R. Schalk-Soekar and F.J. Van de Vijver, "The Concept of Multiculturalism: A Study among Dutch Majority Members," *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 38(8) (2008), 2153.

⁷*Ibid.*

⁸J.L. Eagan, *Encyclopaedia of Governance* (California: SAGE Publications, 2007), p.28.

protection under the law for certain cultural groups, or autonomous rights of governance for certain cultures. Multiculturalism is both a response to the fact of cultural pluralism in modern democracies, and a way of compensating cultural groups for past exclusion, discrimination and oppression.⁹ It seeks the inclusion of the views and contributions of diverse members of society while maintaining respect for their differences, and withholding the demand for their assimilation into the dominant culture.

Multiculturalism also implies being able to adjust to a particular culture without sacrificing one's own cultural beliefs. It demands respect for other people's dignity, while remaining confident about one's own beliefs and ways of behaving.¹⁰ In this paper, it is noted that Zimbabwe is a multicultural society in which there is co-existence of different cultures such as Mozambicans, Zambians, Malawians, Indians, Whites, Chinese, Nigerians etc. Having Zimbabwe as a multicultural society, it is noted that there are several multicultural concerns that cover a broad range of issues which include but are not limited to race, religion, contraception, education, culture, sexual orientation, disability and many others. Since many scholars have devoted their time to multicultural issues such as race, religion, culture etc., the objective of this paper is to take a stance by reflecting on the morality and modern contraception from a multicultural perspective using the Shona people as a case study.

Conceptualizing Contraception

In this section, I explore the idea of contraception in detail in order to analyze it from a multicultural perspective. Traditional and modern methods of contraception that are widely used are defined and analysed in this paper. Please note that contraception is also known as birth control or fertility control methods, and they include anything used to deliberately prevent conception or impregnation such as condoms, birth control pills, intrauterine devices and barrier methods. In literature, the term "family planning" has been defined in various ways. For Shah¹¹ the term "family planning" is used to refer to the ability of individuals and couples to attain the desired number, spacing and timing of their children, through the use of modern or traditional (also called natural) methods of birth control.

⁹D. Hollinger, *Postethnic America: Beyond Multiculturalism* (New York: Basic Books, 1995), p.78.

¹⁰C. Chitsike, "NGOs, Gender, Culture and Multiculturalism: A Zimbabwean View," *Gender and Development*, 3(1) (1995), 20.

¹¹I.H. Shah, "Family Planning and Reproductive Health," *Encyclopedia of Life Support Systems* (UNESCO), p.3. <http://www.eolss.net/sample-chapters/c04/e6-147-05.pdf>.

It is important to note that the term “birth control” is sometimes used as a synonym for contraception, which means the prevention of pregnancy and the determination of family size. Contraception is a topical issue in the field of medicine of demography, and yet ethical research on it has remained scanty. Contraception has been practiced since ancient times, and methods and devices used have varied from one place to the other. Methods of family planning have been grouped into two major categories, namely, modern and traditional. Below, I outline and explain some of the traditional methods of family planning in pre-colonial Shona society.

Traditional Methods of Contraception

Traditional methods of family planning include what are called “natural methods.” Natural methods of family planning do not involve any outside chemical or device to implement. They rely exclusively on the restraint of the individual sexual partners to abstain or limit sexual activity during times when conception is most likely.¹² According to the World Health Organization¹³ (WHO), natural methods of contraception use no outside methods intended to prevent pregnancy but instead rely on a woman’s fertility signs. They do not require pills, hormones or devices. Before the advent of modern contraceptives in pre-colonial Zimbabwe, the Shona people used traditional methods of family planning. Such methods were regarded as primitive during the time of the infiltration of modern methods in Zimbabwe.

Traditional methods of family planning include abstinence, withdrawal, examination of cervical mucus and the rhythm method among others. Abstinence, according to the WHO,¹⁴ is the most effective technique for preventing conception since it entails entirely abstaining from sexual intercourse. Apart from preventing pregnancy, this method also protects one from getting sexually transmitted diseases. The withdrawal method (*kurasira panze*) was very common in Zimbabwe prior to the coming in of modern methods, and it is one of the world’s oldest family planning techniques. The method is also called *coitus interruptus* or “pulling out.”¹⁵ In preventing conception, the withdrawal method requires that the man withdraws his penis from the vagina before ejaculation. In theory, withdrawal prevents sperm from being deposited into the vagina and subse-

¹²A.W. Zorea, *Birth Control* (Santa Barbara: Greenwood, 2012), p.4.

¹³World Health Organisation, *Medical Eligibility Criteria for Contraceptive Use: Third Edition* (Geneva, 2004).

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵A. Kaler, *Running After Pills: Politics, Gender and Contraception in Colonial Zimbabwe* (London: Heinemann, 2003), p.25.

quently fertilizing an ovum.¹⁶ It is noted that the withdrawal method was prevalent among the Shona before the introduction of modern methods.

Among the natural methods of family planning, there is also the cervical mucus method. The method utilises the calendar, and it works through predicting the actual days when a woman is most fertile.¹⁷ During the ovulation period, a woman discharges cervical mucus that is conducive for conception. The level of fertility here can be determined by consistently documenting the colour, texture and consistency of vaginal mucus.¹⁸ The method thus works through abstinence from sexual intercourse in the period when a woman is highly fertile, to prevent conception. Similar to the cervical mucus method, is the rhythm method. The method is also called the calendar method. Under this method a woman abstains from having sexual intercourse during the time she ovulates.¹⁹ The ovulation period is the time when the fertility level will be very high. A record of ovulation days is marked on the calendar.

Having outlined and explained some of the traditional methods of contraception in this section, it is noted that in traditional Shona society, the Shona people practised traditional methods of birth control. The coming of the Westerners in the colonial period, however, marked a shift from traditional methods of birth control to modern artificial methods. Below, I outline and explain some of these modern methods.

Modern Methods of Contraception

It is important to first distinguish modern methods of contraception from traditional methods and explain some of these methods before closely looking at the modern methods. It is rare to find scholars who accurately define the term “modern contraception.” Many scholars instead, classify contraceptives and approaches that fit into their perception of that label. For starters, the term “modern contraceptive method” refers to a product or medical procedure that interferes with reproduction without inhibiting sexual intercourse.²⁰ These authors define artificial methods of contraception as those methods that do not require individual restraint and instead rely on devices or chemicals to prevent pregnancy regardless of when the sexual activity occurs.

¹⁶G. Edlin and E. Golanty, *Health and Wellness* (Boston: Jones and Bartlett Publishers, 2012), p.213.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid., p.214

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰D. Hubacher and J. Trussell, *A Definition of Modern Contraceptive Methods*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), p.420.

In this paper, the contraceptive methods that do not fit into this definition shall be labelled “non-modern methods.” Although there are various modern methods of contraception, this paper shall only identify modern methods which are important to the study, which include condoms, oral contraceptives or pills, injection, implants and intrauterine devices (IUDs).²¹ Modern methods are categorized into various groups, namely barrier methods, hormonal methods, spermicides, intrauterine devices and tubal ligation, among others. This paper shall not examine these modern contraceptive methods, in detail, since this task lies outside its scope. However, the paper shall briefly explain how these modern methods work without necessarily delving deeper into the finer details.

Condoms

These are an artificial method of contraception. This method falls under the category of the barrier methods which prevent pregnancy by physically prohibiting the sperm from fertilising the egg.²² Condoms take two forms i.e. female and male condoms. These two both perform the same function of preventing the sperm from fertilising the egg. It is noted that condoms are widely used as a form of contraception. The wider use of this method stems from the fact that there are no health-related side effects associated with the method. Although there are chances of getting pregnant if the condom is not used properly, it seems that many people usually turn a blind eye to this weakness.

The Pill or Oral Contraceptive

This is another modern method of contraception. Like other contraceptive methods, the pill releases hormones which are chemicals that affect different parts of the body.²³ In most cases, women use a birth control pill that contains estrogen and progestin in preventing pregnancy. The oral contraceptive prevents pregnancy by thickening the cervical mucus so as to prevent the sperm from reaching the ova. Through the taking of the pill, the ovulation process is stopped so that no egg can be fertilized.²⁴ In contemporary Zimbabwe, it has been argued that most women utilize oral contraception rather than other methods.

²¹D.M. Potts and G.I.M. Swyer, “Effectiveness and Risks of Birth-Control Methods,” *British Medical Bulletin*, 26 (1970), p.26.

²²<http://www.mayoclinic.com>

²³Potts and Swyer, op.cit., p.27.

²⁴<http://www.mayoclinic.com>

Injection

This is another modern method of contraception which has been widely used in Zimbabwe. This method involves a substance popularly known as *Depo-Provera*, which is an intramuscular injection of progestin that inhibits ovulation for three months.²⁵ The shot works, in part, to prevent ovulation by thickening the cervical mucus, thereby preventing the entry of sperm. This method is a provider-controlled contraceptive technology that has several advantages in comparison with other methods of contraception.²⁶

Contraceptive Implants

These are small flexible tubes that are inserted under the skin of the upper arm. Implants are of different types and of importance to note in this paper are the Jadelle implants. The Jadelle implant is a progestinonly contraceptive device that is inserted subdermally. It consists of two sterile silicon rods, each with 75 mg of levonorgestrel and provides contraceptive protection for five years.²⁷ (Perry et al. 2014: 791).

The Intra-Uterine Device (IUD)

This is a modern birth control method which is used by several women in Zimbabwe. The IUD is a birth control device that is inserted into a woman's uterus.²⁸ IUDs are typically made of plastic or metal and have a string attached. Their presence changes the physical environment of the reproductive tract, which can prevent the egg from being fertilized and/or prevent a fertilized egg from implanting in the uterus. The IUDs which contain the female hormone progesterone can stay in place for up to five years, while IUDs with copper can stay up to ten years.²⁹

Having distinguished modern methods from traditional methods of contraception, it is important to investigate whether there is conflict be-

²⁵D.N. Danforth, *Danforth's Obstetrics and Gynecology* (ninth edition) (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Williams and Wilkins, 2008).

²⁶T.W. Volscho, "Racism and Disparities in Women's Use of the Depo-Provera Injection in the Contemporary USA," *Critical Sociology*, 37(5) (2011), 674.

²⁷R.T. Perry, M. Gacic-Dobo, A. Dabbagh, M.N. Mulders, P.M. Strelbel, J.M. Okwo-Bele and J.L. Goodson (2014). "Global Control and Regional Elimination of Measles, 2000-2012," *MMWR. Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report*, 63(5) (2014), p.791.

²⁸<http://www.mayoclinic.com>.

²⁹<http://www.garnnett.cornell.edu>.

tween modern contraceptives and the moral values of *Ubuntu* in a multicultural society.

Hunhu/Ubuntu, Contraception and Multiculturalism

This paper is based on the traditional understanding of *hunhu/ubuntu*, which as I noted earlier, is referred to as a group or communal philosophy which emphasizes shared responsibilities and obligations in Shona/Ndebele society. Important in this paper is the culture of the Shona people. It is important to note that Shona as a culture has its own unique indigenous knowledge systems, morals, customs and worldview. In this section, I characterise the Shona and deliberate on their perceptions on contraception. But who are the Shona? The word “Shona” refers to the classification of different groups speaking related dialects comprising the Karanga, Manyika, Zezuru, Korekore, Ndau and others.³⁰ These clans cover most of Zimbabwe and parts of Mozambique, stretching to the Zambezi River in the north and the Indian Ocean in the east. Mlambo³¹ notes that Shona society is a group of Bantu ethnic people native to Zimbabwe and neighbouring countries. The various clans, according to Mlambo, have similar cultural patterns and languages. There are also similar dialects among these groups of people. It is instructive to note that before colonization, Shona societies were patriarchal, implying that men were the household heads, while women were structurally subordinate to men. Thus, the majority of women lived between two extremes, playing major productive and reproductive roles.³²

It is important to note that the imposition of European rule in 1890 gradually affected social structures. While the forms of patriarchal control changed under colonial rule, the core of male dominance remained.³³ However, as a result of Western influence, issues such as women rights and gender equality became common among the Shona people.³⁴ Shona culture has been influenced by urbanization, labour migration, Christianity and other external forces. Christianization in Zimbabwe involved the “colonization” of the Shona people’s consciousness with the axioms and

³⁰M.F.C. Bourdillon, “Traditional Religion in the Shona Society,” *Christianity South of the Zambezi*, 1 (1973), 16.

³¹A.S. Mlambo, “A History of Zimbabwean Migration to 1990,” *Zimbabwe’s Exodus: Crisis, Migration, Survival*, J. Crush and D. Tevera (eds.) (Cape Town: Southern African Migration Project, 2010), p.21.

³²E. Schmidt, *Shona Women in the History of Zimbabwe 1870-1939* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1992), p.99.

³³*Ibid.*, p.100.

³⁴Kaler, *op. cit.*, p.130.

aesthetics of Western culture.³⁵ As a point of entry into the discussion, I shall first discuss the dictates of *hunhu/ubuntu* before exploring its nexus with modern contraceptives from a multicultural perspective. The concept of *hunhu/ubuntu* has been widely discussed by various scholars. The objective of this paper, however, is not to explore the ongoing debates on this concept. The thrust is to explore the perceptions of the Shona people with regard to the use of modern contraceptives. My choice of *hunhu/ubuntu* is based on the fact that it is an indigenous African philosophy which is at home with African values, culture and aspirations.

It is now pertinent to investigate whether or not *hunhu/ubuntu* can accommodate modern contraceptives in a multicultural society like Zimbabwe. As noted earlier, *hunhu/ubuntu* embodies all those virtues that maintain harmony and the spirit of sharing among the members of a society.³⁶ It implies an appreciation of traditional beliefs, and a constant awareness that an individual's actions today are a reflection of the past, and will have far-reaching consequences for the future.³⁷ In the 1990s in South Africa, the concept of *hunhu/ubuntu* was adopted into an ideology in post-apartheid South Africa, as well as a vehicle to bring about harmony and cooperation among its many racial and ethnic groups. Similarly, *hunhu/ubuntu* has also been used to bring about harmony among and between the different ethnic and racial groups in Zimbabwe. In Shona society, children are regarded as a blessing from the ancestors and *Musikavanhu* (the Creator); hence, taking herbs for child-spacing and avoiding pregnancy is not so common. The Shona people believe that the family ancestors (*vadzimu*) are all powerful and all-knowing, and they are the ones who bless or curse a family, and for that reason having children in the family show that the ancestors are pleased.³⁸

Fertility is highly regarded as *kukudza dzinza* (expanding the lineage); thus, every woman in a family is expected to have as many children as she can possibly have to please the family ancestors.³⁹ Thus, Mukonyora argues that the responsibility of a woman in Shona culture is to produce children for her husband. She is expected to bear children until *nyoka yemudumbu yapera* (the snake in her womb ceases to produce children).⁴⁰ A woman is therefore supposed to procreate until menopause. When a wo-

³⁵S.J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *Do "Zimbabweans" Exist? Trajectories of Nationalism, National Identity Formation and Crisis in a Postcolonial State* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2009), p.42.

³⁶Ramose, op. cit., p.230.

³⁷Gade, op. cit., p.303.

³⁸I. Mukonyora, "Women and Ecology in Shona Religion," *Word and World*, 19 (1999), 276.

³⁹*Ibid.*, p.277.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*

man fails her husband by being infertile, she is compared to a dry rock surface: *Mukadzi asina mwana ruware* (the woman without a child is like the dry surface of a rock).⁴¹ Such were the perceptions of the Shona with regard to infertility.

However, a closer look at the whole matter would show that these are mere beliefs, since in the medical fraternity, infertility can be a man's problem. Having said that, it is critical to note that the use of modern contraception does not sit well with the ethical values of *hunhu/ubuntu*. The paper argues that pregnancy and children enhance marriage and stabilise relationships among the Shona people. Such a cultural perspective contradicts efforts to encourage the use of modern contraceptive methods.

In the same vein, *hunhu/ubuntu* considers contraception in a similar manner to the natural law ethic.⁴² For natural law ethics, contraception is morally wrong and should not be practiced because the purpose or telos of a sexual activity is to reproduce; hence, it is wrong for people to use contraceptives. According to the natural law theory, all things should achieve their natural end, and the natural end of sex, according to Eliade,⁴³ is unity and procreation, love and life. To contracept is to remove procreation from the equation, which means that once the idea of contraception is introduced, sex fails to achieve its natural end. In this regard, the modern methods of contraception, which have largely emerged as a result of colonialism and a multicultural society, among the Shona conflict with the values of *hunhu/ubuntu* and also the natural law of procreation.

John Finnis is a representative of the theory of natural law. Although Finnis⁴⁴ does not directly consider the issue of contraception, but the general question of unnatural and morally defective sexual intercourse, it is clear that he holds that artificial contraception can be considered as an active interference, while the rhythm method only makes sexual partners temporarily sterile. Finnis⁴⁵ emphasizes that procreation and raising children is a basic human good, like for example, life and knowledge. This view is also similar to the philosophical ideology of *Ubuntu*. The basic human goods for Finnis are not morally good in themselves, which would mean that they are not a moral obligation for all, but they must be chosen when we are faced with a choice between some of these goods and other personal aims.⁴⁶

⁴¹Ibid., p.280.

⁴²M. Eliade, "Shamanism: An Overview," *The Encyclopaedia of Religion* (vol. 16), C.J. Adams (ed.) (New York: Macmillan, 1987), p.19.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴J. Finnis, "Natural Law and Unnatural Acts," *The Heythrop Journal* 11(4) (1970), 89.

⁴⁵Ibid., p.91.

⁴⁶Ibid.

For instance, Finnis⁴⁷ notes that procreation and raising children is not an obligation for all, but in sexual relations between spouses, they always have to choose the sex in which it is possible for a woman to become pregnant. In this paper, I argue that both *hunhu/ubuntu* and natural law ethics consider child bearing and rearing as the duty for women. According to the perceptions of the Shona people who strongly subscribe to *hunhu/ubuntu*, the use of modern methods of contraception seems unnatural and should be avoided. Among the Shona people, women are to bear as many children as God allows them to, and therefore any interference is a sin which one can be punished for. They regard children as a source of wealth and a blessing from *Musikavanhu* (the Creator).

It is through colonization that the Shona people adopted the culture brought by the European settlers, including medicines, as well as Western forms of education.⁴⁸ It should be noted that most of the modern methods of contraception did not sit well with the philosophy of *hunhu/ubuntu*. Upon the introduction of modern methods, most men and women in Shona society did not accept such methods, as they considered this as cultural perversion. Modern contraceptives were perceived as things used by prostitutes and therefore not acceptable; taking them might defile the family and anger the family spirit elders (*vadzimu*). There was a strong belief among the Shona people that women who used modern contraceptives would give birth to frail babies, disabled or albino children as a punishment from the angry *vadzimu*.⁴⁹ In this paper, I note that such beliefs characterise the perceptions of the Shona people on modern contraceptives.

At this juncture, it is important to try to answer the crucial question: Is *hunhu/ubuntu* philosophy compatible with multiculturalism? Two responses can be presented here. Those who believe that *hunhu/ubuntu* is compatible with the idea of a multicultural Zimbabwe have argued that since the Shona people make up the majority of the Zimbabwean population, it makes sense to have minority ethnic and racial groupings in Zimbabwe answering to the clarion call of *hunhu/ubuntu* philosophy. The point is that minority ethnic and racial groups must be assimilated. What this would mean is that with regard to the issue of contraceptives, all people in Zimbabwe must agree that it is wrong. Those who believe that *hunhu/ubuntu* is not compatible with a multicultural Zimbabwe have argued that the idea of ethnic and racial assimilation is wrong, since it fails to recognize the rights of minor ethnic cultures and racial groups. The fact

⁴⁷Op. cit.

⁴⁸W. Kymlicka, "Liberal Complacencies," *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?* J. Cohen, M. Howard and M.C. Nussbaum (eds.) (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), p.32.

⁴⁹Kaler, op. cit., p.83.

that in Shona society, condoms are viewed culturally as out of order, but are not viewed as such among white minority groups in Zimbabwe, should not be seen as dividing Zimbabwean society, but rather as showing that Zimbabwe has a diversity of cultures that tolerate one another.

Conclusion

By way of conclusion, we may say that this paper has interrogated the idea of contraception among the Shona people from a multicultural perspective. It was argued that *hunhu/ubuntu* was an African philosophy that emphasized communitarianism. In this paper, I investigated the conflict that is perceived to exist between *hunhu/ubuntu* and modern contraceptives in a multicultural Zimbabwean society. The paper proceeded by defining key concepts such as *hunhu/ubuntu* and multiculturalism, and referred to contraception and cultural perversion. A distinction between traditional methods of contraception and modern methods of contraception was also made in order to buttress the foregoing.

References

- Bourdillon, M.F.C. (1973). "Traditional Religion in the Shona Society." *Christianity South of the Zambezi*, 1, pp.11-24.
- Chitsike, C. (1995). "NGOs, Gender, Culture and Multiculturalism: a Zimbabwean View." *Gender and Development*, 3(1), pp. 19-24.
- Danforth, D.N. (2008). *Danforth's Obstetrics and Gynecology* (9th edition). Philadelphia: Lippincott, Williams and Wilkins.
- Eagan, J.L. (2007). *Encyclopaedia of Governance*. California: SAGE Publications.
- Edlin, G. and Golanty, E. (2012). *Health and Wellness*. Boston: Jones and Bartlett Publishers.
- Eliade, M. (1987). "Shamanism: An Overview." C.J. Adams (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of Religion* (vol. 16). New York: Macmillan.
- Eze, M.O. (2008). "What is African Communitarianism? Against Consensus as a Regulative Ideal." *South African Journal of Philosophy*, 27(4), pp.386-399.
- Finnis, J. (1970). "Natural Law and Unnatural Acts." *The Heythrop Journal*, 11(4), pp. 365-387.
- Forster, D. (2006). *Identity in Relationship: The Ethics of Ubuntu as an Answer to the Impasse of Individual Consciousness*. Pretoria: UNISA.
- Gade, C.B. (2011). "The Historical Development of the Written Discourses on *Ubuntu*." *South African Journal of Philosophy = Suid-Afrikaanse Tydskrif vir Wysbegeerte*, 30(3), pp. 303-329.
- Hollinger, D. (1995). *Postethnic America: Beyond Multiculturalism*. New York: Basic Books.

- <http://www.garnett.cornell.edu>
<http://www.mayoclinic.com>
- Hubacher, D and Trussell, J. (2015). *A Definition of Modern Contraceptive Methods*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Kaler, A. (2003). *Running After Pills: Politics, Gender and Contraception in Colonial Zimbabwe*. London: Heinemann.
- Kymlicka, W. (1999). "Liberal Complacencies." J. Cohen, M. Howard and M.C. Nussbaum (eds.), *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Mlambo, A.S. (2010). "A History of Zimbabwean Migration to 1990." J. Crush and D. Tevera (eds.), *Zimbabwe's Exodus: Crisis, Migration, Survival*. Cape Town: Southern African Migration Project.
- Mukonyora, I. (1999). "Women and Ecology in Shona Religion." *Word and World*, 19, pp. 276-284.
- Ndlovu-Gatscheni, S.J. (2009), *Do "Zimbabweans" Exist? Trajectories of Nationalism, National Identity Formation and Crisis in a Postcolonial State*. Oxford: Peter Lang.
- Perry, R.T., Gacic-Dobo, M., Dabbagh, A., Mulders, M. N., Strebel, P.M., Okwo-Bele, J.M. and Goodson, J.L. (2014). "Global Control and Regional Elimination of Measles, 2000-2012." *MMWR Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report*, 63(5), pp. 103-107.
- Potts, D.M. and Swyer, G.I.M. (1970). "Effectiveness and Risks of Birth-Control Methods." *British Medical Bulletin*, 26, p. 27.
- Ramose, M.B. (2002). "The Philosophy of *Ubuntu* and *Ubuntu* as a Philosophy." P.H. Coetzee and A.P. Roux (eds.), *Philosophy from Africa* (second edition), *A Text with Readings*. Cape Town, South Africa: Oxford University Press.
- Samkange, T. and Samkange, S. (1980). *Unhuism or Ubuntuism: A Zimbabwean Indigenous Political Philosophy*. Harare: Graham Publishing Co.
- Schalk-Soekar, S.R., and Van de Vijver, F.J. (2008). "The Concept of Multiculturalism: A Study Among Dutch Majority Members." *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 38(8), pp.2152-2178.
- Schmidt, E. (1992). *Shona Women in the History of Zimbabwe 1870-1939*. Portsmouth: Heinemann.
- Shah, I.H. (n.d.) "Family Planning and Reproductive Health." *Encyclopedia of Life Support Systems*. UNESCO. <http://www.eolss.net/sample-chapters/c04/e6-147-05.pdf> (accessed 12 March 2018).
- Volscho, T.W. (2011). "Racism and Disparities in Women's Use of the Depo-Provera Injection in the Contemporary USA." *Critical Sociology*, 37(5), pp. 673-688.
- World Health Organisation (2004). *Medical Eligibility Criteria for Contraceptive Use: Third Edition*. Geneva.
- Zorea, A.W. (2012). *Birth Control*. Santa Barbara: Greenwood.

Animals and Power in Ancient Greek and Kalanga Oral Wisdom Literatures: A Comparative Analysis

MADLOZI MOYO

Introduction

This paper looks at the universal use of animals in the depiction of human political relations in orature. Thus, I ask questions about some of the animal typologies as they appear in the fabulous depiction of human political societies, asking how animal tales reflect the political systems for both Southern African and European societies, so distinct in time and space. I proceed in this paper by posing three critical questions as follows: How are animals used to dispense political wisdom? Which animals are symbols of power, and which animals are symbols of weakness? How do the two bodies of ancient Greek and proto-literate Kalanga literature assign literary roles to animals? There is careful incorporation of animals in similes and praise poetry, such that it becomes clear that animals are not merely used as poetic devices, but they do actually hold cultural capital. By *cultural capital* I mean the way praise poetry is the poetry of power, and the way power can be expressed in the Greek and Kalanga cultures by animal allusions. Mention of animal virtues and strengths is essential in a praise poem because it transfers an animal's power into the human world. In that sense animals have cultural capital which is used by both artisans and poets to give their recipients cultural status.

Definition of Terms

Kalanga

The word "Kalanga" refers to a language and people found in south-western Zimbabwe and in north-eastern Botswana today. Linguistically speaking, Kalanga has been classified as a dialect of the Shona language (the language spoken by the majority of Zimbabweans today). Wentzel¹ classifies Kalanga as Western Shona, and opines that the Kalanga people might have been the first to cross the Zambezi river during the Bantu

¹J.P. Wentzel, *The Relationship between Venda and Western Shona* (Vol.3) (Pretoria: University of South Africa Press, 1983a), pp.9-10.

migrations (between two thousand and one thousand years ago). Although mainstream Shona language has been well researched, the same cannot be said of Kalanga.² Yet archaeological and oral evidence indicates that Kalanga culture is relatively old, dating back to c.1425AD.³ Some ethnographers even contend that the Kalanga language seems to have been the most predominant language in south-western Zimbabwe during the Iron Age (Leopard's Kopje Culture), and must date back to c.900AD, which makes it one of the oldest surviving languages in Southern Africa.⁴ Huffman⁵ gives an even earlier date when he notes that the first Bantu-speaking farmers (not necessarily Kalanga) moved into the Mapungubwe region between c. 350 and 450AD. The Kalanga wisdom traditions that I discuss include proverbs, folktales, praise poetry and other *gnomai* that are a result of my lived experience and active research. I proceed by asking two critical questions as follows: What can Kalanga confirm about the ancient Greek poetry? And, what are the similarities in animals in both cultures? In the next section I discuss power.

Power

The word "power" is not easy to define. Stephen Lukes⁶ cautions that the quest to define power is futile because of the variations in what interests us when we investigate power. He also points out that what unites interlocutors in this argument is too narrow and formal to provide a satisfying definition that applies to all cases. According to Bertrand Russell,⁷ power may be defined as the production of intended effects. It is thus a quantitative concept. Given two men with similar desires, if one achieves all the desires that the other achieves, and also others, he has more power than the other.⁷ Russell distinguishes between power over human beings, and power over dead matter, and chooses to follow the former. Likewise,

²C. Van Waarden, *The Oral History of the BaKalanga of Botswana*, Occasional Paper No.2 (Gaborone: Botswana Society, 1988), p.1.

³C. Van Waarden, *Butua and the End of an Era: the Effect of the Collapse of the Kalanga State on Ordinary Citizens: an Analysis of Behaviour under Stress* (Oxford: Cambridge Monographs in African Archaeology, BAR International Series 2420, 2012), p.71.

⁴G. Fortune, "Who was Mwari?" *Rhodesian History: The Journal of the Central African Historical Association*, 4 (1973), 3.

⁵T.N. Huffman, "Mapungubwe and the Origins of the Zimbabwe culture," *South African Archaeological Society*, 8 (2000), 16.

⁶S. Lukes (ed.), *Power* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), pp.4-5.

⁷B. Russell, *Power: A New Social Analysis* (London: Unwin Books, 1960), p.25.

I am compelled to limit my view of power to dominance over other human beings, because wisdom literatures are centered on human relations.

Hence, we can say that one person is more powerful than another because he achieves more intended effects than another person who gets only a few.⁸ Further, in *Economy and Society*, Max Weber defines power as “the probability that an actor in a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action.”⁹ Weber’s conception, like that of Robert Dahl and Russell, is that of “power over,” asking questions like “Who rules whom?”

Since the term defies any simplistic definition, I narrow down and limit my conception of power as referring to the capacity to dominate, that is, “power over.” For purposes of this paper, human power relations are classified under the categories of (i) political power, and (ii) physical might. This is a parochial approach to any type of definition of power, but it helps limit power to particular working and definable categories which help shed light on the perceptions of political and physical power in both Kalanga and Archaic Greek wisdom traditions.

Wisdom Literature

Wisdom is “a term used to denote markedly successful problem-solving ability, particularly in personal social domains, in the face of complexity, subtlety, novelty and/or uncertainty.”¹⁰ According to Wei Zhang,¹¹ wisdom literature is not easy to narrow down, as it includes discussions of “factually true things” (ἐτήτυμα). West¹² says wisdom literature includes works of exhortation and instruction, while Zeitlin¹³ identifies *Works and Days* as “a didactic work of wisdom literature.” Lambert observes that wisdom literature is hard to define because there is no single canon by which to recognise it. However, he includes fables, popular sayings and proverbs in his list of literature that fits into this category. It is important to note that the notion of “wisdom literature” originally belonged to Hebraic studies, and is applied to the books of Job, Proverbs and

⁸Lukes, op. cit., p.19.

⁹Cited in Lukes, op. cit., p.2.

¹⁰W.S. Brown (ed.), *Understanding Wisdom: Sources, Science, and Society* (Philadelphia: Templeton Press, 2000), p.194.

¹¹Wei Zhang, “The poet as educator in the *Works and Days*,” *Classical Journal*, 105 (2009), p.8.

¹²M.L. West (ed.), *Hesiod: Works and Days* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), p.3.

¹³F.I. Zeitlin, *Playing the Other: Gender and Society in Classical Greek Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), p.54.

Ecclesiastes, and entails pious living. Lambert also cautiously equates wisdom literature with what is known as Greek philosophy today.¹⁴ Wisdom traditions have also been equated to the Greek *sophia* which "...embraces poetic skill, practical wisdom, and religious expertise – especially in the domains of sacrifice and seercraft/mantic art," according to Kurke.¹⁵

In the classical tradition, the poets and singers were regularly regarded as holders of wisdom. In the *Lysis* Plato describes poets as fathers and authors of wisdom (*Lysis* 214a1).¹⁶ A study of *Protagoras* (326a, 339a) reveals Protagoras as postulating that since poets such as Homer have been accepted as educators, their teachings also help to make good citizens. In *Prot.* 326a, young men are taught the eulogies of good men so that they can emulate them. I will therefore add that, for me, wisdom literature refers to works of art that have didactic elements in them; wisdom literature is didactic.

The Choice of Animals

People are fundamentally different from animals. With regard to the distinction between human animals and non-human ones, Hesiod uses animal symbolism to justify the need for justice and fair dealing as follows:

For the son of Cronos has ordained this law for man, that fishes and beasts and winged fowls should devour one another, for right is not in them; but to mankind he gave right which proves far the best. For whoever knows the right and is ready to speak it, far-seeing Zeus gives him prosperity.¹⁷

In the passage above, Hesiod distinguishes between the way things are for humans and the way things are for animals. Lefkowitz notes that in this passage, Hesiod focuses on the dangers of violence (ὄβρις) and the

¹⁴W.G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp.1-2.

¹⁵L. Kurke, *Aesopic Conversations: Popular Tradition, Cultural Dialogue and the Invention of Greek Prose* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), p.95.

¹⁶Reviewer's translation.

¹⁷Translated by H.G. Evelyn-White, *Hesiod: the Homeric Hymns and Homeri-ca* (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1964), pp.23-25.

urgent need for justice (δικη).¹⁸ Van Dijk¹⁹ also concurs that the implication of this passage is that violent behaviour should not be used as a model for humans to emulate. In this case, animals represent violence, while humans represent justice. The violation of justice by humans is cast as “a disavowal of one’s essential humanity and a downward sliding towards animal behavior.”²⁰ In a study of the relationship between animal metaphors and social control among the Tzintzuntzan of Mexico, Brandes²¹ notes that Tzintzuntzan metaphors emphasise animal-human differences: for example, a stubborn person may be called *un animal* in Spanish. Thus, these comparisons emphasise the major difference between humans and beasts – justice or lack thereof.

The author of the *Rhetoric to Alexander* asserts that:

...reason is the thing wherein we are superior to all other animals; and we who have received the highest honour that heaven can bestow will have this above other men. For all animals display the appetites and desire and the like, but none save man possess reason (*Rh. Al.* 1421a.10).²²

Edward Clayton²³ also notes that although their ability to use reason lifts human beings above other animals, if properly used, people need to understand humans in the same way they understand other animals, that is, from a biological perspective. It is crucial to note the distinction between human beings and other non-human animals. Human beings possess reason while non-human beings do not. However, this passage also demonstrates that it is possible to compare humans and animals even in

¹⁸J.B. Lefkowitz, “Aesop and animal fable,” *The Oxford Handbook of Animals in Classical Thought and Life*, G.L. Campbell (ed.) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp.9-10. Lefkowitz also compares this attitude of distinguishing humans from animals by citing Plato’s *Protagoras* (320c–322d), where the sophist Protagoras tells a story of how Zeus gave justice to humankind to save them from one another; however, this gift was *not* granted to animals.

¹⁹G.J. Van Dijk, *AINOI, AIOI, MYΘOI: Fable in Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic Greek Literature, with a Study of the Terminology of the Genre* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), p.131.

²⁰Lefkowitz, op. cit. p.10.

²¹S. Brandes, “Animal Metaphors and Social Control in Tzintzuntzan,” *Ethnology*, 23 (3) (1984), 211.

²²Translated by E.S. Forster, “Rhetoric to Alexander” (2018). <http://www.mercaba.org/SANLUIS/Filosofia/autores/Grecia%20y%20Roma/Arist%C3%B3teles/Ret%C3%B3rica%20a%20alejandro.pdf>.

²³E. Clayton, “Aesop, Aristotle, and the Animals: the Role of Fable in Human Life,” *Humanitas*, 21 (2008), 190.

terms of social and political philosophy. Against this background, it becomes necessary therefore, to interrogate animal tales as expressions of human power-relations, asking questions on how animals are used to represent, rebuke, and transform human political power relations. Which animals represent kings? And which ones are ruled? What is the criterion used by human beings to assign animals their role in such literature?

In this paper I seek to find out which animals have tended to be selected in the representation of various human personalities. My hypothesis is that these models are based on the observation of real animals: for example, the behaviour of actual lions. Besides, I also subscribe to the theory of “symbolic affordance,” one of the theories provided by anthrozoology that talks of a cultural engagement with animals rather than mere observation of the animals.²⁴ I proceed by asking the question: What conclusions on didactics and wisdom traditions can be drawn from a comparative study of animals in the ancient Greek and Kalanga wisdom traditions?

Speaking of the function of fauna in oral literature, Ruth Finnegan²⁵ says:

When the narrators speak of the actions and characters of animals, they are also representing human faults and virtues somewhat removed and detached from reality through being presented in the guise of animals, but nevertheless with an indirect relation to observed human action.

In wisdom literature, animal characters are based on the usual behaviour of these animals. Lions, leopards, wolves, boars and eagles are united by a reputation for aggression and violence, and are therefore the best representations of various types of power in human societies.

Lions (Archetype)

To begin with, Homer looks at power as physical attacking force (κράτος). Thus, with Homer, one observes the abundance of scenes that compare the marauding hero to a lion in the extended lion-attack similes which appear throughout the poems. Examples include the *Iliad* (15.630), where Hector is likened to a lion that wreaks havoc on a herd of cattle, and the herdsman cannot defend his herd, and *Iliad* (11.113), where Aga-

²⁴M. Bettini, *Women and Weasels: Mythologies of Birth on Ancient Greece and Rome*, E. Eisenach (tr.) (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), p.137.

²⁵R. Finnegan, *Oral Literature in Africa* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p.354.

memnon is stripping Isos and Antiphos while the Trojans look on hopelessly. At their moments of military glory, Homeric heroes are often compared to rampaging lions, eagles, hawks, wolves, leopards or boars,²⁶ while their victims cringe like confused sheep, fawns or cattle. Markoe²⁷ also establishes the position of the lion in Homeric similes when he says, "...the image of an attacking lion who invades a herd of cows or a sheepfold is repeatedly employed as an extended formulaic simile for the aggressive onslaught of heroes, both Achaean and Trojan, in battle." The two Homeric similes cited above represent dozens of such similes that depict the attacking hero in the mould of a lion.²⁸ In this case, the similes celebrate the hero as a killer. It is important to note that the similes may also be a commentary on war, whereby they are used to dehumanise the warriors, besides just celebrating them.

Moreover, Markoe²⁹ also presents the arguments surrounding the appearance of the vanquishing lion in Greek architecture, citing other scholars' attempts to interpret the combat between lion and prey as an expression of the cycle or polarization of natural phenomena. The graphic depiction of two lions overpowering and devouring a struggling bull in the reliefs on Achilles' shield, especially at *Iliad* (18.579–80), "...shows that in Homer such a motif was considered appropriate not only as a literary device but as a pictorial one as well."³⁰

It does make sense to think that the Homeric similes that feature the lion seek, among other things, to depict the irrationality of war and fighting. Strasburger³¹ divides the symbolism of the lion in Greek literature into sovereignty, savagery, and uncontrollable destruction. The depiction of Achilles' irrationality also uses the image of the lion.³² Thus, while sufficiently depicting sovereignty and political power, the lion is also used to

²⁶R. Friedrich, "On the Compositional Use of Similes in the *Odyssey*," *The American Journal of Philology*, 102 (2) (1981), 120; M. Alden, "Lions in Paradise: Lion Similes in the *Iliad* and the Lion Cubs of *Il.* 18.318–22," *Classical Quarterly*, 55 (2) (2005), 335.

²⁷G.E. Markoe, "The 'Lion Attack' in Archaic Greek Art: Heroic Triumph," *Classical Antiquity*, 8 (1) (1989), 88.

²⁸Alden, op. cit., p.335. Alden also indicates that there are more than twenty-eight lion attack similes in the *Iliad* alone.

²⁹Op. cit., p.87.

³⁰Ibid., p.89.

³¹H. Strasburger, "Herodot und das Perekleische Athen," *Historia: Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte*, 4 (1) (1955), p.8.

³²M. Clarke, "Between Lions and Men: Images of the Hero in the *Iliad*," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 36 (2) (1995), 153-159.

symbolise savage, uncontrollable violence and destruction.³³ Friedrich³⁴ summarises the poetic role of the Homeric lion, saying: “Embodying noble daring and energetic strength as well as ferocity of attack and the recklessness of determined prowess, the lion stands out among the other animals used in similes of the *Iliad*...” on the same note, Magrath³⁵ also notes Homer’s fondness for the lion simile, where lions are represented hunting, prowling, attacking, feasting and protecting their young.

Thus, the image of the lion affords us a glimpse into the psychological and social dispositions of characters (μένος) at a given moment. The lion represents bodily strength and a bellicose disposition in human beings. Clarke³⁶ believes that the use of the lion image, especially, casts Achilles’ anger as irrational, implying that, for Homer, both the mental and emotional state of the animal can be assimilated to that of the fighter. Similarly, Chandler³⁷ has also suggested a possible connection between characters’ μένος and the verb μαίνεται (*Iliad* 6.101), suggesting that the verb μαίνομαι denotes the overall destructive effect of a warrior in combat rather than denoting a mental state. Thus, Homer uses this image of the lion to demonstrate his negative view about war.

Among the animals to be studied, lions feature most prominently as symbols of power, together with leopards, wolves and boars. Michael Clarke³⁸ thinks that in Greek epics, the animal similes can be treated as one group. He bases his recommendation on the singularity of the poetic role which the animals play in epic, that is, as symbols of dominance. They help the poet to emphasise strength, courage and aggression. It is always probable that a lion will overpower a bull, cow, goat, or a wolf overpower a lamb. In other cases, though, cattle also appear as powerful, especially bulls, or cows defending their calves e.g. *Iliad* (17.3–6). I must admit that the definition of political power has to be more than aggression and violence, as can be seen in Machiavelli³⁹ who emphasises the need for a ruler to also be like a fox, clever and able to avoid traps, which lions (in his view) are not. A ruler who is going to use aggression and violence all the time is not going to succeed; and this sets the difference between

³³Kurke, op. cit., p.423.

³⁴Op. cit., p. 120.

³⁵W.T. Magrath, “Progression of the Lion Similes in the *Odyssey*,” *The Classical Journal*, 77 (3) (1982), 205.

³⁶Op. cit., p.146.

³⁷C.E. Chandler, “Madness in Homer and the Verb *Mainomai*,” *Acta Classica, Supplementum III, Mania: Madness in the Greco-Roman World* (2009), pp.17-18.

³⁸Op. cit., p.138.

³⁹N. Machiavelli, *The Prince*, G. Bull (tr.) (London: Penguin Books, 1961), p.99.

humans and other animals: humans have justice, and also reason, which allows them to choose among various kinds of behavior, as animals mostly cannot.

Kalanga Symbols of Political Power

In her Master's Dissertation on Kalanga trickster tales, Wazha Lopang relates a tale where Hare approaches Elephant and challenges him to a tug-of-war contest. When Elephant agrees, Hare also approaches Hippo with a similar challenge, and Hippo agrees. In the end, Hare manages to make the two giants engage in a tug of war against each other unwittingly.⁴⁰ It is difficult to assess whether this tale is of Kalanga origin, because it also appears in Mhlabi's⁴¹ collection of Ndebele folklore. The folktale also appears in Shona folklore. The closest one can get towards any categorisation would be to accept the tale as part of Bantu culture in general.⁴² Maikano⁴³ observes that in tales that involve the duping of larger animals by the tricky hare, the lesson is that one does not need to be big in order to be intelligent. My view on the trickery of bigger animals by smaller ones is that such fables are a mild critique against tyranny in human societies. Mhlabi observes that the lion is the one who *rules* in the bush. He is the one who sets the laws and settles disputes when other animals have digressed. On the other hand, while the hare is small in stature, he is a surprising cheat and surpasses all animals in cunningness.⁴⁴ Hare usually appears as a critic of Lion and his style of rule.

On the other hand, the Kalanga material suggests a more optimistic worldview towards politics and change than the pessimism that normally characterises the Greek fable. This is perhaps because Kalanga folktales and fables were/are not necessarily associated with the lower classes of society, if any – as their classical Greek counterparts have been. A reading of Uncle Remus' tales from African-American folklore reveals that the "small man" sometimes does challenge the "big man" and emerge victorious. In Mbulawa's tale, *Lungano gweShumba naLishulo*, "The Tale

⁴⁰W. Lopang, "Laughing with Caution: IKalanga Trickster Tales and the Gender Question," Master of Arts Degree in English Thesis, Faculty of Humanities (University of Botswana, 2003), p.12.

⁴¹S.J. Mhlabi, *Sizwe Elikantulo: Iqoqo Lezinganekwane (We Heard Lizard's Voice: a Collection of Folktales)* (Harare: College Press, 2000), pp.73-75.

⁴²The story also appears in private websites and blogs where it has been labelled an East African tale, for example www.ronanmagalong.blogspot.com, where it is called "Tug of war: a Bantu folktale of East Africa."

⁴³B.M. Maikano, "Ngano dzeChikalanga (Kalanga Folktales)," B.A. Thesis (University of Botswana and University of Swaziland, 1977), p.33.

⁴⁴Mhlabi, op. cit., pp.12-13.

of the Lion and the Hare,” it is also clear that most of Hare’s challenge to the Lion is constructed along the lines of a criticism of Lion’s rule and an exhortation to proper political leadership. In the folktale, Hare challenges Lion to a fight, to which the latter agrees. The two agree to build a pen in which they will hold the fight, and, when the pen is almost complete, Hare dupes lion to build from inside, with the result that Lion gets trapped. Lion is left trapped until hunger and thirst almost kill him. He is punished by the hare for eating other animals. The fact that Lion cannot overcome the hunger and thirst to which Hare exposes him while Lion is enclosed in a pen, and the very fact that Hare has defeated him through cunning ways, is a demonstration that in Kalanga thought, tyrannical leadership is not completely invincible.⁴⁵

It is wrong, however, to assume that the lion is the ultimate universal symbol of power, as there are other Kalanga texts that do not feature lions as symbols of political power. The reigning lion is curiously absent in the entire *Nau Dzabakalanga* text.⁴⁶ In place of this powerful feline, there appears the elephant (*hou*), the rhinoceros (*nhema*), and the bull (*nkono*, augmentative *gono*) as representatives of politically powerful people in the text. The important thing to note here is the choice of rhinoceros, elephant and calf to represent alternative leadership to that of the attacking lion. These images suggest that the traditional Kalanga were largely a defensive people rather than an attacking force. Van Waarden⁴⁷ emphasizes the non-violent defeat of the Kalanga by the Rozvi.

