

**SHIFTING IDENTITIES AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE
KALANGA PEOPLE OF BULILIMAMANGWE DISTRICT,
MATEBELELAND SOUTH, ZIMBABWE C. 1946-2005**

**A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Humanities of the University of the
Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History.**

**Supervisors: Prof. Muchaparara Musemwa
: Prof. Sekibakiba Peter Lekgoathi**

**By Thembani Dube
University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, Republic of South Africa
2015**

DECLARATION

I Thembani Dube declare that this thesis is a product of my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Ph.D at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. Where I have consulted the published work of others, I have fully acknowledged them. I have not previously submitted this work at another University/faculty.



02 October 2015

.....

.....

Signature

Date

DEDICATION

To my children, Andile Ntombikayise Mazarire and Alwande Mazarire, my mother Qedisani Jee Dube-Ndiweni, and my niece Slindokuhle Minenhle Dube, with love.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, I give glory to the Almighty who enabled and strengthened me throughout the process of producing this thesis. This work could not have materialised without the unwavering support of various individuals and institutions. I am deeply indebted to my supervisors, Professor Mucha Musemwa and Professor Sekiba Lekgoathi for their consistent support, guidance, encouragement and motivation. Their critical reading and robust interventions saw me writing and re-writing the thesis to perfection.

I deeply appreciate the financial support I received from a number of institutions during the course of my studies that facilitated my fieldwork research as well as travel and living expenses. I thank UNESCO for awarding me the six months fellowship to document the intangible heritage of the Kalanga. My sincere gratitude goes to the Mellon Postgraduate Mentoring programme whose financial sponsorship sustained me throughout the process of writing this thesis. I am also grateful to Mr. Iain Burns of the Wits University Research Office who administered this grant. I also extend my thanks to the University of the Witwatersrand Postgraduate Merit Award which went a long way towards meeting my tuition and the History Department of the University of the Witwatersrand for meeting my medical aid expenses. I also deeply appreciate the support and encouragement from the other members of the History Department especially the former Head of Department Prof. Peter Delius, Prof. Clive Glaser and Mrs. Rene Carstens. Many thanks go to the History Workshop/National Research Foundation (NRF) Chair at the University of the Witwatersrand for the financial support it assisted me with during the initial stage of this thesis. I would like to express my heartfelt thanks, especially to Prof. Phil Bonner, Prof. Noor Nieftagodien, and Mrs. Zahn Gowar. I also thank Prof. Eric Worby, Director of the Humanities Graduate Centre for

awarding me the Ph.D. completion grant. I owe my deepest appreciation to Dr. Gerald Chikozho Mazarire who offered me invaluable support, suggestions and references. My discussions with historians and archaeologists such as Dr Gerald Mazarire and Dr. Munyaradzi Manyanga in Zimbabwe and South Africa helped a lot in the shaping of my background chapter. These discussions helped me to confirm my own historical analysis about the links between the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods.

I owe an enormous debt of gratitude to my former colleagues at the National Archives of Zimbabwe for their support during my fieldwork in Bulilimamangwe. Of these I wish to single out the Director, Mr. Ivan Murambiwa, Rudo Karadzandima, Brenda Mamvura, Sindiso Bhebhe, Isaac Tapera, Aquelina Bunhure, Maslin Muzira, Michael Kwesu and Simbarashe Mutema. I would especially like to acknowledge the assistance I received from Tapiwa Madimu who also assisted me with identification of some archival sources that may easily have eluded me. I also owe an enormous debt of gratitude to Dr. Reason Beremauro for insightful suggestions. I would also like to thank my Ph.D. colleagues at Wits, NRF, the Humanities Graduate Centre, Wits Central Archives and Stellenbosch, as well as at the University of Zimbabwe for their support and constructive criticism. In the same vein, I would also like to thank Mrs Doreen Musemwa for making my stay in Johannesburg as comfortable as possible especially at the beginning of the Ph.D. journey.

I also thank all my friends and brethren who stood with me during the course of the research and believed in my capabilities. Here, I specifically mention my beloved friends Sifiso Ndlovu (you are a true friend indeed; thanks for the enormous support Ntombi), Dr. Liqhwa Siziba (you are more than a friend dear), Nomvelisi Mayongo, Pamela Mayongo, Pastor Edson Jiri, Deaconess Thembi Jiri, and all the members of Christ Embassy Church in Roodepoort. Many thanks for the prayers and kind words of encouragement.

I am extremely grateful to my family, my beloved brother Cabangani Mnumzana Dube (for the support you gave me right from the initial stages of this thesis and throughout my studies), my mother, Mrs. Qedisani Dube-Ndiweni (who took care of my daughter Andile Ntombikayise during the first two critical years of writing this thesis) my grandmother Melita Sibanda (who was my fellow traveller during my fieldwork research in Bulilimamangwe and my beloved daughter, aka ‘Prof.’ Andile, for your love, kindness and patience. I express my profound appreciation to the rest of my family for their moral support and patience.

Finally, I cannot forget all the participants in this study who so freely and enthusiastically gave of their time and shared their knowledge with me to make this study possible. Ndaboka! Ngiyabonga!

Table of Contents

DECLARATION.....	ii
ABSTRACT.....	Error! Bookmark not defined.iii
DEDICATION.....	iiiiv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ivv
LIST OF TABLES	xxi
LIST OF MAPS, IMAGES AND PICTURES	xixii
LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS.....	xixxiii
LIST OF APPENDICES	xvxxvi
GLOSSARY OF TERMS.....	xvixvii
CHAPTER 1:.....	1
1.0. SHIFTING IDENTITIES AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE KALANGA: AN INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1. Critical discussion of literature	7
1.2. Methodology and Sources	22
1.3. Architecture of the thesis	
CHAPTER 2:.....	39
LOCATING THE NATURE OF KALANGA IDENTITIES IN ZIMBABWE: THE HISTORY AND ORIGINS OF THE KALANGA, 1800-1945.	39
2.0. Introduction	39
2.1. Origins of the Kalanga and Kalanga language in pre-colonial Zimbabwe. 44	
2.2. The Torwa, Rozvi and the Kalanga	45
2.3. The Nuclear Kalanga: Original Kalanga clans.....	50
2.4. Environment, pottery and identity among the pre-colonial Kalanga....	51
2.5. The Ngwali/Mwari cult and the Kalanga	52
2.6. Kalanga of Venda, Rozvi and Pedi origin.....	54
2.7. Kalanga identity and the Ndebele	57
2.8. Missionaries and Kalanga ethnic identity	64

2.9. Colonial administration and the development of a Kalanga ethnic identity in Zimbabwe	68
2.10. Conclusion.....	73
CHAPTER 3:.....	75
KALANGA ETHNICITY, AGRARIAN STATE POLICIES AND THE NATIVE LAND HUSBANDRY ACT IN BULILIMAMANGWE DISTRICT, 1946-1963.....	75
3.0. Introduction	75
3.1. Destocking, Forced Removals and Kalanga Ethnic Identity	80
3.2. Freedom Ploughing	96
3.3. The KCPS and opposition to the Native Land Husbandry Act.....	99
3.4. Conclusion.....	107
CHAPTER 4:.....	108
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, CHIEFS AND KALANGA ETHNIC IDENTITY, 1963- 1979	108
4.0. Introduction	108
4.1. Chiefs and the Colonial State's Community Development Policy: An Alternative form of African Administration?	113
4.2. Community Development in Bulilimamangwe: The Rural Councils..	125
4.3. The Manyangwa shrine as the epitome of Kalanga ethnic identity	136
4.4. Conclusion.....	141
CHAPTER 5:.....	143
THE RESURGENCE OF KALANGA CULTURAL MOBILISATION AND THE STRUGGLE FOR THE RECOGNITION OF KALANGA LANGUAGE IN POST-COLONIAL ZIMBABWE, 1980-2005	143
5.0. Introduction	143
5.1. Colonial state policies on language in the education system	146
5.2. The post-colonial government policies on language.....	148
5.3. The Kalanga Cultural Promotion Society and the struggle for recognition of Kalanga language in education	151

5.4. Government education policies and their effects on the teaching of minority languages in Zimbabwe	158
5.5. KLCDA and Kalanga particularism.....	162
5.6. Conclusion.....	171
CHAPTER 6:	172
“WE WANT OUR LANGUAGE TO BE HEARD ON AIR” KALANGA LANGUAGE ON RADIO IN POST-INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE	172
6.0. Introduction	172
6.1. Colonial state policies on radio broadcasting.....	175
6.2. Radio broadcasting in post-colonial Zimbabwe.....	176
6.3. Radio programmes and the representation of Kalanga and other minority languages on Radio 4/National FM	180
6.4. Radio 4 presenters and their role in Kalanga identity formation in post-colonial Zimbabwe	183
6.5. Radio as a tool of government propaganda: Local content and radio programming in Zimbabwe since 2000	190
6.6. Conclusion.....	192
CONCLUSION.....	194
APPENDIX 1	202
Kalanga Clans	202
APPENDIX 2	205
Genealogies of Kalanga Chiefs	205
APPENDIX 3	210
Programmes over the ZBC Radio.....	210
BIBLIOGRAPHY	213

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1: Kalanga published work 106

Table 6.1: Allocation of radio space for indigenous languages 181

LIST OF MAPS, IMAGES AND PICTURES

Map 1: Pre-colonial Map indicating Kalanga and Ndebele areas	xix
Map 2: Map showing Bulilimamangwe and other districts under Matabeleland South Province	xx
Map 3: Map of Bulilimamangwe District showing Kalanga communities during the Native Land Husbandry Act	99
Map 4: Map showing Bulilima and Mangwe Districts, 2005	162
Image 1.1: Destroyed and missing records relating to Bulilimamangwe District	24
Image 1.2: Destroyed and missing records relating to Bulilimamangwe District	25
Image 5.1: Poster advertising the Domboshaba Cultural festival	164
Image 5.2: Wosana dancers at Domboshaba Hill	170
Image 5.3: Traditional dancers dancing to Ndazula at Domboshaba Hill	170

LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AAA	African Affairs Act
BCC	Bulawayo City Council
BFBS	British Foreign Bible Society
BIDS	Bulilima Mangwe Improvement and Development Society
BSAC	British South Africa Company
CASAS	Centre for Advanced Study of African Society
CD	Community Development
CNC	Chief Native Commissioner
DC	District Commissioner
DDF	District Development Fund
DEO	District Education Officer
KALISO	Kalanga Literature Society
KCA	Kubukalanga Cultural Association
KCPS	Kalanga Cultural Promotion Society
KLCDA	Kalanga Language and Cultural Development Association
LAA	Land Apportionment Act
LDO	Land Development Officer
LMPS	Loyal Matabele Patriotic Society
LMS	London Missionary Society
LTA	Land Tenure Act
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MHS	Matabele Home Society
NADA	Native Affairs Department Annual
NAZ	National Archives of Zimbabwe

NC	Native Commissioner
NDP	National Democratic Party
NLHA	Native Land Husbandry Act
NLPAP	National Language Policy Advisory Panel
NUST	National University of Science and Technology
PC	Provincial Commissioner
PF	Patriotic Front
PNC	Provincial Native commissioner
RCC	Roman Catholic Church
RF	Rhodesian Front
SPIL	Society for the Propagation of Ikalanga
TLA	Tribal Land Authorities
TTL	Tribal Trust Land
TTLA	Tribal Trust Land Act
UCE	United College of Education
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VETOKA	Venda Tonga and Kalanga
VOTELS	Village Hotels
ZANLA	Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (armed wing of ZANU)
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZBC	Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation
ZILPA	Zimbabwe Indigenous Languages Peoples Association

ZNA	Zimbabwe National Army
ZIPRA	Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (armed wing of ZAPU)

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix 1:	Kalanga clans	204
Appendix 2:	Genealogies of Kalanga Chiefs	207
Appendix 3:	Programmes over the ZBC Radio	210

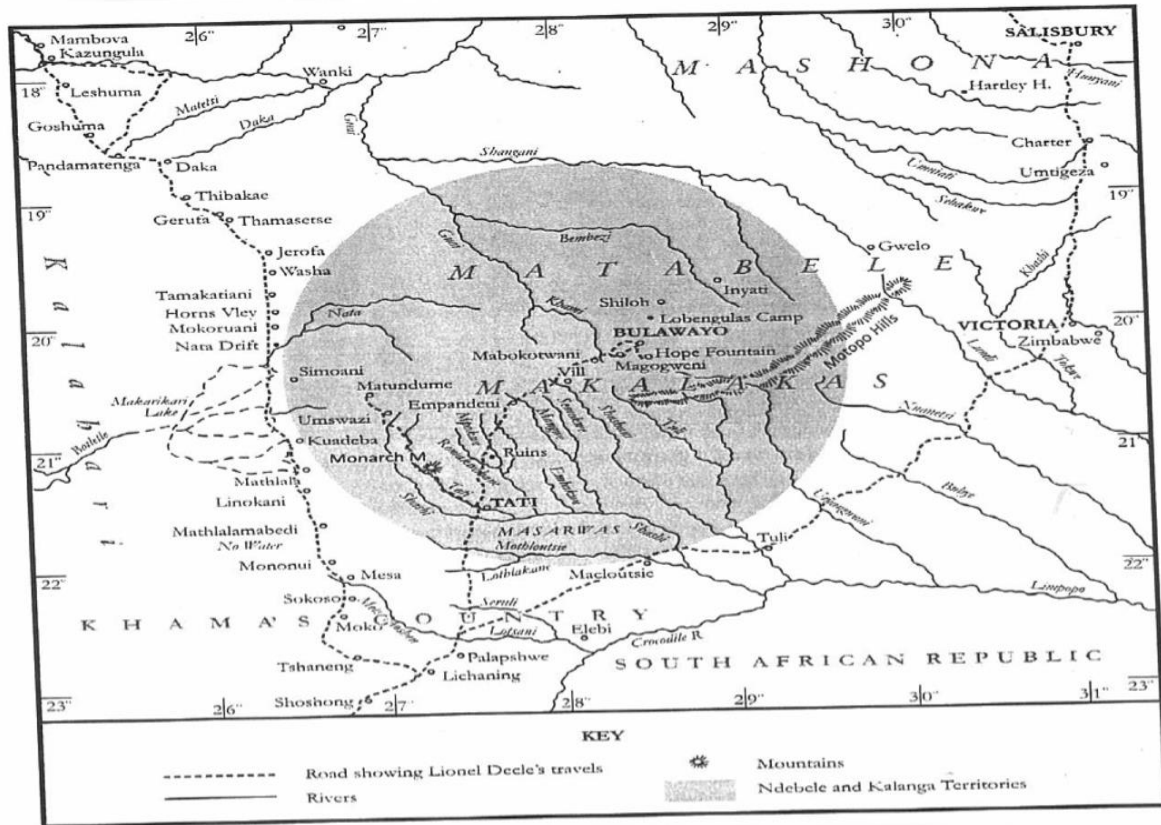
GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Autochthons	‘original’ inhabitants as opposed to immigrants
<i>Amabizane</i>	rainmaking ceremony
<i>Amawosana/iwosana</i>	messengers of Mwali, the high god of the Matopos
<i>Amayile</i>	rainmaking ceremony
<i>Banosenga hobodo dzemiti</i>	those who carry bags of traditional medicine
<i>Basekulu</i>	used in reference to the traditional bull
<i>Beni behango</i>	outsiders
<i>Buhwa</i>	grass
<i>Dziba le Vula</i>	a pool of water
Gadzingo	ancestral lands
<i>Hali</i>	clay pots used for cooking and storage
<i>Indunanyana yamakhiwa</i>	whites’ puppet chief
<i>Isitenela</i>	hunting of wild animals during a rainmaking ceremony
<i>Indale</i>	Kalanga traditional beer
<i>Izinduna</i>	chiefs
<i>Kurima madiro</i>	‘freedom’ farming
<i>Lute</i>	hunting of wild animals during a rainmaking ceremony
<i>Magandiya</i>	ridges, the term was used in reference to the Native Land Husbandry Act
<i>Mangweni</i>	used in reference to cattle that were sold to the white settlers during the implementation of the Native Land Husbandry Act
<i>Mhondoro</i>	‘Shona’ guardian spirits
<i>Miganhu</i>	boundaries
<i>Mwali/Mwari/ /Ngwali</i>	The high god of the Matopos
<i>Ndzimu</i>	Kalanga ancestral spirit
<i>Ngano</i>	folklores

<i>Nkumbudzi</i>	reminders/ local historians
<i>Nthupo</i>	totem
<i>Sangoma/izangoma</i>	Ndebele spirit mediums

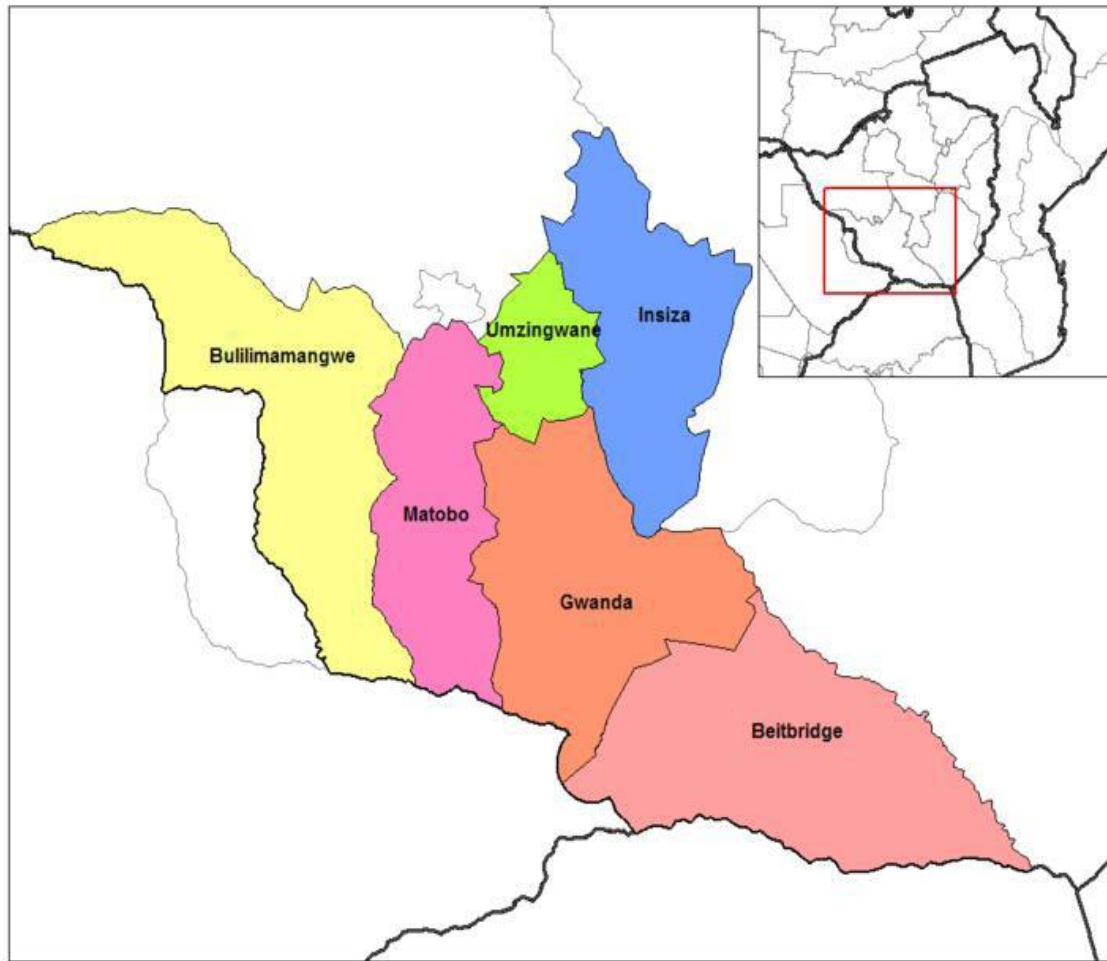
Map1 Pre-colonial Map indicating Kalanga and Ndebele areas.

Source: E Msindo, Ethnicity in Zimbabwe: Transformations in Kalanga and Ndebele



Societies, 1860-1990, University of Rochester Press, 2012, p 46.

Map 2: Map showing Bulilimamangwe and other districts under Matabeleland South Province



Source: Map drawn by Mkhokheli Sithole.

CHAPTER 1:

1.0. SHIFTING IDENTITIES AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE KALANGA: AN INTRODUCTION

The thesis discusses the multiple ways in which Kalanga ethnic identity has been constructed, negotiated, manipulated and transformed by different interest groups such as missionaries, colonists, Kalanga cultural entrepreneurs, chiefs and ordinary Kalanga people in Bulilimamangwe district. The Kalanga are one of the minority ethnic groups in Zimbabwe whose settlement on the Zimbabwean plateau dates back to a thousand years (See Maps 1-2 above).¹ The marginalisation of the Kalanga in by successive colonial regimes through the enactment of various laws that sought to divide Africans in Zimbabwe led to the development of Kalanga ethnic consciousness. In the south-western part of Zimbabwe where the Kalanga (75% of the population of Matabeleland South) are settled, this involved imposing Ndebele chiefs in the area. After the attainment of independence in 1980, the post-independence government continued the colonial practice of appointing Ndebele chiefs to preside over areas inhabited by the Kalanga.² However, it is difficult to measure this marginalisation as it cannot be clearly argued that these are the only people who were discriminated by the government. A closer analysis of the rural areas of Zimbabwe indicates that most of them are still remote, without good road infrastructure and economic development. For example, Mashingaidze examines the emergence of Tonga activists who sought, constructed and

¹ T. Tlou and A. Campbell, *A History of Botswana* (Macmillan, Botswana Publishing Co Pty Ltd, Gaborone, 1997) p. 77.

² For more information on this see B. Lindgren, "The Politics of Identity and the Remembrance of Violence: Ethnicity and Gender at the Installation of a Female Chief in Zimbabwe", in Broch-Due, V. (ed.) *Violence and Belonging: The Quest for Identity in Post-Colonial Africa* (London, New York: Routledge, 2005), S. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, "Nation building in Zimbabwe and the challenges of Ndebele particularism", *African Journal of Conflict Resolution*, volume 8, number 3 (2008) pp. 27-56 and S. J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *Do Zimbabweans Exist? Trajectories of Nationalism, National Identity Formation and Crisis in a post-Colonial State* (Peter Lang, Bern, 2009).

deployed persuasive claims for the exigency of rehabilitating their embattled people's deprived post-relocation livelihoods in Binga.³

The Kalanga have been classified as part of the Ndebele which, according to Ndlovu-Gatsheni, can be understood as a nation and an ethnic group.⁴ This definition refers to a mosaic of ethnic groups such as the people of Sotho, Kalanga, Venda and Tonga origin. Ndlovu-Gatsheni further argues that the best way to understand Ndebele ethnic identity is as a socially constructed phenomenon, not as a fixed primordial identity. Ndebele identity has been problematised in the writings of scholars such as Ndlovu-Gatsheni, Lindgren and Ranger, amongst others.⁵ In Bulilimangwe, especially amongst Kalanga activists, the term Ndebele has been narrowly understood as to refer to people of Nguni origin. Such a definition of the Ndebele is problematic and has been called exclusive and xenophobic as it excludes all other groups that constituted the Ndebele nation.⁶

The study equally argues that the Kalanga are not a homogeneous entity. While most of the Kalanga in the northern parts of the district identify themselves with the general Kalanga ethnic identity, many of those in the southern parts of the district have adopted a

³ For more information on the marginalisation of the Tonga, see T. M. Mashingaidze, "Beyond the Kariba Dam Induced Displacements: The Zimbabwean Tonga's Struggles for Restitution, 1990s–2000s", *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights*, volume 20, issue 3 (2013) pp. 381 – 404.

⁴ S. Ndlovu-Gatsheni "Nation building in Zimbabwe and the challenges of Ndebele particularism", *African Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol 8, number 3 (2008) p. 10 (pp. 27-56).

⁵ For more information on the Ndebele identity see S. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, "Nation building in Zimbabwe and the challenges of Ndebele particularism", S. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *The Zimbabwean Nation-state project: A historical Diagnosis of Identity and Power-based Conflicts in a Post-colonial State* (Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala, 2011), B. Lindgren, "The Politics of Identity and the Remembrance of Violence: Ethnicity and Gender at the Installation of a Female Chief in Zimbabwe", in V. Broch-Due, (ed), *Violence and Belonging: The Quest for Identity in Post-Colonial Africa* (Routledge, London: New York, 2005), B. Lindgren, *The Politics of Ndebele Ethnicity: Origins, Nationality and Gender in Southern Zimbabwe*, Published D Phil (Department of Cultural Anthropology and Ethnology, Uppsala University, 2002), T. Ranger, *The Invention of Tribalism in Zimbabwe* (Mambo Press, Gweru, 1985), T. Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition Revisited: The Case of Colonial Africa*, in T. Ranger, & O. Vaughan, (eds), *Legitimacy and the State in Twentieth Century Africa* (Macmillan, London, 1993) and T. Ranger, "African Identities: Ethnicity, Nationality and History: The Case of Matabeleland, 1893-1993", in J. Heidrich, (ed), *Changing Identities: The Transformation of Asian and African Societies Under Colonialism*, (Das Arabische Buch Verlag, Berlin, 1994a.)

⁶ For more on this see T. Ranger, "African Identities: Ethnicity, Nationality and History: The Case of Matabeleland, 1893-1993".

Ndebele ethnic identity, although their origins are linked to the Kalanga.

The investigation into the dynamics of ethnic identities among marginalised groups such as the Kalanga has a compelling significance for contemporary societies. Ethnicity has received fairly adequate scholarly attention in Zimbabwe and this demonstrates its palpable significance in the daily lives of ordinary people particularly in the context of deep-seated ethnic tensions. Often, ethnicity is perceived as inimical to the nation-building projects, which Zimbabwean nationalists and political elites sought to implement.⁷ The colonial state decidedly manipulated ethnicity to divide and rule.⁸

This study contributes to the literature on ethnicity in Zimbabwe by focusing on the shifts and transformations of Kalanga identities in the period from 1946 to 2005. Specifically, the study explores the contribution of the Kalanga chiefs and Kalanga cultural associations such as the Kalanga Cultural Promotion Society (KCPS) and Kalanga Language and Development Association (KLCDA) to the growth of Kalanga ethnic identity.⁹ These associations with the cooperation of Kalanga chiefs from the northern parts of Bulilimamangwe district in south-western Zimbabwe lobbied for the cause of the recognition of the Kalanga as a distinctive ethnic group. In this thesis, I assert that the struggles for the recognition of the Kalanga as an ethnic group have for a long time been facilitated by the Kalanga chiefs together with the cultural associations. These have acted as the mouthpiece

⁷ S. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *The Zimbabwean Nation-state project: A historical Diagnosis of Identity and Power-based Conflicts in a Post-colonial State*.

⁸ Chimhundu and Ranger illustrate how missionaries and colonialists contributed to ethnic consciousness and 'tribalism amongst the Africans in colonial Zimbabwe. For more information on this see Chimhundu, H. Chimhundu, "Early Missionaries and the Ethno-linguistic Factor during the Invention of Tribalism in Zimbabwe", *Journal of African History*, volume 33 (1992) pp. 87-109 and T. Ranger, "Missionaries, Migrants, and the Manyika: The Invention of Ethnicity in Zimbabwe," in L.Vail, (ed.) *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (James Currey, London & Berkely, 1989).

⁹ The term 'cultural entrepreneurs', in this study refers to members of cultural groups who are actively involved in mobilising Kalanga communities and promoting Kalanga language and culture. These belong to associations such as the Kalanga Cultural Promotion Society (KCPS) and the Kalanga Language and Cultural Development Association (KLCDA) which came back to life in post-colonial Zimbabwe and agitated for the recognition of the Kalanga as a distinctive ethnic group.

for the Kalanga people in Zimbabwe and have aroused the fervour of ethnic consciousness. Collectively, these actors used the language and traditions of the Kalanga to justify Kalanga ownership of, and rootedness in, the area. The rise of the cultural associations named above can be attributed to the discriminatory nature of the colonial and postcolonial states in Zimbabwe. All these actors have contributed to the shaping of Kalanga ethnic identity in the district from 1946 to 2005.

Kalanga ethnicity is not a fixed, primordial phenomenon that has been in existence from time immemorial, but a dynamic and flexible identity that is tied to complex processes of identity formation spanning the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial epochs. Kalanga ethnic consciousness is more strongly articulated in the northern parts of Bulilimamangwe than in the south where most Kalanga people have adopted Ndebele identity. Further, Kalanga ethnic identity has had a positive dimension as it has led to the social and economic development of Bulilimamangwe and its people through holding cultural festivals and other projects meant for the development of the district. The thesis argues that Kalanga language was the first rallying point of all these movements' clamour for Kalanga ethnic identity from 1946 to 2005.

The early scholarship on Kalanga identity (which tended to be anthropological in orientation) has presented this group of people as undergoing acculturation and assimilation into the Ndebele, which would culminate in their complete absorption into the latter (Ndebele) ethnic identity.¹⁰ However, as this study will show, the adoption of other identities by many of the Kalanga in the Bulilimamangwe district may have been a matter of political expediency but it in no way signified a total erasure of their pre-existing identities.

¹⁰ See E. Msindo, "Ethnicity in Matabeleland: A study of Kalanga- Ndebele Relations", unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, August, 2004 and I. Nyathi, "Ndebele Kalanga ethnic relations in Bulilimamangwe South: Integration or Assimilation? A case study of the colonial and post- colonial Bulilimamangwe", unpublished Honours dissertation, History Department, University of Zimbabwe, 2004.

Bulilimamangwe district is an appropriate context for a study on ethnic identification because the area was transformed through social, political and ideological means by both the European colonisers and African leaders during and after the colonial occupation. The institution of chieftainship has played a pivotal role in the (re)construction of Kalanga ethnic identity and language has indeed been the driving force behind the struggles of the Kalanga. In the same vein, I do not anticipate defining Kalanga ethnicity conclusively in this thesis; instead I seek to bring to light the pivotal contributions of the Kalanga chiefs, the two Kalanga associations, and the Zimbabwean state to the crystallisation of Kalanga ethnic identity, focusing specifically on the southwestern part of Matebeleland. This area has received insufficient attention from scholars of ethnicity who have focused mainly on the northern parts of the country and on the post-independence civil war.

This study attempts to answer the following questions (a) Why and how was Kalanga identity (re)constructed, negotiated, manipulated and transformed by internal and external factors? (b) Who were the main actors behind such reconstruction and renegotiation of Kalanga identity and how did they go about mobilising their support base? (c) What were the main challenges that these actors had to contend with in their struggle for official recognition of Kalanga identity in Bulilimamangwe District from 1946-2005? (c) How did Kalanga experiences with various factors such as social, political and physical environment attribute to the shifts and fluidity of Kalanga ethnic identity? Using Bulilimamangwe as a case study, the sub-aims of the study seek to explore factors that contributed to the rise of Kalanga ethnic consciousness and the formation of the Kalanga Cultural Promotion Society in 1946. The thesis also establishes transformations and reasons for shifts in Kalanga identity between 1946 and 2005 in Bulilimamangwe. By so doing, this thesis also aims to illustrate the significance of the evolution of Kalanga identities in colonial Zimbabwe and the state of Kalanga ethnic identity in the post-colonial period.

The choice of Bulilimamangwe district as my site of study was influenced by the fact that this is the place where the majority (constituting about 75% of the population with the Ndebele constituting 19%) of the people under study reside, although there are some who are scattered all over the province of Matebeleland and other areas in Zimbabwe, South Africa and elsewhere in the diaspora. Despite the existence of several Kalanga-speakers in areas such as Kezi and Gwanda districts, my focus on Bulilimamangwe district makes the study manageable and compelling. The Kalanga are not the only marginalised minority group in Zimbabwe as there are many such groups which include the Tonga, Sotho, Venda and Tswana, among others. However, I chose to focus on the Kalanga because they were one of the first groups that effectively challenged their minoritisation status through associations such as the KCPS and KLCDA.

The period under study (1946-2005) is important for a number of reasons. The year 1946 marked a major breakthrough for the Kalanga as it was in that year that the KCPS was founded as a first major attempt by the Kalanga to collectively unite to 'fight' for the recognition of Kalanga ethnic identity. The same period was notable for the rise of African nationalism in Zimbabwe and other parts of the continent and Bulilimamangwe experienced this new political consciousness through the rise of African nationalist luminaries. Kalanga speaking nationalist leaders went on to found and lead a decidedly nationalist (and not ethnic-based) organisation in colonial Zimbabwe, the Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union (ZAPU).

The 1940s also marked a rise in the number of African peoples who resided in the urban areas, made possible by the rapid industrialisation that took place after the end of the Second World War. Thus, competition over the scarce resources such as jobs led to the rise of ethnically-oriented associations that sought to protect the interests of their membership in

towns.¹¹ The period (1946-2005) also enables me to conduct a broader analysis of the evolution of Kalanga identity. This period is also vital in the sense that it saw the implementation of the NLHA that triggered the Kalanga chiefs' contribution to the development of Kalanga ethnic consciousness. This was necessitated by the demotion of these chiefs when they defied the implementation of the NLHA.

The study ends in 2005 because this year marked a major development, namely the realisation of the re-introduction of the teaching of Kalanga language in primary schools in Bulilimangwe. The year 2005 also marked a rigorous revival of Kalanga cultural mobilisation through KLCDA and some Kalanga associations that continue to strive to bring the Kalanga people and language on an equal footing with other ethnic groups in the country.

1.1. Critical discussion of literature

In order to understand Kalanga ethnic identity and the struggles these people have undergone, the study draws insight from a rich body of literature on ethnicity and identity in Zimbabwe and the Southern African region more broadly. The past four decades have seen a proliferation of scholarly work on ethnicity and identity especially among the historians, anthropologists and sociologists. In the field of Social Sciences, Barth's work on the nature of boundaries between ethnic groups has shaped the evolution of and thinking about ethnicity as an analytical category. He argued that ethnic groups maintain discrete categories such as observable cultural features of dress, language or architecture as well as basic value orientations.¹² He also shows that movements across ethnic boundaries and relationships with outsiders, often adversaries, can strengthen ethnic recognition. His model thus assumes

¹¹ V. C. Uchiendu, "The dilemma of ethnicity and polity primacy in Black Africa", in L. Romanucci-Ross and G. A. De Vos (eds.) *Ethnic identity: Creation, conflict, and accommodation* 3rd edtn (Altamira Press, London, 1995) p.133.

¹² F. Barth (ed.) *Ethnic groups and Boundaries*, Boston, 1969.

boundaries between various groups, boundaries that delineate them as 'ethnic groups'. Group membership can be expressed in the overt sense of using a particular language, style of dress, house form, religion, custom or lifestyle. Cohen observes that ethnicity reveals itself through inter-ethnic relations, and apart from these it is non-existent. He goes on to suggest that it is important to view ethnicity as a variable that takes on different values depending on the given situation.¹³

Unlike Barth who implies that ethnic boundaries are enduring and stable (although not impervious), Cohen notes that ethnic boundaries are multiple and include overlapping sets of ascriptive loyalties that make for multiple identities.¹⁴ Thus, in line with this argument it can be said that ethnic boundaries tend to be dynamic, and are continually being redefined, expressed and validated by the members within the group.

One of the early discourses on ethnicity is the primordial school which views ethnicities and identities as natural to all people. For Geertz, ethnic and national attachments spring from the 'cultural givens' of social existence such as kinship, language, religion, race and customs.¹⁵ The major criticism against this school of thought is its perception of identities as existing *a priori* and as static.¹⁶ However despite this criticism, the school should be accredited for its acknowledgement of African agency on issues of ethnicity and identity. Primordialist scholars such as Smith emphasised the belief in the natural, primordial connection of national belonging and identities and argued that these exist within the

¹³ R. Cohen, "Ethnicity: Problem and focus in Anthropology", *Annual Reviews Inc*, volume 7 (1978) pp. 379-403.

¹⁴ R. Cohen, "Ethnicity: Problem and focus in Anthropology".

¹⁵ See A. D. Smith, *The Nation and in History: Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Polity Press, Cambridge, 2000) p. 21.

¹⁶ J. Mujere, "Vhunjere via Bhetere: A Social History of the Basotho in the Dewure Purchase Areas in Gutu, c. 1932-1960", unpublished Masters thesis, History Department, University of Zimbabwe, p. 7.

parameters of distinct pre-modern ethno-heritages.¹⁷ The primordialists therefore argued that pre-existing cultural traditions and histories form a convincing foundational myth for the construction of national identities.

The primordial approach was critiqued by constructionists such as Benedict Anderson, who defined the nation as an imagined political community.¹⁸ Anderson stressed that the nation must be imagined because it is impossible for members of even the smallest nation to know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.¹⁹ Therefore the constructionists considered developments such as modernity, capitalism and industrialization thereby challenging the natural and territorial existence of nations. From a constructivist perspective, nations are to be articulated as a modern and invented phenomenon linked to the rise of industrial and print capitalism created through an on-going process through discursive networks. Central to the constructivist approach is the notion that national identity is constructed through the processes of inclusion and exclusion. Hobsbawn and Ranger also agree with the idea of social constructed-ness of identities and inventions of traditions when they noted that the nation is essentially a modern construct where the powerful 'invent' traditions to create the illusion of primodality and continuity.²⁰ They further illustrate that the boundaries of national identity are continually constructed and reconstructed as an ongoing process. While the constructivist approach might help in our understanding of nations and identity, it can be criticised for paying little/no attention to the response of individuals to national identities

¹⁷ A. D. Smith, *The Ethnic Revival in the Modern World* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1981).

¹⁸ B. Anderson "Ethnicity and Nationalism: The nation and the origins of national consciousness", in M. Guibernau and J. Rex, (eds.) *The ethnicity reader: Nationalism, multiculturalism and migration* (Polity Press, Cambridge, 1997) p.44.

¹⁹ B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (Verso, London, 1983).

²⁰ E. Hobsbawn, and T.O. Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge University Press, 1983) p.14.

ascribed to them by the state.

Influenced by the constructivist school of thought, Historians developed their own theories of ethnicity to explain the fashioning of ethnic identity during the colonial period in Africa. For a long time, the *Invention of Tradition* thesis has been applied on studies of ethnicity and identity in Southern Africa. This school of thought argued that missionaries and colonial administrators played a central role in the 'invention of tribalism' in Southern Africa.²¹ In his thesis, Ranger argues that the colonial governments adopted the ethnic invention approach aimed at essentialising and stereotyping the nature of African labour under which the Manyika were seen as good waiters, the Shangaan as good supervisors and the Chewa as garden boys and housemaids.²² This thesis is the antithesis of primordialism. This school unjustly notes seeming passivity on the part of African people and denies the historicity of some elements of ethnic identity that have pre-colonial precursors. It denies the salience of pre-colonial history.²³ Consequently, the invention of tradition school has been criticised by Hamilton who sees Zulu ethnicity as a larger process in which Africans have been active agents from the beginning.²⁴ In reaction to Ranger's (1988) work, she draws attention to the limits of historical invention. In view of the criticism levelled against the invention school, Ranger revised his invention of tradition thesis and adopted the concept of "social construction" which he largely borrowed from Anderson's concept of "imagined communities".²⁵ In this thesis, Ranger argues that identities can also be imagined or socially negotiated rather than being invented.²⁶ He also emphasised on the fluidity and flexibility of

²¹ L. Vail, (ed.) *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (James Currey, London, 1989).

²² T. O. Ranger, *The Invention of tribalism in Zimbabwe* (Mambo Press, Gweru, 1988).

²³ T. Allen, "The Invention of Tribes Revisited (11) Making the Madi: The Invention of Ugandan Tribe" in L. laGorgendiere, K. King, and S. Vaughan, (eds.), *Ethnicity in Africa: Roots meanings and implications* (Centre of African Studies, University of Edinburgh, 1996) pp.112-113.

²⁴ C. Hamilton, *Terrific Majesty: The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Imagination* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1988) p. 24.

²⁵ B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*.

²⁶ T. O. Ranger, "Invention of Tradition Revisited: The Case of Colonial Africa", in T. Ranger and M. Vaughan,

precolonial identities.

My thesis draws upon the theoretical framework employed by the Neo-primordial school which sought to re-emphasise some arguments of primordialists. Neo-primordialists argue that the seeds of ethnic factors are derived from the pre-colonial past, but the colonial era provided fertile ground on which the ideology of tribalism was firmly established, blossomed and further propagated.²⁷ Neo-primordialists criticised the invention of tradition school for over-emphasising the role of colonialism in inventing identities, yet these identities were based on African tradition which African people interpreted and re-interpreted. In light of the above argument, Neo-primordialists argue that far from being created by alien rulers then, tradition was reinterpreted, reformed and reconstructed by subjects and rulers alike.²⁸ The neo-primordialists have also been criticised by Vail for their tendency to focus on “African irrationality” as an explanatory framework.²⁹ Nonetheless, despite this flaw, the neo-primordial paradigm dovetails neatly with the study of Kalanga ethnicity which was based on the reinterpretation of traditions by the successive colonial regime and the Kalanga.

The study also benefits from Lonsdale’s theory of moral ethnicity. In his study of the Mau Mau in Kenya Lonsdale shows how identities that crystallised had more to do with culture, communal security and social membership, as opposed to political identities mediated by competitive confrontation over material resources and political power.³⁰ The rise of the Kalanga Language and Cultural Development Association in post-independence

Legitimacy and state in Twentieth Century Africa (Macmillan, London, 1993).

²⁷ S. Mombeshora, “The Salience of ethnicity in political development: The case of Zimbabwe”, *International Sociology*, volume 5, number 4 (1990) p.431 (pp. 427-444).

²⁸ T. Spear, “Neo- Traditionalism and the Limits of Invention in British Colonial Africa”, *The Journal of History*, volume 44 (2003) pp. 3-27.

²⁹ L. Vail, 'Introduction: Ethnicity in southern African History', in Vail, (ed)., *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (James Currey, London, 1989), pp. 1-3

³⁰ J. Lonsdale, “The Moral Economy of Mau Mau”, in B. Berman and J. Lonsdale (eds), *Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya and Africa* (James Currey, London 1992); J. Lonsdale, “Moral and Political Argument in Kenya”, in B. Bernam, D. Eyoh, and W. Kymlika (eds), *Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa* (James Currey, Oxford, 2004), pp. 73–95.

Zimbabwe resonates well with the concept of moral ethnicity. The Association's objectives were to uphold Kalanga language, culture and identity in post independent Zimbabwe.

The case of the Kalanga will thus show how Kalanga pre-colonial identities have been reinterpreted and evoked by ruling elites, Kalanga activists and elite and the local Kalanga people in colonial and post-colonial Zimbabwe. Although the study argues that Kalanga ethnic identity would be best described as fluid, malleable and dynamic, it acknowledges problems associated with using the term identity. Brubaker and Cooper argue that if identity is described as malleable, multiple and fluid, it creates contradictions. They opted for the term identification as they argued that identity is riddled with ambiguity, riven with contradictory meanings and encumbered by reifying connotations.³¹

The study of ethnicity started in the 1950s and germinated in the field of urban sociology, because urban centres were arenas of social encounter and competition where group labels came to structure the rivalries over scarce resources such as jobs and land among other things. In the 1950s, the concept of ethnicity was virtually an uncharted terrain. Its crucial importance had become transparent yet there was little basis for either analysts to grasp its nature, the sources of its energies or its likely future trajectories.³² Ethnicity as a field of enquiry first made its appearance in African historiography in the interstices provided by nationalism. During this period, it was viewed as a retrogressive and 'shameful' topic. This was influenced by the fact that during the rise and development of nationalism, many African countries were struggling to oust the yoke of colonial rule. Therefore, they needed to unite as Africans against the colonial rulers. Ethnicity was therefore thought to be a divisive phenomenon and African modernisers were anxious that it would counter their nation building project. Nonetheless, ethnicity began to be perceived as a positive phenomenon by

³¹ R. Brubaker and F. Cooper, "Beyond Identity", *Theory and Society*, volume, 29, (2000) p. 1 (pp.1-47, 2000).

³² M. Crawford Young, "Nationalism, Ethnicity and Class in Africa: A Retrospective", *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines* volume 26, number 103 (1988) pp. 421-496.

Coleman who argued for a positive contribution of ethnicity to nationalism in Nigeria.

Studies on ethnicity in the 1970s appreciated rooting ethnic conflict in uneven development and on urban life. Among other things, the penetration of capitalism and the accidents of location of communication routes, setting of towns and major centres of wage employment and distribution of missionary resources offered new opportunities to some groups and in the same vein denied such openings to other groups.³³ Epstein underscores this argument in his study of the Copperbelt, where he argues that far from being an expression of conservatism or even inertia, tribalism was as response to the circumstances of urban life. Central to this argument is the emergence of ethnic associations as a feature of modern urban life in most parts of Africa.³⁴

Studies on ethnicity in the 1970s also attributed the growth of ethnicity to the unequal distribution of state resources necessitated by colonists and later adopted by the leaders of independent African states. These scholars argue that conflict and competition within and between groups in the colonial ethnic systems sharpened as African nationalism developed. Desperes also advances this argument in his study of ethnicity in Guyanese society.³⁵ The superimposition of nation over cultural or linguistic identities as a weapon in the struggle against European colonial rule tended to heighten ethnic conflict and differentiation once African independence was achieved.³⁶ With a few exceptions, most of the 1970s literature puts too much emphasis on the role of the elite in formenting ethnic consciousness, thereby

³³ M. Crawford Young, "Nationalism", p. 427.

³⁴ See for example his reference to the Bemba Tribal Association, and Barotse National Society. A. L. Epstein, *Ethos: Three studies in Ethnicity and Identity* (Tavistock Publications Ltd, London, 1978) p.121.

³⁵ Desperes suggests that the persistence, organisation and differential incorporation of ethnic groups in Guyanese society is very much determined by the incorporation for material resources that exists in the area as a consequence of European exploration and exploitation. See Despres, (ed.) *Ethnicity and Resource Competition in Plural Societies*.

³⁶ See E. P. Skinner, "Competition within ethnic systems in Africa", in Despres, (ed.), *Ethnicity and Resource Competition in Plural Societies*, (Mouton Publishers, Chicago, 1975). Skinner gives examples of Nigeria, Kenya, Siera Leone and other territories where ethnic groups permutated and started to jockey for power-many such groups had never functioned as corporate entities before or during the colonial period. In Siera leone for example it is argued that the Mendes appear to have received more of the political rewards than the Temres during the period following independence.

ignoring the ordinary people. In addition to the above, most of these scholars were preoccupied with the negative aspects of ethnicity while a few presented the positive aspects of ethnicity.

In the 1980s, scholars explained the persistence of conflicts in independent African states in ethnic terms. They saw competition over scarce economic resources (jobs, housing, schools, etc.) between different groups in Africa as a major cause of ethnic conflict in the post-independence period. Scholars such as Ottite, Skinner, Horowitz and Romanucci-Ross and DeVos argue that these conflicts were a result of ethnicity.³⁷ Hence, it can be argued that these scholars focused again on 'political tribalism', where they tended to associate ethnicity with negative aspects, that is, ethnic violence.

In 1989, Southern Africanist scholars made a contribution to the studies of ethnicity in a book edited by Vail entitled *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa*.³⁸ Most of the chapters in this volume of the 'invention school' emphasise the role played by colonialism and its divide and rule principle, as well as by European missionaries (during their evangelism where they sought to differentiate Africans in terms of their ethnic belonging) in the creation of ethnicity in Southern Africa.³⁹ They go on further to argue that a fully-blown ethnic identity came into being however, only when and where a group of African intellectuals were available to give specific cultural definition to the supposed 'tribe' and to communicate this vision through education.⁴⁰ The scholars' silence about pre-colonial forms

³⁷ For more information on this see O. Otite, "Resource competition and Inter-ethnic relations in Nigeria", and E. P. Skinner, "Competition within ethnic systems in Africa, Horowitz, D. L. (ed.), *Ethnic groups in conflict* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1985) and L. Romanucci-Ross, and G. A. DeVos, (eds.) *Ethnic identity: Creation, conflict, and accommodation* 3rd edtn (Altamira Press, London, 1995).

³⁸ In this book these scholars argue that missionaries, the educated and colonialists were instrumental in creating cultural and ethnic identities through their specification of custom and tradition and by writing tribal histories.

³⁹ See various articles in Vail, (ed.) *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa*.

⁴⁰ Vail and White, "Tribalism in the Political History of Malawi", p. 152.

of ethnicity tends to reinforce the assumption that stasis or lack of change was a defining feature of African societies prior to contact with Europeans. Scholarship from the 1950s to the 1970s failed to explain why ethnicity continued to be a political feature in African *realpolitik*s.

Scholars who have dealt with the subject in the 1990s have taken a different approach from the 1950s and 1960s scholarship. Among other things, they argue that based on their lived experiences and reflections of the past, Africans often imagined and articulated a sense of identity well before the twentieth-century colonial period.⁴¹ The proponents of these views include scholars such as Greene, Ndlovu-Gatsheni, Msindo, Lekgoathi, Harries, Atikson, Bravman and Lagorgendiere, among others.⁴² Contrary to the invention school, they have also engaged issues such as gender and class in the ethnicity debate.⁴³ These scholars stress the fluidity and flexibility of ethnicity, the porousness of its boundaries, and the role of ordinary people in renegotiating and shaping their identities. By so-doing, they give a refreshing view of ethnicity across different peoples and acknowledge the heterogeneity of African societies. Expanding on Barth's work, social scientists who studied the Maasai in East Africa concluded that ethnic ideologies shape identity formation and social action.⁴⁴

⁴¹ A. F. Isaacman and B. S. Isaacman, *Slavery and beyond: The making of men and Chikunda ethnic identities in the unstable world of south-central Africa, 1750-1900* (Heinemann, Portsmouth, 2004) p. 323.

⁴² For more information on this see R. A. Atkinson, *The Source of Ethnicity: The Origins of the Acholi of Uganda before 1800* (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1994), P. Harries, *Culture, Work, Culture and Identity: Migrant Laborers in Mozambique and South Africa, c 1860-1910* (Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, 1994), L. laGorgendiere, K. King, and S. Vaughan, S (eds.), *Ethnicity in Africa: Roots meanings and implications*, S. E. Greene, *Gender, Ethnicity, and Social Change on the upper Slave Coast: A History of the Anlo-Ewe*, B. Bravman, *Making Ethnic Ways : Communities and their transformations in Taita, Kenya, 1800-1950* (Heinemann, Portsmouth, 1998), E. Msindo, *Ethnicity in Zimbabwe: The Transformation in Kalanga and Ndebele Societies, 1860-1990*, S.P. Lekgoathi, "Ethnicity and Identity: Struggle and Contestation in the making of the Northern Transvaal Ndebele, ca 1860-2005", unpublished Phd thesis, Graduate School, University of Minnesota, 2006 and S. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *The Zimbabwean Nation-state project: A historical Diagnosis of Identity and Power-based Conflicts in a Post-colonial State* (Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala, 2011).

⁴³ See for example S. E. Greene, *Gender, Ethnicity, and Social Change on the upper Slave Coast: A History of the Anlo-Ewe*, and J. Davison, *Gender, lineage and ethnicity in Southern Africa* (Westview Press, Colorado, 1997).

⁴⁴ T. Spear and R. Waller (eds.) *Being Maasai: Ethnicity and Identity in East Africa* (James Currey, London, 1993).

These scholars examine how Maasai identity has been created, evoked, contested and transformed from the time of their earliest settlement in Kenya to the 1990s, and they also question the nature of ethnicity generally.⁴⁵ The interplay of various ethnic dimensions across the social field underscores the importance of understanding the idea and role of culture in the study of ethnicity.

Moreover, twenty-first century literature on conflicts and ethnicity in Africa attributes the emergence of these conflicts to colonialism and the struggle to control the state as is indicated in Schoenbrun.⁴⁶ This recent scholarship has also tried to establish a link between ethnicity and development. Nnoli and Schmidt illustrate that in Guinea, the quest for independence in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, was driven by the interests and grievances and energies of women, male trade unionists and ex-soldiers.⁴⁷ Nonetheless, these studies have not resolved the ever-elusive question of ethnic identity in Africa.

There has been a shift from the political tribalism of ethnicity to moral ethnicity. In their book, *Unhappy Valley*, Berman and Lonsdale challenge the interpretations of both liberal and Marxist scholars and suggest a new approach to twentieth-century Africa, and by implication, a new approach to nationality and ethnicity in Africa.⁴⁸ Lonsdale advances the view that ethnicity contains an ongoing argument on how the remembered or reconstructed reciprocal inequalities of the Kikuyu 'moral economy' could be honourably renegotiated in the context of alien overrule, urbanisation and the penetration of capitalism, literacy and

⁴⁵ Spear and Waller (eds.) *Being Maasai: Ethnicity and Identity in East Africa*.

⁴⁶ For more information on this see, D. Schoenbrun, 'Review of Jean-Pierre Chretien's Book, *L'Afrique Des Grands Lacs, Deux mille ans D'Histoire* (Paris, Aubier, 2000)', p. 264.

⁴⁷ For this debate see, O. Nnoli, *Ethnicity and Development in Nigeria* (Avebury Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Aldershot, 1995), N. Eltringham, *Accounting for Horror: Post-genocide Debates in Rwanda* (Pluto Press, London, 2004), L. H. Malkki, *Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory and National Cosmology among Hutu refugees in Tanzania* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1995) and E. Schmidt, *Mobilising the Masses: gender Ethnicity and class in Nationalist movements in Guinea, 1939-1958* (Heinemann, Portsmouth, 2005).

⁴⁸ B. Berman and J. Lonsdale, *Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya and Africa, Volume 2* (James Currey, Ltd, 1992).

Christianity.⁴⁹ Ntaragwi and Magwaza show that ethnicity is not only about ‘us’ in relation to the other but also about ‘us’ in dealing with ourselves.⁵⁰ Recent scholars have also applied this concept and have demonstrated how women have been central in the making of ethnicity through gendered cultural aspects such as songs, initiation ceremonies and raising of children.⁵¹

Suffice it to say that the rise of interest in scholarship on ethnicity in the first decade of the twenty-first century has also seen a proliferation of scholarly work in Zimbabwe on minority histories, including Kalanga history.⁵² Enocent Msindo’s pioneering work on Kalanga ethnicity in Zimbabwe from 1860 to 1990 has left a very visible imprint on Zimbabwean historiography and my own work draws some insight from his work. However, his work dwells much on language and the assimilation of the Kalanga ethnic group by the

⁴⁹ J. Lonsdale, “Moral ethnicity and Political Tribalism: The case of the Kikuyu”, paper Wissenschaftliche Tagung Vereinigung der Afrikanisten in Deutschland, Duisburg, April 1995.

⁵⁰ M. Ntaragwi, *Gender, Identity and performance: understanding Swahili Cultural Realities through Songs* (Africa World press Inc, Trenton, 2003) and T. Magwaza, “So that I Will be a Marriageable Girl: Umemulo in Contemporary Zulu Society” in B. Carton, J. Laband and J. Sithole, (eds.), *Zulu Identities: Being Zulu, Past and Present* (University of KwaZulu Natal Press, Scottsville, 2008).

⁵¹ See E. Akrofi, M. Smit, and S. M. Thorsen (eds.) *Music and identity: Transformation and negotiation* (African Sun Media, Stellenbosch, 2007), A. Woollet, H. Marshal, P. Nicolson, and N. Dosanih, “Asian women’s ethnic identity: The impact of gender and context in the accounts of women bringing up children in East London”, in K. K. Bhavnani and A. Phoenix, (eds.), *Shifting identities, shifting racisms: A feminism and psychology reader* (Sage Publications Ltd, London, 1994) and M. Ntaragwi, *Gender, Identity and performance: understanding Swahili Cultural Realities through Songs*.

⁵² For more information on studies of minority and marginalised groups in Zimbabwe, see E. Msindo, *Ethnicity in Zimbabwe: The Transformation in Kalanga and Ndebele Societies, 1860-1990* (The University of Rochester Press, New York, 2012), E. Msindo, “Rethinking the Ndebele and the Kalanga, 1860-1960”, unpublished M Phil thesis, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, 2002, Msindo, E. “Ethnicity in Matabeleland: A study of Kalanga- Ndebele Relations”, unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, August, 2004, J. Mujere, “Autochthons, Strangers, Modernising educationists and progressive farmers: Basotho struggles for belonging in Zimbabwe 1930s-2008”, PhD thesis submitted to the History Department, University of Edinburgh, 2012. F. Ndhlovu, “Language politics in postcolonial Africa revisited: Minority agency and language imposition”, *Language Matters*, vol 41, number 2 (2010) pp. 175-192, E. Ndhlovu, “Mother tongue education in official minority languages in Zimbabwe”, *South African Journal of African languages*, vol 31, number 2 (2011) pp. 229-242, P. Nyambara, “Madheruka and Shangwe: Ethnic Identities and the Culture of Modernity in Gokwe, North-western Zimbabwe, 1963-79”, *Journal of African History*, vol 43 (2002) pp. 287-306, N. Nyika, “Our languages are equally important: Struggles for the revitalisation of the minority languages in Zimbabwe”, *Southern African Linguistic Applied Language Studies*, vol 26, number 4 (2008) pp. 457-470, R. P. Werbner, *Tears of the Dead: The Social Biography of an African Family* (Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1991) and E. Worby, “Maps, Names, and Ethnic Games: The Epistemology and Iconography of Colonial Power in Northwestern Zimbabwe”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol 20, number. 3, Special Issue: Ethnicity and Identity in Southern Africa (September, 1994) pp. 371-392 among others.

Ndebele people. In his Masters and Ph.D. theses, he emphasises the emergence of Kalanga ethnicity as a result of interaction with missionaries and the codification of the Kalanga language as Ndebele.⁵³ He goes on to show that despite the Kalanga's integration into the Ndebele state, they have managed, to some extent, to preserve their identity and culture.⁵⁴ Moreover, Msindo's work focuses on Kalanga and Ndebele relations mostly in urban Bulawayo although he examined those relations in the rural districts to a lesser extent. In his work on the relationship between ethnicity and nationalism, the KCPS operates in Bulawayo and has limited links with the rural Kalanga people.⁵⁵ Furthermore, whereas Msindo examined the activities of the outsiders (the Ndebele and other ethnic groups), this study predominantly focuses on the insiders (Kalanga). Msindo's book, is a pioneering piece of work on the Kalanga and his contribution to knowledge on these people is invaluable. He traces Kalanga ethnic identity to the pre-colonial era.⁵⁶ Msindo argues that Kalanga ethnic identity was made possible by the Kalanga's desire to guard their social and cultural institutions against perceived 'contamination by the "other."'⁵⁷ The 'other', according to him, were the Ndebele and Ngwato of Botswana. However, while I agree with the fact that there were frictions between the Ndebele and the Kalanga, ethnicity was not the only form of identity at least among the Kalanga in pre-colonial Zimbabwe. As shall be indicated in the next chapter, the pre-colonial Kalanga observed various forms of identities such as Mwali religion and chieftainship among others. For example, they were known as the people of Chibundule, people of Mambo (after the Rozvi rulers' titles) and then, lastly the people of

⁵³ E. Msindo, "Rethinking the Ndebele and the Kalanga ,1860-1960, unpublished M Phil thesis, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, 2002, p.56. Msindo, like the invention school also denies Kalanga agency as he gives too much credit to outside influences.

⁵⁴ E. Msindo, "Ethnicity in Matabeleland: A study of Kalanga- Ndebele Relations", p. 158

⁵⁵ E. Msindo "Ethnicity and Nationalism in Urban Colonial Zimbabwe: Bulawayo, 1950 to 1963", *Journal of African History*, volume 48 (2007) pp. 267-290.

⁵⁶ E. Msindo, *Ethnicity in Zimbabwe: The Transformation in Kalanga and Ndebele Societies, 1860-1990* (The University of Rochester Press, New York, 2012).

⁵⁷ E. Msindo, *Ethnicity in Zimbabwe: The Transformation in Kalanga and Ndebele Societies*, p. 7.

Mzilikazi. Nonetheless, the study benefits a lot from Msindo's work although the main focus is on rural Kalanga, in Bulilimamangwe district from the 1940s to 2005. While Msindo's central argument revolves around urban ethnicity, my thesis is on rural ethnicity. It emphasises internal dynamics as opposed to external dynamics in the revival of Kalanga ethnic consciousness. Moreover, the study also acknowledges that the Kalanga are not a homogenous entity. Kalanga ethnic consciousness was more vibrant in the northern parts than in the southern region of Bulilimamangwe district mainly because of a strongly articulated sense of Kalanganness among communities in the former area. Unlike Msindo's work which argues that the Kalanga Cultural Promotion Society operated mainly in urban Bulawayo, my work demonstrates that the KCPS did play an active role in Bulilimamangwe district and it contributed to the growth of Kalanga ethnic consciousness during the opposition to the NLHA.

Another recent work on the Kalanga is by Moyo who presents and celebrates the Kalanga as the original and "rightful owners" of the so-called Zimbabwe. In this book, Moyo laments the downfall of the Kalanga which he attributes to the Shona and Ndebele ethnic groups.⁵⁸ Moyo relies on Portuguese documents, travellers' reports and early archaeological evidence to show that the Kalanga are the "rightful citizens" of Zimbabwe whose ancestors built Mapungubwe, Great Zimbabwe and Khami states respectively.⁵⁹ Moyo should be credited for his attempt to use rare pre-colonial documents. However, as a result of his preoccupation with presenting the Kalanga as the owners of Zimbabwe, the book lacks a critical interrogation of these sources and was perhaps highly influenced by his position as a

⁵⁸ N. E. Moyo, *The Rebirth of BuKalanga: A Manifesto for the Liberation of a Great People with a Proud History*, Part 1 (Mapungubwe News Corporation, Plumtree, 2012).

⁵⁹ Moyo, *The Rebirth of BuKalanga*.

Kalanga political activist.⁶⁰

Masola's work traces the history of the Kalanga from the fifteenth century and ends with the destruction of the Kalanga by the Ndebele in the mid-nineteenth century.⁶¹ This book should be viewed with caution as it is written by a cultural insider who presents a romantic image of the Kalanga as powerful people, wrongly assuming that Kalanga ethnic identity has always been there prior to colonialism, and hardly marshalling any empirical evidence to prove it.

Although there has not been a lot of scholarly work in Zimbabwe on the history of the Kalanga people, other works on other identities do hint on them. Pikirayi's study of the Torwa state and its relations with the Rozvi state attributes its roots to the Kalanga.⁶² Here, Pikirayi shows how the Kalanga (Torwa) state was succeeded by the Rozvi state, with the Rozvi rulers adopting the Kalanga language thereby ensuring the existence of one of Kalanga's important cultural aspects. Beach in his book, *Zimbabwe before 1900*, analyses the dynamics of power within the Ndebele society and its relations with the various ethnic groups within it.⁶³ Beach generalises the 'Shona' aspect and presents a situation whereby the Kalanga and the Shona were one group of people. The term 'Shona' is problematic as Mazarire illustrates it was not in use before the nineteenth century. Even then, this term, was seen as an insult, used by one's enemies, no one thought of themselves as Shona.⁶⁴ Munjeri

⁶⁰ The author confirmed this during my interview with him in Bulawayo on the 16th of December 2012. Again, there is much evidence in the book of his possible hidden political agenda.

⁶¹ K. Masola, *Nhau DzabaKalanga: A History of the Kalanga*, volume 1 (University of South Africa Press, Pretoria, 1983). Studies of ethnicity have indicated that we can hardly speak of ethnicity prior to colonial rule. Pre-colonial African people identified themselves through a particular chiefdom, clan and not along ethnic lines. Nonetheless, Masola's book is the first that attempted to write the history of the Kalanga.

⁶² I. Pikirayi, *The Zimbabwe Culture: Origins and Decline of Southern Zambezia States* (Altamira Press, California, 2001) p. 233-234.

⁶³ D. N. Beach, *Zimbabwe before 1900* (Mambo Press, Gweru, 1984).

⁶⁴ G. C. Mazarire, "Reflections on Pre-Colonial Zimbabwe, c.850-1880s", in B. Raptopoulos and A. Mlambo (eds.), *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-Colonial Period to 2008* (Weaver Press, Harare, 2009) p. 2.

elaborates on the social, economic, political and religious history of the Kalanga.⁶⁵ His paper highlights the Kalanga customs and beliefs which have been central to the development of Kalanga ethnic identity.

Werbner published a biographical study of the Bango, a Kalanga chiefdom in Bulilimangwe, which managed to be accommodated in the Sanzukwe area after they were removed from the Matopos.⁶⁶ He goes on to argue that it was because of the shared experiences during the Matabeleland disturbances that the Kalanga tended to assume Ndebele identity.⁶⁷ Through this study, Werbner has shown how Kalanga ethnic identity has been contested in the area. Rasmussen marginally refers to the relations between the Kalanga in Zimbabwe and those in Botswana.⁶⁸ He further argues that, it was because of the minority status to which these two Kalanga groups were relegated which made their clamour for their own separate identity more pronounced in Zimbabwe and Botswana. These are, however, the same people who came to be separated during the colonial era through the erection of the boundary by the colonial state. Wylie gives a narrative on the Mswazi community, which is a Kalanga community in northern Bulilimangwe. She states that these people are originally Kalanga who then migrated into Botswana running away from the Ndebele.⁶⁹ However, she does not go a step further to explain the impact posed by the Botswana border on the relations of these Kalanga. According to Watson Khupe, the Mswazi people are

⁶⁵D. Munjeri, "A Brief Outline of the Political Economic, Social and Religious History of the Kalanga", Henderson Seminar Paper, number 30, December 1974, pp. 1-24.

⁶⁶R. Werbner, *Tears of the Dead: The Social biography of an African Family* (Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1991).

⁶⁷According to Werbner's study, it seems the adoption of Ndebele identity during the period of the Gukurahundi (the conflict that broke out soon after independence and targeted to restore order made possible by the dissidents Matabeleland and Midlands regions) was an end to Kalanga ethnic identity. Yet the Kalanga have recently lobbied for a separate ethnic identity. Thus, Werbner fails to show that ethnic identities can shift due to political situations.

⁶⁸R. K. Rasmussen, *Migrant Kingdom: Mzilikazi's Ndebele in South Africa* (Rex Collings Ltd., London, 1976) p. 155. The two groups of Kalanga have been interacting with those in Botswana assisting their Zimbabwean counterparts in the clamour of recognition of Kalanga language and culture.

⁶⁹D. Wylie, *A Little God: The Twilight of Patriarchy in Southern African Chiefdom* (Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, 1990) p.162.

originally from the BaPeri ethnic group which was assimilated into Kalanga.⁷⁰ Thus, the above point serves to illustrate that the Kalanga had the capacity to assimilate other ethnic groups in as much as they were assimilated into other groups. The above works are vital in this study as they help to understand various dimensions of Kalanga ethnic identity.

This study also benefits from the regional literature on ethnicity and identity-formation.⁷¹ I draw comparisons from such literature in order to show how ethnicity has revolved among the Kalanga in Bulilimamangwe district. Above all, the study challenges the previous work done on the Kalanga, thereby giving a new dimension on the study of ethnicity not only in this district but in Zimbabwe as a whole.

1.2. Methodology and Sources

The methodological approach I have adopted in this study is largely informed by the phenomenological or qualitative rather than quantitative approach. Babbie, Mouton and Provesky (2001) argue that, a qualitative research design is mainly underpinned by the overarching aim of studying people in terms of their own definitions of the world.⁷² They further stipulate that this design seeks to understand social action in terms of its specific context rather than attempting to generalise to some theoretical population. In this way, a qualitative approach focuses on the subjective experiences of individuals. The qualitative methodology

⁷⁰ Interview with Watson Khupe, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Bulawayo, 18 December 2010. The Pedi origins of the Mswazi people is also documented in works by scholars such as D. Wylie, *A Little God: The Twilight of Patriarchy in Southern African Chiefdom* (Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, 1990) and R. K. Rasmussen, *Migrant Kingdom: Mzilikazi Press, Johannesburg, 1990* (Rex Collings Ltd., London, 1976).

⁷¹ Examples of such literature include S.P. Lekgoathi, "Ethnicity and Identity: Struggle and Contestation in the making of the Northern Transvaal Ndebele, ca 1860-2005", unpublished Phd thesis, Graduate School, University of Minnesota, 2006, T. Spear and R. Waller (eds.) *Being Maasai: Ethnicity and Identity in East Africa*, . Spear, "Neo- Traditionalism and the Limits of Invention in British Colonial Africa, J. Lonsdale, "Moral ethnicity and Political Tribalism: The case of the Kikuyu", A. F. Isaacman and B. S. Isaacman, *Slavery and beyond: The making of men and Chikunda ethnic identities in the unstable world of south-central Africa, 1750-1900*, C. Lentz, "Colonial Constructions and African Initiatives: The History of Ethnicity in North-western Ghana", *Ethos*, volume 65, number 1, (2000) pp. 107-136 and E. MacGonagle, *Crafting Identity in Zimbabwe and Mozambique* (University of Rochester Press, New York, 2007).

⁷² E. Babbie, J. Mouton and B. Provesky, *The Practice of Social Research* (Oxford University Press, Cape Town, 2001).

therefore offers a detailed and deeper understanding and interpretive approach to the researcher. Given the nature and strengths of qualitative research approach described above, it is considered suitable for this study precisely because it dovetails neatly with the aims of understanding the (re)construction, struggles, transformations and the shifts in Kalanga ethnic identity since 1946.

Archival documents on the Kalanga at the National Archives of Zimbabwe (NAZ) are very minimal. The inventory of these files indicates that some of the files were destroyed while others were requested by colonial District Administrators in the late 1970s and they were never returned to the National Archives. The images below show the list of either the destroyed or missing files. These missing records include annual reports, criminal records, mental disorders annual returns, council general correspondence and cattle crops in Bulilimamangwe district from 1951 to 1975. The gap created by the missing files was filled by secondary sources such as books, articles and oral interviews conducted in Bulilimamangwe.

Image 1.1 Destroyed and missing records relating to Bulilimamangwe District

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF RHODESIA

RECORDS TRANSMITTAL LIST

Page No.* 2

Deposit No.* 1/78

Ministry/Department/Office

DISTRICT COMMISSIONER - PLUMTREE

Box, bundle or volume No.*	Description of records*	Covering dates		For Records Centre use*		
		From	To	Destruction date*	Location	Box No.
15	Lab 1-4 Labour & workmen comp.	1951	1974	1982/P	16/3/8F	14094 ✓
7	Lab 4-18 European & Tribal Land	1952	1974	"	"	
16	Lab 14-22 European & Tribal Land	1961	1975	P	16/3/8F	14095
17	Lab 1-8 T.T.L. Lease correspondence	1969	1974	P	16/3/8F	14096
	Lic 5-7 Licenses - shop & hawkers	1954	1975	DES		
18	Mare 1-4 Marketing - cattle & crops	1968	1974	DES		
	Mins 1 Prospecting	1951	1973	P		
	Mins 3-7 Money matters	1972	1975	DES		
	Mins 4-5 Marriage and Divorce	1972	1973	DES		
19	Per 3 Former staff files (European)		1976	1981 weed	16/4/8R	14097
20	Per 3 General staff matters (European)	1961	1975	1981	16/3/8F	14096
21	Per 1-8 Public Roads & Transport	1967	1974	weed 1984	16/4/8R	14098
22	Sec 2 Councils General corresp.		1975	P	16/4/8R	14099
	Sec 4-11 District Council		1975	"		

Image 1.2 Destroyed and missing records relating to Bulilimamangwe District

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF RHODESIA				Page No.
RECORDS TRANSMITTAL LIST				Consignment No.
Department/Office <u>Internal Affairs, Plumtree.</u>				
Description of records [Note (b)]	Covering dates		For Records Centre	
			Destruction date	Location
NOT TO BE RETAINED INDEFINITELY - I.A. Circular No. 212.				
ACC.25 Rem. 182/65-230/66.				
ACC.32 ADF ESTIMATES	1963	1966	DESTROYED	
ACC.8 Annual Reports	Jan.1951	Dec.1962	DESTROYED	P 24/4/
ACC.24 VOUCHERS	Feb.1955	Dec.1961	DESTROYED	
ACC.26 T.D.'s.	Sent.1961	Sent.1963	1973	24/4/
ACC.2 A.D.F.	1/1/61	1/6/64	1974/76	24/4/
ACC.14 MONTHLY RETURNS	1967 and	1968	DESTROYED	
ACC.14	1952	1963-'66	DESTROYED	
ACC.21 Printing & Stationery	1954	1960	DESTROYED	
ACC.9 Annual Returns	1961	1963	DESTROYED	
ACC.16 Moveable Assets	1966	1968	DESTROYED	
ACC.2 A.D.F.	1964	1967		
ACC.14	1963	1966		
JUD.1. Criminal Records and Court Rolls	1954	1969	P	24/4/
JUD.4 Inquests	1956	1963	P	
JUD.7 Mental Disorders	1951	1969	P	
GOVT. GAZETTES. 1949,31,27,33,37,36, 35,40,37,34,29,31,36.			DESTROY	
JUDGEMENTS & REVIEW CASES (332)	1965	1973	DESTROYE	69 1976 24

During my research stint at the NAZ in Harare and Bulawayo, I was intrigued by the strong political identities of small polities such as the Kalanga in the late nineteenth century. I found most of the evidence of Kalanga existence prior to colonial rule in early travellers' accounts such as the diaries of Robert Moffat, Thomas Morgan Thomas and the diaries of Leakies among others. In most of these diaries, the Kalanga are described as the earliest inhabitants of

the Zimbabwean plateau.⁷³ The travelers described the people whom they came into contact with and the Kalanga were also occasionally mentioned in those accounts. Although these accounts do not cover the period under study, they are useful in my background chapter that elaborates on the origins and nature of Kalanga identities during the pre-colonial period. In addition to the above, these writers were interested in local traditions, customs, and culture. As a result, their writings reflect at times a misguided attempt to describe the way of life of the Africans they encountered. Furthermore, the above mentioned records present a primordial view of Kalanga ethnic identity in the pre-colonial era. Nevertheless, a careful reading of these texts yielded important insights on how the colonised peoples lived. In view of these shortcomings, I used alternative sources of information to verify, complement and supplement data from official documents such as oral interviews.

Missionary activity also took place in the South-western parts of Matebeleland. The two major missionary churches that operated in Bulilimangwe were the London Missionary Society and the Roman Catholic churches. Their records chronicle the evangelisation mission and experiences among the Kalanga in this district. However, the indigenous customs and beliefs in missionary records are presented as ‘barbaric’ and ‘backward’ by these missionaries. These documents were created by the missionaries and thus reflect the successes and challenges that they faced amongst the indigenous peoples of the then Southern Rhodesia. Nonetheless, these documents were critically examined and they went a long way in shedding light on Kalanga Christian and traditional religious adherence during the period under study. I used records from the London Missionary Society and the Zambezi Mission Record which are found at the National Archives of Zimbabwe.

The reports by Native Commissioners in Bulilimangwe district also contain some

⁷³ NAZ MO1/3/1/1-2, (Harare) Moffat Diaries 1863-65.

valuable material including descriptions of the people who occupied the South-Western parts of Zimbabwe, including the Kalanga. Moreover, the representation of Kalanga in these reports varies throughout the colonial period. At one point the Kalanga are presented as peace-loving people as opposed to their Ndebele counterparts, and at another point they are presented as “barbaric”.⁷⁴ These stereotypes about the Kalanga and the Ndebele reflected common European perceptions of the Kalanga response to their incorporation into a common colonial industrial order. Stereotypes about the weak and coward Kalanga represent generalised prejudices against the Kalanga folk.⁷⁵ In light of this argument, Siegel postulates that stereotypes as self-perpetuating inscriptive mental constructs are probably used by all peoples everywhere to order and reinterpret the complexities of social life.⁷⁶

I encountered some historical manuscripts of the KCPS at the National Archives of Zimbabwe in Harare and Bulawayo. These manuscripts contain some petitions of this society to the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Information requesting the recognition of Kalanga language and representation of the history of the Kalanga.⁷⁷ The study also used the annual reports of Bulilimangwe district on the implementation of the NLHA and these shed some light on how Kalanga ethnic identity evolved during the 1950s and the 1960s period. These colonial reports were read with caution as in most cases they reflected the colonial imagination and to a limited extent the African voice.

Closely related to these reports are various articles about the Kalanga in the Native Affairs Department Annual Reports which stretch from the late 1920s to the 1970s. These reports contain valuable information on Kalanga beliefs, customs, origins and their relations

⁷⁴ W. E. Thomas, “The Mlimo superstition”, in The BSAC reports, *Native Disturbances in Rhodesia, 1896-1897* (Books of Rhodesia Publishing Pvt Ltd, Bulawayo, 1975).

⁷⁵ The same prejudices were also said about the Ndebele and the ‘Shona’. Hence this can be viewed as part of the growing colonial thread and its endeavour to instil the divide and rule principle among the Africans.

⁷⁶ B. Siegel, “The “Wild” and “Lazy” Lamba : Ethnic stereotypes on the Central African Copperbelt”, in Vail (ed.), *The Creation of tribalism*, p 366.

⁷⁷ NAZ Hist Mss 938, (Harare) Kalanga Cultural Promotion Society to the Ministry of Education, 6 June, 1989.

with other groups.⁷⁸ Women's stories and what they did in relation to men is hardly mentioned in the documents. Women are often noticeably absent from many of the descriptions, and thus information about their contributions was extracted from oral history interviews.

Anthropological and ethnographic studies, despite their ahistorical framework, proved vital in this study. My critical reading of these sources yielded burgeoning evidence of material culture and expressions of identity during different historical epochs. While various archival records were consulted for this research, the NAZ still has a lot of unprocessed archival documents due to staff turnover. Moreover, there is very limited material on the Kalanga and other minority groups at the NAZ. Most documents are on the 'Shona' and Ndebele which are the majority and most represented groups in Zimbabwe. Nonetheless, my previous experience as an employee of the NAZ enabled me to access some unprocessed circulars and other historical manuscripts on the Kalanga which proved indispensable to this thesis. Despite the above-mentioned limitations, these documents help in the understanding of Kalanga identity, although most of the articles were written by antiquarians and anthropologists and some of them portray the customs of the 'natives' negatively.

For a very long time, oral sources were not looked at in a favourable light by conventional historians who held the view that written sources were absolutely paramount in the writing of history. It was not until the 1960s when Africanist scholars such as Jan Vansina showed how oral sources could be validated, that oral history was placed on the research agenda. Since then scholars, especially social historians have increasingly recognised the value of oral evidence and made extensive use of it. Oral evidence allowed me to gain insight into the pre-colonial history of Kalanga society which had no voice in official records. Unlike

⁷⁸ C. E. Seager, "The original marriage customs of Makalanga", *NADA*, volume xi, number 45, (1942).

the written sources, oral testimony is more involving and allows the voices of the people whose history is being written to be part of the research. Oral traditions of the Kalanga on this period also indicate that these people had a once powerful dynasty whose progenitor Chibundule is prominent in these traditions.⁷⁹ Today, the Kalanga people have used these traditions in order to reassert their ethnic identity and justify their struggles for recognition by the ruling government.

Vansina also argues that oral traditions just like any other source have a part to play in the reconstruction of the past. He views oral traditions not only as a source about the past, but a historiography of the past, an account of how people have interpreted it.⁸⁰ Nonetheless, just like any other source, Vansina has noted some flaws in oral traditions. He argues that the collection of oral traditions is still superficial and their interpretation too literal and too closely tied to the culture concerned.⁸¹ This phenomenon thus contributes to maintaining the image of Africa where history consists of origins and migrations only and this problem is associated with traditions which seek to establish an identity. Beach also points out the pitfalls and problems of relying too heavily on oral traditions.⁸² However his work on the 'Shona' has showed that oral histories are vital in the study of the people of the Zimbabwean plateau. The study will also grapple with issues of Venda oral traditions on the origins of the Mwali cult. This will help bring in another dimension to the origins and ownership of the Mwali cult which the Kalanga have claimed to be theirs.

⁷⁹ For more information on the oral traditions of the Kalanga and on Chibundule see K. Masola, *Nhau DzabaKalanga: A History of the Kalanga*, vol 1 (University of South Africa Press, Pretoria, 1983), and T. Dube, "Oral traditions of the Kalanga". Also see interview with Sakhe Dube, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Dombodema area, Bulilimamangwe, 24 April 2011, interview with Watson Khupe, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Bulawayo, 18 December 2010, interview with Elias Mahumba, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Tokwana, 13 March 2012, interview with Bowen Sibanda conducted by Thembanani Dube, Hikwa village, Dombodema, 14 March 2012 and interview with Headman Grey Ndlovu, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Madlambuzi area, 10 March 2012.

⁸⁰ J. Vansina, *Oral Traditions as History* (James Currey Ltd, London, 1985) p. 197.

⁸¹ J. Vansina, *Oral Traditions as History*, p. 197.

⁸² D. N Beach, *A Zimbabwean Past: Shona Dynastic Histories and Oral Traditions* (Mambo Press, Gweru, 1994).

A significant number of scholars have recently used oral testimony in order to (re)construct African peoples' history. Thompson argues that oral history allows the original multiplicity of standpoints to be created. A much more rounded, realistic and fair reconstruction of the past can be arrived at by calling the subjugated voices to talk back and rectify the dominant accounts of the past contained in archival sources.⁸³ He concludes that oral history offers a challenge to the accepted myths of history, to the authoritarian judgment inherent in tradition.⁸⁴ In addition to the above, Tosh also articulates that oral history allows the voice of the ordinary people to be heard.⁸⁵ Passerini's use of oral history in Italy reveals that oral sources need to be taken as forms of culture and testimonies of its changes over time.⁸⁶

I managed to conduct over sixty interviews predominately with Kalanga interviewees though some interviewees were of Ndebele origin. During those interviews, I was intrigued by the overwhelming interest, zeal and enthusiasm expressed by the Kalanga towards my work. One of the interviewees could not help but express his happiness in this work by saying that "when I see people who research on 'us' I will leave everything that I would be doing and attend to such people."⁸⁷ He even happily gave me a ride in his own car and took me to other informants' homes so that I could get more information that would contribute to a scholarly representation of the Kalanga people.

The study adopted the life-history approach. This involved a general conversation during which informants provided details of their historical background for example, family

⁸³ P. Thompson, "The voice of the past: Oral History", in R. Perks and A. Thomson (eds.), *The Oral History Reader* (Routledge, London, 1998).

⁸⁴ P. Thompson, "The voice of the past: Oral History."

⁸⁵ J. Tosh, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New directions in the study of Modern History* (Longman Group London, 1991) p. 210.

⁸⁶ L. Passerini, "Work, ideology and consensus under Italian fascism", in R. Perks and A. Thomson, (eds.), *The Oral History Reader*, p. 60.

⁸⁷ Interview with Pax Nkomo, Chairman of KLCDA, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Bulawayo, 29 November 2011.

origin and history. The approach enabled informants to be relaxed and hence they were in a position to provide information more readily during the later stages of the interviews. Each interview proceeded through unstructured but focused questions. These non-directive interviews sought open-ended reactions from the respondents on specific issues concerning origins of the Kalanga ethnic identity and the struggles for the recognition of the Kalanga in Zimbabwe. I captured oral interviews using a digital voice recorder after obtaining permission from the respondents. A detailed analysis of the recorded data was done after hours.

Through the life history approach, I was able to gain a better understanding of the experiences of people that are usually ignored such as peasants, tenants, and women. I was also able to investigate broader historical people from Bulilimamangwe district and some who are scattered in other parts of Zimbabwe and those who work as migrant labourers in South Africa. These people constituted traditional leaders from the district and some former members of the KCPS and the current members of the KLCDA. I also interviewed custodians of African religion such as *amawosana* and traditional healers. Interviews with these religious leaders enabled me to gain a deeper understanding of the Mwali cult, which is a cornerstone of Kalanga identity. I was also able to gain insight into Kalanga customs and beliefs which are some of the markers of Kalanga ethnic identity. A lot of interviews were conducted in the northern side of Bulilimamangwe in areas such as Dombodema, Masendu, Nopemano, Tokwana and Madlambuzi. Some of the interviews were conducted in the southern parts of the district, in Bulawayo, as well as in Johannesburg. This was done in an endeavour to understand these peoples' views on Kalanga identity. The interviews focused on Kalanga origins, customs, histories, chieftainships, and their experiences during the Native Land Husbandry Act, their views on Kalanga language and their narratives on the being Kalanga in independent Zimbabwe. It was from these accounts that changes, continuities,

shifts, struggles and transformations in Kalanga ethnic identity were delineated.

While the study benefited a lot from the interviews, I encountered a few challenges during the period of my research. Although oral history allows us to gain a deeper understanding of broader historical themes, oral evidence tends to deal with specificities and they are particularly suited to telling us what happened in a particular area.⁸⁸ For example, the Kalanga held the view that they were the early inhabitants of the land and hence the name Matabeleland should be replaced by Makalangaland.⁸⁹ This view was expressed during the interviews which I conducted with mostly Kalanga activists and chiefs. As a result of this, they attributed all historical developments in Zimbabwe to the Kalanga. Nonetheless, I was cautious in accepting such statements as representing the truth. I verified such statements with secondary sources and other materials. One of the major limitations I encountered when conducting life history interviews was that very few people could remember the events in great detail. This can be attributed to the fallibility of memory; hence some people could remember events in great detail while others could not do so.

The ability to speak Kalanga language and my knowledge of the district helped me a lot during the interviews. For example, this worked to my convenience when I was conducting interviews in Dombodema area where the elders refused to be interviewed using IsiNdebele language. I was well-received in the research areas in Bulilimamangwe as I also come from the area. As a result of this, the informants were very eager to give me information on the Kalanga. I was very careful and critical in analysing the information I gained during the interviews. As a cultural insider, some informants tended to take it for granted that I knew Kalanga culture hence I had to probe them further to deduce information. The position of being an insider also posed some challenges. For example, some members of

⁸⁸ History Workshop, *Oral History: A Guide to Educators, Mpumalanga Provincial Government* (Department of Education, South Africa, 2004).

⁸⁹ Interview with Solonia Dube, conducted by Themban Dube, Osabeni, Bulilimamangwe, 28 December 2010.

the Kalanga Language and Cultural Development Association (KLCDA) felt that I was supposed to show solidarity with them by joining the association. This assumption put me in an awkward position. Moreover, as a close family member of one of the chiefs, some informants withheld information which they felt could annoy me. Some were afraid to share their opinions on the chieftainship as they were suspicious of the motive behind the research. Nonetheless, these were very few individuals. I was careful not to empathise with my informants as this would have jeopardised my research and could have misled me into uncritically and subjectively accepting some of the points raised by interviewees.

While Kalanga is a patriarchal society, I did not face any challenges during my interviews with men. Moreover, women also participated during the interviews although most of my informants were men. My greatest challenge was in interviewing the people who worked for the government of Zimbabwe as civil servants. Some potential interviewees from the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Services refused to be interviewed. Nonetheless, I was able to conduct fruitful interviews with Kalanga radio listeners and a manager of a radio station which broadcasts in indigenous languages. The information obtained from these interviews made it possible to overcome class and gender biases that are often present in the written record. My advanced knowledge of Ndebele and Kalanga enabled me to communicate with people and conduct fruitful oral and written research in Bulilimamangwe district.

Secondary sources such as published books, journal articles, unpublished papers, theses and dissertations were used to inform the conceptual framework and to provide the foundation of this thesis. Academic literature on ethnicity and identity was consulted in order to obtain an in-depth understanding of the nature, origins and state of identities in Africa. Academic literature on the Kalanga was examined in order to gain insights into colonial and post-colonial state of Kalanga identities and to establish shifts, continuities and discontinuities in trends from 1946 to 2005. Scholarly debates on origins of the Kalanga were

very useful as these provided an intellectual context within which to study and develop my own arguments and narrative about Kalanga identities.

The study also engaged the print media reports and periodicals. These consisted of reports from newspapers such as *The Chronicle* and *The Bantu Mirror*. All these newspapers are available and were accessed from the National Archives of Zimbabwe. The articles ranged from issues on Kalanga for both the colonial and post-colonial period. *The Chronicle* runs weekly reports about the Kalanga people mostly on issues of customs, debates about Kalanga origins and Kalanga beliefs. The major shortcomings of newspapers and magazines are that their reports are sometimes biased. For example, during the colonial period these newspapers favoured the white regime's interests as they targeted the white readers. Issues on the Kalanga were represented in a negative way. For example, Kalanga customs were represented as 'barbaric'. However, there was some positive representation on Kalanga customs from newspapers of the post-colonial period, though most of the articles about the Kalanga were written by and from the perspectives of the Kalanga activists. Therefore, they also tended to be biased in a way. Nonetheless, this varied print media helped me to map out the changes and continuities in Kalanga ethnicity and identity. I also used the Kalanga website www.kubukalanga.com where some views by Kalanga people on issues relating to the Kalanga were shared. This included following discussions on social networks such as Facebook where debates on Kalanga origins and history were deliberated. I also consulted the Kalanga website and blog founded by Kalanga political activist, Nzimuunami Emmanuel Moyo. Although these were usually written with an agenda of promoting Kalanga in Zimbabwe, they helped me in assessing the present state of Kalanga ethnic identity. Just like other sources, there are problems with the veracity of internet sources. They are also transient as they quickly disappear from personal websites making it hard for one to go back to them to counter-check.