Further support for this nonviolent disposition of the Kalanga is also observed by Theal⁴⁸ and Becker,⁴⁹ who note that the Kalanga were not a warlike people, although they had a reputation for witchcraft and magic. It therefore seems to me that this lack of heroic spirit is represented by the absence of lion imagery in the representation of Kalanga royalty in poetry. It seems the attacking spirit is replaced in Kalanga by a religious fervour that rather prefers to deploy the lion as a symbol of the ancestors (religious authority) rather than of chiefs and warriors (military authority). The deep

⁴⁵T.M. Mbulawa, *Thengwana ye Ndebo (A Basket of Stories)* (Francistown: Mukani Action Campaign, 2001), p.23.

⁴⁶Translated by J.P. Wentzel, *Nau DzabaKalanga: a History of the Kalanga* (vol. 1.) (Pretoria: University of South Africa Press 1983b).

⁴⁷C. Van Waarden, “The Kalanga state Butua,” *Kalanga – Retrospect and Prospect*, C. van Waarden (ed.) (Gaborone: The Botswana Society, 1991), p.10.

⁴⁸G.M. Theal, *Records of South Eastern Africa. Printed for the Government of the Cape Colony* (Volumes II, III, IV, V) (London: William Clowes and Sons Ltd., 1901), p.358.

⁴⁹P. Becker, *Path of Blood: The Rise and Conquest of Mzilikazi, Founder of the Matabele Tribe of Southern Africa* (Bristol: Longmans, Green and Co., 1962), p.187.

sense of the numinous among the Kalanga makes them prefer religious solutions rather than physical ones, as available data attests. Numerous legendary battles between Kalanga chieftains are largely based on magic and witchcraft rather than on the single combats that characterise Homeric heroes. Thus, animals can also inform us about the power issues in both ancient Greek and Kalanga traditional societies.

The Wolf and the Hyena as Symbols of Power in Kalanga Orature

Another Greek symbol of brute force is the wolf, which I pair with the hyena in Kalanga orature because of the similar typologies that both animals represent. The wolf sometimes appears in Homer as a substitute for the alpha lion. In Babrius (second century AD),⁵⁰ a wolf chides himself for showing the traits of a physician, rather than those of a butcher/cook (cf. μαγειρεύειν, line 16) for which he is known. In the fable, a donkey tricked the wolf into ridding it of a thorn, after which the donkey gave the wolf a savage kick, hence the lamentation just mentioned. A butcher represents the violence and brutality that is involved in killing animals, while a physician represents kindness because he saves lives. In Phaedrus 1.1, the way the wolf eats a lamb on trumped up allegations (*iniusta nece*, ‘unlawful killing’, line 13) clearly shows the aggressive brutality of this canid. This fable demonstrates that power, wickedness and malice triumph over weakness, innocence and honesty.⁵¹

I propose that the hyena represents an equivalent typology to the wolf in Kalanga folktales, as mentioned at the beginning of this section. Lopang⁵² relates the story of Hare, who mistakenly kills his wife who had been abducted by Hyena to be the wife of the King, Lion. In this instance, Hyena is presented as a bandit who performs dishonourable attacks that lack the heroism associated with the lion, for example, abduction. This may be comparable with the Kalanga story of the woman who gets eaten by a hyena, whom she has asked to dance for her in exchange for a piece of meat.⁵³ Mbulawa⁵⁴ relates another story that features the hyena and fox

⁵⁰References to Babrius and Phaedrus may be traced in B.E. Perry (tr.), *Babrius and Phaedrus* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press and London: William Heinemann, 1975).

⁵¹Clayton, op. cit., p.80. Other fables that feature the wolf contending against sheep are Babrius 89, which is the same fable as Phaedrus 1.1; Babrius 113 insinuates that the wolf is rapacious when a guard-dog warns its owner not to pen his sheep with a wolf. At Babrius 132 the wolf fails to win a sheep over.

⁵²Op. cit., p.25.

⁵³A.W. Chebani, *Ngalabe and Other Stories of Northeast Botswana* (Francis-town: Mukani Action Campaign, 2001), pp.34-36.

⁵⁴Op. cit.

going to raid a farm for goats and sheep; Hyena overeats until he cannot exit the pen. Here, the Hyena represents a rapacious archetype, one whose attack is driven by greed rather than the justified anger that normally characterises the attacking lion and heroes discussed above.

Conclusion

To give a summary of the use of animals in the representation of human power dynamics, it is important to begin by pointing out that this “power” as seen in the animal world can be construed as the ability to dominate other animals. This trend mirrors the dynamics of power in human society. In the animal world, this power may be construed along similar lines of animals dominating one another, especially for food. Both the ancient Greek and Kalanga traditions use animals to educate people on acceptable and unacceptable leadership styles.

The most prominent symbols of this power include lions, wolves, leopards, bulls, hawks and eagles. In both ancient Greek and Kalanga orature, the fox represents duplicity while the lion represents violence or tyranny (cf. Machiavelli’s⁵⁵ analogy that uses the fox and lion as representatives of leadership styles). One can also note the use of the lion as a critique of despotic political leadership that abounds in the Aesopic fable and Kalanga folktale. This is because Aesop is largely represented as a political sage. This can be seen in the contentions of Solon and Aesop against the Lydian king Croesus, which also give an idea of the place of wisdom literature (fable) in the dispensing of political wisdom.⁵⁶

However, one discovery that I have made about the lion is that it is never deployed as a symbol of political leadership in other Kalanga wisdom literature like proverbs and praise poetry. Instead, the recurrent Kalanga symbols of political leadership are the elephant, the rhinoceros, and sometimes the male buffalo (*Nyatindume*) and the bull (*Nkono* or *Gono*). Here I reason that perhaps the language of violence that is associable with lions (for example in the *Iliad*) would not fit in the Kalanga psyche as they regarded themselves as a pacifist people (*bakaxamu yen-dazwa*), the people of the soft switch, “...because they, the Kalanga, do not like war.”⁵⁷ Because of this discrepancy in the distribution of the lion symbolism, I am compelled to believe that Kalanga folktales that feature the lion are translations of neighbouring mythologies like those of Nguni

⁵⁵Op. cit.

⁵⁶Kurke, op. cit., pp.133-134. Especially we may note the analysis of the fable related in *Vita G* (ch. 99) where Aesop was a figure who deployed his own very distinctive style of *Sophia* through indirect fable advice.

⁵⁷*Nau* 2.1 and 3.3; Wentzel (1983b), op. cit.

origin, whose people were attacking or predatory forces. In these tales, Hare appears as the subtle critic of King Lion when the latter oversteps his boundaries and leans towards despotic rule. This was seen in the story of the lion and the hare related by Mbulawa, where Lishulo the Hare tricks Lion into locking himself in a pen, and threatens to whip Lion's flanks which are full of other animals' flesh. In this case, Hare is seen as a subtle critic of Lion's leadership style.

Collectively, Greek animal fables of political import seem to convey the lesson that the strong rule and the weak must obey or suffer.⁵⁸ When one looks at the theoretical side of this discussion, going by the southern African-centred approach of *ubuntu*, one discovers that in the Kalanga culture, animals help to put across the lesson that *Inkosi yinkosi ngabantu*, "a king is a king because of his people." This proverb censures leadership styles like tyranny and absolutism.

References

- Alden, M. (2005). "Lions in Paradise: Lion Similes in the *Iliad* and the Lion Cubs of *Il.* 18.318-22." *Classical Quarterly*, 55 (2), pp.335-342.
- Becker, P. (1962). *Path of Blood: The Rise and Conquest of Mzilikazi, Founder of the Matabele Tribe of Southern Africa*. Bristol: Longmans, Green and Co.
- Bettini, M. (2013). *Women and Weasels: Mythologies of Birth on Ancient Greece and Rome*. E. Eisenach (tr.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Brandes, S. (1984). "Animal Metaphors and Social Control in Tzintzun-tzan." *Ethnology*, 23 (3), pp.207-15.
- Brown, W.S. (ed.) (2000). *Understanding Wisdom: Sources, Science, and Society*. Philadelphia: Templeton Press.
- Chandler, C.E. (2009). "Madness in Homer and the Verb *Mainomai*." *Acta Classica, Supplementum III, Mania: Madness in the Greco-Roman World*, pp.8-18.
- Chebani, A.W. (2001). *Ngalabe and Other Stories of Northeast Botswana*. Francistown: Mukani Action Campaign.
- Clarke, M. (1995). "Between Lions and Men: Images of the Hero in the *Iliad*." *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 36 (2), pp.137-160.
- Clayton, E. (2008). "Aesop, Aristotle, and the Animals: the Role of Fable in Human Life." *Humanitas*, 21, pp.179-200.
- Evelyn-White, H.G. (tr.) (1964). *Hesiod: the Homeric Hymns and Homeric*. London: William Heinemann Ltd.
- Finnegan, R. (1970). *Oral Literature in Africa*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

⁵⁸Clayton, op. cit., p.181.

- Forster, E.S. (2018). "Rhetoric to Alexander." <http://www.mercaba.org/SANLUIS/Filosofia/autores/Grecia%20y%20Roma/Arist%C3%B3teles/Ret%C3%B3rica%20a%20alejandro.pdf> (accessed 22 February 2018).
- Fortune, G. (1973). "Who was Mwari?" *Rhodesian History: The Journal of the Central African Historical Association*, 4, pp.1-20.
- Friedrich, R. (1981). "On the Compositional Use of Similes in the *Odyssey*." *The American Journal of Philology*, 102 (2), pp.120-137.
- Huffman, T.N. (2000). "Mapungubwe and the Origins of the Zimbabwe culture." *South African Archaeological Society*, 8, pp.14-29.
- Kurke, L. (2011). *Aesopic Conversations: Popular Tradition, Cultural Dialogue and the Invention of Greek Prose*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Lambert, W.G. (1960). *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lefkowitz, J.B. (2014). "Aesop and animal fable." G.L. Campbell (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Animals in Classical Thought and Life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lopang, W. (2003). "Laughing with Caution: IKalanga Trickster Tales and the Gender Question." Master of Arts Degree in English Thesis, Faculty of Humanities, University of Botswana.
- Lukes, S. (ed.) (1986). *Power*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Machiavelli, N. (1961). *The Prince*. G. Bull (tr.) London: Penguin Books.
- Magrath, W.T. (1982). "Progression of the Lion Similes in the *Odyssey*." *The Classical Journal*, 77 (3), pp.205-212.
- Maikano, B.M. (1977). "Ngano dzeChikalanga (Kalanga Folktales)." B.A. Thesis. University of Botswana and University of Swaziland.
- Markoe, G.E. (1989). "The 'Lion Attack' in Archaic Greek Art: Heroic Triumph." *Classical Antiquity*, 8 (1), pp.86-115.
- Mbulawa, T.M. (2001). *Thengwana ye Ndebo (A Basket of Stories)*. Francistown: Mukani Action Campaign.
- McLeod, W.T. (ed.) (1986). *The Collins Paperback English Dictionary*, Glasgow: William Collins and Sons and Co. (Ltd.).
- Mhlabi, S.J. (2000). *Sizwe Elikantulo: Iqoqo Lezinganekwane (We Heard Lizard's Voice: a Collection of Folktales)*. Harare: College Press.
- Perry, B.E. (tr.) (1975). *Babrius and Phaedrus*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press and London: William Heinemann.
- Russell, B. (1960). *Power: A New Social Analysis*. London: Unwin Books.
- Scott, W.C. (1974). *The Oral Nature of the Homeric Simile*. Leiden: Brill.
- Strasburger, H. (1955). "Herodot und das Perekleische Athen." *Historia: Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte*, 4 (1), pp.1-25.

- Theal, G.M. (1901). *Records of South Eastern Africa. Printed for the Government of the Cape Colony* (Volumes II, III, IV and V). London: William Clowes and Sons Ltd.
- Van Dijk, G.J. (1997). *AINOI, AOFOI, MYΘOI: Fable in Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic Greek Literature, with a Study of the Terminology of the Genre*. Leiden: Brill.
- Van Waarden, C. (2012). *Butua and the End of an Era: the Effect of the Collapse of the Kalanga State on Ordinary Citizens: an Analysis of Behaviour under Stress*. Oxford: Cambridge Monographs in African Archaeology, BAR International Series 2420.
- _____. (1991). "The Kalanga state Butua." C. van Waarden (ed.), *Kalanga – Retrospect and Prospect*. Gaborone: The Botswana Society.
- _____. (1988). *The Oral History of the BaKalanga of Botswana*. Occasional Paper No.2. Gaborone: Botswana Society.
- Wei Zhang (2009). "The poet as educator in the *Works and Days*." *Classical Journal*, 105, pp.1-17.
- Wentzel, J.P. (1983a). *The Relationship between Venda and Western Shona (Vol.3)*, Pretoria: University of South Africa Press.
- _____. (tr.) (1983b). *Nau DzabaKalanga: a History of the Kalanga (Vol. 1.)* Pretoria: University of South Africa Press.
- West, M.L. (ed.) (1978). *Hesiod: Works and Days*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- www.ronanmagalong.blogspot.com "Tug of War: A Bantu Folktale of East Africa." <http://www.ronanmagalong.blogspot.com> (accessed 31 January 2014).
- Zeitlin, F.I. (1996). *Playing the Other: Gender and Society in Classical Greek Literature*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

**The Politics of Hermeneutics:
An Inquiry into the Pneumatological Conflicts
in the Multicultural Apostolic Faith Mission
in Zimbabwe**

PHILLEMONT CHAMBURUKA

Introduction

This paper seeks to explore the hermeneutical “politics” associated with pneumatological conceptions in the Apostolic Faith Mission (hereinafter abbreviated AFM) in Zimbabwe. Our main focus is to explore how AFM in Zimbabwe interpret the Pauline and Lucan pneumatological traditions on glossolalia. For purposes of clarity, we will delineate Pauline and Lucan pneumatological conceptions of glossolalia from a socio-historical perspective. Furthermore, we will critically analyze how the AFM in Zimbabwe interpret these selected Pauline and Lucan presentation of glossolalia. Moreover, we will highlight the effects of multiculturalism in the development of pneumatological traditions in the Early Church, and how the hermeneutical approach of the AFM in Zimbabwe can draw lessons from the pneumatological traditions trajectory in the Early Church.

Paul’s Conception of Glossolalia

Scholars have battled to ascertain the nature of tongues as portrayed by Paul in 1 Corinthians 12-14. Firstly, some scholars, who include Schrage¹ Dunn,² and Haenchen,³ argue that Paul understands tongues to be a language inspired by the Spirit and not a non-cognitive, non-language utterance. Schrage⁴ views it as “not simply incoherent babbling in the Spirit.” This argument is based on the notion that γλῶσσα (*glossa*) is the

¹W. Schrage, *The Ethics of the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982).

²J.G.D. Dunn, *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament* (London: SCM Press, 1986).

³E. Haenchen, *Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971).

⁴Op. cit., p.161.

normal term for human language, as evidenced by its use in Acts 2.⁵ Following this supposition, therefore, interpretation of tongues as proposed by Paul is essential. Garland⁶ argues that the phrase “tongues of men and of angels” in 13:1 can refer only to some kind of language. In 14: 21 Paul understands Isaiah 28: 11-12, with its reference to “other tongues” (foreign languages), to be analogous to the tongues experienced at Corinth. Tongues consist of words (λόγοι), which, though indecipherable, are not meaningless syllables strung together (1 Corinthians 14: 19).

Secondly, it can be argued alternatively that Paul understands those utterances to be addressed to God (14: 2, 14, 28) and not to humans (14: 2, 6, 9). Glossolalia in these verses is not a language of normal human discourse, but something mysterious and “other,” which may give it its appeal. It consists of “mysteries in the Spirit” that are unintelligible to humans (14: 2) and that benefit the speaker (14: 4).⁷ It communicates with God through prayer and praise (14: 15) in ways that analytical speech does not. Paul compares it to the indistinct sounds of a musical instrument that are garbled to the listener (14: 8). The phrase “if I came to you speaking in tongues” in 14: 6 recalls his description of his first preaching in Corinth (2: 1, “and when I came to you”); the implication is that, had he come speaking in tongues, he would have had no success as an apostle. This rules out the view that tongues here refers to the miraculous ability to speak in unlearned languages or the ability to speak in one’s native language.⁸ (Garland, 2003: 584). This pneumatological phenomenon is commonly referred to as ξενολαλία (*xenolalia*): the miraculous ability to speak in a real language that one has not learned.⁹

Corinth was a cosmopolitan seaport with a transient, multilingual population; and so, if Paul came speaking in tongues (in a non-Greek or non-Latin language), he surely would have been able to communicate with someone. Since he makes reference to foreign languages, loosely quoting Isaiah 28: 11-21, as an analogy to explain tongues in 1 Corinthians 14: 10-11, he must have considered glossolalia not to be identical with a

⁵E. Hiu, *Regulations Concerning Tongues and Prophecy in 1 Corinthians 14:26-40* (London: T and T Clark International, 2010), p.46.

⁶D.E. Garland, *1 Corinthians: Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2003), p.584.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid.

⁹E. Hyatt, *2000 Years of Charismatic Christianity: 20th Century Look at Church History from a Pentecostal/Charismatic Perspective* (Chocota: Hyatt International Ministries, 1996), p.149.

foreign language, but only something akin to it, as suggested by Dunn¹⁰ and Fee.¹¹ Esler¹² contends that it would have been odd for a first-century speaker of Greek to use γλῶσσα (*glossa*) in the sense of a language or dialect without it being modified by an adjective meaning “foreign.” Esler¹³ also notes that since the interpretation of tongues is something that can be prayed for (14: 13), it cannot refer to the ability to translate a foreign language, which is obtained through instruction and practice. Paul does not urge the Corinthians to use glossolalia as a help in evangelism but expects it to arise only in their assemblies. He himself uses the gift only in private (14: 18). Apparently, it offers no help to him in spreading the gospel.¹⁴ Best¹⁵ labels glossolalia as an “idiolect” (a language peculiar to one person), as opposed to a dialect, and Martin¹⁶ considers it as an “esoteric speech act.”

Thirdly, because of the reference to “the tongues of angels” in 13: 1, many think that glossolalia is something like angelic language. This view is supported by scholars who include Barrett,¹⁷ Dunn,¹⁸ Ellis,¹⁹ Fee,²⁰ Martin,²¹ Witherington,²² Collins²³ and Schrage.²⁴ The evidence that tongues were understood by the Corinthians as some kind of angelic speech

¹⁰J.G.D. Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit: A Study of the Religious and Charismatic Experience of Jesus and the First Christians as Reflected in the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1975), p.244.

¹¹G.D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians. New International Commentary on the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1987), p.598.

¹²P.F. Esler, *The First Christians in Their Social Worlds: Socio-Scientific Approaches to New Testament Interpretation* (London: Routledge, 1994), p.45.

¹³Op. cit.

¹⁴Garland, op. cit., p.585.

¹⁵E. Best, *The First and Second Epistles to the Thessalonians* (London: A. and C. Black, 1975), p.57.

¹⁶D.B. Martin, “Tongues of Angels and Other Status Indicators,” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 59 (1991), 548.

¹⁷C.K. Barrett, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (London: A. and C. Black, 1987), pp.299-300.

¹⁸Dunn, 1975, p.244.

¹⁹E.E. Ellis, *Prophecy and Hermeneutics in Early Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), pp.70-71.

²⁰Op. cit., pp.598-599.

²¹Op. cit., p.574.

²²B. Witherington, *Conflict and Community in Corinth: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary on 1 and 2 Corinthians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), p.258.

²³R.F. Collins, *First Corinthians* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1999), p.456.

²⁴Op. cit., p.159.

remains debatable, but if it was such, then speaking in tongues would be a sign of participation in higher spiritual realms (2 Cor 12: 4).²⁵

Fourthly, it may be noted that in glossolalia the rational mind is not yet engaged (1 Cor 14: 14), but that does not necessitate that this speech is irrational or that the person has lost control.²⁶ Garland²⁷ argues that Paul does not refer to the mental state of the speaker, and he does not use a Greek word that implies some ecstatic state or trance. Garland²⁸ (2003: 585) stresses that glossolalia is an expression of profound emotion from the deepest necessities of the soul that can be vocalized in prayer (14: 2, 14, 28), singing, praise and perhaps “sighs too deep for words” (Rom 8: 26). Paul says that a stranger who wandered into the assembly and found everyone speaking in tongues might think that they all were crazy, but that does not necessarily mean that all would have been in a frenzy.

Fifthly, speaking in tongues appears to have been a high-status indicator for the Corinthians. Martin²⁹ contends that in Corinth, glossolalia bestowed high status on the speaker, since “ecstatic speech seems almost always to be the property of leaders within the group.” Therefore, the problem with tongues was not only its unintelligibility but also its contribution to the conflict between those of higher and lower status in the Corinthian church. This social divide would have been intensified if glossolalia were also perceived as a sign of superior spirituality.³⁰ It is supposed that Paul also intended to encourage those who claimed higher status in the church (at Corinth) to act out of love and alter their behaviour for the sake of the members of lower status, so as to maintain unity.³¹

According to Mitchell,³² glossolalia comes last in 1 Corinthians 12: 28, and appears in no other list outside of 1 Corinthians, because, it is “the spiritual gift which has caused the most friction in the group, due to its public and separatist nature.” However, Fee³³ rejects this supposition and argues that tongues is listed last only because it is at the heart of Paul’s argument and the Corinthian problem. We concur with Fee’s³⁴ conclusion that “it is listed last not because it is ‘least’ but because it is the problem.”

²⁵Garland, op. cit., p.585.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Op. cit., pp.547-550.

³⁰Op. cit., p.586.

³¹Op. cit., p.579.

³²M.M. Mitchell, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation: An Exegetical Investigation into the Language and Composition of 1 Corinthians* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1993), p.270.

³³Op. cit., p.572.

³⁴Fee, 1987.

In Chapter 14, Paul gives specific instructions correcting the problem of too many tongues being spoken at one time and left uninterpreted; and he notes that they also disrupt unity of the body because they erect linguistic barriers. Moreover, those in the community who prized tongues had also sown seeds of division by exalting their gift as the all-important manifestation of the Spirit.³⁵

From the above discussion we observe that: (i) the Spirit is sovereign in distributing spiritual gifts; (ii) the credit for these gifts belongs solely to the Spirit – Christians do not possess anything that they are not given; (iii) no single person has all these gifts, and no gift makes one more spiritual than another; (iv) the Spirit works in every Christian in the community; and (v) the Spirit ensures that there will be a diversity of gifts – different gifts but one body (1 Corinthians 12: 12-14).

The Lucan Conception of Glossolalia

According to Luke, glossolalia first appeared in the Christian church at Pentecost, after the apostles and those associated with them became convinced, after much thinking and prayer (Acts 1: 24), that the risen Jesus was God's Anointed (Acts 2: 36), that the messianic age had begun (Acts 2: 29-33), and that they were the people of the new creation inheriting all the promises made to the people of the old covenant (Acts 2: 16-17; 3: 25).³⁶ *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* asserts that glossolalia seems to have been the sure, to many perhaps the surest, evidence of the Spirit's indwelling.³⁷ However, Bruce³⁸ stresses that glossolalia or any other ecstatic utterance is no evidence of the presence of the Holy Spirit, because in apostolic times it was necessary to provide criteria for deciding whether such utterances were of God or not, just as it had been in Old Testament times. For instance, Paul laid down, as a simple but infallible test, the witness which such an utterance bears to Jesus: "no one can say 'Jesus is Lord' except by the Holy Spirit" (1 Cor.12: 3). A few decades later, the Johannine community insisted on a more explicit test: "every spirit which confesses that Jesus Christ has come in flesh is of God" (1 John 4:2).³⁹

³⁵Garland, op. cit., p.600.

³⁶G.A. Buttrick, J. Knox and H.G. May, *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1962), p.671.

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸F.F. Bruce, *The Book of Acts. New International Commentary on the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), p.52.

³⁹Ibid., p.53.

Baptism in the Spirit

Keener⁴⁰ (1997: 195) asserts that Peter's speech in Acts 2: 14-40 clearly connects baptism in the Spirit with prophetic witness and the present of God's future reign. Luke accomplishes this purpose by having Peter respond to the first remark of the crowd, arguing that the manifestation of the inspired speech (glossolalia) proves that God's people have been anointed as prophets (2: 17-18), and this anointing is evidence that the time of Israel's salvation has come (2: 19-20), and they can therefore be saved by calling on the Lord's name (2: 21). Menzies⁴¹ stresses that it is often asserted that the collocation of repentance, baptism, and the promise of the Spirit in Acts 2: 38 demonstrates that Luke, like Paul and John, viewed reception of the Spirit as a necessary element in Christian initiation. Haenchen⁴² argues that in most instances Luke maintains a tradition that water baptism is accompanied by baptism in the Spirit, and that the few cases in Acts 8: 16 and 19: 2-6 when the reception of the Spirit is separated from baptism are just exceptions.

However, Dunn,⁴³ Haenchen,⁴⁴ and Menzies⁴⁵ have seen a lack of consistency in the Lucan portrayal of the conversion of the Samaritans (Acts 8: 4-25) and Ephesians (Acts 19: 2-6) in the light of baptism in the Spirit. In Acts 8: 4-25 Luke narrates that Philip preached to the Samaritans and they were converted to Christianity and were subsequently baptized (water baptism) but they received the Spirit only when Peter and John laid hands upon them (8: 14-17). Likewise Apollos in Acts 18: 24-19: 7 was instrumental in converting the Ephesians, but Luke complicates the narrative by saying that Apollos was only acquainted with the baptism of John the Baptist (18: 25). Luke says that Apollos was introduced to Christian baptism by Priscilla and Aquila (Acts 18: 26). Again, the Ephesians did not receive the Spirit until the arrival of Paul, who after teaching them about the Spirit laid hands upon them, whereupon they received the Holy Spirit and spoke in tongues and prophesied (Acts 19: 6).

⁴⁰C.S. Keener, *The Spirit in the Gospels and Acts: Divine Purity and Power* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 1997), p.195.

⁴¹R.P. Menzies, "The Development of Early Christian Pneumatology with Special Reference to Luke-Acts," *Journal for the Study of the New Testament. Supplement Series 54* (1991), 246.

⁴²Op. cit. p.184.

⁴³J.G.D. Dunn, *Baptism in the Spirit: A Re-Examination of the New Testament Teaching on the Gift of the Spirit in Relation to Pentecostalism Today* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1970).

⁴⁴Op. cit.

⁴⁵Op. cit.

Dunn⁴⁶ raises two critical questions: i) Why was the Spirit not yet received through Philip's ministry? ii) Why was the promise of Acts 2: 38 not fulfilled when its conditions seem to have been met? Dunn⁴⁷ dismisses the option that Luke is obsessed by the theory that the Spirit could be conferred only through the laying on of apostolic hands. He contends:

How absurd that Luke should go to such lengths to demonstrate that the Spirit is given only through apostles, then immediately go on to relate the conversion and water-baptism of the Ethiopian eunuch by the same unqualified Philip! Or does he mean us to believe that the Ethiopian never received the Spirit? Paul certainly was not "confirmed" by the apostles (because Ananias was not an apostle) (Acts 9: 18). For it means that any Christian may be commissioned by God as an apostle for some particular task; and since this joins the distinctive essence of apostolicity to apostolic work rather than persons, it means that all who are sent by God to do apostolic work are apostles.

Dunn⁴⁸ rightly observes that Luke interrupts the narrative of Philip's missionary work with the story of Simon Magus and the arrival of Peter and John (Acts 8: 4-8, 12-13, and 14-25) in such a way that it lacks literary integrity. The disappearance of Philip from the story in v. 13 is certainly striking, as well as the delay between water-baptism and baptism in the Spirit. According to Käsemann⁴⁹ this could have been part of Luke's tendentious ploy of suppressing certain characters for theological reasons. In this case, it seems he is portraying Philip's baptism as incomplete, and that for him the Spirit is accessible solely within the boundaries of the apostolic fellowship. The above analysis also applies to the Apollos' case. We therefore concur with Menzies' assertion⁵⁰ that the separation of the baptism of in the Spirit and the rite of water-baptism in Acts 8: 4ff does not represent historically reliable tradition; rather, the problematic text is the result of Luke's modification of his source material.

Dunn⁵¹ asserts that the conversion of Paul (Acts 9: 1-19) is a favourite passage among Pentecostals. Of interest is the contention that Paul was converted on the road to Damascus and three days later he was baptized

⁴⁶Dunn (1970), p.58.

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸Ibid., p.60.

⁴⁹E. Käsemann, *Essays on New Testament Themes* (London: SCM Press, 1969), p.146.

⁵⁰Op. cit., p.248.

⁵¹Dunn (1970), p.73.

in the Spirit. However, we encounter problems with verses 17 to 18 which do not account for the spirit-baptism of Paul as in other instances in Acts. In this story Luke does not specify that Paul received the Holy Spirit and experienced glossolalia. Dunn⁵² further argues that fundamentalists point out that in Acts 9: 17-18 the scriptures are completely silent as to any speaking in tongues by Paul. Acts 9: 17-18 implies that glossolalia is not the sole evidence which proves that one has been baptized in the Spirit. Paul affirms this conception in 1 Corinthians 12: 10-11 where he classifies glossolalia as one of the gifts of the Spirit. Therefore, a blanket statement that baptism in the Spirit should be characterized by glossolalia is rather confessional and not factual. However, we do not doubt that Paul had a gift of glossolalia, because in 1 Corinthians 14: 18, Paul stresses that he spoke in tongues more than all the Corinthian Christians. It is most probable that he received the gift of glossolalia at a later stage after his water-baptism.

Conception of Glossolalia in AFM in Zimbabwe

Murefu⁵³ asserts that AFM strictly adheres to the pneumatological conception that “speaking in tongues is the initial physical evidence that a person has received the baptism in the Spirit.” Machingura⁵⁴ contends that this doctrine is drawn from Parham, who formulated the basic Pentecostal doctrine of glossolalia as an “initial evidence” of baptism in the Spirit, as attested in Acts 2:1-13 on the day of Pentecost when all those who were present in the upper room spoke in tongues. Madziyire and Risinamhodzi⁵⁵ further reiterate that one of the key qualifications for one to be a leader in AFM is that he or she “must be baptized in the Holy Spirit and be able to speak in tongues because the AFM is a Holy Spirit driven church.”

At the AFM centennial celebration which took place in Chatsworth, Masvingo Province, from 26-29 August 2015, the AFM in Zimbabwe Secretary General, Rev A D Madawo, preached on the theme of Baptism in the Spirit (his Bible reading came from Acts 2:1-10). In his sermon he claimed that you could not be a Pentecostal if you did not speak in

⁵²Ibid., p.74.

⁵³T.I. Murefu, *A History of the Apostolic Faith Mission in Zimbabwe: Let the Fire of God Fall Again, A Centennial Edition, 1915-2015* (Harare: AFM Publications, 2015), p.20.

⁵⁴F. Machingura, “A Contextual Analysis of Acts 2:1-13 and the Implications in the Apostolic Faith Mission in Zimbabwe (AFM),” *Bible in Africa Studies (BiAS)* 4 (2011), 63-78.

⁵⁵A. Madziyire and T. Risinamhodzi, *Pentecostal Dawn in Zimbabwe: Tenets of AFM* (Harare: The Brand Guy and Associates, 2015), pp.149-150.

tongues. He stressed that in the old AFM tradition one could not be a church usher or a leader, let alone a pastor in AFM, without proving that one could speak in tongues. He asserted: “*Une nhamo kana uripasi pemuvhangeri kana pastor asingatauri nendimi* (You are in trouble if you are under an evangelist or pastor who does not speak in tongues).” He argued that pastors who did not speak in tongues were fraudulently enrolled in ministry, because it was against AFM tradition and doctrine.⁵⁶ When he was concluding his sermon, he asked those who did not speak in tongues and wanted to receive this precious gift to stand up. I was amazed to observe that more than half of the multitude present stood up following the call by the preacher. They were eager to be baptized in the Spirit. This proportion of non-tongue-speakers calls for a critical analysis of the conception of glossolalia in AFM. We have to ascertain the consequences of their hermeneutical approach towards pneumatological passages.

Many AFM adherents whom I interviewed asserted that glossolalia was the identity of AFM, and it appears glossolalia was synonymous with the Holy Spirit. However, it was evident that some adherents of AFM did not speak in tongues. Some pastors and members who were interviewed contended that many members tended to fake the tongues in order to be elected into leadership posts, or to save themselves from the embarrassment and shame of being labelled as unspiritual or unholy, and in worse cases castigated as sinners. It is interesting to note that two-thirds of those who were interviewed agreed that those who did not speak in tongues had the Holy Spirit in them. However, different responses were given on why people did not speak in tongues. One pastor argued that some people had received the Holy Spirit but they were not yet baptized in the Spirit. He claimed that those who had received the Holy Spirit did not speak in tongues, but those who were baptized in Spirit were the ones who spoke in tongues.⁵⁷

Following the above conceptions we can infer that most of the AFM members tend to subscribe to a pneumatological conception based on an interpretation of Luke whereby everyone who received the Holy Spirit in the Acts of the Apostles was able to speak in tongues. Moreover, they prescribed that all members should adhere to this pneumatological conception to the letter, citing verses such as Acts 2: 4, 8: 17ff, 10: 44-46, 19: 6. Anyone who did not speak in tongues was either encouraged to do so through what were commonly referred to as Holy Spirit sessions, conducted in most AFM assemblies in Zimbabwe. These sessions usually take place at night at the usual church building or sanctuary, in house churches

⁵⁶A.D. Madawo, Sermon: “Baptism in the Holy Spirit” (Chatsworth, Masvingo, August 28, 2015).

⁵⁷Interview, Bindura (October 2, 2015).

or in mountainous areas. According to some interviewees, members were urged to fast and pray for the gift of glossolalia, and in some cases a pastor would lay hands on members. One member who claimed anonymity stressed that in some cases during these Holy Spirit night vigils you were asked to open your mouth and just utter words as the Spirit led.⁵⁸

According to Hwata, the Holy Spirit sessions in AFM in Zimbabwe are also called “tarrying services” where people are baptized in the Holy Spirit and speak in tongues. Up to the early eighties, even at conferences, these were common features. Such tarrying services had results. People were “baptized by the Holy Spirit” and they spoke in other tongues.⁵⁹ However, Hwata⁶⁰ observes that:

Any such services today will be marred by ‘slayings in the spirit’; where people who come to receive the Holy Spirit, fall when they are prayed for and they go back without experiencing much. This ‘new’ experiential phenomena of falling under the anointing has become very prevalent and is being taken as a norm of the demonstration of God’s power. Unfortunately nothing else happens besides falling in most cases. This practice though gaining momentum in AFM in Zimbabwe, has no biblical parallels and has got no spiritual value. It calls for a spirit of discernment to discover the source of such power. It is sad to say most adherents like miracles; they like signs and wonders; hence many have been led astray by people who claim enablement when it is otherwise.

We concur with Hwata⁶¹ that the concept of “slaying in the spirit” is controversial and has no clear biblical evidence or parallels. We observe that the younger generation is obsessed with this approach, because they claim that it is a sign of demonstration of power of the Holy Spirit (1 Corinthians 2: 4). People who are said to have been slain in by the Spirit show no signs of spiritual renewal or transformation. Some fall uncontrollably, and others appear to be ecstatic. The question which has been raised concerns the source of power which is used to slay people. Some interviewees alleged that most pastors and evangelists who used this method used satanic powers to manipulate the masses.⁶² This allegation has

⁵⁸Interview, Watsomba (April 26 2014).

⁵⁹D. Hwata, “An Investigation of Different Phases of Pentecostal Experience in the Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM),” Master of Theology Dissertation (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 2005), p.112.

⁶⁰Ibid., pp.112-113.

⁶¹Ibid., p.113.

⁶²Interview, Bulawayo (March 16, 2016).

been exacerbated by a Ghanaian fetish priest Nana Kwaku Bonsam who claims that over 1 700 pastors and “men of God” from different parts of Africa have approached him for powers to perform miracles.⁶³ he talk about pastors and prophets who are using magic or fetishes from the underworld and other non-Christian sources of power has left many Christians puzzled and doubting most forms of miracles. However, some pastors argue that those who despise the approach do not have the power of the Holy Spirit; hence, they should either pray or fast to be endowed with such powers. Our observation is that the approach is not unanimously accepted in AFM in Zimbabwe. Some are skeptical because the phenomena are not biblical, whereas others argue that you cannot limit the works of the Holy Spirit. As a matter of fact, we have noted that the link between slaying in spirit and glossolalia is rather accidental than universal.

An interviewee⁶⁴ claimed that Prophetess Gogo (Granny) Murape helped her to speak in tongues. She testified that she fasted for forty days before she could receive the gift of speaking in tongues. She asserted that before she took the fast she had visited Prophetess Murape, who asked her: “*Munotaura nendimi here idzo dzakazara kudai?* (Do you speak in those tongues that are so abundantly available?)” The same interviewee asserted that a day after forty days of fasting, she visited Prophetess Murape, who said to her, “*Zvekutsanya zvapera* (Fasting is over),” and prayed for her and prophesied that at six o’clock in the evening God would speak with her. The interviewee attested that from six o’clock that evening she started speaking in tongues continuously for a week. This testimony and many others support the view that glossolalia is a charismatic gift which is cherished and experienced by some Christians in the AFM.

However, the debate whether glossolalia is real is not part of our study. We are more concerned by the fact that AFM consider this phenomenon to be a *sine qua non* for baptism in the Spirit, and that the gift is compulsory for all members of the church. It is imperative to note that this pneumatological conception tends to overshadow the AFM conception of glossolalia. C. Murefu⁶⁵ expressed a concise theological position that tongues were not the Holy Spirit but were only evidence of baptism in the Spirit. However, C. Murefu’s assertion is not universally understood in AFM Zimbabwe because many adherents, including pastors, enthusiastically claim that glossolalia is synonymous with the Holy Spirit.

⁶³I. Mushekwe, “Pastor alleges Prophets Makandiwa and Angel received ritual charms,” Nehanda Radio (2013). <http://nehandaradio.com/2013/07/01/pastor-all-eges-prophets-makandiwa-and-angel-received-ritual-charms/>.

⁶⁴Interview in Harare (September 24, 2015).

⁶⁵C. Murefu, *Biblical Foundation for Believers* (Harare: Faith Printers, 2001), p.14.

Be as it may, we have to ascertain whether this pneumatological tradition was universally practiced in the Early Church (30 AD to 90 AD). To answer this question, we have to briefly refer to our previous discussion on other key pneumatological traditions in the New Testament, that is, the Pauline and Lucan traditions. We observed that the Pauline pneumatological tradition on glossolalia is explored in 1 Corinthians 12-14. However, it is important to note that, this pneumatological tradition is older than the Lucan account (Acts 2: 1-13) from a socio-historical perspective. Pauline pneumatology can be dated to around 55 AD when Paul wrote his letter to the Corinthian church, and the Lucan account can be traced to the time when the gospel of Luke-Acts was written, between 85 and 100 AD. However, a conservative hermeneutical approach tends to date the Lucan pneumatological tradition to a period earlier than the Pauline letters on the grounds that they consider Luke to be a historian who chronicled the history of the Early Church. This position has been disputed by many scholars, who include Fuller.⁶⁶

Machingura⁶⁷ asserts that:

...there seems to be no distinction in AFM between the Holy Spirit and speaking in tongues as *glossolalia* is sometimes taken as evidence that the Holy Spirit has come which finds biblical support in Acts. This position is exacerbated by Luke in Acts that whenever there is mentioning of the Holy Spirit; it is accompanied by speaking in tongues. Glossolalia is equated with the Holy Spirit; a position that is also assumed in Acts 1:8, 2:4, 8:17, 9:17, 10:44, 19:6.

In Acts 19:1-6 Paul found some disciples at Ephesus who had been converted to Christianity by Apollos but had not received the Holy Spirit. They knew nothing about the Holy Spirit and had been baptized in the baptism of John (the Baptist). Verse 6 states that Paul laid hands upon them and they received the Holy Spirit and spoke in tongues. This is the key verse which is cited by many Pentecostals, including adherents of AFM in Zimbabwe, that receiving Christ alone without being baptized in the Spirit (being able to speak in tongues) is inadequate for a believer. One AFM member who claimed anonymity argued that Christians who did not speak in tongues lacked faith and needed a second touch of the

⁶⁶R.H. Fuller, *A Critical Introduction to the New Testament* (London: Duckworth, 1979), p.129.

⁶⁷Op. cit., p.63.

Holy Spirit for them to speak in tongues like what was witnessed by the Ephesians in Acts 19:6.⁶⁸

Yet the Pauline conception is also evident in the AFM-in-Zimbabwe's conception of glossolalia, as attested by a cross-section of members who argued that glossolalia was but one of the spiritual gifts that were discussed by Paul in 1 Corinthians 12-14. On the basis of 1 Corinthians 14: 27-28, some members and pastors argued that glossolalia must be interpreted in church. For instance, an interviewee⁶⁹ asserted that if tongues were not interpreted in church they became irrelevant and meaningless. Another interviewee⁷⁰ stressed that tongues must be interpreted for the benefit of other members in the congregation. However, C. Murefu⁷¹ contends that "tongues as a gift needs interpretation, but tongues as evidence of baptism in the Spirit need no interpretation." His assertion seemingly attempts to streamline Pauline and Lucan conceptions of glossolalia. However, the problem is that not every member is able to come up with such a distinction. Some members who were interviewed claimed that glossolalia confused evil powers, quoting 1 Corinthians 14: 2.

This conception was also attested by Rev Madawo⁷² in his sermon (cited earlier on) at the AFM centennial celebrations in Chatsworth, when he said, "No demon will interfere when I pray in tongues." Rev Madawo cited 1 Corinthians 14: 2 which says: "For one who speaks in a tongue speaks not to man but to God; for no one understands him, but he utters mysteries in the Spirit." It may be noted that Machingura⁷³ asserts that the belief that when one prays in tongues one confuses the devil is shared by many Pentecostals. Another verse which is used to support this ideology is 1 Corinthians 13: 1 which says: "If I speak in tongues of men and of angels..." The assumption is that glossolalia is in a way a language of angels, hence the devil cannot comprehend it because he is a fallen angel. This premise has been used as one of the key reasons why everyone in the church should speak in tongues, because those who pray in earthly languages may have their prayers intercepted by the devil.

However, this presupposition appears to be assumptive, and not in line with the *Sitz im Leben* (life-setting) of Paul's message. It is important to note that in 1 Corinthians 14: 2, Paul is not necessarily referring to glossolalia as a mystery for the devil, but for those who do not speak in tongues or even those who do not understand the glossolalic utterance, even

⁶⁸Interview, Bulawayo (March 16, 2016).

⁶⁹Interview, Harare (May 17, 2015).

⁷⁰Interview, Bulawayo (September 21, 2014).

⁷¹Murefu (2001), p.14.

⁷²Madawo, *Sermon* (2015).

⁷³Machingura, op. cit., p.63.

though they themselves may speak in tongues. If the devil diverts or intercepts prayers, whether in glossolalic form or not, this defeats the Christian understanding of God, that He is sovereign, immanent, omniscient, and transcendent.⁷⁴

This ideology appears to be drawn from an interpretation of the apocalyptic message of Daniel 10: 12-13 which is interpreted literally by most Pentecostals, including some conservative AFM members. On the basis of Daniel 10: 12-13 some AFM members assert that prayers uttered outside glossolalia have a potential to be intercepted by the devil, like what in their view happened to the angel that was sent with a reply to the prayers of Daniel, but was withstood for 21 days by the prince of Persia and was only released with the assistance of the angel Michael (Daniel 10: 12-13). It is imperative to note that Daniel's message is apocalyptically oriented and should be interpreted within the context of apocalyptic, that is coded, language, which needs to be decoded and not interpreted literally. I note the warning of someone I interviewed⁷⁵ who asserted that the approach of linking different genres which were not compatible (apocalypse and epistolary genre) was tantamount to eisegesis and was prone to syncretistic tendencies.

Many AFM adherents testified that most glossolalic utterances are not interpreted in church services. Ninety-eight percent of interviewees attested that there were no instances when glossolalia was interpreted in worship services. An interviewee⁷⁶ argued that the emphasis in AFM has been more on glossolalia as an evidence of baptism in the Spirit. Over and above that, we also noticed that some preachers would burst into tongues in the middle of a sermon. We question the purpose of speaking in tongues in a sermon, because Paul says: "I thank God that I speak in tongues more than you all; nevertheless, in church I would rather speak five words with my mind, in order to instruct others, than ten thousand words in a tongue" (1 Corinthians 14: 18-19). Paul is very clear in 1 Corinthians 14: 1 that tongues edify the individual and that, if there is no interpreter, one must keep quiet (vv. 27-28). It appears that these preachers who spice up their preaching with glossolalic utterance are obsessed with demonstrating that they are filled by the Spirit; but such an art defies the general rules of homiletics which lay emphasis on being intelligible at all costs when preaching. Not all people present at a sermon are able to understand glossolalia. Yet this practice is rampant among young pastors.

⁷⁴J. Macquarrie, *Principles of Christian Theology* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1977), p.203.

⁷⁵Interview, Harare (November 24, 2016).

⁷⁶Interview, Honde Valley (July 25, 2015).