By comparing this written evidence with other sources such as the archival records, oral interviews, Kalanga music, newspapers and local oral traditions, I was able to ask and answer questions about the Kalanga *longue durée*. Due to the weaknesses that are prevalent in all the sources listed above, the use of different sources such as primary, secondary and archival and life history interviews helped me to gain an understanding of the evolution of Kalanga ethnic identity.

1.3. **Architecture of the Thesis**

My chapters are thematically and chronologically organised in order to answer the questions, why and how Kalanga identity has been (re)constructed by various actors and to show how and why these actors have struggled to make Kalanga ethnic identity recognised in Bulilimamangwe District from 1946-2005. Chapter 2 details and locates Kalanga identity in pre-colonial and colonial Zimbabwe. This chapter provides a vital background as it engages various theories that have been proposed on the origins of the Kalanga. In the first section of the chapter, I discuss Kalanga identity in pre-colonial Zimbabwe which was characterised by plurality and flexibility. The chapter further stipulates that Kalanga identities in pre-colonial Zimbabwean were multiple, defined by identities such as their allegiance to various chieftainships, and that ethnicity did not exist as a distinctive and primary marker of identity during the pre-colonial period. The chapter thus uses historical evidence available in order to show various chiefdoms and states which related with the Kalanga, such as the Rozvi and the Ndebele under Mzilikazi. It is in this chapter that the concept of Kalanga identity in pre-colonial Zimbabwe is charted. The second section of the chapter shows how pre-colonial Kalanga forms of identities were later politicised and manipulated by colonialists, missionaries and Africans in an endeavour to construct Kalanga ethnic identity. In this way, the chapter shows shifts and transformations in Kalanga identity. The chapter therefore lays a

firm background for the chapters that follow so that it becomes clear as to who the people referred to in the study are and how this identity shifted over time.

In Chapter 3 the colonial land legislation, the Native Land Husbandry Act of 1951 is analysed from the point of view of its effects in invoking Kalanga ethnic consciousness in Bulilimamangwe district. The chapter shows how the Native Land Husbandry Act was implemented in Bulilimamangwe district. It also maintains that the people of Bulilimamangwe district were not passive recipients of colonial agrarian racist policies. I contend that resistance to the implementation of the Act assumed ethnic overtones especially in the northern parts of Bulilimamangwe where demoted Kalanga chiefs played a pivotal role in the rise of Kalanga ethnic consciousness. The chapter captures this by showing the patterns of resistance to the Act and the patterns of movements during the implementation of the Act. The chapter also details the contribution of the Kalanga Cultural Promotion Society (KCPS) to the rise of Kalanga ethnic consciousness during the implementation of the Act. Moreover, the chapter elaborates on how people in the district supported the Kalanga chiefs who were actively involved in shaping Kalanga ethnic identity politics during the period of the implementation of the NLHA.

Chapter 4 builds on the previous chapter and mainly focuses on the ascendancy of Kalanga ethnic consciousness during the period of Community Development. In the 1960s the new Rhodesian Front government desperately needed chiefs to implement its policy of Community Development as well as the Land Tenure Act of 1969. Chapter 4 therefore describes how this was undertaken in Bulilimamangwe. The chapter focuses on the failure by the Rhodesian government to resuscitate Kalanga chiefs who were demoted during the period of the NLHA which eventually led to the failure of the policy of Community Development in Bulilimamangwe. The chapter further stipulates that opposition to Community Development projects assumed ethnic overtones. It demonstrates how Kalanga ethnic consciousness was

articulated by Kalanga chiefs such as Masendu Dube and Madlambuzi Ncube in rural councils and other Community Development projects. The chapter also details the challenges faced by Chief Mpini Ndiweni, a Ndebele chief who was imposed over the northern parts of Bulilimamangwe as chief over the areas previously under Kalanga chiefs. This discriminatory nature led to the politicisation of Kalanga ethnic identity as the Kalanga chiefs felt that the Kalanga were marginalised by the colonial regime. In the same vein the chapter brings an important religious aspect that continues to bind the Kalanga as an independent ethnic group, the Manyangwa cult and its role during the period of Community Development.

The discussion in the closing chapters details the activities of cultural associations in the struggle for the recognition of the Kalanga and Kalanga language in the independent Zimbabwean state. Chapters 5 and 6 focus much on the role played by Kalanga associations in the struggle for recognition of Kalanga language in the education system and on radio in post independent Zimbabwe. Chapter 5 argues that the post independent Zimbabwean government's failure to recognise Kalanga language in the education system served to heighten Kalanga ethnic identity. These policies also helped to destroy Kalanga cultural identity. In this way, the struggle for the recognition of Kalanga language was tantamount to a struggle for recognition in the share of the nation's resources as the Kalanga argued that they had also contributed to the liberation of Zimbabwe. The chapter thus illustrates how the Kalanga cultural entrepreneurs took to task the Ministry of Education and the response of the Zimbabwean government to the issue of Kalanga language and identity. Critical in this chapter, are the activities of the Kalanga Language and Cultural Development Association (KLCDA) which has acted as an epitome of Kalanga ethnic identity. The discussion in chapter 6 focusses on the role played by the state, Kalanga cultural entrepreneurs, Kalanga listeners and radio presenters in spreading Kalanga ethnic consciousness in post-independent Zimbabwe. Above all, chapters 5 and 6 elaborate on what it means to be Kalanga today and

how Kalanga ethnic identity has been contested and (re)constructed from 1980 to 2005.

The conclusion ties down the argument by answering the following questions. What is the emerging debate surrounding Kalanga ethnic identity? To what extent do the research findings show the struggles for the recognition of Kalanga ethnic identity and the shifts in Kalanga ethnic identity amongst the people of Bulilimamangwe district? What has been the role of KCPS, chiefs and/or headmen, cultural entrepreneurs and KLCDS in the struggle for the recognition of Kalanga ethnic identity in Bulilimamangwe district and in Zimbabwe?

CHAPTER 2:

LOCATING THE NATURE OF KALANGA IDENTITIES IN ZIMBABWE: THE HISTORY AND ORIGINS OF THE KALANGA, 1800-1945.

2.0. Introduction

The Kalanga occupy the south-western parts of Zimbabwe, their larger concentration is in modern-day Bulilimamangwe district although some clusters of Kalanga people are distributed throughout Kezi, Gwanda and Tsholotsho districts, among other areas, west of Zimbabwe.⁹⁰ As has already been mentioned in the first chapter, this study considers the Kalanga to be the people who descended from the Khami/Torwa culture, who also speak the Kalanga language and those that were assimilated into Kalanga culture such as the Venda, Pedi and other groups from within the general sphere of influence or the paths of migrations of the nuclear Kalanga.

Kalanga history has often been subsumed under the ‘triumphant’ and hegemonic narratives of Ndebele and Shona histories.⁹¹ This has led to the view that the Kalanga are a hybrid of the Ndebele and the Shona.⁹² There is, however, currently a visible surge of interest in the history of the Kalanga by both academics and Kalanga cultural entrepreneurs. However, with a few exceptions, there has been relatively little engagement between this Zimbabwean literature and the older, much more established work on the Botswana

⁹⁰ The name Bulilimamangwe would be maintained for the purposes of this study although this district was divided into two districts, which are, Bulilima and Mangwe, in 2005 for administrative purposes.

⁹¹ Nzimuunami Emmanuel Moyo, a Kalanga political activist also concurs with the observation and he argues that one of the tragedies of the Kalanga is that their history has been parceled out between the Shona and Ndebele. For more information on this see N. Moyo, “Who are the Kalanga”, <http://Bulawayo24.com>, 25 November 2013, Date accessed: 5 January 2014.

⁹² For more on the perception see G. C. Mazarire’s paper, “Who are the Ndebele and Kalanga in Zimbabwe?” unpublished seminar paper presented in the History Department, University of Zimbabwe, 2004.

Kalanga.⁹³ Equally, the more public efforts of Kalanga activists since the 1980s to bring Kalanga (and other so-called minority groups) history to an equal footing with the dominant Ndebele and Shona narratives has attracted little attention.⁹⁴ Although the latter may pass for language and cultural nationalism, they are invariably grounded within the Kalanga historical context as these themes are indeed inseparable. This chapter grapples with the nature of Kalanga identities prior to the arrival of missionaries and colonial rulers. In this way, I move beyond the contemporary scholarship that focuses on recent identities, by capturing Kalanga identities since the pre-colonial era. As was discussed in the previous chapter, the proponents of the 'invention of tradition' school emphasise the creation of ethnicity by missionaries, migrants and the educated elite.⁹⁵ To some extent, this invention rings true in explaining some of the ways in which new identities such as Kalanga were developed, although the study goes beyond this debate and argues that the politicisation of Kalanga ethnic identity was made possible by both the rulers and the ruled who interpreted and reinterpreted pre-colonial forms of identities such as language, Mwali religion, cultural norms and customs among others. It is vital to observe that the invention model has influenced many other studies of ethnicity throughout Sub-Saharan Africa.⁹⁶ While Ranger and Vail have argued

⁹³ This literature speaks on the Kalanga in Botswana, known as the western Kalanga. For more information on the Kalanga in Botswana see R. P. Werbner, *Reasonable Radicals and citizenship in Botswana: The Public Anthropology of Kalanga Elites* (Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, 2004), T. Tlou and A. Campbell, *A History of Botswana* (Macmillan, Botswana Publishing Co Pty Ltd, Gaborone, 1997) among others.

⁹⁴ Malaba, a Kalanga activist during the 1980s wrote a number of circulars to the ministries of education and information demanding the recognition of Kalanga language. To that effect he and other Kalanga activists such as Saul Gwakuba Ndlovu and Dabudabu revived the Kalanga Cultural Promotion Society in 1980, an association which stood as a mouth piece of the Kalanga.

⁹⁵ L. Vail, (ed.), *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa*, (James Currey, London & Berkeley, 1989).

⁹⁶ A. Mager, "Patriarchs, Politics and Ethnicity in the Making of the Ciskei, 1945-1959," *African Studies*, volume 54, number 1, (1995) pp. 49-72; I. Hofmeyr, "Building a Nation from Words: Afrikaans Language, Literature and Ethnic Identity, 1902-1924," in S. Marks and S. Trapido (eds.), *The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in Twentieth-century South Africa*, (Longman, London, 1987); C. Young, "Nationalism, Ethnicity and Class in Africa: A Retrospective," *Cahiers D'Etudes Africaines*, volume 26 (1986); E. N. Wilmsen, and P. McAllister (ed) *The Politics of Difference: Ethnic Premises in a World of Power*, (The University of Chicago Press, Chicago & London 1996), K. Breckenridge, "Migrancy, Crime and Faction Fighting: The Role of

that ethnic identities were ‘invented traditions’ or products of the colonial encounter, I go a step further to argue that Kalanga ethnic identity was created by reinterpreting pre-colonial forms of identities such as language, material culture, Mwali religion and chieftainship.⁹⁷ These pre-colonial identities were an extremely fluid phenomenon connected to shifting boundaries. Isaacman and Isaacman show in their study of Chikunda identity-formation that ‘African people imagined, articulated, and embraced a sense of identity well before the twentieth-century colonial period.’⁹⁸ These observations were also at play in Bulilimangwe as the study will amply demonstrate.

These identities, however, coexisted and were reinforced by various other identities such as the identification with a particular chiefdom or community. Lekgoathi puts it more succinctly in his study of the Ndebele in South Africa when he postulates that:

Identification as Ndebele did not preclude individuals and/or groups of people from crisscrossing ethnic boundaries either in search of security or protection, entering into political alliances with, intermarrying, and becoming subject to non-Ndebele communities. A distinct language among some groups (although Ndebele were bilingual), common or overlapping origins, common regimental and clan names, as well as totems are key markers of Ndebeleness.⁹⁹

The objective of this chapter is, therefore, to elaborate on various forms and the

Izitshozi in the Development of Ethnic Organisations in the Compounds,” *Journal of Southern African Studies*, volume 16, number 1, (1990) pp.55-78; H. Chimhundu “Early Missionaries and the Ethnolinguistic Factor during the ‘Invention of Tribalism’ in Zimbabwe,” *Journal of African History*, volume 33, (1992) pp. 87-109; V. Bickford-Smith, “Black Ethnicities, Communities and Political Expression in Late Victorian Cape Town,” *Journal of African History*, volume 36, (1995) pp. 443-465; W. J. Samarin, “Bondjo Ethnicity and Colonial Imagination,” *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, volume 18, number 12 (1984) pp. 443-465; D. Newbury, *Kings and Clans: Ijwi Island and the Lake Kivu Rift, 1780-1840* (University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1991).

⁹⁷ Vail (ed.), *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa*, T. Ranger, “Missionaries, Migrants, and the Manyika: The Invention of Ethnicity in Zimbabwe,” in L. Vail (ed.) *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa*, 1989, pp 118-150; E. Hobsbawm, and T. Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1983).

⁹⁸ A. F. Isaacman and B. S. Isaacman, *Slavery and Beyond: The making of men and Chikunda ethnic identities in the unstable world of south-central Africa, 1750-1920* (NH: Heinemann Portsmouth, 2004) p.9.

⁹⁹ See S. P. Lekgoathi, “Ethnicity and identity: Struggle and contestation in the making of the Northern Transvaal Ndebele, ca 1860-2005”, unpublished PhD thesis submitted in the Faculty of Graduate Studies, University of Minnesota, 2006.

nature of Kalanga identities in pre-colonial Zimbabwe and to show how these identities were politicised and transformed by the missionaries, Kalanga chiefs, elites, colonial rulers and ordinary Kalanga people during the colonial period.

Two historical factors naturally inform any study of Kalanga history today; the first is that Kalanga language is the oldest language which was spoken by the ancestors of the modern Shona associated with the Leopard's Kopje tradition of the Zimbabwean culture and is inextricably linked with the development of subsequent dialects associated with Shona.¹⁰⁰ Secondly, the Kalanga today are predominantly found in south-western Zimbabwe, a spatial zone dominated by the Ndebele over the past century and a half.¹⁰¹ Kalanga history occupies this middle position and this chapter seeks to deconstruct these overarching legacies to locate the unique nature of Kalanga identities which were shaped by, and within, these social and political contexts. Such an approach demands that we engage with the stories of the origin of the Kalanga, their language, the development of their religious and political cultures and how they changed overtime under the influence of local and external influences. It is argued here that, "like any other group in pre-colonial Zimbabwe, Kalanga identity emerged out of the restless social and political frontiers shaping the different historical contexts of groups gathered around chieftaincies, polities, principalities and confederacies. Nonetheless, these identities were flexible and dynamic and their boundaries were always shifting prior to the colonisation of the country by the British."¹⁰² In line with the above, Mazarire observes the

¹⁰⁰ Here see T. N Huffman, *The Leopard Kopje Tradition* (Trustees of the National Museums and Monuments of Rhodesia, Salisbury, 1974) and G. C. Mazarire, "Reflections on Pre-Colonial Zimbabwe, c.850-1880s", in B. Raptopoulos and A. Mlambo (eds.), *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-Colonial Period to 2008* (Weaver Press, Harare, 2009).

¹⁰¹ For more information on this, see J. R. D Cobbing, "The Ndebele under the Khumalos, 1820-1896", unpublished Ph. D Thesis, Faculty of Arts University of Lancaster, January, 1976.

¹⁰² G. C. Mazarire, "Reflections on Pre-Colonial Zimbabwe, c.850-1880s", in B. Raptopoulos and A. Mlambo (eds.), *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-Colonial Period to 2008* (Weaver Press, Harare, 2009).

same scenario among the Karanga of southern Zimbabwe whose boundaries were continuously fluid and porous. They could not be bounded or mapped easily in the typical European tradition that came in the 1890s, yet the Karanga themselves understood each other's sphere of influence and how they functioned or were regulated.¹⁰³

The first section of the chapter foregrounds Kalanga identity in pre-colonial Zimbabwe in the context of contemporary and neighbouring groups such as the Rozvi and Ndebele, prior to the establishment of European colonial rule in the 1890s. It further argues that Kalanga identities were multiple before the arrival of the missionaries and colonialists. The second part explores the politicisation of pre-colonial identities by the missionaries and colonial rulers which eventually led to the emergence of Kalanga ethnic identity. Ndlovu-Gatsheni's work on ethnicity in Zimbabwe illuminates our understanding of these pre-colonial Zimbabwean tendencies when he contends that, "what is known about identities prior to colonialism is that they were fluid, permeated by complex processes of assimilation, incorporation, conquest of weaker groups by powerful ones, inter- and intra-marriage, alliances, fragmentation and constant movement."¹⁰⁴ These trends were commonplace in most pre-modern African societies. For example, Lentz shows in her study of pre-colonial Ghana, how its societies were highly mobile and had overlapping networks of multiple group membership.¹⁰⁵ Isaacman and Isaacman study on the Chikunda also portrays the same fluidity within this ethnic group. This chapter therefore engages with the nature of Kalanga identities in pre-colonial and colonial Zimbabwe, from this angle to broadly demonstrate how Kalanga

¹⁰³ G. C. Mazarire, "A Social and Political History of Chishanga: South-Central Zimbabwe c.1750-2000", unpublished PhD thesis submitted in the History Department, Faculty of Arts, University of Zimbabwe, 2010.

¹⁰⁴ S. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *The Zimbabwean Nation-state Project: A Historical Diagnosis of Identity and Power-based Conflicts in a Post-colonial State* (Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala 2011).

¹⁰⁵ C. Lentz, "Colonial Constructions and African Initiatives: The History of Ethnicity in North-western Ghana", *Ethos*, volume 65, number 1, (2000) pp. 107-136.

identities shifted between these two historical epochs.

2.1. Origins of the Kalanga and Kalanga language in pre-colonial Zimbabwe.

The present-day Kalanga's origins can be traced to a thousand years back. According to Gwakuba-Ndlovu, the Kalanga were a part of the Bantu 'tribes' which drifted southwards from the Great Lakes region and East Africa in about A.D 900.¹⁰⁶ Van Waarden, Tlou and Campbell also postulate that the Bakalanga (Kalanga) arrived in what is now western Zimbabwe and north-eastern Botswana as early as about 1000 AD.¹⁰⁷ However, there is very little that is known about the Kalanga before the year 1800. According to Hall, the Kalanga can be traced to the kingdom of Mapungubwe (1075-1220), which was a pre-colonial Southern African state located at the confluence of the Shashe and Limpopo rivers.¹⁰⁸ Mapungubwe is thought to have marked the centre of early BaKalanga people which covered parts of modern day Botswana, Zimbabwe and South Africa. The largest settlement of what has been dubbed Leopard's Kopje culture is known to be the immediate predecessor of Mapungubwe.¹⁰⁹ The Leopard's Kopje is a pottery tradition associated with people that are considered to be the ancestors of the Kalanga. The Leopard's Kopje culture was the first human settlement that flourished between AD 420 and 1050.

The Leopard's Kopje culture evolved into modern-day Kalanga. Huffman maintains

¹⁰⁶ S. Gwakuba-Ndlovu, "Totems can Help prove Common Origin of Kalanga and Shona Tribes", *Saturday Chronicle*, 17 November 2012, p. 4. For more information on Kalanga origins also see K. Masola, *Nhau Dzabakalanga*, volume 1 (University of South Africa Press, Pretoria, 1983); S. I. G. Mudenge, *A political history of Munhumutapa, c1400-1902* (Zimbabwe Publishing House, Harare, 1988), D. N. Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe, 900-1850: An Outline of Shona History*, (Mambo Press, Gweru, 1984), Tlou and Campbell, *History of Botswana* (Macmillan, Botswana Publishing Co Pty Ltd, Gaborone, 1997), D. N. Beach, *The Shona and their Neighbours*, (Blackwells, Oxford, 1994).

¹⁰⁷ Tlou and Campbell, *History of Botswana* (Macmillan, Botswana Publishing Co Pty Ltd, Gaborone, 1997) p. 98.

¹⁰⁸ M. Hall and R. Stetoff, *Great Zimbabwe* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2006) p. 35.

¹⁰⁹ I. Hrbek and F. Muhammad, *Africa from the Seventh to the Eleventh century*, (UNESCO, London, 1988) p.322.

that the Leopard's Kopje people were the ancestral Kalanga.¹¹⁰ He goes on to assert that there is a correlation between the distribution of Leopard's Kopje and 19th century Kalanga, the continuation from Bambandyanalo to 19th century Kalanga ceramics of Kalanga implied in oral traditions.¹¹¹ However, this hypothesis does not mean that all ancestral Kalanga necessarily made the same pottery or that all Leopard's Kopje people spoke Kalanga.

Beach also stressed the same point when he observed that the Kalanga are derived from the Leopard's Kopje culture and that they were the basic population on the western end of the Torwa state.¹¹² Otukile gives a slightly different view when he postulates that the Leopard's Kopje people were probably descendants of the Zhizo farmers yet on the other hand, the Kopje people were ancestors of the VaShona and Bakalanga.¹¹³ It is not known as well whether the Leopard Kopje people were integrated into Great Zimbabwe, a state whose rulers might have come from the Leopard Kopje communities. The rulers of the Torwa state were once members of Great Zimbabwe and they broke away to found the Torwa state. Oral traditions associate this state with the Kalanga people.¹¹⁴ In order to gain a broad understanding of the origins of the Kalanga we can also draw upon Torwa and Rozvi histories.

2.2. The Torwa, Rozvi and the Kalanga

The Torwa polity was a successor state to the Great Zimbabwe state. This polity was stationed at Khami in the western parts of the country. The Torwa state existed contemporaneously to, and in competition with, yet another successor state, the Mutapa,

¹¹⁰ T. N. Huffman, *The Leopard Kopje Tradition*, p. 120.

¹¹¹ Huffman, *The Leopard Kopje Tradition*, p.123.

¹¹² D. N. Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe, 900-1850: An Outline of Shona History*, (Mambo Press, Gweru, 1984) p. 208.

¹¹³ S. P. Otukile, "Bakalanga Music and Dance in Botswana and Zimbabwe", unpublished PhD thesis, Department of Music, University of Pretoria 2003, p. 57.

¹¹⁴ For more information on this see D. N. Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe 900-1850*, T. N. Huffman, *The Leopard Kopje Tradition* and S. P. Otukile, "Bakalanga Music and Dance in Botswana and Zimbabwe". This view was also shared by interviewees such as Watson Khupe and Melita Sibanda.

which constantly shifted its capitals between the Dande and Zambezi Valley in the Northern part of the Zimbabwean plateau.¹¹⁵ Between 1490 and 1547 there was a rebellion in the Mutapa state which was associated with the Torwa. It is presumed that the Torwa state was founded by rebels or outsiders, hence the name Torwa (stranger) of the Mutapa state.¹¹⁶ The Torwa state existed from around the 15th century to the late 17th century (1450-1680). According to Portuguese sources, the name of the Torwa state was 'Butua'. Butua is a corruption of the Kalanga name '*buhwa*' meaning, a place of tall grass.¹¹⁷ The Portuguese records of the 17th century also show that certain people called *Mocaranga* were then firmly established in Southern Rhodesia at any rate in Mashonaland. They also prove that the *Mocaranga* were Bantu and doubtlessly the ancestors of the Makalanga.¹¹⁸

Historians and archaeologists know a lot less about the Torwa people beyond the fact that they built Khami, an ancient Zimbabwean settlement a few kilometres north of Bulawayo which was abandoned after it was destroyed by fire in the early seventeenth century.¹¹⁹ Portuguese documents referring to Khami suggest a civil war that involved a Portuguese war lord who was able to assist the Torwa to the throne before himself retiring to the northeast in 1644.¹²⁰ Chibundule, also known as Xamuyenanzwa, arose as an army general during the civil war and established his dynasty at Butua. The name Chibundule was given to this Kalanga progenitor when he arrived at the present Matabeleland. Chibundule

¹¹⁵ The Mutapa state was founded around 1400 in the Shangwe-Dande-Chidima area of north-eastern Rhodesia, and was one of the earliest Shona polities to have a long-lasting influence on the history of south-east Africa. For more information on the Mutapa see G. C. Mazarire, "Who are the Ndebele and Kalanga in Zimbabwe?" unpublished seminar paper presented in the History Department, University of Zimbabwe, 2004, also see F. P. T. Duri, "Antecedents and adaptations in the borderlands: A Social History of informal socio-economic activities across the Rhodesia-Mozambique Border with particular reference to the city of Umtali, 1900-1974", unpublished PhD thesis, faculty of Humanities, The University of the Witwatersrand, 2012, S. I. G. Mudenge, *A political history of Munhumutapa, c1400-1902* (Zimbabwe Publishing House, Harare, 1988).

¹¹⁶ For this view see D. N. Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe 900-1850* and I. Pikirayi, *The Zimbabwe Culture: Origins and Decline of Southern Zambezia States* (Altamira Press, California, 2001).

¹¹⁷ S. P. Otukile, "Bakalanga music" p. 58.

¹¹⁸ Otukile, "Bakalanga music, p. 58.

¹¹⁹ D. N. Beach, *The Shona and their Neighbours*, (Blackwells, Oxford, 1994) p. 94.

¹²⁰ G. C. Mazarire, "Reflections on Pre-Colonial Zimbabwe, c.850-1880s"

boasted and said (*ndo-bundula-Nyika yangu ndiyani ungandi piya poni, ndobundula ndikonya*) meaning ‘I am the one who roars here and no one can rule me I am the ruler the one that roars.’ His subjects then began to call him Chibundule (one that roars).¹²¹ He is said to have created a big following and led his people to the south-western parts of Zimbabwe where he conquered the Bushmen and incorporated them into his kingdom. According to Masola, Chibundule's kingdom stretched from the Makarikari salt pans in the Kalahari Desert, to the side of Venda reaching Limpopo and Palapye and to the north it reached Zambezi.¹²²

By the eighteenth century the Torwa state had been conquered by the Rozvi. The term Rozvi was first used during the seventeenth century to refer to people of the Changamire dynasty who migrated to the south-west plateau from the Mutapa state. According to Beach, they were of the Moyo (heart) totem, but they accepted other groups who belonged to other totems into their domain.¹²³ Mazarire offers a refreshing view of the Rozvi identity. He argues that the term Rozvi was used to refer to the soldiers of the Mutapa state. They were at times called *BaNyai*. The name *Banyai*, besides identifying a follower implied a highland settler and it was used in reference to those “Shona” inhabiting the plateau environments. Therefore all Rozvi were *Banyai* but not all *Banyai* were Rozvi. The ruler of the Rozvi state was known as Mambo. It is therefore little wonder that the land that became the British colony of Southern Rhodesia was known to hunters, travellers and missionaries as *Banyailand*.¹²⁴ Mazarire goes on to argue that Rozvi was a class-based identity and it referred to a part of the ruling elite who were of the Moyo totem while the *Nyai* meant a

¹²¹ See the oral traditions collected by Masola Kumile in Wentzel, Nhau DzabaKalanga. Also see interview with Headman Zwini Dube conducted by Thembanani Dube, 11 March 2012, interview with Saul Gwakuba Ndlovu, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Bulawayo, 28 November 2011 and interview with Headman Baleni Dube, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Muke Village, 11 March 2012.

¹²² K. Masola, *Nhau Dzabakalanga*, p.13.

¹²³ D. N. Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe*, pp. 227-228.

¹²⁴ F. Coillard, *On the Treshold of Central Africa* (Frank Cass, London, 1897) pp. 22-30.

client-based identity.¹²⁵ According to Posselt, the Rozvi identity emerged chiefly from a warrior/client class known as the *Nyai*, a term initially used to refer to soldiers of the Mutapa army but that was gradually used interchangeably with the term Rozvi itself.¹²⁶ With the defeat of Chibundule, some of his councilors who had survived evacuated the area and moved further west as they did not approve of Nechasike's rule. One of these was (Mengwe), Chibundule's uncle who moved into the present day Bulilimamangwe. This place was named after him and it was known as *Bulilima-gwa-Mengwe* literary meaning; the country of Mengwe. It is important to note that it is where the name Bulilimamangwe was derived from. Bulilimamangwe is a corruption of *Bulilima-gwa-mangwe* by the colonial officials.¹²⁷

Accordingly, Rozvi was not a unitary state, but a confederacy of paramountcies bound together by a common religious authority (cultic centres subordinate to Great Zimbabwe or Njelele), and by the military sanction of the royal court of the Mambo which moved from region to region.¹²⁸ The Rozvi imported some of their practices from their Venda cult at Raluvhimba.¹²⁹ It is not surprising therefore, that one of the praise names of Mwali Thovela has been used up to the present day. Thovela is traditional dance practiced by the Rozvi. It is argued that the Mwali cult in the Matopos reached its mature development during the period of Nechasike's Rozvi.¹³⁰ Nonetheless, the worshipping of Mwali brought together the Kalanga under Chief Chibundule and the Rozvi of Nechasike who became part of the Kalanga people.

¹²⁵ G.C Mazarire, "Reflections on pre-colonial Zimbabwe."

¹²⁶ Posselt, *Fact and Fiction* (Books of Rhodesia, Bulawayo) 1935, p. 135

¹²⁷ Interview with Elijah Ndebele, Village Head, conducted by Themban Dube, Madlambuzi Centre, 10 March 2012. Also see T. Dube, "Oral Traditions, History and the Social Transformation of the Kalanga of South-western Zimbabwe: A Study of the Izimnyama Mpalawali Community, c 1800-2006", unpublished Honours dissertation, History Department, university of Zimbabwe, 2006.

¹²⁸ For more information on the organisation of the Rozvi state see Q. N. Parsons, On the Origins of the BamaNgwato, *Botswana Notes and Records*, volume 5 (1973) pp. 82-103.

¹²⁹ T. O. Ranger, "The Meaning of Mwari", *Rhodesian History, The Journal of The Central African Historical Association*, volume 5 (1974) p.13 (pp.5-17).

¹³⁰ T. O. Ranger, "The meaning of Mwari", p. 13.

The Rozvi, many of whom were the very same people who had been ruled by the Torwa dynasty, continued with the old stone building style and pottery tradition that some archaeologists claim had been evolving during the period of the Torwa.¹³¹ According to Msindo, the Rozvi intermarried with the Kalanga and adopted their dialect, thus preserving the linguistic continuity of the Kalanga.¹³² Although there were many other languages (including Lozwi and Venda) spoken by the people under the Rozvi state, Kalanga became the *lingua franca* amongst the people who recognised the Mambo rulers. The view was underscored by Chief Sindalizwe Masendu who said, ‘My grandfather told me that Kalanga was the language spoken by the people of Mambo prior to the arrival of the Ndebele.’¹³³ These statements were also reiterated by some Kalanga people who continue to see themselves as the descendants of Mambo.¹³⁴ However, these views should be taken with caution as there is a possibility that those who cling to this view do so in order to validate their autochthonous belonging to Bulilimangwe.¹³⁵

Nonetheless, the Kalanga seem to have enjoyed cordial relations with the Rozvi. Moreover, there is the possibility that some of the Kalanga groups formed the Rozvi state. Besides the adoption of Kalanga language and customs, intermarriages between these two groups cemented their relations. This way, a sense of fluidity took place between the two groups to the extent that Msindo views some people of the new Changamire state who perceived themselves as Rozvi to be descendants of the Torwa state.¹³⁶

¹³¹ S. I. G. Mudenge, “An Identification of the Rozvi and its implication for the History of the Karanga”, p.31

¹³² E. Msindo, “Rethinking the Ndebele and the Kalanga”, p. 67.

¹³³ Interview with Chief Sindalizwe Masendu Dube, conducted by Thembani Dube, Masendu, 11 March 2012.

¹³⁴ The view was also shared by interviewees such as Gogo NaKaKheni, Melita Sibanda, Headman Baleni Dube and Kraal head Bowen Sibanda. What is interesting about this view is that the interviewees were from different parts of Bulilimangwe and they were interviewed on different dates. Evidence from scholarly work on the Kalanga (such as Msindo 2002, 2004 and 2012) also suggests that Kalanga was spoken by the Mambo of the Rozvi state and their subjects.

¹³⁵ Autochthons mean indigenous rather than descended from migrants or colonists.

¹³⁶ E. Msindo, “Rethinking the Ndebele and the Kalanga”, p.166.

2.3. The Nuclear Kalanga: Original Kalanga clans

As in many other pre-colonial societies, pre-colonial Zimbabwean societies mainly identified their fellow members on clan and totem terms, among many other forms of identification such as chiefdoms and religious shrines. However, it should be noted that these identities were multiple, overlapping, constantly shifting and malleable. These clan names were usually of names of animals, birds and parts of the body. However, this does not imply that these people were of a specific ethnic group. Today, the Kalanga have coalesced into an ethnic group and these people define who is and who is not an original Kalanga through clans and totems. Kalanga totems are mostly names of wild and domestic animals, tamed animals and birds. This is not specific to the Kalanga but it is also a shared cultural practice amongst the Zezuru and other ethnic groups in Zimbabwe. Clans and totems were two underlying principles of Kalanga social structures. Each individual belonged to a clan that claimed descent from a common ancestor and had its own distinctive totem, *nthupo*. Since, most totems are associated with an animal that is sacred, and members of a totem are not allowed to eat that animal or a particular part of it. The Kalanga believe that people who eat the meat or restricted animal part associated with their totem will lose their teeth.¹³⁷ Totems served to protect clan groups and make a spiritual connection with clan members. Although there are various subdivisions of clans, there is a belief that all Kalanga descended from Leopard's

¹³⁷ This seemed to be a common belief shared by most interviewees in Bulilimamangwe district. For example those of the Moyo totem do not eat the heart as they believe it would be tantamount to eating their totem. See interview with, Ndzimuunami Emmanuel Moyo, a Kalanga political activist, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Bulawayo 16 December 2012, December Moyo, an ex-ZAPU military man, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Osabeni, 18 March 2012 and interview with Rich Moyo an ex-ZAPU military man, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Osabeni, 18 March 2012. Similarly, those of the Dube (Zebra) totem argued that they do not eat the Zebra. See interviews with Dube Headman Mazwaligwe Dube, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Masendu, 11 March 2012, Headman Baleni Dube, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Muke village, 11 March 2012, Payaya Dube, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Madlambuzi, 10 March 2012, Manyangwa Dube, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Tjehanga Village, 13 March 2012 and interview with Lisa Dube, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Masendu area, Bulilimamangwe, 20 June 2011. Also see E. MacGonagle, *Crafting Identity in Zimbabwe and Mozambique* (University of Rochester Press, New York, 2007).

Kopje culture. The list of the nuclear Kalanga is provided in Appendix 1.

2.4. Environment, pottery and identity among the pre-colonial Kalanga

The Kalanga are generally known to have occupied the dry parts of the Zimbabwean plateau. Although the San people also inhabited the dry parts of Bulilimangwe, the Kalanga (associated with the Leopard's Kopje culture) also settled in dry parts of the district. Their environment therefore determined not only their way of life but it shaped their identity. Although the Kalanga were agriculturalists, the dry environment forced them to grow drought-resistant crops such as sorghum, millet and finger millet. These crops are associated with the Kalanga to such an extent that today the Ndebele people define the Kalanga as the millet people.¹³⁸ Shortage of water was one perennial problem the Kalanga faced. As a result of this, quarrels often erupted between the Kalanga and other groups. Munjeri notes the fights over water sources especially between the Ndebele and Kalanga.¹³⁹

Besides agriculture, pottery was one important aspect of Kalanga material culture. Pottery had a long tradition that dated back to the Leopard Kopje people. Pottery-making was usually done by women and it was even noticed by early travellers. Vaughan noted that Kalanga women pottery was so famous that during the time of Rozvi rule they went to work at the court.¹⁴⁰ Female potters also made various kinds of clay pots (*hali*) for cooking and storage. Women would dig clay soil from valleys and the sides of rivers to mix it with sandy soil from a crushed piece of clay pot called a *dengezi*. The clay pots were usually decorated in the chevron pattern, which was a common pattern in Great Zimbabwe, Mutapa and Torwa states. The decoration of pots with the chevron pattern also shows the links between the

¹³⁸ This was shared during informal communication with Melita Sibanda and Gogo Nakakheni Moyo who argued that the Kalanga are known as the people who are associated with producing good thick porridge from millet to date.

¹³⁹ D. Munjeri, "A Brief Outline of the Political Economic, Social and Religious History of the Kalanga", Henderson Seminar Paper, number 30, December 1974, p. 16.

¹⁴⁰ H. Vaughan-Williams, *A Visit to Lobhengula in 1889* (Glasgow, 1947) p. 86.

Kalanga and other groups in Zimbabwe. By expressing these distinct material objects, the Kalanga shaped a very public identity with a long historical continuity. It is worth noting that, to this day, Kalanga women in Bulilimangwe still engage in pottery as a source of livelihood and customary practice. They are known to be the best potters in Bulilimangwe compared to the Ndebele potters.¹⁴¹ The Kalanga thus proclaimed their identity with material objects that were important to themselves and visible to others. Therefore, this serves to illustrate the multiple identities which defined the pre-colonial Kalanga society. However, these identities should not be mistaken for an ethnic identity.

2.5. The Ngwali/Mwari cult and the Kalanga

Religion has often been used as a marker of identity in pre-colonial African societies. This has even continued in the post-colonial African societies. For example, belief in the Supreme Being characteristically epitomized by cults and shrines is a common phenomenon amongst other African cultures such as the Ga of Ghana who believe in Kpele and the Nyau cult in Malawi amongst others.¹⁴² Moreover, various contributions about shrines and cults in Dawson demonstrate how African shrines help to define ethnic boundaries, shape group identity and symbolically articulate a society's connection with the land it occupies.¹⁴³ As such, in subtle and nuanced ways, the Mwari cult represents ideas about belonging and autochthony in the context of the Kalanga identity. The Kalanga have (re)constructed their identity around the *Mwari or Ngwali* cult whose shrines include Njelele, Dula, Wililani,

¹⁴¹ Qedisani Dube-Ndiweni advised to me to visit an old woman named NakaKheni in order to see the good pottery which is still made by the Kalanga women. Gogo NakaKheni is regarded to be the best potter at Osabeni village. This was also reiterated by Solonia Dube who argued that although, the Ndebele learnt the skill from Kalanga they could not be as good as the Kalanga.

¹⁴² For more in formation cults and African religion see J. K. Olupona and S. S. Nyang (eds.), *Religious Plurality in Africa: Essays in honour of John S. Mbiti*, Mouton De Graytor, Berlin, 1993.

¹⁴³ A.C. Dawson (ed.) *Shrines in Africa: History, Politics and Society*, University of Calgary Press, Calgary, 2009.

Neyile, Ntogwa and Manyangwa amongst others. There exists no formal knowledge of the functions of the *Mwali* cult prior to the coming of the Ndebele in the 1830s, and its origins has been a source of heated debate among scholars. Some scholars believe that it may have originated at Great Zimbabwe together with the *Mhondoro* (ancestral spirit) cult, but became dominant in the southern parts of the country as an oracular movement that had also incorporated ancestral elements after it moved to the Matopos shrines. Others are of the view that the Mwali cult was introduced by the Kalanga of Venda origin.

Gann's study of the Kalanga traditional customs noted that the Makalanga high god was based in the Matopos and that although the Ndebele conquered the Kalanga, they themselves fell under the Makalanga religious sway.¹⁴⁴ This demonstrates that despite the domineering nature of the Ndebele immigrants, they realised the importance of the Kalanga cultural beliefs, which can be read as an acknowledgement of Kalanga identity. However, Gann seemed not to be aware that the *Mwali* cult itself actually has more of Venda origins than Kalanga. Ndlovu-Gwakuba advances the idea of the Venda origins of the Ngwali cult.¹⁴⁵ The cult is said to have been introduced by the migrants from Venda land of the *Dziva* totem and was later developed by the people of the Shoko totem.¹⁴⁶ The *Mwari* cult in the Matopos reached its mature development during the Shoko period. On the contrary, Otukile concludes that the Mwali was introduced to the Zimbabwean plateau by the Kalanga.¹⁴⁷ *Mwali* is referred to as *Dzivaguru* in Shona meaning the great pool and *Dzviba le Vula* in Kalanga

¹⁴⁴ L. H. Gann, *A History of Rhodesia: Early Days to 1934* (Chatto and Windus, London, 1965) p.36.

¹⁴⁵ He articulates that before the Mwali deity was brought by the Venda, from the south-east, the Kalanga in particular believed in some form of animism, that is to say, they attributed their very existence to those animals or birds or parts of their bodies represented by their respective totems or mitupo. For more on the origins of mwali see, M.L. Daneel, *The God of the Matopo Hills: An Essay on the Mwari Cult of Rhodesia* Mouton, The Hague, 1970, and Ranger, T.O "The Meaning of Mwali" *Rhodesian History, The Journal of the Central African Historical Association*, volume 5 (1974) pp 5-17.

¹⁴⁶ T. O. Ranger, "The Meaning of Mwali", *Rhodesian History*, p.13.

¹⁴⁷ S. P. Otukile, "Bakalanga Music and Dance in Botswana and Zimbabwe", pp. 138-139.

means a pool of water.¹⁴⁸ There is still need for further research on the Mwali cult as most of the work on this cult is based on colonial understanding of African religious systems.

Mwali was approached by the Kalanga in times of drought or for thanksgiving and this was done through *Amawosana*, the *Mwali* messengers who were women.¹⁴⁹ In addition to the above, the Kalanga women occupied a special religious position as they operated the Mazenge spirits which were at the lower level than Mwari. These spirits were known as *Izishumba*. The spirits could only inhabit the Kalanga women, but not the men. Similarly, MacGonagle shows how Ndaue women tended to assert their power overtly in Ndaue society as influential healers and spirit mediums.¹⁵⁰ With time, the Kalanga established various shrines which represent the Mwali cult in Bulilimangwe, which served to uphold the high god of the Matopos. Such shrines are functioning today and these include Manyangwa in the northern parts of Bulilimangwe district and Neyile and Ntogwa in the south.

2.6. Kalanga of Venda, Rozvi and Pedi origin

Pre-colonial Africa was characterised by a large degree of pluralism and flexibility in terms of articulation of belonging. In line with this, the pre-colonial Kalanga also consisted of more fluid units that readily incorporated outsiders into the community as long as they accepted their customs, and the sense of obligation and solidarity went beyond that of the nuclear family. For example, the Venda were also incorporated by the Kalanga society. John Tshuma, an old man aged 80 at Izimnyama, alluded to this and he argued that initially his great grandfathers were of Venda origin and were defeated by Chibundule and ever since then they

¹⁴⁸ For a lengthy debate on Mwali see S. P. Otukile, "Bakalanga Music and Dance in Botswana and Zimbabwe", T. O. Ranger, "The Meaning of Mwali", and M. L. Daneel *The God of the Matopo Hills*.

¹⁴⁹ T. Dube, "Oral Traditions, History and Social Transformation of the Kalanga of South-Western Zimbabwe: A Study of Izimnyama/Mpalawali Community, C.1800-2006", unpublished Honours Dissertation, History Department, University of Zimbabwe, 2006, p. 16.

¹⁵⁰ E. MacGonagle, *Crafting Identity in Zimbabwe and Mozambique* (University of Rochester Press, New York, 2007) pp. 88-89.

have regarded themselves as Kalanga.¹⁵¹

The Venda who were assimilated into the Kalanga state are of the Ncube clans who are divided into three clans, Ncube-Lubimbi, Ncube-Hobodo and Ncube-Malaba. The Venda trace their origin to south of the Limpopo River. A reconstruction of Venda identity by archaeologist Huffman based on pottery assemblages associated with the Ngona suggests that some of them may have descended from Mapungubwe ancestors while some were of Sotho-Tswana origin.¹⁵² The Ncube-Lubimbi clan is responsible for the Mwali cult which has rain-making shrines located at Njelele, Dula and Wililani in the Matopo Hills of Zimbabwe. There is also reference to Luvhimbi in Venda traditions as being associated with the rain. Ralushai's study of the Venda clans provides some insights into the Luvhimbi clan. He also acknowledges that little has been said so far about Luvhimbi who is known as Tshirumbula-Mikovha (one whose rain turns gorges into rivulets) and whose rain-making abilities have been enshrined in the saying: *'Mvula-mvula ndi ya Luvhimbi ya Tshikame I dina madumbu'* (Luvhimbi's rains are excellent unlike those of Tshikambe, which are accompanied by a storm).¹⁵³ These are also associated with Ngwenya crocodile totem, yet those of Malaba are the Ncube-baboon totem. Nonetheless, there are great chances that the Ncube-Lubimbi might have migrated from Venda and changed to Ncube as the changing of clan names and totems was a common feature among pre-colonial African societies.¹⁵⁴

The Ncube-Lubimbi clan is the custodians of the Mwali cult. However, because they were assimilated by the Kalanga, they tended to adopt Kalanga customs. The Malaba clan is

¹⁵¹ Interview with John Tshuma, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Izimiyama area, 21 December, 2011.

¹⁵² Huffman, *The Leopard Kopje Tradition*, p. 150.

¹⁵³ N. M. N. Ralushai, "Further Traditions concerning Luvhimbi and the Mbedzi", *Rhodesian History: The Journal of the Central Africa Historical Association*, volume ix, (1978) p. 5 (pp.1-11).

¹⁵⁴ For more information on Venda History see N. M. N. Ralushai and J. R. Gray, "Ruins and traditions of the Ngona and Mbedzi among the Venda of the Northern Transvaal" *Rhodesian History: The Journal of The Central Africa Historical Association*, volume 8 (1977) pp.1-11, N. M. N. Ralushai and J. R. Gray, "Ruins and traditions of the Ngona and Mbedzi among the Venda of the Northern Transvaal", *Rhodesian History: The Journal of The Central Africa Historical Association*, volume 8 (1977) pp.1-11 and Mazarire, G. C. "Reflections on Pre-Colonial Zimbabwe, c.850-1880s".

the one that holds the title of rulers. Chief Malaba, who is resident in the southern parts of Bulilimamangwe, comes from this clan. Lastly, there is the Hobodo clan which is said to be responsible for traditional medicine, herbs and charms.¹⁵⁵ The Hobodo clan derives its name from the fact that they carried the bags of medicine and herbs. In Kalanga they are called (*Banosenga hobodo dzemiti*) meaning those who carry bags full of medicine.¹⁵⁶

Many Rozvi had migrated elsewhere, with some establishing new chiefdoms. Some of these chiefdoms can be found today in the Bulilimamangwe district. These include the Bidi Moyo chieftainship which traces their history to the Rozvi state.¹⁵⁷ This chieftainship has however assumed Kalanga ethnic identity, which identity never existed during the time of the Rozvi state. There are also a number of Rozvi who have assumed a Kalanga ethnic identity. For example, these include the Bango-Dube.¹⁵⁸ In addition to the above, one of the sons of Dombo is said to have migrated to Hwange area in the North-western parts of Zimbabwe and established a polity among the Nambya and Tonga. Another son crossed the Limpopo River and conquered the territory of the Venda establishing a capital at Dzata in the Zoutpansburg area.¹⁵⁹ Perhaps this is the Thovhela state that was mentioned by the Dutch based at Delagoa Bay around 1730. In the last half of the 18th century, other Rozvi crossed the Limpopo and settled among the Venda in Nzhelele valley of the Zoutpansberg Mountains. Here too they found earlier Karanga and Kalanga settlers ruling alongside and over the original Venda

¹⁵⁵For more information on this see, interview with Saul Gwakuba-Ndlovu, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Bulawayo, 28 November 2011, Interview with Mbisana Malaba Ncube, conducted by Thembanani Dube, 2 December 2010 and interview with Tjidzanani, Malaba, secretary for KLDC, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Bulawayo, 03 January 2011.

¹⁵⁶ Hobodo Malaba is said to have been the traditional healer under King Lobengula. He was famous for having made a medicinal concoction called *isithubi sakoMalaba*. For more information on the *isithubi sakoMalaba* incident see scholars such as R. K. Rasmussen, *Migrant Kingdom: Mzilikazi's Ndebele in South Africa* (Rex Collings Ltd., London, 1976) and K. Masola, *Nhau DzabaKalanga*. Interviews such as Saul Gwakuba Ndlovu, Mbisana Malaba Ncube and Tjidzanani Malaba also recalled the oral traditions about *isithubi sakoMalaba*.

¹⁵⁷ NAZ S2929/6/2, (Harare) Bulilimamangwe Delineation report, the Yalala Community. Also see interview by Thembanani with Allen Bidi Moyo, Bezu, Plumtree, 10 April 2012.

¹⁵⁸ For the origins and debate around the Bango chieftainship, see Werbner's book, *Tears of the Dead* and NAZ S2929/2/6, (Harare) Bulilimamangwe Delineation report, the Bango Chieftainship and Community.

¹⁵⁹ I. Pikirayi, *Zimbabwe culture*, p 215

speakers, who were part of the 18th Thovhela sub state.¹⁶⁰ These Rozvi identified themselves as the Singo and they established their capital at Dzata and tried to revive the Changamire state. As these Rozvi migrated out of the heartland of the Changamire state, they apparently adopted new identities that suited their circumstance, but these identities cannot be described along ethnic terms. These identities often took the form political rather than ethnic identities.

Apart from the Venda, and the Rozvi, the Kalanga also assimilated the Pedi of the Khupe totem in particular. These were of Malobela, Bangwadi and Tshilalu clans. They came from south of the Limpopo, passed through Tswapong and then stayed in what is called Botswana today.¹⁶¹ There are three houses that belong to this Khupe clan. The first one is the *Khupe Mangwadi* who are found in Nopemano in Plumtree north and the second house is *Khupe-Malobela* who are mostly found around the areas of Makhulela in Bulilimamangwe north. The last house is the *Khupe- Tshilalu*. The three clans were assimilated into Kalanga and today most of them express their belonging to a Kalanga ethnic identity.¹⁶²

2.7. Kalanga identity and the Ndebele

In the 1830s, the Swazi group under the female warrior Nyamazana attacked the Rozvi capital, Danangombe, forcing the last Changamire Chirisamhuru II to flee to the Manyanga (Mambo) hills, which was the religious capital, but was assassinated before reaching Manyanga.¹⁶³ The Swazi invasions coincided with the Ndebele invasions under Mzilikazi who defeated the Rozvi and the Kalanga. By the 1850s the remaining Rozvi were thus

¹⁶⁰ Venda history is detailed in works of scholars such as Huffman 1972, Mudenge 1992, Pikirayi 2001, Beach 1984, 1991 and Mazarire, 2009.

¹⁶¹ See D Wylie, *A Little God: The Twilight of Patriarchy in Southern African Chieftdom* (Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, 1990), R. K. Rasmussen, *Migrant Kingdom: Mzilikazi's Ndebele in South Africa* and Tlou and Campbell, *A History of Botswana*. Also see interview with Master Khupe, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Pretoria, 02 February 2010. This was also shared by interviewees such as with Gwakuba Ndlovu, Master Khupe, Jele Khupe, Watson Khupe and Mbisana Malaba Ncube.

¹⁶² *ibid.*

¹⁶³ Pikirayi, *The Zimbabwe Culture*, pp. 217-218.

absorbed into the Ndebele state, gradually becoming Ndebele speakers and identifying with the new state. The Khumalo broke away from the Zulu nation when they fled from Shaka, the Zulu king, under the command of Mzilikazi.¹⁶⁴ These people encountered some groups such as the Tswana and Sotho among others who were forcefully incorporated into the Ndebele state which Mzilikazi finally established. Apart from the Khumalo group, the name 'Ndebele' was applied to other Nguni-speaking people by the Sotho-Tswana groups.¹⁶⁵

The Ndebele arrived in the south-western parts of the Zimbabwean plateau to discover that the Rozvi dominated region was already disintegrating. For example, Mambo Dyembeu's reign was very much shortened and his successor Chirisamhuru II was immediately faced with the initial depredations of the Mfecane.¹⁶⁶ They quickly overcame the Kalanga of chief Ndumba in the upper Khami valley.¹⁶⁷ Another Kalanga group under Tategulu which was stationed to the east of the Gwai River resisted half-heartedly but were later brought under Inyoka chief, Buhwela Khumalo who ruled part of Nyamandlovu *isigaba* (district).¹⁶⁸ Moreover, the Kalanga of Nqoya were incorporated in the Amagogo ibutho (regiment) under the Sitholes and later at the end of Lobhengula's reign some of their children passed into the *Ihlathi* regiment under Somfula Fuyane.¹⁶⁹ All these chiefs were under Mambo rulers. Nonetheless, Kalanga reaction to Ndebele invasion varied from one area to another. For example, the Kalanga under Malaba who had historically enjoyed a high degree of independence even under the Rozvi Mambo resisted the Ndebele invasion of the plateau but they were defeated and were forced to submit to Ndebele rule. Although the

¹⁶⁴ For more information on this see J. R. D. Cobbing, "The Ndebele under the Khumalo 1820-1896", unpublished PhD Thesis, Faculty of Arts University of Lancaster, 1976 and R. K. Rasmussen, *Migrant Kingdom: Mzilikazi's Ndebele in South Africa* (Rex Collings Ltd, London, 1976).

¹⁶⁵ G. C. Mazarire, "Who are the Ndebele and Kalanga in Zimbabwe?" unpublished seminar paper presented in the History Department, University of Zimbabwe, 2004", p. 4.

¹⁶⁶ Cobbing, "The Ndebele under the Khumalo" p 119.

¹⁶⁷ D. N. Beach, "Ndebele raiders and Shona Power", *Journal of African History*, Volume XV4, (1974) p. 637.

¹⁶⁸ Cobbing, "The Ndebele under the Khumalo, p. 119.

¹⁶⁹ Cobbing, "The Ndebele under the Khumalo, p. 119.

Kalanga had recognised the overall reign of the Rozvi Mambos, they had a very large autonomous position under their own chiefs. These chiefs paid tribute to the Mambos. Munjeri echoes the above argument by arguing that the *Humbe/Lilima* women from Plumtree area went to Khami to make pottery for the Rozvi Mambo.¹⁷⁰

The Nyubi Kalanga of Chibundule are said to have paid tribute to Mzilikazi in the form of firewood and grain and were permitted to retain their independent organisation while being placed under the suzerainty of the Ndebele *izinduna* (chiefs). Consequently, the Kalanga of the Nata area were organised into a defensive perimeter of the Ndebele state and placed under the supervision of Ndebele chiefs, though their original leaders were not deposed.¹⁷¹ As a result of the Ndebele conquest, the Rozvi, Kalanga and Sotho lived side-by-side and intermingled with the Ndebele.¹⁷² Cultural exchanges within these groups took place as a result of these interactions. This led some missionaries to postulate that by the 1880s a greater number of Lobhengula's people were Ndebele of Kalanga origin. When the Ndebele later penetrated into the south-western parts of the country during the 19th century, some Kalanga had their totems and clans changed. For example, the Howu (or its Lilima equivalent of Zhouu) became Ndlovu, Wungwe became Nyoni, Mbizi became Dube. This, according to Nyathi was their way of fighting inferiority complex and in particular to gain ascendancy within the church, in particular the Wesleyan Methodist Church based at Tekwane.¹⁷³ There have been attempts by some of these Kalanga to revoke these Ndebelenised totems especially in post-independence Zimbabwe.¹⁷⁴ When it came to the Tshumas, there was a problem. They resisted the change but also wondered just what the Ndebele rendition of their surnames

¹⁷⁰ See Munjeri, "A brief outline of the political", p. 6.

¹⁷¹ N. Bhebe, *Christianity and Traditional religion in Western Zimbabwe*, (Longman, London, 1979) p.11.

¹⁷² This argument is well covered in the works by J.R. P. Wallis *The Matabele Journals of Robert Moffat, 1829-1860*, 1954, E. C. Tabler, *Impressions of Hendriks Pavs*, *Rhodesia* number 5, (1960) and F. C. Selous, *Travel and Adventure in South East Africa* (Rowland Ward & Co, Piccadilly, 1893).

¹⁷³ P. Nyathi, "Cultural Heritage with Phathisa Nyathi: A closer look at who the Kalangas are", *Bulawayo24 News*, 21 December 2010, <http://www.Bulawayo24.com>, date accessed: 03 June 2013.

¹⁷⁴ Examples of these are the Ncubes who have either changed from Nube to Malaba or Lubimbi.

would be. Some of them had to use Nkomo as they could not find a suitable Ndebele equivalence for Tjuma. There are very few that are perceived to have survived being Ndebelenised and these are Moyo, Nleya, Nyathi, and Gumbo, among others. Most of what are called Ndebele totems today, were Kalanga totems that were transformed either by the Ndebele in order to suit their Zulu dialect.¹⁷⁵ However, this is not to assume that all the above-mentioned clans were of Kalanga origin. For example, there were other clans such as Moyo, Ndlovu and Nyoni who were of Nguni origin.

Once the Ndebele, under Mzilikazi, had settled in Matabeleland, they categorised the people into three castes, *Abezansi*, (those who came with Mzilikazi who were mostly of Nguni origin) *Abenhla* (various Sotho-Tswana groups who were incorporated into the Ndebele state) and *AmaHole* or *Holi* (these constituted the local groups which were found in the Zimbabwean plateau such as Kalanga, Venda, Tonga, Shona who were also incorporated into the Ndebele state). Hierarchically, the *Abezansi* occupied the highest social status followed by the *Abenhla* and the last in this social ladder were the *amaHole*. They were the lowest class in the social hierarchy of the state, hence they had fewer privileges. This division of the Ndebele state which was a central feature of Ndebele pre-colonial rule also influenced elites in subsequent states in their classification of subjects.¹⁷⁶ Therefore, what always prevailed in pre-colonial Africa were social units of unequal and heterogeneous composition. The hierarchical stratification of the Ndebele state which saw the Kalanga occupying the lowest position led to the marginalisation of the Kalanga. Ndlovu-Gatsheni also observes that the *Hole* were in fact subordinated to the *Zansi* and *Enhla* groups socially and politically.

However, even though they were belittled and that *Hole* may convey a false sense of ethnic rigidity in a rigidly hierarchical Ndebele state and of discrimination based on social

¹⁷⁵ See Appendix 1 for a list of Kalanga clans that changed to suit the Zulu dialect.

¹⁷⁶ B Lindgren, *The Politics of Ndebele Ethnicity: Origins, Nationality and Gender in Southern Zimbabwe*, published D. Phil, Department of Cultural Anthropology and Ethnology (Uppsala University, 2002) p.76.

origin, the reality is that people continuously moved across these categories as they negotiated new alliances, usually through marriage, merit and the loan of cattle.¹⁷⁷ The example of such *Hole* who managed to acquire a *Zansi* status was Chief Sindisa Mpofo of Empandeni area in Bulilimamangwe who was awarded the chieftainship on a merit basis after the deposition of Chief Mpande who was Nguni.¹⁷⁸ This also confirms the flexibility and elasticity of pre-colonial societies' boundaries that criss-crossed and shifted across time and space. Similarly, Lekgoathi's study of ethnicity amongst the 'Northern Ndebele' in South Africa confirms that pre-colonial identities were flexible and were not fixed entities.¹⁷⁹ Bloom also asserts that ethnic boundaries are neither stable nor continuous, but fluctuate and change in response to shifting individual loyalties and identifications in changing political and social circumstances.¹⁸⁰

Nonetheless, while the Kalanga had mingled and intermarried easily with the Rozvi, such associations were not encouraged especially with those of the *Zansi* class. The oral traditions by one of the former *induna* (chief) during the era of Mzilikazi also show how the *Zansi* class was so selective and discriminatory in their selection of marriage partners. For example, these oral traditions state that *Enhla* did occasionally marry *Hole* women, but *Zansi* males did not marry *Holes*.¹⁸¹ This, according to the oral traditions, was done in order to prevent the blood of the Nguni from being tainted and mingled with the 'bad' blood of the aliens.¹⁸² While the *Zansi* tended to despise the Kalanga, some research has shown that the *Zansi izinduna* married *Hole* women and their children could automatically belong to the *Zansi* group.

¹⁷⁷ Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *The Ndebele Nation: Reflections on Hegemony, Memory and historiography*, p. 89.

¹⁷⁸ The Zambezi Missionary Record: *A Missionary Publication for Readers at Home and Abroad*, vol vi, number 47, January, 1910.

¹⁷⁹ S. P. Lekgoathi, "Ethnicity and Identity: Struggle and Contestation in the making of the Northern Transvaal Ndebele, ca 1860-2005", unpublished Phd thesis, Graduate School, University of Minnesota, 2006, p. 23.

¹⁸⁰ L. Bloom, *Identity and Ethnic relations in Africa* (Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Aldershot, 1998) p. 107.

¹⁸¹ Mziki, *Mlimo: The Rise and fall of the Matabele*, (Books of Rhodesia, Bulawayo, 1972) pp. 81-82.

¹⁸² Mziki, *Mlimo: The Rise and fall of*, p. 82.

Kalanga language and culture continued to be observed by the Kalanga. Maybe this can be attributed to the fact that Bulilimamangwe was incorporated into the Ndebele polity as a tributary state and, as such, the Ndebele aristocracy had less influence in this district as compared to other districts. The Kalanga from this district were '*izikhuza zenkosi kumbe izihlabamkhosi zenkosi*', meaning those who were supposed to notify the Ndebele king about any strangers who entered the country from the south-west.¹⁸³ As a result of this, there were quite a number of regiments that were garrisoned in Bulilimamangwe such as, *Izimnyama*, among others who were to act as '*Izihlabamkhosi zenkosi*'. The name of the regiment originated from the fact that Lobhengula placed the black cattle in charge of this regiment.¹⁸⁴ Thus, the area became known as Izimnyama and it is still called by that name today.

The adoption of the Ndebele language was at times voluntary as this was associated with bravery especially amongst the young men. For example, some young men thought that by speaking the language they would be viewed as 'pure Ndebele' and hence become eligible for high military command.¹⁸⁵ Munjeri also shares the same sentiments by postulating that Kalanga men quickly adopted the habits and language of the Ndebele as soon as they were placed under the Ndebele induna (chief).¹⁸⁶ Kalanga women proved to be resistant to the advance of other cultures; they were the least to learn Ndebele language.¹⁸⁷ Maybe this can be attributed to the fact that they were never recruited for military escapades. MacGonagle argues for a similar case among the Ndau women, who maintained Ndau language and culture despite the penetration of the Nguni. She argues that Ndau men learned the language of the rulers, pierced their ears in the Nguni fashion, served in the army, and renamed their

¹⁸³ Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *The Ndebele Nation*, p. 65.

¹⁸⁴ NAZ S2929/6/2, (Bulawayo), The Wasi Chieftainship and Community, p. 64.

¹⁸⁵ Msindo, *Ethnicity in Zimbabwe: Transformations*, p. 59.

¹⁸⁶ Munjeri, "A Brief Outline of the Political Economic, Social and Religious History of the Kalanga", p. 20.

¹⁸⁷ See Munjeri, "A Brief Outline of the Political Economic and, E. Msindo, "Ethnicity in Matabeleland: A study of Kalanga- Ndebele Relations", Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, August, 2004.

clan using the nearest Nguni equivalent to the Ndaau term.¹⁸⁸ She further argues that some Ndaau men even adopted the Nguni language as their own and wore a distinctive Nguni head ring.¹⁸⁹ Therefore, this shows that women played an integral part in maintaining a common language and culture over a wide geographic area, and this has remained absent from scholars' recounts of their activities. Unlike men, who were in constant mobility as they went away hunting or were mobilised into regiments to fight in distant wars, women remained behind and were tied to both land (for productive purposes) and homestead (for reproduction). Women thus played a key role in socialising children and teaching them Kalanga language and culture.

When the Ndebele conquered the Kalanga, they also tried to penetrate their religious sphere. They wanted to replace the Kalanga guardians of *Mwali* and they even changed the name *Mwali* to *Mlimo*, a term originally derived from Sotho.¹⁹⁰ *Mlimo* was and is thought of having control over expressions of nature such as rain, thunder, lightning and wind.¹⁹¹ This *Mlimo* was supposed to be a spirit invisible to the human eye, which sometimes elected to speak from trees, caves, having the place of his high priests abode in the Matopos.¹⁹² It is worth noting that the Ndebele were also religious people and upon their arrival in Bulilimamangwe they introduced their own *Sangoma* cult. The Ndebele cult members made attempts to create a close link between their cult and the *Mwali* cult. Furthermore, they tried to turn *Mwali* cult and other pilgrimage centres into places for authoritative communication by *Sangoma* mediums.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁸ See MacGonagle, *Crafting Identities in Zimbabwe and Mozambique*, p.101.

¹⁸⁹ MacGonagle, *Crafting Identities in Zimbabwe and Mozambique*, p. 101.

¹⁹⁰ T. O. Ranger, "The meaning of Mwari", *Rhodesian History*, volume 5, (1974), p. 5 (pp. 5-17)

¹⁹¹ J. B. Richards, "The Mlimo: Belief and Practice of the Kalanga", *NADA*, 1942 volume 19, (1942), p 51.

¹⁹² W.E. Thomas, "A Report on the Mlimo superstition" in *The '96 Rebellions: The BSAC Reports on the Native disturbances in Rhodesia, 1896-7* (Books of Rhodesia Publishing Company Pvt Ltd, Bulawayo, 1975) p. 39.

¹⁹³ L.H. Gann, *A History of Southern Rhodesia: Early days to 1934* (Chatto and Windus, London, 1965) p. 36.

2.8. Missionaries and Kalanga ethnic identity

Missionaries began their activities well before the 1890s in South-western Zimbabwe. The two dominant missionary churches that operated in Bulilimamangwe were the London Missionary Society and the Roman Catholic Church. However, missionary ethnographers did not make efforts to use the Kalanga language for biblical studies and/or as a school language. Rather, they used the Ndebele language to describe what they thought were Ndebele customs, yet these were, in fact, Kalanga customs that they were describing in a language alien to the Kalanga in this district. According to Msindo, the missionary linguists barely wanted to spend time and money developing Kalanga as a biblical or school language but preferred to work in Ndebele or Zulu.¹⁹⁴ Using Ndebele language was convenient for these missionaries as Kalanga language had not developed orthographically. Zulu language already had an orthography developed in South Africa by linguists such as Clement Doke.¹⁹⁵ Therefore, it was convenient for the missionaries working in the Matebeleland region to use Zulu which is closely related to Ndebele language. The missionaries' decision to use Ndebele language was determined by the dominance of this language in the region prior to the arrival of missionaries.

Linguistic standardisation became the preoccupation of missionary education, and there was an attempt to impose a uniform language over a geographical space.¹⁹⁶ Once the Ndebele language was selected, given orthography and used in school and church texts, it became enormously privileged and powerful.¹⁹⁷ More than anything else, the missionaries'

¹⁹⁴ Msindo He has written extensively on the marginalisation of Kalanga language by the missionaries. For more on this also see Chimhundu, "Early Missionaries and the Ethno-linguistic Factor during the Invention of Tribalism in Zimbabwe", and Mazarire, G. C. "Who are the Ndebele and Kalanga in Zimbabwe".

¹⁹⁵ Clement Doke was a South African linguist based at the University of the Witwatersrand. He produced a number of scholarly works on African languages and grammar such as Zulu, Tswana and Lamba Grammar.

¹⁹⁶ G. C. Mazarire, "Oral Traditions as Heritage: The Historical Research on the Shona Communities in Zimbabwe, Some Methodological Concerns", *Historia*, volume 47, number 2 (2002) p. 61(pp. 412-445).

¹⁹⁷ P. Yoros (ed.), *Ethnicity and nationalism in Africa: Constructionist Reflections and Contemporary Politics*

priority was the conversion of Africans to Christianity. Therefore, Ndebele became the most convenient language for them to use. Southern African historians have further elaborated on how ethnicity was carefully shaped from the late nineteenth century by European missionaries, colonial administrators, and African catechists who sought to pursue their own agendas.¹⁹⁸ With particular reference to Umtali district, Ranger demonstrates how missionaries such as Anglicans, Roman Catholics and American Methodists used the Manyika language to propagate ideas about ethnicity in this district.¹⁹⁹ Similarly, missionaries' activities in Bulilimangwe favoured the Ndebele language, thereby leading to the spread of ethnic tendencies in this area.

In the 1920s, Kalanga language was later used for biblical purposes. Msindo attributes the promotion of Kalanga language to the Kalanga themselves.²⁰⁰ He argues that by 1930 Kalanga language activism came to assume an ethnic connotation.²⁰¹ This process was also facilitated by the firmness of the Kalanga cultural entrepreneurs in denying the imposition of Ndebele culture and by the Kalanga's refusal to attend church services. As a result, a number of works in Kalanga began to emerge and most of this literature helped to instill some aspects of Kalanga cultural nationalism.

The Ndebele felt that the missionaries were now privileging the Kalanga at their expense. Thus hostilities erupted between these two groups with each ethnic group trying to defend its culture and identity. Oppositional groups were formed especially at schools. Msindo cites the example of such struggles in Izimnyama area, whereby fights between the

(Macmillan, London, 1999) p. 8.

¹⁹⁸ See the range of essays in Vail, (ed.) *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (James Currey, London & Berkely, 1989).

¹⁹⁹ For more information on this, see T. Ranger, "Missionaries, Migrants and the Manyika", in Vail, *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa*, p.145.

²⁰⁰ Although Msindo is not very clear on the Kalanga groups that promoted this ethnic consciousness, interviews indicated that the educated elite, migrants and Kalanga chiefs were behind the promotion of Kalanga identity.

²⁰¹ In this way language was intricately linked to the survival of Kalanga culture, traditions, religion and chieftaincies and a continued sense of community.

Kalanga and Ndebele broke out when some Kalanga got top positions in class.²⁰² The latter in turn retaliated by forming groups which targeted the *Mapotoho*, a derogatory term given to the Ndebele.²⁰³ Moreover, the LMS played a pivotal role in enforcing the teaching of Kalanga language in the lower grades in Bulilimamangwe schools. It is thus compelling to argue that, ethnicity in the region, was a product of unequal development under colonialism. In this case, it made the Kalanga feel left out while the Ndebele benefited from the colonial policies on language. Apart from colonial rulers, the Roman Catholic Church, which operated mostly in the southern parts of Bulilimamangwe, also played a vital role in the shaping of Kalanga ethnic identity.

The Roman Catholic Church was one of the first churches to penetrate the Zimbabwean plateau towards the end of the 19th century. However, Catholicism first came to Zimbabwe in the fifteenth century with a Portuguese priest, Father Gonzalo da Silveira, though for a long time this church remained in the Mashonaland region. The first Catholic priest to arrive in Bulilimamangwe was Father Prestage in 1884 and he was directed to Empandeni by Lobhengula in order to prevent him from influencing the Ndebele in Bulawayo.²⁰⁴ A mission station was established in 1902 at Empandeni area.²⁰⁵ The Catholic Church's priests chose to use the Ndebele language regardless of the fact that most of the locals in the area spoke Kalanga language. The syllabus at Empandeni consisted of reading and dictation from the Ndebele catechism.²⁰⁶ Efforts to force the Kalanga people to attend catechism lessons which were delivered in the Ndebele language were in vain as the Kalanga

²⁰² Msindo, *Ethnicity in Zimbabwe*, p. 124.

²⁰³ Mapotoho is a derogatory name which the Kalanga refer to the Ndebele of Nguni origin. This was shared during my interviews with Melita Sibanda an elder, Osabeni village, Bulilimamangwe, 28 December 2010, Solonia Dube, Osabeni village, Bulilimamangwe 28 December 2010 and Gogo NakaKheni Moyo, Osabeni village, Bulilimamangwe, 21 December 2011. The name is still used today amongst the Kalanga who feel that they are being marginalised by the Ndebele.

²⁰⁴ A. J. Dachs and W. F. S. J. Rea, *The Catholic Church and Zimbabwe*, (Mambo Press, Gwelo, 1979) p. 13.

²⁰⁵ *The Zambezi Mission Record: A Missionary Publication for readers at home and abroad*, p.2.

²⁰⁶ *The Zambezi Mission Record*, p. 2.

responded by adhering to their own cultural practices. One Kalanga Chief, Tshitshi of Empandeni barred his people from going to school and to attend church because of the use of the Ndebele language at school and in church.²⁰⁷ The resentment towards the Catholic priests was not restricted to Tshitshi alone but the general Kalanga people were annoyed by the Catholic Church's activities. Tjimumoyo Bango recalled, 'when we grew up, my family used to live around Empandeni areas but they were moved to the dry areas (Makorokoro) because my father used to conduct traditional ceremonies on Sundays, a day reserved for church services.'²⁰⁸ Accordingly, some Kalanga men were not pleased at all by the way missionaries perceived their traditional customs and practices which were often referred to as 'pagan' and 'barbaric'. As such one Kalanga man took his wife's clothes which she had been given by the missionaries and burnt them.²⁰⁹

One cultural aspect which the Kalanga strongly defended was their African religion. According to Melita Sibanda and Sotsha Ngwenya, Catholic priests tried to discourage the Kalanga from worshipping Mwali yet in the same vein they showed passive reaction towards the Ndebele *isangoma* cult.²¹⁰ Therefore, in Bulilimamangwe district, the LMS and the Roman Catholic Church contributed to the politicisation of language amongst the Kalanga and the Ndebele. A strong sense of ethnic consciousness amongst the Kalanga emerged in the years following the colonisation of the Zimbabwean plateau by the British South Africa

²⁰⁷ N. M. Bhebe, "Missionary activity among the Ndebele and Kalanga", in A. J. Dachs, (ed.) *Christianity South of the Zambezi*, (Mambo Press Gwelo, 1973) p. 49.

²⁰⁸ Interview with Tjimumoyo Bango, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Bango area, 5 July 2011. She said that her parents were removed from their homesteads and sent to Makorokoro because they did not attend the church services regularly. Makorokoro was a very dry area situated in the southern parts of Bulilimamangwe district about 150 KM from Plumtree. It was an area that was reserved for those who had been accused of witchcraft and those that defiled the rules of the Roman Catholic Church. For more information on the removals of people from Empandeni Mission Farm also see A. J. Dachs and W. F. S. J Rea, *The Catholic Church and Zimbabwe*, (Mambo Press, Gwelo, 1979), N. M. Bhebe, "Missionary activity among the Ndebele and Kalanga" and *The Zambezi Mission Record: A Missionary Publication for readers at home and abroad*.

²⁰⁹ C. J. M. Zvobgo, *A History of Christian missions in Zimbabwe* (Mambo Press Gweru, 1996) p. 97.

²¹⁰ This view should be taken with caution as it cannot be believed that the Catholics, who are opposed to traditional religion would promote *isangoma* cult. Again evidence from scholars such as Dachs also suggest that Catholic priests discouraged the worshipping of ancestors.

Company (BSAC) as shall be discussed below.

2.9. Colonial administration and the development of a Kalanga ethnic identity in Zimbabwe

Rhodesian colonialism, like colonialism in many other parts of Africa, set in motion the politicisation of various African identities by reconstructing and re-interpreting identities and by compartmentalising them in cultural and geographic terms. Similarly, the introduction of colonial rule in Zimbabwe also saw the emergence of a rigidly defined Kalanga ethnic identity which was crafted by both the colonialists and Africans alike, drawing upon pre-colonial cultural material of identity such as the Kalanga language, chieftainship, traditions of origin and a collective historical experience. Under colonialism, Africans came to be perceived as belonging to political entities defined by language and the identification of a chief and his subjects. Africans were understood as belonging to 'tribes', and ethnic belonging came to determine access to scarce economic and political resources, thus elevating these forms of identification above all other forms.

Missionaries competed to name ethnic subjects in Southern Rhodesia by producing written languages to correspond to ethnonyms they had selected to represent the pool of 'natives' from which they drew their flock.²¹¹ Language, among other forms of identities, was used to define and to give ethnic labels to Africans by the missionaries. Chimhundu (1992) Ranger (1989) and Msindo (2002; 2004 & 2012), elaborated in their studies on how missionaries contributed to the growth of ethnic consciousness amongst Africans on the Zimbabwean plateau through their language policies. Nevertheless, stories about Africans by missionaries, native commissioners and antiquarians were based on the information provided to them by the people themselves. Therefore, colonial rule contributed to the escalation and

²¹¹ See Ranger, "Missionaries, Migrants, and the Manyika."

deepening of asymmetrical relations between groups which in turn intensified the significance of ethnic identity. Besides missionaries, in Zimbabwe, ethnic groupings were initiated with the assistance of ethnographers such as J. F. Holleman who created the Rozvi and several Shona-speaking groups were subsumed under the general term Shona.²¹² In Bulilimangwe district, Ndebele language was privileged over Kalanga language and this was because of firstly the works of the London Missionary Society, Roman Catholic Church and successive colonial regime through various policies which intensified the division of African peoples into ethnic groupings.

The establishment of colonial rule firstly under the British South Africa Company 1890-1923 and later under the Rhodesian government had a far-reaching impact on identity politics in Zimbabwe. Clear ethnic boundaries were drawn by the colonial regime in its endeavour to control Africans. Worby shows how the use of 'tribal' maps to represent relations of political power over social space, was an important means through which academic constructs have been used as instruments of colonial domination. Using the BaShangwe people in the north-western parts of Zimbabwe, he argues that colonial subjects persistently refused to be located in a determinate cartographic space - a place where they refused, and still refuse, to be named.²¹³

Although there were various pieces of legislations that were passed by the colonial state, agrarian policies were the harshest and this regularly invoked ethnic consciousness amongst the people who had previously observed multiple identities. The creation of reserves in particular was the first major step towards the direction of grouping people into ethnic

²¹² Holleman was an ethnographer who worked in the southern parts of Zimbabwe. He did a lot of ethnographic research among the 'Shona' groups and contributed to the ethnic categorisation of these groups. For this also see Davison, *Gender, lineage and ethnicity in Southern Africa*, and Chimhundu, "Early Missionaries and the Ethno-linguistic Factor during the Invention of Tribalism in Zimbabwe".

²¹³ E. Worby, "Maps, Names, and Ethnic Games: The Epistemology and Iconography of Colonial Power in Northwestern Zimbabwe", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, volume 20, number 3, Special Issue: Ethnicity and Identity in Southern Africa (1994) pp. 371-392.

categories which eventually fought against each other over the shortage of land in the reserves. According to Moyana, the establishment of reserves was a strategy designed to consolidate a social and economic system which had been founded on an exaggerated estimate of the country's wealth.²¹⁴ The creation of these reserves was partly inspired by the desire on the part of the white settlers to eliminate African competition in the economic field. The reserves system was promoted through various legislations and Acts which saw the Africans being driven out of their fertile lands. Initially, it was argued that the 1914 Native Reserve Commission was designed to protect Africans from European settlers. This was to change with the implementation of the 1925 Morris Carter Commission, which sought to separate the European and African populations ostensibly to avoid racial friction.²¹⁵

By 1929, the colonial administration had devised a plan to centralize villages. The concept of 'Centralisation' had long been the Rhodesian government's preferred mode of African settlement before its official enforcement in 1929. It involved placing arable and grazing lands in blocks separated in between by a dwelling zone arranged in a straight line. Centralisation had its roots in the 'Native' Agriculturist and American Methodist Missionary A.E. Alvord's 'demonstration' schemes of the early 1920s. The reserves were then surveyed and land was divided into arable, grading, forest and waste-lands. Villages which, until then had been clusters of dwellings, were congregated in surveyed lines, separating the arable from the grazing areas, compulsory destocking was put into operation and African agricultural demonstrators were placed in the reserves.²¹⁶ However, at this point there were no massive dislocations of the people, but rather, they were 'persuaded' to vacate from the 'European land' than being forcibly removed. According to McGregor, 'centralisation' had

²¹⁴ H.V. Moyana, *The Political Economy of Land in Zimbabwe*, (Mambo Press, Gweru, 1984) p. 51.

²¹⁵ Moyana, *The Political economy*, p. 52.

²¹⁶ C. K. Garbett, "The Land Husbandry Act of Southern Rhodesia", in D. Diebuyk, (ed.) *African Agrarian Systems* (Oxford University Press, 1963) p.189.

no conservation value in itself yet it suited the Rhodesian administration, already committed to the policy of land segregation, to use the discourse of 'centralisation' as a vehicle to implement conservation.²¹⁷ She further argues that, the alarm of 'overcrowding' and 'overstocking' in the reserves gave rise to a sense of urgency which in turn justified compulsion.²¹⁸ This dislocation of Africans from their fertile lowlands to the peripheral hinterlands by European settlers in Southern Rhodesia was carried out under the provisions of the Land Apportionment Act (LAA) of 1930. The Land Apportionment Act led to immense demographic dislocations all over the country, and Bulilimamangwe was no exception. It is important to note that in rural Bulilimamangwe, Kalanga ethnic consciousness grew in the years following the passage of the LAA. The shortage and clashes over land began to assume ethnic dimensions in the district. Ethnic squabbles between the Ndebele and the Kalanga were more imminent in urban Bulawayo.²¹⁹

The dislocations under the LAA caused a lot of problems as the Kalanga in Bulilimamangwe sought to control their own reserves. Towards the end of the 1930s, the Ndebele were evicted from Figtree, Marula and Leighwoods farms. These were pushed to Kalanga areas such as Tsholotsho, Kezi and Bulilimamangwe. As these immigrants arrived in Bulilimamangwe, they sought to dominate the Kalanga by imposing their own traditional authorities. The Kalanga refused to be dominated by these immigrants and even requested that these Ndebele be accommodated in those reserves which were under Ndebele chiefs.²²⁰ In the same vein, the Kalanga did not have problems with the Kalanga who were also dislocated from their areas and relocated to Bulilimamangwe district. An example of this

²¹⁷ J. McGregor, "Conservation, Control and Ecological Change: The Politics and Ecology of Colonial Conservation in Shurugwi", *Environment and History* volume 1, number 3 (1995) p. 263(pp. 257-279).

²¹⁸ J. McGregor, "Conservation and History", p. 266.

²¹⁹ Msindo detailed these 'tribal' fights in Bulawayo during the 1929 strikes. See E. Msindo, *Ethnicity in Zimbabwe*.

²²⁰ NAZ L2/1/131 (Harare) N.C Plumtree to CNC Bulawayo, 19 October 1939.

includes the Bango people who were dislocated from the Matopos area in the 1930s. The people from Bango had refused to be resettled in Lupane. Instead, they requested that they be accommodated among the Kalanga for fear of losing their chieftainship in Lupane, a Ndebele dominated area.²²¹ Thus, chief Bango and his people were resettled in Sanzukwe Special Native Area and Chief Bango continued to be the chief over his people. In addition, the evictions from the white farmlands of Bulilimamangwe brought many thousands of Kalanga people into the thickly populated forests of various reserves. According to Alexander and McGregor, ‘the arrival of these unwilling immigrants spurred a rapid and dramatic transformation of social, economic and political life.’²²² Once in the reserves, efforts were made by the village Kalanga men to revive their past glory through the worshipping of Mwali at Ntogwa and Neyile shrines.

The clamour for Kalanga ethnic identity was also promoted during the Second World War. The outbreak of the war led to the enactment of protectionist state policies and industrial growth in Southern Rhodesia and this in turn led to the increase in the numbers of African workers.²²³ Most of these new migrants were women. In the first three decades of colonial rule, women were not allowed in the urban areas. This was embedded in colonial views and representations of African women which were born out of colonial fears of the mobility of women into urban areas. There was therefore, a need to exercise control over women and to restrict them to the rural areas. The highly masculine colonial discourse tended to inscribe negative connotations on the African female presence in the urban space.²²⁴ The

²²¹ Interview with Tjimumoyo Bango, Bango area, conducted by Themban Dube, 5 July 2011.

²²² J. Alexander and J. McGregor, “Modernity and Ethnicity in a Frontier Society”, p.190.

²²³ B. Raftopolous, “Labor Movement in Zimbabwe, 1945-1965”, in B Raftopolous and I. Phimister (eds.), *Keep on Knocking: A History of the Labor Movement in Zimbabwe, 1900-1997* (Baobab Books, Harare, 1997) p.57.

²²⁴ For more information on the restriction of women migration to the urban areas, see E. K. Makombe, , “A Social History of Town and Country Interactions: A Study on the changing social life and practices of rural-urban migrants in colonial Harare and Goromonzi 1946-1979”, unpublished PhD thesis, Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, 2013, J. Allman, S. Geiger, and N. Musisi, “Women in African Colonial Histories: An Introduction” in J. Allman, S. Geiger and N. Musisi (eds.), *Women in African Colonial Histories*,

Second World War thus provided women with an opportunity for employment in the urban areas, previously denied them. Amongst the Kalanga, it was these women who popularised the worshipping of Mwali in urban Bulawayo.²²⁵ The *Amawosana* again became popular in towns, as well as the *Mazenge* cult. In the *Mazenge* cult, the Kalanga sought to heal afflictions and many people came to these Kalanga women for healing purposes.²²⁶ Therefore, it was these discriminatory pieces of legislation that were passed by the colonial regime that evoked and promoted Kalanga ethnic consciousness which was later deployed during the Native Land Husbandry Act in 1951.

2.10. Conclusion

Any appreciation of the modern ethnicity of the Kalanga people of Bulilimamangwe must necessarily consider that they fell under various polities and chiefdoms by the time the British South Africa Company (BSAC) established rigid boundaries and ethnicities amongst the people of the Zimbabwean plateau. Hence, what might be understood as distinctive Kalanga ethnic identity emerged during the early decades of British rule. Scholars working on African identities are generally agreed that much of pre-colonial Africa did not consist of ‘tribes’ with clear-cut cultural, linguistic and politico-territorial boundaries. The case of pre-colonial Kalanga best suits this description as it was characterised by dynamism and as it embraced and incorporated people from different geographical areas into their society. Pre-colonial Kalanga society was therefore characterised by a large degree of pluralism and flexibility. It consisted of more fluid units that could also be incorporated into other units as

(Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 2002), D. Jeater, “No Place for a Woman: Gwelo Town, Southern Rhodesia, 1894-1920” *Journal of Southern African Studies*, volume 26, number 1, (2000) pp.29-42, T. Barnes, “Virgin Territory?: Travel and Migration by African Women in Twentieth-Century Southern Africa,” in J. Allman, S. Geiger and N. Musisi (eds.), *Women in African Colonial Histories*.

²²⁵ R. P. Werbner, *Tears of the Dead: The Social Biography of an African Family*, (Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1991)

²²⁶ See R. P. Werbner, *Tears of the Dead: The Social Biography of an African Family*. The view was also supported by *amawosana* (messengers of Mwali) Lucy Dube and Panimaha Ndlovu who argued that they were initiated into being *amawosana* in Bulawayo during the 1940s.

long as they accepted its customs, and where the sense of obligation and solidarity went beyond that of the nuclear family.

This chapter has discussed the origins and nature of Kalanga identities since the time they first settled on the Zimbabwean plateau. However, while Kalanga identity existed, a strong sense of Kalanga ethnic identity just like in many pre-colonial African societies did not prevail prior to the advent of colonial rule. This chapter has also demonstrated how the pre-colonial forms of identities were politicised by the colonial rulers who mistook these forms of identities for ethnic identities. The chapter provided a starting point to study the Kalanga as an ethnic group as it explored the nature of Kalanga identities from pre-colonial to colonial Zimbabwe and the various transformations and shifts that Kalanga identity underwent. The following chapter will therefore explore how Kalanga ethnic identity was deployed and became influential during the Native Land Husbandry of 1951.

CHAPTER 3:

KALANGA ETHNICITY, AGRARIAN STATE POLICIES AND THE NATIVE LAND HUSBANDRY ACT IN BULILIMAMANGWE DISTRICT, 1946-1963.

3.0. Introduction

The Native Land Husbandry Act (NLHA) of 1951 had its roots in the Rhodesian agricultural policies of the 1930s and 1940s that were mainly centred on reserves and the conservation of resources such as soil and water. The deleterious effects of over-grazing in the reserves led the state to pass the Natural Resources Act of 1941 which, among other things, called for compulsory de-stocking in many African areas. By 1944 about half of the reserves carried 927,000 large stock and yet the estimated carrying capacity was only 645,000 head²²⁷. As a result, the colonial state established the Godlonton Commission of Enquiry to deal with the resource degradation crisis in the reserves. The recommendations of the 1944 Godlonton Commission on Native Production and Trade, by and large, inaugurated two decades of experimentation with African agriculture.²²⁸ Its recommendations were to lead to the passage of the NLHA in 1951. The objectives of the NLHA were to provide for the control of the utilisation and allocation of land occupied by ‘natives’ to ensure its efficient use for agricultural purposes, to require ‘natives’ to perform labour for conserving natural resources and for promoting good husbandry.²²⁹

²²⁷ V. E. M. Machingaidze “Agrarian Change from above: The Southern Rhodesia Native Land Husbandry Act and African Response”, *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, volume 24, number 3 (1991) pp. 557-588.