Machingura⁷⁷ also made an interesting observation that some glossolalic experiences may be linked to African traditional practices associated with spirit possession (*kusvikirwa*). This process is linked with dance, followed by ecstatic utterances which are similar to glossolalia. A careful observation on most of the glossolalic experiences in AFM in Zimbabwe show that they take place after powerful singing or praise and worship sessions. This may explain why there is a strong emphasis on prayerful praise and worship teams which are backed by powerful public address systems. It is assumed that the Holy Spirit will not manifest if powerful music is not involved. An interviewee⁷⁸ says: “*Mweya hausviki kana musina kuimba zvinesimba* (The Holy Spirit does not arrive if you have not sung powerfully).” We have observed that the concept of linking the manifestation of the Holy Spirit and powerful singing is dominant among many AFM adherents. Therefore, we cannot rule out the possibility of an assimilation or adaptation of African tradition associated with spirit possession and ancestral worship. During the inculturation process, members may be either conscious or unconscious of cross-cultural borrowing.

Madziyire and Risinamhodzi⁷⁹ give two criteria for evaluating tongue-speaking. Firstly, they argue that if you find yourself having to think about what sounds or words you will speak next, that is a good indication that you are not truly speaking in tongues. Secondly, if you speak in tongues while living a sinful life, you have to review whether you are truly baptized with the Holy Spirit.⁸⁰ These two criteria are controversial.

For instance, the first criterion opens a can of worms, because it is evident that many Pentecostals, including AFM Zimbabwe, think about the words and/or sounds that they speak during glossolalic utterance. Some even joke in tongues, and others teach others the meaning of glossolalic utterances. Hence, glossolalia is subject to various abuses. Moreover, as we listen to various samples of glossolalic utterances, they tend to follow a common pattern, style and art. Some glossolalic utterances are common because they are routinely used in prayers, sermons, jokes and dramas. Since some Pentecostal churches teach or instruct members to speak in tongues; therefore, it is evident that the glossolalic tutor (one who teaches candidates to speak in tongues) and the students or candidates of glossolalic utterance know the glossolalic sounds and choose which

⁷⁷F. Machingura, “The Shona Concept of Spirit Possession (*Kusvikirwa*) and the Pentecostal Phenomenon of Getting into the Spirit (*Kupinda Mumweya*),” *Hope’s Reason, A Journal of Apologetics* (2010), 85.

⁷⁸Interview, Zimbabwe (July 2, 2014).

⁷⁹Op. cit., p.154.

⁸⁰Ibid., p.155.

“words” to use. Therefore, there is a sense in which glossolalic utterances are programmed, rehearsed and at times dramatized.

If the second criterion is to be applied in spirit and letter, then a large percentage of what we have coined glossolalia in the AFM in Zimbabwe could be classified as fake. Regarding this second criterion, we encounter serious pneumatological challenges. This point was reinforced by the president of AFM International, Rev. F. Chikane⁸¹ (2015) in his sermon at the centennial celebrations of AFM Zimbabwe in Chatsworth. He lamented how careless some Pentecostals are in their pneumatological conceptions. Rev. Chikane bemoaned how Christians were made to eat snakes, rats, human hair and grass in the name of God. He chronicled an incident which happened in 1979 at an AFM conference, where someone spoke in tongues and another interpreted. The interpreter said that the tongues meant, “God is going to punish those terrorists in Rhodesia.” The interpreter believed what he had said. Little did he know that Zimbabwe was going to gain independence the following year. In essence, this was a false prophecy, if indeed it was prophecy at all. Rev Chikane reiterated that the biggest pitfall among Pentecostals was that they talked more about charismatic manifestations such as glossolalia at the expense of emphasizing the fruits of the Spirit. He stressed that it was meaningless to speak in tongues when you were in sin. The climax of his sermon was: “The most dangerous Christians are those who claim to be in the Spirit [speak in tongues] but live outside the Spirit [failing to have the fruit of the Spirit].” The message of Rev Chikane is very much to the point, because many people covet to speak in tongues, but they live a sinful life. Moreover, the AFM appears to have over-emphasized glossolalia at the expense of the core essence of the fruits of the Spirit which are summarized by Paul in Galatians 5: 22: love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness and self-control.

An honest application of this criterion would disqualify many church members, pastors, prophets, prophetesses, apostles and teachers, because many are struggling morally and living in sin. Cases of fraud, fornication and adultery, rape, murder, corruption and alleged vote rigging are common nowadays among Christians who claim to be baptized by the Spirit. For instance, a *NewsDay* journalist⁸² reported that an AFM Harare pastor, Oliver Makomo, attached to an assembly at Springvale, Ruwa Assembly, was charged with five counts of rape by Magistrate Tendai Mahwe. He was accused of raping a 22-year-old congregant. Glossolalia should be a

⁸¹F. Chikane Sermon: “The Fruits of the Spirit” (Chatsworth, Masvingo, August 28, 2015).

⁸²M. Taruvinga, *News Day* (February 26, 2016).

spiritual gift in practice associated with holiness. The separation of the two becomes a challenge for the church.

Conclusion

It is important to note that some the AFM adherents argue that their leaders have a selective and merely sectarian hermeneutical conception which ignores pneumatological diversity in the New Testament.

This article finally remarks that we have politics of pneumatological hermeneutics in the AFM in Zimbabwe, and this has resulted in numerous conflicts and schisms in the name of spiritual gifts. Churches have sprouted from the AFM include, but not are limited to, Johanne Marange, Johanne Masowe, African Apostolic Faith Mission, Elijah Mugodhi, Zimbabwe Assemblies of God Africa, the Apostolic Faith Church, Old Apostolic Faith Church, Awake Grace Ministries, the Apostolic Flame Ministries, the United Family International Church and Heartfelt International Ministries. Most Pentecostal churches adhere to the plenary verbal inspiration of the Bible and reject or are ignorant of the findings of the historical-critical method which is one of the hermeneutical tools born out of the Enlightenment era, which emphasizes the need to consider the intentions of the author and the *Sitz im Leben* (situation in life) of the text.

References

- Barrett, C.K. (1987). *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*. London: A. and C. Black.
- Best, E. (1975). *The First and Second Epistles to the Thessalonians*. London: A. and C. Black.
- Bruce, F.F. (1988). *The Book of Acts. New International Commentary on the New Testament*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Buttrick, G.A., Knox, J. and May, H.G. (1962). *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*. Nashville: Abingdon.
- Collins, R.F. (1999). *First Corinthians*. Collegeville: Liturgical Press.
- Dunn, J.G.D. (1986). *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament*. London: SCM Press.
- _____. (1975). *Jesus and the Spirit: A Study of the Religious and Charismatic Experience of Jesus and the First Christians as Reflected in the New Testament*. Philadelphia: Westminster.
- _____. (1970). *Baptism in the Spirit: A Re-Examination of the New Testament Teaching on the Gift of the Spirit in Relation to Pentecostalism Today*. Philadelphia: Westminster.
- Ellis, E.E. (1978). *Prophecy and Hermeneutics in Early Christianity*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

- Esler, P.F. (1994). *The First Christians in Their Social Worlds: Socio-Scientific Approaches to New Testament Interpretation*. London: Routledge.
- Fee, G.D. (1987). *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*. *New International Commentary on the New Testament*. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans.
- Fuller, R.H. (1979). *A Critical Introduction to the New Testament*. London: Duckworth.
- Garland, D.E. (2003). *1 Corinthians: Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic.
- Haenchen, E. (1971). *Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Hui, E. (2010). *Regulations Concerning Tongues and Prophecy in 1 Corinthians 14:26-40*. London: T and T Clark International.
- Hwata, D. (2005). "An Investigation of Different Phases of Pentecostal Experience in the Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM)." Master of Theology thesis. Pretoria: University of South Africa.
- Hyatt, E. (1996). *2000 Years of Charismatic Christianity: 20th century Look at Church History from a Pentecostal/Charismatic Perspective*. Chocota: Hyatt International Ministries.
- Käsemann, E. (1969). *Essays on New Testament Themes*. London: SCM Press.
- Keener, C.S. (1997). *The Spirit in the Gospels and Acts: Divine Purity and Power*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic.
- Machingura, F. (2011). "A Contextual Analysis of Acts 2:1-13 and the Implications in the Apostolic Faith Mission in Zimbabwe (AFM)." *Bible in Africa Studies (BiAS)*, 4, pp.63-78.
- (2010). "The Shona Concept of Spirit Possession (*Kusvikirwa*) and the Pentecostal Phenomenon of Getting into the Spirit (*Kupinda Mumweya*)." *Hope's Reason, A Journal of Apologetics*, pp.85-101.
- Macquarrie, J. (1977). *Principles of Christian Theology*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Madziyire, A. and Risinamhodzi, T. (2015). *Pentecostal Dawn in Zimbabwe: Tenets of AFM*. Harare: The Brand Guy and Associates.
- Martin, D. B. (1991). "Tongues of Angels and Other Status Indicators." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 59, pp.547-89.
- Menzies, R.P. (1991). "The Development of Early Christian Pneumatology with Special Reference to Luke-Acts." *Journal for the Study of the New Testament. Supplement Series 54*.
- Mitchell, M.M. (1993). *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation: An Exegetical Investigation into the Language and Composition of 1 Corinthians*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press.
- Murefu, C. (2001). *Biblical Foundation for Believers*. Harare: Faith Printers.

- Murefu, T.I. (2015). *A History of the Apostolic Faith Mission in Zimbabwe: Let the Fire of God Fall Again, A Centennial Edition, 1915-2015*. Harare: AFM Publications.
- Mushekwe, I. (2013). "Pastor alleges Prophets Makandiwa and Angel received ritual charms."
- Nehanda Radio. <http://nehandaradio.com/2013/07/01/pastor-alleges-prop-hets-makandiwa-and-angel-received-ritual-charms/> (accessed 13 October 2015).
- Schrage, W. (1982). *The Ethics of the New Testament*. Philadelphia: Fortress.
- Taruvunga, M. (2016). *NewsDay*, 26 February 2016.
- Witherington, B. (1995). *Conflict and Community in Corinth: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary on 1 and 2 Corinthians*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Sermons

- Chikane F. (2015). Sermon: "The Fruits of the Spirit," Chatsworth, Masvingo, 28 August 2015.
- Madawo, A.D. (2015). Sermon: "Baptism in the Holy Spirit," Chatsworth, Masvingo, 28 August 2015.

Interviews

(This list includes people interviewed who are not quoted directly in the paper.)

- Interview, Chitungwiza, 2 April 2014.
- Interview, Watsomba, 26 April 2014.
- Interview, Harare, 16 May 2014.
- Interview, Zimbabwe, 2 July, 2014.
- Interview, Matopos, 18 August 2014.
- Interview, Masvingo, 16 August 2014.
- Interview, Bulawayo, 21 September 2014.
- Interview, Harare, 12 October 2014.
- Interview, Harare, 17 May 2015.
- Interview, Honde Valley, 25 July 2015.
- Interview, Mutare, 26 July 2015.
- Interview, Murehwa, 23 August 2015.
- Interview, Harare, 24 September 2015.
- Interview, Bindura, 2 October, 2015.
- Interview, Bulawayo, 16 March 2016.
- Interview, Chitungwiza, 27 April 2016.
- Interview, Harare, 27 October 2016.
- Interview, Harare, 24 November 2016.

11.

Multiculturalism and Education in Zimbabwe

CLIVE TENDAI ZIMUNYA & CHIPO MARBLE HATENDI

Introduction

In 2016 the government of Zimbabwe, through the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education affirmed the introduction of Islam and other non-Christian religions into school syllabi. The move was rumoured to be influenced by Islamic followers in the country who wanted to fund the construction of public schools on condition that Islamic teachings were introduced as part of the curriculum at secondary and primary school level. There was public outcry from parents across Zimbabwe on what they feared to be the Islamisation of education in Zimbabwe. There was a video that even circulated on social media of a girl who had a demonic manifestation, with the demon claiming to be the Minister of Primary and Secondary Education, Lazarus Dokora.¹ Such an outcry came from the fact that most people do not understand what Islam is all about. Images from the media that portray Islam a typical extremist religion that promotes suicidal and violent tendencies among human beings in general, and specifically the youth, quickly came into parents' minds. From this wrong perception of Islam, the parents felt they did not want their children to end up as extremist suicide bombers or plane hijackers.

The Pentecostal movements in Zimbabwe did not make things any easier, describing the move as demonic and a derailment from the Christian faith, to which most Zimbabweans, especially those in influential or decision-making positions, belong. It is against this background that we examine and explore the objectives of education as well as the challenges, real and perceived, that the inclusion of Islam offers to the education system. The paper adopts a qualitative research methodology. Through literature analysis we defend the thesis that since Zimbabwe is a multi-cultural nation with religious and cultural diversity, the inclusion of Islam in public schools should not cause any alarm.

It is our focus in this paper to analyse, in the first place, what it means for a person to be educated, and to find the place of religion in education and to determine if religion should be an end in the education of a person. If we put it in the form of a question: Is religion a necessary part of education? If so, which religion(s) should the education curriculum include

¹Pindula News, "Minister Dokora allegedly exposed by Evil Spirit during Pentecostal Church Deliverance Session" (2017). <http://www.pindula.co.zw>.

which will make a meaningful contribution to a person's state of existence, since Zimbabwe itself is considered a multicultural state? Further, what does it mean to be a multicultural society in the first place? To answer these questions, we shall begin by outlining a few definitions that have been given on multiculturalism and education, and then proceed to conduct analysis and draw relevant conclusions.

Defining Multiculturalism

In contemporary political philosophy, multiculturalism has been defined in two different ways. The term has been looked at as a descriptive concept and as a kind of policy that responds to cultural diversity. As a descriptive concept, the term describes a condition of society whereby a variety of cultures coexist.² From this descriptive definition, we note that Zimbabwe qualifies to be described as a multicultural nation, since it has a diversity of cultures from all over the world co-existing. Important to note is the fact that religious diversity has become a widespread phenomenon in Zimbabwe. There are multiple religious groups which include (but are not limited to) Christianity, Judaism, Islam, African Traditional Religion (ATR), and Hinduism. As a descriptive concept, multiculturalism also entails linguistic diversity and race. However, we shall mainly focus on religious diversity and its relationship to education.

In its other rendering, multiculturalism also refers to a kind of policy. The policy has two characteristics. The first characteristic aims at addressing the different demands of cultural groups.³ In this policy, normative challenges such as ethnic conflicts which usually arise as a result of cultural diversity are addressed. Secondly, multicultural policies are policies that aim at providing groups the means by which individuals can pursue their cultural differences.⁴ Such policies in the second category encourage individuals from different groups to celebrate their differences. Thus, people with different cultures and religions should treat each other as autonomous beings. Although the term "multiculturalism" has had different interpretations, the underlying factor is the co-existence of different cultures and/or religions within a nation or society. Multiculturalism defines a society that is predominantly composed of groups with different ethnic, geographic, religious and cultural roots which strive for equal positions in the markets of labor, goods and capital.⁵ In this paper, we defend the view

²L.C. Rodriguez, "Multiculturalism" (2011). <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/multiculturalism/>.

³Rodriguez, op.cit.

⁴Ibid.

⁵J.M. Broekman, *Multiculturalism* (New York: Zed Books, 2003).

that multiculturalism implies being able to adjust to a particular culture without sacrificing one's own cultural beliefs. Hence, it is the rationale of this paper that, Zimbabwe being a multicultural nation, students and pupils in different educational institutions should exercise their different religions freely, as well as being given an opportunity to learn about other people's religions so as to understand their differences. In the following section, we deliberate on religion and education in present day Zimbabwe.

Education: Towards a Definition

The derivation of the word "education" has been ascribed to two different Latin words: *educere*, which means "to lead out" or "to train," and *educare* which means "to train" or "to nourish."⁶ While the derivation of the word does not really matter in any modern substantive debate concerning education, it seems fitting that a concept that seems to lend itself to persuasive definitions, that is, definitions that smuggle in preferred meanings under the guise of objective analysis, should have an unambiguous and certain derivation. Our second hint at what the concept of education entails comes from the classical Greek philosophers. Plato looks at the process of education as that of "turning the eye of the soul from darkness to light," by which he meant leading a person from the dark cave of ignorance into the limelight of knowledge.⁷ Plato here acknowledges that the process of education helps the individual to discover knowledge through his own reasoning processes. On the other hand, Aristotle asserts that the mind of the child is like raw clay, ready to be moulded into a fully rational adult, but with the important provision that the mind of the child has already, in potential form, the adult which they are to become. Therefore, the role of education, for Aristotle, would be to help the child realise the ideal, best pattern for becoming a full-grown, happy adult. Following Aristotle, we may argue that a happy adult is a virtuous being. Thus, the ultimate good or the ultimate end and purpose of human existence and of human action is happiness.⁸ Happiness or a good life for Aristotle, therefore, is the exercise of man's intellectual ability.

In contemporary philosophy of education, the most influential work on defining "education" has been that of Peters.⁹ Peters' work was largely driven by his analysis of the concept of education. His first book on the

⁶R.S. Peters, *Ethics and Education* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1966).

⁷J. Akinpelu, *An Introduction to Philosophy of Education* (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Education Ltd., 1995), p.30.

⁸Ibid., p.33.

⁹Op. cit.

subject, *Ethics and Education*,¹⁰ devoted its first third to this issue. Central to his analysis were three complex criteria which in his view enabled us to map out the distinction between “education” and other human pursuits.

The first criterion was that “education” in its full sense had a necessary implication that something valuable or worthwhile was going on.¹¹ This meant that through an education process it was expected that a person should transform into a more desirable state. There might be secondary senses of the term, for example, an anthropological sense where we referred to, say, “Spartan education” or a sense where we wished to repudiate a certain set of practices; for example, if we said, “She had a rotten education,” where use of the term did not imply commendation; but in its primary sense the term “education” had to do so. It would be a contradiction to say that someone had been educated but had not changed for the better. This value that Peters saw as necessarily involved in education must not be thought of as instrumentally connected to the practices of education.

For Peters, education was not valuable as a means to a valuable end such as a good job or a happy life (as Aristotle claimed), but rather because it involved those being educated being initiated into activities which were worthwhile in themselves, that is, things that were intrinsically valuable.¹² In a momentous – but much misunderstood – distinction, Peters contrasted training, which carried with it the ideas of limited application and an external goal, with “education,” which implied neither of these things.

Secondly, Peters¹³ argued that “education” involved the acquisition of a body of knowledge and understanding which surpassed mere skill, know-how or the collection of information. Such knowledge and understanding must involve the principles which underlie skills, procedural knowledge and information, and must transform the life of the person being educated both in terms of his general outlook and in terms of his becoming committed to the standards inherent in the areas of his education. To this body of knowledge and understanding must be added a “cognitive perspective” whereby the development of any specialism, for example in science, was seen in the context of the place of this specialism in a coherent pattern of life.

Thirdly, the processes of education involved at least some understanding of what was being learnt and what was required in the learning, for example, so that we would not be brainwashed or conditioned into education, and the processes also involved some minimal voluntary participation. Being brainwashed would hardly count as being educated, since

¹⁰Peters, op. cit.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid.

the person undergoing the process would lose their ability to analyse and think for themselves and would only see things from one perspective.

For Peters, all three of these criteria were necessary conditions for a person to be adequately called “educated.” From the above definition of education, it appears to be the case that religion is not a necessary aspect of education. There is no educational aim that says that a person is supposed to be religiously educated. It appears that religion plays, at most, a secondary role in education, and should be a preserve of the church.

Education and Rationality

In this section, we relate the concept of education to rationality. Rationality is interpreted as the discipline of subjecting one’s choices of actions, as well as of objectives, values and priorities, to reasoned scrutiny.¹⁴ It implies the need to subject one’s choices to the demands of reason. All human beings ultimately search for truth. How they come to this truth is the problem. Various avenues are tried as means to attain truth. Truth seeking also involves asking hard questions like: Where did life on earth and the universe come from? Does God exist? Why should we be moral? Are there any metaphysical life forms? And is there life after death? These are some of the questions that philosophers and ordinary people alike have at some point asked themselves. Such fundamental questions about things normally taken for granted have seized philosophers for centuries in their quest for truth.

Religion comes in as an alternative avenue to explaining and understanding reality. A multiplicity of religions exists in the world and they all have as one of their aims that of providing some form of truth to their followers. However, it is important to note that adult human beings are a complex combination of experiences which shape their conceptual frameworks.¹⁵ The conceptual framework here is to be understood as the way individuals perceive reality, and how they react to it. This conceptual framework in turn shapes how the individuals deal with problems in their lives. Various factors affect people’s conceptual frameworks, but the most outstanding factor that ultimately has the greatest influence is societal influence. All individuals grow up in one society or the other, and such societies have certain expectations from their members. It is the task of such institutions as the family to inculcate desirable societal values in the individual, so that they can be deemed desirable members of that particu-

¹⁴A. Sen, *Rationality and Freedom* (New York: Harvard University Press, 2004), p.4.

¹⁵J. Vaughan, *The Inner Mind* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 2008).

lar society.¹⁶ This is especially true in typical African societies, where individuals are recognised as persons when they conform to certain expected standards. Hence such dicta as “I am because we are; and since we are; therefore I am” by such writers as Mbiti,¹⁷ serve to affirm that to be recognised as a person in a typical African society, one should possess some desirable traits that can only be affirmed by other members of the group.

Novel as this may sound; we note that such societal expectations can act as barriers to becoming a rationally autonomous being. As Dryden¹⁸ puts it, a rationally autonomous being is one who can view the world not in a unitary kind of way but as a multiplicity of competing, complementing and at times conflicting worldviews. From this variety of worldviews, a person can then decide on which ones are more plausible to reason, depending on which of them has the greatest support from the evidence available. Ideally, a person would take the perspective that appeals most to reason through the availability of evidence in its support. Societal norms have a tendency of presenting one side of the coin to one’s conceptual framework, often giving the impression that the socially acceptable norm is the only norm there is. Straying from such societal norms could diminish a person’s sense of belonging, since other members of society may consider the individual a non-person or a misfit. Herein lies what we consider to be the main purpose of education.

Education comes in as an avenue that expands one’s explanatory framework. We could consider the following example. Let us suppose that an individual has grown up in a highly spiritualised environment wherein beliefs in the activities of supernatural beings are rampant. Diseases, famine, hunger, success and failures in such an environment are all attributed to the activity of some spiritual beings. Let us suppose again that our individual growing up on this environment has never been exposed to any other worldview which may complement, compete with or even conflict with their own worldview. To such an individual, the world is in its best possible position and things are as they should be. When such an individual is exposed to another worldview, such as the scientific one, wherein things are explained in terms of naturalistic causes (rather than the previously held spiritistic causes), the individual’s rationality is awakened from its slumber and put to the task of actually thinking.¹⁹

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷J.S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy* (New York: Praeger, 1969) p.215.

¹⁸J. Dryden, *Rationality and Nature* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 2007).

¹⁹Ibid.

For Copi, thinking is to be understood as the rational process of making inferences from available evidence and making relevant conclusions. Such conclusions may conflict with the individual's predisposed ideals shaped by their upbringing. When this happens, the individual starts to *reason*, in the sense of accepting claims that appeal most to the rational process of moving from evidence to conclusions.²⁰ When the individual starts to think in the sense described, it may be difficult at first to accept conclusions that conflict with their previously held beliefs, but the more they come across such conflicting conclusions, the more the individual questions their previously held beliefs. The process continues until the individual can abstract themselves from their previously held beliefs and hold mostly those beliefs that stand the test of reason.

This process is succinctly explained by Plato in his allegory of the cave which we mentioned earlier. In this allegory, we find some prisoners captured and chained in a cave, facing the cave walls, with a fire lit behind them. When animals and people pass between the fire and the prisoners, shadows are cast on the cave walls. The prisoners cannot tell that these are shadows but perceive this as reality. They do not know reality as it is. This is the situation in which we find the individual who is bound by their societal beliefs, which present only one side of the story. When one of the prisoners has the opportunity to escape from the world of shadows and into the actual world outside the cave, at first, they have the difficulty of distinguishing her usual world of shadows from the one now presented before them. At the back of their mind they are so used to the shadows being "reality" that they cannot immediately understand that their former world was not real. Gradually, they come to know reality and go back to tell the others, who may not be welcoming of their new-found opinion.²¹

In a fashion similar to what we find in Plato's allegory, the individual whose conceptual framework is heavily influenced by societal ideals lacks the rational autonomy to decide what is real and what is not. Because only one side is presented, the individual may not be aware of alternative ways of perceiving the world, which may explain things better than their current beliefs. As Sheehan²² observes, education comes in to open the individual's mind to alternative views and information that they were not previously aware of. If the education system fails to introduce alternative ways of thinking and merely parrots what society has already taught the individual, then education is failing to do its job.

²⁰I.M. Copi, *Introduction to Logic* (New York: Macmillan Publishers, 1986).

²¹T. Sheehan, "Plato: The Allegory of the Cave" (2001). <https://web.stanford.edu/class/ihum40/cave.pdf>.

²²Ibid.

Coming back to the example of the individual who comes from a highly spiritual background: let us suppose that they believe that the cause of illness is some offended spirit. They will take all customary steps demanded by their spiritual background to ensure that the offended spirit ends the calamity. However, suppose that the individual is now exposed, through education, to an alternative mode of explaining the cause of illnesses. Suppose, further, that our individual comes to be aware that their illness is caused by bacteria and can be cured by some clinical drug. At this precise moment, the individual realises the truth and is open to an alternative recourse, and when that happens, we say the process of education has taken place. This is not to say that the spiritual aspect ought to be ignored over the scientific. Not at all. An important thing to notice here is that our individual now has an option. It is now up to her to decide which course of action would improve her condition, either the spiritual or the scientific, or both. Once options are taken into cognisance, then the process of *thinking* starts. It is precisely this role that we argue for in this paper, that education is supposed to play in an individual's life.

Education and Religion in Contemporary Zimbabwe

It is important at this juncture to define the term "religion" for purposes of clarity in this paper. Although there are many definitions of religion, we offer a working definition. Religion refers to identifiable communities which base their acts of believing and their resulting communal experiences on postulated non-falsifiable alternate realities of a tradition that they legitimate by appealing to its authoritative transmission from generation to generation.²³ The idea of religion broadly includes various traditional, cultural and customary institutions and practices. It includes Christianity, African Traditional Religion, Islam and many other religions.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to analyse the various religions mentioned. The objective of this paper is to consider involvement of these religions in the current educational curricular in Zimbabwe. It is important to note that religion is sometimes considered to be an essential component of education, while at other times it is considered to be non-essential, depending on the objectives and intentions of the user.

We shall start with the view proposing its non-essential role in education. Religion in itself seems a non-essential component of education, since it is not clear which religion the education system itself is supposed

²³J.L. Cox, *Introduction to Phenomenology of Religion* (New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2010).

to foster in its learners. According to Nelson,²⁴ the world is filled with religions with competing views, and sometimes within the same religion are to be found significant differences in doctrines and teachings that may make it difficult to know what to include in and what to exclude from the curriculum. Because of this apparent confusion, it does seem that religion ought not to be an essential component of the education curriculum.

An exception here can be suggested to this observation. All the world's societies have their own distinct cultures and religious beliefs. It is imperative that each society ought to include in its curriculum the religious beliefs of that particular culture, so that people in that culture maintain a sense of identity with their own beliefs. When we look at Zimbabwean education, it appears that this is not being practiced. The majority of Zimbabweans follow the Christian religion,²⁵ as indigenous religions have been excluded to such an extent that no school would openly declare that it strives to impart African traditional religious beliefs to its students, lest there be an outcry from parents that their children are being introduced to a "demonic" religion.²⁶ Such negative undertones that accompany indigenous traditional beliefs point to an anomaly in the education curriculum, wherein children ought to grow up knowing their cultural religious beliefs which give them their identity as Africans.

Again, it is important to realise that the methods used to make people religious (to make people follow the dictates of this or the other religion), for example, in churches and religious institutes, are remarkably different from the ones expected from the education we advocate in this paper. Religion involves a good degree of brainwashing and indoctrination, according to one of the websites we consulted.²⁷ It is our conviction that to make people follow a religion "religiously" may sometimes mean that the people in question have to be subjected to indoctrination and brainwashing process that will make them docile, and not likely to question the ideals of that religion. This was the method used by the colonialists when they were introducing Christianity to the pre-colonial Africans.²⁸ A reading of the infamous letter to the missionaries generally said to have been written

²⁴T. Nelson, *The Politics of Religion* (London: Dent, 2001).

²⁵D. Ncube, "New Curriculum Embraces All Religions," *The Sunday Mail*, December 25, 2016. <http://www.sundaymail.co.zw/new-curriculum-embraces-all-religions>

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Journey Free, "Childhood Religious Indoctrination." <http://journeyfree.org/childhood-religious-indoctrination/>.

²⁸Global Black History, "Who are we?" (2017). <http://www.globalblackhistory.com>.

by King Leopold II²⁹ is testimony to this fact. In this letter the goal of the missionaries was not to teach the Christian faith but to “singularly insist on their total submission and obedience, avoid developing the spirit in the schools, teach students to read and not to reason.” This obviously involved some form of indoctrination. Although this applied to pre-colonial Africans, the effects can still be felt today, where the majority of those in the Christian faith do not question their religious beliefs, and neither do they want them questioned, hence the phrase “blind faith.”³⁰ Many people simply follow their religions without questioning them, which may even explain why some clever individuals have become millionaires through establishing churches in Africa. The same technique is used by politicians, especially in Africa, to woo followers. Because the methods involved in religion are not those that encourage reasoning, religion can be seen as non-essential to the education system.

However, there is a sense in which religion can be seen as an important component of the education curriculum. Apart from the fact that children ought to be made aware of the religious beliefs of their own culture, it is also important that children should be exposed to the variety of religions that are to be found in the world, as part of the learning process, and for a successful educational transformation to take place. Bearing in mind that we have argued that a successful educational process involves awakening the child’s rational autonomy, it appears that this can only be done when children are exposed to a multiplicity of options, so that there are plenty of options available to them. The beliefs that the child is going to hold in adulthood ought to come from an informed perspective, the child being aware of the various religions that there are in the world and their various teachings, as well as being able to analyse these beliefs. Such world religions as Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism and others ought to be presented to the student so that, in their adult life, they can make a decision to be, say, Buddhist if they so choose, on the basis of the rational merits of belonging to such a religion but not on the basis of indoctrination or brainwashing.

If we bear in mind also that we have argued that the ultimate aim of human existence is to come to the attainment of the truth (or at least come within its proximity), children ought to be exposed to the various methods whereby various people of the world have tried to attain truth, of which

²⁹Leopold II, “Letter from King Leopold II of Belgium to Colonial Missionaries, 1883” (1883). <http://www.fafich.ufmg.br/~luarnaut/Letter%20Leopold%20II%20to%20Colonial%20Missionaries.pdf>. This letter has questionable authorship and authenticity but has been generally accepted to have been written by King Leopold II.

³⁰Global Black History, op. cit.

religion is one key element of this. Because various religions teach different things about the same thing, religions become an important source of coming closer to the truth (or alternatively moving away from it). For instance, if we are to answer the question: “Is there life after death?” Christians, Muslims and Hindus would agree that there is indeed life after death, which, in turn, would explain why human beings ought to be moral in this lifetime, to have a better after-life. Because reason alone is insufficient to answer such questions, religion comes in to augment the basis for responding to such questions.

However, the problem with religion is that various religions teach different things, and it does not always seem clear which religion has the best answer to any of life’s important questions.³¹ Precisely because of this problem, it is imperative that children be taught the various teachings of the religions of this world, so that they come to an understanding of them outside of their own religions. When such options are made available, being presented in an objective manner, then the child’s rational autonomy is awakened, and the child can choose which religion they would want to become part of, depending on their perspective on whether or not it will bring them closer to the truth.

The problem comes when a religion is presented to children as the only “good” religion while all others are “bad” or “demonic.” Typically, Christians are reluctant to embrace other religions. They continue to relegate other religions to the “evil” section. Islam in particular has faced several challenges in Zimbabwe, with Christian Zimbabweans generally characterising it as a violent religion.³² The trend is the same across the globe. The media is wrought with imagery that portrays the Islamic faith as a dangerous religion, simply out to convert innocent children into dangerous global terrorists. Any talk of Boko Haram, Isis, the Taliban and others in the media is always about violence.³³

The Pentecostal movements that have become characteristic of modern day Zimbabwe have also had a negative impact on making Islam an acceptable religion in the school curriculum. These celebrity-type pastors have demonised all other religions and have represented Christianity as the only religion in the land.³⁴ In recent times a video went viral on social media platforms of a “demon” that manifested in a female congregant,

³¹“Is Religion the Problem or the Solution?” *The Real Truth* (July 10, 2007). <https://rcg.org/realtruth/articles/070629-002-irtpots.html>.

³²H. Stuart, “Is Islam inherently violent?” (n.d.). <https://dose.com/articles/islam-inherently-violent/>.

³³Ibid.

³⁴Ncube, op. cit.

claiming that Islam was the workplace of demons and the devil himself.³⁵ Further, African Muslims are generally viewed as people engaged in witchcraft activities. Such people, known by the name “*Muchawa*” (Muslims of Malawian or Zambian origins), are generally feared, since there is a misconception that such people possess potentially dangerous powers. Such negative imagery from the self-proclaimed prophets has contributed to the non-acceptance of Islam as a religion in schools.

Yet, if Islam were to be accurately presented and explained in the education curriculum, such a misconception could easily be corrected. As Wheeler³⁶ notes, the teaching of Islam in schools should not be done in such a way as to reinforce unyielding and inappropriate stereotypes. Although Islam is portrayed in negative light, many people are not aware that they, so to speak, practice it every day. A look at the food items that most people typically buy in Zimbabwe (and the rest of the world) will reveal that they bear the Halal sign, which means that the food has been processed in a way “permissible” to Islam.³⁷ Such common food items as cooking oil, meat and other processed foods typically contain this label, and people from virtually all religions in Zimbabwe buy them without questioning the label being on such foods. If Islam’s food has a wider appeal then surely it offers something that can be introduced in the education curriculum, since food is spiritual.

But because of one-sided presentation the religion, parents shudder at the thought of having their children become violent Muslims, since they just believe all Muslims are violent. That being the case, it ought to be the task of education to clear up misconceptions rather than create them or fuel them in the minds of young children. The current Minister of Primary and Secondary Education in Zimbabwe, Lazarus Dokora, has attempted to introduce Islam as a religion to be studied in secondary schools. Although this has been met with negative responses from parents, it appears to be a good move, especially where it pertains to awakening the children’s rational autonomy and allowing them to choose between alternatives. If Christianity remains the only religion recognised and taught in schools, then this autonomy is not fully recognised. It is only in a multicultural society, where people from various cultures are respected, that rational autonomy is able to exist.

³⁵“‘Demon’ possessing a Zim girl says unbelievable things,” Nehanda TV (April 24, 2017). <http://nehandatv.com/2017/04/24/demon-possessing-zim-girl-says-unbelievable-things-video/>.

³⁶B.M. Wheeler, *Teaching Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

³⁷Halal Food Authority, “What is Halal Food & What Is the Definition of Halal?” (2017). <http://www.halalincorp.co.uk/what-is-halal-food-what-is-the-definition-of-halal/>

Conclusion

From the above analysis, it appears that religion plays a significant role in the educational curriculum. Because human beings are constantly looking for the truth, they may find this through religious means. The problem comes when only one religion is presented as the only religion there is, and no other religions matter. When many religions are presented to the minds of children, they get to know the merits (and demerits) of other religions, which enables them to be better people in their adult years. If they carry only negative understandings of other religions, then their quest for truth may not be as fruitful. To be rationally autonomous beings, children need to be exposed to the various teachings of the various religions of the world, so that they can come to a better understanding of how other people perceive the world. That being the case, it is the contention of this paper that the introduction of Islamic religion in the school curriculum is for the benefit of the children when they reach adulthood. Further, because Zimbabwe is a diverse multicultural society which people from various parts of the world have come to consider home, it is imperative that the major religions of the world be given due attention in the school's curriculum.

References

- Akinpelu, J. (1995). *An Introduction to Philosophy of Education*. London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, Ltd.
- Broekman, J. M. (2003). *Multiculturalism*. New York: Zed Books.
- Copi, I.M. (1986). *Introduction to Logic*. New York: Macmillan Publishers.
- Cox, J. L. (2010). *Introduction to Phenomenology of Religion*. New York: Continuum International Publishing Group.
- Dryden, J. (2007). *Rationality and Nature*. Chicago: Rand McNally
- Global Black History (2017). "Who are we?" <http://www.globalblackhistory.com> (accessed 21 June 2017).
- Halal Food Authority (2017). "What is Halal Food & What Is the Definition of Halal?" <http://www.halalincorp.co.uk/what-is-halal-food-what-is-the-definition-of-halal/> (accessed 7 August 2017).
- Journey Free (2017). "Childhood Religious Indoctrination." <http://journeyfree.org/childhood-religious-indoctrination/> (accessed 23 November 2017).
- Leopold II (1883). "Letter from King Leopold II of Belgium to Colonial Missionaries, 1883." <http://www.fafich.ufmg.br/~luarnaut/Letter%20Leopold%20II%20to%20Colonial%20Missionaries.pdf> (accessed 2 November 2017).
- Mbiti, J.S. (1969). *African Religions and Philosophy*. New York: Prager.

- Nehanda TV (2017). “‘Demon’ possessing a Zim girl says unbelievable things,” 24 April. <http://nehandatv.com/2017/04/24/demon-possessing-zim-girl-says-unbelievable-things-video> (accessed 2 November 2017).
- Ncube, D. (2016). “New Curriculum Embraces All Religions.” <http://www.sundaymail.co.zw/new-curriculum-embraces-all-religions> (8 March 2018).
- Nelson, T. (2001). *The Politics of Religion*. London: Dent.
- Peters, R.S. (1966). *Ethics and Education*. London: George Allen and Unwin.
- Pindula News (2017). “Minister Dokora allegedly exposed by Evil Spirit during Pentecostal Church Deliverance Session.” <http://www.pindula.co.zw> (accessed 11 August 2017).
- Rodriguez, L.C. (2011). “Multiculturalism.” <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/multiculturalism/> (accessed 23 November 2017).
- Sen, A. (2004). *Rationality and Freedom*. New York: Harvard University Press.
- Sheehan, T. (2001). “Plato: The Allegory of the Cave.” <https://web.stanford.edu/class/ihum40/cave.pdf> (accessed 21 September 2017).
- Stuart, H. (n.d.) “Is Islam inherently violent?” <https://dase.com/articles/is-islam-inherently-violent/> (accessed 7 August 2017).
- The Real Truth* (2007). “Is Religion the Problem or the Solution?” 10 July. <https://rcg.org/realtruth/articles/070629-002-irtpots.html> (accessed 23 November 2017).
- Vaughan, J. (2008). *The Inner Mind*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings.
- Wheeler, B.M. (2008). *Teaching Islam*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Part III
Culture and Values

A New Paradigm Shift in Human Relationships: The Case of Reciprocity and *Humwe*¹ in Selected Fictional Narratives

RUBY MAGOSVONGWE

Introduction

In this paper, our discussion is centered on the concepts of “Reciprocity” and “*Humwe*” because we think that these two concepts build harmonious human relationships for the betterment of humankind. We do this by using depictions from Charles Dickens’s *Great Expectations*,² Ayi Kwei Armah’s *Two Thousand Seasons*,³ Mashingaidze Gomo’s *A Fine Madness*,⁴ and any other suitable fictional narrative. We capitalise on the social function of the literary arts to argue our case, firmly persuaded of “the indivisibility of art and society.”⁵ We also hold firmly Achebe’s view

¹*Humwe* basically means “We are in this together,” B. Chigara, *Re-Conceiving Property Rights in the New Millenium: Towards a New Sustainable Land Relations Policy* (London: Routledge, 2012), p.224. It has its origins in the philosophy of inclusion that underwrites every community member’s participation in their family’s agricultural activities. In this manner, culturally, the weak and poor members of the community obtain assistance and have their livelihoods protected against hunger. The philosophy of *humwe* included sharing land and agricultural implements for the good of the whole community. As a principle, it emphasizes “individual and social altruism for the benefit of the whole” (Ibid.).

In the context of the land struggles of post-2000 Zimbabwe it would mean togetherness or oneness in fighting to protect and promote significance of human worth and human progress. It also means: rallying/coming together; dialoguing for mutual concessions and acceding to collective social responsibility; teaming up to assist the less fortunate and materially weaker members of the community to protect them from calamity; a shared way of living; or a common social vision that originates from democratisation of both land use and agricultural labour among African communities.

²C. Dickens, *Great Expectations* (Centennial Edition) (Geneva: Heron Books, 1961).

³A.K. Armah, *Two Thousand Seasons* (Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Publishers, 1973).

⁴M. Gomo, *A Fine Madness* (London: Ayebia Clarke, 2010).

⁵C. Achebe, *Morning yet on Creation Day: Essays* (London: Heinemann, 1975), p.21.

that “art is, and was always, in service of man⁶ along with the myths, legends, folktales, sculpture, as well as traditional poetry of traditional African societies, created to serve their well-being and safeguard the good of society.” We borrow the same principles and views in our discussion on nurturing strong human relationships and preserving the human soul by encouraging our audience, in as much as we strive towards the same, to copy and strive for the good in every human being, status, gender, age, ethnicity, and academic and social standing notwithstanding. In this regard, we argue that literature is one window through which human beings have unlimited access to peoples’ cultural values and worldviews. Every opportunity to read such works therefore presents myriad chances to learn different philosophies that can be used to cultivate and nurture humankind. We believe that for the living human being, there is no end to the quest for wisdom, and that intellectual arrogance is a premonition of death – hence the primacy that we place on learning and gleaning wisdom from the fictional narratives we have identified for the present discussion.

As the selected texts will show, differential classification of human worth undermines wholesome inter- and intra-personal relationships, hence the need to interrogate and explore reciprocity as the basis of *humwe* in order to build stronger self-regulated communities. Seemingly old-fashioned and outdated, the reciprocity and *humwe* that we perceive to be at the centre of the supposed vision and assumptions that the selected fictional narratives offer through their depictions, in our view, are the remedy for most maladies that have soured human relations intra- and interpersonally today. Success in achieving amiable human relations is not measured in the quantum of friends, levels of popularity, smooth and polished language, material wealth accumulation or the chain of academic qualifications one holds, but in striving to acquire knowledge about, and consciously striving towards, living a life that recognises others in the self’s dealings and undertakings. These are the ideals, virtues and views that anchor reciprocity and *humwe*, matters that we explore in the selected fictional narratives. We will begin by examining *Great Expectations*, followed by *Two Thousand Seasons*, and conclude with *A Fine Madness*, drawing out references and parallels pointing towards the visions that the respective writers share. But before delving into the respective narratives, we define reciprocity and *humwe*, as these are fundamental as frameworks that determine the parameters of our discussion and analyses.

⁶Ibid., p.19.

Reciprocity and *Humwe* Defined

In his opening chapter to *Two Thousand Seasons*, Armah⁷ repeatedly chants: “We are not a people of yesterday, ours then was the way of creation.” He⁸ maintains, “We were not always outcasts from ourselves.” The exhortation of inclusivity and social responsibility to the collective cannot be missed – our way is reciprocity. The undercurrent is that there is not any other way to build productive relationships for Africa and among her peoples. The same principle can still be even extended to humankind in general. Rukuni⁹ echoes the same when he makes reference to “the process of becoming human” – “the awareness of being.” It is the recognition, awareness and acceptance that “you cannot be a human being without other human beings around you,”¹⁰ which is a higher level of consciousness. It is this awareness that undergirds reciprocity as the way. Departure from the way, reciprocity, literally and metaphorically means death. Divisiveness, divisions and self-centered ambition are self-deluding. They inevitably lead to inescapable demise and self-annihilation. “Our way” – reciprocity – is a concept that persuades everyone to “respect those things of value, which are useful for the future of our land, for the advancement of our people [humanity].”¹¹ One may ask: What then is reciprocity? Can it be quantified?

Armah¹² conceptualises reciprocity as:

The giving, the receiving, the living alternation of the way....Not merely taking, not merely offering. Giving, but only to those from whom we receive in equal measure. Receiving, but only from those to whom we give in reciprocal measure. How easy, how just the way....The way is not the rule of men. The way is never women ruling men. The way is reciprocity. The way is not barrenness. Nor is the way this heedless fecundity. The way is not blind productivity. The way is creation knowing its purpose, wise in the withholding of itself from snares, from destroyers.

Reciprocity is self-guarded mutual exchange, mutual respect, and the safeguarding of each other’s human dignity, decency and well-being in all

⁷Op. cit., pp.1-2.

⁸Ibid., p.2.

⁹M. Rukuni, *Being Afrikan: Rediscovering the Traditional Unhu-Ubuntu-Botho Pathways of Being Human* (Johannesburg: Mandala Publishers, 2007), p.17.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹A. Cabral, *Unity and Struggle: Speeches and Writings of Amilcar* (New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1979), p.57.

¹²Op. cit., p.17.

undertakings and dealings with others. We adopt here Armah's succinct summation of what we must valorise in building creative and productive human relationships: "It is a way that aims at preserving knowledge of who we are, knowledge of the best way we have found to relate each to each, each to all, ourselves to other peoples, all to our surroundings."¹³ We correlate here Armah's conceptualisation with the Biblical Golden Rule and principle upon which we can build fair, just, harmonious and transparent human relationships, based on the scriptures in the New Testament. Ironically, Armah's conceptualisation converges with Matthew 7: 12 in the King James Version of the Bible that reads: "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets." Sincerity, honesty, integrity, excellence and accountability become the barometers through which attitudes, conduct and relationships are weighted and appreciated. No one is exonerated from taking responsibility in this regard. The exhortation is a fundamental principle that anchors the ethos of safeguarding the sanctity of human life without using any differential scales to determine human worth. People are invaluable as people, and they are the currency without which the social being cannot survive and derive meaning and a sense of worth in life. Safeguarding their social being is therefore not negotiable. This is how reciprocity and *humwe* come in to anchor our discussion of the literary depictions of human relationships, as previously mentioned.