²²⁸ The key instrument of the Godlonton commission’s recommendations was the Native Land Husbandry Act of 1951, a piece of legislation designed to scientifically quantify standard land allocations and stocking rates per given area before issuing them out to Africans on individual tenure. In the long run, it hoped to create distinct rural and urban African dwellers. For more on this see A. K. H. Weinrich, *African Farmers in Rhodesia: Old and New Peasant Communities in Karangaland*, (IAI, Oxford University Press, London, 1975) p. 25.

²²⁹ *Southern Rhodesia Native Land Husbandry Act*, number 52, 1951 (Salisbury, 1952).

The NHLA had a far-reaching impact on the African idea of land tenure as chiefs had their powers over land reduced.²³⁰ It must be stressed that the NLHA was devised by the Rhodesian government to cater for the interests of the white settler community and capitalist economic development. While the NLHA was designed to promote colonial interests, in Bulilimamangwe it led to the growth of Kalanga ethnic consciousness which was expressed during the implementation of the Act.

The NLHA has received a lot of scholarly attention in Zimbabwe.²³¹ Most of this literature on the NLHA in Zimbabwe falls into two broad historiographical trends offered by Beinart and Phimister.²³² Beinart argued that the NLHA was a conservationist measure, while Phimister viewed the Act as a segregationist policy meant to buttress white industrial capital, farmers and mining's demand for cheap labour.²³³ Phimister observed that the NLHA was not intended to squeeze Africans into reserves but to limit Africans from gaining land rights.²³⁴ This meant that Africans could neither be peasant farmers nor industrialised workers. In this way, the Act directly repudiated customary and communal rights to land in favour of individual right holders and secular state power. Following on Beinart, Alexander focused on land and conservation.²³⁵ She charts the making and unmaking of authority over people and the land which they occupied. She goes further to question state-making and ideology of

²³⁰ Here the state land officers became vital instruments of the colonial regime allocating land to the people. This defeated the communal nature of land ownership amongst Africans.

²³¹ The major setback for this chapter is the scarcity of archival documents on the implementation of the NLHA in Bulilimamangwe district in particular. As was indicated in the first chapter, a lot of archival files on Bulilimamangwe related to the period between 1950s to the late 70s were missing at the National Archives of Zimbabwe and at the district administration offices.

²³² See W. Beinart, "Soil erosion, Conservationism and ideas about development: A Southern African Exploration, 1900-1960", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, volume 11, number 1 (1984) pp. 52-83, I. Phimister, "Rethinking the reserves: Southern Rhodesia's Land Husbandry Act reviewed", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, volume 19, number 2 (1993) pp. 225-239.

²³³ Phimister, "Rethinking the reserves: Southern Rhodesia's Land Husbandry Act reviewed", pp. 225-239.

²³⁴ Phimister, "Rethinking the Reserves:", pp. 225-239

²³⁵ J. Alexander, *The Unsettled Land: State making and the politics of Land in Zimbabwe, 1893-2003*, Weaver Press, Harare, 2006.

resistance, coercion and consent.²³⁶ McGregor also shared Beinart's analysis of the Act in her study in Shurugwi where she observed that the NLHA was highly influenced by conservation ideas and policies.²³⁷ While the chapter acknowledges this literature, it offers an analysis of the impact of the Act on Bulilimamangwe viewed from a Kalanga ethnic lens.

Recently, scholars such as Thompson highlighted the economic challenges that were faced by the planners and the contradictory visions and interests of different groups within the white settler population and the government.²³⁸ Thompson's study, while important, was narrowly focused on de-stocking. Yet, the Act also covered other aspects of conservation as deemed necessary by the colonial state. Therefore, the chapter will examine how the Kalanga, in particular, deployed their culture and identity in their opposition to the NLHA.

Scholars have also attempted to capture African responses and views on state conservation policies. Using Chiweshe as a case study, Bessant examined the intrusive state of conservation policies with particular emphasis on land shortages and soil conservation.²³⁹ Here, Bessant argues for the reaction to the state policies by the Chiweshe people as a homogeneous entity. On the contrary, this chapter shows that Bulilimamangwe district presented a somewhat different case as it underscores its heterogeneity in its response to the NLHA. For example, the response offered to the Act varied between the Ndebele and the Kalanga. On one hand, amongst the deposed Kalanga chiefs, the Act was viewed as an endeavour by the state to marginalise the Kalanga people. On the other hand, amongst the Ndebele, the Act was perceived as a discriminatory piece of legislation which favoured the

²³⁶ Alexander, *The Unsettled Land: State Making and the Politics of Land in Zimbabwe, 1893-2003*.

²³⁷ J. McGregor, "Conservation, Control and ecological change: The Politics and Ecology of Colonial Conservation in Shurugwi, Zimbabwe", *Environment and History*, volume 1, number 3, (1995) pp. 257-279.

²³⁸ Thompson's study focussed on the Madziwa Communal area in the north-eastern Zimbabwe. For more information on the analysis of the NLHA see, G. Thompson, "Is it lawful for people to have their things taken away by force? High Modernism and ungovernability in colonial Zimbabwe", *African Studies*, volume 66, number 1 (2007) pp. 39-77.

²³⁹ L. L. Bessant, "Coercive Development: Land Shortage, Forced Labor, and colonial development in the Chiweshe Reserve, colonial Zimbabwe, 1938-1946", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, volume 25, number 1 (1992) pp. 39-65.

white minority.²⁴⁰ This was because the Ndebele had their lands reduced during the implementation of the NLHA. As a result, the resistance to the Act in areas occupied by Kalanga deposed chiefs took ethnic dimensions. In this way, the Act also further strained the Kalanga and Ndebele relations.

There has been an attempt to link these agrarian state policies to land and belonging amongst the African population. Mujere's study of the Basotho of Gutu illustrates this.²⁴¹ Mujere highlighted how the farms became important in the Basotho's construction of a sense of belonging and their interactions with other farmers in the area during the period of the NLHA.²⁴² Unlike Mujere's study, this chapter seeks to show how the growth of Kalanga ethnic consciousness was made possible by the implementation of the NLHA in the reserves of Bulilimangwe. Msindo has also examined the Kalanga and their relations with the Ndebele. With reference to the NLHA in Bulilimangwe, Msindo unravelled what led to the demotion of Kalanga chiefs in the district and points out that it was due to their resistance to the Act.²⁴³ He, however, does not show the link between the resistance to the NLHA and ethnicity amongst the Kalanga in Bulilimangwe in particular. Moreover, Msindo does not elaborate on how Kalanga identity was articulated by the Kalanga chiefs themselves during the period of NLHA. Therefore, the main thrust of this chapter is to show how the implementation of the NLHA contributed to the growth of Kalanga ethnic consciousness. Kalanga chiefs and their subjects, Kalanga activists and the Kalanga Cultural Promotion Society (KCPS) individually and collectively sought to promote Kalanga ethnic

²⁴⁰ Interview with Chief Ndiwe Ndiweni, conducted by Themban Dube, Osabeni 12 July 2012, Interview with Qedisani Ndiweni, conducted by Themban Dube, Osabeni and interview with Chief Tshitshi, conducted by Themban Dube, Tshitshi area 14 March 2012.

²⁴¹ See J. Mujere, "Autochthons, Strangers, Modernising Educationists and Progressive Farmers: Basotho struggles for belonging in Zimbabwe 1930s-2008", unpublished PhD thesis submitted to the History Department, University of Edinburgh, 2012.

²⁴² Mujere, "Autochthons, Strangers".

²⁴³ See Msindo, *Ethnicity in Zimbabwe*.

consciousness.²⁴⁴

While nationalist resistance was common in other parts of Zimbabwe and targeted to oust the colonial rulers, in Bulilimamangwe it was about fighting against both the marginalisation of the Kalanga, and against Ndebele and colonial hegemony. Ranger and Munochiveyi have also demonstrated that the ordinary people in both the rural and urban areas of Zimbabwe designed their own critiques of colonialism which blended well with those of nationalists who formed political organisations.²⁴⁵ As Munochiveyi argues, Africans and nationalists' motives were to eliminate the colonial rulers. The chapter argues that the Kalanga were against the imposition of foreign Ndebele chiefs over the Kalanga people. As Mulwafu argues for a similar case in Malawi, much of their resistance emanated from the way agricultural policies interfered with household relations and everyday economies.²⁴⁶ In this way, the Kalanga used the NLHA as an excuse to launch their struggle for the recognition of Kalanga ethnic identity which was undermined by the colonial regime through the deposition of Kalanga chiefs and their replacement by Ndebele chiefs.²⁴⁷

While the NLHA was implemented and resisted in most parts of Zimbabwe, the resistance to the Act in Bulilimamangwe district was not only about land but a struggle for Kalanga ethnic identity which was distorted by the colonial regime which forced the people to relocate to various parts of the district. As shall be seen in the chapter, Kalanga ethnic

²⁴⁴ The Kalanga Cultural Promotion Society had its roots in urban Bulawayo, which among other things sought to promote Kalanga culture and support of Kalanga people in the urban space. However, this society was not only confined to the urban areas, it also drew its membership from the Kalanga in the rural areas of Bulilimamangwe such as Tokwana and Dombodema. Again, it is in the northern parts of the district where the KCPS had its strongholds as most of both rural and urban members of the association were drawn from this part of the district.

²⁴⁵ See T. Ranger, *Peasant Consciousness and the Guerillar war in Zimbabwe: A comparative study* (James Currey, London, 1985). Also see M. B. Munochiveyi, "We do not want to be ruled by foreigners, Oral histories of nationalism in colonial Zimbabwe", *Historia*, volume 73, number1 (2011) pp. 65-87.

²⁴⁶ W.O. Mulwafu, *Conservation song: A history of peasant-state relations and the environment in Malawi, 1866-2000*, (The Whitehouse Press, Cambridge, 2011) p.143. Mwatwara has also demonstrated how the passage of the NLHA gave rise to rural nationalism which resisted the state veterinary bureaucracy. See W. Mwatwara, "A history of state veterinary services and African livestock regimes in colonial Zimbabwe, c.1896-1980", unpublished PhD dissertation, Stellenbosch University, 2014.

²⁴⁷ See NAZS2929/6/2, (Harare) Bulilimamangwe Delineation Report, 1965.

consciousness was consolidated in the new settlements designated by the colonial regime under the NLHA. It is significant to note the role Kalanga chiefs, women and migrants in urban-based ethnic associations played in the struggle for a Kalanga identity during the implementation of the NLHA in this district.

The chapter is therefore concerned about the role that the NLHA played in forging Kalanga ethnic identity during the opposition to the implementation of the NLHA. Land, Kalanga chieftainship and the possession of cattle were the strong signifiers of this Kalanga ethnic identity which played a significant role during the NLHA. Nonetheless, the chapter does not make the presumption that there were no cordial relations between the Ndebele and the Kalanga. Indeed, As Msindo observed, ‘these relations were often cemented by intermarriages between the two groups and this often diluted ‘ethnic particularism’ in such families.’²⁴⁸

3.1. Destocking, Forced Removals and Kalanga Ethnic Identity

The Native Land Husbandry Act (NLHA) of 1951 represented the culmination of agrarian policy deliberations that originated prior to the Second World War. The Act attempted to reinforce conservation policies of the 1930s and 1940s. It was a piece of legislation designed to end the migrant labour system with its attendant social dysfunctions and political dangers by privatising land in the African reserves and upgrading the skills of the urban labour force.²⁴⁹ The colonial administrators expected that those made landless by the Act would be permanently absorbed into the then-flourishing urban labour market.²⁵⁰ The NLHA’s prescription involved a comprehensive reorganisation of rural society which included

²⁴⁸ Msindo, “Ethnicity in Matabeleland”.

²⁴⁹ E. Worby, “Colonial Power in North-western Zimbabwe”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, volume 20, number 3, Special Issue: Ethnicity and Identity in Southern Africa, September (1994) pp. 371-392.

²⁵⁰ This was made possible by the manufacturing boom following the end Second World War.

significant cuts of stock, fencing lands, concentrated settlements, improved seed and an expansion in agricultural education. The Land Development Officers (LDO) were to scientifically quantify standard land allocations and stocking rates per given area before issuing them out to Africans on individual tenure. In the long run, it hoped to create distinct classes of rural and urban African dwellers. In essence, it did not seek to increase or maintain the amount of land available for use by Africans but to develop it to increase its 'carrying capacity.'²⁵¹

However, in all these prescriptions, African ecological knowledge was ignored. Instead, white Land Development Officers (LDO) and Conservation Officers were tasked to implement the NLHA. Makombe rightly observes that, perhaps most ominous of all, were the powers the NLHA gave to white officials and their agents to interfere in the daily life of communities.²⁵² Van Beusekom and Hodgson also rightly argue that, despite claims to address merely technical problems, the development agenda aimed for in the post-Second World War era was 'deeply intertwined with colonial imperatives to order, control and compel the progress of the most backward subjects.'²⁵³ Yngstrom has argued for a similar colonial context in his study of conservationist policies in central Tanzania. He argues that, 'within the discourse of conservationist ideology, Africans were constructed as unscientific exploiters with a poor understanding of the local ecology and production techniques in contrast to colonial agricultural knowledge generated from its modern scientific research base.'²⁵⁴ In the process of creating an environment based on knowledge and technology, imported categories of thought and techniques, Africans were constructed, (as Fiona and

²⁵¹ E. Kramer, "A Clash of Economies: Early Centralisation Efforts in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1929-1935", *Zambezia: The Journal of the University of Zimbabwe* volume 25 number 1 (1998) p. 85 (pp. 83-98).

²⁵² E. K. Makombe, "A Social History of Town and Country Interactions: A Study on the changing social life and practices of rural-urban migrants in colonial Harare and Goromonzi, 1946-1979".

²⁵³ M. M. van Beusekom and D. L. Hodgson, "Lessons Learned? Development Experiences in the Late Colonial Period," *Journal of African History*, volume 41, 2000, p. 30 (pp. 29-33).

²⁵⁴ I. Yngstrom, "Representations of custom, social identity and environmental relations in Central Tanzania, 1926-1950", in W. Beinart and J McGregor (eds.), *Social History and African Environments* p. 177.

Mackenzie put it) as ‘unscientific exploiters of the natural resources and their ecological knowledge were silenced.’²⁵⁵

The Kalanga, particularly from the northern parts of the district viewed it as piece of legislation that impinged on Kalanga culture and identity. This was necessitated by the demotion of Kalanga three chiefs, (Madlambuzi Ncube, Masendu Dube and Hikwa Nleya), following their resistance to the NLHA.²⁵⁶ The demotions of Kalanga chiefs in the northern part of Bulilimangwe district to some extent had nothing to do with the colonial government’s hatred of the Kalanga. The chiefs were demoted for failing to comply with the demands of the NLHA. On the other hand the Kalanga chiefs and their subjects viewed it as a deliberate attempt by the white regime to favour the Ndebele thereby marginalising the Kalanga. A number of studies on the NLHA in Zimbabwe show how the colonial regime deposed the chiefs who failed to comply with the demands of the NLHA.²⁵⁷

The NLHA was implemented in most areas of Bulilimangwe district around the early 1950s. The period of the implementation of the Act was popularly known as *Magandiya* – a Kalanga word meaning ridges – among the residents of Bulilimangwe. The Act itself became synonymous with the same name - *magandiya*.²⁵⁸ This was because the Act provided that the people should plough on ridges and its implementation bordered on the use of force because of resistance from African rural people who detested the amount of labour that went into contour ridge-construction while taking away focus from their crop fields. There was no

²⁵⁵ A. Fiona and D. Mackenzie, *Land, Ecology and Resistance in Kenya, 1880-1952* (Edinburgh University Press, 1998) p. 8.

²⁵⁶ The most remembered Native Commissioner who served during the period of the implementation of the Act in Bulilimangwe District was Tapson.

²⁵⁷ The Delineation Reports on various parts of the country have detailed these depositions as well. See NAZ S2929/1-9 (Harare), Delineation Reports for Beitbridge, Matabo and Nkayi districts.

²⁵⁸ The term *amagandiya* is used by both the Ndebele and Kalanga people of Bulilimangwe and they often refer to *amagandiya* when talking about the period of the NLHA. Interviewees from Bulilimangwe such as Melita Sibanda, Grey Ndlovu, Mbona Matiwaza, Solonia Dube, Jele Khuphe and Headman Lindiwe Mdongo among others said that the term *amagandiya* referred to the period of destocking and reduction of their pieces of lands which was necessitated by the demands of the NLHA.

uniformity in the implementation of the Act. For example, some areas possessed more acres of land than others and more beasts than others. The uneven allocation of land and beasts demands under the NLHA was also a common phenomenon as well in the other parts of the country. However, the Kalanga viewed this through an ethnic lens. They argued that the areas under Ndebele chiefs were allocated more land and more beasts.²⁵⁹ As a result, it attracted opposition from the Africans. It also generated criticism from the people of Bulilimamangwe district especially from those who were under Kalanga chiefs who emphasised their belonging to the Kalanga in Bulilimamangwe.²⁶⁰

For the purposes of this study, this chapter demonstrates how the NLHA was implemented and resisted in Nata, Mpimbila, Ratitladi, Mpoengs and Dombodema Mission Farm. To Kalanga chiefs such as Madlambuzi and Masendu, it represented a serious affront to Kalanga traditional authority and identity. The very idea of moving people who had lived on the land for a long time was opposed by Kalanga chiefs who argued that land actually belonged to the Kalanga god Ndzimu/ Mwali or Ngwali, and not to the colonial rulers..²⁶¹

²⁵⁹ These views were expressed Chief Masendu and Kalanga Heamen such as Lindiwe Mdongo, Baleni Dube, Grey Ndlovu and Adelaide Hikwa Nleya. Contrary to these views, evidence points to the fact that the allocation of land under the NLHA was not on ethnic preferences. The NLHA implementation was a colonial policy that ensured the segregation of blacks in favour of whites. For more on this see Machingaidze, "Agrarian change from", Alexander, *The Unsettled land*, M. Drinkwater, "Technical Development and Peasant Impoverishment: Land use Policy in Zimbabwe's Midlands Province", *Journal of Southern African Studies* volume 15, number 2 (1989) pp. 287-305 and Mukamuri, "Ecological Religion: Local Politics and Conservation in South-Central Zimbabwe".

²⁶⁰ The view was also shared by interviewees such as Saul Gwakuba Ndlovu, a Kalanga activist and member of the Kalanga Language and Cultural Development Association (KLCDA), interview with Headman Bowen Sibanda, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Hikwa Village, Dombodema, 14 March 2012, interview with Tshidzanani Kulube, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Tokwana village, 13 March 2012 and interview with Rachel Sibanda, member of KLCD, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Bulawayo, 15 November 2012. These interviewees argue that the Kalanga the first inhabitants of Bulilimamangwe which was known as the land of Chief Chibundule, a Kalanga chief who is believed to be the progenitor of the Kalanga (See Chapter 2). Therefore, colonial governments' demands to remove the people from their area were considered to be an act against their chief. In this case, the institution of chieftainship which is also a marker of Kalanga ethnic identity was used in the efforts of opposing the NLHA. Also see Tlou and Campbell, *History of Botswana*, Huffman, *The Leopard Kopje Tradition*, and Masola, *Nhau Dzabakalanga*.

²⁶¹ The Mwali/Ndzimu/ Mlimo cult has been viewed as a Kalanga although its origins can be traced to the Venda. For more on the origins and ownership of the Mwali cult see, Ranger, "The meaning of Mwari", *Rhodesian History* and T. O. Ranger, *Voices from the Rocks: Nature, Culture and History in the Matopo Hills of Zimbabwe*, (Baobab Books, Harare, 1999).

Mazarire also demonstrates how the people of Chishanga (formerly known as Fort Victoria) used the *gadzingo* (ancestral land) in their identification with Chishanga during the forced removals in Chishanga.²⁶² In the same vein, Kalanga chiefs employed the same idea that land belonged to Mwali in order to resist the NLHA. For example, Chief Masendu Dube stated that the people lived by farming large fields because *Ndzimu* (*Mwali*) chose what he wanted from his people.²⁶³ They justified their resistance to the Act on the grounds that it was also against the Kalanga culture. The farming of large fields can also be linked to socio-economic demands as most rural inhabitants survive on subsistence farming. Therefore, besides ethnicity, the Kalanga resisted the NLHA because of economic considerations as well.

The exclusion of traditional authorities from land issues during the implementation of the NLHA provided another fertile ground for opposition to the NLHA. Chiefs were not consulted on how the Act was to be implemented. Instead, the colonial government chose to use Land Development Officers, whose allocation of land was not uniform.²⁶⁴ For example, in the Mpoengs Reserve each married man with one wife was to possess herd of cattle while he was given only 5 acres of land.²⁶⁵ Yet at Nata Reserve, Land Development Officers allocated as much as 12 acres of land per household.²⁶⁶ In addition, people could also have up to 10 livestock while those in Mphoengs got between 5-6 acres and were only allowed to

²⁶² According to Mazarire, the *gadzingo* (ancestral land) was used by the people of Chishanga in order to resist their removal from Chishanga. However, this practice and identity with land and ancestors is virtually common in Zimbabwe. Such claims are also found in other parts of African countries where land was colonised and the armed struggle was waged.

²⁶³ Chief Masendu Dube alluded to this fact and his view was supported by many people from the area who argued that to date people still possess a number of fields because it is a custom of the Kalanga to plough large fields. Interviewees such as Headman Mazwaligwa Dube, Headman, Lindiwe Mdongo, Belinah Sibanda and Jele Kuphe also said that ploughing large pieces of land is a Kalanga custom that is observed by most Kalanga people.

²⁶⁴ It is significant to note that Land Development Officers' land allocation was consistent with the colonial policy although at times they abused their powers in the allocation of land to the people.

²⁶⁵ NAZ S 2806/1/8 (Harare) Land Husbandry Act, Bulilimamangwe District.

²⁶⁶ NAZ S2806/1/8 (Harare) Land Husbandry Act.

keep up to 5 cattle.²⁶⁷ Communities in this reserve consisted mostly of the Tswana-speaking people and very few indigenous people of Kalanga ethnic group. As a result of their foreign origins and lack of deep roots in the area, they did not resist the implementation of the Act.²⁶⁸ Unlike the Kalanga in areas such as Bango, they had no claim over land as they had come from Botswana with the British South Africa Company. They were threatened with eviction if they refused to cooperate with the government orders.²⁶⁹ The disparities in land allocation angered the Kalanga people especially those from areas under Chief Madlambuzi and Chief Masendu who responded by boycotting agricultural demonstrators' meetings.²⁷⁰ They complained that prior to colonial rule that their children were given fields by their fathers and they disliked the fact that the NLHA had changed all that.²⁷¹ However, it should be noted that the Ndebele people of Bulilimangwe also protested against the implementation of the Act. They were opposed to the Act because it undermined their livelihoods and survival. Acts of resistance were also common in most areas in Zimbabwe such in Chiweshe among others.²⁷²

Opposition to the Act by the Kalanga in the northern parts of Bulilimangwe was laden with ethnic overtones. Such ethnic dimensions were expressed in protest songs that were sung when agricultural demonstrators arrived in those areas. In particular, the song *Kubukalanga ndiko kanyi kwedu* (Kalanga land is my home) expressed the Kalanga

²⁶⁷ NAZ S2806/1/8.

²⁶⁸ Accordingly these Tswana communities came with the BSAC and were allocated that piece of land as reward for their support towards the company. Although BSAC rule had ended in 1923, they still remained loyal to the colonial regime which they owed loyalty to. It is therefore not surprising that they complied with the demands of the NLHA.

²⁶⁹ Interviewees such as Reakopa Mukwena, Makhubung area, 12 April 2012, Idah Kulube, Tjingababili, 16 March 2012 and Mbulawa Kungubo, Alexandra, Johannesburg, Republic of South Africa, 6 March 2012 argued that, unlike in Kalanga communities, Tswana communities in Mpoengs suffered during the implementation of the NLHA as they could not easily reject the demands of the NLHA.

²⁷⁰ NAZ S2827/1/1, (Harare) Assessment Committee report, Area A, Nata Reserve, 28 May 1956

²⁷¹ NAZ S2827/1/1, (Harare) Assessment Committee report, Area A.

²⁷² See L. L. Bessant, "Coercive Development: Land Shortage, Forced Labor, and colonial development in the Chiweshe Reserve, colonial Zimbabwe, 1938-1946", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, volume 25, number 1 (1992) pp. 39-65.

rootedness in Bulilimamangwe and their desire to uphold their customs and culture in the land of their forefathers. *KubuKalanga*, according to the Kalanga, does not necessarily refer to the buildings, but to the totality of Kalanga and their existence as an independent ethnic group.²⁷³ *Kubukalanga* was therefore perceived as a peaceful home where the Kalanga people could practice their own cultural practices and customs without being answerable to anyone.

While there were communities that were moved from their areas during the implementation of the NLHA, it is vital to note how Kalanga ethnic identity was consolidated during those movements. Having endured forced removals from the lands of their ancestors, the Kalanga sought to revive their customs in the areas they moved into. For example, the Kalanga who were moved from Raditladi Reserve to Tshitshi area introduced the Mwali cult in the new area.²⁷⁴ The dislocations caused a lot of problems as the Kalanga in Bulilimamangwe sought to control the reserves. As they were moved into the reserves, most of them refused to be ruled by the alien chiefs imposed by the colonial government and advocated the replacement of Ndebele chiefs with those from the Kalanga ethnic group.²⁷⁵ However, it is not all Kalanga people who were against the Ndebele chiefs. In the southern parts of the district there is no evidence that indicates opposition to Chief Wasi Ndiweni – an Ndebele chief who ruled Izimnyama, Ngwanyana, Osabeni, Vaka, Dukwe, Silima, Khahlu and Madabe areas. This was also necessitated by a strong sense of Ndebele identity which is embraced by most people from the above mentioned areas. The common clans that were

²⁷³ The view was shared during my interviews with Kalanga people from various parts of the Bulilimamangwe district who adhere to Kalanga ethnic identification. These included Jele Khupe, a Kalanga activist, 13 March 2012, John Tshuma, Izimnyama area, December 21, 2011, Lisa Dube, Masendu area, Bulilimamangwe 20 June 2011, Mandlebe Ndebele an elder Izimnyama area, 20 December 2005, Manyangwa Dube, Tjehanga Village, 13 March 2012 and Gogo NakaKheni Moyo, Osabeni, 21 December 2011.

²⁷⁴ Chief Tshitshi's chieftainship was established by the Ndebele in the 1870s when the Mpande chieftainship was abolished by the Ndebele. As a result of this, the Tshitshi chieftainship assumed a Ndebele identity. For more on this see Cobbing, "The Ndebele under the Khumalo" and Dachs, *Christianity South of the Zambezi*.

²⁷⁵ Interview with Tjimumoyo Bango conducted by Thembanani Dube, Bango area, 5 July 2011. The views were also shared by interviewees such as Headman Mazwaligwa Dube, Headman, Lindiwe Mdongo, Belinah Sibanda and Jele Khupe.

moved from Ratitladi Reserve were, Mbizi/Dube of the Bango clan, Kulube and Ncube/Wudo clans. As they settled in the new areas they also preferred to maintain their Kalanganess.²⁷⁶ It needs to be noted that among those who were moved, there was an attempt to revive and consolidate Kalanga ethnic identity. Faced with the terrible experiences, the Kalanga held strongly to their identity in the new areas and they preferred being moved in families when they were evicted from their homes. One interviewee noted, ‘When we were moved we requested that we be settled according to our relations under our *sabhuku* (village heads) because we did not want to lose our Kalanga language and customs.’²⁷⁷ This thought was also reiterated by interviewees such as Idah Kulube, Tjililigwe Kulube and Tjimumoyo Bango who also emphasised that even though they moved from their areas, their desire was to be resettled among their fellow Kalanga people.²⁷⁸

This serves to illustrate that language and Kalanga customs became very important markers of Kalanga ethnic identity during the implementation of the instruments of the NLHA. Again this identity was carried into areas that had Ndebele influence. As a result of the movements during the NLHA the area under Chief Tshitshi has, to this day, some areas which were designated as belonging to the Kalanga and the other part close to Chief Tshitshi’s homestead was considered to be a Ndebele area. Over time, this distinction contributed to ethnic divisions between the Ndebele and the Kalanga living in areas around Tshitshi and Tjingababili.

²⁷⁶ This was revealed during my interviews with Chief Tshitshi Mpofu, Tshitshi area 14 March 2012, Idah Kulube, Tjingababili, 16 March 2012, Interview with Tjililigwe Kulube, Tjingababili, 16 March 2012 and Tjimumoyo Bango. They argued that by preserving Kalanga identity they meant Kalanga language. Tshitshi area was considered a Ndebele speaking area since the chief himself had been assimilated and adopted a Ndebele identity.

²⁷⁷ Kalanga identity was emphasised during these movements. For example the Kalanga that moved to Tshitshi argued most families did not disintegrate. As such they argued that their Kalanga identity remained strong and it was epitomised by the flourishing of Kalanga language in the southern parts of Tshitshi area.

²⁷⁸ See interview with, Idah Kulube, Tjingababili, 16 March 2012, Interview with Tjililigwe Kulube, Tjingababili, 16 March 2012 and Tjimumoyo Bango conducted by Themani Dube.

Among other things, the Kalanga also brought along with them the Ntogwa shrine.²⁷⁹ Ntogwa was one of the shrines of the high god of the Matopos, Mwali/Ngwali. The shrine was established by a *wosana* (a messenger of the high god of the Matopos) named Ntogwa. In this shrine, the Kalanga offered oblations and sacrifices to the Mwali/Ngwali. The introduction of the Ntogwa shrine during the implementation of the NLHA was in itself a reflection of a desire by the Kalanga people to preserve their culture and identity.²⁸⁰ The Ntogwa shrine symbolized the high god of the Matopos who is regarded with high esteem amongst the Kalanga.

Consequently, a sense of Kalanga ethnic consciousness was also intensified by the Kalanga who were forcibly removed from Dombodema to the harsh and dry environment of Tokwana.²⁸¹ In order to facilitate the removal of people from the farm, missionaries raised the mission tax from 2 pounds to 5 pounds.²⁸² As these people moved within the district they formed some pressure groups which were meant to uphold Kalanga culture. For example, these included Kubukalanga Cultural Association (KCA) which was based in Tokwana.²⁸³ The name Tokwana itself has its origins during the enforcement of the NLHA. Previously the place was known as Nkodza, after the first people who settled around the area. According to Rachel Sibanda, the name Tokwana meant ‘we will fit on a small object/ area.’²⁸⁴ Jele

²⁷⁹ This cult was established by the Kalanga and it is a part of the Mwali cult which is in the Matopos.

²⁸⁰ Interview with Sotsha Ngwenya, interview with Chief Tshitshi Mpofu, interview with Idah Kulube, and interview with Tjililigwe Kulube. Also see T. Dube, “Oral Traditions of the Kalanga.”

²⁸¹ Dombodema farm was established by the LMS missionaries in 1895. The missionaries at Dombodema had allowed some Kalanga families to settle in the farm who abided to the Christian principles. However, this changed during the NLHA. Missionaries took advantages of the colonial demands under the NLHA to evict a number of Africans whom they accusing them of following unscientific methods of farming.

²⁸² See interviews conducted by Thembanani Dube with Headman Lindiwe Mdongo, Jele Khupe, Rachel Sibanda, Elias Mahumba, Bowen Sibanda. Headman Adelaide Hikwa Nleya, (traditionally, she is called a headman although she is a woman) also confirmed this in an interview conducted with her in Dombodema on the 14th of March 2012

²⁸³ Interview with Jele Khupe and interview with Elias Mahumba.

²⁸⁴ There are various interpretations on the meaning of the name Tokwana. Jele Khupe argued the name Tokwana meant that the area was very small. Tokwana in Kalanga means a tiny object. Hence the area was regarded as a small area and the Kalanga from Dombodema argued that they would fit in that tiny area as they did not want the movements to separate their families.

Khupe, Elias Mahumba and Lindiwe Mdongo also said that the place (Tokwana) was named by the Kalanga who were removed from Dombodema Farm during the implementation of the NLHA.²⁸⁵ The interviewees further argued that the Kalanga in Tokwana were against being separated from their families during the movements hence they preferred to be crowded in the small area, therefore, the name Tokwana, literary means a small area/ object.²⁸⁶ The discovery of Luswingo in Tokwana marked the climax of the celebration of Kalanga identity in this area.²⁸⁷ Therefore, the removal of these Kalanga communities from Dombodema to Tokwana had a significant role in strengthening Kalanga consciousness. The most prominent clans that moved into the area were the Howu/Ndlovu of the Habe clan, Tshuma, Nleya/Banibuso and Dube/Nkuwane/ Benibasitu clans. These clans are known to be the original Kalanga clans which have preserved a ‘pure’ Kalanga identity for a long time.²⁸⁸ While this could be true to some extent, it cannot be accepted as the absolute truth since the interviewees who shared this view were of the mentioned clans. Moreover, these clans have lived and intermarried with the Ndebele and other ethnic groups in the district. Hence, it is impossible under such circumstances to maintain a ‘pure’ Kalanga identity.

While a strong Kalanga identity was exhibited by the Kalanga people who were evicted from their homes, Kalanga consciousness was also upheld by those that resisted the removals caused by the NLHA. Kalanga chiefs in particular sought to preserve the traditional land tenure system at the same time preserving Kalanga ethnic identity. As a result, the colonial state failed to successfully implement the NLHA in areas such as those under

²⁸⁵ See interview with Jele Khupe, a Kalanga activist, Tokwana, 13 March 2012, Headman Lindiwe Mdongo, Nopemano, 11 March 2012 and Elias Mahumba a former headmaster at Tokwana Secondary School, Tokwana, 13 March 2012.

²⁸⁶ Interview with Elias Mahumba and interview with Headman Lindiwe Mdongo.

²⁸⁷ Luswingo is believed to be the ancient ruins of the Kalanga. It is believed that the Kalanga progenitor Chibundule once stayed in Luswingo. The ruins resemble Great Zimbabwe and Khami ruins. To date the area has been declared as an important monument in Zimbabwe

²⁸⁸ See interview with Saul Gwakuba Ndlovu, Watson Khupe, Jele Khupe, Headman Adelaide Hikwa Nleya and Headman Lindiwe Mdongo.

Madlambuzi's jurisdiction which fell under Mpimbila Reserve and Masendu in Nata Reserve. Chief Madzete Madlambuzi is said to have worked hand in glove with his people to resist destocking. Nconyiwe Ncube, the wife of the late Chief Madlambuzi said that when the Land Development Officer went to Madlambuzi, the chief and the people beat up Chief Madlambuzi in front of the Land Development Officer shouting the slogan 'away with *amagandiya*.'²⁸⁹ Commenting on this same incident, Elijah Ndebele, a Village Head noted: 'We believed that by beating up the chief, the Land Officer would be convinced that we the Kalanga of Madlambuzi did not want *amagandiya*.'²⁹⁰ The Act was not implemented and Madlambuzi was demoted in 1951.²⁹¹ Mpini Ndiweni was installed as the chief of the people of Madlambuzi but the local people did not observe his chieftainship. Mpini Ndiweni was a Ndebele chief who was imposed upon the predominantly Kalanga people by the colonial regime in order to enforce the implementation of the NLHA. The Kalanga's negative attitude towards Mpini Ndiweni was influenced by the fact that he was Ndebele, which they viewed as a threat to Kalanga ethnic identity.

Similarly, the Kalanga under Chief Madlambuzi and Masendu were disgruntled by the removal of their Kalanga chief. When the Kalanga chiefs repudiated the NLHA, Mpini Ndiweni supported *amagandiya*. This can be attributed to two reasons. Firstly, this could have been his strategy in order to gain favour with the regime for his political endeavours. Secondly, as he was new in the area, he foresaw that he was going to face opposition from the Kalanga people who fell under his reign. Thus, the only option left for him was to support the colonial regime which had installed him. By 1965 Mpini had taken over the whole of the

²⁸⁹ The incident was recalled by many interviewees in Madlambuzi area who also participated during the incidence. See Elijah Ndebele, kraal head, Madlambuzi Centre 18 March 2012, Headman Grey Ndlovu, Madlambuzi area, 10 March 2012, Nconyiwe Ncube, wife of the late Chief Madlambuzi, Bhaningumba, 10 March 2012, Payaya Dube, Madlambuzi, 10 March 2012 and Pius Ncube, Bhaningumba, 10 March 2012.

²⁹⁰ Interview with Elijah Ndebele conducted by Thembanani Dube, Madlambuzi Centre 18 March 2012.

²⁹¹ NAZ S2929/6/2, (Harare), Delineation Report Bulilimamangwe district, 1965.

Nata TTL, Mpimbila TTL and Dombodema Farm.

Chief Madzete Madlambuzi is well known to have been one of the first chiefs in Bulilimamangwe to resist the NLHA.²⁹² He is remembered for having refused the allocation of land by the land development officers. Chief Madlambuzi said, 'I will not allow the alien people to reduce the size of the land of my ancestors. We as Kalanga people refuse to be kept by other people. I as chief of the people have the right of allocating land to my people.'²⁹³ Here, Chief Madlambuzi represented African people's view over land not only among the Kalanga but also in Shona and Ndebele world view. For instance, prior to the advent of colonial rule in Zimbabwe the prevailing African land tenure system vested land rights in a corporate group which had overriding rights over those of the individual. The king or chief served as the trustee who allocated land to new comers and ensured that its use was in harmony with the traditional land tenure formula.²⁹⁴ Chiefs also acted as important intermediaries between their constituencies and the spiritual world. The traditional land tenure system accepted that land rights were inalienable. Land belonged to the living and to the unborn as well as to the dead.²⁹⁵ Therefore, no member of a group could sell or transfer land to an outsider as land was considered a natural endowment.

Land and Kalanga chieftainship were the strong signifiers of this Kalanga ethnic identity which played a significant role during the NLHA. Chief Madlambuzi also challenged the powers of Chief Mpini during this period. He is remembered for having refused to attend

²⁹² See NAZ S 2806/1/8 (Harare) Land husbandry Act, Bulilimamangwe District. S2806/ 7, Interview with Headman Baleni Dube, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Muke village, 11 March 2012, Interview Thembanani Dube with Tseyamu Ncube, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Madlambudzi area, 10 March 2012.

²⁹³ Here the Kalanga chief was resisting the NLHA on the basis of Kalanga ownership of the land. This was shared during my personal conversation with Nconyiwe Ncube, Headman Grey Bango, and Payaya Dube who argued that the chief has the right to distribute land to the people.

²⁹⁴ A. Cheater, "Africa: The Ideology of 'Communal' Land Tenure in Zimbabwe: Mythogenesis Enacted?", *Journal of the International African Institute*, volume 60, number 2 (1990) pp.188-206.

²⁹⁵ For more on this see M. Chanock, *Law, Custom and Social Order*, (Cambridge University Press Cambridge, 1985), H.V. Moyana, *The Political Economy of Land in Zimbabwe*, Mambo Press, Gweru, 1984), R. H. Palmer, "Aspects of Rhodesian Land Policy 1890-1936", CAHA Local Series 22, Salisbury: *Central African Historical Association*, (1968) and C. Bullock, *The Mashona* (Cape Town: Juta, 1928).

Chief Mpini's courts and also influenced his kraal heads to boycott Mpini's meetings. The following 1965 Delineation Report also clearly shows the support of Kalanga people toward the defense of Madlambuzi's chieftaincy and Kalanga identity:

The arrangement to replace Madzete with Mpini has proved to be incompatible with the requirements of the Madlambuzi people and tribal custom. The people are unable to see how the Government could completely abolish the chieftainship and impose a 'foreign chief' rather than install the heir Madzete.²⁹⁶

After he assumed the headman's position, Madlambuzi was not paid for his duties and he ended up seeking refuge in Botswana.²⁹⁷ Chief Madzete Madlambuzi resisted the implementation of the Act not only in his area but also influenced the neighbouring Kalanga people to refuse *amagandiya*. One old man who is now settled at Madlambuzi related that he was initially staying in Gonde area and only settled in Madlambuzi during the *amagandiya* period. This man said:

I was staying in Gonde area when the NLHA was introduced. Chief Madlambuzi called me to settle in Madlambuzi because he was against the NLHA. We as Kalanga people united with our chief Madlambuzi and resisted the implementation of *amagandiya*.²⁹⁸

Accordingly, this man was called to settle at Madlambuzi by the chief in order to escape destocking and *magandiya*.²⁹⁹ In this way, they believed that by uniting as Kalanga people they would be able to resist the colonial demands of the NLHA and also maintain their Kalanga identity. The above serves to show that resistance to the Act especially in Bulilimangwe district aroused ethnic solidarity among the Kalanga people. Their resistance to the Act was as much about defending Kalanga land and Kalanga chieftainship as

²⁹⁶ NAZ S2929/6/2, (Harare), Delineation Report Bulilimangwe District, 1965.

²⁹⁷ Interview with Elijah Ndebele, Village Head, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Madlambuzi Centre, 10 March 2012. Interviewees from Madlambuzi area also argued that Madlambuzi fled to Botswana after failing to comply with the demands of the NLHA. See interview with Nconyiwe Ncube, Belinah Sibanda and Headman Grey Ndlovu.

²⁹⁸ Interview with Tseyamu Ncube, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Madlambuzi area 10 March 2012.

²⁹⁹ Interview with Tseyamu Ncube.

it was about signifying Kalanga ethnic identity.

The implementation of the NLHA was also opposed in Masendu area in the Nata Reserve under Chief Masendu. Here, the people recall the period of the NLHA as ‘the time of Sandlana.’³⁰⁰ In 1951, Sandlana erected a fence in the area that had been used by Masendu people as a grazing area for their cattle. The fence stretched from Tokwana to Mabhongwane passing through Masendu. This was done as part of the demands of the NLHA. Chief Masendu and his people continued grazing their cattle freely as they had done before and refused to conform to the demands of the colonial official over the land of their ancestors. The chief himself cut the fence, a veritable demonstration of his utter aversion to the NLHA.³⁰¹ Headman Mazwaligwe Dube also shared the same sentiments by stating:

I remember in the days of the colonial rule when Chief Masendu cut Sandlana’s fence and allowed the people to graze their cattle across Tekwane River, we listened to our chief and supported him during the difficult days of Sandlana.³⁰²

Accordingly, people were not supposed to graze their cattle in the area beyond the Tekwane River. At one point in time, Sandlana was beaten up by old women at the dipping tank after being accused of forcing the people to destock.³⁰³ Cattle were usually confiscated at the dip tank. The dip attendant would just tell a person that he was forced to sell his cattle because they had been termed ‘*mangweni*’; literally meaning the cow had to be sold. According to Zenzo Herbert Nkomo, if one’s cattle were marked *mangweni*, they were supposed to be sold to the whites at meager prices.³⁰⁴ If a cow had a calf, that calf would not be paid for as it was argued that it was accompanying its mother and could not be sold

³⁰⁰ The people in the northern part of the district remember the time of the Act as time of Sandlana whose real name was Grispan. The Kalanga people nick-named him Sandlana because his left hand was shorter than his right hand. Sandlana was the Land Development Officer from the Plumtree District Offices who was in charge with the implementation of the Act in the northern parts of Bulilimamangwe district.

³⁰¹ Interview with Chief Sindalizwe Masendu Dube, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Masendu area, 11 March 2012.

³⁰² Interview with Headman Mazwaligwe Dube, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Masendu area, 11 March 2012

³⁰³ Interview with Headman Mazwaligwe Dube.

³⁰⁴ Interview with Zenzo Herbert Nkomo, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Bhaningumba village, 10 March 2012.

separately.³⁰⁵ As retaliation to the Act, the Kalanga would not send their cattle to the dip-tank where they were highly likely to be confiscated. Similar developments were recorded in regard to dipping in other parts of the country such as Umtali Veterinary District, Makoni District and that resistance to dipping had started in the Tandi, Weya, Chikore, Chiduku and Makoni Tribal Trust Lands.³⁰⁶ The dip-tanks, now perceived to be centers of naked exploitation, became targets of the people's wrath. Many were thus destroyed in the process. Among those that suffered in the 1950s were, the Madabe, Tematema and Masendu dip tanks.