Culturally, in the traditional African communities of the Shona peoples, as evidenced by their common traditional maxims encapsulating inviolable elders' authority, ancestral experiential wisdom, the saying "*Vakuru vakati/ vakuru vanoti*" (The elders said/ the elders say...) must always be the barometer of morality, values and virtues. Reciprocity is a culmination of distilled experiential wisdom. It is founded and built upon wisdom gleaned from the lessons of life accruing over time from shared history and shared geographical, social, economic, political, material, environmental and spiritual realities. To this end, "man-the-individual" cannot distinguish and distance himself from "man-the-social-being."¹⁴ Armah¹⁵ puts across the principle more succinctly: "Pieces cut off from their whole are nothing but dead fragments."

"Man-the-social-being" is therefore related to other human beings as a collective. This is how consciousness and awareness of one's being and that of others, including different shared realities, is achieved. In Shona the *humwe* concept-cum-principle similarly echoes and supports this fundamental principle in nurturing relationships. Among the Shona peoples

¹³Ibid., p.39.

¹⁴Cabral, op. cit., p.149.

¹⁵Op. cit., p.1.

of Zimbabwe, *humwe* principle and practice draw heavily on indigenous Africans' experiences and philosophies. Magosvongwe¹⁶ argues that "the theory has its basis in the indigenous African philosophy of human dignity and democratisation of both land use and agricultural labour." Citing Chigara¹⁷ Magosvongwe¹⁸ further observes that the "*Humwe* principle centralises and valorises peace, reciprocity and togetherness/oneness with a view to upholding every individual's human worth [and dignity] for the greater good." Once the greater good is sacrificed, *humwe* similarly crumbles.

Chigara¹⁹ draws up the several descriptors of *humwe* in his analysis to the resolution of the land disputes in Zimbabwe, a principle that can be similarly applied to nurturing human relationships among any humankind family, community and society. *Humwe* is the philosophy of common heritage "according to which every member of the tribal group and larger community was presumed to hold an inherent right not only to earn a living off, but also to be supported in that effort by, his kinsmen."²⁰ Further, *humwe* is not just an ideal. It is "a principle suitable to placate mischief and conflict with minimal violation, if any, as it ensures respect for the dignity of the parties to [any] dispute," "being consistent also with the aspirations and substantive principles of the International Human Rights Movement which seeks to promote, to protect and to ensure respect for the inherent dignity of human beings without distinction whatsoever."²¹

Humwe's principal agenda is upholding social justice and everyone's human rights, ensuring the sustainability of strategies that promote amiable relationships and human dignity in all dealings and undertakings through constructive and consensual dialogue. Insisting on a "fairer basis of allocating amongst members of a political community, human survival resources, including land"²² "predicated on equality of access to fundamental resources to all,"²³ it "immediately aligns itself to the dictates of social justice, that is, equity and popular will of the people."²⁴ It is "the

¹⁶ R. Magosvongwe, "Land and Identity in Zimbabwean Fiction Writings in English from 2000 to 2010: A Critical Analysis," unpublished D.Phil. dissertation (University of Cape Town, 2013), p.18.

¹⁷Chigara (2012), op. cit.; see also B. Chigara, *Land Reform Policy: The Challenge of Human Rights Law* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2004).

¹⁸Op. cit., p.18.

¹⁹Chigara (2004).

²⁰Ibid., p.77.

²¹Ibid., p.122.

²²Ibid., p.125.

²³Ibid., p.139.

²⁴Ibid., p.125.

dominant philosophy that facilitates fair management of fundamental life-enabling finite resources.”²⁵

Further, *humwe* “underlines the interdependence of the value that we call ‘human dignity’ in that the realisation of one’s dignity as a human being is linked to his respect for others’ human dignity. The realisation of my human dignity therefore depends on the extent to which I facilitate others’ realisation of their own dignity.”²⁶ *Humwe* solicits people’s views in “determining the way they shall be governed.”²⁷ “*Humwe* attenuates the force of law to service of morality so that morality ceases merely to appeal to the conscience of the addressee, but to his obligations that are backed by the force of the law”²⁸ (p. 140). In traditional Shona communities, *humwe* was fashioned by communities with their family heads, village heads and chiefs. *Humwe*’s point of departure with other philosophies “appears to be equal treatment for everyone and equal opportunity for everyone”²⁹ (p.147). Could we have a more profound principle/virtue?

The rallying together and galvanising of support for a common cause, as crystallised in *humwe* philosophy and practice, can be argued to be a variation on the same concept as reciprocity, whereby ultimate security, survival and redemption from any difficulty/ calamity/need/problem, even celebrating achievement, lay in dialogue, consultation and consensus, given that no single individual has a monopoly of knowledge.³⁰ Like the Reciprocity principle, *humwe* also valorises doing good for others as an expression of “man-the-individual” among others as “man-the-social-being.” The latter is in itself the balm of the soul/being – the honour that ensures awareness of oneself in others, taking us back to the collective honorary pronouns “we” and “our” that are inclusive, all-embracing and all-encompassing, with reciprocity as the anchoring principle, thereby making it almost idiotic to distance oneself from “our”/“we” in favour of the splintered egotistic “I.” *Humwe*’s appeal and potential to placate injustices lay in the principle of dialogue, with people coming together to put their minds together at every turn before any life-affecting decisions were made. As a social principle, this is how *Humwe* safeguards morality and everyone’s human worth: “*Humwe* would start by reducing ownership of life enabling resources to one titleholder – ‘us all’ for all time, with

²⁵Ibid., p.141.

²⁶Ibid., p.129.

²⁷Ibid., p.139.

²⁸Ibid., p.140.

²⁹Ibid., p.147.

³⁰A. Cesaire, *Notebook of a Return to My Native Land* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Bloodaxe Books, 1995).

‘trusteeship titles’ bestowed on all individuals.’³¹ Fairness and neutrality would be inscribed in collective participation and collective social accountability.

The rationale behind “‘us all” for all time is to hold everyone accountable for social well-being, morality, responsibility, transparency, fairness, social justice, and upholding respect, as well as safeguarding everyone’s dignity and human worth, , including sustainable use and management of the environment, by everyone. *Humwe* invokes the rights and duties of humanity for the uplifting of humanity by humanity in a holistic manner. In this regard, grounded in a person’s acknowledgement and awareness of others’ being as much as their own, reciprocity and *humwe* offer a model for the nurturing of harmonious relationships and conflict resolution, if given room and serious thought. Nonetheless, *humwe* and reciprocity have been constrained across the ages by many vices and self-aggrandisement theories, sugar-coated in different “isms” masquerading as improvements to humankind’s life-enabling conditions. We now turn to the artistic expressions of these very principles in the selected literary texts cited above, starting with Charles Dickens’ *Great Expectations*.

Great Expectations: Torpedoing Hollow Philanthropy vis-a-vis Upholding Human Dignity and Invincible Morality as a Mark of True Gentility

The narrative in *Great Expectations* revolves around a little orphan boy, Phillip Pirrip, or Pip as an abbreviated form of his full name. The little boy is raised by hand by an only sister and surviving family member, Mrs. Joe Gargery, who lives at the forge in rural England in the marsh country with a blacksmith for a husband. Pip visits Satis House where the presumed rich Miss Havisham lives with a beautiful little girl named Estella who steals Pip’s heart because of her beauty. She snubs Pip for his coarse hands and thick boots. As if to spite Pip perpetually by making him consciously aware of his “despicable” lowly background and despised social status, Miss Havisham pays Joe Gargery to train Pip as a blacksmith. Pip and Joe try to learn the alphabet and to write as a mark of polished language and status.

At some point an unknown benefactor pays off Miss Havisham and invites Pip to go to the London metropolis to be brought up as a gentleman. The bearer of the good news and manager of Pip’s affairs from this time onwards is the famous London lawyer, Mr. Jaggers. Because of his newly-changed status, those around him suddenly call him Mr. Pip in anticipation that Pip might remember them at the marshes. Pip travels from

³¹Chigara (2004), p.143.

the rural marsh country to London in a coach. Upon arrival in London he is taken to stay at the decaying Barnard's Inn, almost akin to the decaying Satis House. Pip makes acquaintance with the higher classes in London through the Pocket family. He refuses to see Joe when he pays him a visit. At some point he falls ill, and none other than the same Joe nurses him to recovery and returns to the marshes. In the meantime, his sister dies as a result of injuries sustained after a severe attack by Orlick. Pip returns to London and eventually gets to discover that his benefactor is the escaped convict he met at the churchyard in the marshes in his childhood.

The story of Miss Havisham and Estella is also unravelled. Pip discovers Estella's real parentage, that she is the daughter of a female murderer who was rescued by Mr. Jaggers and sired by Abel Magwitch, Pip's private benefactor and former escaped convict. Estella is married, but Pip still loves her. Pip chooses to be stripped of the acquired wealth thrust upon him by the ex-convict benefactor who wanted to have Pip groomed as a gentleman through the high life and the accumulation of wealth in London as a mark of the same. Pip returns to the marshes, intending to marry Bidley, the lady who tried teaching them the alphabet with "old chap" Joe Gargery; but he finds her happily married to the latter. The story ends with Pip's epiphany as he discovers what real gentility and being a gentleman really mean. We now turn to a few points that we can glean from *Great Expectations* as we re-learn how to be human and how we can continuously nurture strong, amicable, creative and humanely-productive social relationships from the story of Pip.

That the *Bildungsroman*³² revolves around the chief protagonist, Pip – first person narrator of the story – is significant; so is the tripartite structure of the novel that aptly captures Pip's psychological and moral development over both space and time. The intricate details of his childhood give us a window into his "destitute" background as one belonging to the fringes of industrialising English society, whereby human worth and gentility are accorded on the basis of high birth, polished dress and language, material accumulation and being surrounded by high social company. Vulnerable, impressionable and young, Pip is made to feel ugly because of his poverty and coarse background when he visits Satis House. Pip's

³²A *Bildungsroman* is a special kind of novel that focuses on the psychological and moral growth of its main character from his or her youth to adulthood (see Literary Devices, "Bildungsroman" (2018). <https://literarydevices.net/bildungsroman/>), a life's spiritual journey ending in an epiphany or revelation and illumination into and about self, leading to penitence. A number of writers have used the same journey motif and technique as a means to explore with the chief protagonist the arduous path of life that culminates in self-discovery and penitence. James Joyce's *The Portrait of An Artist as a Young Man*, and Tsitsi Dangaremba's *Nervous Conditions* afford ready examples.

comparison with beautiful young Estella, raised by Miss Havisham to break men's hearts, is even more tragic. Estella sees young Pip as an ugly and empty thing because he wears thick boots and has coarse hands, uses rustic dialect and cannot play cards, making Pip critically aware of his poverty and out of place. He is made to loathe the dignity of work, symbolised by Joe Gargery, the forge blacksmith from the marsh country, as well as his friend and benefactor.

The second part of Pip's journey into himself in his quest for gentility and accommodation in society's high circles is marked by the details of his London experiences. Drawing on associations with the lawyer Mr Jaggers, with Wemmick, the latter's secretary, and with the Pockets who are training him into city life, Pip opens a can of worms, revealing the different forms of rot characteristic of English morality and the English justice delivery system, the hollowness of wealth accumulation and the cancer and mockery that capitalism is for morality, social justice and social relationships in general. Ending with Pip's redemption from such a hollow high class through suffering and penitence, Charles Dickens' narrative becomes every reader's journey into introspection on what it means to be truly human for all time. The theme of Pip's discontent with his real benefactors, first Joe the blacksmith, later Provis, and "his innocent misattribution of his fortune to Miss Havisham; his supposition that she must intend Estella for him,"³³ shows a society whose core has been blighted, that is, if the progeny given to us are anything to go by. The inhuman callousness of London – characterised by the different kinds of violent and inhuman justice that Pip had taken for granted until his visit – further compounds the tragic human condition characteristic of egotistic English society that Dickens depicts.

Great Expectations opens with little Pip alone in the late afternoon in a dreary churchyard overgrown with thistles, itself forming part of the marshes and the environment that shapes Pip's childhood, also influencing his aspirations for gentility marked by polished appearance, smooth language, material and wealth accumulation, high company and city life, especially in the metropolis of London. Dickens symbolically depicts the inhuman callousness of Pip's vulnerable childhood and the countryside, rough for a lonesome boy, "that small bundle of shivers."³⁴ He is startled by a savage man "soaked in water and smothered by mud,"³⁵ calling Pip

³³F. Page, "Introduction," C. Dickens, *Great Expectations: The Oxford Illustrated Dickens*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1998), p.xi.

³⁴Dickens, op. cit., p.2.

³⁵Ibid.

“little devil,”³⁶ and “young dog,”³⁷ turning Pip upside down and emptying his pockets and ravenously eating bread, demanding to know the whereabouts of Pip’s mother. He is an escaped convict from the hulks at the river beyond the marshes. Pip points to a tombstone inscribed “Also Georgiana.”³⁸ From the onset, Dickens exposes the acute vulnerability of the poor, especially children, those who live on the fringes, and those viewed as society’s scum, using little orphan Pip as an illustration.

Society’s masquerade, aimed at ridding itself of criminality, is symbolised by the presence of the hulks and the escaped convict. Yet, the principal conditions that create criminals remain unchanged. Ironically, vulnerable children are also turned to criminality by their savage conditions. Apart from the dreadful pledge that little Pip is forced to make by the escaped convict, he is also forced to steal and send him a file and food. Pip is vulnerable, unprotected and considered burdensome by society, as is indicated by the harsh treatment he gets from his childless sister “raising him by hand.” Poor and orphaned children are viewed as a loathed liability. And it is an offence to be orphaned and to be poor. Their human worth is also similarly reduced. Life-nurturing resources appear to be cut off from them. Pip’s rudimentary method of deciphering his family’s life history from churchyard tombstone inscriptions is more than telling:

The shape of the letters on my father’s grave me an odd idea that he was a square, stout, dark man, with curly black hair. From the character and turn of the inscription, “*Also Georgiana Wife of the Above*,”...To five little stone lozenges, each about a foot and a half long, which were arranged in a neat row beside their grave, and were sacred to the memory of five little brothers of mine...³⁹

The callousness of the society is also symbolised by Satis House, a status symbol, which is nevertheless in a state of dilapidation. The entrance is a rickety rusty gate. Rooms are filled with cobwebs. All wall clocks are stopped at a quarter to nine. Miss Havisham is seated in a candle-lit dark room, a decaying wedding-cake on the table, wearing a yellowing wedding dress and one shoe. She asks Pip to wheel her in a chair around the room. It is ironic and defeats any sense of logic that she derives immeasurable happiness from abusing the poor vulnerable boy. The rusty and decaying surroundings are thus symptomatic of Miss Havisham’s decaying soul and the daily ordeal of self-rejection that she continuously

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Ibid., p.3.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Ibid., p.1.

suffers. It speaks to the enslaved and entrapped soul of the upper class that cannot release itself from obsession with material wealth and affectations thereto. Blighted of creative reciprocal relationships, Miss Havisham degenerates into a depraved existing “thing” void of life’s inspiration. Despite outward exaltation, Miss Havisham’s Satis House is emblematic of lonely and empty existence, “mildewed air,” “never ceasing...low cry,”⁴⁰ in itself affirmation of the likes of Miss Havisham living “in a dungeon’s pit inside themselves”⁴¹ – symbolic of a diseased English upper class society. Yet, the same upper class’ lies, outward gleam and glamour make Pip extremely miserable.⁴² Young Pip remonstrates: “I wish you hadn’t taught me to call Knaves at cards, Jacks; and I wish my boots weren’t so thick nor my hands so coarse.”⁴³

Like the dejected Pip, a victim of a heartbreak at the hands of the “gentleman” Compeyson, who jilts her on the morning of their wedding day after defrauding her of her dowry and inheritance, Miss Havisham acutely needs reintegration into being human, appreciating her own worth that should not be predicated on sophistication, wealth accumulation and high social status. Dickens shows that human beings, irrespective of age, gender and background, are treated as objects and commodities for wealth accumulation, status elevation and self-aggrandisement, in itself evidence of a small-minded dying society, contrary to the mistaken belief that these outward egotistical accumulations are the hallmark of developing and growing societies.

When a London lawyer, Mr. Jaggers, comes down to the marshes inviting Pip to go to London metropolis and train to be a gentleman as the result of a favour from an unknown benefactor, this marks a new twist in his life. Mr. Jaggers offers monetary compensation to Joe Gargery for the loss of Pip’s service as an apprentice. Pip insightfully measures Joe’s warmth and unparalleled humanity at his refusal of such a mockery:

Joe laid his hand upon my shoulder with the touch of a woman. I have often thought him since, like the steam-hammer, that can crush a man or pat an egg-shell, in his combination of strength with gentleness. “Pip is that hearty welcome,” said Joe, to go free with his services, to honour and fortun’, as no words can tell him. But if you think as Money can make compensation to me for the

⁴⁰Ibid., p.357.

⁴¹Cesaire, op.cit., p.127.

⁴²Dickens, op.cit., p.80.

⁴³Ibid., p.79.

loss of the little child – what come to the forge – and ever the best of friends!”⁴⁴

It is the “dear good faithful tender Joe,”⁴⁵ and indeed the reciprocal tenderness, that Pip loses at his departure for fortune-enjoyment in London.

Upon arrival, Pip is taken to decaying Smithfield, to Little Britain, to Mr. Jaggers’ office that is at the heart of London metropolis. In its vicinity are Newgate Prison, Saint Paul’s Cathedral and the Court where Pip is invited by a drunk minister of justice to pay half-a-crown and get a front seat to have full view of the Lord Chief Justice⁴⁶ and hear a trial or so, an invitation that Pip declines. In the meantime, Mr. Jaggers’ office is manned by Wemmick who demands payment upfront from “criminal” clients soliciting Mr. Jaggers’ magical services. Pip later refuses to see Joe when he visits him from the marshes. To Joe, Pip is an “old chap,” an “old fellow,”⁴⁷ for it is the common humanity that Joe valorises and values. Yet, for the new Pip of London, people like Joe are “empty of grace” owing to their rough outward clothing and unpolished language, an embarrassment. What we see is Pip’s orphanhood being further compounded by the hollowness of London and its materialism. Relationships become mechanical.

Could it be a coincidence that the famous lawyers like Mr. Jaggers, emblematic of English justice, morality, laws and “neutrality,” are situated at the heart of London that is embroiled in different kinds of rot? Pip ruminates: “We Britons had at that time particularly settled that it was treasonable to doubt our having and our being the best of everything,” and London “was little Britain.”⁴⁸ “Money is a neutral commodity.”⁴⁹ Attracted by money, can Pip be saved the contamination radiating from the perceived centre of English “civilization,” tradition, custom and culture?

Such are some of the profound questions that reciprocity and *humwe*, as discussed under our theoretical framework, interrogate. Ironically, it is not only Pip who is orphaned, but millions of people are orphaned by their own motherland/fatherland’s appalling and unappealing standards of humanity, including the affluent and those at the very apex. The picture of an “imprisoned,” “robbed” and “murdered” society, a snippet of the justice delivery system of the London metropolis, which is the centre of

⁴⁴Ibid., p.164.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 190.

⁴⁷Ibid., p.79.

⁴⁸Ibid., p.187.

⁴⁹J. Kincaid, *A Small Place* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1988), p.60.

European civilisation at the time that Dickens is writing, is imperative for deeper appreciation of the debacle that sickens Pip:

I came into Smithfield; and the *shameful place*, being all *asmear with filth and fat and blood and foam*, seemed to stick to me...he was so good to take me into a yard and show me where the *gal-lows* was kept, and also where people were *publicly whipped*, and then he showed me the Debtors Door, out of which culprits came to be *hanged*...this was horrible, and gave me a *sickening idea of London*: the more so as the Lord Chief Justice's proprietor wore (from his hat down to his boots and up again to his pocket-handkerchief inclusive) *mildewed clothes*, which had evidently not belonged to him originally, and which, I took it into my head, he had bought cheap of the executioner.⁵⁰

Justice is on sale and those who can pay escape the hangman's noose. With justice commoditised, it follows that human worth has been similarly commoditized, an aspect of life that Dickens' depictions expose as the cancer characterising London. The whole process smirks at human dignity, respect for the sanctity of human life, fairness and transparency. That the rot of the court drama is characteristic of London life in general is shown in a snippet about the accommodation business, typified by Barnard's Inn – where Pip will be staying:

My depression was not alleviated by the announcement, for I had supposed that establishment to be a hotel kept by Mr. Barnard, to which the Blue Boar in our town was a mere public-house. Whereas I now found Barnard to be a disembodied spirit, or a fiction, and his inn the dingiest collection of shabby buildings.... We entered this haven through a wicket-gate...into a melancholy little square...it had the most dismal trees in it...and the most dismal houses...that I had ever seen...the vengeance of the soul of Barnard...forlorn creation of Barnard...all the silent rots....⁵¹

Yet Barnard's mixture of rot, Mr. Barnard's milk-cow, receives no censure. Pip's great perceptions and expectations about London as the epitome of human excellence, excellence in improving the human condition, including the quality of human worth, are dashed, hence the disillusionment that Pip suffers. Contrary to great expectations of finding London oozing with humankind's ethical finesse, Pip confronts a soulless

⁵⁰Dickens, op. cit., p.190.

⁵¹Ibid., p.199.

London characterised by decadence and decay. This is what capital accumulation does. It is self-seeking, void of empathy, ethics, and morality, and hence has no human face. Pip's hopes to acquire gentility through reciprocal creative associations are thus dashed. Because of self-seeking ambition, material accumulation and money override everything else, including morality at whose centre must be human worth.

Human worth is predicated on fortune and title, as further evidenced by the ravishing respect that Pip receives when he returns to the marshes for his sister's burial. In contrast to the little Pip as a "bundle of shivers" and an object of mockery, everyone seeks Pip's company and opinion because he has wealth, "making obsequious movements to catch my attention. The moment he succeeded, he came over to me..., and said in a subdued voice, "May I, dear sir?"⁵² The hollow and myopic conception of human worth screams too loudly to be missed. If children are human capital for the future of any civilisation, we conclude that the ludicrous depiction of dehumanization, with Mr Jaggers' confessions at the affirmation of Estella's parentage to Pip, exposes how London breeds children for final slaughter, her own slaughter:

Put the case that he lived in an atmosphere of evil, and that all he saw of children was, their being generated in great numbers for certain destruction. Put the case that he often saw children solemnly tried at a criminal bar, where they were held up to be seen; put the case that he habitually knew their being imprisoned, whipped, transported, neglected, cast out, qualified in all ways for the hangman, and growing up to be hanged. Put the case that pretty nigh of children he saw in his daily business life, he had reason to look upon as so much spawn, to develop into the fish that were to come to his net op. cit. to be prosecuted, defended, forsworn, made orphans, bedevilled somehow.⁵³

The ruthlessness of capital accumulation sees and hears no evil prowling on the most vulnerable and innocent form of humanity – children. "[N]o feelings here".⁵⁴ we see a snarling at the human right to subsistence, as inequity thrives, shunning the principle, "in community with the other members."⁵⁵ Poor vulnerable children are never accorded the same speaking rights and protection as adults. Such is the debacle of capitalism. Suffice it to say that the stone-cold and callous London depicted here sharply

⁵²Ibid., p.324.

⁵³Ibid., pp.481-482.

⁵⁴Ibid., p.484.

⁵⁵Chigara (2004), p.125.

contrasts with the warmth of the lowly Joe of the marshes who is motivated by friendship, never accumulation. Ironically, gentility, as originally envisioned by Pip, rests mainly on capital and high company, irrespective of the means of attaining such “achievement,” hence the proliferation of “dishonest smiles, violence, cheating, robbery, and “weightless sense of worth.”⁵⁶ This courts Pip’s displeasure by the end of a London life and narrative. Through Pip as the chief protagonist, it emerges that the only lasting beauty and life-satisfaction that there is can principally be founded on productive reciprocal relationships, not convenient partnerships.

No matter how affluent, wo/man remains a social being desiring human contact and human affirmation in order to remain human – in itself a human right – with friendship as the healing balm, the principle upon which reciprocity and *humwe* thrive as discussed earlier. If the “absurd person singular”⁵⁷ in the persons of Miss Havisham, Mr Jaggers, and the little-talked-about Mr Barnard, all at the pinnacle of society, are examples to go by, we argue that in communities where individuals are deified on account of their wealth, human relationships, human dignity, human worth and the human soul itself become redundant. No one is safe. The hollow differential human worth that frowns upon and impudently flouts morality, justice, respect for others and self, as well as human dignity, is depicted by Dickens through Pip’s “great expectations.” Metaphorically, this asymmetrical approach to human relationships is crystallised in the “human destroyers from the sea” and “predators from the desert” that we now confront preying on Africa in Armah’s *Two Thousand Seasons*, to which we now turn in our examination of the productive and holistic human relationships that must guide the way of reciprocity, and *humwe/* oneness – principles of the recovery of blighted humanity.

Two Thousand Seasons: Re-Discovering the Way of Reciprocity

We take here a very cursory look at the novel of Ayi Kwei Armah,⁵⁸ *Two Thousand Seasons*. More or less an historical account of a fall from the Way of Reciprocity, and the loss of historical and cultural consciousness, through the nameless narrator, Armah summons Africans to recover that which they have lost, plunging themselves into myriad maladies, elongating and nurturing antihuman and self-destructive practices. We will not belabour our readers with the intricate details of Armah’s story as we did with Dickens’ narrative, but shall pick on those elements that help

⁵⁶Armah, op.cit., p.39.

⁵⁷A. Ayckbourn, *Three Plays: Absurd Person Singular, Absent Friends, Bedroom Farce* (London: Vintage Books, 1972).

⁵⁸Op. cit.

foster creative, productive, and reciprocal human relationships, for the general good.

Armah's nameless narrator laments:

[S]lavery – Two thousand seasons, a thousand going into it, a second thousand crawling maimed from it, will teach you everything about enslavement, the destruction of souls, the killing of bodies, the infusion of violence into every breath, every drop, every morsel of your sustaining air, your water, your food. *Till you come again upon the way.*⁵⁹

The way, as mentioned before, is reciprocity. The way is none of the following: barrenness, heedless fecundity, blind productivity,⁶⁰ “ignorant women ruling men” or “men dominating women,”⁶¹ thoughtless ease, blind following or “headlong generosity too proud to think of returns, it will be your destruction.”⁶² Symbolically, the narrator gives two categories of enemies to African humanity – predators from the desert, as the desert knows no giving, and destroyers from the sea who penetrate and erode the African soul from within using spokespersons/ askaris/ zombies/sell-outs who guard the predators and destroyers of their own people,⁶³ turning themselves into “walking corpses, killing...[their] own people,”⁶⁴ in contradiction to the way of Reciprocity. Women are turned into “playthings, for their decayed pleasure”⁶⁵ as they gratify their “corrosive lust”⁶⁶ among other aberrations. How all these forms of dehumanisation materialise is through “predators consistently [reducing]...men first to beasts, then to things – beasts they could command, things they could manipulate, all in the increase of their power over us.”⁶⁷ It is taboo to trust killers with one's mind.

Idyllic though it may sound, through Armah's nameless narrator, we get profound statements regarding what reciprocity means as the way back to humanity. “Purpose lends wings to the traveler,”⁶⁸ consciously embracing thoughts of creation and nourishment of the soul/human spirit. There-

⁵⁹Ibid., p.17.

⁶⁰Ibid., pp.16-17.

⁶¹Ibid., p.26.

⁶²Ibid., p.16.

⁶³Ibid., p.20.

⁶⁴Ibid., p.25.

⁶⁵Ibid., p.19.

⁶⁶Ibid., p.21.

⁶⁷Ibid., p.29.

⁶⁸Ibid., p.174.

fore, individuals take responsibility to commit themselves to the way of reciprocity because these are matters of the heart:

Our way is not a random path. Our way begins from *coherent understanding*. It is a way that aims at preserving knowledge of who we are, knowledge of the best way we have found to relate each to each, each to all, ourselves to other peoples, all to our surroundings. If our individual lives have a worthwhile aim, that aim should be a purpose inseparable from the way. The conquerors offering to spare our individual lives in return for our acceptance of their destruction of our knowledge of the way, these conquerors presume to bribe us with part of something stolen from ourselves, presume to bribe us into accepting our own death. Our way is reciprocity. The way is wholeness. Our way knows no oppression. The way destroys oppression. Our way is hospitable to guests. The way repels destroyers. Our way produces before it consumes. The way produces far more than it consumes. Our way creates. The way destroys only destruction.⁶⁹

In a nutshell, the above exhortation, though idyllic, is the barometer that individuals, communities and societies may voluntarily embrace for self-renewal. That self-renewal as everyone's imperative responsibility for building life-nourishing relationships and communities, needs no further pleading. It is a responsibility that cannot be postponed any further. Everyone is begged to revitalise their own relationships, friendships, families, communities, by shunning continued exploitation and sacrificing own lives in defence of alien agendas, "guided by...[our] own immense talent...and our forebears' creativity."⁷⁰ The heart of the struggle of re-learning to be human thus partially rests on reclaiming and consciously realigning our values with the simplicity and ingenuity of our respective cultures that valorise human worth, human dignity and equity in accessing life-nurturing resources for one and all above all else.

We may plucking a leaf from Cabral:⁷¹ "[the] struggle is not only against anything that might be contrary to [people's collective] liberty and independence, but also against anything that might be contrary to their progress and happiness." At the core of every human soul are aspirations, hopes and dreams of leading decent, dignified and fulfilling lives,

⁶⁹Ibid., p.39.

⁷⁰V.G. Chivaura, "European Culture in Africa as Business: Its Implications on the Development of the Human Factor," *Journal of Black Studies* 29 (2) (1998), 206.

⁷¹Op.cit., p.76.

strengths and weaknesses notwithstanding. It is therefore important to interrogate those conditions, issues, and realities that make liberty, freedom, happiness, progress, and amiable social relationships unattainable or difficult to attain, aspects that Armah has already isolated. Yet identification of these handicaps alone may not necessarily make everyone human and humane. Are we capable of reading the maps of our lives and our environment and arranging our desires in line with those of others around us, and striving to accommodate them in our pursuit of happiness and progress? What must every individual as part of the larger social whole do to achieve this? We go back to *humwe*, that frowns on the self-seeking self-aggrandisement that Dickens intimately explores and exposes to be the tragedy of the present-day “modernizing” “person.” What may be mostly seen as markers of achievement and upward mobility could actually be traps that imprison the soul, if not properly managed. How do we put in place the checks and balances needed? These questions bring us to a cursory glance at Mashingaidze Gomo’s *A Fine Madness*,⁷² before we close our discussion.

Gomo’s *A Fine Madness* uses the “hard evidence of history”⁷³ to explicate the conditions of poverty, plunder, self-hate and intellectual genocide that cost Africans their lives, their heritage and their very humanity, using Tinyarei⁷⁴ Zimbabwe as an example. There is no substitute for critical self-knowledge, critical historical knowledge, pride in one’s cultural reality, affirmation of self-hood and not dependence on outsiders, acknowledgement of one’s reality and others’ realities, and total recovery of lost dignity, human worth and invaluable attributes – the in/tangible heritage that anchors the way of reciprocity and *humwe* that we use to situate our discussion in an unending quest for wisdom’s renewal of the human soul. Until we know what we are fighting for and whom we are fighting against,⁷⁵ including what we desire to achieve, recover and establish, we cannot strategise and use our own genius experiential wisdom gleaned from lived realities, hence the “fine madness.”

What Mashingaidze Gomo exposes is what every human being should be striving for in order to safeguard humaneness, human dignity, decency and positive human worth, reinforcing Armah’s vision cited above. As if to respond and reinforce the way of reciprocity that Armah

⁷²Gomo, op.cit.

⁷³Chivaura, op.cit., p.91

⁷⁴The word means “give us a break.” Metaphorically, the name encapsulates a call for making concessions in favour of the Africans’ struggles against plunder and domination that they have waged and continue to wage.

⁷⁵Malcolm X, *By Any Means Necessary* (New York: Pathfinder, 1970).

urges Africans to go back and recover, Gomo⁷⁶ shuns and decries the idea of consuming before producing and relying on AID, akin to “suicidal dependence.” This is life-sapping and antihuman. Re-learning to be human, one shuns the institutionalising of dependency in the name of philanthropy. AID undermines creativity and hard work, afflicting incumbents with “voluntary imprisonment”⁷⁷ and perpetual dependence, thereby consolidating and compounding the cycle of poverty and disrespect for dependants.

Above all, recovery of human dignity for the oppressed rests with recovery of their own land, the dignity of labour, and their space, voice and history. That there is no dignity in begging, poverty and destitution is incontestable. The lives of the destitute continue to be held in contempt if they remain “perched on broken hills in barren lands, convinced that it is better to be quiet about their poverty and landlessness in order to feed from crumbs that fall from...corporate tables”⁷⁸ complicit in their own dispossession. Yet reciprocity summons people to responsibility for sustainable livelihoods for the present and the future, including surplus for trade – “Our way produces before it consumes. The way produces far more than it consumes. Our way creates.”⁷⁹ The Shona valorise “*kudya cheziya*,” which means living off one’s sweat/labour. Recovery of land, space, dignity and voice for the re-empowerment of the denigrated, disgraced, dispossessed and destabilized, therefore, can only be achieved by the incumbents themselves as the hallmark of self-respect.

Further, re-learning be human entails re-appropriating and projecting every local language’s status as equal to any other. It defeats logic that the language of conquerors should retain a higher status than local languages even at a time that 21st Century United Nations human rights discourses call for the affirmation of every human being’s dignity and worth by embracing linguistic and cultural diversity. Gomo’s narrator rightly argues that the status of languages compromises negotiating skills for peace and liberation because a borrowed language may not capture the “precise interpretation of their desires.”⁸⁰ The logic is questionable: “Is it democratic that everything meaningful to the people should be done in the alien language of the minority adversary?”⁸¹ We conclude the quest for a paradigm shift in ordering human relationships citing Morrison⁸² and Hudson-

⁷⁶Op. cit., p.129.

⁷⁷Ibid., p.131.

⁷⁸Ibid., p.134.

⁷⁹Armah, op.cit., p.39.

⁸⁰Gomo, op.cit., p.56.

⁸¹Ibid.

⁸²T. Morrison, *Beloved* (New York: Plume, 1988).

Weems⁸³ exhortation for every human being's right to self-name and self-define as part of accepting and embracing their human worth, like any other. Gomo⁸⁴ surmises in *A Fine Madness*:

It is refusal to have my experience interpreted for me by [aliens] whose kith and keen dispossessed my ancestors. The man on the spot must tell his story in order to prevent the tragedy from being repeated.

Concluding Remarks

While we admit that our discussion is a mere invitation for vibrant constructive dialogue, we conclude thus: if communities and the international community and humankind at large are serious about re-learning to be human and humane and re-ordering human relationships for the greater good, the few nuggets offered above, trying to establish how and where we fall short, where and how we went wrong⁸⁵ and forge ahead to self-regenerate, in the African Sankofa spirit we must go back to pick up that which we forgot, and continue to self-examine. In the end, we concur with the African philosophy that an unexamined life is not worth living.⁸⁶ It is through conscious efforts to re-learn to know ourselves, warts and all, to take responsibility for ourselves and others, that we can begin to accept being human once more, self-policing our hearts and conscience, using the anchors of *humwe* and reciprocity: the “unbreakable bond, and irreducible human factor.”⁸⁷

Basing our arguments on a literary arts background and on depictions that supposedly mirror communities and society, we argue that if indeed we use the wisdom and norms embedded in our respective cultures to cultivate, nurture and strengthen human relationships, some cardinal virtues/values/principles can be gleaned from the selected fictional narratives that we used for our discussion. We explore insights on building human dignity, fostering respect, self-pride, doing good and no intentional harm, and treating others as equal human beings, for the betterment of the family of humankind. The idea is to create dialogue on what it means to be human

⁸³C. Hudson-Weems, *Africana Womanist Literary Theory* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press Inc., 2004) and *Contemporary Africana: Theory, Thought and Action: A Guide to African Studies* (Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press Inc., 2007).

⁸⁴Op. cit., p.5

⁸⁵C. Achebe, *Hopes and Impediments* (New York: Doubleday, 1988).

⁸⁶A Socratic adage that is also celebrated and embraced in most African cultures and communities.

⁸⁷Op. cit., p.207.

and humane. At the core of these narratives is the urgency to recover and restore lost identity, dignity, critical self-knowledge, critical historical knowledge, self-respect and respect for others, appreciation of humility, and the emotional intelligence embedded in empathy and in/tangible cultural heritage through the cardinal principles of reciprocity and *humwe*. It is through reciprocity – seeing oneself in the other person and desiring the best for self and others, for society’s greater good, that *humwe*/oneness/unity/togetherness/solidarity/harmony/cohesion/bonding can be achieved within and across families, communities and societies, in contrast to the subtle hegemonic strategies employed by others to dehumanise, denigrate, exploit, manipulate, abuse, plunder and even annihilate others for personal self-aggrandisement, strategies masquerading as civilisation, evangelism, patriotism, nationalism, philanthropy and development. We argue that a differential classification that prioritises the humanity and dignity of others at the expense of those deemed less human is a masquerade used to justify self-aggrandisement, thereby undermining wholesome inter- and intra-personal relationships. If left unchecked, differential classification of human worth is self-destructive and cumulatively annihilates humankind’s relationship with self and others, because traps for the body, heart and mind ultimately destroy the soul.

References

- Achebe, C. (1988). *Hopes and Impediments*. New York: Doubleday.
- _____. (1975). *Morning yet on Creation Day: Essays*. London: Heinemann.
- Armah, A.K. (1973). *Two Thousand Seasons*. Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Publishers.
- Ayckbourn, A. (1972). *Three Plays: Absurd Person Singular, Absent Friends, Bedroom Farce*. London: Vintage Books.
- Cabral, A. (1979). *Unity and Struggle: Speeches and Writings of Amilcar*. New York and London: Monthly Review Press.
- Cesaire, A. (1995). *Notebook of a Return to My Native Land*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Bloodaxe Books.
- Chigara, B. (2012). *Re-Conceiving Property Rights in the New Millenium: Towards a New Sustainable Land Relations Policy*. London: Routledge.
- _____. (2004). *Land Reform Policy: The Challenge of Human Rights Law*. Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited.
- Chivaura, V.G. (1998). “European Culture in Africa as Business: Its Implications on the Development of the Human Factor.” *Journal of Black Studies* 29 (2), pp.189-208.
- Dickens, C. (1961). *Great Expectations* (Centennial Edition). Geneva: Heron Books.

- Gomo, M. (2010). *A Fine Madness*. London: Ayebia Clarke.
- Hudson-Weems, C. (2007). *Contemporary Africana: Theory, Thought and Action: A Guide to African Studies*. Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press Inc.
- _____. (2004). *Africana Womanist Literary Theory*. Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press Inc.
- Kincaid, J. (1988). *A Small Place*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Literary Devices (2018). "Bildungsroman." <https://literarydevices.net/bildungsroman/> (accessed 23 February 2018).
- Magosvongwe, R. (2013). "Land and Identity in Zimbabwean Fiction Writings in English from 2000 to 2010: A Critical Analysis." University of Cape Town. Unpublished D.Phil. dissertation.
- Morrison, T. (1988). *Beloved*. New York: Plume.
- Page, F. (1998). "Introduction." C. Dickens, *Great Expectations: The Oxford Illustrated Dickens*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Rukuni, M. (2007). *Being Afrikan: Rediscovering the Traditional Unhu-Ubuntu-Botho Pathways of Being Human*. Johannesburg: Mandala Publishers.
- X, Malcolm (1970). *By Any Means Necessary*. New York: Pathfinder.

Some Misconceptions about Culture: Views from a Zimbabwean Classical Thinker

JOHN DOUGLAS McCLYMONT

Introduction

The theme of culture is an important one when one is looking at interactions between Africa and the West. Nevertheless, the idea itself is associated with possible differences of viewpoint. The questions to ask include: Are all cultures equally valid, or is one better than another? Can culture be separated from other elements of human life, such as religion?¹ How should people of African roots respond to Western culture? One way to unpack the issues is to expound what I believe to be misconceptions about culture. I shall expound what I believe to be “myths” or mistaken stances about culture. For example, in my consciousness, what are “misconceptions” for me may be cherished beliefs for other people.

To avoid defamation, and in case I have misunderstood people who do not really believe the myths below, and because of the difficulty of tracking down sources, I am leaving the myths mostly unattributed. In one case (Myth 5) the “myth” is not an idea I have actually seen expressed by anybody, but rather a belief people might be in danger of holding, which I would like to prevent. My concern in this paper is not how widely the “myths” are held, but whether they are true.

Myth 1: Culture is a separate part of human life, with no relationship to other elements such as religion.

What exactly is culture? Sometimes we talk about “cultural activities,” meaning arts or music or something of that nature, and in that sense culture may appear as something apart from life, or, in educational contexts, extra-curricular. Thus, things like “culture” and “religion” or “politics” or “science” might appear to be very different concepts, distinct elements of human life which can be separated off from one another. It may appear that science, politics and religion do not seem to have anything to do with culture.

The narrower understanding of culture is not the only understanding. In the area of anthropology there is a famous definition by Tylor which

¹This topic was once disputed in the *Herald* newspaper in Zimbabwe if I remember correctly.

defines culture as “that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, custom, and other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.”² For the exclusive language “man,” objected to by an academic whose talk I once attended, we may substitute “person” or “human being.” The picture of culture we then obtain is quite a comprehensive one. Culture is everywhere. It is the air we breathe. It is related to knowledge (and therefore science and philosophy), belief (and therefore religion), laws (and therefore politics), and of course the area of art with which we associate “culture” in the narrower sense. According to the broader sense of the term, with which I shall be mostly concerned in this essay, religion and politics are certainly part of culture.

We may however ask whether these phenomena are *reducible* to culture, or whether they participate in culture while at the same time being more than cultural phenomena. To reduce the phenomena to culture may easily lead to cultural relativism, a stance I am opposed to. It is one thing to say that science and religion are always *within* some culture. But it does not follow that extra-cultural influences (e.g. the nature of the real world) do not affect them. Culture is not necessarily a closed system; it can be open to the real world, and scientific and religious propositions might reflect aspects of the real world to which a given culture is open, and therefore represent objective truth rather than mere cultural fabrication.

Myth 2: Culture can be more or less ignored in the realm of reasoning and epistemology.

In Western philosophy there is a tendency to treat the acquisition of knowledge from a *tabula rasa* point of view; we are interested in experiential or rational truths from which other beliefs can be deduced.³ And of course such principles do exist. They do not account wholly for all human beliefs. Human beliefs, especially in childhood, are acquired not by personal experience or reasoning but simply from one’s surrounding culture, as part of the air one breathes. For instance, an African may believe in witches, not on the basis of experience or reasoning, but because the belief has been in the air throughout his traditional African upbringing. Many beliefs therefore come from culture, perhaps more than we think. Perhaps you believe Albert Einstein was a genius. Have you personally verified this belief by reading his writings and critically testing all the theories he came up with? Do you even know what $E = mc^2$ means? Or do you simply accept, as part of the assumptions you have grown up with, that Einstein

² M. Assimeng, *Religion and Social Change in West Africa: An Introduction to the Sociology of Religion* (Accra, Ghana: Ghana Universities Press, 1989), p.17.

³ Wikipedia, “Tabula Rasa” (2018a). https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tabula_rasa

was a genius? If so, you are holding the belief culturally rather than critically. Our rational beliefs, then, are not necessarily pure from cultural input.

Myth 3: There is no objective truth, only different cultural perspectives.

Realisation of the mythical nature of the second myth has led people to the opposite extreme of cultural relativism. Since our knowledge and beliefs are mediated by different cultures, they are viewed as purely cultural products. Instead of there being one objective truth, each culture has its own “truth.” In this way the findings of science may be dismissed as merely “Western” logic and science, and Africa is said to have its own truth which is equally valid.

The problem with this is that objective truth has a way of breaking through. If truth were a creation of culture, we could make hunger stop in Ethiopia by simply creating a culture that believed that Ethiopians did not starve. This solution has not been implemented because objective reality will not allow it. Famine is an objective truth, and amid all the conventions and postulates our culture imposes on reality, there is a real core of experience and reason that remains beneath it all and is true whether we like it or not.⁴

It is true that different cultures have access to different aspects of the one objective reality, and so may learn from one another; but these perspectives on the one truth are not the same as “different truths” *per se*.

Myth 4: No belief from one culture can ever be binding on another culture.

Myth 4 is a logical consequence of Myth 3. If there is no absolute truth, no one culture can epistemically bind another. It would be possible

⁴For a more detailed defence of objectivism see J.D. McClymont, “Tradition and Objectivity,” *Philosophy in African Traditions and Cultures: Zimbabwe Philosophical Studies, II*, F. Mangena, T.A. Chimuka and F. Mabiri (eds.) (Washington, D.C.: The Council for Research in Values and Philosophy, 2015), pp.16-19. We may also refer to Wiredu’s argument by *reductio ad absurdum* for cultural universals, which involves the consideration that if cultural universals did not exist, intercultural communication would be impossible (K. Wiredu, *Cultural Universals and Particulars: An African Perspective* [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996], p. 21.) The same author (K. Wiredu, *Philosophy and an African Culture* [New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980], p.36) points out that if the existence of educational background bias was a proof of falsity, universal silence would be obligatory on all mankind.

for one culture to politically bind another and impose an ideology, but those so bound might resent this ideological imposition and seek to be freed. The cultural relativist idea of truth may lead to any obligation of Africans to accept Western ideas (like science or logic) being viewed as a political imposition.

If there is an objective truth, then people are bound to accept certain ideas because they are objectively true and known to be true. Whether they come from within their own culture or from a foreign culture, they are to be accepted because they are the known truth. In this way, a scientific truth discovered by Westerners is binding among Africans and members of non-Western cultures who come to know of it, because it is known to be true.

Yet it does not follow that the West has a monopoly on truth; for Africans can also perceive truth and have objective experiences of their own; and any objective truth discovered in Africa is true for all people in non-African cultures, whether they will admit it or not, simply because it is an objective truth.

An implication of belief in an objective truth accessible to the ordinary person, the proverbial “man in the street,” is that scholarship does not have a monopoly on truth. Thus, the real life experiences of people retain their credibility as first-hand or second-hand objective information even if their insights have not been systematized in a scholarly fashion. I have myself made use of information even in this paper from my own experience that has not been systematized in a scholarly fashion.

Myth 5: My culture is perfect.

I do not know if anyone follows this myth in practice. There has been in history such a thing as racial supremacism,⁵ and Bloom⁶ claims that from the study of non-Western cultures one should conclude that “not only to prefer one’s own way, but to believe it best, superior to all others, is primary and even natural,” implying that there are non-Westerners who view their culture as supreme. One can be a cultural supremacist without believing one’s culture is perfect, so long as one thinks all other cultures are worse. The myth, in any case, is not true of African or Western culture, and it is useful to consider why. One reason is that no culture totally comprehends reality.

⁵J. Comas, “Racial Myths,” J. Comas, K. Little, H.L. Shapiro, M. Leiris, C. Levi-Strauss, L.C. Dunn, J.M. Morant, A.M. Rose, O. Klineberg, M. Jahoda and UNESCO, *Race and Science* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), p.3.

⁶A. Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987), p.36.

There is a pervasive confusion in the West between the concepts of “understanding” and “comprehension.” The two terms are not synonymous. In medieval theology it was believed that God could be understood by the creature, but could not be comprehended by the creature.⁷ Understanding and comprehension of God are not synonymous.

To understand something is to basically be able to find one’s way about it:⁸ we “understand” a grain of sand satisfactorily when we conceive it coherently, know something of it, can distinguish it from other things, and are able to practically manage our life in relation to it, e.g. we are aware that we cannot eat sand, and that it will not harm us, etc.

To “comprehend” a grain of sand we would have to know every last logical feature of it. We would need to know its chemical formula, be able to count precisely the number of atoms in it, and be able to relate in detail its entire history from the moment it was formed on earth billions of years ago (and we would have to know the exact date of this). We would need to know precisely when it washed up on the beach and at what coordinates, and at what precise instant it dried out. This just takes into account scientific truth about the grain of sand. If Aristotelian hylomorphism is true,⁹ then comprehension of the grain of sand becomes more complex since the comprehender must then know about the metaphysical attributes of the grain of sand. I do not claim to comprehend any grain of sand in this way, and, since I reject the idea of logical atomism, I believe that every logical feature of every object is infinitely complex, so that total comprehension of a grain of sand would require explicit knowledge of an infinite number of facts. It would be arrogant to claim to have achieved this.

I will not defend my stance on logical atomism here; for the present argument it will suffice to consider that “understanding” a truth does not mean knowing every last little thing about it, and if the West knows about certain truths, it does not follow that it “comprehends” them, or knows every last thing about them. Similarly, if a culture has access to objective truth, it does not follow that it has access to all objective truth. If the West has achieved an understanding of the world through science, it does not follow that Western science knows everything about the world and Africa has nothing to say, especially in the area of values.

⁷English Dominican Fathers, *The Summa Contra Gentiles of Saint Thomas Aquinas: Third Book* (London: Burnes, Oates and Washbourne Ltd., 1928), pp.56, 131-132.

⁸Cf. L. Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations* (second edition) (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1958), 49e.

⁹E. Feser, *The Last Superstition* (South Bend, Indiana: St. Augustine’s Press, 2008), pp.57-58.

Now if your culture cannot give you total comprehension of a single grain of sand, it is folly to think it could give you total comprehension of any deeper issues such as wisdom, knowledge, morality, religion, justice and so forth. No culture is omniscient, and therefore no culture is perfect.¹⁰

This is not to say that religious truth and so forth cannot be known, even known infallibly; but infallible knowledge does not imply complete knowledge. As a Catholic I believe the Pope is on certain occasions infallible;¹¹ but it does not follow that the Pope is omniscient.

If no culture has omniscience, the possibility must be considered that African or Western culture may not have access to all the truth that is out there, and that could be useful to it; both Africans and Westerners should be open to seeking truth among other cultures. Africa and non-Africa, Western and non-Western culture, should therefore be in dialogue.

We may also point out that if a culture is not perfect, then reform of that culture may have to pay attention even to the fundamental assumptions of that culture. For this reason Wiredu is “not too sanguine” about cultural reform that does not rest on appraisal of the cultural foundations of the particular practices that are to be reformed.¹²

Myth 6: No culture is superior to another in any area.

People who have had experience of racism may understandably develop a negative attitude to claims of cultural superiority. If Myth 6 were true, it would follow that intercultural dialogue was unnecessary. For no other culture would know more about any area than we did, and so we would have nothing to learn from them.¹³

¹⁰The rejection of “the claim of absolute universality by any philosophy or philosophical tradition” by Oguejiofor and Onah may be interpreted as implying that no philosophy can claim total comprehension. They state that the search for absolute truth is natural to humanity but can only be satisfied piecemeal; which implies that objectivity is possible, but not total comprehension. See J.O. Oguejiofor and G.I. Onah (eds.) *African Philosophy and the Hermeneutics of Culture* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2005) p.xi. <https://books.google.co.zw/books?id=L7K0b4inw3kC&pg=PR14&lpg=PR14&dq=oguejiofor+african+philosophy+and+the+hermeneutics+of+culture>.

¹¹B. Conway, *The Question Box* (second edition) (New York: Paulist Press, 1929), p.168ff.

¹²Wiredu (1980), op.cit., p.14.

¹³According to Wiredu and Hountondji the redemption of traditional knowledge systems will require three elements from the Western Enlightenment: individual agency, abstract theory and openness. See I. Karp and D.A. Masolo (eds.), *African Philosophy as Cultural Inquiry* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press 2000), p.7. http://halleinstitute.emory.edu/karp/articles/african_philosophy.

We can learn from others only if they are more knowledgeable or better than us in some area. If you and I know exactly the same truths, then I have nothing to teach you and you have nothing to teach me. But if I and you know different truths, e.g. about the Latin and Shona languages respectively, then I know what you do not about Latin, and you know what I do not about Shona, and thus I am superior to you in Latin, and you are superior to me in Shona. If one culture learns from another in any area, this implies the teaching culture is superior to the learning culture in that specific area.¹⁴

Cultural supremacism obtains when a culture claims superiority to all other cultures and believes it should control all other cultures.¹⁵ It is not supremacist to claim superiority for your culture in one area while acknowledging the superiority of other cultures in other areas.

Myth 7: Insiders to a culture are in a better position to judge it than outsiders (or vice versa) in all areas.

The relationship of insider and outsider perspectives is something with which social studies is familiar.¹⁶ Phenomenology of religion in particular favours the use of the insider perspective in religion, and practises *epoche* in order to prevent the biases of the researcher from affecting the data.¹⁷ The research method of participant observation makes the observer as far as possible one of the observed,¹⁸ or an insider; it has an advantage to the extent that one can thereby gain a greater understanding of certain things, like the feelings, tensions and emotions of members of a group.¹⁹

¹⁴“Area” here should be interpreted narrowly, signifying a particular part of the knowable universe. I am not saying that e.g. if Africa learns a particular philosophical truth from the West then the West is totally supreme in philosophy and African philosophy has nothing to say. There may be an area in philosophy where the West has more to say and other areas where Africa has more to say.

¹⁵Cf. Merriam-Webster Dictionary, “Supremacist” (2018). <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/supremacist>.

¹⁶J. Mouton and H.C. Marais, *Basic Concepts in the Methodology of the Social Sciences* (Pretoria: HSRC, 1988), p.70.

¹⁷L. Dupre, “Phenomenology of Religion: Limits and Possibilities,” *Phenomenology of Religion: An Introduction to Mircea Eliade*, compiled by D.P. Goosen (Pretoria: UNISA, 1993), p.124; K. Young, “Having Your Cake and Eating It Too: Feminism and Religion,” *Theory and Method in the Study of Religion: A Selection of Critical Readings*, C. Olson (ed.) (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2003), pp. 523, 525.

¹⁸R. Francis, “Observational Research,” *Introduction to Social Research*, V. Pons (ed.) (Dar-es-Salaam: Dar-es-Salaam University Press, 1992), p.52.

¹⁹V. Pons, *Introduction to Social Research* (Dar-es-Salaam: Dar-es-Salaam University Press, 1992), p.576.

There is some sense in which the insider to a culture knows what an outsider does not.

Participant observation can however be subject to the pitfall of over-identification. To counteract the limitations of participant observation, the method needs to be accompanied by more detached techniques of data collection.²⁰ An insider perspective can involve “blind spots” to things that would be more obvious to an outsider. It is also true that if the outsider lacks the special knowledge of the insider, the insider also lacks the special knowledge of the outsider, knowledge that could be relevant to debate on aspects of the insider’s culture.

One example of an aspect of Shona culture that may escape the notice of an indigenous Shona is the fact that the class system in Bantu languages is, from a grammatical point of view, the same sort of thing as the gender system of Western languages like Latin.²¹ A Shona person might not grasp this, firstly, because they might not know about the Latin gender system, and secondly, because even if they did, they might perceive it as something foreign to their language and not perceive that at a deeper level Latin genders and Shona noun classes work in a similar way.

Given the limitations of human ability to comprehend grains of sand mentioned earlier, it is safe to suspect that no human person can totally comprehend something like a culture, which is more complex than a grain of sand. This argument holds true whether the culture is your own or someone else’s. So the idea that, “At least, by virtue of belonging to my own culture, I totally understand my own culture,” is an illusion. If it were true, no British student could ever fail a course in Shakespeare. Even the idea, “I understand my culture in every respect better than an outsider,” is an illusion, since outside experts may have ways of looking at things (especially in linguistics) that insiders have not learnt. So one should, in dialogue, be ready to learn from outsiders even about one’s own culture. At the very least an outsider will know better than the lifelong insider how the culture looks from the outside.

Myth 8: The default state of culture is one of separation from other cultures. Cultures should develop separately.

Under the influence of colonialism people are understandably hostile to the idea of being ideologically dominated by another culture. The idea of “decolonising the mind” is spoken of favourably.²² People want inde-

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Cf. F. Palmer, *Grammar* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971), p.86.

²²N. Wa Thiong’o, *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* (Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1987).

pendence, and to be respected for their own contribution to human thought. It is tempting, then, to think that the way to this goal lies in cutting oneself off from the outside world and developing separately.

In Africa an ideal of totally separate development would require the eradication of all Western vestiges from the African environment. I have heard it proposed, for example, if I remember correctly, that the suburb of Mount Pleasant in Harare should be re-named, and that Western kinds of tree planted in Harare should be removed. A total separate development perspective would need to take these ideas seriously. And ideologically, everything Western without an African precedent would have to be removed. Away with Aristotle's logic; away with Christianity; away even with Western science, technology and clothing. Let's replace all of this with traditional African material. From an African insider's perspective, this might be attractive. But the idea of separate development is an area where an outsider perspective has some light to offer.

Firstly, one of the things we can learn from an outsider perspective is that the ideal of separate development has in fact been tried. There was once a white politician who proposed that African and Western culture should develop separately. He attempted to implement in his politics the ideal of separate development of whites and blacks. His name was Daniel F. Malan.²³ His philosophy of separate development goes by the name *apartheid*, which means "apartness" in Afrikaans.²⁴ Many people seem to think that apartheid was something racist, and a bad thing.

The outsider perspective has revealed a problem. Once we take the idea of total separation out of an African context, and look at it in another context, like the apartheid context, we can now see the "total separation" idea of culture for what it is: basically a segregatory theory which in certain contexts can blossom into racism. If cultures are totally separate, then they have nothing to learn from each other. We can and should ignore cultures other than our own. We have nothing to learn from foreigners. If we live on this basis, this leads to the marginalisation of foreign voices.

For such marginalisation of other voices by a culture to be justified, the culture in question would have to be utopian or enjoy the favour of Almighty God, so you could really be sure that foreign voices had little to contribute to such a wonderful culture. I do not believe any Western or African culture as a culture can claim to be in this position.

It is interesting that if I said that African and Western culture should develop in complete separation, and called this *apartheid*, many people would say it was a bad thing. If I said that African and Western culture

²³N.M. Stultz, *Afrikaner Politics in South Africa 1934-1948* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), pp.136, 198.

²⁴*Ibid.*, p.136.

should develop in complete separation, and called this “decolonisation of the mind,” some people might say it was a good thing. To be sure, if decolonisation of the mind takes the form of independent and critical thought, so that one is suspicious of uncriticised Western ideas while at the same time being open to truth in both Africa and the West, then this is conducive to mature thought. But if decolonisation of the mind were to be proposed by black Africans as total separation between African and Western culture, then I would call it apartheid with a black face.

A key problem with the ideal of total cultural separation is that it is abnormal. Black Africans in Zimbabwe, on the whole, are not living an ideal of total cultural separation. They wear Western clothing. Some wear spectacles. Some code-switch to English even when talking among themselves. Some benefit from the Internet. Many Africans belong to a Christian church. Dismantling all of this would require something similar to the Chinese Cultural Revolution, and the impacts of that revolution in China seem to have been negative.²⁵

Another problem is this: if someone proposes African cultural separatism, do they speak for African culture as a whole? If the vast majority of Africa does not mind Western imports, what right do the separatists have to privilege their voice over the majority?

Finally: total cultural separatism is valid only if we reject the ideals of objective goodness, truth and beauty. If one believes in and values objective truth, goodness and beauty, one will appreciate them wherever they are found, in Africa or the West. Thus, one will learn from, respect and appreciate other cultures than one’s own. One will be open to input from those cultures. This will dismantle the walls of total cultural separatism.

It should be noted however that we are not here defending the opposite error from cultural separatism that of total absorption of a culture into some dominant culture by assimilation so as to negate the identity of that culture.²⁶

Myth 9: Cultures are, or should be, the intellectual monopoly of their possessors

The above myth is linked with the issue of “cultural appropriation.” The accusation of cultural appropriation arises in various contexts publi-

²⁵F. Pike, *Empires at War: A Short History of Modern Asia since World War II* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011), p.343.

²⁶K.A. Appiah, *In My Father’s House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), p.29. http://www.douglasficek.com/teaching/phil-4450-phil-of-race_

cised on the Internet. It can arise when a Halloween costume is worn which is linked with a culture not one's own. A costume based on a Polynesian character in a recent Disney movie was deemed racist and was recalled.²⁷ Cultural appropriation may also be brought up as an issue when an Asian character in a film is played by a Western actor.²⁸ Cultural appropriation in each of these cases is viewed as inadmissible. The underlying idea is that culture is the peculiar intellectual property of its possessors, so that Westerners may not use or adapt non-Western culture without permission. If you use another culture's elements without permission, that may be deemed "cultural appropriation." A small minority of people would like formal intellectual property protection to apply to cultural elements; others simply have the position that use of cultural elements can be offensive to the cultures involved.²⁹

The idea that you cannot ever use other cultures without permission implies that, in the absence of permission for imitation of one culture by another, the default state of cultures is to develop separately, without one receiving any input from the other. This is a situation of total cultural separation. As we said in discussing Myth 8 earlier, the idea of total cultural separation is segregatory and potentially racist.

If you are against all so-called "cultural appropriation," you are assuming a default state of culture as segregationist. And your attitude contains the seeds of racism. To understand how Myth 9 is potentially racist, let us apply it to the situation of a non-Westerners appropriating Western culture without permission.

In the novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the slave owner Simon Legree notices Tom's hymnbook, and on learning that he belongs to the church, says, "Well, I'll soon have *that* out of you. I have none o' yer bawling, praying, singing niggers on my place..."³⁰ In other words, he objects to Tom, a black slave, following certain religious practices followed by whites. Negroes are using elements of white culture, yet Simon Legree objects to their doing so.

²⁷ P.L. Onwuka, "The Scariest Part of Halloween is the Cultural Appropriation Police," *The Federalist* (October 13, 2016). <http://thefederalist.com/2016/10/13/scariest-part-halloween-cultural-appropriation-police/>.

²⁸ R. Sun and G. McMillan, "Why did 'Doctor Strange' and 'Ghost in the Shell' whitewash their Asian characters?" *The Hollywood Reporter* (April 15, 2016). <http://www.hollywoodreporter.com/heat-vision/why-did-doctor-strange-ghost-884385>.

²⁹ "Intellectual property and cultural appropriation," *Postlibertarian* (December 13, 2015). <http://postlibertarian.com/2015/12/13/intellectual-property-and-cultural-appropriation/>.

³⁰ H.B. Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd, 1909), pp.336-337.

Is Uncle Tom guilty of the high crime of “cultural appropriation?” He is using white culture without Simon Legree’s permission. It may be answered that Simon Legree is just one person. Very well; but suppose for the sake of argument that all whites agreed with Simon Legree. Would Uncle Tom then be guilty of cultural appropriation? If white culture is the private intellectual property of the whites, it seems that if all whites disapproved of blacks following white religion, blacks would not have permission to follow white religion, pray, sing hymns etc. and would be guilty of “cultural appropriation” in doing so.

In this context it is clear that Simon Legree is a racist, and Tom has a right to follow white religious practices no matter what Simon Legree thinks. If all whites were Simon Legrees, this would remain the case. People with common sense can see that Uncle Tom has a right to belong to the church, to pray and to sing Christian hymns, and can share in the fruits of white culture without needing to be white himself, or ask the white man’s permission. White culture is not the monopoly of the whites, and the cultural heritage of the human race is for sharing and not for hoarding.

What should we say about non-white culture? I see no reason to racially discriminate here. If whites do not privately own their own culture but should share it with the world, the same applies to any other race. Culture is not private property, and in any case cultural interaction and borrowing is a fact of life in our world, and attempting to artificially build walls to block it is doomed to failure.

What if whites not only borrow non-white culture, but change or alter it? What if they do things with a culture which the norms of that culture do not admit? Certainly, incidents could be envisaged where such alteration would be insulting; but can we generalise and say that ALL borrowing and adaptation of material from another culture without that culture’s approval is wrong?

Let us take the case of non-whites not only borrowing but changing white culture. For instance, in America certain blacks speak a strange kind of English called Ebonics. Its pronunciation and grammar differ from those of Standard English.³¹ Some Rastafarians also speak a variety of English that is different from Standard English norms.³² Consider, then, whether it is right or wrong to say the following: “The English language belongs to us whites. We, and not Africans, determine what its rules are to be and how it should be pronounced. Africans have no right to pronoun-

³¹R. Rickford, “What is Ebonics (African American English)?” (Linguistics Society of America, 2012). <http://www.linguisticsociety.org/content/what-ebonics-african-american-english>.

³²WikiHow, “How to Speak Rastafarian English” (2018). <http://www.wikihow.com/Speak-Rastafarian-English/>.

ce it any other way or change the rules of grammar. Therefore the speaking of Ebonics, or Rasta English, or any other such thing by blacks is cultural appropriation. It is wrong. Let's call out these Ebonics speakers and these Rastas and tell them to stop ruining the English language. Let them speak English properly in a BBC accent with Standard English grammar, or let them never speak English again."

Is this right? Do the Rastafarians have a duty to speak English the white way only, if enough people share in my disapproval? Or am I just being racist? I think Rastafarians are not obliged to speak English the white way. Rastafarians have the right, once they are exposed to Western culture, to freely react to it, and to creatively borrow and adapt it to suit their way of self-expression. This is lawful.

In this case, again, if culture were an intellectual property privately owned, then Anglo-Saxon whites could monopolise creative control of the English language, and stop Rastafarians legally from speaking Rasta English. They have no such right. Therefore, culture is not privately owned intellectual property. Perhaps the term "cultural appropriation" is a misnomer. Those who use and transform culture do not appropriate it, in such wise as to prevent other people using it in their way. They are merely accessing the human cultural heritage. In the course of borrowing cultural material there may be misunderstandings or even insult, but these offences are ancillary and do not attach to the act of cultural borrowing per se.

A further case in point: the Cherokee alphabet. The Cherokee chief Sequoyah once had a Bible; and he used characters from that Bible to create a Cherokee alphabet for his people. The syllabary was revised and Sequoyah dropped or modified most of the characters he originally created.³³ Nevertheless the fact remained that he did borrow symbols from his Bible to use for making his alphabet, and in its final form the Cherokee alphabet has letters that look like Western characters, and probably were based on Western characters, but the pronunciation in Cherokee is totally different. For instance, the character "4" is pronounced *se*.³⁴ Sequoyah has effectively taken bits of white culture and invested them with Cherokee meanings. He did not ask any white for permission to do this; and if Cherokee characters like "R" (pronounced *e*) and "D" (pronounced *a*) etc.³⁵ are genuinely based on Western characters, the norms of use followed by English speakers do not permit these letters Sequoyah borrowed to be pronounced the way Cherokees pronounce them. Do English-speakers have

³³Wikipedia, "Cherokee syllabary" (2018b). <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cherokeesyllabary>.

³⁴J.W. Gair, "Alphabet," *Collier's Encyclopedia*, Vol I, W.D. Halsey and B. Johnston (eds.) (New York: Macmillan Educational Company, 1989), p.606.

³⁵Wikipedia (2018b), op.cit.

a right to object? Let us ask ourselves whether they can say, “These letters were originally ours. They are pronounced in such and such a way. Cherokees do not have the right to take our letters and pronounce them their way. That is cultural appropriation, and it is wrong.” Is this a legitimate complaint? Or is it just racist, effectively denying Cherokees the right to assimilate the human cultural heritage in their own way?

If we apply consistently the standards that common sense applies in the Rastafarian situation and the Cherokee case, then use or adaptation of material from another culture does not always require that culture’s permission.

Myth 10: Culture is a system to be swallowed whole, on a “take it or leave it” basis. “Inculturation” means swallowing the indigenous culture as a whole.

The idea of inculturation arises when we speak of importing Christianity to a non-Western culture. Through inculturation, the Christian message is incarnated in a particular cultural context so as to find expression in elements proper to the relevant culture.³⁶ In a philosophical context, it might be asked whether inculturation applies here; if Africans learn about Western philosophy, surely it is to learn what is philosophically true, and not simply to have a Western philosophically-oriented cultural mindset replace their African mindset.

So what is the solution? If we propose that an African cultural mindset replaces the Western mindset exhaustively, so all Western ideas are excluded, then this is cultural separatism.³⁷ If Western ideas are admitted as “second-class citizens” to a worldview where African ideas reign unquestioned, then we have an African hegemonic discourse replacing Western hegemonic discourse. If there is such a thing as objective truth, then no idea should dominate discourse unless it is the truth; and to identify Western or African culture hegemonically with the truth seems arrogant. It seems unlikely to me that African culture or Western culture is endowed with infallibility; thus, neither culture is a “total system” immune

³⁶K.I. Anthony, “Inculturation and the Christian Faith in Africa,” *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 2(17) (2012), p. 236. http://www.ijhssnet.com/journals/Vol_2_No_17_September_2012/25.pdf.

³⁷Y.V. Mudimbe, *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy and the Order of Knowledge* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), p.189. He rejects the idea of a rigid opposition of tradition and modernity. According to him, tradition “means discontinuities through a dynamic continuation and possible conversion of *tradita* (legacies).” This would seem to indicate that tradition does not have to be immutable or non-developing.

from criticism. We should confront the heritage of both critically and rationally, not being afraid to reject ideas that are questionable.

In the area of Christian evangelism it is understandable that Christ's revelation should be treated as the truth by Christians in a context of inculturation.³⁸ Where we are dealing with philosophy rather than revelation, no idea should rule "aristocratically" because of an African or Western pedigree; let it rule meritocratically, because it is true.

Philosophers are known for being critical. Plato did not accept all aspects of Greek mythology and culture; he believed that the gods existed, but he did not believe that the gods had battles with one another as Homer taught.³⁹ Similarly an African philosopher can see good in African culture without being obliged to swallow African mythology as a whole.

Conclusion

The main points of the above discussion may be summarised as follows: Culture is not a part of life separate from science, faith and other elements of human life; culture is not to be ignored by philosophy; at the same time, there is an objective truth beyond culture, and an objective truth discovered by one culture may be binding on another. No human culture known to us is perfect – although one culture might be superior to another in some area – nor is any culture immune from outside criticism; human culture should not exist in a state of separation, nor is it the private intellectual property of its "possessors." It is meant for sharing, not hoarding. Neither is it a total system to be accepted or rejected as a whole, but rather it is to be evaluated critically.

References

- Anthony, K.I. (2012). "Inculturation and the Christian Faith in Africa." *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 2(17), pp. 236-244. http://www.ijhssnet.com/journals/Vol_2_No_17_September_2012/25.pdf (accessed 20 February 2018).
- Appiah, K.A. (1992). *In my Father's House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press. <http://www.douglasficek.com/teaching/phil-4450-phil-of-race> (accessed 20 February 2018).

³⁸See International Theological Commission "Faith and Inculturation" (Vatican City, 1988), 3: 14. http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/cti_documents/rc_cti_1988_fede-inculturazione_en.html.

³⁹D. Lee (tr.), *Plato: The Republic* (second edition with additional revisions) (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1987), p.133.

- Assimeng, M. (1989). *Religion and Social Change in West Africa: An Introduction to the Sociology of Religion*. Accra, Ghana: Ghana Universities Press.
- Bloom, A. (1987). *The Closing of the American Mind*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Comas, J. (1961). "Racial myths." J. Comas, K. Little, H.L. Shapiro, M. Leiris, C. Levi-Strauss, L.C. Dunn, J.M. Morant, A.M. Rose, O. Klineberg, M. Jahoda and UNESCO, *Race and Science*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Conway, B. (1929). *The Question Box* (second edition). New York: Paulist Press.
- Dupre, L. (1993). "Phenomenology of religion: limits and possibilities." D.P. Goosen (Compiler), *Phenomenology of Religion: An Introduction to Mircea Eliade*. Pretoria: UNISA.
- English Dominican Fathers (1928). *The Summa Contra Gentiles of Saint Thomas Aquinas: Third Book*. London: Burnes, Oates and Washbourne Ltd.
- Feser, E. (2008). *The Last Superstition*. South Bend, Indiana: St. Augustine's Press.
- Francis, R. (1992). "Observational research." V. Pons (ed.), *Introduction to Social Research*. Dar-es-Salaam: Dar-es-Salaam University Press.
- Gair, J.W. (1989). "Alphabet." W.D. Halsey and B. Johnston (eds.), *Colliner's Encyclopedia Vol I*. New York: Macmillan Educational Company.
- International Theological Commission (1988). "Faith and Inculturation." http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/cti_documents/rc_cti_1988_fede-inculturazione_en.html (accessed 20 February 2018).
- Karp, I. and Masolo, D.A. (eds.) (2000). *African Philosophy as Cultural Inquiry*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. http://halleinstitute.emory.edu/karp/articles/african_philosophy (accessed 20 February 2018).
- Lee, D. (tr.) (1987). *Plato: The Republic* (second edition) with additional revisions. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- McClymont, J.D. (2015). "Tradition and objectivity." F. Mangena, T.A. Chimuka and F. Mabiri (eds.), *Philosophy in African Traditions and Cultures: Zimbabwe Philosophical Studies, II*. Washington, D.C.: The Council for Research in Values and Philosophy.
- Merriam-Webster Dictionary (2018). "Supremacist." <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/supremacist> (accessed 20 February 2018).
- Mouton, J. and Marais, H.C. (1988). *Basic Concepts in the Methodology of the Social Sciences*. Pretoria: HSRC.
- Mudimbe, Y.V. (1988). *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy and the Order of Knowledge*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

- Oguejiofor, J.O. and Onah, G.I. (eds.) (2005), *African Philosophy and the Hermeneutics of Culture*. Münster: LIT Verlag. <https://books.google.co.zw/books?id=L7K0b4inw3kC&pg=PR14&lpg=PR14&dq=oguejiofor+african+philosophy> (accessed 20 February 2018).
- Onwuka P.L. (2016). "The Scariest Part of Halloween is the Cultural Appropriation Police." *The Federalist* (13 October 2016). <http://thefederalist.com/2016/10/13/scariest-part-halloween-cultural-appropriation-police/> (accessed 20 February 2018).
- Palmer, F. (1971). *Grammar*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Pike, F. (2011). *Empires at War: A Short History of Modern Asia since World War II*. London: I.B. Tauris.
- Pons, V. (1992). *Introduction to Social Research*. Dar-es-Salaam: Dar-es-Salaam University Press.
- Postlibertarian (2015). "Intellectual property and cultural appropriation." *Postlibertarian*, 13 December 2015. <http://postlibertarian.com/2015/12/13/intellectual-property-and-cultural-appropriation> (accessed 20 February 2018).
- Rickford, R. (2012). "What is Ebonics (African American English)?" Linguistics Society of America. <http://www.linguisticsociety.org/content/what-ebonics-african-american-english> (accessed 20 February 2018).
- Stowe, H.B. (1909). *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. London: J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd.
- Stultz, N.M. (1974). *Afrikaner Politics in South Africa 1934-1948*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Sun, R. and McMillan, G. (2016). "Why did 'Doctor Strange' and 'Ghost in the Shell' whitewash their Asian characters?" *The Hollywood Reporter*, 15 April 2016. <http://www.hollywoodreporter.com/heat-vision/why-did-doctor-strange-ghost-884385> (accessed 20 February 2018).
- Wa Thiong'o, N. (1987). *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature*. Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House.
- WikiHow (2018). "How to Speak Rastafarian English." <http://www.wikihow.com/Speak-Rastafarian-English> (accessed 20 February 2018).
- Wikipedia (2018a). "Tabula Rasa." https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tabula_rasa (accessed 20 February 2018).
- _____. (2018b). "Cherokee syllabary." https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cherokee_syllabary (accessed 20 February 2018).
- Wiredu, K. (1996.) *Cultural Universals and Particulars: An African Perspective*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- _____. (1980). *Philosophy and an African Culture*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Wittgenstein, L. (1958). *Philosophical Investigations* (second edition). Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd.

Young, K. (2003). "Having Your Cake and Eating It too: Feminism and Religion." C. Olson (ed.), *Theory and Method in the Study of Religion: A Selection of Critical Readings*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Old People's Homes (OPHs) as a Legacy of Colonialism in Zimbabwe: Perspectives from *Hunhu/Ubuntu* Cultural Philosophy

NGONI MAKUVAZA & RUTH B. GORA

Introduction

This paper is situated within the field of philosophy as an academic discipline. Thus, philosophical tools of conceptual analysis are used to interrogate the claims and theses presented and defended in this discussion. Specifically, the discussion is grounded in the philosophy of *hunhu/ubuntu* considered within the context of postcolonial discourses on philosophy in Africa. The purpose of the paper is to interrogate the place of Old People's Homes (OPHs) as extant and perceived among the Shona of Zimbabwe. The paper examines the institution of Old People's Homes (OPHs) from two perspectives. Firstly, from a celebratory standpoint where these institutions are viewed as addressing a serious social malady in Zimbabwe, namely, destitution, especially as it relates to the elderly (*vakwegura*) among the Shona. Secondly, from a critical viewpoint, where the same institutions are being viewed as "locked libraries." This view is premised on the claim that confining the elderly to "homes" is inadvertently denying the younger generation access to valuable cultural knowledge critical for future sustainable development of families and society.

To "unlock" these "libraries," the paper draws its inspiration from *hunhu/ubuntu* as the philosophy underpinning the indigenous Shona people's way of addressing existential problems such as agedness (*kukwegura*) and its concomitant challenges. The paper specifically examines the ethic of *chirere chigokurerawo* ("I will take care of you while you are young, so that you will also take care of me when I grow old") in so far as it is conceived to be critical in addressing the social malady of destitution, especially among the elderly (*vakwegura*). This is considered a viable and sustainable intervening strategy to complement current efforts in addressing the plight of the destitute elderly.¹

¹N. Makuva, "Philosophical Reflections on the provisions of primary education in Zimbabwe: An investigation into whether or not *hunhu/Ubuntu* can be incorporated into the philosophy of education." Unpublished D.Phil. dissertation

The Problem

To begin with, the problem is not about the fact of aging (*kukwegura*), since this is a given, but rather the challenges associated with agedness (*kukwegura*). Our concern is with the destitute elderly (*vakwegura*) who ultimately find themselves removed from their families and confined to OPHs for food and shelter. In other words, the problem is not with aging *per se* but with destitution among the aged. While the process of aging presents corresponding processual challenges, which society seems to accept, the challenges presented at the stage of being aged (*kukwegura*) seem to have overwhelmed the families and the society of which these citizens have hitherto been members, and from which they expect assistance again.

Thus, the aged (*vakwegura*) face a multitude of challenges.² These challenges are financial, social, health-related and psychological. Nyanguru's study of the aged in institutions in Zimbabwe is very helpful in this regard, as he highlights a number of challenges the aged face in these institutions.³ While his study mainly focused on health challenges, our claim is that these people face many challenges, whether or not they are institutionalised. However, what makes these challenges a cause for concern is not so much that they are peculiar to them as *vanhu vakwegura*, but rather the fact that they are overwhelmed by these problems. While in their prime years they had the means and capabilities ordinarily to address their challenges and problems; it is evident that at the present stage these problems are beyond them and their families. Thus, evidence of the destitute elderly extant in OPHs point to families which have been overwhelmed by the survival demands of the aged, to the extent that these senior citizens find themselves without shelter, food and medical services. Ultimately, they become beggars, desperate and destitute. As a result, they are treated as "outcasts" by their respective families; the "good-for-nothing" who are then confined to some institution as objects of pity and study.

(University of Zimbabwe, 2015), p.102; M. Gelfand, *The Genuine Shona – Survival Values of an African Culture* (Gweru: Mambo Press, 1967), p.72

²A. Nyanguru, "The Quality of Life of the Elderly Living in Institutions and Homes in Zimbabwe," *Journal of Social Development in Africa*, 5(2) (1990), p.38; S. Makoni, "Aging in Africa: A Critical Review," *Cross Cultural Gerontology*, 23 (2008), 200; N. Makuvaza, Dilemmas: SMEs business' business philosophy and ZIMASSET in Zimbabwe," *Zimbabwe Agenda for Socio-Economic Transformation: Critical Perspectives and Debates in Public Policy*, I. Chirisa (ed.) (Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications, 2017), p.61; R. Douglass, "The Aging of Africa: Challenges to African Development," *African Journal of Food, Agriculture, Nutrition and Development*, 4(4) (2015), 102-129.

³Nyanguru, op.cit., p.38.

Without risking committing the fallacy of composition or generalization,⁴ it is prudent to mention that not all the aged (*vakwegura*) are destitutes, thus finding themselves at the mercy of an unmerciful society. Our concern, however, is with those who are destitute and find themselves in the aforesaid institutions. In particular, our concern is with destitution especially as it affects the elderly (*vakwegura*).

Thus, we argue that destitution, especially among the elderly, is a familial and societal challenge. It can further be posited that families and societies are ill-equipped to handle this problem, which regrettably is here to stay. Thus, while societies seem over-concerned with reducing infant mortality and improving maternal and child health,⁵ they seem to care less about their aged. What society seems oblivious to is the fact that putting strategies in place to address infant mortality ordinarily implies similar strategies to cater for the aged. This is because there is a logical correlation between infant mortality and longevity ultimately leading to agedness (*kukwegura*). Adamchak et al.,⁶ Kasere,⁷ and Gachuhi and Kiemo⁸ support the view that the increase in life expectancy also means growth in number of elderly people. This observation is aptly corroborated by AU-HelpAge International in 2002 which noted:

In Africa, over the next 20 years...the population of older people will more than double in many countries...the majority of people in Africa will thus grow older and will, in all probability, live longer than previous generations....This increase in the number of older people provides a challenge for the continent as a whole, as well as for individual countries.⁹

This dimension of longevity was also highlighted and supported by Gachuhi and Kiemo¹⁰ who admitted:

⁴I.M. Copi, *Introduction to Logic* (New York: Macmillan Publishers, 1986), p.117.

⁵Douglass, op.cit., p. 3.

⁶D.J. Adamchak, D. Wilson, A. Nyanguru, J. and Hampson, "Aging and Support Systems: Intergenerational Transfer in Zimbabwe," Paper presented at the 12th World Congress of Sociology (Madrid, Spain, 1990).

⁷C. Kasere, "The aged amongst us." Speech delivered by the Director of Social Welfare on the completion of a sick bay at Melfort Farm Project, Zimbabwe, 4 July 1990, p.35.

⁸J.M. Gachuhi and K. Kiemo, "Research capacity on ageing in Africa: Limitations and ways forward" (2005), p.36. www.helpage.org/researchpublications.

⁹Cited in Douglass, op.cit., p.3.

¹⁰Op. cit., p.36.

We are living longer, that is, once premature deaths resulting from HIV/AIDS related illnesses are factored out. There are indications that the number of people aged 60 and over will double to 10% by 2050. The increase in the number of the aged will present a challenge to an “unprepared continent.”

From the above, it is critical to note that the aged (*vakwegura*) and the concomitant plight of destitution are here to stay, so families and societies should be prepared for this particular challenge. Regrettably, it seems apparent that Africa in general, and Zimbabwe in particular, are unprepared to address the plight of the *vakwegura*. This is notwithstanding other initiatives which have currently been put in place to address this phenomenon. However, this responsibility should not exclusively be left to government, but rather a multi-sectorial approach is needed. Accordingly, this paper is presented within the context of exploring other avenues of addressing the challenges associated with the *vakwegura* in Africa but specifically in Zimbabwe.

Interrogating the Idea of Destitution within Indigenous Shona Spaces

This section presents some remarks pertaining to the idea of destitution, especially through the lens of the indigenous Shona and indigenous Africans in general. This flows from the preceding section where destitution was presented as the problem of this paper. Thus, while *kukwegura* is ordinarily associated with a multiplicity of challenges, not all aged are destitute. What is critical to note, especially in so far as this paper is concerned, is that what unites all the elderly in our discussion is the issue of destitution. For the moment, the discussion turns to an examination of the idea of destitution among the Shona. This examination is critical because our view is that destitution, in general and especially among the elderly was not and is not very common in traditional African spaces. If this reasoning is cogent, one can infer that relational destitution among the Shona is not only a postcolonial phenomenon but can be considered a legacy of colonialism. Accordingly, in this paper we try to establish the nature of destitution which results in *vakwegura* having to be institutionalised in OPHs as a last resort.

It is important that we define terms such as “destitution” in order to buttress the foregoing. Geddie¹¹ defines “destitution” as “the state of being destitute,” and being “destitute” is defined as being “left alone; forsaken;

¹¹W. Geddie (ed.), *The Chambers's Twentieth Century Dictionary* (London: W. and R. Chambers, Ltd., 1971), p.209.

in utter want; entirely lacking." This definition is important, as it is the basis of our understanding and appreciation of the plight of the *vakwegura* among the Shona in Zimbabwe. In other words, these *vakwegura* are largely left "alone," "forsaken," "in utter want," and lack basic necessities for survival. It should, however, be mentioned that destitutes were uncommon in traditional African societies.

In this section, we shall consider destitution from two perspectives, namely "material" and "relational." To start with, material destitution can be regarded as the "utter want" or entire lack of material necessities for sustenance. This includes lack of shelter, food, clothes and health. "Relational destitution," on the other hand, is viewed as the "utter want" or entire lack of relations or, in Shona, *kushaya hama*. It should be noted that within traditional African societies it was possible to have *vakwegura* with some degree of material destitution, but almost impossible for there to be relational destitution. Thus, we posit that it was conceptually but not practically possible to have *vakwegura* who were both materially as well as relationally destitute. Nonetheless, society had strategies meant to address both forms of destitution. However, faced with these two forms of destitution, current society seems concerned with material destitution because of its apparent overtness, without regarding satisfactorily the relational dimension. One may be justified in suggesting that current institutional intervention strategies are aimed at addressing material destitution with some degree of success, while inadvertently overlooking relational destitution. Thus, it can be surmised that while the former may be reasonably addressed, the latter, because of its subtlety, is almost impossible to address, especially in the context of current institutional intervention strategies. Furthermore, relational destitution has far-reaching and devastating consequences for the concerned person, as shall be articulated shortly. In this paper, a more comprehensive package of intervention strategies is suggested, one which seeks to articulate and address both dimensions of destitution, but with more attention being given to relational destitution.

Issues of Destitution and the Role of OPHs

Old People's Homes (OPHs), as the name suggests, are institutions designed to cater for the aged and destitute. Currently there are over seventy (70) registered OPHs in the country.¹² The existence of these institutions can be considered evidence of families' failure in looking after their elderly. OPHs were established to address the destitution, particularly among the elderly, which had overwhelmed both family and society.

¹²J. Dhembu, "Social Protection for the Elderly in Zimbabwe: Issues, Challenges and Prospects," *African Journal of Social Work*, 3(1) (2013), 8.

Notwithstanding our reservations regarding the function of OPHs, what is noteworthy is that these institutions provide care for destitute people who ordinarily have no means of support or relatives to care for them. In this paper we examine these institutions in so far as they present a service to the destitute *vakwegura* who otherwise have no means to sustain themselves, as well as no one prepared to look after them. Nevertheless, institutional care is regarded as contrary to the culture among the Shona: "...ideally, the elderly want to 'age in place', that is, within their families and communities, but this is only possible with a guaranteed income, family and community care."¹³ Dhemba further notes that in the African context it has always been thought that the strength of tradition and family solidarity would prevent situations where older persons experienced social and economic insecurity. In light of that, and as earlier observed, it is quite disturbing to note that the increase in the number of OPHs is evidence of the breakdown of the support system in society for the elderly among the Shona.

Many explanations have been proffered for the existence of OPHs, not only in Zimbabwe but also in other parts of Africa. For instance, it has been argued that individualism through the nuclear family in African societies, in general, and in Zimbabwe in particular, has exposed the elderly population to social insecurity. Factors of employment, modernisation, and urbanisation have led to changes in family structures, which, in turn, have also resulted in diminished kin-support for elderly persons. Also, the search for formal employment away from village life by economically active age groups has severely severed familial ties, both at the nuclear and extended family levels. Furthermore, the elderly also feel that they would not fit well into modernised lifestyles if they were to follow and live with their offspring in urbanised environments. Again, migration to the Diaspora has deprived the elderly of constant support from family members. In view of such situations and where resources permit, relatives have taken to OPHs as stop-gap measures. In cases where supposed family-caregivers do not have resources, old people (*vakwegura*) are depending entirely on themselves, leading to destitution.

It is important to note that culture is never static; rather, it is a continuous process of change; but in spite of the change, culture continues to give communities a sense of identity, dignity, continuity, and security, binding society together. In that light, and in view of the rise in OPHs, if no culturally friendly interventions are designed, urbanisation, modernisation and globalisation will continue to shape the social (in)security of current and future generations of the elderly. However, from a Shona perspective, notwithstanding the remarkable service OPHs are rendering to

¹³Ibid.

society, still they must be interrogated within a broader context going beyond the simple service they are offering to society. OPHs may be considered as partially addressing the needs of the *vakwegura* in our society in the sense that they are only addressing the material needs of the elderly but not their relational needs. If this reasoning is sound, then it becomes imperative that other initiatives which address the needs of the aged holistically be considered.

OPHs are also perceived as being consequent upon the demise of the family institution, especially in its various formations in playing its pristine function of caring for its members whether young or aged. In a way, OPHs can be viewed as being inadvertently responsible for the family abrogating its traditional role and function of taking care of its members at whatever age. Furthermore, we posit that the institution of OPHs is not a panacea for destitution. Rather, such institutions are addressing the symptoms and not the causes of destitution, especially as it relates to the *vakwegura* in Zimbabwe. Essentially, OPHs are addressing the material dimensions of destitution, while at the same time inadvertently exacerbating relational destitution. This is premised on the claim that, regardless of the proficiency of caregivers in these and similar institutions, such personnel can never replace one's relatives (*hama*). On account of this, a multi-pronged approach in addressing both dimensions of destitution becomes an exigency. We also argue that, even as OPHs are playing a remarkable role in addressing the plight of the *vakwegura*, they are unconsciously contributing towards epistemological transfer discontinuity in society, as well as the degeneration of the family institution in its extendedness as perceived among indigenous African spaces.¹⁴ Lastly, we argue that OPHs should aptly be viewed as "locked libraries," to which no one can have access. This is premised on the submission that sending the *vakwegura* to OPHs is tantamount to and inadvertently akin to fully furnishing a library and then locking it away from the general public. Owing to the busy life schedules experienced by many these days, it is rare for relatives to visit the elderly in OPHs and consult them or listen to them.

Thus, in acknowledging the fact that sending the destitute *vakwegura* to OPHs only addresses one aspect of destitution, it is imperative that other intervention strategies be considered and interrogated to address this challenge. To this end, we argue for the resuscitation of the *chirere chigokurerawo* ethic within current educational discourses and family narratives and socialisation processes in the country. This is premised on the idea that before the advent of colonialism which brought about OPHs the Shona were capable of addressing both the material and the relational needs of the elderly using the ethic of *chirere chigokurerawo*.

¹⁴Makuvaza (2015), p.56.

Interrogating the Idea of a “Home”: An Indigenous Shona Perspective

This section examines the so-called homes in which the elderly find themselves resident. This examination is important, as it lays the base for one of our major claims, that OPHs are like locked libraries. Thus, we present OPHs not so much as places of celebration but of dehumanisation as well as depersonification.¹⁵ Furthermore, we view OPHs as providing an environment which limits the participation of the elderly in their family and community lives. We argue that there is nothing home-like about these institutions, for them to be called Old Peoples’ Homes. While we acknowledge that some OPHs could be friendlier than others, still, we maintain that one’s own home is expected to give more warmth than any other habitat.