Dip-tank attendants also found themselves at the receiving end of the local people's rage. Anger directed at the exploitative nature of the provisions of the NLHA was unusually gendered as not only men were involved in this. Women were equally at the forefront of these frontal attacks against dip-attendants who were often viewed as the representatives and extensions of a system they hated. According to Chief Masendu, women played a pivotal role during the NLHA.³⁰⁷ Besides being a source of livelihood, cattle were an important existential aspect of the Kalanga. First and foremost, it was believed that cattle belonged to *Ndzimu*, Kalanga ancestral spirits. This was demonstrated by the presence of a black bull in most Kalanga families. The bull represented the Kalanga ancestors; hence the bull was called *basekulu*, which means ancestors.³⁰⁸ In some areas, it was reported that the dip attendants would even confiscate the black bull.³⁰⁹ This view was also shared by informants such as

³⁰⁵ Interview with Zenzo Herbert Nkomo.

³⁰⁶ Mwatwara, "A history of state veterinary services", p. 221.

³⁰⁷ Interview with Chief Sindalizwe Masendu Dube.

³⁰⁸ Most Kalanga informants argued that there are many Kalanga families who still keep the black bull despite the encroachment and influence of Christianity. The view was also shared by the Ndebele in Bulilimangwe such as Qedisani Dube-Ndiweni and Chief Ndiwe Ndiweni who argued that the 'pure' Kalanga are identified by the keeping of the black bull. Nonetheless, this custom of keeping the black bull is not documented in scholarly writings.

³⁰⁹ Interview with Allen Bhidi Moyo, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Bezu, Plumtree, 10 April 2012, interview with Baka Mbisana, interview with Mandlebe Ndebele an elder Izimnyama area, conducted by Thembanani Dube, 20 December 2005 and interview with Manyangwa Dube, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Tjehanga Village, 13

Melita Sibanda, Sotsha Ngwenya, BakaMbisana and Payaya Dube who argued that the dip attends disrespected and undermined Kalanga identity by confiscating the ancestral bull. This presented a serious affront to Kalanga customs and identity.

Furthermore, cattle were also slaughtered for ritual purposes and oblations for Mwali/Ngwali. In this way, destocking under the NLHA impinged on Kalanga culture and identity since the possession of cattle was viewed as a symbol of wealth and also a marker of Kalanga identity. Moreover, the culling of cattle by dip-attendants had far reaching consequences to the livelihood of the Kalanga. They depended on cattle for their survival, since cattle were used for farming purposes and also provided them with some milk and meat.

Headman Baleni Dube at Muke area also resisted the implementation of *amagandiya*. Accordingly, the Land Development Officers re-allocated land that had previously belonged to people of Muke village. Headman Baleni refused to be re-allocated the land and argued that his ancestors had been farming on the land for a long time so he declared that he was not going anywhere.³¹⁰ Baleni said, ‘I refused to be re-allocated my own piece of land which I got from my ancestors. It was against Kalanga culture.’³¹¹ He continued ploughing on his piece of land and when the Land Development officers came to arrest him he said, ‘I will go to jail but my children will harvest my crops and I will continue ploughing when I come back.’³¹² The Land Development Officers never arrested him and he continued farming on his piece of land. Here it shows that some people were even prepared to be jailed because the Act also impinged on their source of livelihood.

March 2012, conducted by Thembanani Dube.

³¹⁰ Interview with Headman Baleni Dube, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Muke, 11 March 2012.

³¹¹ Interview with Headman Baleni Dube.

³¹² Interview with Headman Baleni Dube.

3.2. Freedom Ploughing

By 1960, most people in Bulilimamangwe district had abandoned the states' technocratic policies and began to farm in the manner that appealed to them, known as (freedom ploughing). Mwatwara argues that freedom ploughing (*kurima madiro*) was an ideology of individual freedom to counter technocratic intervention characterised by the indiscriminate opening up of new lands by individuals and households.³¹³ Nyambara also states that in Gokwe Reserve, Africans referred to freedom farming as *madiro aNkomo* (Nkomo's freedom), the leader of Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) who encouraged Africans to protest against the colonial state by embarking on freedom farming.³¹⁴

This way of farming was not unique to Bulilimamangwe. Drinkwater observes the same in his study of land use in the Midlands region.³¹⁵ Although, freedom farming was a way of resisting the demands of the NLHA, in Bulilimamangwe, freedom farming was embedded in Kalanga customs on land use. As has already been indicated earlier on in this chapter, the Kalanga chiefs saw freedom farming as a way of preserving their Kalanga identity. For example, the resistance offered by the Masendu and Ndolwane demonstrated that they also wanted to defend their culture. The Chief Native Commissioner (CNC) observed that the Masendu and Madlambuzi people were ploughing all over the place disregarding allocated land.³¹⁶ Interviewees from both Masendu and Madlambuzi areas

³¹³ See Mwatwara, "A history of state veterinary services and African livestock regimes", p. 218.

³¹⁴ P. S. Nyambara, "Immigrants, Traditional Leaders and the Rhodesian State: The Power of 'Communal' Land Tenure and the Politics of Land Acquisition in Gokwe, Zimbabwe, 1963-1979", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, volume 27, number 4 (2001) p.782 (pp. 771-791).

³¹⁵ Drinkwater, "Technical Development and Peasant impoverishment: Land use Policy in Zimbabwe's Midlands Province,". Also see P. S. Nyambara, "Immigrants, Traditional Leaders and the Rhodesian State: The Power of 'Communal' Land Tenure and the Politics of Land Acquisition in Gokwe, Zimbabwe, 1963-1979", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, volume 27, number 4 (2001) pp. 771-791. Mwatwara, has also written about the freedom farming, which he called *madiro* farming which was a way of resisting the land use as prescribed by the state under the NLHA.

³¹⁶ Report of Provincial Native Commissioner, Bulawayo for the Minister of Internal Affairs: NLHA

argued that they continued farming on their pieces of land and disregarded the demands of the Act in defense of Kalanga culture and identity.³¹⁷ In this way, freedom ploughing in these areas assumed ethnic overtones.

Moreover, migrant workers working in Johannesburg also defied the prescribed technocratic farming policies by indulging in ploughing on the unallocated lands. The Land Development Officer of Nata West Reserve reported that ‘hundreds’ of people were cultivating illegally all over the place.³¹⁸ The Land Development Officers sought to punish these ‘illegal’ cultivators by confiscating their crops when they were ready for harvesting. In addition to the above they devised strategies on how to persecute the illegal cultivators. According to the Native Commissioner for Plumtree district, ‘the policy was not to rush in try and round up ‘hundreds’ which could have caused disturbances, but to persecute a small number each week, thereby making it uneconomic for them to continue to look after the crops in question.’³¹⁹ However, these threats failed to browbeat the Kalanga in Nata Reserve into submission. In 1960, the people at Nata East Reserve refused the individual allocation and the chief expressed in a meeting that the cultivators would return to the old system of tribal allocation.³²⁰ Some people told the Land Development Officer that they would go to jail if necessary but would continue to plough where they liked when they came out.³²¹ Besides the problem of the resistant Kalanga chiefs, the government had also to deal with the corruption of Land Development Officers as well as those said to possess land rights at their homes and the areas in which they worked. These complaints were raised by the Kalanga

persecutions at Plumtree.

³¹⁷ The view was shared during my interviews with Headman Mazwaligwe Dube, Masendu, 11 March 2012, Chief Sindalizwe Masendu Dube, Masendu, 11 March 2012, Interview with Headman Mazwaligwe Dube, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Masendu area, 11 March 2012, Interview with Zenzo Herbert Nkomo, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Bhaningumba village, 10 March 2012 Payaya Dube, Madlambuzi, 10 March 2012 and Pius Ncube, Bhaningumba, 10 March 2012.

³¹⁸ NAZ S2808/1/7 (Harare) The land Husbandry Act, Bulilimamangwe.

³¹⁹ NAZ S2808/1/7 (Harare) The land Husbandry Act, Bulilimamangwe.

³²⁰ NAZ S2808/1/7.

³²¹ NAZ S2808/1/7.

who seemed aggrieved that the land of their ancestors was being allocated to 'foreigners'. Moreover, some women connived with their husbands and declared themselves widows so as to have doubled the allocation of land. The Land Development Officer complained that these 'self-styled widows' were becoming too many at Nata Reserve.³²²

In 1961 between 50 and 100 people from Bulilimamangwe North were prosecuted for rebelling against the NLHA. Those prosecuted mainly ranged from those that were ploughing outside the beacons, ploughing grass strips, to those people from Johannesburg who ploughed unallocated land.³²³ The *Daily News* also reported the growing unrest and dissatisfaction in the rural areas over the NLHA. According to the *Daily News* recommendations, a serious attempt was to be made to bring satisfaction to the rural people.³²⁴ Besides undermining Kalanga identity, the NLHA also threatened the livelihoods of the rural folks who depended on cattle and land. Malikongwa, the secretary of the southern part of Nata Reserve council also complained about destocking and the shortage of land. He stated that young men were not given land and that thousands of children were not able to get places at schools in the reserve because of disruptions created by the Act.³²⁵ In addition, destocking also threatened the lives of many rural people who depended on their cattle for survival. In line with this, the minutes of Bulilimamangwe Council stated, 'Without our cattle we feel there is no security and we would have no inheritance to hand on to our children.'³²⁶ The Chief Native Commissioner argued that destocking was being carried out to save the land for the 'native' children.³²⁷ However, the Kalanga thought that the NLHA was meant to marginalise the

³²² NAZ S2808/1/7 (Harare) The land Husbandry Act, Bulilimamangwe.

³²³ See Report of Provincial Native Commissioner, Bulawayo for the Minister of Internal Affairs: NLHA persecutions at Plumtree. The Act was meant to stabilise the rural population thereby putting an end to labour migration. On the other hand, migrant labourers totally objected to being deprived of their rural base and security, which was the land.

³²⁴ *The Daily News*, 30 March 1961, p.5.

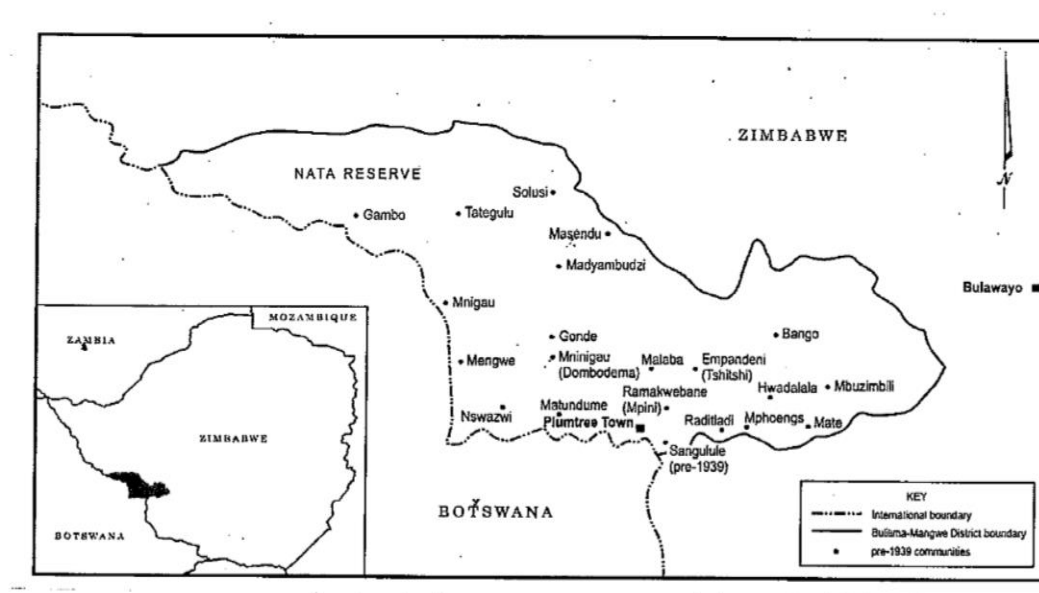
³²⁵ *Bantu Mirror*, 18 February 1961, p.2.

³²⁶ NAZ S2793/4 (Harare) Minutes of Bulilimamangwe council meeting.

³²⁷ NAZ S2808/1/7.

Kalanga by imposing Ndebele chiefs in Bulilimamangwe. Besides Kalanga chiefs who sought to promote Kalanga identity during the implementation of the Act, the KCPS also used this period to promote Kalanga ethnic identity in Bulilimamangwe district.

Map 3 Map of Bulilimamangwe district showing Kalanga communities during the Native Land Husbandry Act



Source: E. Msindo, *Ethnicity in Zimbabwe: Transformations in Kalanga and Ndebele Societies, 1860-1990* (University of Rochester Press, 2012) p. 73

3.3. The KCPS and opposition to the Native Land Husbandry Act

The colonial establishment of cities, mining towns and other urban centers created new social settings. The migration of Africans to such places promoted an increased emphasis on situations in which ethnic identities became more pronounced. The rise of ethnic associations in urban settings has been greatly attributed to the desire and attempts by the

urban dwellers to cope with the harsh economic demands of the cities.³²⁸ Urban migrants played a pivotal role in the growth of ethnic consciousness in the cities. Moreover, these migrants established associations which sought to uphold the values and customs of their various ethnic groups. The first three decades of colonial rule in Zimbabwe saw the emergence of ethnic associations which aimed to represent people from various parts of the country in the new economic settings in Bulawayo. During this period there was an attempt to depict a homogeneous and inclusive definition of the Ndebele.³²⁹

These associations have been viewed as ‘protest movements that were partly looking towards accommodation with the structures of the colonial states and partly campaigning for a separate homeland.’³³⁰ As a result of this definition, most urban-dwellers from the rural parts of Matabeleland joined the Ndebele associations such as *Ilihlo Lomuzi*, which was founded in 1927. This association was founded in order to promote ‘morality’ and ‘decency’ among its members in urban Bulawayo. It also worked closely with the Loyal Mandebele Society (LMS) which sought to observe strict Ndebele laws and to suppress immorality especially amongst women. Kalanga urban dwellers also sought to accommodate themselves within these Ndebele ethnic associations. However, there were tendencies aimed at discriminating against non-Khumalo clan members by the members of the royal clan. For example, in 1939 the (LMS) demanded the eviction of ‘immoral’ Kalanga women. The LMS

³²⁸ See A. L. Epstein, *Ethos: Three studies in Ethnicity and Identity*, (Tavistock Publications Ltd, London, 1978), J. Muzondidya and S. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, “Echoing Silences: Ethnicity in post-colonial Zimbabwe, 1980-2007”, *African Journal on Conflict Resolution: Special Issue on Identity and Cultural Diversity in Conflict Resolution in Africa*, volume 7 number 2 (2007) pp. 275-297, E. Msindo, “Ethnicity and nationalism in urban Colonial Zimbabwe: Bulawayo 1950-1963”, *Journal of African History*, volume 48 (2007), pp. 267–290, van Binsbergen W. M. J. van Binsbergen, “Minority language, ethnicity and the state in two African situations: The Nkoya of Zambia and the Kalanga of Botswana”, in, R. Fardon, and G. Furniss (eds.) *African languages, development and the state* (Routledge, London, 1994) pp. 142-188 and H. Macmillan, “A nation divided? The Swazi in Swaziland and the Transvaal, 1865-1986”, in Vail (ed.) *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa*.

³²⁹ This meant that all people from the South-western parts of Zimbabwe were all inclusively defined as Ndebele despite their different diametrical backgrounds.

³³⁰ See S. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *The Zimbabwean Nation-state project: A historical Diagnosis of Identity and Power-based Conflicts in a Post-colonial State* (Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala, 2011).

complained that all the stands and huts were being occupied by single Kalanga women who were not supposed to be there at all, for the reasons that those locations were established for male servants who were working in town and were not intended to harbor loafers or bad women.³³¹ It went on to argue that both the Christian law and Mzilikazi's law were being violated by *AmaHole* prostitutes.³³²

The formation of the Matabele Home Society (MHS) in 1929 was a precursor for the Kalanga Cultural Promotion Society in 1946.³³³ The objectives of the MHS were to secure mutual understanding and unity of action among the Matabele people; to foster Ndebele comradeship; 'to exhort, guide and lead the Matabele people in the ways of purity, peaceful advancement, good and right living in their homes, in urban and rural areas; and 'to assist the Matabele people in representing them to the Government in all matters concerning them and their welfare in urban and rural areas.'³³⁴ The MHS sought to present a regional image of Ndebele and thereby subjugating other ethnic identities under Ndebele identity. Common urban problems and harsh colonial legislation such as the Native Land Husbandry Act were also discussed at MHS meetings. Regionalised Ndebele identity had its own shortcomings. For example, it annoyed the Ndebele royalty. Members of the royal family thought that by broadening its agenda, the MHS vulgarised Ndebele identity and misrepresented their affairs.³³⁵ Right from its onset, the MHS began with a strong royalist outlook as it increasingly became aligned with the educated members of the royal family, Rhodes and Albert Lobhengula.³³⁶ They later split and formed their own Sons of Mzilikazi Home Society,

³³¹ NAZ N3/21/1 (Harare) Petition from the Loyal Matabele society to the Administrator, 21 August 1939.

³³² NAZ N3/21/1.

³³³ In 1929, faction fights erupted in Bulawayo where various ethnic groups fought over the resources. Msindo argued that the Kalanga also took part during these faction fights. See Msindo, *Ethnicity in Zimbabwe*.

³³⁴ See Msindo, "Ethnicity and nationalism in urban colonial Zimbabwe".

³³⁵ Msindo, "Ethnicity and nationalism in urban colonial Zimbabwe".

³³⁶ The two were the sons of the last Ndebele King Lobhengula. The two returned from South Africa where they were studying and began to instil divisions within the MHS as they were against the broader definition of Ndebele identity which incorporated the "Hole" peoples.

which often clashed with the MHS on interpretations of Ndebele culture.³³⁷

In 1945, members of the MHS of the Khumalo clan wrote letters requesting a separate burial ground for the Ndebele of the descendants of King Lobhengula and other distinguished Africans.³³⁸ Furthermore, the letter was sent to various parts of the country that had Ndebele chieftainships. Mpini Ndiweni, a Ndebele chief from Bulilimamangwe district supported the idea. In a letter to the provincial Native Commissioner, Mpini noted that 'one does not bury a dog near his fathers' grave.'³³⁹ By a 'dog', Mpini was referring to the non-royal people who had been assimilated and incorporated into the Ndebele identity. Such vitriolic utterances by members of the Ndebele royalty prompted the desire by non-royal people to form their own ethnic associations.

There was also a rise in Kalanga ethnic activism in Bulawayo, which sought urban social space and to free its advocates from a domineering Ndebele public image. Kalanga resurgence in the 1950s and early 1960s depleted MHS membership in Bulawayo, further weakening possible Ndebele regionalism.³⁴⁰ There is nowhere else more appropriate to trace a fledgling Kalanga ethnic consciousness than in the sentiments expressed by the Kalanga Cultural Promotion Association (KCPS), which was formed in 1946 by the Kalanga who were drawn mostly from Bulilimamangwe district. The foundation of the KCPS lay in the discriminatory treatment which the Kalanga people received from the Ndebele associations. Saul Gwakuba observed that when the Kalanga association was formed it was called *Mukani Bakalanga Kwaedza*, meaning, 'wake up Kalanga it has dawned'.³⁴¹ Jason Ziyaphapha Moyo, the leader of the KCPS decided to form the KCPS because he had been denied the

³³⁷ See Msindo, *Ethnicity in Zimbabwe*.

³³⁸ NAZ S2584/451, (Harare) letter from Plumtree Native Commissioner to Provincial Native Commissioner, Bulawayo, 19 September 1948.

³³⁹ NAZ S 2584/451(Harare) letter from Plumtree Native Commissioner to Provincial Native Commissioner, Bulawayo, 19 September 1948. .

³⁴⁰ Msindo, "Ethnicity and nationalism in urban Colonial Zimbabwe: Bulawayo 1950-1963".

³⁴¹ Interview with Saul Gwakuba Ndlovu, conducted by Themban Dube.

opportunity to join the Sons of Mzilikazi Association.³⁴² Among its other aims, during this period, was the destruction of Ndebele power and influence in Bulilimamangwe. Slowly, it became the mouthpiece through which the Kalanga people could air their views. Kalanga critics also suggested that the headquarters of KCPS should be in Plumtree rather than Bulawayo and that Kalanga should stop teaching their culture in a ‘foreign’ land.³⁴³ The KCPS did not only operate in urban spaces but spread its agenda to the rural areas. There is evidence which shows the connections of the KCPS with the rural people especially during the NLHA.³⁴⁴

Starting from the 1950s, the KCPS was instrumental in resisting the NLHA thereby defending Kalanga ethnic identity in Bulilimamangwe district.³⁴⁵ The leadership of the KCPS was made up mostly of the semi-literate urban dwellers from the areas such as Kezi, Dombodema, Nopemano and Tokwana. The first chairman of the KCPS was Jason Ziyaphapha Moyo, a nationalist who later became one of the top leaders of the Zimbabwe African People’s Union (ZAPU) led by Joshua Nkomo. Other members who held positions in this association were Saul Gwakuba Ndlovu, Butshe Dabudabu and Jele Dube who were the semi-educated elite based in Bulawayo.³⁴⁶ The association drew most of its members from the northern parts of Bulilimamangwe district. This was revealed during interview with people from Bulilimamangwe district. According to Jele Khuphe and Ndlovu, both Kalanga

³⁴² Interview with Saul Gwakuba Ndlovu.

³⁴³ In this case, Bulawayo was presented as a Ndebele space and the definition of being Ndebele to the Kalanga meant, ‘those who had come from Mzilikazi from Zululand’. This view of Ndebele is still held today especially in the northern parts of Bulilimamangwe district.

³⁴⁴ Lekgoathi, also writes about a similar case where he demonstrates the link between the (TNNO) and the rural folks such as chiefs. See S. P. Lekgoathi, “Ethnicity and Identity: Struggle and Contestation in the making of the Northern Transvaal Ndebele, ca 1860-2005”, unpublished PhD thesis, Graduate School, University of Minnesota, 2006.

³⁴⁵ The association is remembered in the northern parts of Bulilimamangwe district. Very few people from the southern parts of the district seemed to know about the KCPS.

³⁴⁶ While these people claimed to be standing for the representation of Kalanga people, they wanted to boost their public images in urban Bulawayo where they worked. Moreover, these were later to hold influential positions in the nationalist parties such as ZAPU.

nationalists, the association drew most of its members from Tokwana, Dombodema and Nopemano areas.³⁴⁷ A strong sense of Kalanga identity was and is also held in these areas too.³⁴⁸ For example, four of my interviewees from the southern parts of Bulilimamangwe advised me to visit the northern parts of Bulilimamangwe if I wanted to know the history of the Kalanga. They said, that ‘Pure Kalanga people are found in areas such as Dombodema, Nopemano and other areas of the northern district.’³⁴⁹

The KCPS conducted meetings with the Kalanga people, advising them to repudiate *amagandiya* in the land of their forefathers.³⁵⁰ The association also supported the deposed Kalanga chiefs such as Masendu Dube, and Madlambuzi Ncube who resisted the NLHA in their areas.³⁵¹ The statement, ‘land of our ancestors’ was deployed in order to show that Bulilimamangwe belonged to the Kalanga people. However, such claims were countered by Chief Mpini Ndife Ndiweni who argued that: ‘Prior to the arrival of the Ndebele, Kalanga people did not own this land and they had no chiefs.’³⁵² He went further to say that the Ndebele are the rightful owners of this land.³⁵³ Qedisani Ndiweni, the daughter of Chief Mpini Ndiweni, also confirmed this point. However, such claims cannot be accepted as evidence from various sources indicates that the Kalanga arrived in the area prior to the

³⁴⁷ This might have been necessitated by the fact that these people had been forced to move from their areas during the NLHA.

³⁴⁸ I observed this feeling during my interviewees especially in the southern parts of Bulilimamangwe.

³⁴⁹ Interview with Qedisani Dube, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Osabeni Village, Bulilimamangwe, 27 December 2010, Interview with Solonia Dube Osabeni, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Bulilimamangwe, 28 December 2010, Interview with Melita Sibanda, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Osabeni, Bulilimamangwe, 28 December 2010 and 26 April 2011 and Interview with Headman Jim Mabunu Ngwenya, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Izimnyama area, 03 January, 2012.

³⁵⁰ According to Elias Mahumba, a former school teacher and former member of the KCPS these meetings were usually carried out in chiefs’ homesteads. Jele Khupe, a Kalanga activist who was a teacher at a nearby school also shared his encounter with the association leaders during the meetings.

³⁵¹ Chief Masendu and Nconyiwe Ncube, the wife of the late chief Madlambuzi argued that the association also tried to fight for the installation of the two chiefs although it did not succeed. The association was viewed as an organisation that stood for a Kalanga identity.

³⁵² Interview with Chief Ndife Ndiweni, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Osabeni, 12 July 2012.

³⁵³ Interview with Chief Ndife Ndiweni.

arrival of the Ndebele.³⁵⁴

Consequently, the KCPS influenced the Bango and Gampo people not to make payment for grain supplied during drought of 1960.³⁵⁵ There was also an attempt to research and write Kalanga history by members of the KCPS in order to instill pride in being Kalanga. However, the association took advantage of this period for its own political agenda.³⁵⁶ In an effort to promote the teaching of Kalanga language, in 1958, a group of Kalanga activists that comprised of Saul Gwakuba Ndlovu, Anderson Mphakathi, Tapela Nleya and Butshe Dabudabu came together and established the Kalanga Literature Society (KALISO).³⁵⁷ KALISO's main objectives were to publish Kalanga books, a Kalanga newspaper and the teaching of Kalanga in Kalanga speaking areas.³⁵⁸ Here, it can be seen that Kalanga identity was not only limited to land appropriation. Msindo also articulates that the Kalanga also announced their vision of constructing their own school where Tjikalanga (Kalanga language) would be taught in order to uplift the Kalanga³⁵⁹. However, due to lack of resources KALISO did not publish anything. The only Kalanga books that were then used were various Kalanga texts published between 1904 and 1929. Below is a list of Kalanga published work.

Table 3.1: Kalanga published work

³⁵⁴ For this see J. R. D. Cobbing "The Ndebele under the Khumalo 1820-1896".

³⁵⁵ NAZ S2808/1/7 (Harare).

³⁵⁶ This was seen in the later years of the late 1950s and early 1950s when the leaders of KCPS such as Jason Ziyaphapha Moyo and George Silundika became occupied senior positions in the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) which was one of the political parties that fought for Zimbabwe's liberation.

³⁵⁷ Interview with Saul Gwakuba Ndlovu.

³⁵⁸ Interview with Saul Gwakuba Ndlovu.

³⁵⁹ Msindo, *Ethnicity in Zimbabwe*, p134.

<i>DATE</i>	<i>WORK PUBLISHED</i>	<i>TRANSLATOR</i>
1904	Ndebo Mbuya yakanyogwa ndi Mato waka yengemala (Matthews gospel) By British Foreign Bible Society (BFBS)	C. H Reed
1904	Katekisisima Kalana Catechism) By Londom Missionary Society (LMS)	C. H Reed
1920	Gwaba lino mba no boka Mlimo gudimi gweKalana (Kalanga Hymn book) By LMS	C. H Reed
1924	Matama etjikalanga anopesa (Kalanga proverbs) By LMS	Sipopa Kupe (first 'native' version
1924	Ndebo Mbuya yakanyogwa ndi Mato waka yengemala (Matthews gospel) By BFBS	Whiteside and 'native' helpers
1926	Ipelete mundebo yeTjikalanga (Spelling book) By LMS	Whiteside and 'native' helpers

1929	Ndebo Mbuya yobuhe gweNdzimu (Chiefs book) By BFBS	Whiteside, P Mguni, Sidumuka, Nleya, B Dube and Mdongo
------	--	--

Source: E. Msindo, “Rethinking the Ndebele and the Kalanga, 1860-1960”, Unpublished M. Phil thesis, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, 2002, p 84.

3.4. Conclusion

The chapter has documented how Kalanga communities negotiated, shaped and defended their ethnic identity during the period of the implementation of the NLHA in Bulilimamangwe district. Although ethnic identities were a well-established phenomenon in Southern Rhodesia by 1951, the period of the NLHA saw growing interests from the Kalanga in preserving Kalanga ethnic identity which was being threatened by the implementation of the NLHA. The chapter captures the role played by Kalanga chiefs and their followers and the KCPS in shaping Kalanga ethnic identity during the implementation of the Act. The NLHA in this district in particular attracted criticism and opposition which often assumed ethnic overtones. This chapter has explored a broad range of various forms of opposition to the Act by the Kalanga people who were moved from their homes and by those who resisted these movements. The deposition of Kalanga chiefs such as Madlambuzi Ncube and Masendu Dube, during the implementation of the Act served to strengthen Kalanga consciousness in Bulilimamangwe in the 1950s and early 1960s.

CHAPTER 4:

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, CHIEFS AND KALANGA ETHNIC IDENTITY, 1963- 1979

4.0. Introduction

Popular resistance against the Native Land Husbandry Act (1951) and its inherent contradictions compelled the colonial state to set up the Robinson Commission in 1961 to investigate ways in which the Act could be revised. The fear of losing the loyalty of the chiefs as a result of African opposition to the NLHA prompted the appointment of the Robinson Commission's Working Party 'D' which was mandated to make recommendations on the Act.³⁶⁰ After widespread consultations with Chiefs and District Commissioners across the country, it warned that failure to return power to the chiefs would force them and their followers to support the nationalists. The Commission, therefore, recommended that chiefs were to be given powers over land allocation and also urged the government to open up formerly unalienated Crown Land for 'tribal settlement' to reassure the chiefs of support from the government.³⁶¹

In reporting its findings, the Robinson's Commission severely criticised the Native Land Husbandry Act (1951), for being too rigid and its failure to acknowledge the importance of indigenous institutions. These criticisms forced the colonial state to abandon the Act in favour of the policy of Community Development as an alternative form of African administration.³⁶² This policy was conceived in the 1950s and was influenced by the wave of

³⁶⁰ Alexander, *The Unsettled Land: State Making and the Politics of Land in Zimbabwe, 1893-2003* (Weaver Press, Harare, 2006) p. 67.

³⁶¹ Alexander, *The Unsettled Land*, p.69.

³⁶² The Robinson Commission sought to revise the NLHA. Four working parties were appointed from senior officials of departments to consider the Robinson Commission's Report. Working Parties A, B and C made recommendations regarding non-racial administration, a new department of agriculture and 'tribal' courts. Working Party D was set up by the Secretary for Native Affairs on the first of July in 1961 to examine the

‘federalism’ sweeping across the world coupled with the development theories favoured by the donor community in the 1960s.³⁶³ In essence, this policy was designed to make Africans return to ‘tradition’ by elevating traditional authority using chiefs who would be agents of development for their people. However, it can be argued that this was a strategy to shift accountability away from the state and to press responsibility for development onto rural people. This could also be interpreted as a strategy by the colonial state to buy off traditional leaders’/chiefs loyalty so that they could invest in the system. It was, therefore, a way of co-opting chiefs and headmen into becoming agents of the state responsible for enforcing ‘law and order’ in ‘tribal’ areas. Similarities can be drawn with the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 in South Africa which led to the creation of African homelands and promoted the policy of segregation against the Africans during the apartheid era.³⁶⁴ By so doing, the Rhodesian Front hoped that people would be driven away from supporting nationalists and ‘communist’ guerrillas and be loyal to their people, the chiefs. The most urgent matters that the government wanted the chiefs to deal with were the control of ‘tribal’ land and the problem of those rendered landless by the Native Land Husbandry Act. In essence, Community

problem of the land in relation to the African population. Thus, the first task was the allocation to the landless in Tribal Trust Lands on a temporary basis, of arable land through the Interim Report. Thus the NLHA was highly criticised for being too rigid and that it allowed no choices and took no sufficient account of the traditional tribal authorities and the powers that they formerly exercised in respect of land matters. For more on this see, NAZ S2808/2/8 (Harare) Working Party D: Robinson Commission, Revision of the Native Land Husbandry Act, Alexander 2006, G. C. Passmore, “Historical Rationale of the Policy of Community Development in the Africa Rural Areas of Rhodesia” a paper presented to the Department of Political Science, University of Rhodesia, 1971.

³⁶³ The policy of Community Development was a popular form of governance in other former British colonies in the post-World War 2 period. It was first introduced in India in 1952, then later in Kenya, Tanganyika and Northern Rhodesia. For more information on this see M. Bratton, *Beyond Community Development: From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe* (Mambo Press, Gweru, 1978).

³⁶⁴ For more information on the Bantu Authorities Act see N. J. Jacobs, *Environment, power and injustice: A South African History*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2003), F. T. Hendricks, “Loose planning and rapid resettlement: The politics of conservation and control in Transkei, South Africa, 1950-1970”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, volume 15, number 2 (1989) pp. 306-325. Also see P. Delius *A Lion amongst cattle: Reconstruction and resistance in the Northern Transvaal*, (Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1996), L. Ntsebeza, *Democracy compromised: Chiefs and the politics of the land in South Africa*, (Brill, Boston, 2005) illustrate the impact of Bantu Authorities Act on chiefs and they demonstrate how chiefs who proved unwilling to cooperate were harshly dealt with, in most cases they were deposed while those who were more amenable were co-opted into the colonial administration and used as an effective means of indirect control.

Development was a policy vehicle to re-establish control over rural society that had been lost during implementation of the Land Husbandry Act.

This chapter is concerned with the remaking or reinvention and articulation of Kalanga ethnic identity in the 1960s during the period, and within the context, of Community Development. The chapter contends that the policy of Community Development faced serious opposition in the northern parts of Bulilimamangwe because of the failure by the Rhodesian government to return to 'tradition' and reinstall Kalanga chiefs who were supposed to facilitate Community Development projects. The chapter explores the intricate processes of establishing the rural councils in Bulilimamangwe and how the loss of power by Kalanga chiefs evoked ethnic squabbles amongst them and their people who were against these rural councils that were often headed by the District Commissioner and Ndebele chiefs.

The chapter draws on works that have focused on Community Development in colonial Zimbabwe. Existing studies have examined the design and implementation of Community Development policies through which state agents have sought to shape and manage rural social life in Zimbabwe. Bessant and Muringai illustrate how the colonial state sought to control the rural people in Chiweshe through the Native Commissioners who dominated council meetings during the period of Community Development.³⁶⁵ Studies have also highlighted the contradictions associated with the policy of Community Development which often triggered acts of resistance by the rural population in Zimbabwe.³⁶⁶ Mwatwara showed the impact of Community Development policies on veterinary interactions in the reserves.³⁶⁷ He argued that the shift from technocracy to Community Development improved

³⁶⁵ L. Bessant and E. Muringai, "Peasants, Businessmen, and Moral Economy in the Chiweshe Reserve, Colonial Zimbabwe: 1930-1968," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, volume 19, number 4 (1993) pp.551-592.

³⁶⁶ See G. C. Passmore "Historical Rationale of the Policy of Community Development in the African Rural Areas of Rhodesia".

³⁶⁷ See Mwatwara, "A History of state veterinary services", p.229.

neither the material conditions of African livestock owners nor the quality of veterinary services they received.³⁶⁸ Similarly, Makombe elaborates on how the policy of Community Development was contested, reshaped and renegotiated by Goromonzi rural-urban migrants on the socio-cultural and economic fronts.³⁶⁹ Although these studies are vital in showing the resistance offered by Africans to Community Development in various parts of the country, this chapter is concerned with the ethnic dimensions which this resistance assumed amongst the Kalanga in Bulilimangwe district.

Moreover, studies have also showed how Community Development evoked enormous peasant resistance, thereby creating a vast reservoir of nationalism and a critical mass that justified and bolstered the rise of African nationalist parties in the 1960s.³⁷⁰ Weinrich argues that the policy of Community Development was seen as a way of curbing the influence of African nationalist movements in the reserves by ‘increasing’ the power of chiefs.³⁷¹ The previous chapter showed how the Kalanga worked hand in hand with nationalists during the implementation of the Native Land Husbandry Act. It demonstrated how Kalanga ethnicity blended well with the nationalists’ cause. Similarly, this chapter also shows how the Manyangwa shrine emerged as a legitimate representative and epitome of Kalanga identity which consolidated Kalanga ethnic identity during nationalist activities.³⁷²

The chapter also builds on works that have focused on the impact of these colonial policies on chiefs in colonial Zimbabwe. Munro examined how this policy created

³⁶⁸ Mwatwara, “A History of state veterinary services”, p. 229.

³⁶⁹ See Makombe, “A Social History of Town and Country Interactions: A Study on the changing social life and practices of rural-urban migrants in colonial Harare and Goromonzi 1946-1979”.

³⁷⁰ Here see Ranger, *Peasant Consciousness and the Guerillar war in Zimbabwe: A comparative study* and D. Lan, *Guns and Rain: Guerrillas and Spirit Mediums in Zimbabwe* (James Currey, Oxford, 1985). Also see M. B. Munochiveyi, “We do not want to be ruled by foreigners, Oral histories of nationalism in colonial Zimbabwe”, *Historia*, volume 73, number 1 (2011) pp. 65-87.

³⁷¹ A. K. H. Weinrich, *Chiefs and Councils in Rhodesia: The Transition from Patriarchal to Bureaucratic Power* (Heinemann, London, 1971) p. 20.

³⁷² Manyangwa is one of the cults of the Mwari cult of the high god of the Matopos. It was founded by a wosana named Manyangwa Dube. It is situated in Tjehanga, 20 Kilometers to the north of the district town, Plumtree. As was seen in the first chapter, Mwari religion is one of the pillars of Kalanga identity. As will be seen in this chapter, Kalanga ethnic identity blossomed in this cult during the period of the nationalist activities.

constituencies of outsiders and insiders that bolstered the position of traditional ‘tribal’ authorities as agents of social control.³⁷³ In the same vein, studies have also focused on the difficult positions which chiefs found themselves in due to the policy of Community Development. To this end, Bratton has argued that, ‘Community Development became mired in the dynamics of state power which now was being deployed through chiefs and white administrative officials in the rural areas although they did not necessarily enjoy legitimacy in the eyes of the people for whom the development was aimed.’³⁷⁴ In the case of Bulilimamangwe, this policy was doomed right from its infancy as the Rhodesian Front failed to reinstate the Kalanga chiefs who were deposed during the Native Land Husbandry Act. It was these deposed chiefs who sought to consolidate Kalanga ethnic identity by undermining Chief Mpini Ndiweni, a Ndebele chief who was imposed by the colonial regime in areas which were formerly under Kalanga chiefs.

There is now a stream of studies that have demonstrated how chiefs were able to make use of the ‘return to tradition’ during Community Development in other parts of Zimbabwe. Ranger’s study of the Makoni chiefs reveals this. He argues that, most chiefs however, gave it a more pragmatic interpretation, viewing tradition in its true and authentic sense as a means of increasing their own power.³⁷⁵ He goes further to argue that, such ‘strong’ chiefs effectively made the administration taste its own medicine by creatively using this rigid antiquarian version of ‘tradition’ to their own advantage, in other words by interpreting it literally.³⁷⁶ Mazarire also showed how the Mapanzure chieftaincy benefited from Community Development diplomatic maneuvers by using his

³⁷³ W. Munro, *The Moral Economy of the State: Conservation, Community Development and State-Making in Zimbabwe*, (Ohio University Press, Athens, 1998).

³⁷⁴ M. Bratton, *Beyond Community Development: The Political Economy of Rural Administration in Zimbabwe*, (Catholic Institute for International Relations, London, 1978). For more information on the role of chiefs see, Alexander, *The Unsettled Land*.

³⁷⁵ T. Ranger, “Tradition and Travesty: Chiefs and the Administration in Makoni District 1960-1980”, *Africa* volume 52, number 3, *Past and Present in Zimbabwe* (1982) p. 24, (pp. 20-41)

³⁷⁶ Ranger, “Tradition and Travesty”, p. 24

access to high profile government functionaries to lobby for the return of the Mapanzure *gadzingo* (ancestral lands) which came true in 1976.³⁷⁷ Although Ranger and Mazarire's studies are useful in showing how traditional leaders used the policy of Community Development to their advantage, the chapter is concerned with how this policy assumed ethnic overtones in Bulilimamangwe district.

Most of the studies on Community Development have not explored the role of ethnicity in African resistance in the rural areas and as a factor that also led to the failure of Community Development. Therefore, Bulilimamangwe presents a unique case as opposition to the policy of Community Development often assumed ethnic overtones. The gist of the chapter is to explore the nuances characterizing the definition and redefinition of Kalanga identity (ies) during the period of Community development due to opportunities presented by the colonial regime for inventing and reinventing Kalanga history, traditions and identities. The chapter will do so by focusing mainly on land issues, rural councils and the role of the Manyangwa shrine during the period of Community Development in Bulilimamangwe district.

4.1. Chiefs and the Colonial State's Community Development Policy: An Alternative form of African Administration?

The policy of Community Development was the brainchild of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) which was adopted by the Rhodesian government in 1961. The key people behind this policy were Dr. Jones Green and Roger Howman. Howman was the rural secretary for Internal Affairs Department and an advocate for Community Development.³⁷⁸ The two formulated the policy of Community Development which was

³⁷⁷ Mazarire, "A Social and Political History of Chishanga: South-Central Zimbabwe c.1750-2000."

³⁷⁸ He was also Rhodesia's leading authority on local government and African courts and an architect of the

primarily concerned with putting the responsibility of African development on Africans themselves through the establishment of rural councils.³⁷⁹ In the eyes of the Rhodesian government, Community Development was a planned and organised effort to place responsibility for decision-making in local affairs on the 'freely chosen' representatives of responsible people at the community and local government levels, and to assist people to acquire the attitudes, knowledge, skills and resources required to solve, through communal self-help and organisation, as wide a range of local problems as possible in their own order.³⁸⁰ In order to achieve this, the Rhodesian government sought to use chiefs as vehicles to facilitate Community Development programmes. In simple terms, Community Development was an excuse by the Rhodesian Front to withdraw and abdicate state responsibilities to traditional 'tribal' structures.

The Rhodesian Front turned to Community Development as a policy vehicle to re-establish the control over rural society that had been lost during implementation of the Land Husbandry Act. The colonial regime undermined the role of chiefs in the allocation of land by the appointment of government officials who were entrusted with land allocation in the 'reserves'. The ineffectiveness of the NLHA forced the colonial regime to 'return to tradition' during Community Development through the elevation of the status of chiefs on issues to deal with land allocation. The Rhodesian Front government therefore, hoped to use chiefs as agents of social control.

The Rhodesian Front realised that changing the African communal land system was tantamount to evoking opposition to the government. For example, the Robinson Commission's Working Party 'D' interpreted resistance to the Native Land Husbandry Act

African Councils Act of 1957. Dr James Green was an international consultant in Community Development.

³⁷⁹ For more on this see Passmore, "Historical Rationale of the Policy of Community Development in the African Rural Areas of Rhodesia".

³⁸⁰ NAZ MS823/2, (Harare) Second Symposium on Community Development, Kampala, 20-30th November 1961.

and justified the 'return to tribal tenure' in terms of African people's 'spiritual' ties to land and cattle, arguing that these attachments were 'quite impervious to logical or other argument.'³⁸¹ However, both the 'spiritual' ties to land and the return to 'tribal' tenure were both ignored especially in Bulilimamangwe district where the regime continued to use the Ndebele Chief Mpini Ndiweni in the northern parts of the district. It was, therefore, not possible for the Kalanga to support Chief Mpini Ndiweni, a 'foreign' chief in the projects channeled towards Community Development. It was agreed that there would be no attempt to force the Africans to change their minds and it was envisaged that if the Community Development system developed rapidly it would end with the provision of the African areas of some form of local government. Clearly, this policy sought to force Africans to comply with the demands of minority rule. However, Africans were not passive recipients of such racist policies as the case of Bulilimamangwe will illustrate. What is more interesting with the case of Bulilimamangwe is how the resistance to Community Development evoked ethnic consciousness amongst the Kalanga.

Following the adoption of the policy of Community Development, the Rhodesian Front saw it fit to delineate the rural areas. The purpose of the delineation exercise was to define 'natural' communities, equated with a village under a headman, and to give them precise boundaries on the map.³⁸² The criterion adopted in defining membership of a headman's community was whether or not a particular village took their cases to his court. In Bulilimamangwe the delineation exercise had far reaching consequences in evoking Kalanga ethnic consciousness. For example, nowhere in this district did the Robinson Commission's Working Party 'D' (a commission set up by the Secretary for Native Affairs to examine the problem of the land in relation to the African population) report any presence of more

³⁸¹ NAZ 14.8F/69691, (Harare) Working Party D, "Provisions of the Native Land Husbandry Act", Paper no 23, 24 December 1961.