In other words, these institutions, notwithstanding being popularly celebrated for being “saviours” to the elderly destitute (which in a way they are), are inadvertently performing a disservice not only to the elderly but to society at large in more ways than one. As indicated above, these institutions partially address the needs of the inhabitants. We argue that these institutions are offering “pragmatic” but not sufficient solutions to the plight not only of the elderly themselves but even of society as well. This is because they are addressing the symptoms and not the root causes of the problem.

In elaborating the above claims we draw insights from our privileged concrete and existential rootedness in the Shona culture. According to the Shona, “home,” *musha*, is conceived in terms of *mukadzi*, *vana nehama* (wife, children and relatives) who make up one’s *mhuri* (extended family). Thus, one’s *mhuri* is pivotal in defining and constituting one’s *musha* (home).

Related to the critical role of *mukadzi* in the *musha*, is the Shona saying, “*Musha mukadzi*” (the home is the wife). Associated with the three aspects of a home, *mukadzi*, *vana nehama*, is food, which is to be given generously to family and visitors alike. While houses are important for living in, they are not decisive in the equation. The aforementioned three aspects are key in the Shona conception of a *musha*. Essentially, these cause a home to be a real home. It should be noted that the word *musha* can also denote several homesteads belonging to one or more owners who are related. However, for our purpose, we eliminate the elements of *mukadzi* and *vana* and focus on *hama* and food. We do so in light of the fact that the conditions under which the elderly in the OPHs live ordinarily exclude

¹⁵E. Goffman, *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and other Inmates* (New York: Garden City, 1961).

the *mukadzi/murume* (wife/husband) and *vana* (children), though they are free to visit if they so wish.

Be that as it may, what all of the above means is that, these institutions cannot rightly be called "homes." Ironically, these institutions seem to be called "homes" because they meet only two criteria, namely food and shelter. This is because, if there is anything which the elderly get from these "homes," it is food, clothes and shelter as well as health. If this observation is sustainable, then we are justified in our earlier claim that there is nothing home-like about these "homes," especially as such institutions are only catering for the material needs of the elderly, as if a human being were exclusively material. Such institutions seem incapable of matching the relational contribution of the *musha* which under normal circumstances is catered for by numerous relatives.¹⁶ These numerous relatives not only visit the *musha* but also live within the *musha*, thereby contributing to the "homeness of the home" (*humusha*).

On this basis, we argue that it is a misnomer to refer to these institutions as homes, especially from the Shona perspective. This is because there is more to a *musha* than buildings and food being prepared and provided by strangers. Thus, attached to every *musha* and glaringly absent in the OPHs are especially psycho-social and spiritual as well as relational affinities. Although OPHs can arrange visits by pastors and other ways of fulfilling spiritual needs, we argue that Shona spirituality and family ties are closely intertwined.

Accordingly, it is posited that the elderly domiciled in OPHs miss the "homeness" of the *musha* even as it is assumed and believed that they are in a home. They miss the *mhuri* spirit which is associated with the *musha*. Furthermore, unlike the *musha*, institutional homes seem to have a far-reaching psycho-social negative impact on the person resident in the institution. Thus, on the basis of our interaction with the elderly in Bumhudzo OPH in Chitungwiza, we wish to submit that what we saw and experienced can, to a large extent be generalised as typical "inmate behaviour" or institutional behaviour of people resident in "homes." Most of the elderly residents appeared very lonely, though in the midst of others. Also, most of them appeared lost in deep thought, as well as absent-minded. Such behaviour is not surprising, as these "homes" are hopeless, as they seem to provide no space for hope in view of the expectation of continuously living in the institution. This is because hope is the driving force undergirding existence and survival, especially of human-beings. Thus, when life is denied any hope, it becomes meaningless, with the only remaining hope being the hope for death.

¹⁶Makuvaza (2015), p.69.

Needless to say, there are caregivers and professionals in these particular institutions; however, it must be emphasised that these are professionals, and not relatives. In other words, no matter how proficient most of them are at giving care to the institutionalised inmates, they cannot replace one's relative, be it a wife, husband, child, *muzukuru* (niece or nephew) or *sahwira* (close friend) who are part of one's *musha*. Essentially, the professionals cannot replace one's *mhuri*. Thus, aging within the family comes with advantages, such as having a sense of attachment and *social* "connectedness," security and familiarity in relation to both homes and communities. The dimension of connectedness is as critical as that of hope alluded to above. Thus, in Shona culture, unlike in other cultures, one needs to be connected and to continuously connect with one's *musha* and *mhuri* both concretely as well as spiritually.

In the absence of such or similar forms of connections and connectedness, one displays what has been described above as "institutional behaviour" or what Tobin and Lieberman¹⁷ have called "institutional personality syndrome." This syndrome is characterised by disorientation, disorganisation, withdrawal, depression, hopelessness and apathy. Nyanguru¹⁸ agrees with the above observation when he admits that, notwithstanding other benefits, "elderly people who live in institutions have been described as disoriented, disorganised, withdrawn, apathetic, depressed and hopeless."

Furthermore, these elderly people are, in the majority of cases, deprived of permanent intimate family relationships, and this results in a gradual process of depersonification. Also, the talents they possess may atrophy through disuse, and they may become resigned and depressed, and may display no interest in the future or in things not immediately personal. Goffman¹⁹ agrees that OPHs not only depersonify but dehumanise their inhabitants. This is largely due to the breakdown in the barrier between sleep, play and work, so that all three of these activities of everyday life take place in the same setting with the same people as well with limited access to the larger community.

Although the studies by Goffman²⁰ above were done elsewhere and in a context different from the Shona context, we still find their observations relevant. This is so because they corroborate our observations from our informal interactions with the residents of Bumhudzo OPH. In view of the above, it can be argued that the life of the inhabitants in such in-

¹⁷S. Tobin and M. Lieberman, *The Last Home for the Aged* (London: Jossey-Bass, 1976), p.74.

¹⁸Op. cit., p.28.

¹⁹Op. cit.

²⁰Ibid.

stitutions can be defined as doomed. The inhabitants have no other hope except the hope for death. This leaves one with more questions pertaining to the function and place of OPHs in the lives of its inhabitants.

Arising from the above are a few observations which are critical in influencing the manner society perceive OPHs particularly inmates. Firstly, it is important to mention that these inmates once had wishes, hopes and aspirations to be fulfilled like anyone else. It should also be noted that the fact that one is old does not mean that he/she no longer has wishes, hopes and ambitions. However, when they are confined in these institutions, those wishes become shattered, hence the institutional personality alluded to above which at best can be summed up as the hope of the hopeless. More importantly, these people have skills which are valuable to society, but unfortunately are lying dormant and locked up in these institutions. Our concern is that society could be better off if, firstly, other options of caring for the elderly are considered and secondly, if other means of addressing atrophy of knowledge and skills of the *vakwegura* who are confined in "homes" are employed for the benefit of society. In essence, we are arguing that the elderly who live idly and hopelessly in the so-called homes may still offer an invaluable contribution to their families and society at large. It is against the background of this submission that we present OPHs as "locked libraries." However, before we elaborate upon this claim, we turn to an examination of the place of *vakwegura* among the Shona.

The Place of *Vakwegura* in Traditional Shona Spaces

In examining the place of *vakwegura* in traditional Shona space, we do so by presenting and addressing two pertinent questions, namely: who are *vakwegura*, and why *vakwegura*? In other words, what kind of people are regarded as *vakwegura*, and why the interest in this category of our population? Before addressing these questions, it is pertinent to reiterate that in this discussion we are not focusing on *vakwegura* in general, but destitute *vakwegura* in particular. These are of particular interest and concern because they are the ones who are found to be resident in most OPHs scattered across the country. It must be cautioned that, while destitution ordinarily relates to someone who has no means of self-sustenance, we wish to extend this to include those who voluntarily stay in these institutions, even when they have means of support. We still regard them as destitute, because even with their financial means they have no one to care for them, so they are also destitute. In other words, they are victims of relational destitution.

Turning to the question of who are *vakwegura* in our society, we start by mentioning that the *vakwegura* are the elderly in our society, whom others have referred to as the senior citizens of our society. So essentially,

vakwegura are the *vadhara* (elderly men or women) or the senior citizens of society, and the *vanambuya* (grandmothers) in our society.

Regarding the second question, of why there should be interest in the *vakwegura*, we start by mentioning that *kukwegura* (being aged) in Shona society is considered not as a curse to be avoided but a blessing to be anticipated and celebrated.²¹ Furthermore, the Shona traditionally have found comfort and pleasure in looking after their elderly. These people have always been considered not as liabilities to be dispensed with, but rather as priceless assets to families and communities. The Shona do not consider their *vanasekuru* or *vanambuya* (grandfathers or grandmothers) as burdens to be “offloaded” into the care of strangers in some so-called “old people’s home.” Thus, the aged never experienced relational destitution in traditional Shona societies to the extent that they had to be cared for by strangers in an equally strange environment. The elderly were rarely regarded as problems, and it was never shown that they were problems by those they were living with. Younger relatives always showed love, care and understanding for the elderly relative, even in circumstances where the person would be ordinarily a challenge and a problem to those around him/her. Thus, even under circumstances of terminal sickness, whereupon the person had to be taken to a *musasa* (temporary shelter made of tree branches and grass), away from the rest of the family and community, one was always with one’s relatives and never with strangers.

Many reasons can be adduced as to why the Shona had so much respect for their elderly; however, for our purposes, we focus on one explanation which has a direct bearing on our discussion. The elderly in traditional Shona spaces were highly regarded because they were considered as the reservoirs of knowledge and wisdom. Thus, they were the epistemological, metaphysical, axiological as well as cultural sources of information for the family, the community and society. They not only possessed valuable knowledge, but were responsible for its generous transmission to the younger generation at well-calculated moments. Basically, they were the only sources of information available for the future sustenance and development as well as unity of families and societies. In today’s language, they were the mobile libraries for the families and communities. Thus, they had to be treasured and cared for at all costs. However, this particular sensibility of treasuring the elderly was not innate, but was taught in the process of socialisation. Thus, the young were socialised into the sensibility not only of respecting but also caring for their elderly parents and grandparents in their various extended-

²¹Makuvaza (2015), p.79.

nesses.²² This is where the ethic of *chirere chigokurerawo* comes in, to which we immediately turn.

Chirere Chigokurerawo as an Ethic of Reciprocity

This section examines the philosophy of *hunhu/ubuntu* for three reasons: firstly, because it is the adopted philosophical grounding of the current education curriculum framework of Zimbabwe; secondly, because the idea of *chirere chigokurerawo* is rooted in this particular philosophy; and lastly, because this philosophy is considered within the context of attempts at “unlocking the locked libraries” as well as addressing challenges associated with OPHs.

To begin with, we argue that there was no destitution in Shona societies because there existed family structures to cater for the elderly, widows and orphans, and, secondly, there were no OPHs then, even though the elderly were there. We believe we should draw on insights from our past, especially on how families used to care for their elderly so that they did not become destitute. This is where the *chirere chigokurerawo* ethic comes in. Essentially, this ethic emphasises the idea of reciprocity, among other ideals.

To start with, the Shona people have principles and ideas of virtue and vice with regards to what constitutes correct or incorrect behaviour in their society. Sound relationships between parents and their children are vital, and when these are strained, problems ensue and the obligation for caring for the elderly rests entirely on the family. One of the basic Shona imperatives is: live together. When that imperative is not upheld, that is seen as negligence and a lack of *hunhu/ubuntu*. We hasten to say that African societies, as functioning human communities, have undoubtedly evolved ethical systems, values, principles and rules designed to guide the social and moral behaviour of the people. Included in these principles is the one pertaining to taking care of one's elderly relatives.

The ethics of any society are entrenched in ideas and beliefs about what is right or wrong, what is a good or bad character. They are also rooted in the expectation of satisfactory social relations and attitudes held by members of society, and in the forms or patterns of behaviour that are considered by members of society to bring about social harmony, cooperative living, justice, and fairness. In Shona language, the word *tsika* means “ethics” or “morality,” which is part of custom. When we want to refer to someone as unethical, we often say, “*Haana hunhu*,” meaning that he/she

²²M. Rukuni, *Being Afrikan: Rediscovering the Traditional Unhu-Ubuntu-Botho Pathways of Being Human* (Johannesburg: Mandala Publishers, 2007), p.45.

has no character or morals. Thus, our thesis herein is that the principle of reciprocity and *hunhu/ubuntu* cannot be taken in isolation.

The principle of reciprocity is one of the basic principles of the Va-Shona. It demands that in many social situations we pay back what we have received from others. In other words, if someone does one a favour, the principle expects one to return that favour. Reciprocity is related to the English expression; “one good turn deserves another,” for it has to be a mutual exchange. It is a principle of influence that could be described in layman’s terms as the good old “give and take” principle, or “You scratch my back and I’ll scratch yours.” When someone does something for us, we typically feel obligated to do something for them in return, to return the favour, so to speak. That sense is instilled in the process of Shona socialisation. Through the Shona lens, children should be socialised and expected to respect their parents by reciprocating the care received. Besides, it is common sense among the Shona that the elderly do largely depend on the extended family for provision, care and protection.

Those children, or families, who fail to show respect, by not reciprocating their elderly’s care, and decide to “offload” such responsibility, are considered to be inhuman. Having said that, we propose that viable but culturally acceptable alternatives to OPHs be instituted, and we have in mind the ethic of *chirere chigokurerawo*. Specifically, we argue that the *chirere chigokurerawo* ethic should be central to the teaching of *hunhu/ubuntu* and *chivanhu* as espoused in the current Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education curriculum document framework.²³ Specifically, the framework adopts the philosophy of *hunhu/ubuntu* as its grounding, and *chivanhu* in particular is one of the many virtues contained in this philosophy. We argue that if future generations of the elderly are not to find themselves thrown into OPHs by their children, the *chirere chigokurerawo* principle should be central in teaching and learning in the education system. This suggestion finds support from Rwezauri, cited in Nyanguru,²⁴ who noted, “Whereas all animals including man possess an instinctive drive to care for their dependent off-spring, they do not possess a similar instinct when it comes to the care of the elderly.”

Furthermore, Simmonds, cited in Nyanguru,²⁵ notes:

Respect for old age has resulted from imposed social discipline and not nature. In most cultures children are trained from an early

²³Government of Zimbabwe, *Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education Curriculum Framework (2015-2022)* (Harare: Printflow, 2015).

²⁴Op. cit., p.29.

²⁵Ibid.

age to obey and respect their parents and other elderly members of the community.

Similarly, children must be socialised into appreciation and acknowledgement of their role in caring for their parents when old. Furthermore, culture is learned in the same way that anything is learned. Thus, there is urgent need for a vigorous infusion of the *chirere chigokurerawo* ethic within the school curriculum, in order for future generations to appreciate their responsibilities and obligations to their elderly parents and relatives. On account of this thinking it becomes incumbent upon current provisions of education in Zimbabwe to tap into the past and draw on insights about how the elderly were catered for outside the framework of OPHs. Specifically, if the destitution of the elderly is to be addressed or minimised, *chirere chigokurerawo* should be emphasised in teaching and learning discourses.

OPHs as “Locked Libraries”

In this section we argue that, notwithstanding the essential role OPHs are playing in addressing the plight of *vakwegura* in postcolonial Zimbabwean Shona spaces, they are akin to building a library and locking it away from the intended beneficiaries, who are the the younger generation. Thus, OPHs are essentially viewed as locked libraries. Our view is that the elderly are like mobile libraries where individuals and families can access valuable information pertaining to their culture and history. This knowledge, which is readily available, is essential for the survival of families and communities. When families and societies opt to send their elderly to OPHs we argue that, they are literally locking their sources of knowledge into these institutions. Possibly not much knowledge will be handed down to younger generations in a few moments during casual visits paid by family members to the elderly in OPHs. Thus, we argue that people are inadvertently denying their offspring access to the valuable knowledge possessed by the same parents that they opt not to stay with but to send to institutions. In view of this, it is imperative that some ways of “unlocking these libraries” be interrogated.

One way to do this could be to focus attention on how the elderly are perceived, so that steps can be taken to reduce unwarranted attitudes, due to myths and misconceptions, and the mistreatment of the elderly. We propose that, if staying together as *mhuri* is not practical, then community-based care, hospital-at-home and adult day-care centres could be tried as possible interventions to reduce abandonment and destitution of the elderly. Such centres could be culturally more acceptable than OPHs. The three kinds of centres proposed provide social and emotional necessities that could help to ease, though not necessarily eradicate, the feelings of soli-

tude and boredom that characterise OPHs, thereby improving the quality of life of the elderly. The other benefit is that such centres can possibly “relieve” family member care-givers from care-giving stress within their busy day-to-day work schedules. However, we hasten to caution that; these centres could never be able to replace the *mhuri* and *musha* feeling, alluded to earlier in this discourse, in its totality. Alternatively, existing OPHs may be reformed so as to allow for more interaction with relatives as well as aggressive introduction of activities such as storytelling and poetry recitation.

Kukwegura is not innate; rather it develops over time, and therefore, it is recommended that education programmes be developed to target children in particular and others in general, so as to raise awareness on age-related issues. These education initiatives could become part of both the primary and secondary school curriculum. It is in this regard that we present the *chirere chigokurerawo* ethic undergirded by the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education’s 2015-2022 adoption²⁶ of *hunhu/ubuntu* as the philosophy of education in Zimbabwe as being strategically positioned to address this particular social malady.

Conclusion

The purpose of this paper was not primarily a celebration of the remarkable service OPHs are offering to destitute members of families and society at large, since that has been confirmed by many studies on gerontology. Rather, without any insidious intention to downplay or underrate the role of OPHs in postcolonial Zimbabwe, the aim was to unpack as well as expose the inadvertent side-effects these institutions are having on the direct beneficiaries of their service who are, firstly, the elderly residents, and secondly, the family and society at large. Inadvertently, OPHs are contributing towards families’ abdication of their pristine role of caring for their members. Also, by confining the *vakwegura* to these institutions, families and society have been doing a disservice to the younger generation, in terms of cultural knowledge transfer continuity. In this regard, OPHs were thus presented as “locked libraries.” To address the plight of the destitute elderly, as well as unlock the “locked libraries,” a multi-sectorial approach is called for, one which in addition to current initiatives and strategies also draws from traditional Shona practices of looking after the *vakwegura*. To this end, the *chirere chigokurerawo* ethic, anchored upon *hunhu/ubuntu* as the philosophical grounding of education for Zimbabwe, was presented as a viable long-term mitigatory strategy to address

²⁶Government of Zimbabwe, op.cit.

the plight of destitution, especially with regard to the elderly in postcolonial Zimbabwe.

References

- Adamchak, D. J., Wilson, D., Nyanguru, A. and Hampson, J. (1990). "Aging and Support Systems: Intergenerational Transfer in Zimbabwe." Paper presented at the 12th World Congress of Sociology, Madrid, Spain.
- Copi, I.M. (1986). *Introduction to Logic*. New York: Macmillan Publishers.
- Dhemba, J. (2013). "Social Protection for the Elderly in Zimbabwe: Issues, Challenges and Prospects." *African Journal of Social Work*, 3(1), pp.1-22.
- Douglass, R. (2015). "The Aging of Africa: Challenges to African Development." *African Journal of Food, Agriculture, Nutrition and Development*, 4(4), pp.102-129.
- Gachuhi, J.M. and Kiemo, K. (2005). "Research Capacity on Aging in Africa: Limitations and Ways Forward." www.helpage.org/researchpublications (accessed April 21, 2017).
- Geddie, W. (ed.) (1971). *The Chambers's Twentieth Century Dictionary*. London: W. and R. Chambers, Ltd.
- Gelfand, M. (1967). *The Genuine Shona – Survival Values of an African Culture*. Gweru: Mambo Press.
- Goffman, E. (1961). *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and other Inmates*. New York: Garden City.
- Government of Zimbabwe (2015). *Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education Curriculum Framework (2015-2022)*. Harare: Printflow.
- Kasere, C. (1990). "The Aged amongst Us." Speech delivered by the Director of Social Welfare on the completion of a sick bay at Melfort Farm Project, Zimbabwe (4 July 1990).
- Makoni, S. (2008). "Aging in Africa: A Critical Review." *Cross Cultural Gerontology*, 23. pp.199-209.
- Makuvaza, N. (2017). "Dilemmas: SMEs business' business philosophy and ZIMASSET in Zimbabwe." I. Chirisa (ed.), *Zimbabwe Agenda for Socio-Economic Transformation: Critical Perspectives and Debates in Public Policy*. Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications.
- _____. (2015). "Philosophical Reflections on the Provisions of Primary Education in Zimbabwe: An Investigation into Whether or not *Hunhu/Ubuntu* Can be Incorporated into the Philosophy of Education." Unpublished D.Phil. dissertation, University of Zimbabwe.
- National Centre for the Protection of Older People. (2009). *Public Perceptions of Older People and Ageing: A Literature Review*. Dublin: UCD.

- Nyanguru, A. (1990). "The Quality of Life of the Elderly Living in Institutions and Homes in Zimbabwe." *Journal of Social Development in Africa*, 5(2), pp.25-43.
- Rukuni, M. (2007). *Being Afrikan: Rediscovering the Traditional Unhu-Ubuntu-Botho Pathways of Being Human*. Johannesburg: Mandala Publishers.
- Tobin, S. and Lieberman, M. (1976). *The Last Home for the Aged*. London: Jossey-Bass.

Negotiating Cultural Diversities in Zimbabwe's Nation-Building Project: An Interrogation of Theatrical Perspectives

NGONIDZASHE MUWONWA & NEHEMIAH CHIVANDIKWA

Introduction

Despite more than three decades of work in the field of nation building, Zimbabwe has been struggling to balance, on one hand, a unified cultural identity, and; on the other hand, a desired positive cultural diversity. The devastating effects of the political and economic means of building the nation have forced a need to re-analyze the priorities and methods of integrating distinct groups in the creation of a Zimbabwean nation. In part, this is because nationhood aspirations are not only influenced by elite decisions but are also deeply embedded within the collective cultural norms that are negotiated and shared through generations in the form of socially accepted behaviour, traditional practices and culturally mandated systems. This paper interrogates the question of how theatrical performances, as sites of socio-cultural and socio-political constructions, may be implicated in the struggle for nation-building and identity-constructions within the context of cultural diversity or multiculturalism. It argues that a nation is a cultural contact zone which comprises numerous contact spaces such as those of education, media, politics, sports as well as cultural activities such as theatre.

The paper seeks to expose the tragedy of a unisonant and monologic national perspective by offering a brief background to nation-building attempts within the political sphere. Specifically, the paper demonstrates how theatre complexly reflects the way the state inherited colonial plural and diverse national colonial political structures, national in the negative political sense, and modified them, in the process creating a modified version of colonial diversity or multiculturalism in which the state sought to dominate all cultural, economic and political spaces.¹ Essentially, there-

¹D.P.S. Goh, "From Colonial Pluralism to Postcolonial Multiculturalism: Race, State Formation and the Question of Cultural Diversities in Malaysia and Singapore," *Sociology Compass*, 2(1) (2008), 232-252.

fore, the paper recognizes that colonialism is not a historical but a trans-historical experience.²

This recognition seems to have escaped several interesting existing works on the function of theater and nation building and political-ideological contestations in Zimbabwe.³ The paper interrogates how theatrical performances simultaneously challenge, subvert and endorse both state and neoliberal colonialism, which abuse terms like diversity, inclusivity and specificity to mask the marginalization of dominated social groups. The paper then attempts to investigate how other cultural contact zones such as the theatrical space imagine the nation. This section is integral as the paper advances from an understanding that nation-building should not be a preserve of elite discourse, but should involve many other groups, competing to defining the nation.

While the authors watched all the plays that are analyzed in this paper, the analysis is also based on scripts that the authors read. The authors are conscious of the fact that there is a difference between a script and a performance, such that the performance is not necessarily the same as the written script. However, for purposes of the current focus, the authors did not see any difference between directors and playwrights in relation to issues of multicultural diversities and nation building. Hence, the authors engage the plays as “single texts” or homogenous texts in terms of their cultural-ideological and politico-ideological inclinations. In short, the analysis of the plays is based on evidence from both scripts and performances that the authors watched, without the giving of details on performative nuances, since the focus is on themes, characters and their historical context – which are essentially the same in the scripts and the performances emerging from the scripts. The plays that are analyzed in this paper were purposely selected on the basis of the degree to which they reflected or engaged themes that relate to multicultural diversities – particularly in relation to race, gender and nation building. A few examples

²M. Simmons and G.S.G. Dei, “Reframing Anti-Colonial Theory for the Diasporic Context,” *Postcolonial Directions in Education*, 1 (1) (2012), 67-99.

³See: D. Mhako, *Identities of Women in Protest Theatre in Zimbabwe*, Unpublished M.Phil. thesis (University of Zimbabwe, 2014); N. Muwonwa, “Representations of Nationhood in Zimbabwe Television (ZTV) Documentaries and Dramas, 2000-2008,” unpublished M.Phil. thesis (University of Zimbabwe, 2011); N. Chivandikwa, “Theater And/As Insurrection in Zimbabwe,” *Studies in Theatre and Performance*, 32 (1) (2012), 29-45; P. Zenenga, “Hit and Run Theatre: The Rise of a New Dramatic Form in Zimbabwe,” *Theatre History Studies*, 30 (2010), 14-49; and T. Mlenga, N. Chivandikwa, W. Bere and T. Mangosho, “Contemporary Theatre Spaces: Politico-Ideological Constructions in Zimbabwe: A Dialectical Approach,” *Studies in Theatre and Performance*, 35(3) (2015), 221-236.

shall be drawn from plays such as *Super Patriots and Morons*,⁴ *Allegations*,⁵ and *Waiting for Constitution*.⁶

Contextualizing and Theorizing National Diversities

A significant number of scientific approaches to the origins of nations argue that the nation is a consequence of historical and social development, a specific stage in human history, and therefore it is an “invented,”⁷ or, as Benedict Anderson⁸ puts it, an “imagined community.” These metaphors underline the fact that the perception of nation, as a form of social coexistence, is an option worthy to be considered, because it fosters in its framework collective practices and representations marked by a symbolic content, through which a nation is created. Cheng⁹ argues that the nation is not an intrinsic reality, but is born in cultural contexts through social and cultural mediations, existing both as a result, and as a process, of construction and constitution. The above definition and mode of perceiving the nation is integral to this paper, as it creates a “national reality,” to interpret the political and cultural strategies which are the carriers of a sense and of a symbolic content of this reality, to achieve this construction. However, Said¹⁰ contends that Anderson is too linear in his explanation that political structures and institutions change from dynasties, through the standardizing influence of print capitalism, to sovereign nations. Chatterjee¹¹ argues that the imagination of many political communities has been limited by European colonialism. Having had specifically nationalist institutional forms imposed on them as colonies, upon independence these areas had no option but to follow European paths, with Western powers ready to prevent any seemingly dangerous deviations. “Even our imaginations,” asserts Chatterjee,¹² “must remain forever colonized.” However, recent scholarship has disrupted unitary notions of nationalism, emphasizing a shift from the particular to the universal.¹³

⁴R. Baya and L. Matsa, *Super Patriots and Morons*, unpublished play (2004).

⁵M. Gobodi, *Allegations*, unpublished play (2010).

⁶S. Chifunyise, *Waiting for Constitution*, unpublished play (2010).

⁷E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983).

⁸B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1991).

⁹V.J. Cheng, *Joyce, Race and Empire: Cultural Margins* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

¹⁰E. Said, *Orientalism* (second edition) (London: Penguin Books, 1995).

¹¹S. Chatterjee, “Nationalist Discourse in Late 19th Century Bengali Theatre,” *Nation and Narration*, H. Bhabha (ed.) (London: Routledge, 1990).

¹²*Ibid.*, p.5.

¹³C.V. Carnegie, *Post-Nationalism Prefigured* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2008).

This disruption and dispersion is framed by terms such as inter-culturalism, cross-culturalism, transnationalism and post-nationalism. In moving from the particular to the universal, Vincent¹⁴ argues that inter-culturalism, cross-culturalism or cosmopolitanism represents the most critical alternative to the logic of particularity. These concepts have brought considerable fluidity to traditional notions of nationalism – a move from exclusiveness to more permeable notions of exchange and interaction. Furthermore, the nation is not simply the product of macro-structural forces; it is simultaneously the practical accomplishment of ordinary people engaging in routine activities. Eric Hobsbawm¹⁵ acknowledges that while nationalism is “...constructed essentially from above, [it]...cannot be understood unless also analyzed from below, that is in terms of the assumptions, hopes, needs, longings and interests of ordinary people, which are not necessarily national and still less nationalist.”

While the above concepts are generally progressive and liberatory, it is significant to note that they are usually appropriated and domesticated by both Euro-American hegemonic cultures and “post”-colonial states in Asia and Africa.¹⁶ Clearly the “post”-colonial project of nation-building has been shaped by “...the continuation of pluralism into the ‘post’-colonial era...”¹⁷ This means the state may subtly promote diverse gender-related, ethno-regional and racial identities in order to manage and dominate communities and citizens. This is a negative promotion of diversities. For instance, the Zimbabwean state, at least in the early independence era, used autocratic means to maintain order and unity by enforcing excessive violence against people from Midlands and Matabeleland provinces.¹⁸ The conflicts there were not natural differences,¹⁹ but largely political formations.²⁰ This use of violence to maintain national stability was a legacy of settler colonialism. The deployment of coercive structures to maintain and stabilize plural or diverse identities or to enforce and impose specific identities is a state-institutionalized project that current theatrical discourse seems to be complexly engaged with. Given that this state-sanctioned and institutionalized identity-construction is a colonial inheritance,

¹⁴A. Vincent, *Nationalism and Particularity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

¹⁵E.J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

¹⁶Goh, op.cit.; Simmons and Dei, op. cit.

¹⁷Goh, op.cit., p.232.

¹⁸S.J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, “Fiftieth Anniversary of Decolonization in Africa: A Moment of Celebration or Critical Reflection,” *Third World Quarterly* 33 (1) (2012), 71-89.

¹⁹Chivandikwa, op. cit.

²⁰See Goh, op.cit., p.239.

it becomes necessary to deploy the anti-colonial theoretical framework to interrogate how theatrical performances engage the complex task of nation-building in a country that is characterized by diverse gender, ethno-regional and racial identities.

Anti-colonialism shares several aspects with post-colonialism.²¹ However, the major difference is that, unlike post-colonialism, anti-colonialism does not locate colonial impositions in the historical past, on the basis that colonialism is being reconfigured on a daily basis to suit contemporary realities.²² Essentially, the anti-colonial framework is based on the recognition that nations, communities, bodies and identities are still engaged with and resisting colonial encounters.²³ It is a revolutionary and subversive intellectual political framework that speaks to the different intersections of colonial oppressions such as race, gender, disability, ethno-regional and class oppressions.²⁴ Crucially for the current project, the anti-colonial framework challenges scholarship to avoid an uncritical celebration of concepts like diversity, multiculturalism, pluralism, difference and hybridity.²⁵ While there are at least twelve principles in the anti-colonial framework,²⁶ the current paper focuses on only four of them.

Firstly, the anti-colonial theory pursues the agency and resistance to all forms of bodily, community-related, national and transnational domination. Secondly, the concept of "colonial" is understood in a broader sense, beyond "alien" or "foreign" domination.²⁷ Colonialism in this sense refers basically to any form of imposed domination, while being conscious of and alert to the historical origins of colonial oppression. Thirdly, the anti-colonial theory recognizes the intersection of gender race, class and colonialism. Lastly, the advocates of anti-colonial theory argue that colonialism is a trans-historical rather than a historical experience.²⁸

The above theoretical principles make it possible to interrogate how theatre reflects the complex ways in which the state attempts to "manage" gender-related, ethno-regional, class-related and racial diversities and

²¹G.J.S. Dei and A. Kempf (eds.), *Anti-Colonialism and Education* (Ontario: Sense Publishers, 2006).

²²Simmons and Dei, op. cit.; Goh, op. cit.

²³Simmons and Dei, op. cit.

²⁴A. Bonds and J. Inwood, "Beyond White Privilege: Geographies of White Supremacy and Settler Colonialism," *Progress in Human Geography* 40 (6) (2006), 715-733.

²⁵S. Sharma, J. Rahtazad and B. Phillion, "How Pre-Service Teachers Engage in the Process of (De) Colonization: Findings from an Integrated Field Experience in Honduras," *Interchange*, 43 (2013), 363-373.

²⁶Simmons and Dei, op.cit.

²⁷Dei and Kempf, op.cit.

²⁸Simmons and Dei, op.cit., pp.71-73.

specificities, to “stabilize” and dominate citizenship and nation-building in Zimbabwe. This theorization prompts the need for more progressive and people-centered forms of creating, recognizing and sustaining diverse identities.

Background and Conditions of Current Nationhood

What is evidently present in Zimbabwe’s “post”-colonial history is the challenge confronting the Zimbabwean nation in attempting to build the nation within a realm of politics of reconciliation in the context of the gross inequalities instituted by settler colonial rule, and within the constraints of international pressure. The reconciliation policy of Zimbabwe’s ruling party in the early 1980’s, constructed within a purported discourse of socialism, placed less emphasis on legitimized private accumulation than on the extended reach and interventionism of the state. Alden and Anseeuw²⁹ argue that reconciliation was possible because achieving and ruling underscored the modernist, anti-peasant outlook of much of the incoming leadership. The white minority (no longer a physical threat) was perceived as a necessary partner in the quest for economic growth and national development. Reconciliation was therefore installed in the nationalist discourse, which now focused its future visions on modernization and indigenous rule as the key signs of the socialist revolution.³⁰ Kibble³¹ posits that reconciliation meant that the whites in charge of the economy were left to pursue their economic interests as long as they did not interfere with the new political arrangements, and probably as long as their children did not expect to have a stake in the country. He argues that two societies seemed to be living side by side – integrated by day and segregated by night.

The new state was marked by contradictions between the Lancaster House agreement – reconciliation, maintenance of white economic power – and the “revolutionary socialist” rhetoric of transformation which made

²⁹C. Alden and W. Anseeuw, “Liberalization versus Anti-imperialism: the impact of narrative on Southern African land policies since Zimbabwe’s fast-track.” Colloque International, “Les frontières de la question foncière – At the frontier of land issues,” Montpellier, 2006 Conference.

³⁰J. Alexander, “Things Fall Apart, the Centre Can Hold: Processes of Post-War Political Change in Zimbabwe’s Rural Areas,” *Society in Zimbabwe’s Liberation War*, N. Bhebe and T.O. Ranger (eds.) (Oxford: James Currey, 1996).

³¹S. Kibble, “Southern Africa: Destruction, (Re)construction and Deconstruction – the case of Zimbabwe.” Background paper for “Futures for Southern Africa” symposium, a CIIR, NAI, ICS and SACBC initiative.” (Originally given at ROAPE Conference, “Aid as Imperialism” (5-7 September 2003), University of Birmingham, U.K.)

use of the strong, *de facto* one-party state, and the military apparatus inherited from the Smith regime. Zimbabwe's attempts to confront the consequences of historical land expropriation, as well as redress contemporary land based inequities and discriminatory legislation and institutions, in the 1990's, generated renewed racial conflict. The state-driven land reform approach, as opposed to the market-based land reform, began in 1997. It was largely based on state expropriation, driven by widespread and nationally organized land occupations. The land reform with its attendant racial linkages was complicated by the rise of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) on the political front. The MDC proved a successful opposition since its launch in 1999. Regional politics, liberation war rhetoric and a discourse in which democracy had to take a back seat to security became the salient features of Zimbabwe's post-2000 national space. Such features conditioned the nation along intolerable, rigid and fixed binaries of race, ethnicity, politics, region, faction and gender. The political and economic challenges that the country had been facing presented and produced new identities within the post-colonial state of Zimbabwe.

What is evident in Zimbabwe after the 2000 referendum and land reform programmes has been an attempt to obliterate certain identities in an effort to impose a unitary identity. Such attempts are problematic, as they are contrary to the actual and lived configurations of national space. Zimbabwe is in reality a multi-cultural nation, but by definition became a mono-cultural nation. As part of the essentialist agenda of redefining the contact zone, there have been relentless references to Zimbabwe belonging to "blacks," thus delegitimizing any other race. Whites have been constructed as "*vauyi*" or "those who came (from somewhere)," which construction in the same vein demands that they go back where they came from. On Zimbabwean television, an important cultural contact space, there have been numerous programmes that have aided the construction of whites as outsiders within the Zimbabwean socio-political terrain.³² The issue of citizenship, linked to the delegitimation of certain social groups within the nation, was politicized so as to exclude other groups which were found outside the race category. Immigrants from Malawi, Mozambique and Zambia who settled in the country during the Rhodesian and Nyasaland Federation days or before were excluded from the socio-political space as outsiders. Apparently, these same people made up the bulk of farm workers who were to be displaced from the farms, together with their white masters. Somehow, this declassification was convenient, in order to absolve the state from any responsibilities attached to the displaced farm workers.

³²See Muwonwa, *op.cit.*

The evidence from the above is that the Zimbabwean nationhood programme is dominated by the state, in which issues on diverse and multicultural identities are largely manufactured and imagined from the top by trans-cultural political elites.³³ The theatrical productions that will be analyzed in subsequent sections reflect how this trans-cultural political elite uses its economic and political muscles to define who belongs as a full citizen. More crucially, the analysis will show how all these developments are reflections of ongoing complex forms of colonial relations, because settler colonialism has an impact on the past, present and future.³⁴ The analysis will demonstrate how citizens within their limits are resisting and negotiating state-managed pluralism, diversities and narrow specificities.

The resistant acts of the citizens referred to above mean that the concept of nation is not a preserve of elite discourse. There are many groups within the nation space also responsible for constructing the nation. The above point disturbs the perceived linearity and exclusivity that elites assume in relation to nation-building. This brings out the notion of negotiation in the construction of the nation, especially by ordinary people. Recent scholarship has begun to be interested in ways in which those from “below” construct and conceptualize their national existence as a negotiation process between their lived experiences and the received ideological constructions of the nation.³⁵ Such a conceptualization identifies and invests within other cultural contact zones the agency in nation-building. Even though this paper has alluded to the fact that there are limited cultural contact zones in the country which have been affected and infected by the overbearing political constrictions of defining the nation in racial, ethnic and political binaries, there are instances where there have been attempts to negotiate, extend, challenge and even disturb the configurations of the political definitions of the Zimbabwean nation.

Theatre as performance is a potent agent in the construction of a nation, especially when performed or produced by ordinary citizens. To engage in a performance is to make a choice, a choice that leads to the appropriation of space, a space where people construct their personal, social and cultural identities.³⁶ Of course, elite discourses can influence and infect the imaginations of the theatre space and furthermore, in attempting

³³Goh, op.cit.

³⁴Bonds and Inwood, op.cit.

³⁵Goh, op.cit.

³⁶C.J. Odhiambo, “Dismantling cultural/racial boundaries: the power of the theatrical space,” *Orientations of Drama, Theatre and Culture*, O. Mumma, E. Mwangi and C.J. Odhiambo (eds.) (Nairobi: Kenya Drama/Theatre Education Association [KDEA], 1998).

to destabilize the master narrative of the hegemonic discourse of the elites, dramatic presentations can mimic, reproduce and even reinforce elite imaginations of the nation. The years after the year 2000 saw an immense rise in the production of plays with an anti-ruling-party stance. The barrage of criticism against socio-economic and political upheavals also reverberated through dramatic productions. It is important to question how theatre texts and performances envision the Zimbabwean national space. Just as a nationalist fervor dedicated to rebutting imperialistic impulses produces narrow definitions of belonging, excluding others, theatre dedicated to critiquing the government reproduce binaries in terms of race, ethnicity, and class.

Race and Citizenship

Settler colonialism had an impact on the citizenship of people with various gender-related, racial and class identities in complex ways. Specifically racism affected and still affects citizenship in "former" colonial societies. Therefore, it is critical in anti-colonial discourses to engage the contemporary through a certain memory of colonial violence.³⁷ To this extent, this section will show how the conduct of the post-independent Zimbabwean state is a form of ongoing colonialism, in the sense of perpetuating historical violence and domination. At the same time, the analysis will show how one of the plays unwittingly perpetuates white supremacy and privilege in an effort to challenge ongoing state colonialism. The plays that are under consideration in this section are examined in relation to the degree that they ignore or engage racial identities. A major focus is on how the three plays relate to the visibility and indivisibility of white identities. The plays under consideration are *Super Patriots and Morons*,³⁸ *Allegations*,³⁹ and *Waiting for Constitution*.⁴⁰

Interestingly, many protest plays written by black Zimbabweans during the post-2000 era exclude whites from the Zimbabwean national space.⁴¹ On one hand, this is perhaps an interesting reflection of the extent to which the state devalued or erased the citizenship of whites in the country. The project of decolonization was defined and executed by the state in ways which arguably bordered on racism. From this perspective, theatre both reflects and unwittingly endorses state-sanctioned exclusion. Yet on the other hand, in responding to state domination, theatre makers and

³⁷Simmons and Dei, op.cit., p.94.

³⁸Baya and Matsa, op.cit.

³⁹Gobodi, op.cit.

⁴⁰Chifunyise, op.cit.

⁴¹See Mhako, op.cit.

producers largely ignored both historical and current Euro-American hegemonic domination.⁴² The invisibility and inaudibility of whites (both local and foreign) in most theatrical imaginations in most plays could potentially absolve them from their complicity in the crisis that the plays so brilliantly reflect.

We briefly focus on *Super Patriots and Morons* to make this point. Co-written by the very prominent Zimbabwean playwrights Leonard Matsa and Raisedon Baya, *Super Patriots and Morons*⁴³ featured highly acclaimed Zimbabwean actors such as Jason Mpepo, Eunice Tava and Mandla Moyo. Highly critical of state colonialism, the play is about an African dictator who fears to lose power. An unnamed woman is frustrated because she spends most of her time in queues because the state is non-functional. The conflict of the play is centered at the point when the woman tells the dictator that he has failed the nation. She is so frustrated that she starts shouting irreverently, until she is arrested for her troubles. She is brought before the supreme leader whom she fearlessly tells to his face that he has failed the nation.

This play was written at a time the Zimbabwean state failed to provide basic services to citizens. *Super Patriots and Morons* was once banned⁴⁴ for its radical and subversive stance. Essentially, the play imagines a future in which diversity of political, social and economic opinions are not criminalized, but prompted. However, *Super Patriots and Morons* does not have white characters, nor does it acknowledge their existence within the national space. While this play is brilliant in articulating the intersection of class, gender and ethno-regional domination, it ignores the way these have also been structured by racial discrimination. In this way, contrary to the ideals of anti-colonial discourse, the play does not sufficiently provide space for the present to dialogue with the past⁴⁵ in relation to how colonial racism has shaped contemporary gender, political and class identities.

Hence, in general, issues of inclusive citizenship and belonging are not well articulated in most plays, even the most acclaimed play by Stephen Chifunyise, *Waiting for Constitution*. The play negotiates and envisions the writing of the Zimbabwean constitution through the eyes and view of one black family who have gathered for marriage negotiations. This alone excludes other identities within the socio-political terrain. Furthermore, the play does not question many issues that deal with the need to engender diversity in the national space. Nevertheless, the play attempts

⁴²Mlenga et al. op. cit.

⁴³Baya and Matsa, op.cit.

⁴⁴Chivandikwa, op.cit.

⁴⁵Dei and Kempf, op.cit.

to extend the cultural contact zone by challenging the homogeneity imposed by the ruling elites on those who are qualified to lead the nation.

Notwithstanding some of the above omissions, these plays both reflect and prompt the need to defy state-sanctioned notions of citizenship and belonging. Existing scholarship has theorized on the way theatre reflects these repressive functions of the state. For instance, Mhako⁴⁶ and Muwonwa⁴⁷ argue that theatre reflects how politics is gendered as it subtly promotes patriarchal rule. Meanwhile, Chivandikwa⁴⁸ and Zenenga⁴⁹ also examine how theatre seeks to negotiate space for marginalized groups and their diverse identities. The foregoing works examine how plays like *Waiting for Constitution* challenge the imposition of the war veteran identity⁵⁰ and, by implication, trans-cultural elite identities as the first legitimate citizens of Zimbabwe, and question when Zimbabwe's liberation war will cease to be the country's reference point. Yet these works do not seem to recognize that the absence of other races such as mixed race (coloureds), Indians, and whites in theatrical imaginations is an unwitting embrace and reflection of what appears to be state-sanctioned racial discrimination. At the same time, as noted earlier, these omissions also unwittingly ignore the complicity of historical and contemporary racial colonization in creating and sustaining politically manufactured gender-related, ethno-regional and class-related deprivations. It is these complexities which call for nuanced analysis of colonial power and hegemony.⁵¹

An attempt to include other racial identities in theatrical discourses of citizenship and nation-building was made by Mandisi Gobodi's *Allegations*, produced and presented at the Harare International Festival of the Arts (HIFA).⁵² The authors of this paper watched this play for three

⁴⁶Op cit.

⁴⁷Op.cit.

⁴⁸Op.cit.

⁴⁹Op. cit.

⁵⁰T. Chiyindiko, "Healing and Reconciliation for Constitution Building in Zimbabwe through Theatre: A Case Study of *Heal the Wounds* and *Waiting for Constitution*." Unpublished MA Thesis (University of Witwatersrand, 2011).

⁵¹Simmons and Dei, op.cit.