³⁸² Ranger, "Tradition and Travesty: Chiefs and the Administration in Makoni District", p. 383.

Ndebele or any other ethnic group than the Kalanga, although the Ndebele language tended to be the dominant language in some areas.³⁸³ Moreover, the Ndebele were described as immigrants who came much later while the Kalanga were described as the original inhabitants of the land. The delineation of the Bulilimangwe district by the Rhodesian Front under the auspices of the Robinson Commission led to a situation whereby, people were settled according to their ethnic groups and chiefs and headmen were installed on these 'tribes'. This promoted a situation whereby Kalanga culture was able to flourish in these areas as it was now promoted by both the chief and the headman. The Robinson Commission's Working Party 'D' thus visited these communities and the histories of these people were collected and this gave the Kalanga a platform to explain themselves as the original inhabitants of the land. The collection of the histories of the Kalanga played a pivotal role in the growth of a Kalanga ethnic identity. In order to show their adherence to, and defense of, Kalanga ethnic identity, Kalanga chiefs appointed elders known as *Nkumbudzi* (reminders) who provided the history of the Kalanga to the Working Party D. Headman Lindiwe, who was also a *Nkumbudzi* during the delineation exercise said:

Headman Baleni Dube and I were appointed by our chiefs, (Madlambuzi and Masendu) and not Mpini to preserve our Kalanga history and ethnic identity. Our task was to teach the young generations Kalanga history and culture. I still have in my records my notes which I wrote concerning Kalanga history. I gave a copy of the notes to the delineation team. We were keen to preserve our identity from being eroded by the Ndebele.³⁸⁴

Headman Baleni also argued that his knowledge of Kalanga history played a pivotal role in putting the Kalanga ethnic group in their rightful position. He commented:

³⁸⁴ Interview with Headman Lindiwe Mdonga, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Nopemano, 11 March 2012. Headman Baleni and Chief Masendu Dube also confirmed the above statement. Headman Lindiwe also showed the researcher some duplicated notes that he wrote during the 1960s. The notes contained praises of Chibundule (the progenitor of the Kalanga), origins of the Kalanga and the histories of the Madlambuzi and Madlambuzi chieftaincies. However, he was not comfortable with giving me the copy of his notes.

When the delineation teams visited our area in 1965, they did not know about ‘us’, they thought all people were Ndebele. I, together with some elders such as Jeremiah Dube told them the truth, which is, that the area was a Kalanga area and that the Ndebele were *beni behango* (outsiders). Although I did not have that history written down, it still in my head.³⁸⁵

Several points can be drawn from the above statements. These interviewees suggest that there was an attempt at ethnic mobilisation by Kalanga deposed chiefs who sought to promote Kalanga ethnic identity through the appointment of the elders who were entrusted with the custodianship of Kalanga history. Secondly, these elders/ *Nkumbudzi* also recognised the deposed chiefs as the rightful chiefs despite the government’s failure to reinstall the deposed chiefs. Through the writing and presentation of Kalanga history to delineation team, the elders thought that the Kalanga ethnic group would be elevated and recognised as opposed to the Ndebele. The preservation and defense of Kalanga ethnic identity during the delineation exercise was also articulated by the Kalanga elders through the teaching of Kalanga culture and history in the initiation schools and through *Ngano* (folklores) and puzzles.³⁸⁶

The delineation reports of 1965 on some of the communities in Bulilimangwe district illustrate that the squabbles over land and boundaries did not always assume ethnic overtones. This was experienced in the Mpimbila Tribal Trust Land where the elimination of the ‘tribal’ structure led to some confusion. There were problems over boundaries which had somehow become unclear due to the imposition of Mangubo as headman.³⁸⁷ In this case, Mangubo and Madlambuzi were both Kalanga. This was further complicated by the fact that people became divided between those who supported Madlambuzi and those who supported

³⁸⁵ Interview with Headman Baleni Dube, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Muke, 11 March 2012.

³⁸⁶ Interview with Scotch Maphosa, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Bulawayo, 11 March, 2008.

³⁸⁷ See NAZ S2929/6/2 (Harare), Bulilimangwe Delineation report. Manguba was already a headman in his area, which was situated on the east of Madlambuzi. His appointment antagonized the Kalanga at Madlambuzi since he was considered an outsider as they argued that he was not the rightful heir to the Madlambuzi chieftainship.

Mangubo.³⁸⁸ It was noted during the delineation exercise that the Madlambuzi people had increasingly become hostile to the colonial government. As a result, the delineation teams had proposed the reinstallation of the chieftainship to instill some order and to enhance the waning popularity of the colonial administration in the eyes of the people.³⁸⁹ However, the Rhodesian Front failed to restore Madlambuzi in his position as chief because Chief Mpini Ndiweni was already the chief in that area.

Although the delineation exercise presented the Kalanga with the opportunity to invent and reinvent Kalanga history and identities, its major undoing was its focus on the royal families, especially chiefs. In this way, many non-royal Kalanga and women histories were excluded from the definitions of Kalanga history and identity. The ambiguities of the imposed boundaries were also another bone of contention between Chief Mpini Ndiweni and Masendu Dube. The size of Chief Masendu's area was reduced in order to accommodate Chief Mpini Ndiweni. Chief Masendu said:

In the 1950s (I do not remember the exact year) Mpini Ndiweni, (a Ndebele chief) came from Osabeni, and took over all the area that belonged to the Kalanga people. In the end 'we original the owners' of the land were left with very small pieces of land.

³⁸⁸ NAZ N9/1/1(Harare) History of Native Tribes.

³⁸⁹ NAZ S2929/6/2. The Madlambuzi chieftainship was in existence before the coming of the Ndebele. The founder of the chieftainship was Sidambe Ncube whose other brother was Muke (these are now called the Dubes). The name Madlambuzi was ascribed to these people during a war with King Mzilikazi. The son of Sidambe, Lukana Ncube is said to have stolen a goat from the king Mzilikazi's kraal and fed his people since his people had become starved. Oral Traditions relating to the incidence state that Lukana and his people only left a head of a goat as evidence. Upon return the king asked who had eaten his goat since he had seen the goat. Lukana was then called *Madlambuzi yenkosi*, meaning, the one who ate the King's goat. Lukana was succeeded by Nzwaligwe Ncube. It was during the time of Nzwaligwe that the Madlambuzi people moved from Khami to settle in the northern parts of Bulilimangwe district. There is not much of the traditions relating to the reigning of Sundilamwa, the chief who succeeded Nzwaligwe. Sundilamwa was the father of Madzete Madlambuzi, the chief who resisted the implementation of the NLHA in Bulilimangwe. Madzete Madlambuzi Ncube succeeded his father in 1939. He was the reigning chief till his chieftainship was reduced to a headmanship position in 1952. As from 1952 onwards, Madlambuzi and his people were in the Mpimbila TTL under Chief Mpini Ndiweni. There was at that time only one officially recognised headman living in the area, Mangubo Ncube. Also see S2929/6/2, Bulilimangwe Delineation Report, 1965. Also see interviews conducted by Thembanani Dube with people of Madlambuzi area such as Headman Grey Ndlovu, Nconyiwe Ncube, wife of Chief Madlambuzi and Tseyamu Ncube, 10 March 2012. The genealogy Madlambuzi chieftainship is attached in Appendix 2.

What really angered my father was that Mpini was a later arrival, the Kalanga chiefs ruled the areas centuries before the arrival of the Ndebele. Prior to the arrival of Mpini Ndiweni my area stretched from Tekwane Mission in the south and to the west was Hikwa Nleya and Madlambuzi Ncube was on the northern side. It was very big. When Mpini Ndiweni arrived, my area was reduced as I lost all the areas around Tekwane Mission.³⁹⁰

As the above case indicates, clashes over boundaries were interpreted along ethnic lens. In this case, Chief Masendu argued that Chief Mpini Ndiweni had no right over that area as he was Ndebele and not Kalanga and that Mpini was a late comer.³⁹¹ Here, Chief Masendu was basing his argument on pre-colonial boundaries which were often marked by rivers and mountains among other physical features. This was also common amongst the Shona. For example, Duri also observes that in the Shona state of Mutapa, boundaries or *miganhu* were clearly defined, often by such natural features as rivers or mountains.³⁹²

Alongside the policy of Community Development, there was a strong emphasis on traditional authorities and their 'empowerment'. However, in the case of Bulilimangwe

³⁹⁰ Interview by Themban Dube with Chief Sindalizwe Masendu Dube, 11 March 2012.

³⁹¹ According to Oral Traditions in the area, Mposwe Masendu was the first chief and he settled at Tukabakoma in 1900. The people of Masendu are of Sotho origin that came from Swaziland. Mposwe Masendu was accorded this chieftainship because he was seen to be very brave by the whites. According to custom, Mposwe could not be a chief because he was younger than his brother Mbulayi whom he had left at Osabeni when he proceeded to Tukabakoma. By the time Mposwe reached Tukabakoma he had adopted a Kalanga identity. From then till today the people of Masendu are known to be of Kalanga ethnic group. After the death of Mbulayi, Mposwe went back to Osabeni to collect his brother's children. When they came to Tukabakoma, a severe drought stroke and Mposwe was forced to feed his brother's children with the outer part of melons known as *masendu* in Kalanga. The chieftainship was from then onwards known as Masendu chieftainship. After the death of Mposwe, his son Mlopo was too young to rule and the chieftainship was given to Mposwe's brother's son, Mathafeni Dube. Mathafeni Dube was supposed to act on behalf of Mposwe's children till they were old enough to take over the chieftainship. Sidakwa the son of Mathafeni took over the chieftainship in 1937 when his father died. He was succeeded by Mrapelo, the son of Mposwe. There was a succession dispute when the son of Mposwe wanted to take over the chieftainship. Sidakwa could not just cede the chieftainship to the rightful heir. The history of this chieftainship has been dominated by succession disputes because the chieftainship is of the younger house. Traditionally, chiefs usually come from the eldest house. However in this case Mposwe, the founder of the chieftainship had been given this chieftainship because of his bravery. Mrapelo took over as the chief in 1953 only to be demoted in 1954 because of his opposition to the Native Land husbandry Act. See NAZ S2929/6/2 (Harare) Bulilimangwe Delineation Report, 1965 and Appendix 2 for the genealogy of Masendu Dube chieftainship.

³⁹² F. P. T. Duri, "Antecedents and adaptations in the borderlands: A Social History of informal socio-economic activities across The Rhodesia-Mozambique Border with particular reference to the city of Umtali, 1900-1974", unpublished PhD, Faculty of Humanities, The University of the Witwatersrand, 2012. For more on pre-colonial boundaries also see, M. F.C. Bourdillon, *The Shona peoples: Ethnography of the contemporary Shona, with special reference to their religion* (Mambo Press, Gweru, 1998).

district, traditional leaders were further disempowered. Most of them from the 1960s began to serve as unsubsidised headmen.³⁹³ The Ndebele Chief Mpini Ndiweni had become an undisputed colonial chief who was placed in charge of Kalanga areas since the local Kalanga chiefs had been deposed during the notorious NLHA.³⁹⁴ According to Msindo, Chief Mpini Ndiweni had become *indunanyana yamakhiwa* (white people's minor chief).³⁹⁵ The imposition of compliant chiefs was also a common feature in most parts of the country during the period of the implementation of Community Development. For example, Ranger and Mazarire, in two different cases demonstrate how the imposition of 'compliant' chiefs led to disputes over the seniority of chiefs in Makoni and Mapanzure, respectively.³⁹⁶ It is important to note that the opposition to those 'imposed' chiefs did not assume ethnic overtones. However, in Bulilimangwe district, the failure to resuscitate the Kalanga chieftainships that were deposed during the NLHA was interpreted by those deposed chiefs and their subjects as a deliberate attempt by the Rhodesian Front to marginalise the Kalanga ethnic group. Commenting on this issue was Headman Adelaide Hikwa Nleya, who said, 'While other chiefs who were deposed during the implementation of the NLHA were reinstated, Kalanga chiefs were the only ones that were left out. Nonetheless, in the southern parts of the district, Chief Bango Dube, a Kalanga continued being the chief during the era when Community Development was being imposed. Therefore, it cannot be true that the failure to resuscitate the deposed Kalanga chiefs was an attempt to undermine the Kalanga as

³⁹³ As was explored in the previous chapter, the Kalanga chiefs whose chieftainships survived were Tshitshi Mpofu and Bango Dube. These chieftaincies survived because they did not oppose the demands of the NLHA. The survival of these chieftaincies serves to illustrate that the deposition of Madlambuzi and other Kalanga chiefs was not because of their ethnic identity but it was due to their failure to comply with the colonial demands. The colonial regime preferred to work with 'cooperative' chiefs regardless the chiefs' ethnic background. Unsubsidised headmen were those who were not paid by the government.

³⁹⁴ As has already been seen in Chapter 3, Chiefs such as Madlambuzi Ncube, Masendu Dube and Hobodo Malaba Ncube were deposed because of their failure to comply with the colonial demands of the NLHA.

³⁹⁵ Msindo, *Ethnicity in Zimbabwe*, p. 65.

³⁹⁶ For more information on this see Ranger *Tradition and Travesty: Chiefs and The Administration in Makoni District and Mazarire*, "A Social and Political History of Chishanga. Also see J. Alexander, *Unsettled land* and P. Nyambara, "Madheruka and Shangwe: Ethnic Identities and the Culture of Modernity in Gokwe, Northwestern Zimbabwe, 1963-79", *Journal of African History*, volume 43 (2002) pp. 287-306.

an ethnic group.

The 'customary' powers of chiefs were given contemporary expression in the Tribal Trust Land Act of 1967, which set up Tribal Land Authorities (TLA) under the presidency of chiefs.³⁹⁷ In most parts of the country, Tribal Land Authorities exacerbated resentment and also drew chiefs more tightly into the spotlight of rural anger and resistance. As already mentioned, in the northern parts of Bulilimamangwe district Chief Mpini Ndiweni was made the head of the TLAs.³⁹⁸ The 1968 report of the District Commissioner of Plumtree noted that Kalanga people refused to cooperate with the TLAs because they did not respect the tribal authorities who were appointed by the District Commissioner. The report noted that: 'In the northern parts of Bulilimamangwe, Madlambuzi Ncube is making it difficult for the TLAs to carry out their duties. The people also refuse to be allocated land by the TLA.'³⁹⁹ Some interviewees also confirmed this opposition to the TLAs and Chief Mpini Ndiweni. For example, Elijah Ndebele noted: 'Madlambuzi told us to refuse being allocated land by Mpini and his people. According to our Kalanga custom, Madlambuzi was the only rightful person to allocate land to us. That is why we resisted being allocated land by Mpini.'⁴⁰⁰

Sharing the same view was Headman Grey Ndlovu who stated: 'Mpini had no right over Kalanga land because he did not own the land. Mpini was an outsider. Our father Madlambuzi had the right to distribute land to the people.'⁴⁰¹ Several points can be made from the above reports and statements. The opposition to the TLAs was mostly in the

³⁹⁷ Here see Alexander, *The Unsettled Land* and Ranger, "Tradition and Travesty."

³⁹⁸ NAZ 40/1/9F, Box 56193, (Bulawayo Records Centre) letter from Mr. Taylor, Plumtree District Commissioner, 4 July 1968.

³⁹⁹ NAZ 40/1/9F.

⁴⁰⁰ Interview with Elijah Ndebele, Village Head, conducted by Themban Dube, Madlambuzi Centre, 10 March 2012.

⁴⁰¹ Interview with Headman Grey Ndlovu, conducted by Themban Dube Madlambuzi area, 10 March 2012. These sentiments were also shared by several interviews in the northern parts of the district that emphasised the fact that Mpini Ndiweni was imposed on Kalanga people by the colonial regime. Some even went to the extent of saying that the Ndebele were intruders and that the Kalanga had made a mistake of accepting the Ndebele when they arrived with Mzilikazi. For this see Interview with Headman Baleni Dube, conducted by Themban Dube, Muke area, 11 March 2012 and Headman Mazwaligwe Dube, Masendu area, 11 March 2012.

northern parts of Bulilimamangwe. This was influenced by the fact that this is the area where Kalanga chiefs' powers to allocate land were usurped by the colonial regime during the NLHA (1951). This meant that the deposed chiefs could not be the leaders of the TLA. Again, this opposition to the TLA and Chief Mpini Ndiweni often took ethnic forms where the deposed Kalanga chiefs and some Kalanga people interpreted it as a deliberate attempt to undermine the Kalanga custom of land allocation. As was indicated in Chapter 3, amongst the Kalanga, land belonged to *Ndzimu* (ancestors) and hence land allocation was supposed to be carried out by the Kalanga chiefs as custodians of land on behalf of the ancestors.⁴⁰² The issues of Kalanga land ownership and their belonging to Bulilimamangwe were often used to resist the colonial demands of land allocation.⁴⁰³ In the case of Bulilimamangwe, land allocation generated significant ethnic tensions between the Ndebele and the Kalanga. The Rhodesian Front's determination not to resuscitate deposed Kalanga chieftaincies even while it was reviving 'tradition' clashed with the determination of the Kalanga chiefs to reassert their identity.⁴⁰⁴ This was more apparent in land allocation where the deposed Kalanga chiefs disputed Chief Mpini's rights over land allocation in the Nata and Mpimbila Tribal Trust Lands. In light of this, Belinah Sibanda commented, 'our chiefs, Madlambuzi and Masendu did not allow Mpini to allocate land to the people.'⁴⁰⁵ Also commenting on the same issue was Nconyiwe Ncube who observed that: 'When the Smith regime took over power in 1965 most chiefs were given the right to distribute land. Our Kalanga chiefs were ignored. That is

⁴⁰² For more information on this, see Chapter 3.

⁴⁰³ As was seen in the previous chapter, according to the Kalanga, land belonged to *Ndzimu*/Mwali and the chief was the guardian of the land. Therefore in this respect, Mpini Ndiweni was not the rightful person to allocate or distribute land amongst the Kalanga as he was a Ndebele. Nonetheless, the colonial regime ignored these traditional and customary issues over land in their endeavour to 'return to tradition' during Community Development.

⁴⁰⁴ The Rhodesian Front administration in the 1960s and 1970s appealed back to the pre-colonial past or at least to the pre-colonial past as they imagined it. However in the case of Bulilimamangwe, they failed to appeal to the pre-colonial past as they failed to resuscitate Kalanga chieftaincies. Such a move worked against the survival of the RF as the deposed chiefs contested Mpini Ndiweni's power and authority.

⁴⁰⁵ Interview with Belinah Sibanda, conducted by Thembanani Dube Bhaningumba, 10 March 2012.

the reason why we as Kalanga people refused to be allocated land by Mpini Ndiweni, who was not the legitimate chief in our area.⁴⁰⁶

The above statements show that the deposed Kalanga chiefs interpreted their demotions on the basis of ethnicity. However, the Kalanga ethnic interpretation of the demotions did not match with the reality. For example, Bango Dube, a Kalanga chief in the southern parts of Bulilimamangwe retained his position because he cooperated with the state. Moreover, as was indicated earlier on, there were some chiefs in other parts of the country who were deposed for failing to comply with the demands of the colonial state. Therefore, the Rhodesian Front government chose to work with loyal chiefs who were willing to being turned into state functionaries. In Rhodesia Front theory, chiefs would not only enforce regulations and combat nationalists and guerrillas but also win the whole-hearted support of their people.⁴⁰⁷ Kalanga consciousness was rife especially in the northern parts of the district in the areas such as Madlambuzi, Nopemano, Masendu and Tokwana which were areas formerly under Kalanga chieftainship. Here, Kalanga ethnic consciousness was expressed through allocation of land to the people by the deposed chiefs. Zenzo Herbert Nkomo acknowledged that Chief Madlambudzi had allocated him his piece of land in 1966 when he arrived in the area from Tsholotsho.⁴⁰⁸ It needs to be stated that by 1966 Madlambuzi had been deposed and was also an unsubsidised headman under Chief Mpini Ndiweni. Thus, Kalanga chiefs in the northern parts of Bulilimamangwe district continued to allocate land to their landless Kalanga subjects disregarding Chief Mpini Ndiweni's authority.

Opposition to the TLA also took the form of boycotting meetings with TLA while in some areas TLAs were beaten up at the deposed chiefs' homesteads. Two interviewees who

⁴⁰⁶ Interview with Nconyiwe Ncube, wife of the late Chief Hapitshula Patrick Madlambuzi, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Bhaningumba, 10 March 2012.

⁴⁰⁷ For more information on this see T. Ranger, "Tradition and Travesty: Chiefs and the Administration in Makoni District."

⁴⁰⁸ Interview with Zenzo Herbert Nkomo, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Bhaningumba, 10 March 2012.

witnessed these beatings remembered the event as follows:

We still remember the beatings of two TLA, Sikhathele and Nkulumo who were the advisors of Chief Mpini Ndiweni. They were beaten by Kalanga men at Madlambuzi Centre who shouted at them saying, 'away with Mpini and his white regime, Ndebeles will never rule our area, only Madlambuzi has the right to allocate land to the people in this area.'⁴⁰⁹

Madlambuzi Ncube was clearly still recognised as a chief by his followers despite the fact that he had been deposed in 1951. In the eyes of the people, the TLA were still viewed as Land Development Officers who operated during the NLHA. Thus, in this way, the chief and his people saw a continuation in the marginalisation of Kalanga traditional authorities' powers. In 1969 Madlambuzi was re-installed as the headman and he continued to be on loggerheads with the colonial administrators. In the end, he ran away and sought refuge in Botswana.⁴¹⁰ His son Jesse Ncube was then installed as the headman of the area in 1969.

However, it would be improper to generalise that Kalanga ethnic identity was deployed in opposition to the TLA. For example, in the southern parts of the district, no opposition to the TLA was noted. In this part of the district, Kalanga chiefs such as Bango Dube did not lose their positions in favour of Ndebele chieftaincies. In addition, Chief Wasi Ndiweni's (a Ndebele chief) chieftainship had been long established in the southern parts, prior to colonial rule. Again, interviewees in this part of the district could not remember any squabbles between the people and their chiefs.⁴¹¹ Some people from the southern parts of the district also benefited from the land that was released to them under the provisions of the Land Tenure Act. For example, following the requirements of the Tribal Trust Land Act of 1969, the District Commissioner for Plumtree approved the disposal to Africans of Avoca

⁴⁰⁹ Interview with Payaya Dube, conducted by Themban Dube, Madlambuzi, 10 March 2012 and interview with Tseyamu Ncube, Madlambuzi, conducted by Themban Dube, Madlambuzi, 10 March 2012.

⁴¹⁰ Interview with Nconyiwe Ncube.

⁴¹¹ As was indicated in the previous two chapters, most people in this part of the district observe a Ndebele identity although there are some who also cling to their Kalanga ethnic identity.

Farm which was now categorized as specially designated land in the African area in terms of the Land Tenure Act.⁴¹²

In some other parts of the country, chiefs who were recognised by the Rhodesian Front used their powers to gain their lost lands. For example, in Victoria district Chief Mapanzure used the support of the local District Commissioner to lobby for the return of the Mapanzure *gadzingo* ancestral lands which came true in 1976.⁴¹³ They argued in terms of their chieftaincies and the requisites of customary land allocation. During this process, colonialists' land alienation was identified as a source of their woes. Chiefs demanded more land for their people even if it meant purchasing that land. For example, in Bulilimangwe district, chiefs requested to purchase the land as a 'tribe'.⁴¹⁴ As no additional land was given to Africans, chiefs felt that they were betraying their own people. According to Alexander, chieftaincy served as an important platform from which demands for land could be made.⁴¹⁵ Alexander maintains that chiefs drew on flexible versions of custom that more often undermined than bolstered the state.⁴¹⁶ Similarly, the 'unrecognised' deposed Kalanga chiefs such as Madlambuzi and Masendu drew on their versions of Kalanga custom to defy the Rhodesian Front's land policies during Community Development. In the process of reclaiming their power over land allocation in Bulilimangwe they sought to revive Kalanga ethnic identity especially in the northern parts of the district. Challenge was also expressed in the opposition to the establishment of rural councils as shall be seen below.

4.2. Community Development in Bulilimangwe: The Rural Councils

⁴¹² NAZ 40/1/9F Box 56193 (Bulawayo Records Centre) letter from Mr. Taylor, Plumtree District commissioner, 21 January 1971.

⁴¹³ Mazarire, "A Social and Political History of Chishanga: South-Central Zimbabwe c.1750-2000".

⁴¹⁴ NAZ 40/1/9F Box 56193 (Bulawayo Records Centre) letter from Mr. Taylor.

⁴¹⁵ Alexander, *The unsettled land*, p. 69

⁴¹⁶ Alexander, *The unsettled land*, p. 69.

The history of rural councils dates back to 1937 when the Native Councils were established in rural areas.⁴¹⁷ The precursors to the statutory Native Councils were the Native Boards established in 1930. They were chaired by Native Commissioners (NCs) and composed of chiefs although the Native Commissioner chaired council meetings and held all executive authority. He thus controlled the tenure and appointment of the members of the councils. In this way, Native Councils were the primary instrument for controlling the rural population. Native Councils became semi-autonomous units that taxed and administered the distribution of resources in their own areas. This is why they were viewed as exploitative in most parts of the rural areas. Most of these councils experienced problems during the period of the implementation of the NLHA. With the coming to power of the Rhodesian Front, the rural councils were to be resuscitated under the policy of Community Development. The Howman Report laid the foundations for the future policy of Community Development and local government in Rhodesia.⁴¹⁸ After the adoption of the Community Development programme in 1963, councils rapidly spread throughout the communal areas. Above all, the rural councils were the only legal channels for expressing African grievances. Therefore, this presented some complications in establishing councils especially in the northern parts of Bulilimamangwe district where Kalanga chiefs and their followers felt alienated as they did not sit in these councils.

The legal instrument used in the implementation of the Rhodesian Front version of Community Development was the Rural Councils' Act which became law in 1967.⁴¹⁹ It

⁴¹⁷ Councils were established in 1923 though they were confined to the (white) towns and therefore they held no jurisdiction over rural Africans whose interests rested with the Native Affairs Department. See J. Mujere, "Autochthons, Strangers, Modernising educationists and progressive farmers: Basotho struggles for belonging in Zimbabwe 1930s-2008", and NAZ S1561/25, (Harare) Native Councils Bill, 1926-37 Minutes and Memoranda: Acting AG to CNC, 24 December 1928.

⁴¹⁸ Howman saw the African councils not solely as an instrument of group co-operation, but as a medium for responsible local self-government, through which continuing development might take place. The report set out conditions which Howman considered basic to success in local government.

⁴¹⁹ Previously the Rhodesian government had passed the African Councils Act in 1957 which set out to revive

should be borne in mind that by the time the rural councils were proposed, Kalanga chiefs such as Madlambuzi Ncube and Masendu had been deposed while some such as Hobodo Ncube, Sangulube Moyo and Hikwa Nleya were demoted to unsubsidised headmen. The Kalanga chieftainships that survived the demotions were Bango Dube and Tshitshi Mpofu together with Ndebele chiefs such as Gambo Sithole, Wasi Ndiweni and Chief Mpini Ndiweni who was installed in areas previously ruled by Madlambuzi Ncube, Masendu Dube, Hikwa Nleya, and Nswazwi Khupe.⁴²⁰

In an attempt to establish administrative organs of the local state, the District Commissioner suggested the establishment of councils around the whole district.⁴²¹ Councils were then further established in Bango, Sindisa, south Nata Tribal Trust Land, Wasi, Zimnyama and Tshitshi areas, among others.⁴²² Each council was composed of six members; two government appointees, two elected tax-paying members and two chiefs. The District Commissioner for Bulilimamangwe presided over all the rural councils and decisions were taken by voting. He made decisions on matters such as construction and maintenance of roads, bridges, dams, ridges, dipping tanks, hospitals and others. Chief Mpini Ndiweni wanted to experiment with the idea of councils at Nata TTL as he was going to be in charge of all those areas under the Nata TTL. As a result, there was opposition to the Rural Councils meetings which were chaired by the chiefs, who were mostly of Ndebele ethnic orientation.⁴²³ Deposed Kalanga chiefs and the general population vehemently opposed the

the defunct native councils in order to facilitate a policy of community based self-help.

⁴²⁰ Interview with Chief Masendu Dube, interview with Headman Baleni Dube, interview with Headman Mazwaligwe, interview with Jele Khupe and interview with Saul Gwakuba Ndlovu.

⁴²¹ NAZ 40/19/R Box no 56191 (Bulawayo Records Centre) Establishment of Councils in Bulilimamangwe.

⁴²² NAZ 40/19/R Box no 56191.

⁴²³ Community Development was centred on the rural councils as they were perceived to be the vehicles to spearhead the community development projects. The chiefs and the DC were supposed to mobilise their people in order to work on council projects. The task of the council was the control over land, property, public health, rural water supply and to facilitate educational projects. For more on this see C. Keulder, *Traditional leaders and local government in Africa: Lessons for South Africa*, (HSRC, Pretoria, 1998), Passmore, "Historical Rationale of the Policy of Community Development" and Alexander, *The unsettled land*.

establishment of the councils especially because the Kalanga chiefs had not been reinstated to their former positions following their demotion under the NLHA. Commenting on Kalanga opposition to the establishment of councils, Headman Baleni Dube noted:

It was around 1967 when the District Commissioner called a meeting at Mpini Ndiweni's homestead to tell us about the establishment of a council without our chiefs' approval. When he told our chiefs about the establishment of a council, Madlambuzi said, 'our silence means that we do not want a council here. If you go ahead with this idea of a council, this council will be your own council, since you took over all Kalanga chieftaincies in our area.'⁴²⁴

Sharing the same view was Headman Lindiwe Mdongo who said, 'We Kalanga had refused the establishment of the council. But Mpini Ndiweni agreed and the council offices were near Chief Mpini Ndiweni's homestead such that the Kalanga people called it *KoNdiweni*.'⁴²⁵

Some Kalanga elders also present in the meeting also confirmed that most Kalanga people rejected the idea of the establishment of a council in Nata and Mpimbila Tribal Trust Lands. Payaya Dube, one of the elders who attended the meeting said, 'I stood up and said to Chief Mpini Ndiweni, my son, our chiefs have already said it. All of us reject the council.'⁴²⁶

Accordingly, Chief Mpini Ndiweni was agitated and the District Commissioner left in a huff. The chief reacted by saying, 'I am the rightful chief therefore will not accept any opposition to the establishment of a council here.'⁴²⁷ Chief Ndife Ndiweni also said that his brother, Chief Mpini Ndiweni told him that he faced opposition from the 'Makalanga' people who refused to support development projects: 'Kalanga people are very stubborn, they refuse everything that I tell them to do as their chief. The government surely must do something

⁴²⁴ Interview with Headman Baleni Dube.

⁴²⁵ Interview with Headman Lindiwe Mdongo.

⁴²⁶ Interview with Payaya Dube.

⁴²⁷ This was shared during my informal conversations with Chief Ndife Ndiweni, the brother to the late Chief Mpini Ndiweni.

about their “chiefs”.⁴²⁸ The above statements show that the defense of Kalanga identity was at the centre of the opposition to the establishment of a council. Moreover, the deposed chiefs and their subjects viewed Chief Mpini Ndiweni as an illegitimate Ndebele chief whose authority they were ready to undermine. As the name suggests, the council came to be associated with Chief Mpini Ndiweni, hence the participation of the people who held on to their Kalanga ethnic identity was very minimal. As shall be seen below, Kalanga ethnic consciousness was expressed during the opposition to the rural councils. This was so because the Rhodesian Front failed to put their ‘return to tradition’ into practice as it continued to observe the authority of the Ndebele Chief Mpini Ndiweni.

The rural council was therefore established near Chief Mpini Ndiweni’s home at Tekwani despite the harsh criticisms from the Kalanga people.⁴²⁹ The headmen in those areas did not attend the council meetings and Chief Mpini Ndiweni used his powers to request the demotion of those headmen although his request was not granted by the District Commissioner.⁴³⁰ In this way Chief Mpini Ndiweni was using his powers for political gain. Again this can be viewed as a means devised by Chief Mpini Ndiweni to eliminate his enemies. Moreover, the above also illustrates the contradiction of the colonial state in its endeavour to return to ‘tradition’ because the return to ‘tradition’ would mean to reinstate Kalanga chiefs who were the ‘rightful’ chiefs.

The headman also influenced their Kalanga followers to boycott council projects such as road constructions that were supervised by Chief Mpini Ndiweni. Headman Adelaide noted: ‘We had been stripped off our powers by Mpini Ndiweni and his whites, so we advised our people to boycott council projects. Mpini and his Ndebele were the only

⁴²⁸ Interview with Chief Ndife Ndiweni.

⁴²⁹ Interview by with Headman Baleni Dube.

⁴³⁰ Interview by with Headman Baleni Dube.

beneficiaries of those projects.’⁴³¹ Another villager also commented that: ‘From the very onset, we did not want the establishment of a council. Mpini Ndiweni is the only one who agreed. We wanted our chiefs to be re-installed. The white regime did not assist us with the re-installation of our deposed chiefs.’⁴³² It can, therefore be concluded that the Kalanga resented the establishment of the council because Chief Mpini Ndiweni was going to be the only beneficiary of council projects. Furthermore, it shows how Kalanga ethnic consciousness was deployed during the process of the establishment of a council around Chief Mpini Ndiweni’s homestead in the northern parts of the district.⁴³³

In addition it was also proposed that one council would cover the whole of Bulilimangwe district. Chief Mpini Ndiweni noted that the ‘old Native Board had included all native areas of the district and that it was customary for all "natives" to meet under the Indaba Tree at the Office.’⁴³⁴ He went on and suggested that ‘it would be a pity if we could not continue as one body, our customs and interests were identical and it was a means of getting together all chiefs and headmen.’⁴³⁵ It is therefore clear that Chief Mpini Ndiweni advocated for the establishment of one rural council that would cover all Tribal Trust Lands. Secondly, this meant that he was going to be the chairman of that council as he was the paramount chief of the whole district. Chief Mpini Ndiweni also argued that if two councils were established, it would divide the people into two district sections.⁴³⁶ The Kalanga

⁴³¹ Interview with Headman Adelaide Hikwa Nleya.

⁴³² Interview with Headman Bowen Sibanda. Interviews such as Headman Lindiwe Mdongo of Nopemano area, and Tshidzanani Kulube also concurred with the above. Evidence on the demand to reinstall the Kalanga chiefs is mostly drawn from the oral interviews conducted by the researcher in Bulilimangwe district. Archival sources and other written sources are silent on this issue. The only written source on this matter is a delineation report of the Madlambuzi community where the Madlambuzi people refused to cooperate with the colonial regime demanding the reinstallation of their deposed chief.

⁴³³ It is important to note that in the northern parts of Bulilimangwe Chief Mpini Ndiweni took over the areas formerly under Chief Madlambuzi Ncube, Chief Masendu Dube, Chief Nswzwi Khupe and Chief Hikwa Nleya. The other area still fell under Chief Gambo Sithole. This therefore meant that the whole part of the northern side of Bulilimangwe district was ruled by the two Ndebele chiefs.

⁴³⁴ NAZ S2793/4 (Harare) Minutes of the meeting of Nata Council, 1967.

⁴³⁵ NAZ S2793/4 (Harare).

⁴³⁶ NAZ S2793/4/1(Harare) Minutes of the Bulilimangwe Council meeting held at Plumtree, 1967.

headman Madlambuzi viewed this as nothing but an attempt to impose Ndebele power and hegemony over the Kalanga. In line with this, the wife of Chief Madlambuzi observed: ‘Madlambuzi saw that Mpini wanted to exercise his power over the whole area of the Kalanga through advocating for the establishment of a single council that served the whole district.’⁴³⁷

Thus, one can deduce that although ethnicity shaped the resistance to the establishment of a rural council in the Nata Tribal Trust land, it was not the only factor that led to the opposition to the establishment of councils in this district. It can be argued that the Kalanga also struggled with colonial government policies, change of leadership and their marginalisation in order to make sense of a changing environment. The deposed Kalanga chiefs resisted the establishment of one rural council as they were not in a position to influence the decisions over council projects. Chief Mpini Ndiweni saw this as an opportunity to consolidate his power over the Kalanga chiefs. The suggestion of meeting under an Indaba Tree again could be seen as an endeavour by Chief Mpini Ndiweni to impose the Ndebele custom of ‘justice under a tree’ over the Kalanga. Despite these criticisms, the Nata Rural Council was established at Nata Tribal Trust Land.⁴³⁸ The Nata Rural Council for a long time remained undeveloped as Kalanga headmen and their people refused to cooperate with Chief Mpini Ndiweni. As has already been mentioned above, the deposed Kalanga chiefs and their subjects wanted the Kalanga chiefs to be reinstalled.

In the southern parts of Bulilimamangwe, rural councils became semi-autonomous units that taxed and administered the distribution of resources in their own areas. As a result, ‘tribal’ fights between the Ndebele and the Kalanga became prominent in these councils. For example, the Izimnyama council denied the control of their dip-tank by Chief Wasi

⁴³⁷ Interview with Nconyiwe Ncube.

⁴³⁸ Due to the resistances of Kalanga chiefs and headman in the northern parts of Bulilimamangwe, the Nata Council became known as *koNdiweni*, meaning Ndiweni’s Council.

Ndiweni.⁴³⁹ Kalanga headmen such as Katolwa and Mabunu Ngwenya argued that the council area had no chief and that the people who were in charge of the dip-tank were the council committee members.⁴⁴⁰ Appointment into the committees was a major issue as the Kalanga complained that they were being denied influential positions in the councils.⁴⁴¹

However, some Kalanga managed to serve as committee members and they wanted rural councils to provide services to the Kalanga people. As a result, there were many disputes within those councils which further retarded development in the district. Mbona Matiwaza recalled one particular dispute pertaining opposition to Chief Wasi Ndiweni:

I remember one afternoon in the 1970s when the Kalanga people around Izimnyama, Vaka and Silima gathered at Izimnyama Council demanding the removal of Chief Wasi Ndiweni at Izimnyama council. Some Ndebele men tried to resist the idea and as a result one man (name withheld) was beaten up by the angry Kalanga men who even accused him and other Ndebele people of being ‘unwanted immigrants’ from Zululand.⁴⁴²

Another interviewee also observed that some of these fights between the Ndebele and the Kalanga erupted during beer drinking sessions when the Ndebele and Kalanga fought over the positions at the council. John Tshuma also shared about one such fight at his own homestead. He said:

There were about ten men drinking *indale* (traditional beer) prepared by my wife when suddenly Moyo, my neighbour hit Dlodlo with a brick on the head. When I rushed to these men, I was stopped by Kologwe who advised me not to intervene because I already knew how the Ndebele and their chief dominated ‘us’ Kalanga

⁴³⁹ The history of Wasi chieftainship can be traced to the Ndiweni chieftainship which has its origins during the arrival of the Ndebele in Bulilimamangwe district. The first chief was Tsamayi Ndiweni, who deposed the ruling Kalanga chief who was Bhuhu Mundambeli. This marked the defeat of the Kalanga and the taking over of their chieftainship by the Ndebele. Asheli Wasi, was the son of Nyika Ndiweni who succeeded his father in 1941. His duties were dictated to him by the District Commissioners; as such his position became unpopular especially to his fellow Kalanga. For more information on the Wasi Chieftainship, see NAZ S2929/6/2, T. Dube “Oral traditions of the Kalanga” and R. K. Rusmusen, *Migrant Kingdom*.

⁴⁴⁰ NAZ S3706/39 (Harare) Izimnyama Council Minutes of all meetings, September 1969.

⁴⁴¹ NAZ S3706/39.

⁴⁴² Interview with Mbona Matiwaza, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Izimnyama area, Bulilimamangwe, 26 April 2011.

people over council matters. I then went back to my hut and pretended I did not see anything.⁴⁴³

From the above it can be argued that, the fights over council matters in Bulilimamangwe were reduced to ethnic disputes. Just like during the period of the implementation of the NLHA, the Kalanga chiefs and headmen argued that the Kalanga were marginalised. The source of conflict was over and above all, the failure to observe Kalanga chiefs by the Rhodesian Front on council matters. Opposition to rural councils in other parts of the country exacerbated local antagonism to the state. Munro observed such opposition in Mondoro where, the council, unable to get the degree of control over roadworks that it wanted, refused to take responsibility for any roadworks at all.⁴⁴⁴ In other parts of the country, the opposition to council work was mostly influenced by the struggle against the colonial state, while among the Kalanga opposition was both a struggle against the colonial regime and the struggle for the recognition of the Kalanga ethnic group. One of the principal, and most effective, forms of resistance to councils was rate-defaulting. Nationalists and chiefs who opposed councils fostered these beliefs. While the Kalanga in Bulilimamangwe district also resented the colonial state, they viewed the Ndebele dominance as a stumbling block to Kalanga ethnic identity. They were against what they perceived as the colonial state's favouritism towards the Ndebele ethnic group through the empowerment of Ndebele chiefs in councils.

Another misunderstanding over council matters that was reduced to a tribal fight was also witnessed at Izimnyama area. For example, the Ramaquebane TTL people were unable to access water from Mtunduluka water pipe as the Kalanga headman claimed that they did

⁴⁴³ Interview with John Tshuma, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Izimnyama area, 21December, 2011.

⁴⁴⁴ For more information on this, see Munro, *The Moral Economy of the State: Conservation, Community Development and State-Making in Zimbabwe*, p. 186.

not contribute to the preservation of the natural resources of Izimnyama Council area.⁴⁴⁵ Ramaquebane TTL was under Chief Wasi Ndiweni. The area was composed of both the Ndebele and Kalanga although the Ndebele were the majority. People from Izimnyama often recognised the people of Ramaquebane TTL as Ndebele. The people from Ramaquebane were powerless to contest the issue as the chief himself did not intervene in the matter. Chief Wasi Ndiweni himself was denied control over the area around the council as it was argued that the area had no chief.

Furthermore, there were tensions and jealousies amongst these councilors with some councilors viewing themselves as more educated than the other councilors. This was true of Izimnyama and Empandeni councilors.⁴⁴⁶ In a letter to the District Commissioner, the council committee at Izimnyama wanted to know why ‘the less sophisticated ‘tribesman’ of Empandeni TTL were permitted to run their own dips while Izimnyama council composed of acknowledgeable (sic) people were being refused to run their own dips.’⁴⁴⁷

The Izimnyama council was dominated by the Kalanga office bearers such as O. Dube, J. M. Ncube and M. J. Nleya who were very influential in the district and were prominent members of the Kalanga Cultural Promotion Society. The three were Kalanga, born and bred in Izimnyama area. They are still remembered in the area for having influenced the development of Kalanga people and Izimnyama area during Community Development.

⁴⁴⁵ NAZ S 3706/39.

⁴⁴⁶ NAZ S 3706/39.

⁴⁴⁷ The people around Empandeni TTL were known to be loyal supporters of the Ndebele chieftainships such as those of Wasi Ndiweni and Mpini Ndiweni. This was necessitated by the fact that they got their chieftainship from the Ndebele. The chieftainship was given to Sindisa Mpofu when the Ndebele deposed Mpande who rebelled against the Ndebele King Lobengula. The people found in the area composed of Kalanga and other groups of Rozvi origin. The Rozvi are one the groups that were assimilated into the Ndebele state since Chief Sindisa Mpofu himself owed his chieftaincy to the Ndebele. Over time, other neighbouring villages associated the people of Empandeni with the Ndebele. Therefore, the disputes that engulfed the council matters during the period of Community Development also caused some tension between the Ndebele and the Kalanga over council matters. For more on this see S3706/39, Izimnyama Council Minutes; for the origins of Sindisa Mpofu chieftainship, see A. J. Dachs, *Christianity South of the Zambezi*, (Mambo Press, Gwelo, 1973), A. J. Dachs and W. F. S. J. Rea, *The Catholic church and Zimbabwe*, (Mambo Press, Gwelo, 1979) and NAZ S2929/6/2, Bulilimangwe Delineation Report, Zibuyeni Community, 1965.