⁵²HIFA has operated as a powerful institution for theatre practice in Zimbabwe. The Festival has been held since 1999, despite the numerous financial and moral challenges the organizers must have faced during the socio-economic and political abyss the country was going through. The authors position HIFA as another subtle contestation against the rigid construction of nationhood in Zimbabwe (see P. Manzira-Maforo, "Multicultural Festival Performance as a Site of Liberation from Performance Dichotomy: Investigating *Allegations*," *International Journal of Humanities, Art and Social Studies*, 2 (2/3) (2017), 17-28. <http://airccse.com/ijhas/papers/2317ijhas02.pdf>

consecutive days – from the 21st to the 23rd of September, 2010. Written by Mandisi Gobodi and directed by Patience Tavengwa, *Allegations* features Spud (played by Hargrove Daniel), who loses his farm during an invasion. Spud meets a black peasant farmer (played by Everson Ndlovu), whose home has been burnt in a politically-motivated attack. The two discuss and realize how much they have in common. *Allegations* deals bravely with the displacement of white farmers and with political disturbances in rural areas. It is one of the few plays which create white characters within the Zimbabwean terrain, thereby legitimating their existence. The theme is directly related to issues of interest to the white community, and helps in the process of negotiating the contentious issue. The second character in the play (Reason) is a black man from the rural areas. This characterization is a very important technique in attempting to institute race relations within an imagined community. The production manages to break the binaries of race and race relations instituted by the political contact zone. By placing the two characters in the same space, the play envisions new social relations and challenges the bigotry and narrow-mindedness of both races in relation to each other. The white and black characters' interaction in the script represents an important staging of the diversity that has been limited, denied or discouraged in other socio-economic and political cultural contact zones. However, the playwright does not go beyond this symbolic representation and interaction of races. Within the play, the characters seem to reinforce their social, political and ideological differences:

REASON: How many times have you done this?

SPUD: Look, no offence, I'd rather be left alone. I don't need another one of you guys pretending to understand how I feel and what I went through. You and I are not the same.⁵³

REASON: Maybe justice is not what you are truly after; you just want your farm back.

SPUD: What?

REASON: You know, go back to the old days where you can bend and mold Zimbabwe into what you want. A white puppet.

SPUD: Listen, I wasn't the one who personally colonized you people, anyway. Why must I pay the price for my ancestors?

REASON: Because you are white. It's the same way I have to pay for being black.

SPUD: Why does color always have to be an issue?

REASON: Life.⁵⁴

⁵³Chifunyise, op.cit., p.1.

⁵⁴Ibid., p.6

The above play excerpts show bravery in the way the playwright imagined inclusive citizenship in a context where racial intolerance was almost institutionalized. The play also demonstrates the need to avoid over-emphasizing difference at the expense of a common humanity that we all share despite physical and cultural differences. Yet although the play attempts to show how Spud and Reason occupy differential positions inherited through history and social politics,⁵⁵ in the end the play objectively serves to gloss over white supremacy and privilege. Curiously, existing academic theatre discourses⁵⁶ hardly interrogate the socio-political implications of *Allegations*. For instance, notwithstanding its progressive stance on inclusive citizenship, *Allegations* runs the risk of projecting a naïve discourse of diversity and inclusivity that ignores historical inequalities and existing forms of neoliberal domination from Euro-American cultures which support local whites.

Spud's response that he is not the one who personally colonized Africans is a reflection of either white naivety or ignorance of the reality that while settler colonialism has just been reconfigured, it has been replaced by neoliberal domination – which in essence is still racialized.⁵⁷ Anti-colonial critics recognize that white supremacy is not an artifact of history or an extreme position; it is in fact the foundation for the continuous unfolding of practices of race and racism in colonized nations and cultures.⁵⁸ The above excerpts suggest that white supremacy is historical, and yet white privilege or supremacy is ongoing, as it is embedded in systems of privilege that are associated with Euro-American modernity.⁵⁹ Notwithstanding the state-sanctioned land redistribution exercise which saw the likes of Spud losing their large commercial farms, to a large extent the remaining white farmers are still beneficiaries of socio-spatial configurations that were structured by both historical and ongoing colonialism. We argue that socio-spatial developments in farms and residential areas are still informed by the cultural economy of Western modernity.⁶⁰

To a large extent, commercial farms and plush residential areas are exclusionary spaces for black elites and a few white citizens, who are hardly found in rural areas or low income residential areas. Hence, the insinuation in *Allegations* that Spud and Reason share common oppression is highly problematic from the point of view of the anti-colonial prism

⁵⁵Dei and Kempf, op.cit., p.7.

⁵⁶For example, Chivandikwa, op. cit., Mhako, op.cit. and Zenenga, op.cit.

⁵⁷Simmons and Dei, op.cit.

⁵⁸Bonds and Inwood, op.cit., p.716.

⁵⁹Dei and Kempf, op.cit.

⁶⁰See Bonds and Inwood, op.cit.

which in many ways is “...about having a critical gaze on the dominance of white supremacy...”⁶¹

Gendered Nationhood in Zimbabwe

Although *Waiting for Constitution* attempts to empower women by giving them physical representation in the script, their voice is rather muffled by the powerful male characters in the performance. In a performance at the University of Zimbabwe, the male characters dominated the performance through their high energies and dynamic characterizations. Furthermore, the male characters had the controversial roles such as those of Comrade Babamunini (Uncle), Sekuru and the “rowdy” youth which the audience identified with, as evidenced by their positive response. Therefore playwrights, as agents of the negotiation in the construction of the nation, must be conscious of gender dynamics in writing and performance. In an attempt to positively empower the women characters, Chifunyise went astray by “ice-caking” the gender roles. It is very evident through the construction of the female characters that Chifunyise was and is aware of gender stereotypes, and sought to break them by empowering the women with positive roles such as that of Constance, a political and gender-conscious character. However, the three women came through as weak characters by the mere fact that they were always subdued, mellow and level-headed, which produced default images of weakness that reified the fact that the writer had imposed an assumed superiority over the women which withdrew their potency even beyond the theatrical space.

Super Patriots and Morons empowers women, and has a good balance of gender. Men and women, as represented by Shami and Teacher, work together fighting injustice, and are presented as partners in the construction of the Zimbabwean nation. In fact Shami leads males in envisioning a new society, by spearheading the process of presenting the people’s petition to the president. This is symbolic in that it acknowledges and legitimates the existence, contribution and importance of women in the socio-political landscape of the nation, which has been denied in other spaces, especially in the political realm. However, while there is a balance in the positive or contesting characters in *Super Patriots*, there seems to be a stereotypical depiction of villainy. The President (Super Patriot), Bambazonke and Looksmart are all males, which reinforces the assumption that males are responsible for the negative development of the nation. This presents a misleading picture and does not challenge the reality on the ground by providing a vision for a proper investigation into the reasons of national collapse. The play creates negative male figures, as if only

⁶¹Dei and Kempf, op.cit., p.9.

males were in control of the direction of the nation, when in reality there are other women in complicity with the negative males. Therefore, the play does not extend, break, renegotiate and re-envision the Zimbabwean cultural contact zone in relation to gender and gender relations.

Another clear danger is that both plays may unwittingly promote the notion that Zimbabwean women are oppressed by indigenous culture. There is a pervasive perception that African cultures intrinsically oppress women.⁶² Like most plays that are sponsored by Western-based embassies and NGOs,⁶³ *Waiting for Constitution* unwittingly endorses the notion that European women are more liberated than their African counterparts.⁶⁴ For example, by conflating the private and public spaces in *Waiting for Constitution*, Chifunyise may inadvertently project the African culture as gender-intolerant and undemocratic. Take for instance, the characterization of Susan, who is imagined as an intelligent, outspoken and dependent woman who has spent twelve years in America. The implication here is that she is agentive and progressive because she has been to America – this imagination associates the American social space with a site for the liberation of women. This kind of characterization legitimizes the unexamined notion that women in Africa are oppressed by culture.

Interestingly, conveniently and ironically deploying neoliberal arguments, political elites promote the “liberation” of women, but their motive is to gain votes from women and the youth. Hence, one finds several projects that are undertaken by the Ministries of Youth and Gender, which apparently promote diversities and economic empowerment, when in reality such projects are engineered by elites to entrench their economic and political domination of national institutions and resources.⁶⁵ Given the foregoing, there is perhaps need in some instances to balance collective consciousness and the promotion of specific forms of gender-related, ethnic and racial particularisms⁶⁶ or diversities. In other words, apparently influenced by neoliberal ideology (which essentially inferiorizes and marginalizes indigenous cultural practices on gender relations), theatrical imaginations seem to over-emphasize gender differences at the expense of “...the salience of indigeneity...”⁶⁷ – an epistemology that is based on the sense of collective colonial consciousness, where diverse views and identities are recognized, while being simultaneously subordinated to the col-

⁶²L. Volpp, “Feminism Versus Multiculturalism” (2001). <https://scholarship.law.berkeley.edu/facpubs/9/>.

⁶³Mlemga et al., op.cit.

⁶⁴Volpp, op.cit.

⁶⁵Goh, op.cit.

⁶⁶Cohen, cited in C. Eze, “Rethinking African Identity: The Afro-politan Model,” *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 26 (2) (2014), 241.

⁶⁷Simmons and Dei, op.cit., p.73.

lective. In this regard, plays like *Waiting for Constitution* may unwittingly reinforce and perpetuate an ongoing colonialism which largely intensifies the oppression and marginalization of women.

Conclusion

Zimbabwe has not effectively utilized the breadth and depth of the many benefits of its multicultural population in the same way as other countries such as South Africa, Australia, the United Kingdom and Australia have done. The nation has drawn and continues to draw people from all around the world, and therefore possesses an immense reservoir of talent, energy, skills and knowledge which facilitates the birth of a competitive advantage in all spheres of life, especially given the reality of modern life and the “global village.”

Theatre as a cultural contact zone has the potential to negotiate and envision the national space by producing works that promote, project and protect the cultural diversity that exists in the nation. The theatre space is a potentially significant space from which ordinary people can actively recover and collate memory, and negotiate stories and identities for themselves outside the formalized historic narratives of nation building or the divides of their historically and geographically segregated communities. Despite many negotiations, and racial and ethnic intermingling, there is still room to extend the dynamics of admitting, negotiating, problematizing and respecting diversity within the cultural contact zone. The theatrical space, akin to ritual space, should be constructed as a synecdoche/microcosm of the realities of the larger community/ society, revealing its fears, anxieties, aspirations and visions. The theatrical space can become a “neutralizer” of identities and barriers, dismantling them and reconstructing new ones which create social harmony through diversity. However, the homogenizing element of the current rigid national concept championed by the ruling elites is problematic when analyzed through an anti-colonial critical eye, and when it threatens to permeate other contact zones such as the theatre space. Efforts to “colour” the nation with the same shade are to be challenged as an attempt to obliterate the multiple identities, histories and trajectories of people who may be found in the same nation.

At the same time, the paper has shown how theatre may provide insights into how ruling elites may strategically promote diversities as a way of weakening national collective resistance to their hold on economic and political power. A nation is a heterogeneous entity, in which both specificities and diversities should not be over-emphasized, precisely because both local and foreign colonizers may take advantage of these to maintain their dominance. This paper concludes with the thesis extra-

polated from Cheng⁶⁸ that the terms “Zimbabwe” and “Zimbabwean” as national signifiers are purely retrospective constructs, imposed upon an earlier and unsuspecting history for a historically continuous community with a homogenous national character, even though such a sovereign community had never existed in history. There is an absolute need to move away from such rigid constructions of the Zimbabwean nation, to admit diversity of race, culture, ethnicity, gender and political identities, without necessarily essentializing these identities. The paper has shown how theatre complexly reflects, subverts and endorses the different ways in which both local and neoliberal colonialisms attempt to manipulate both differences and specificities to entrench their dominance over national groups. This then provokes the need for theatre scholarship to interrogate how theater may be strengthened politically, ideologically, intellectually and aesthetically, to enhance its potential as a site of nation-building in promoting progressive diverse and collective identities.

References

- Alden, C. and Anseeuw, W. (2006). “Liberalization versus Anti-imperialism: the impact of narrative on Southern African land policies since Zimbabwe's fast-track.” Colloque International, “Les frontières de la question foncière – At the frontier of land issues.” Montpellier, 2006 Conference.
- Alexander, J. (1996). “Things Fall Apart, the Centre Can Hold: Processes of Post-War Political Change in Zimbabwe's Rural Areas.” N. Bhebe and T.O. Ranger (eds.): *Society in Zimbabwe's Liberation War*. Oxford: James Currey.
- Anderson, B. (1991). *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso.
- Bonds, A. and Inwood, J. (2006). “Beyond White Privilege: Geographies of White Supremacy and Settler Colonialism.” *Progress in Human Geography* 40 (6), pp.715-733.
- Carnegie C.V. (2008). *Post-Nationalism Prefigured*. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.
- Chatterjee, S. (1990). “Nationalist Discourse in Late 19th Century Bengali Theatre.” H. Bhabha (ed.), *Nation and Narration*. London: Routledge.
- Cheng, V.J. (1995). *Joyce, Race and Empire: Cultural Margins*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chivandikwa, N. (2012). “Theater and/As Insurrection in Zimbabwe.” *Studies in Theatre and Performance*, 32 (1), pp.29-45.
- Chiyindiko. T. (2011) “Healing and Reconciliation for Constitution Building in Zimbabwe through Theatre: A Case Study of *Heal the*

⁶⁸Op.cit.

- Wounds and Waiting for Constitution.*” Unpublished M.A. thesis. University of Witwatersrand.
- Dei, G.S.J. (2006). “Mapping the terrain – towards a new politics of resistance.” G.J.S. Dei and A. Kempf (eds.), *Anti-Colonialism and Education*. Ontario: Sense Publishers.
- Dei, G.J.S. and Kempf, A. (eds.) (2006). *Anti-Colonialism and Education*. Ontario: Sense Publishers.
- Eze.C. (2014). “Re-Thinking African Identity: The Afro-politan Model.” *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 26 (2), pp.243-247.
- Gellner, E. (1983). *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Goh, D.P.S. (2008). “From Colonial Pluralism to Postcolonial Multiculturalism: Race, State Formation and the Question of Cultural Diversities in Malaysia and Singapore.” *Sociology Compass* 2 (1), pp.232-252.
- Hobsbawm, E.J. (1991). *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kibble, S. (2003) “Southern Africa: Destruction, (Re)construction and Deconstruction – the case of Zimbabwe.” Background paper for “Futures for Southern Africa” symposium, a CIIR, NAI, ICS, and SACBC initiative.” (Originally given at ROAPE Conference, “Aid as Imperialism,” 5-7 September 2003, University of Birmingham, UK).
- Manzira-Maforo, P (2017). “Multicultural Festival Performance as a Site of Liberation from Performance Dichotomy: Investigating *Allegations*.” *International Journal of Humanities, Art and Social Studies*, 2 (2/3), pp.17-28. <http://airccse.com/ijhas/papers/2317ijhas02.pdf> (accessed 9 March 2018).
- Mhako, D. (2014) “Identities of Women in Protest Theatre in Zimbabwe.” Unpublished M.Phil. thesis, University of Zimbabwe.
- Mlenga, T., Chivandikwa, N., Bere, W. and Mangosho, T. (2015). “Contemporary Theatre Spaces: Politico-Ideological Constructions in Zimbabwe: A Dialectical Approach.” *Studies in Theatre and Performance*, 35(3), pp.221-236.
- Muwonwa, N. (2011). “Representations of Nationhood in Zimbabwe Television (ZTV) Documentaries and Dramas, 2000-2008.” Unpublished M.Phil. thesis, University of Zimbabwe.
- Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S.J. (2012). “Fiftieth Anniversary of Decolonization in Africa: A Moment of Celebration or Critical Reflection.” *Third World Quarterly* 33 (1), pp.71-89.
- Odhambo, C.J. (1998). “Dismantling Cultural/racial Boundaries: The Power of the Theatrical Space.” O. Mumma, E. Mwangi and C.J. Odhambo (eds.), *Orientations of Drama, Theatre and Culture*. Nairobi: Kenya Drama/Theatre Education Association (KDEA).
- Said, E. (1995). *Orientalism* (second edition). London: Penguin Books.

- Sharma, S., Rahtazad, J. and Phillion, B. (2013). "How Pre-Service Teachers Engage in the Process of (De) Colonization: Findings from an Integrated Field Experience in Honduras." *Interchange*, 43, pp.363-373.
- Simmons, M. and Dei, G.S.G. (2012). "Reframing Anti-Colonial Theory for the Diasporic Context." *Postcolonial Directions in Education*, 1 (1), pp.67-99.
- Trinh Minh-ha (1989). *Woman, Native, Other: Writing Post-Coloniality and Feminism*. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Vincent, A. (2002). *Nationalism and Particularity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Volpp, L. (2001). "Feminism versus Multiculturalism." <https://scholarship.law.berkeley.edu/facpubs/9/> (accessed 23 February 2018).
- Zenenga, P. (2010). "Hit and Run Theatre: The Rise of a New Dramatic Form in Zimbabwe." *Theatre History Studies*, 30, pp.14-49.

Unpublished Plays

- Baya, R. and Matsa, L. (2004). *Super Patriots and Morons*.
- Chifunyise, S. (2010). *Waiting for Constitution*.
- Gobodi, M. (2010). *Allegations*.

Contributors

Phillemon Munyaradzi Chamburuka is a Biblical Scholar in the Department of Religious Studies, Classics and Philosophy, University of Zimbabwe, specializing in New Testament Studies. He is winding up his doctoral studies in New Testament Studies with the University of Zimbabwe. His research interests include the study of the Judaic religion, the Bible, and contemporary issues such as ethics, hermeneutics, Pentecostalism and pneumatology, HIV and AIDS, Sexuality, and Politics.

Tarisayi Andrea Chimuka, Ph.D., is a Zimbabwean philosopher who teaches Philosophy at the National University of Lesotho. He also taught philosophy at the University of Zimbabwe from 1997 to 2014 and University of Botswana from 2014 to 2017. His research interests include: History of Philosophy, Logic, Critical Thinking, African Philosophy, and Philosophy of Culture. His most recent publications are “The Conundrum of Disability and African Solutions in Education,” published in 2017 by *BOLESWA – Journal of Theology, Religion and Philosophy*, 4 (3), pp.35-50, and “Interrogating the Death Penalty Discourse and its Hidden Dynamics in an African Context,” published in a book volume entitled *The Death Penalty from an African Perspective: Views from Zimbabwean and Nigerian Philosophers* published by Vernon Press in 2018 and edited by Fainos Mangena and Jonathan Okeke Mpi Chimakonam.

Nehemia Chivandikwa, Ph.D., is an Associate Professor in the Theatre Arts Department at the University of Zimbabwe. He teaches theatre and development communication and playmaking. His research interests include: Performance and Body Politics, Gender, Disability, Applied Theatre Performances and Media. He has published several articles in both regional and international journals in these areas. Chivandikwa has been involved in several projects in Applied Theatre on Gender, Political Violence, Disability and Rural and Urban Development.

Ruth B. Gora, Ph.D., is a Senior Lecturer in Language Education, Psycho- and Socio-Linguistics, Shona Language and Literature in the Department of Curriculum and Arts Education at the University of Zimbabwe. She is also a Research Fellow with the College of Human Sciences at the University of South Africa (UNISA). She has been both an Online Participant and Tutor in the Tuning Africa II Project, which focused on teaching/learning in higher education. Ruth Gora has published extensively on Language Education, Language Policy, Psycho- and Socio-Linguistics, and Indigenous Knowledge Systems. Her recent publications include two book chapters, “Interrogating the Concept of Time among the Shona: A Postcolonial Discourse” (co-authored) and “(Re-) Integrating African languages into the Zimbabwean Curriculum.”

Joyline Gwara is a Lecturer of African Philosophy in the Department of Religious Studies, Classics and Philosophy at the University of Zimbabwe. She is currently studying towards her Ph.D. with the School of Religion, Philosophy and Classics at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Her research interests include African philosophy, Epistemology, and Metaphysics. One of her most recent publications (co-authored with Clive Tendai Zimunya and Isaiah Munyiswa) is entitled “The Western and African Underpinnings of the Death Penalty: A Comparative Analysis,” published in a book volume with the title: *The Death Penalty from An African Perspective: Views from Zimbabwean and Nigerian Philosophers* by Vernon Press (2018) and edited by Fainos Mangena and Jonathan Okeke-Mpi Chimakonam.

Oswell Hapanyengwi-Chemhuru, Ph.D., is currently the Executive Dean of the Faculty of Education at the University of Zimbabwe. He is also a senior lecturer in Philosophy of Education in the Department of Educational Foundations at the same university. Prior to his appointment as the Executive Dean of the Faculty of Education in 2015, Oswell was the Deputy Dean of the Faculty of Education and Chairman of the Department of Educational Foundations. Oswell is an active researcher who has published widely in refereed journals and participated in a number of regional and international conferences. His interest is in the practical application of philosophy to everyday experiences and challenges to improve the quality of life in Africa. Two recent chapters which he co-authored with Ngoni Makuvaza in 2017 are “Unpacking the Relevance/Irrelevance of Problematic of Education in Zimbabwe: A Postcolonial Discourse,” and “Re-Thinking Education in Post-colonial Africa: Educating Munhu/Umntu in Zimbabwe.” Both chapters were published in E. Shizha and N. Makuvaza’s *Re-Thinking Post-Colonial Education in Sub-Saharan Africa in the 21st Century: Post-Millennium Development Goals*. Rotterdam/Boston/Taipei: Sense Publishers.

Chipo Marble Hatendi is a Lecturer of Philosophy in the Department of Religious Studies, Classics and Philosophy at the University of Zimbabwe. She holds an M.A and a B. A (Hons) Degree in Philosophy from the same institution (University of Zimbabwe). Currently, she is reading for her Ph.D. in Applied Ethics at the University of Zimbabwe. Her research interests lie in Applied Ethics, specifically business ethics, medical ethics, philosophy of education, and the history of philosophy. Her most recent publication is entitled: “Gender and the Death Penalty Law in Zimbabwe: An Exploratory Essay,” published in a Book Volume entitled *The Death Penalty from African Perspective: Views from Zimbabwean and Nigerian Philosophers*, edited by Fainos Mangena and Jonathan Okeke-Mpi Chimakonam and published by Vernon Press in 2018.

Ruby Magosvongwe, Ph.D., is an Associate Professor in the Department of English at the University of Zimbabwe, and the sitting Chair of

the respective Department. She is currently a Research Fellow at the University of South Africa. Professor Magosvongwe is the new Editor-in-Chief of *Zambezia*, University of Zimbabwe's Journal of Humanities. She sits on the Board of the National Arts Council of Zimbabwe, and currently chairs the Zimbabwe International Book Fair Association (ZIBFA) General Council, and is also currently a Research Fellow with the English Department at the University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa. Professor Magosvongwe is a recipient of the USHEPiA Fellowship between 2010 and 2013. She originated and developed concept papers for two consecutive International Conferences hosted by University of Zimbabwe, entitled "Africa's Intangible Heritage and Land" (2015); and "Land and Indigenization in Zimbabwe and Other Developing Countries" (2014), emanating from her DPhil Research. The two conferences resulted in two peer-reviewed books that she co-edited, entitled *Africa's Intangible Heritage and Land: Emerging Perspectives* (2016) and *Land and Indigenization in Zimbabwe and Other Developing Countries: Emerging Perspectives* (2015). She also co-edited *Rediscovering African Womanhood in the Search for Sustainable Renaissance: Africana Womanism in Multidisciplinary Approaches* (2012); and *African Womanhood in Zimbabwean Literature: New Critical Perspectives on Women's Literature in African Languages* (2006).

Ngoni Makuvaza, Ph.D., is a Senior Lecturer of Philosophy of Education in the Department of Educational Foundations of the University of Zimbabwe. His research interests include: Education, Development, Professionalism, Higher Education, Curriculum Theory, Applied Philosophy, Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Issues in Gerontology. His most recent publications include a co-edited book with E. Shizha, entitled: *Re-thinking Education in Postcolonial Sub-Saharan Africa: Post-Millennium Development Goals*, UK: Sense Publishers. In this book, he contributed to the writing of three chapters: "Introduction: Re-thinking Education in Postcolonial Sub-Saharan Africa—Post-Millennium Development Goals," "Unpacking the *relevance/irrelevance* of education problematic in Zimbabwe: A postcolonial discourse," and "Re-thinking education in post-colonial Africa: Educating munhu/umuntu in Zimbabwe."

Fainos Mangena, Ph.D., is a Full Professor of Philosophy and Ethics at the University of Zimbabwe where he has taught philosophy and ethics for 14 years. His areas of research interest include Ethics and Professionalism, Work Ethics, Cultural Ethics, Ethics and Gender, Ethics and Medicine, Ethics and the Media, Ethics and Business, Ethics and the Environment and Ethics and Education. Professor Mangena is a winner of the prestigious African Humanities Programme (AHP) Post-Doctoral Research Fellowship (2010) funded by the Carnegie Corporation and administered by the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS). He is currently the President of the Philosophical Society of Zimbabwe

(PSZ). His most recent publications include an edited book entitled *The Death Penalty from an African Perspective: Views from Zimbabwean and Nigerian Philosophers published in 2018* by Vernon Press, USA (co-edited with Jonathan Okeke-Mpi Chimakonam), an article, “Ramose’s Legacy and the Future of African Philosophy,” published by *Philosophia Africana* 18(1) of 2017, and a book chapter entitled “Zimbabwe’s Environmental Crisis: Questioning Ubuntu?” published by Routledge in 2018.

Francis Matambirofa, Ph.D., is a Senior Lecturer and former Director of the African Languages Research Institute (ALRI) at the University of Zimbabwe (UZ). He has worked at UZ in various capacities including being Proctor, Department Chairman and Acting Deputy Dean of the Faculty of Arts, within a time frame in excess of 24 years. His research interests are variegated and multi-disciplinary in scope, covering such diverse areas as language and linguistics, lexicography, culture, poetry, gender and democracy. Matambirofa has had teaching and research fellowships in the United States, where he taught at tertiary institutions such as the University of Pennsylvania and Bryn Mawr College and other countries such as: Switzerland, Norway and Mozambique. He has also co-published books, book chapters, journal articles.

Prolific Mataruse is a Ph.D. student in the Department of Politics at Rhodes University in South Africa, as well as an Andrew Mellon Doctoral Fellow in the Unit for the Humanities at the same institution. He holds an MSc Degree in International Relations and a B.Sc. (Hons) Degree in Political Science from the University of Zimbabwe. His research interests include Democracy Assistance, Political Finance, and Emancipatory Politics. In 2017, he published a book chapter on Transboundary Water Management in SADC in the context of Regional Integration and Pan-Africanism. He has also conducted a baseline survey for academic freedoms in Zimbabwe for students and staff, and has worked with several civil society organizations.

John D. McClymont, D.Th., is a Senior Lecturer in the Classics section of the Department of Religious Studies, Classics and Philosophy at the University of Zimbabwe. His interests extend to Philosophy, Mythology and Religion – both classical and otherwise. He previously contributed a chapter entitled “Tradition and Objectivity” in a Book Volume entitled *Philosophy in African Traditional Cultures: Zimbabwean Philosophical Studies II* (Washington DC: Council for Research in Values and Philosophy, 2015) edited by F. Mangena, T.A. Chimuka and F. Mabiri.

Madlozi Moyo, Ph.D., is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Religious Studies, Classics and Philosophy at the University of Zimbabwe. The genres about which he lectures include Greek and Latin Epic Poetry, Lyric Poetry, Greek Tragedy, Roman Comedy as well as the ancient novel. He also lectures in Classical Art and Archaeology. His

Doctorate is a comparative analysis of the deployment of animals in Ancient Greek (Pre-Classical) and proto-literate Kalanga Oral Traditions. He is also a published creative writer and literary critic, and has some poems appearing in leading Zimbabwean anthologies which include *Ghetto Diary and Other Poems* (2012), and *From Where the Wind Blows* (2013).

Ngonidzashe Muwonwa is a Ph.D. student and Research Fellow and Lecturer at the University of Zimbabwe in the Theatre Arts Department where he teaches writing, acting and directing courses. His research interests include Identity Politics, Representation, Critical Pedagogy, and Cultural Politics. The subject areas he has published in include the fields of disability, sexuality, and nationalism through multi-media analysis of texts from television, radio, theatre and film. His most recent publication is on youth sexuality, entitled “Dying to be Women: Implications of Narrative Parameters of Female Youth Sexuality in Zimbabwe,” in the African Journal of AIDS Research.

John Mweshi, Ph.D., is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Philosophy and Applied Ethics of the University of Zambia. He specializes in Environmental Philosophy, Environmental Policy and Environmental Conflict Analysis. Of late, he has also ventured into Philosophy and Gender, Development Ethics, Contemporary African Philosophy and Related Themes. His most recent publications include “On Africanising the philosophy curricula: Challenges and prospects,” published in 2016 by the *South African Journal of Philosophy*, 35:4, 460-470, and “The African Emphasis on Harmonious Relations: Implications for Environmental Ethics and Justice” in M. Chemhuru (ed.), *African Environmental Ethics* (Springer, forthcoming).

Clive Tendai Zimunya, Ph.D., is a Senior Lecturer specializing in Philosophy in the Department of Religious Studies, Classics and Philosophy at the University of Zimbabwe. His research interests include Logic, Epistemology, Philosophy of Religion and Ethics. One of his most recent publications (co-authored with Joyline Gwara and Isaiah Munyiswa) is entitled *The Western and African Underpinnings of the Death Penalty: A Comparative Analysis* published in a Book Volume with the title *The Death Penalty from An African Perspective: Views from Zimbabwean and Nigerian Philosophers*, edited by Fainos Mangena and Jonathan Okeke-Mpi Chimakonam.

Index

A

AFM, 4, 175, 182-193
animals, 4, 37, 159-172, 201, 264
Armah, 5, 7, 211-214, 225-229,
231

C

Chamburuka, 4, 175
Chimuka, 3, 97, 115, 235, 248
chirere chigokurerawo, 6, 251,
257, 263-266
Chitando, 2, 7, 51, 60
Chivandikwa, 6, 269, 270, 272,
278-281, 285, 286
Chomsky, 2, 29-35, 43-45
contraception, 145-156
culture, 2-6, 16, 19, 25, 30-41, 43-
48, 63-77, 81, 91, 99, 100, 109,
122, 125, 132, 135, 136, 141,
146, 147, 152-155, 160, 167,
171, 172, 197, 203, 204, 222,
233-247, 256, 258, 260, 265,
283, 285

D

Dickens, 5, 7, 211, 217, 219, 221-
225, 228, 231, 232
discrimination, 2

E

education, 2-8, 12, 28, 29, 52, 53,
57-60, 77-81, 89, 90-94, 100,
101, 119-123, 131-142, 147,
155, 195-208, 251, 263-270,
276, 286-291

G

glossolalia, 175-190
Gomo, 5, 7, 211, 228, 229, 232
Gora, 6, 251
Gwara, 2, 3, 47

H

Hapanyengwi-Chemhuru, 4, 119,
121, 138, 141

Hatendi, 4, 5, 145, 195
Hegel, 9, 12, 19, 49, 63, 72, 76
Hume, 9, 49-51, 55, 60, 63
humwe, 5, 139, 211-217, 222, 225,
228, 230, 231
hunhu, 4-7, 58, 119, 145, 146, 152-
156, 251, 263-267

I

Islam, 40, 195, 196, 202-208

K

Kalanga, 104, 116, 124, 142, 159-
161, 164, 167-173, 293
Kant, 9, 12, 49-51, 55, 60-63

L

Levy-Bruhl, 9, 55

M

Magosvongwe, 5, 42, 45, 211, 215,
232
Makinde, 2, 7, 12, 19, 28
Makuvaza, 6, 7, 138, 141, 251,
252, 257, 259, 262, 267
Mangena, 1-3, 7, 11, 16, 28, 29,
45, 51-57, 60, 61, 235, 248, 291,
303
Matambirofa, 2, 3, 29, 31, 37, 42,
45, 292
Mataruse, 3, 77
McClymont, 5, 235, 248, 303
Metz, 8, 11, 12, 17-28, 58, 61
Moyo, 4, 125-127, 142, 159, 278
multiculturalism, 1-6, 29-35, 78,
97-102, 113, 119, 120, 123, 131,
132, 139-146, 152, 155, 156,
196, 208, 269, 273
Muwonwa, 6, 269, 270, 275, 279,
286
Mweshi, 3, 63, 72, 76

N

Nyerere, 3, 47, 58, 59, 60, 61

O

OPHs, 6, 251-266
 power, 4, 7, 32, 38, 42, 43, 52, 88,
 89, 92, 98, 103, 122, 127, 130,
 159-161, 164-166, 168-170,
 184, 226, 274-279, 284, 286

R

race, 3, 12, 15, 30-35, 40, 43, 47-
 51, 54, 56, 59, 61-67, 73, 74, 78,
 90, 91, 107, 110, 128, 147, 196,
 242, 244, 247, 270, 273, 275,
 277, 279-281, 285
 racism, 1-3, 11-19, 28-33, 36, 37,
 39, 41, 44, 47-50, 53, 54, 57-59,
 65, 75, 80, 82, 102, 110, 129,
 132, 134, 238, 241, 243, 277,
 278, 281
 Ramose, 2, 8, 12, 15, 16, 19, 20,
 23-29, 45, 53, 56, 60, 61, 114,
 138, 143, 145, 153, 157
 reciprocity, 5, 6, 212-217, 222,
 225-231, 263, 264
 religion, 5, 31, 40, 44, 52, 63, 72,
 76, 107, 123, 147, 195-197, 199,
 202-208, 233, 234, 238, 239,
 244, 248, 250, 289

S

Shutte, 8, 11, 15-17, 20, 27, 28, 56,
 137, 143
 South Africa, 1-3, 11-17, 24-28,
 40, 52, 54, 61, 67, 77-94, 97,
 102-118, 124, 143-146, 153,
 157, 159, 168, 173, 184, 192,
 241, 249, 284

T

Taylor, 8, 11, 17, 23-28
 theatre, 6, 269-273, 276-281, 284-
 289, 293

U

ubuntu, 4, 6, 8, 18-27, 58, 119,
 139, 140, 145, 146, 152-156,
 171, 251, 263-266

W

Winkler, 8, 11-15, 27, 28
 wisdom, 4-6, 16, 74, 159-164, 170,
 212, 214, 228, 230, 238, 262

X

xenophobia, 3, 77, 82-85, 92, 94,
 98, 106-112

Z

Zimunya, 5, 195

The Council for Research in Values and Philosophy

Purpose

Today there is urgent need to attend to the nature and dignity of the person, to the quality of human life, to the purpose and goal of the physical transformation of our environment, and to the relation of all this to the development of social and political life. This, in turn, requires philosophic clarification of the base upon which freedom is exercised, that is, of the values which provide stability and guidance to one's decisions.

Such studies must be able to reach deeply into one's culture and that of other parts of the world as mutually reinforcing and enriching in order to uncover the roots of the dignity of persons and of their societies. They must be able to identify the conceptual forms in terms of which modern industrial and technological developments are structured and how these impact upon human self-understanding. Above all, they must be able to bring these elements together in the creative understanding essential for setting our goals and determining our modes of interaction. In the present complex global circumstances this is a condition for growing together with trust and justice, honest dedication and mutual concern.

The Council for Research in Values and Philosophy (RVP) unites scholars who share these concerns and are interested in the application thereto of existing capabilities in the field of philosophy and other disciplines. Its work is to identify areas in which study is needed, the intellectual resources which can be brought to bear thereupon, and the means for publication and interchange of the work from the various regions of the world. In bringing these together its goal is scientific discovery and publication which contributes to the present promotion of humankind.

In sum, our times present both the need and the opportunity for deeper and ever more progressive understanding of the person and of the foundations of social life. The development of such understanding is the goal of the RVP.

Projects

A set of related research efforts is currently in process:

1. Cultural Heritage and Contemporary Change: Philosophical Foundations for Social Life. Focused, mutually coordinated research teams in university centers prepare volumes as part of an integrated philosophic search for self-understanding differentiated by culture and civilization. These evolve more adequate understandings of the person in society and look to the cultural heritage of each for the resources to respond to the challenges of its own specific contemporary transformation.

2. Seminars on Culture and Contemporary Issues. This series of 10 week cross-cultural and interdisciplinary seminars is coordinated by the RVP in Washington.

3. Joint-Colloquia with Institutes of Philosophy of the National Academies of Science, university philosophy departments, and societies. Underway since 1976 in Eastern Europe and, since 1987, in China, these concern the person in contemporary society.

4. Foundations of Moral Education and Character Development. A study in values and education which unites philosophers, psychologists, social scientists and scholars in education in the elaboration of ways of enriching the moral content of education and character development. This work has been underway since 1980.

The personnel for these projects consists of established scholars willing to contribute their time and research as part of their professional commitment to life in contemporary society. For resources to implement this work the Council, as 501 C3 a non-profit organization incorporated in the District of Columbia, looks to various private foundations, public programs and enterprises.

Publications on Cultural Heritage and Contemporary Change

- Series I. Culture and Values
- Series II. African Philosophical Studies
- Series IIA. Islamic Philosophical Studies
- Series III. Asian Philosophical Studies
- Series IV. Western European Philosophical Studies
- Series IVA. Central and Eastern European Philosophical Studies
- Series V. Latin American Philosophical Studies
- Series VI. Foundations of Moral Education
- Series VII. Seminars: Culture and Values
- Series VIII. Christian Philosophical Studies

Cultural Heritage and Contemporary Change

Series I. Culture and Values

- I.1 *Research on Culture and Values: Intersection of Universities, Churches and Nations.* George F. McLean, ed. ISBN 0819173533 (paper).
- I.2 *The Knowledge of Values: A Methodological Introduction to the Study of Values.* A. Lopez Quintas, ed. ISBN 081917419x (paper).
- I.3 *Reading Philosophy for the XXIst Century.* George F. McLean, ed. ISBN 0819174157 (paper).

- I.4 *Relations between Cultures*. John A. Kromkowski, ed. ISBN 1565180089 (paper).
- I.5 *Urbanization and Values*. John A. Kromkowski, ed. ISBN 1565180100 (paper).
- I.6 *The Place of the Person in Social Life*. Paul Peachey and John A. Kromkowski, eds. ISBN 1565180127 (paper).
- I.7 *Abrahamic Faiths, Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflicts*. Paul Peachey, George F. McLean and John A. Kromkowski, eds. ISBN 1565181042 (paper).
- I.8 *Ancient Western Philosophy: The Hellenic Emergence*. George F. McLean and Patrick J. Aspell, eds. ISBN 156518100X (paper).
- I.9 *Medieval Western Philosophy: The European Emergence*. Patrick J. Aspell, ed. ISBN 1565180941 (paper).
- I.10 *The Ethical Implications of Unity and the Divine in Nicholas of Cusa*. David L. De Leonardis. ISBN 1565181123 (paper).
- I.11 *Ethics at the Crossroads: 1. Normative Ethics and Objective Reason*. George F. McLean, ed. ISBN 1565180224 (paper).
- I.12 *Ethics at the Crossroads: 2. Personalist Ethics and Human Subjectivity*. George F. McLean, ed. ISBN 1565180240 (paper).
- I.13 *The Emancipative Theory of Jürgen Habermas and Metaphysics*. Robert Badillo. ISBN 1565180429 (paper).
- I.14 *The Deficient Cause of Moral Evil According to Thomas Aquinas*. Edward Cook. ISBN 1565180704 (paper).
- I.15 *Human Love: Its Meaning and Scope, a Phenomenology of Gift and Encounter*. Alfonso Lopez Quintas. ISBN 1565180747 (paper).
- I.16 *Civil Society and Social Reconstruction*. George F. McLean, ed. ISBN 1565180860 (paper).
- I.17 *Ways to God, Personal and Social at the Turn of Millennia: The Iqbal Lecture, Lahore*. George F. McLean. ISBN 1565181239 (paper).
- I.18 *The Role of the Sublime in Kant's Moral Metaphysics*. John R. Goodreau. ISBN 1565181247 (paper).
- I.19 *Philosophical Challenges and Opportunities of Globalization*. Oliva Blanchette, Tomonobu Imamichi and George F. McLean, eds. ISBN 1565181298 (paper).
- I.20 *Faith, Reason and Philosophy: Lectures at The al-Azhar, Qom, Tehran, Lahore and Beijing; Appendix: The Encyclical Letter: Fides et Ratio*. George F. McLean. ISBN 156518130 (paper).
- I.21 *Religion and the Relation between Civilizations: Lectures on Cooperation between Islamic and Christian Cultures in a Global Horizon*. George F. McLean. ISBN 1565181522 (paper).
- I.22 *Freedom, Cultural Traditions and Progress: Philosophy in Civil Society and Nation Building, Tashkent Lectures, 1999*. George F. McLean. ISBN 1565181514 (paper).
- I.23 *Ecology of Knowledge*. Jerzy A. Wojciechowski. ISBN 1565181581 (paper).

- I.24 *God and the Challenge of Evil: A Critical Examination of Some Serious Objections to the Good and Omnipotent God*. John L. Yardan. ISBN 1565181603 (paper).
- I.25 *Reason, Rationality and Reasonableness, Vietnamese Philosophical Studies, I*. Tran Van Doan. ISBN 1565181662 (paper).
- I.26 *The Culture of Citizenship: Inventing Postmodern Civic Culture*. Thomas Bridges. ISBN 1565181689 (paper).
- I.27 *The Historicity of Understanding and the Problem of Relativism in Gadamer's Philosophical Hermeneutics*. Osman Bilen. ISBN 1565181670 (paper).
- I.28 *Speaking of God*. Carlo Huber. ISBN 1565181697 (paper).
- I.29 *Persons, Peoples and Cultures in a Global Age: Metaphysical Bases for Peace between Civilizations*. George F. McLean. ISBN 1565181875 (paper).
- I.30 *Hermeneutics, Tradition and Contemporary Change: Lectures in Chennai/Madras, India*. George F. McLean. ISBN 1565181883 (paper).
- I.31 *Husserl and Stein*. Richard Feist and William Sweet, eds. ISBN 1565181948 (paper).
- I.32 *Paul Hanly Furfey's Quest for a Good Society*. Bronislaw Misztal, Francesco Villa, and Eric Sean Williams, eds. ISBN 1565182278 (paper).
- I.33 *Three Theories of Society*. Paul Hanly Furfey. ISBN 9781565182288 (paper).
- I.34 *Building Peace in Civil Society: An Autobiographical Report from a Believers' Church*. Paul Peachey. ISBN 9781565182325 (paper).
- I.35 *Karol Wojtyla's Philosophical Legacy*. Agnes B. Curry, Nancy Mardas and George F. McLean, eds. ISBN 9781565182479 (paper).
- I.36 *Kantian Imperatives and Phenomenology's Original Forces*. Randolph C. Wheeler. ISBN 9781565182547 (paper).
- I.37 *Beyond Modernity: The Recovery of Person and Community in Global Times: Lectures in China and Vietnam*. George F. McLean. ISBN 9781565182578 (paper).
- I.38 *Religion and Culture*. George F. McLean. ISBN 9781565182561 (paper).
- I.39 *The Dialogue of Cultural Traditions: Global Perspective*. William Sweet, George F. McLean, Tomonobu Imamichi, Safak Ural, O. Faruk Akyol, eds. ISBN 9781565182585 (paper).
- I.40 *Unity and Harmony, Love and Compassion in Global Times*. George F. McLean. ISBN 9781565182592 (paper).
- I.41 *Intercultural Dialogue and Human Rights*. Luigi Bonanate, Roberto Papini and William Sweet, eds. ISBN 9781565182714 (paper).
- I.42 *Philosophy Emerging from Culture*. William Sweet, George F. McLean, Oliva Blanchette, Wonbin Park, eds. ISBN 9781565182851 (paper).
- I.43 *Whence Intelligibility?* Louis Perron, ed. ISBN 9781565182905 (paper).
- I.44 *What Is Intercultural Philosophy?* William Sweet, ed. ISBN 9781565182912 (paper).

- I.45 *Romero's Legacy 2: Faith in the City: Poverty, Politics, and Peace-building*. Foreword by Robert T. McDermott. Pilar Hogan Closkey, Kevin Moran and John P. Hogan, eds. ISBN 9781565182981 (paper).
- I.46 *Cultural Clash and Religion*. William Sweet, ed. ISBN 9781565183100 (paper).

Series II. African Philosophical Studies

- II.1 *Person and Community: Ghanaian Philosophical Studies: I*. Kwasi Wiredu and Kwame Gyekye, eds. ISBN 1565180046 (paper).
- II.2 *The Foundations of Social Life: Ugandan Philosophical Studies: I*. A.T. Dalfovo, ed. ISBN 1565180062 (paper).
- II.3 *Identity and Change in Nigeria: Nigerian Philosophical Studies, I*. Theophilus Okere, ed. ISBN 1565180682 (paper).
- II.4 *Social Reconstruction in Africa: Ugandan Philosophical Studies, II*. E. Wamala, A.R. Byaruhanga, A.T. Dalfovo, J.K. Kigongo, S.A. Mwanahewa and G. Tusabe, eds. ISBN 1565181182 (paper).
- II.5 *Ghana: Changing Values/Changing Technologies: Ghanaian Philosophical Studies, II*. Helen Lauer, ed. ISBN 1565181441 (paper).
- II.6 *Sameness and Difference: Problems and Potentials in South African Civil Society: South African Philosophical Studies, I*. James R. Cochrane and Bastienne Klein, eds. ISBN 1565181557 (paper).
- II.7 *Protest and Engagement: Philosophy after Apartheid at an Historically Black South African University: South African Philosophical Studies, II*. Patrick Giddy, ed. ISBN 1565181638 (paper).
- II.8 *Ethics, Human Rights and Development in Africa: Ugandan Philosophical Studies, III*. A.T. Dalfovo, J.K. Kigongo, J. Kisekka, G. Tusabe, E. Wamala, R. Munyonyo, A.B. Rukooko, A.B.T. Byaruhangaakiiki, and M. Mawa, eds. ISBN 1565181727 (paper).
- II.9 *Beyond Cultures: Perceiving a Common Humanity: Ghanaian Philosophical Studies, III*. Kwame Gyekye. ISBN 156518193X (paper).
- II.10 *Social and Religious Concerns of East Africa: A Wajibu Anthology: Kenyan Philosophical Studies, I*. Gerald J. Wanjohi and G. Wakuraya Wanjohi, eds. ISBN 1565182219 (paper).
- II.11 *The Idea of an African University: The Nigerian Experience: Nigerian Philosophical Studies, II*. Joseph Kenny, ed. ISBN 9781565182301 (paper).
- II.12 *The Struggles after the Struggle: Zimbabwean Philosophical Studies, I*. David Kaulemu, ed. ISBN 9781565182318 (paper).
- II.13 *Indigenous and Modern Environmental Ethics: A Study of the Indigenous Oromo Environmental Ethic and Modern Issues of Environment and Development: Ethiopian Philosophical Studies, I*. Workineh Kelbessa. ISBN 9781565182530 (paper).
- II.14 *African Philosophy and the Future of Africa: South African Philosophical Studies, III*. Gerard Walmsley, ed. ISBN 9781565182707 (paper).

- II.15 *Philosophy in Ethiopia: African Philosophy Today, I: Ethiopian Philosophical Studies, II*. Bekele Gutema and Charles C. Verharen, eds. ISBN 9781565182790 (paper).
- II.16 *The Idea of a Nigerian University: A Revisit: Nigerian Philosophical Studies, III*. Olatunji Oyeshile and Joseph Kenny, eds. ISBN 9781565182776 (paper).
- II.17 *Philosophy in African Traditions and Cultures: Zimbabwe Philosophical Studies, II*. Fainos Mangena, Tarisayi Andrea Chimuka, Francis Mabiri, eds. ISBN 9781565182998 (paper).
- II.18 *Universalism, Relativism, and Intercultural Philosophy: Nigerian Philosophical Studies IV*. Joseph C. Achike Agbakoba and Anthony C. Ajah, eds. ISBN 9781565183162 (paper).
- II.19 *An African Path to a Global Future*. Rianna Oelofsen and Kola Abimbola, eds. ISBN 9781565183230 (paper).
- II.20 *Odera Oruka in the Twenty-first Century: Kenyan Philosophical Studies, II*. Reginald M.J. Oduor, Oriare Nyarwath and Francis E.A. Owakah, eds. ISBN 9781565183247 (paper).
- II.21 *Perspectives in Social Contract Theory*. Edwin E. Etieyibo, ed. ISBN 9781565183315 (paper).
- II.22 *Philosophy, Race and Multiculturalism in Southern Africa: Zimbabwean Philosophical Studies, III*. Fainos Mangena & John Douglas McClymont, eds. ISBN 9781565183360 (paper).

Series IIA. Islamic Philosophical Studies

- IIA.1 *Islam and the Political Order*. Muhammad Saïd al-Ashmawy. ISBN 156518047X (paper).
- IIA.2 *Al-Ghazali Deliverance from Error and Mystical Union with the Almighty: Al-munqidh Min al-Dadāl*. Critical Arabic edition and English translation by Muhammad Abulaylah and Nurshif Abdul-Rahim Rifat; Introduction and notes by George F. McLean. ISBN 1565181530 (Arabic-English edition, paper), ISBN 1565180828 (Arabic edition, paper), ISBN 156518081X (English edition, paper).
- IIA.3 *Philosophy in Pakistan*. Naeem Ahmad, ed. ISBN 1565181085 (paper).
- IIA.4 *The Authenticity of the Text in Hermeneutics*. Seyed Musa Dibadj. ISBN 1565181174 (paper).
- IIA.5 *Interpretation and the Problem of the Intention of the Author: H.-G. Gadamer vs E.D. Hirsch*. Burhanettin Tatar. ISBN 156518121 (paper).
- IIA.6 *Ways to God, Personal and Social at the Turn of Millennia: The Iqbal Lectures, Lahore*. George F. McLean. ISBN 1565181239 (paper).
- IIA.7 *Faith, Reason and Philosophy: Lectures at Al-Azhar University, Qom, Tehran, Lahore and Beijing; Appendix: The Encyclical Letter: Fides et Ratio*. George F. McLean. ISBN 1565181301 (paper).
- IIA.8 *Islamic and Christian Cultures: Conflict or Dialogue: Bulgarian Philosophical Studies, III*. Plament Makariev, ed. ISBN 156518162X (paper).

- IIA.9 *Values of Islamic Culture and the Experience of History, Russian Philosophical Studies, I*. Nur Kirabaev, Yuriy Pochta, eds. ISBN 1565181336 (paper).
- IIA.10 *Christian-Islamic Preambles of Faith*. Joseph Kenny. ISBN 1565181387 (paper).
- IIA.11 *The Historicity of Understanding and the Problem of Relativism in Gadamer's Philosophical Hermeneutics*. Osman Bilen. ISBN 1565181670 (paper).
- IIA.12 *Religion and the Relation between Civilizations: Lectures on Cooperation between Islamic and Christian Cultures in a Global Horizon*. George F. McLean. ISBN 1565181522 (paper).
- IIA.13 *Modern Western Christian Theological Understandings of Muslims since the Second Vatican Council*. Mahmut Aydin. ISBN 1565181719 (paper).
- IIA.14 *Philosophy of the Muslim World; Authors and Principal Themes*. Joseph Kenny. ISBN 1565181794 (paper).
- IIA.15 *Islam and Its Quest for Peace: Jihad, Justice and Education*. Mustafa Köylü. ISBN 1565181808 (paper).
- IIA.16 *Islamic Thought on the Existence of God: Contributions and Contrasts with Contemporary Western Philosophy of Religion*. Cafer S. Yaran. ISBN 1565181921 (paper).
- IIA.17 *Hermeneutics, Faith, and Relations between Cultures: Lectures in Qom, Iran*. George F. McLean. ISBN 1565181913 (paper).
- IIA.18 *Change and Essence: Dialectical Relations between Change and Continuity in the Turkish Intellectual Tradition*. Sinasi Gunduz and Cafer S. Yaran, eds. ISBN 1565182227 (paper).
- IIA.19 *Understanding Other Religions: Al-Biruni and Gadamer's "Fusion of Horizons."* Kemal Ataman. ISBN 9781565182523 (paper).

Series III. Asian Philosophical Studies

- III.1 *Man and Nature: Chinese Philosophical Studies, I*. Tang Yijie and Li Zhen, eds. ISBN 0819174130 (paper).
- III.2 *Chinese Foundations for Moral Education and Character Development: Chinese Philosophical Studies, II*. Tran van Doan, ed. ISBN 1565180321 (paper).
- III.3 *Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, Christianity and Chinese Culture: Chinese Philosophical Studies, III*. 2nd edition. Tang Yijie. ISBN 9781565183193 (paper).
- III.4 *Morality, Metaphysics and Chinese Culture: Metaphysics, Culture and Morality, I*. Vincent Shen and Tran van Doan, eds. ISBN 1565180275 (paper).
- III.5 *Tradition, Harmony and Transcendence*. George F. McLean. ISBN 1565180313 (paper).

- III.6 *Psychology, Phenomenology and Chinese Philosophy: Chinese Philosophical Studies, VI*. Vincent Shen, Richard Knowles and Tran Van Doan, eds. ISBN 1565180453 (paper).
- III.7 *Values in Philippine Culture and Education: Philippine Philosophical Studies, I*. Manuel B. Dy, Jr., ed. ISBN 1565180412 (paper).
- III.7A *The Human Person and Society: Chinese Philosophical Studies, VIIA*. Zhu Dasheng, Jin Xiping and George F. McLean, eds. ISBN 1565180887.
- III.8 *The Filipino Mind: Philippine Philosophical Studies II*. Leonardo N. Mercado. ISBN 156518064X (paper).
- III.9 *Philosophy of Science and Education: Chinese Philosophical Studies IX*. Vincent Shen and Tran Van Doan, eds. ISBN 1565180763 (paper).
- III.10 *Chinese Cultural Traditions and Modernization: Chinese Philosophical Studies, X*. Wang Miaoyang, Yu Xuanmeng and George F. McLean, eds. ISBN 1565180682 (paper).
- III.11 *The Humanization of Technology and Chinese Culture: Chinese Philosophical Studies XI*. Tomonobu Imamichi, Wang Miaoyang and Liu Fangtong, eds. ISBN 1565181166 (paper).
- III.12 *Beyond Modernization: Chinese Roots of Global Awareness: Chinese Philosophical Studies, XII*. Wang Miaoyang, Yu Xuanmeng and George F. McLean, eds. ISBN 1565180909 (paper).
- III.13 *Philosophy and Modernization in China: Chinese Philosophical Studies XIII*. Liu Fangtong, Huang Songjie and George F. McLean, eds. ISBN 1565180666 (paper).
- III.14 *Economic Ethics and Chinese Culture: Chinese Philosophical Studies, XIV*. Yu Xuanmeng, Lu Xiaohe, Liu Fangtong, Zhang Rulun and Georges Enderle, eds. ISBN 1565180925 (paper).
- III.15 *Civil Society in a Chinese Context: Chinese Philosophical Studies XV*. Wang Miaoyang, Yu Xuanmeng and Manuel B. Dy, eds. ISBN 1565180844 (paper).
- III.16 *The Bases of Values in a Time of Change: Chinese and Western: Chinese Philosophical Studies, XVI*. Kirti Bunchua, Liu Fangtong, Yu Xuanmeng, Yu Wujin, eds. ISBN 156518114X (paper).
- III.17 *Dialogue between Christian Philosophy and Chinese Culture: Philosophical Perspectives for the Third Millennium: Chinese Philosophical Studies, XVII*. Paschal Ting, Marian Kao and Bernard Li, eds. ISBN 1565181735 (paper).
- III.18 *The Poverty of Ideological Education: Chinese Philosophical Studies, XVIII*. Tran Van Doan. ISBN 1565181646 (paper).
- III.19 *God and the Discovery of Man: Classical and Contemporary Approaches: Lectures in Wuhan, China*. George F. McLean. ISBN 1565181891 (paper).
- III.20 *Cultural Impact on International Relations: Chinese Philosophical Studies, XX*. Yu Xintian, ed. ISBN 156518176X (paper).
- III.21 *Cultural Factors in International Relations: Chinese Philosophical Studies, XXI*. Yu Xintian, ed. ISBN 1565182049 (paper).

- III.22 *Wisdom in China and the West: Chinese Philosophical Studies, XXII*. Vincent Shen and Willard Oxtoby. ISBN 1565182057 (paper)
- III.23 *China's Contemporary Philosophical Journey: Western Philosophy and Marxism: Chinese Philosophical Studies, XXIII*. Liu Fangtong. ISBN 1565182065 (paper).
- III.24 *Shanghai: Its Urbanization and Culture: Chinese Philosophical Studies, XXIV*. Yu Xuanmeng and He Xirong, eds. ISBN 1565182073 (paper).
- III.25 *Dialogue of Philosophies, Religions and Civilizations in the Era of Globalization: Chinese Philosophical Studies, XXV*. Zhao Dunhua, ed. ISBN 9781565182431 (paper).
- III.26 *Rethinking Marx: Chinese Philosophical Studies, XXVI*. Zou Shipeng and Yang Xuegong, eds. ISBN 9781565182448 (paper).
- III.27 *Confucian Ethics in Retrospect and Prospect: Chinese Philosophical Studies XXVII*. Vincent Shen and Kwong-loi Shun, eds. ISBN 9781565182455 (paper).
- III.28 *Cultural Tradition and Social Progress, Chinese Philosophical Studies, XXVIII*. He Xirong, Yu Xuanmeng, Yu Xintian, Yu Wujing, Yang Junyi, eds. ISBN 9781565182660 (paper).
- III.29 *Spiritual Foundations and Chinese Culture: A Philosophical Approach: Chinese Philosophical Studies, XXIX*. Anthony J. Carroll and Kattia Lenehan, eds. ISBN 9781565182974 (paper).
- III.30 *Diversity in Unity: Harmony in a Global Age: Chinese Philosophical Studies, XXX*. He Xirong and Yu Xuanmeng, eds. ISBN 9781565183070 (paper).
- III.31 *Chinese Spirituality and Christian Communities: A Kenotic Perspective: Chinese Philosophical Studies, XXXI*. Vincent Shen, ed. ISBN 9781565183070 (paper).
- III.32 *Care of Self and Meaning of Life: Asian and Christian Reflections: Chinese Philosophical Studies, XXXII*. William Sweet and Cristal Huang, ed. ISBN 9781565183131 (paper).
- III.33 *Philosophy and the Life-World: Chinese Philosophical Studies, XXX III*. He Xirong, Peter Jonkers and Shi Yongzhe, eds. ISBN 9781565183216. (paper).
- III.34 *Reconstruction of Values and Morality in Global Times: Chinese Philosophical Studies, XXXIV*. Liu Yong and Zhang Zhixiang, eds. ISBN 9781565183278. (paper).
- III.35 *Traditional Values and Virtues in Contemporary Social Life: Chinese Philosophical Studies XXXV*. Gong Qun, ed. ISBN 9781565183278. (paper).
- IIIB.1 *Authentic Human Destiny: The Paths of Shankara and Heidegger: Indian Philosophical Studies, I*. Vensus A. George. ISBN 1565181190 (paper).
- IIIB.2 *The Experience of Being as Goal of Human Existence: The Heideggerian Approach: Indian Philosophical Studies, II*. Vensus A. George. ISBN 156518145X (paper).

- IIIB.3 *Religious Dialogue as Hermeneutics: Bede Griffiths's Advaitic Approach: Indian Philosophical Studies, III.* Kuruvilla Pandikattu. ISBN 1565181395 (paper).
- IIIB.4 *Self-Realization [Brahmaanubhava]: The Advaitic Perspective of Shankara: Indian Philosophical Studies, IV.* Vensus A. George. ISBN 1565181549 (paper).
- IIIB.5 *Gandhi: The Meaning of Mahatma for the Millennium: Indian Philosophical Studies, V.* Kuruvilla Pandikattu, ed. ISBN 1565181565 (paper).
- IIIB.6 *Civil Society in Indian Cultures: Indian Philosophical Studies, VI.* Asha Mukherjee, Sabujkali Sen (Mitra) and K. Bagchi, eds. ISBN 1565181573 (paper).
- IIIB.7 *Hermeneutics, Tradition and Contemporary Change: Lectures in Chennai/Madras, India.* George F. McLean. ISBN 1565181883 (paper).
- IIIB.8 *Plenitude and Participation: The Life of God in Man: Lectures in Chennai/Madras, India.* George F. McLean. ISBN 1565181999 (paper).
- IIIB.9 *Sufism and Bhakti, a Comparative Study: Indian Philosophical Studies, VII.* Md. Sirajul Islam. ISBN 1565181980 (paper).
- IIIB.10 *Reasons for Hope: Its Nature, Role and Future: Indian Philosophical Studies, VIII.* Kuruvilla Pandikattu, ed. ISBN 1565182162 (paper).
- IIIB.11 *Lifeworlds and Ethics: Studies in Several Keys: Indian Philosophical Studies, IX.* Margaret Chatterjee. ISBN 9781565182332 (paper).
- IIIB.12 *Paths to the Divine: Ancient and Indian: Indian Philosophical Studies, X.* Vensus A. George. ISBN 9781565182486 (paper).
- IIIB.13 *Faith and Reason Today: Fides et Ratio in a Post-Modern Era: Indian Philosophical Studies, XIII.* Varghese Manimala, ed. ISBN 9781565182554 (paper).
- IIIB.14 *Identity, Creativity and Modernization: Perspectives on Indian Cultural Tradition: Indian Philosophical Studies, XIV.* Sebastian Velassery and Vensus A. George, eds. ISBN 9781565182783 (paper).
- IIIB.15 *Elusive Transcendence: An Exploration of the Human Condition Based on Paul Ricoeur: Indian Philosophical Studies, XV.* Kuruvilla Pandikattu. ISBN 9781565182950 (paper).
- IIIB.16 *Being Human in Multicultural Traditions: Indian Philosophical Studies, XVI.* K. Remi Rajani and Vensus A. George, eds. ISBN 9781565183285 (paper).
- IIIC.1 *Spiritual Values and Social Progress: Uzbekistan Philosophical Studies, I.* Said Shermukhamedov and Victoriya Levinskaya, eds. ISBN 1565181433 (paper).
- IIIC.2 *Kazakhstan: Cultural Inheritance and Social Transformation: Kazakh Philosophical Studies, I.* Abdumalik Nysanbayev. ISBN 1565182022 (paper).
- IIIC.3 *Social Memory and Contemporaneity: Kyrgyz Philosophical Studies, I.* Gulnara A. Bakieva. ISBN 9781565182349 (paper).
- IIID.1 *Reason, Rationality and Reasonableness: Vietnamese Philosophical Studies, I.* Tran Van Doan. ISBN 1565181662 (paper).

- IIID.2 *Hermeneutics for a Global Age: Lectures in Shanghai and Hanoi*. George F. McLean. ISBN 1565181905 (paper).
- IIID.3 *Cultural Traditions and Contemporary Challenges in Southeast Asia*. Warayuth Sriwarakuel, Manuel B. Dy, J. Haryatmoko, Nguyen Trong Chuan, and Chhay Yiheang, eds. ISBN 1565182138 (paper).
- IIID.4 *Filipino Cultural Traits: Claro R. Ceniza Lectures*. Rolando M. Gripaldo, ed. ISBN 1565182251 (paper).
- IIID.5 *The History of Buddhism in Vietnam*. Chief editor: Nguyen Tai Thu; Authors: Dinh Minh Chi, Ly Kim Hoa, Ha thuc Minh, Ha Van Tan, Nguyen Tai Thu. ISBN 1565180984 (paper).
- IIID.6 *Relations between Religions and Cultures in Southeast Asia*. Gadis Arivia and Donny Gahril Adian, eds. ISBN 9781565182509 (paper).
- IIID.7 *Rethinking the Role of Philosophy in the Global Age*. William Sweet and Pham Van Duc, eds. ISBN 9781565182646 (paper).
- IIID.8 *Practical Issues and Social Philosophy in Vietnam Today*. Pham Van Duc. ISBN 9781565183346 (paper).

Series IV. Western European Philosophical Studies

- IV.1 *Italy in Transition: The Long Road from the First to the Second Republic: The Edmund D. Pellegrino Lectures*. Paolo Janni, ed. ISBN 1565181204 (paper).
- IV.2 *Italy and the European Monetary Union: The Edmund D. Pellegrino Lectures*. Paolo Janni, ed. ISBN 156518128X (paper).
- IV.3 *Italy at the Millennium: Economy, Politics, Literature and Journalism: The Edmund D. Pellegrino Lectures*. Paolo Janni, ed. ISBN 1565181581 (paper).
- IV.4 *Speaking of God*. Carlo Huber. ISBN 1565181697 (paper).
- IV.5 *The Essence of Italian Culture and the Challenge of a Global Age*. Paolo Janni and George F. McLean, eds. ISBN 1565181778 (paper).
- IV.6 *Italic Identity in Pluralistic Contexts: Toward the Development of Intercultural Competencies*. Piero Bassetti and Paolo Janni, eds. ISBN 1565181441 (paper).
- IV.7 *Phenomenon of Affectivity: Phenomenological-Anthropological Perspectives*. Ghislaine Florival. ISBN 9781565182899 (paper).
- IV.8 *Towards a Kenotic Vision of Authority in the Catholic Church*. Anthony J. Carroll, Marthe Kerkwijk, Michael Kirwan, James Sweeney, eds. ISBN 9781565182936 (paper).
- IV.9 *A Catholic Minority Church in a World of Seekers*. Staf Hellemans and Peter Jonkers, eds. ISBN 9781565183018 (paper).
- IV.10 *French Catholics and Their Church: Pluralism and Deregulation*. Nicolas de Bremond d'Ars and Yann Raison du Cleuziou, eds. ISBN 9781565183087 (paper).
- IV.11 *Philosophy and Crisis: Responding to Challenges to Ways of Life in the Contemporary World* (2 Volumes). Golfo Maggini, Vasiliki P. Solo-

- mou-Papanikolaou, Helen Karabatzaki and Konstantinos D. Koskeridis, eds. ISBN 9781565183292 (paper).
- IV.12 *Re-Learning to be Human in Global Times: Challenges and Opportunities from the Perspectives of Contemporary Philosophy and Religion*. Brigitte Buchhammer, ed. ISBN 9781565183339 (paper).

Series IVA. Central and Eastern European Philosophical Studies

- IVA.1 *The Philosophy of Person: Solidarity and Cultural Creativity: Polish Philosophical Studies, I*. A. Tischner, J.M. Zycinski, eds. ISBN 156518-0496 (paper).
- IVA.2 *Private and Public Social Inventions in Modern Societies: Polish Philosophical Studies, II*. L. Dyczewski, P. Peachey, J.A. Kromkowski, eds. ISBN. 1565180518 (paper).
- IVA.3 *Traditions and Present Problems of Czech Political Culture: Czechoslovak Philosophical Studies, I*. M. Bednár and M. Vejraka, eds. ISBN 1565180577 (paper).
- IVA.4 *Czech Philosophy in the XXth Century: Czech Philosophical Studies, II*. Lubomír Nový and Jirí Gabriel, eds. ISBN 1565180291 (paper).
- IVA.5 *Language, Values and the Slovak Nation: Slovak Philosophical Studies, I*. Tibor Pichler and Jana Gašparíková, eds. ISBN 1565180372 (paper).
- IVA.6 *Morality and Public Life in a Time of Change: Bulgarian Philosophical Studies, I*. V. Prodanov and A. Davidov, eds. ISBN 1565180550 (paper).
- IVA.7 *Knowledge and Morality: Georgian Philosophical Studies, I*. N.V. Chavchavadze, G. Nodia and P. Peachey, eds. ISBN 1565180534 (paper).
- IVA.8 *Personal Freedom and National Resurgence: Lithuanian Philosophical Studies, I*. Bronius Kuzmickas and Aleksandr Dobrynin, eds. ISBN 1565180399 (paper).
- IVA.9 *National, Cultural and Ethnic Identities: Harmony beyond Conflict: Czech Philosophical Studies, III*. Jaroslav Hroch, David Hollan, George F. McLean, eds. ISBN 1565181131 (paper).
- IVA.10 *Models of Identities in Postcommunist Societies: Yugoslav Philosophical Studies, I*. Zagorka Golubovic and George F. McLean, eds. ISBN 1565181211 (paper).
- IVA.11 *Interests and Values: The Spirit of Venture in a Time of Change: Slovak Philosophical Studies, II*. Tibor Pichler and Jana Gasparikova, eds. ISBN 1565181255 (paper).
- IVA.12 *Creating Democratic Societies: Values and Norms: Bulgarian Philosophical Studies, II*. Plamen Makariev, Andrew M. Blasko and Asen Davidov, eds. ISBN 156518131X (paper).
- IVA.13 *Values of Islamic Culture and the Experience of History: Russian Philosophical Studies, I*. Nur Kirabaev and Yuriy Pochta, eds. ISBN 1565181336 (paper).

- IVA.14 *Values and Education in Romania Today: Romanian Philosophical Studies, I.* Marin Calin and Magdalena Dumitrana, eds. ISBN 1565181344 (paper).
- IVA.15 *Between Words and Reality, Studies on the Politics of Recognition and the Changes of Regime in Contemporary Romania: Romanian Philosophical Studies, II.* Victor Neumann. ISBN 1565181611 (paper).
- IVA.16 *Culture and Freedom: Romanian Philosophical Studies, III.* Marin Aiftinca, ed. ISBN 1565181360 (paper).
- IVA.17 *Lithuanian Philosophy: Persons and Ideas: Lithuanian Philosophical Studies, II.* Jurate Baranova, ed. ISBN 1565181379 (paper).
- IVA.18 *Human Dignity: Values and Justice: Czech Philosophical Studies, IV.* Miloslav Bednar, ed. ISBN 1565181409 (paper).
- IVA.19 *Values in the Polish Cultural Tradition: Polish Philosophical Studies, III.* Leon Dyczewski, ed. ISBN 1565181425 (paper).
- IVA.20 *Liberalization and Transformation of Morality in Post-communist Countries: Polish Philosophical Studies, IV.* Tadeusz Buksinski. ISBN 1565181786 (paper).
- IVA.21 *Islamic and Christian Cultures: Conflict or Dialogue: Bulgarian Philosophical Studies, III.* Plament Makariev, ed. ISBN 156518162X (paper).
- IVA.22 *Moral, Legal and Political Values in Romanian Culture: Romanian Philosophical Studies, IV.* Mihaela Czobor-Lupp and J. Stefan Lupp, eds. ISBN 1565181700 (paper).
- IVA.23 *Social Philosophy: Paradigm of Contemporary Thinking: Lithuanian Philosophical Studies, III.* Jurate Morkuniene. ISBN 1565182030 (paper).
- IVA.24 *Romania: Cultural Identity and Education for Civil Society: Romanian Philosophical Studies, V.* Magdalena Dumitrana, ed. ISBN 156518209X (paper).
- IVA.25 *Polish Axiology: the 20th Century and Beyond: Polish Philosophical Studies, V.* Stanislaw Jedynak, ed. ISBN 1565181417 (paper).
- IVA.26 *Contemporary Philosophical Discourse in Lithuania: Lithuanian Philosophical Studies, IV.* Jurate Baranova, ed. ISBN 1565182154 (paper).
- IVA.27 *Eastern Europe and the Challenges of Globalization: Polish Philosophical Studies, VI.* Tadeusz Buksinski and Dariusz Dobrzanski, eds. ISBN 1565182189 (paper).
- IVA.28 *Church, State, and Society in Eastern Europe: Hungarian Philosophical Studies, I.* Miklós Tomka. ISBN 156518226X (paper).
- IVA.29 *Politics, Ethics, and the Challenges to Democracy in 'New Independent States': Georgian Philosophical Studies, II.* Tinatin Bochorishvili, William Sweet and Daniel Ahern, eds. ISBN 9781565182240 (paper).
- IVA.30 *Comparative Ethics in a Global Age: Russian Philosophical Studies II.* Marietta T. Stepanyants, ed. ISBN 9781565182356 (paper).
- IVA.31 *Lithuanian Identity and Values: Lithuanian Philosophical Studies, V.* Aida Savicka, ed. ISBN 9781565182367 (paper).

- IVA.32 *The Challenge of Our Hope: Christian Faith in Dialogue: Polish Philosophical Studies, VII.* Waclaw Hryniewicz. ISBN 9781565182370 (paper).
- IVA.33 *Diversity and Dialogue: Culture and Values in the Age of Globalization.* Andrew Blasko and Plamen Makariev, eds. ISBN 9781565182387 (paper).
- IVA.34 *Civil Society, Pluralism and Universalism: Polish Philosophical Studies, VIII.* Eugeniusz Gorski. ISBN 9781565182417 (paper).
- IVA.35 *Romanian Philosophical Culture, Globalization, and Education: Romanian Philosophical Studies VI.* Stefan Popenici and Alin Tat, eds. ISBN 9781565182424 (paper).
- IVA.36 *Political Transformation and Changing Identities in Central and Eastern Europe: Lithuanian Philosophical Studies, VI.* Andrew Blasko and Diana Janušauskienė, eds. ISBN 9781565182462 (paper).
- IVA.37 *Truth and Morality: The Role of Truth in Public Life: Romanian Philosophical Studies, VII.* Wilhelm Dancă, ed. ISBN 9781565182493 (paper).
- IVA.38 *Globalization and Culture: Outlines of Contemporary Social Cognition: Lithuanian Philosophical Studies, VII.* Jurate Morkuniene, ed. ISBN 9781565182516 (paper).
- IVA.39 *Knowledge and Belief in the Dialogue of Cultures, Russian Philosophical Studies, III.* Marietta Stepanyants, ed. ISBN 9781565182622 (paper).
- IVA.40 *God and Post-Modern Thought: Philosophical Issues in the Contemporary Critique of Modernity, Polish Philosophical Studies, IX.* Józef Życiński. ISBN 9781565182677 (paper).
- IVA.41 *Dialogue among Civilizations, Russian Philosophical Studies, IV.* Nur Kirabaev and Yuriy Pochta, eds. ISBN 9781565182653 (paper).
- IVA.42 *The Idea of Solidarity: Philosophical and Social Contexts, Polish Philosophical Studies, X.* Dariusz Dobrzanski, ed. ISBN 9781565182961 (paper).
- IVA.43 *God's Spirit in the World: Ecumenical and Cultural Essays, Polish Philosophical Studies, XI.* Waclaw Hryniewicz. ISBN 9781565182738 (paper).
- IVA.44 *Philosophical Theology and the Christian Tradition: Russian and Western Perspectives, Russian Philosophical Studies, V.* David Bradshaw, ed. ISBN 9781565182752 (paper).
- IVA.45 *Ethics and the Challenge of Secularism: Russian Philosophical Studies, VI.* David Bradshaw, ed. ISBN 9781565182806 (paper).
- IVA.46 *Philosophy and Spirituality across Cultures and Civilizations: Russian Philosophical Studies, VII.* Nur Kirabaev, Yuriy Pochta and Ruzana Pskhu, eds. ISBN 9781565182820 (paper).
- IVA.47 *Values of the Human Person: Contemporary Challenges: Romanian Philosophical Studies, VIII.* Mihaela Pop, ed. ISBN 9781565182844 (paper).

- IVA.48 *Faith and Secularization: A Romanian Narrative: Romanian Philosophical Studies, IX*. Wilhelm Dancă, ed. ISBN 9781565182929 (paper).
- IVA.49 *The Spirit: The Cry of the World: Polish Philosophical Studies, XII*. Waclaw Hryniewicz. ISBN 9781565182943 (paper).
- IVA.50 *Philosophy and Science in Cultures: East and West: Russian Philosophical Studies, VIII*. Marietta T. Stepanyants, ed. ISBN 9781565182967 (paper).
- IVA.51 *A Czech Perspective on Faith in a Secular Age: Czech Philosophical Studies V*. Tomáš Halík and Pavel Hošek, eds. ISBN 9781565183001 (paper).
- IVA.52 *Dilemmas of the Catholic Church in Poland: Polish Philosophical Studies, XIII*. Tadeusz Buksinski, ed. ISBN 9781565183025 (paper).
- IVA.53 *Secularization and Development of Religion in Modern Society: Polish Philosophical Studies, XIV*. Leon Dyczewski, ed. ISBN 9781565183032 (paper).
- IVA.54 *Seekers or Dwellers: The Social Character of Religion in Hungary: Hungarian Philosophical Studies, II*. Zsuzsanna Bögre, ed. ISBN 9781565183063 (paper).
- IVA.55 *Eurasian Frontier: Interrelation of Eurasian Cultures in a Global Age: Russian Philosophical Studies, IX*. Irina Boldonova and Vensus A. George, eds. ISBN 9781565183186 (paper).
- IVA.56 *Religion, the Sacred and Hospitality: Romanian Philosophical Studies, X*. Wilhelm Dancă, ed. ISBN 9781565183254 (paper).
- IVA.57 *Identity and Globalization: Ethical Implications: Lithuanian Philosophical Studies, VIII*. Dalia Stanciene, Irena Darginaviciene and Susan Robbins, eds. ISBN 9781565183261 (paper).

Series V. Latin American Philosophical Studies

- V.1 *The Social Context and Values: Perspectives of the Americas*. O. Pegoraro, ed. ISBN 081917355X (paper).
- V.2 *Culture, Human Rights and Peace in Central America*. Raul Molina and Timothy Ready, eds. ISBN 0819173576 (paper).
- V.3 *Aymara Christianity: Inculturation or Culturization?* Luis Jolicoeur. ISBN 1565181042 (paper).
- V.4 *Love as the Foundation of Moral Education and Character Development*. Luis Ugalde, Nicolas Barros and George F. McLean, eds. ISBN 1565180801 (paper).
- V.5 *Human Rights, Solidarity and Subsidiarity: Essays towards a Social Ontology*. Carlos E.A. Maldonado. ISBN 1565181107 (paper).
- V.6 *A New World: A Perspective from Ibero America*. H. Daniel Dei, ed. ISBN 9781565182639 (paper).

Series VI. Foundations of Moral Education

- VI.1 *Philosophical Foundations for Moral Education and Character Development: Act and Agent*. George F. McLean and F. Ellrod, eds. ISBN 1565180011 (paper).
- VI.2 *Psychological Foundations for Moral Education and Character Development: An Integrated Theory of Moral Development*. Richard Knowles, ed. ISBN 156518002X (paper).
- VI.3 *Character Development in Schools and Beyond*. Kevin Ryan and Thomas Lickona, eds. ISBN 1565180593 (paper).
- VI.4 *The Social Context and Values: Perspectives of the Americas*. O. Pegoraro, ed. ISBN 081917355X (paper).
- VI.5 *Chinese Foundations for Moral Education and Character Development*. Tran van Doan, ed. ISBN 1565180321 (paper).
- VI.6 *Love as the Foundation of Moral Education and Character Development*. Luis Ugalde, Nicolas Barros and George F. McLean, eds. ISBN 1565180801 (paper).

Series VII. Seminars on Culture and Values

- VII.1 *The Social Context and Values: Perspectives of the Americas*. O. Pegoraro, ed. ISBN 081917355X (paper).
- VII.2 *Culture, Human Rights and Peace in Central America*. Raul Molina and Timothy Ready, eds. ISBN 0819173576 (paper).
- VII.3 *Relations between Cultures*. John A. Kromkowski, ed. ISBN 1565180089 (paper).
- VII.4 *Moral Imagination and Character Development: The Imagination (Volume I)*. George F. McLean and John A. Kromkowski, eds. ISBN 1565181743 (paper).
- VII.5 *Moral Imagination and Character Development: Moral Imagination in Personal Formation and Character Development (Volume II)*. George F. McLean and Richard Knowles, eds. ISBN 1565181816 (paper).
- VII.6 *Moral Imagination and Character Development: Imagination in Religion and Social Life (Volume III)*. George F. McLean and John K. White, eds. ISBN 1565181824 (paper).
- VII.7 *Hermeneutics and Inculturation*. George F. McLean, Antonio Gallo and Robert Magliola, eds. ISBN 1565181840 (paper).
- VII.8 *Culture, Evangelization, and Dialogue*. Antonio Gallo and Robert Magliola, eds. ISBN 1565181832 (paper).
- VII.9 *The Place of the Person in Social Life*. Paul Peachey and John A. Kromkowski, eds. ISBN 1565180127 (paper); 1565180135 (cloth).
- VII.10 *Urbanization and Values*. John A. Kromkowski, ed. ISBN 1565180100 (paper); 1565180119 (cloth).
- VII.11 *Freedom and Choice in a Democracy, Volume I: Meanings of Freedom*. Robert Magliola and John Farrelly, eds. ISBN 1565181867 (paper).

- VII.12 *Freedom and Choice in a Democracy, Volume II: The Difficult Passage to Freedom*. Robert Magliola and Richard Khuri, eds. ISBN 1565181859 (paper).
- VII.13 *Cultural Identity, Pluralism and Globalization* (2 volumes). John P. Hogan, ed. ISBN 1565182170 (paper).
- VII.14 *Democracy: In the Throes of Liberalism and Totalitarianism*. George F. McLean, Robert Magliola and William Fox, eds. ISBN 1565181956 (paper).
- VII.15 *Democracy and Values in Global Times: With Nigeria as a Case Study*. George F. McLean, Robert Magliola and Joseph Abah, eds. ISBN 1565181956 (paper).
- VII.16 *Civil Society and Social Reconstruction*. George F. McLean, ed. ISBN 1565180860 (paper).
- VII.17 *Civil Society: Who Belongs?* William A. Barbieri, Robert Magliola and Rosemary Winslow, eds. ISBN 1565181972 (paper).
- VII.18 *The Humanization of Social Life: Theory and Challenges*. Christopher Wheatley, Robert P. Badillo, Rose B. Calabretta and Robert Magliola, eds. ISBN 1565182006 (paper).
- VII.19 *The Humanization of Social Life: Cultural Resources and Historical Responses*. Ronald S. Calinger, Robert P. Badillo, Rose B. Calabretta, Robert Magliola, eds. ISBN 1565182006 (paper).
- VII.20 *Religion, Morality and Communication between Peoples: Religion in Public Life, Volume I*. George F. McLean, John A. Kromkowski and Robert Magliola, eds. ISBN 1565182103 (paper).
- VII.21 *Religion and Political Structures from Fundamentalism to Public Service: Religion in Public Life, Volume II*. John T. Ford, Robert A. Destro and Charles R. Dechert, eds. ISBN 1565182111 (paper).
- VII.22 *Civil Society as Democratic Practice*. Antonio F. Perez, Semou Pathé Gueye, Yang Fenggang, eds. ISBN 1565182146 (paper).
- VII.23 *Ecumenism and Nostra Aetate in the 21st Century*. George F. McLean and John P. Hogan, eds. ISBN 1565182197 (paper).
- VII.24 *Multiple Paths to God: Nostra Aetate: 40 Years Later*. John P. Hogan and George F. McLean, eds. ISBN 1565182200 (paper).
- VII.25 *Globalization and Identity*. Andrew Blasko, Taras Dobko, Pham Van Duc and George Pattery, eds. ISBN 1565182200 (paper).
- VII.26 *Communication across Cultures: The Hermeneutics of Cultures and Religions in a Global Age*. Chibueze C. Udeani, Veerachart Nimanong, Zou Shipeng and Mustafa Malik, eds. ISBN: 9781565182400 (paper).
- VII.27 *Symbols, Cultures and Identities in a Time of Global Interaction*. Paata Chkheidze, Hoang Thi Tho and Yaroslav Pasko, eds. ISBN 9781565182608 (paper).
- VII.28 *Restorying the 'Polis': Civil Society as Narrative Reconstruction*. Yuriy Pochta, Gan Chunsong and David Kaulemu, eds. ISBN 9781565183124 (paper).
- VII.29 *History and Cultural Identity: Retrieving the Past, Shaping the Future*. John P. Hogan, ed. ISBN 9781565182684 (paper).

- VII.30 *Human Nature: Stable and/or Changing?* John P. Hogan, ed. ISBN 9781565182431 (paper).
- VII.31 *Reasoning in Faith: Cultural Foundations for Civil Society and Globalization.* Octave Kamwiziku Wozol, Sebastian Velassery and Jurate Baranova, eds. ISBN 9781565182868 (paper).
- VII.32 *Building Community in a Mobile/Global Age: Migration and Hospitality.* John P. Hogan, Vensus A. George and Corazon T. Toralba, eds. ISBN 9781565182875 (paper).
- VII.33 *The Role of Religions in the Public-Sphere: The Post-Secular Model of Jürgen Habermas and Beyond.* Plamen Makariev and Vensus A. George, eds. ISBN 9781565183049 (paper).
- VII.34 *Diversity and Unity.* George F. McLean, Godé Iwele and Angelli F. Tugado, eds. ISBN 9781565183117 (paper).
- VII.35 *The Secular and the Sacred: Complementary and/or Conflictual?* John P. Hogan and Sayed Hassan Hussaini (Akhlaq), eds. ISBN 9781565183209 (paper).
- VII.36 *Justice and Responsibility: Cultural and Philosophical Foundations.* João J. Vila-Chã, and John P. Hogan, eds. ISBN 9781565183308 (paper).

Series VIII. Christian Philosophical Studies

- VIII.1 *Church and People: Disjunctions in a Secular Age, Christian Philosophical Studies, I.* Charles Taylor, José Casanova and George F. McLean, eds. ISBN 9781565182745 (paper).
- VIII.2 *God's Spirit in the World: Ecumenical and Cultural Essays, Christian Philosophical Studies, II.* Waclaw Hryniewicz. ISBN 9781565182738 (paper).
- VIII.3 *Philosophical Theology and the Christian Tradition: Russian and Western Perspectives, Christian Philosophical Studies, III.* David Bradshaw, ed. ISBN 9781565182752 (paper).
- VIII.4 *Ethics and the Challenge of Secularism: Christian Philosophical Studies, IV.* David Bradshaw, ed. ISBN 9781565182806 (paper).
- VIII.5 *Freedom for Faith: Theological Hermeneutics of Discovery based on George F. McLean's Philosophy of Culture: Christian Philosophical Studies, V.* John M. Staak. ISBN 9781565182837 (paper).
- VIII.6 *Humanity on the Threshold: Religious Perspective on Transhumanism: Christian Philosophical Studies, VI.* John C. Haughey and Ilia Delio, eds. ISBN 9781565182882 (paper).
- VIII.7 *Faith and Secularization: A Romanian Narrative: Christian Philosophical Studies, VII.* Wilhelm Dancă, ed. ISBN 9781565182929 (paper).
- VIII.8 *Towards a Kenotic Vision of Authority in the Catholic Church: Christian Philosophical Studies, VIII.* Anthony J. Carroll, Marthe Kerkwijk, Michael Kirwan and James Sweeney, eds. ISBN 9781565182936 (paper).
- VIII.9 *The Spirit: The Cry of the World: Christian Philosophical Studies, IX.* Waclaw Hryniewicz. ISBN 9781565182943 (paper).

- VIII.10 *A Czech Perspective on Faith in a Secular Age: Christian Philosophical Studies, X*. Tomáš Halík and Pavel Hošek, eds. ISBN 9781565183001 (paper).
- VIII.11 *A Catholic Minority Church in a World of Seekers: Christian Philosophical Studies, XI*. Staf Hellemans and Peter Jonkers, eds. ISBN 9781565183018 (paper).
- VIII.12 *Dilemmas of the Catholic Church in Poland: Christian Philosophical Studies, XII*. Tadeusz Buksinski, ed. ISBN 9781565183025 (paper).
- VIII.13 *Secularization and Development of Religion in Modern Society: Christian Philosophical Studies, XIII*. Leon Dyczewski, ed. ISBN 9781565183032 (paper).
- VIII.14 *Plural Spiritualities: North American Experience: Christian Philosophical Studies, XIV*. Robert J. Schreiter, ed. ISBN 9781565183056 (paper).
- VIII.15 *Seekers or Dwellers: The Social Character of Religion in Hungary: Christian Philosophical Studies, XV*. Zsuzsanna Bögre, ed. ISBN 9781565183063 (paper).
- VIII.16 *French Catholics and Their Church: Pluralism and Deregulation: Christian Philosophical Studies, XVI*. Nicolas de Bremond d'Arès and Yann Raison du Cleuziou, eds. ISBN 9781565183087 (paper).
- VIII.17 *Chinese Spirituality and Christian Communities: A Kenotic Perspective: Christian Philosophical Studies, XVII*. Vincent Shen, ed. ISBN 9781565183070 (paper).
- VIII.18 *Care of Self and Meaning of Life: Asian and Christian Reflections: Christian Philosophical Studies, XVIII*. William Sweet and Cristal Huang, ed. ISBN 9781565183131 (paper).
- VIII.19 *Religion and Culture in the Process of Global Change: Portuguese Perspectives: Christian Philosophical Studies, XIX*. José Tolentino Mendonça, Alfredo Teixeira and Alexandre Palma, eds. ISBN 9781565183148 (paper).
- VIII.20 *Seekers and Dwellers: Plurality and Wholeness in a Time of Secularity: Christian Philosophical Studies, XX*. Philip J. Rossi, ed. ISBN 9781565183155, (paper).
- VIII.21 *Renewing the Church in a Secular Age: Holistic Dialogue and Kenotic Vision: Christian Philosophical Studies, XXI*. Charles Taylor, José Casanova, George F. McLean and João J. Vila-Chã, eds. ISBN 9781565183179 (paper).
- VIII.22 *Narrating Secularisms: Being Between Identities in a Secularized World: Christian Philosophical Studies, XXII*. William Desmond and Dennis Vanden Auweele, eds. ISBN 9781565183223 (paper).
- VIII.23 *Envisioning Futures for the Catholic Church: Christian Philosophical Studies, XXIII*. Staf Hellemans and Peter Jonkers, eds. ISBN 9781565183353 (paper).

The International Society for Metaphysics

- ISM.1 *Person and Nature*. George F. McLean and Hugo Meynell, eds. ISBN 0819170267 (paper); 0819170259 (cloth).
- ISM.2 *Person and Society*. George F. McLean and Hugo Meynell, eds. ISBN 0819169250 (paper); 0819169242 (cloth).
- ISM.3 *Person and God*. George F. McLean and Hugo Meynell, eds. ISBN 0819169382 (paper); 0819169374 (cloth).
- ISM.4 *The Nature of Metaphysical Knowledge*. George F. McLean and Hugo Meynell, eds. ISBN 0819169277 (paper); 0819169269 (cloth).
- ISM.5 *Philosophical Challenges and Opportunities of Globalization*. Oliva Blanchette, Tomonobu Imamichi and George F. McLean, eds. ISBN 1565181298 (paper).
- ISM.6 *The Dialogue of Cultural Traditions: Global Perspective*. William Sweet, George F. McLean, Tomonobu Imamichi, Safak Ural, O. Faruk Akyol, eds. ISBN 9781565182585 (paper).
- ISM.7 *Philosophy Emerging from Culture*. William Sweet, George F. McLean, Oliva Blanchette, Wonbin Park, eds. ISBN 9781565182851 (paper).

The series is published by: The Council for Research in Values and Philosophy, Gibbons Hall B20, 620 Michigan Avenue, NE, Washington, D.C. 20064; Telephone: 202/319-6089; Email: cua-rvp@cua.edu; website: www.crvp.org. All titles are available in paper except as noted.

The series is distributed by: The Council for Research on Values and Philosophy – OST, 285 Oblate Drive, San Antonio, T.X., 78216; Telephone: (210)341-1366 x205; Email: mmartin@ost.edu.