For example, Solonia Dube remembered M.J. Nleya as follows:

My daughter, it was a difficult time. You know us Kalanga people did not like this idea of the Ndebele being the leaders in the council. However, when M.J Nleya and other Kalanga men were elected the council board, the Kalanga began to participate in council works such as road constructions, the construction of schools and clinics. Even the elderly women helped. This school (referring to Izimnyama Secondary School) was built by Izimnyama Council.⁴⁴⁸

His observation was also echoed by Melita Sibanda who remembered:

You will notice that even today the Izimnyama Council is still led by the Kalanga. It all started during the time of Dube and Nleya who uplifted the Kalanga by running the council better than their predecessors, the Ndebele who were Board members of Izimnyama Council. The Kalanga were concerned about being recognised in council matters as they were the owners of the area.⁴⁴⁹

Interviewees such as John Tshuma, Siyatsha Dube and Simoyi Dube also emphasised the fact when the Kalanga took over leadership on council matters during the period of Community Development, Kalanga people participated in council projects such as the building of schools. They also argued that the post-independence councilors in Izimnyama Council were drawn from the Kalanga ethnic group.⁴⁵⁰

Contrary to claims of Kalanga marginalisation, the Rhodesian Front sought to relieve its responsibilities over the rural people by establishing rural councils. However, councils became a level ground where ethnic and 'tribal' fights were fought. As was indicated above, Kalanga ethnic consciousness was articulated in various ways at Izimnyama council. Moreover, community Development and the establishment of councils became fields of contestation over the allocation of resources. During this period, nationalists' also took

⁴⁴⁸ Interview with Solonia Dube.

⁴⁴⁹ Interview with Melita Sibanda Osabeni.

⁴⁵⁰ The first Councilor at Izimnyama appointed by the independent Zimbabwean state was Elliot Masisa Ndlovu who was succeeded in 2000 by his brother Eleck Masisa Ndlovu. Tsotsi Masisa took over in 2005 and was succeeded by Sakhile Ndlovu, also a Kalanga born at Osabeni. The interviewees mentioned that although the councilors were, for a long time of the Masisa family, they were happy with the arrangement. They were against the appointment of a Ndebele as councilors.

advantage of the people's grievances to gain support for their activities in the rural areas. In most parts of the country, spirit mediums and their cult centers played a significant role in enticing support towards guerilla activities. In Bulilimamangwe, Manyangwa shrine was an indispensable shrine where guerrillas were conferred with the authority of the ancestors. The shrine became a focal point where Kalanga ethnic identity was articulated during the liberation struggle.

4.3. The Manyangwa shrine as the epitome of Kalanga ethnic identity

Apart from appealing to autochthony, the Kalanga people have for a long time used *Ngwali/Mwali/Mlimo* religion to establish their ethnic identity. While in the political domain the Rhodesian Front could be said to have been successful in deposing Kalanga chiefs in Bulilimamangwe and imposing Ndebele chiefs in their places during the period of Community Development, it did not succeed in destabilising and undermining the Kalanga's religious sphere. The Kalanga continued to worship *Mlimo/ Ngwali* at Ntogwa and Manyangwa shrines. According to Kalanga oral traditions, the oracle of Mwali came from Lutombo, Lutema to Bambadzi, Zhomba, Chizeze, Mavula Majena, Njelele, Manyangwa, Njenjema and then to Ntogwa.⁴⁵¹ Ntogwa and Manyangwa became popular cults in Bulilimamangwe district; the Kalanga in the southern parts of the district went to Ntogwa while those on the northern part of the district to Manyangwa. This continues to the present day. The two shrines were consulted by the Kalanga during the period of Community Development in the hope that *Ngwali* would assist them in restoring their deposed chiefs.⁴⁵²

One elder argued that *Ngwali/Mlimo* had told them in the 1960s that the Kalanga were

⁴⁵¹ R. P. Werbner, "Continuity and policy in Southern Africa's High God Cult" in R. P. Werbner, (ed) *Regional Cults*, (Academic Press, London, 1977) p. 184. For more on the Mwali religion see, Chapter 2 of this thesis and Otukile, Bakalanga Music and Dance in Botswana and Zimbabwe."

⁴⁵² This was expressed during interviews carried out in the northern parts of the district where the Manyangwa cult is situated. See for example interview with Chief Sindalizwe Masendu Dube and Interview with Headman Baleni Dube.

going to get their chieftainship back, though after some years of struggle.⁴⁵³ He went further to assert that although the Kalanga had been politically marginalised by the whites and the Ndebele, they remained very influential in their religion to such an extent that even the Ndebele chiefs consulted *Ngwali* as well.⁴⁵⁴ This was more prevalent especially in times of drought where *Ngwali* was consulted.

The Manyangwa shrine was consulted especially during the 1967 and 1972 droughts. According to oral traditions, chief Mpini is said to have sent *amawosana* (Mwali messengers) to the shrine to plead for rain since the district was experiencing drought. The people interpreted the two droughts in particular as punishment from *Ngwali* who was not happy with the treatment of Kalanga chiefs during the period of Community Development.⁴⁵⁵ However, the two droughts also occurred in some parts of the country. It can be interpreted as a natural disaster although the Kalanga perceived as punishment for lack of the recognition of the Kalanga chiefs by the Rhodesian Front. The two droughts had a far reaching impact on the Ndebele chieftainship of Mpini in particular that faced a lot of opposition from the Kalanga people in the northern parts of Bulilimamangwe district. Being the ruling chief in the Kalanga area, he was forced to consult the Manyangwa shrine. Beer was brewed and Chief Mpini Ndiweni sent *amawosana* to Manyangwa to consult the shrine about the drought. Manyangwa is said to have instructed *amawosana* to tell the chief to conduct *amayile* (rainmaking ceremony) and that the Kalanga ancestors were not happy about the demotion of

⁴⁵³ Interview with Pius Ncube.

⁴⁵⁴ Interview with Belinah Sibanda. Also see interview with Busiku Moyo, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Dombodema area, Bulilimamangwe, 24 April 2011, interview with Elias Mahumba and interview with Elijah Ndebele,. For more information on the Mwali influence on the Ndebele see M. L. Daneel, *The God of the Matopo Hills: An Essay on the Mwari Cult of Rhodesia* (The Hague Mouton, 1970), R. Gray, *The Cambridge History of Africa volume 4, from c.1600 to c.1790* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1975) and Ranger, *Voices from the Rocks*.

⁴⁵⁵ Sharing this view were interviewees such as Belinah Sibanda, Manyangwa Dube, Elijah Ndebele and Busiku Moyo.

Kalanga chiefs.⁴⁵⁶

Amayile have their origins in the Matopos where most of the Kalanga people were settled prior to moving to Bulilimangwe. They were practiced thousands of years by agricultural people at the Matopos and they were known as *amabizana*.⁴⁵⁷ During *amayile*, men would go hunting for wild animals and collect dead animal bones and trees hit by lightning and all these were burnt near dams.⁴⁵⁸ The dead animal bones were believed to be a barrier to rain and fertility of the soil. This is called *lute/ isitenela* amongst the Kalanga. On the other hand women would be dancing near a dam singing vulgar songs that depict a sexual act. During the dances, women would not be wearing any underwear hence men were not supposed to be around during the dancing. They only joined the women on the last day of *amayile* where they would bring the meat of the animals captured during the hunt and eat it together with women. After roasting the meat one old woman would take a jug of water and extinguish the fire. It was believed that it would start raining soon after the end of the ceremony. According to Belinah Sibanda, there was a specific song which was sung just after the ceremony to trigger off the rain. The song was: *Nkadzinkulu lembele lembe tibone*. (old woman dance). Commenting on the song and the dance, Belinah Sibanda said, 'the song had sexual connotations, and the dance was very suggestive. The falling of rain also represented the ejaculation of a man after the dance.'⁴⁵⁹ Thus, *Mlimo* was believed to be a god of fertility and prosperity.

Moreover, Kalanga identity as represented by the Manyangwa shrine gained momentum in the years following the outbreak of the liberation struggle. The guerrillas derived great benefit from their success in working with the mediums at Manyangwa shrine.

⁴⁵⁶ Interview with Manyangwa Dube, conducted by Themban Dube, Tjehanga Village, 13 March 2012.

⁴⁵⁷ Ranger, *Voices from the Rocks*.

⁴⁵⁸ Interview with Belinah Sibanda.

⁴⁵⁹ Interview with Belinah Sibanda.

They cultivated a warm relationship with the Manyangwa shrine, which gave cover to the guerrillas from the Rhodesian Forces.⁴⁶⁰ In this way, Kalanga identity continued to be expressed through loyalty to the Mwali religion. The deposed Kalanga chiefs such as Madlambuzi also became active in the activities involving the shrine. In 1972, the Ministry of Internal Affairs appointed Latham, who had coordinated the community delineation program in the early 1960s, to the position of Research Officer (Anthropologist) with the task of identifying the major spirits ‘of functional importance throughout Rhodesia,’ their mediums, and their shrine centers and sacred places. Manyangwa was therefore identified in the Spirit Index as a possible guerrilla collaborator being possessed by an ‘alien spirit which prophesied and treated patients with medicine.’⁴⁶¹ In the early and mid-1970s, there was an increasingly intense struggle between the state and the guerrillas to gain the support of the mediums or spirits in Bulilimangwe. The shrine also treated the wounded guerrillas. Manyangwa’s homestead was situated some few kilometres from Luswingo Mountain, which is believed to have been the home to the Kalanga progenitor, Chief Chibundule. The guerrillas consulted Manyangwa, together with the deposed Kalanga chiefs such as Madlambuzi and Masendu who took them up the Luswingo Mountain and showed them the Kalanga sacred ruins and the significance of this landscape in the Kalanga spiritual custodianship of the area. As the liberation struggle intensified, the Manyangwa shrine became very instrumental as a base for guerrillas. The Kalanga hoped that with the coming of national independence, all the efforts towards the recognition of the Kalanga that had been hindered by the Ndebele and the colonial regime would be realised without any inhibitions. Manyangwa Dube, put it more succinctly when he said:

⁴⁶⁰ Around 1979, a number of Rhodesian forces attempted several times to kill Manyangwa himself for having accommodated the guerrillas, but failed to do so because Manyangwa was protected by Ngwali. Again, a number of Rhodesian forces perished in 1979 at Tjehanga village near Manyangwa. They were attacked by the guerrillas who were hidden by Manyangwa.

⁴⁶¹ NAZ S3276/4 (Harare) *Notes on the Mediums*.

This shrine (referring to Manyangwa) was a hospital. I cured a number of guerrillas who were sick during 1976 and 1978. It was more than a hospital, the guerrillas from all sorts of background also showed some respect and trust to our Kalanga religion. I remember a Ndebele guerrilla who said ‘your Kalanga religion is very powerful, thank you for healing me.’⁴⁶²

The Manyangwa shrine therefore, served to bolster and foster a strong allegiance to Kalanga religion and identity which was being epitomised by the Manyangwa shrine. The guerrillas who sought treatment in the shrine also got healed and consulted on spiritual matters at the shrine. To this effect, December Moyo, an ex-ZiPRA military man said:

Manyangwa is my saviour; I got healed at Manyangwa after struggling for over a year with my wound. In 1975 I went to consult Manyangwa and he said that I would not die during the war but I would be sought after independence. This is what exactly happened. I almost got killed by Mugabe’s 5th Brigade soldiers during the post-independence Gukurahundi civil war. Do not underestimate Kalanga religion.⁴⁶³

The shrine also worked hand in glove with the Ntogwa shrine which was situated in the southern parts of Bulilimangwe district. The Ntogwa shrine however moved to the side of Habangana in Botswana after independence. The Kalanga of Botswana and Zimbabwe have cordial relations even in the religious arenas. In times of disputes the Kalanga people would go to Ntogwa and then when they complain against Ntogwa they would go to Manyangwa on the Zimbabwean side of the border.⁴⁶⁴ Manyangwa and Ntogwa shrines are still consulted today by both the Kalanga and Ndebele despite the influence of Christianity. Moreover, the relations of the two shrines remained cordial even in the post-independence period. For example in 1992, George Ntogwa was granted permission to attend a traditional ceremony at

⁴⁶² Interview with Manyangwa Dube. Interviewees such as Headman Baleni Dube and Headman Lindiwe Mdongo also acknowledged the power of the influence of the cult during the liberation struggle.

⁴⁶³ Interview with December Moyo, an ex-ZAPU military man, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Osabeni, 18 March 2012.

⁴⁶⁴ See interview with Headman Baleni Dube, Melita Sibanda, Jele Khupe and Headman Lindiwe Mdongo.

Manyangwa without proper travelling documents.⁴⁶⁵ Similar cases were also noted by the District Administrator who wrote the letter to the immigration office to allow the Kalanga from Bulilimamangwe without travelling documents to attend traditional functions at Ntogwa in Botswana.⁴⁶⁶ Thus, Kalanga religion and identity were expressed at the Manyangwa shrine during the period of Community Development and during the liberation struggle.

4.4. Conclusion

The failure of the Land Husbandry Act and the consequent rise of African nationalist activities in the rural areas forced the Federal government to rethink its administrative strategy of progress by compulsion. This was spelt out by the adoption of Community Development policy which sought to retreat back to empowerment of traditional authorities such as chiefs. The colonial government wanted to use tradition to re-establish control over a rural population that was becoming increasingly vulnerable to nationalist propaganda, yet the Kalanga traditionalists wanted to reassert their authority and identity over a district that had been exposed to a continued process of marginalisation. This chapter has illustrated that the rigid colonial demands that were enshrined in the policy of Community Development actually tended to, among other things, spur Kalanga ethnic consciousness. The discussion entailed in this chapter emphasised the articulation of Kalanga ethnicity during period of Community Development by Kalanga chiefs and their subjects.

The chapter demonstrated that Kalanga identity was more pronounced in the northern parts of the district where the deposed Kalanga chiefs such as Madlambuzi Ncube and Masendu Dube undermined Chief Mpini Ndiweni who was in charge of spearheading projects designated for Community Development. This chapter explored various ways in

⁴⁶⁵ NAZ 38/5/9R, Box 56276 (Bulawayo Records Centre).

⁴⁶⁶ NAZ 38/5/9R, Box 56276.

which Kalanga ethnic identity was expressed especially in the opposition to the Tribal Land Authorities (TLA) and in Community Development projects in rural councils. It also captured the role played by the Manyangwa shrine in upholding Kalanga identity during the period of Community Development. When the liberation struggle broke out in the 1970s, the shrine also became an important 'base' and it was consulted by the guerillas for spiritual guidance. Above all, the chapter showed how Kalanga ethnic identity continued to be articulated in rural Bulilimamangwe between 1963 and 1979. The succeeding chapter will chronicle the resurgence of Kalanga ethnic identity in post-independence Zimbabwe which was promoted by various Kalanga cultural promotion associations.

CHAPTER 5:

THE RESURGENCE OF KALANGA CULTURAL MOBILISATION AND THE STRUGGLE FOR THE RECOGNITION OF KALANGA LANGUAGE IN POST-COLONIAL ZIMBABWE, 1980-2005

5.0. Introduction

Until the late eighteenth century, language was viewed by scholars such as Schieffelin, Woolard and Kroskrity as a natural object of divine origin, not a phenomenon controlled by human will.⁴⁶⁷ A dramatic change in this view came with the writings of Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803), the first scholar to postulate that language is more than just interactive communication. He characterised language as the genius of a particular people and an essential part of their identity.⁴⁶⁸ The Kalanga have similarly used their language as one of the many markers of their ethnic identity. The post-colonial period in Zimbabwe witnessed a revival of Kalanga ethnic mobilisation by Kalanga ‘cultural entrepreneurs’ who demanded that the Kalanga language be recognised in the mainstream national education system like other languages such as Ndebele and Shona. The rise of the Kalanga Cultural Promotion Society (KCPS) in 1980, followed by the Kalanga Language and Development Association (KLCDA) in 2005, was influenced by the perceived continuing marginalisation of Kalanga language in post-colonial Zimbabwe.⁴⁶⁹ The new government, made up of new elites who embraced the modernisation paradigm, presumed that in the course of nation building, a process of homogenisation of ethnic groups would take over and dissolve the

⁴⁶⁷ B. Schieffelin., K. A. Woolard and P.V. Kroskrity, (eds.) *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory*, (Oxford University Press, New York, 1998).

⁴⁶⁸ E. M. Barnard, *Herder on Nationality, Humanity and History* (McGill-Queen's University Press Montreal, 2003).

⁴⁶⁹ This view is shared by the members of the KLCDA such as Saul Gwakuba Ndlovu and Pax Nkomo who were the members of the KCPS of the 1980s. However, amongst the general population of Bulilimamangwe little is known about KCPS activities. However, the Kalanga were not the only minority group that felt marginalised group in Zimbabwe, but it was certainly the biggest of them all and perhaps much more organised.

conflicting ethnic pluralities.⁴⁷⁰ In this process, smaller ethnic groups such as the Kalanga, among others were given a minority status, which also translated into minimal usage of minority languages in the Ministry of Education.

A number of scholarly writings have explored the marginalisation of minority languages within the Zimbabwean education system.⁴⁷¹ Most of this work has been on policy development and implementation and has been written by linguists and scholars from the education sector.⁴⁷² However, there has also been a burgeoning of historical work especially

⁴⁷⁰ Ndlovu-Gatsheni, “Nation building in Zimbabwe and the challenges of Ndebele particularism” pp. 27-56.

⁴⁷¹ Ndhlovu has written extensively on the suppression and assimilation of the minority languages in Zimbabwe. He has also showed how the Zimbabwean state has been central in the marginalisation of the minority languages in favour of the English language. For more on this see M. Tremmel, *The People of the Great River: The Tonga hoped the water would follow them* (Mambo Press in association with Silveria House, Gweru: Harare, 1994), D. E. Mutasa, “The Language Situation in Zimbabwe with Special Reference to the Sociological, Orthographic and Linguistic Problems of Minority Language Groups”, *South African Journal of Linguistics*, volume 13 number 2 (1995) pp. 87–92, S. J. Hachipola, *A Survey of the Minority Languages of Zimbabwe* (University of Zimbabwe Publications, Harare 1998), H. Chimhundu, M. D. Nkiwane, J. N. Gutsa, J. D. Mano, E. K. Matimati and K.M. M. Muchemwa, *Report on the formulation of a national language policy: National Language policy advisory panel* (1998), *The 1999 Report of the Nziramasanga Commission of Inquiry into Education and Training in Zimbabwe*; F. Ndhlovu, “Is there Anything Minor about Minority Languages? Another look at the Politics of Language in Zimbabwe”, unpublished Paper Delivered at the Fourth International Conference on Preserving African Languages, Organised by the African Languages Research Project, 4-7 November, University of Maryland Eastern Shore, 2004, F. Ndhlovu, “Language and African Development: Theoretical Reflections on the place of languages in African Studies” *Nordic Journal of African Studies* volume 17 number 2 (2008) pp.137-151, F. Ndhlovu, *Language Politics in Postcolonial Africa Revisited: Minority Agency and Language Imposition. Language Matters*, volume 41, number 2 (2010) pp. 175 – 192, F. Ndhlovu, “No to Everything British but their Language: Re-thinking English Language and Politics in Zimbabwe”, unpublished paper delivered at the Department of English 6th International Conference on English and the Distinctly African University. 1-3 June, Gaborone: University of Botswana, 2011, F. Ndhlovu, “Zimbabwe’s Postcolonial Language Policy Formulation Paradigms, 1987- 1998”, in N. T. Crawhall, and N. Ostler, (eds.), *Creating Outsiders: Endangered Languages, Migration and Marginalization* (Bath: The Foundation of Endangered Languages, 2005) pp. 145 –152, I. Mumpande, *Silent Voices: Indigenous Languages in Zimbabwe* (Weaver Press, Harare, 2006), Muzondidya and Ndlovu-Gatsheni, “Echoing Silences”, W. Magwa, *Language Planning and Policy for Mass Education: A Case for Zimbabwe* (Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society, Cape Town, 2010a), W. Magwa, *Revisiting the Language Question in Zimbabwe: A Multilingual Approach to the Language Education Policy. Journal of Multicultural Discourses*, volume 5, number 2 (2010) pp.157 – 168, S. Makoni, B. Makoni, and N. Nyika, “Language Planning from Below: The Case of Tonga in Zimbabwe”, *Current Issues in Language Planning* volume 94 (2008) pp. 413–439, K. T. Gondo, “A Call for the Upliftment of the Shangani Language: An Evaluation of the problems surrounding Shangani Language status and their implications in Zimbabwe” *NAWA Journal of Language and Communication*, volume 3, number 1 (2009) pp. 129 –138, G. Mavunga, “The Use of Shona as the Medium of Instruction in the First Three Grades of Primary School in Tonga-Speaking Community – Teachers’ and Parents’ Perceptions”, *Language Matters*, volume 41 number 1 (2010) pp. 126–147 and D. Nkomo, *Language in Education and Language Development in Zimbabwe, Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*, volume 26, number 3 (2008) pp. 351–362.

⁴⁷² The *Zimbabwe Journal of Educational Research* has published a number of articles on education. Most

on how the colonial system and missionaries contributed to the marginalisation of indigenous languages in Zimbabwe particularly in the education system. Msindo's work explores the role played by missionaries and colonial administrators in the introduction of Kalanga language in schools during the colonial period.⁴⁷³ Although his work on Kalanga language does not go beyond the colonial period, it provides a background on the representation of Kalanga language in the education system during this period. This chapter builds on Msindo's work but goes beyond the colonial period in order to demonstrate how the Kalanga cultural entrepreneurs have been critical actors in spearheading demands for the recognition of Kalanga language in the education system in post-colonial Zimbabwe.

Following years of colonial marginalisation of the Kalanga language and the peripheralisation of their culture, there emerged in 1980 a group of elite Kalanga cultural entrepreneurs who took it upon themselves to fight for the recognition of their language and culture at the very core of the emerging nation's language framework. What mainly triggered and underscored their attempts was the emphasis placed on nation-building by the new ZANU-PF government and its radical opposition to ethnic identities as it perceived these to be an anathema to national unity. The nation-building project was an understandable ideological standpoint and of practical necessity following over two decades of the liberation struggle which tore asunder the very fibre uniting the nation. However, the new post-colonial state failed to appreciate that the suppression of ethnic identities would not augur well for

scholars have focused on the technicalities of Zimbabwean education, education policies and minority languages inclusion in the school curricular. For more on this see G. T. Ndamba, "The Official language in education policy and its implementation at infant school level in Zimbabwe", *Zimbabwe Journal of Educational Research*, volume 22 number 3 (2010) pp. 242-260, and N. Makuvaza, "Philosophical reflections on the Nziramasanga Commission on education and training of 1999 with special reference to Chapter 4 Hunhu/Ubuntu (holistic education)", *Zimbabwe Journal of Educational Research*, volume 22, number 3 (November, 2010) pp. 357-365.

⁴⁷³ See E. Msindo, "Rethinking the Ndebele and the Kalanga ,1860-1960", unpublished M Phil thesis, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, 2002, Msindo, "Ethnicity in Matabeleland: A study of Kalanga- Ndebele Relations", Msindo, *Ethnicity in Zimbabwe*. Also see G. C. Mazarire, "Who are the Ndebele and Kalanga in Zimbabwe?" and H. Chimhundu, "Early Missionaries and the Ethno-linguistic Factor during the Invention of Tribalism in Zimbabwe", pp. 87-109.

national reconciliation, unity and nation-building for as long as some groups that were still strongly attached to their ethnic identities felt marginalised and excluded from the national project. It is against this background that the KCPS and the KLCDA emerged in 1980 and 2005, respectively, as pressure groups with ambitions to mobilise the Kalanga-speaking peoples and clamour for official recognition of their language and culture. The two associations attempted to articulate, represent and promote notions of Kalanga identity and culture. The chapter further illustrates how ethnicity interacted with language and literacy amongst the Kalanga in post-colonial Zimbabwe. I argue here that while these two pressure groups' argued for inclusion into the mainstream governance systems, such as in education, they could not provide concrete evidence of deliberate state exclusion as they sometimes alleged. However, for the most part, they at least managed to bring to the attention of the state the concerns of the Kalanga people.

5.1. Colonial state policies on language in the education system

Since the colonial period, language planning in Zimbabwe has been largely a top-down affair typified by state monopoly. As was discussed in Chapter 2, Kalanga language was initially marginalised by both white missionaries and colonialists through the standardisation of languages in colonial Zimbabwe.⁴⁷⁴ At the same time, Ndebele language was given significant attention by the missionaries who spent a lot of resources on the development of its orthography, thus turning it into an official language used at schools in Matabeleland. However, with the progression of colonial rule, some missionaries and linguists realised that

⁴⁷⁴ This idea was influenced by the colonial tendencies of instilling a divide and rule principle among the so called natives. The promotion of other indigenous languages such as Ndebele and Shona was not out of the desire of wanting to promote these languages. For example, Mazarire notes in *Becoming Zimbabwe* that the term Shona is problematic as it is a colonial construct. A number of languages such as Korekore, Ndau, Pfumbi and Lemba were assimilated into 'Shona'. Kalanga was therefore not an exception to this colonial project. Chimhundu notes that missionaries did not have the necessary linguistic or phonetic training; they saw 'tribes' everywhere and equated these 'tribes' with dialects or languages.

Kalanga was a unique language, which could not be subsumed under either Ndebele or Shona languages. Kalanga survived attempted incorporation and in 1931 linguist Clement Doke recommended that both the Southern Rhodesian government and the Bechuanaland Protectorate authorities draw up acceptable orthographies for both Southern Rhodesian Bakalanga and Bechuanaland Bakalanga.⁴⁷⁵ Doke's recommendations were influenced by his realisation that Kalanga language was different from both Ndebele and Shona languages. In the end, the Kalanga language had its own orthography and came to be taught in schools up to standard three in the 1940s and 1950s.⁴⁷⁶

The teaching of Kalanga was made possible especially by the London Missionary Society based at Dombodema. Although it is alleged that a few Kalanga books were published, very few of the villagers that I interviewed showed any knowledge of their existence, and they stated that they were never exposed to such material during their schooling days back in the 1940s and 1950s.⁴⁷⁷ This may have had something to do with the reluctance by the government publishing houses to publish Kalanga school textbooks or even lack of funds to publish Kalanga books. In an effort to promote the teaching of the Kalanga language, in 1958, a group of Kalanga elites from Bulilimamangwe that comprised of Saul Gwakuba Ndlovu, born in Dombodema 24 Km west of Plumtree in 1934, Anderson Mphakathi, Tapela Nleya and Butshilo Dabudabu came together and established the Kalanga Literature Society (KALISO).⁴⁷⁸ Upon the formation of the association Saul Gwakuba Ndlovu was teaching at Tokwana with the late Butshilo Dabudabu Moyo while Anderson Mphakathi and Tapela Nleya were also teachers in the neighbouring schools in

⁴⁷⁵ See Otukile, "Bakalanga Music and Dance in Botswana and Zimbabwe".

⁴⁷⁶ For more on the teaching of Kalanga language see Msindo, *Ethnicity in Zimbabwe: The Transformation in Kalanga and Ndebele Societies*.

⁴⁷⁷ This was shared by interviewees such as Solonia Dube, Mbisana Malaba Ncube, and Scotch Maphosa.

⁴⁷⁸ See NAZ AO7/ 3 (Bulawayo) The Kalanga Circular no 3 to the Ministry of Education and Culture. Interviewees such as Saul Gwakuba Ndlovu (who was one of the founding members of KALISO), Bowen Sibanda and Headman Adelaide Hikwa Nleya, also confirmed this in interviews conducted with them.

Bulilimamangwe district. KALISO's main objectives were to publish Kalanga books, a Kalanga newspaper and the teaching of the Kalanga language in Kalanga-speaking areas.⁴⁷⁹ These efforts were not only directed to the teaching of the language but also to the protection of Kalanga ethnic identity and culture.

At the same time, the Roman Catholic and Methodist churches had chosen to spread their gospel through the medium of the Ndebele language and had effectively compelled the Kalanga-speaking children in schools to speak the Ndebele language. While the imposition of Ndebele language served the interests of the missionaries, it also presented the Kalanga with an opportunity to learn another language. By the late 1960s and mid-1970s, Kalanga language was officially banned at schools.

5.2. The post-colonial government policies on language

Zimbabwe attained its independence in 1980 after close to a century of colonial rule. The newly independent nation had a lot of issues to grapple with at independence, one of which was the need to formulate a new language policy reflective of, and in keeping with, a democratic society. The language policy was influenced by the need to maintain unity and foster nation building through the use of English, Shona and Ndebele as the official languages both in the education system and the media.⁴⁸⁰ Many other indigenous languages were given a minority status and the speakers of these languages had to learn Shona or Ndebele languages. The lack of inclusion of Kalanga language and other indigenous languages in the education system was not unique to Zimbabwe.⁴⁸¹ For example, African

⁴⁷⁹ See NAZ AO7/ 3 (Bulawayo) The Kalanga Circular no 3 to the Ministry of Education and Culture, NAZ AO7/2, (Bulawayo) Minutes of the meeting of the KCPS, 10 August 1980 and NAZ AO7/4 (Bulawayo) Minutes of the meeting of the Kalanga Cultural promotion Society, 06 December, 1981.

⁴⁸⁰ See Ndlovu-Gatsheni, "Nation building in Zimbabwe and the challenges of Ndebele particularism", pp. 27-56 and Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *The Zimbabwean Nation-state project: A historical Diagnosis of Identity and Power-based Conflicts in a Post-colonial State*.

⁴⁸¹ F. Ndlovu, "Language and African Development: Theoretical Reflections on the place of languages in

countries such as Botswana and Tanzania discouraged multilingualism upon attaining independence. The existence of many languages was perceived in a negative light and associated with all sorts of problems including lack of national integration, ethnic conflicts, political tensions, poverty and underdevelopment.⁴⁸² To the leaders of the newly independent African states, ‘the multiplicity of African languages was often seen as a bane of African unity, whether at the national, regional or continental level.’⁴⁸³ Ndhlovu further argues that multilingualism is seen as a liability and a burden, particularly when considered in the context of the amount of resources needed to promote the use of multiple languages in the domains of education, media, law and administration, business and commerce and international communication.⁴⁸⁴

In Zimbabwe, ethnicity was seen as a stumbling block to the processes of nation building.⁴⁸⁵ Since language is a marker of ethnic identity, the use of minority languages was highly discouraged. The KCPS states, in its documents, that its formation was necessitated by the exclusion of the Kalanga language in the curriculum and in the education system.⁴⁸⁶ The post-colonial Zimbabwean government continued with some of the colonial policies whilst in the process of formulating new policies. However, some of these new policies may have retained elements of the old, including the exclusion of minority languages from schools. As I demonstrate below, the KCPS used the lack of inclusion of Kalanga language in the education system as a basis to criticise the new government. In as far as the teaching of

African Studies” *Nordic Journal of African Studies* volume 17 number 2 (2008) pp. 137-151.

⁴⁸² F. Ndhlovu, “Language and African Development: Theoretical Reflections on the place of languages in African Studies”, p. 138.

⁴⁸³ P.T. Zeleza, “The inventions of African identities and languages: The discursive and developmental implications”, Selected proceedings of the 36th Conference on African Linguistics, Somerville, MA: Cascadilla, 2006, p. 20.

⁴⁸⁴ Ndhlovu, “Language and African Development”, p. 139.

⁴⁸⁵ Brilliant Mhlana, shows how ethnicity has continued to be treated as a negative force in post independent Zimbabwe. This was also articulated during my interviews whereby people expressed how defining themselves in their ethnic categories was discouraged and seen as tribalism and detrimental to the newly formed nation. See B. Mhlana, “Ethnicity or Tribalism? The discursive construction of Zimbabwean national identity”.

⁴⁸⁶ The KCPS was thus revived in 1980 as a result of the marginalisation of Kalanga language in the education system.

indigenous languages was concerned, no policy was put in place in the first few years of independence.⁴⁸⁷ The early years of independence in Zimbabwe were characterised by the adoption of a ‘one nation consensus’ which sought to define the inhabitants as equal citizens of the newly independent country. This policy of national-building was enunciated under the leadership of President Robert Mugabe. Ndlovu-Gatsheni’s work is more illuminating on the nation-building project in post-colonial Zimbabwe. Of particular salience are the two strategies posited by President Mugabe in his endeavor to promote a one nation consensus in order to safeguard national security.⁴⁸⁸ The first strategy, according to Ndlovu-Gatsheni, was intolerance of opposition and this manifested itself in the violent elimination of PF-ZAPU as the first credible post-colonial opposition in Zimbabwe.⁴⁸⁹ The second was the increasing calls for a one-party state. The justifications for such calls included the question of economic development that was said to need a kind of monolithic unity; African tradition was assumed to provide no space for opposition parties.⁴⁹⁰ It was argued that the idea of a multi-party system was not just a luxury in Africa but a recipe for political instability, regionalism and ethnicity and thus an obstacle to nation-building. Mugabe’s speeches envisioned a ‘one state with one society, one nation, one party, one leader.’⁴⁹¹ This tendency of a one nation was not only unique to Zimbabwe. Mugabe had become a post-colonial leader during the Cold War and thus he joined the retinue of other African leaders of the Frontline States who held similar views.⁴⁹²

⁴⁸⁷ The first policy that the government produced with regards to the teaching of Kalanga and other minority languages in Zimbabwe was produced in 1987. The policy document was known as the *1987 Education Act*. This policy and other policies would be discussed shortly.

⁴⁸⁸ Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *The Zimbabwean Nation-State Project: A Historical Diagnosis of Identity and Power-Based Conflicts in a Post-colonial State*, p. 68.

⁴⁸⁹ Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *The Zimbabwean Nation-State Project: A Historical Diagnosis of Identity and Power-Based Conflicts in a Post-colonial State*.

⁴⁹⁰ Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *The Zimbabwean Nation-State Project: A Historical Diagnosis of Identity and Power-Based Conflicts in a Post-colonial State*, p. 68.

⁴⁹¹ *The Chronicle* 25 January 1982.

⁴⁹² Here, Mugabe joined the ranks of leaders such as Julius Nyerere who were already espousing the so-called

The so-called citizens were to define themselves as Zimbabweans. This ‘one nation consensus’ was assimilationist, favouring homogeneity fostered through one official language (English), and two recognised indigenous languages, which were Shona and Ndebele.⁴⁹³ It was because of such perceived injustices that the KCPS found itself at loggerheads with the Ministry of Education.

5.3. The Kalanga Cultural Promotion Society and the struggle for recognition of Kalanga language in education

The development of tribal associations has been widely described as a feature of modern urban life in many parts of Africa. In his work on the Copperbelt, Epstein argues that far from being an expression of conservatism or even inertia, tribalism was a response to the circumstances of urban life.⁴⁹⁴ In most parts of Africa these ‘tribal’ associations helped new migrants to adjust to the strange surroundings of urban environments. As discussed in chapter three, the Kalanga Cultural Promotion Society (KCPS) of the 1940s also sought to promote Kalanga culture in the urban colonial city of Bulawayo. This association worked closely with the Kalanga people in Bulilimangwe especially during the nationalist activities when it sought support from the local people in order to fight the colonial regime.

After almost four decades of a lull in its activities, the ethnic based-association sprang to life once again and began to blossom in Zimbabwe after independence in 1980, mainly as a response to the marginalisation of minority groups. These associations lobbied for their people’s cultural representation. They believed that it was through the use of their language

ideals of a one party state. The Frontline States were formed in 1970 to co-ordinate their responses to apartheid and formulate a uniform policy towards apartheid government and the liberation movement. These were Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe which joined in 1980.

⁴⁹³ See F. Ndlovu, *The Politics of language and nation building in Zimbabwe* (International Academic Publishers, Bern, 2009) and E. Ndlovu, “Mother tongue education in official minority languages in Zimbabwe”, *South African Journal of African languages*, volume 31, number 2 (2011) pp. 229-242.

⁴⁹⁴A. L. Epstein, *Ethos: Three studies in Ethnicity and Identity* (Tavistock Publications Ltd, London, 1978) p. 16.

in the education and information systems that they could achieve the goal of the recognition of their ethnic identity. Founded by Nsala Milli Malaba, the KCPS was also known as *Bukalanga Muka Kwaedza Muhango iyo*, meaning “Wake up Kalanga it has dawned in this country!” The association was re-launched on the 10th September 1980.⁴⁹⁵

According to Saul Gwakuba, the main impetus for the establishment of the KCPS by Nsala Malaba in 1980 was the realisation that the Kalanga language was not officially recognised in Zimbabwe.⁴⁹⁶ Gwakuba’s view is also supported by the circulars written by Malaba to the government. The establishment of such an ethnic-based association was triggered by a rumour that Nyanja was going to be introduced at the University of Zimbabwe as a degree course.⁴⁹⁷ This angered the Kalanga cultural entrepreneurs, especially Malaba, who argued that Nyanja was a foreign language and could not be taught while the indigenous languages such as Kalanga were not being taught.⁴⁹⁸ While the main aim of Malaba and the KCPS was the teaching of the Kalanga language in Kalanga speaking areas, this also translated into the promotion of Kalanga culture as well.

The association’s constitution was established in July 1980 and amended in January 1984.⁴⁹⁹ According to the terms of the constitution, the KCPS aimed to restore and preserve Kalanga language and culture through the national information and literacy education institutions.⁵⁰⁰ Kalanga culture included Kalanga music and dance, patterned pottery and the

⁴⁹⁵ The Chronicle, 10 September 1980. The name of the association, *Bukalanga Muka Kwaedza*’ itself suggests that the Kalanga people have been suppressed for too long and hence they should rise up and stand for the recognition of their ethnic group. The reasons for the establishment of the association are also stated in the Kalanga Constitution of 1984 and in various circulars sent by Malaba to the Ministry of education. For more information on this see, NAZ AO7/ 3 (Bulawayo) The Kalanga Circular no 3 to the Ministry of Education and Culture, NAZ AO7/2 (Bulawayo) Minutes of the meeting of the KCPS, 10 August 1980, NAZ AO7/4 (Bulawayo) Minutes of the meeting of the Kalanga Cultural promotion Society, 06 December, 1981 and NAZ BOH/70 (Bulawayo) The Kalanga Promotion Society Circular to the Ministry of Education and Culture and Ministry the Ministry of Information.

⁴⁹⁶ Interview with Saul Gwakuba Ndlovu, conducted by Themani Dube, Bulawayo, 28 November 2011.

⁴⁹⁷ NAZ AO7/2 (Bulawayo) Minutes of the meeting of the KCPS, 10 August 1980.

⁴⁹⁸ NAZ AO7/2 (Bulawayo) Minutes of the meeting of the KCPS.

⁴⁹⁹ NAZ AO7/ 3 (Bulawayo) The Kalanga Cultural Promotion Society Constitution, 1984.

⁵⁰⁰ NAZ AO7/ 3 (Bulawayo) The Kalanga Cultural Promotion Society Constitution.

extensive archaeological sites such as Domboshava, Luswingo and the Njelele shrines.⁵⁰¹ Throughout the 1980s, the association dedicated itself to making sure that Kalanga language was recognised in the country. Central to the grievances of the KCPS was the idea that the Kalanga were the natives of Matabeleland yet they had been marginalised by the government that sought to promote the Ndebele and Shona groups. The marginalisation of the Kalanga during the colonial days by the colonial state, missionaries and the Ndebele played a part in Kalanga claims for being the autochthones.

It is therefore not surprising that the association agitated for the replacement of Ndebele names in the Bulilimangwe areas with Kalanga ones as they argued that the Ndebele were immigrants.⁵⁰² To a certain extent, the ideas of the KCPS resonated with grassroots feelings amongst the ordinary Kalanga citizens as they also wanted the teaching of the Kalanga language at schools.⁵⁰³ They wanted to be part of the newly independent state with their language accordingly recognised as a national language. In turn, the KCPS attracted criticism from some former ZAPU members of the Ndebele ethnic group. In one of the circulars, Malaba said: "Some members of ZAPU accused me of being a 'tribalist' and they said that if I wanted Kalanga language to be taught in Zimbabwe I should go and teach the Kalanga language to my children."⁵⁰⁴ The association boasted of a large membership from Dombodema, Tokwana, Masendu, Madlambuzi and Nopemano areas in the northern parts of Bulilimangwe district.⁵⁰⁵

⁵⁰¹ NAZ AO7/ 3 (Bulawayo) The Kalanga Cultural Promotion Society Constitution.

⁵⁰² On one hand, the Association believed that changing to a Kalanga name was going to shake off Ndebele domination in an area that belonged to the Kalanga. On the other hand, the Ndebele argued that Bulilimangwe district was occupied by the San people who had settled there for a long time.

⁵⁰³ The view was expressed by interviewees in the northern parts of Bulilimangwe. See interviews conducted by Themban Dube with people of Madlambuzi area such as Headman Grey Ndlovu, Nconyiwe Ncube, wife of Chief Madlambuzi and Tseyamu Ncube, 10 March 2012. Also see interviews with Grey Ndlovu, Mbona Matiwa, Jele Khupe and Headman Lindiwe Mdongo.

⁵⁰⁴ NAZ AO7/ 3 (Bulawayo) The Kalanga Circular no 3 to the Ministry of Education and Culture.

⁵⁰⁵ With the exception of Nsala Milli Malaba, most leaders of the KCPS came from these areas. These areas are all in the northern parts of the district. This therefore is a clear indication that the association was more of tribal

Nsala Milli Malaba was born at Mhlotshana in the vicinity of Empandeni Mission in the 1930s, being the last born son (his name Nsala means the last born). Malaba had a tough upbringing and he faced discrimination when he started attending school in the 1940s. As a result of this, he did not perform very well at school. He ended up establishing his own business in Bulawayo where he also felt that the Kalanga were discriminated against by the Ndebele.⁵⁰⁶ Perhaps it was these experiences that influenced his decision to revive the Kalanga Cultural Promotion Society in the 1980s. Malaba chaired the KCPS from its inception in 1980 till 1988. He, together with Saul Gwakuba Ndlovu, (vice chairman) B.M Dabudabu, (secretary) Raphael Butshe, (treasurer) P.S Hikwa (committee member) and Esaph Dube (committee member) held a number of meetings with officials from the Ministry of Education demanding the teaching of Kalanga language in Kalanga-speaking areas.⁵⁰⁷ The leadership of the KCPS was composed of educated middle-aged men. For example, Saul Gwakuba Ndlovu was a journalist; Nsala-Millie was a business man while Dabudabu, Butshe, Hikwa and Dube were drawn from the Kalanga educated elite. Most of them worked in the Bulawayo City Council (BCC) and they spent most of their time in Bulawayo. Although the association was not popular in the southern parts of Bulilimangwe, its activities and the leaders were known around Dombodema, Nopemano and most areas of the northern parts of Bulilimangwe. Perhaps this can be attributed to the fact that most of the leaders of the KCPS were drawn from the northern parts of the district with the exception of Nsala Milli Malaba, who hailed from Empandeni Mission, which is in the southern part of Bulilimangwe district. However, the association managed to campaign and mobilise the

in orientation. Moreover, the members of the association were composed of elderly people from the northern parts of Bulilimangwe. As such, the association was opposed by the youth who had never learnt Kalanga language in schools. According to Saul Gwakuba Ndlovu, the Association had approximately 156 members in Bulilimangwe district.

⁵⁰⁶ Malaba's background is provided in NAZ BOH/70 (Bulawayo) The Kalanga Promotion Society Circular to the Ministry of Education and Culture and Ministry the Ministry of Information.

⁵⁰⁷ NAZ AO7/4 (Bulawayo) Minutes of the meeting of the Kalanga Cultural promotion Society, 06 December, 1981.

Kalanga in the rural areas of Bulilimamangwe to enlist their support, although they were mostly popular in the northern parts of the district.

Malaba used his position as the chairman of the KCPS to write circulars to the government demanding the teaching of Kalanga language and history in schools. In his circulars to the Ministry of Education, he ensured that the history of the Malaba clan was not only included but was actually over-emphasised in the historical narratives of the Kalanga.⁵⁰⁸ By so doing, he manipulated the history of the Kalanga for self-gratification. He went to the extent of writing a circular that stated that Mpangana Hobodo Malaba had played a pivotal role in the naming of places during the time of Lobhengula.⁵⁰⁹ Malaba should also be criticised for his failure to acknowledge or mention other forgotten Kalanga heroes such as Madlambuzi and Ndumba. It is clear therefore, that while Malaba might have had a genuine cause and perhaps had an altruistic motivation in fighting for the official recognition of the Kalanga in postcolonial Zimbabwe, he combined it with his own personal ambitions.

The lack of a clear policy on the teaching of minority languages influenced the government's responses to the KCPS. The KCPS elites blamed the government for the lack of Kalanga books, yet they could have written the books themselves. The Association placed much responsibility on the government to act almost to the level of making the Kalanga feel a sense of entitlement.

The KCPS gained support from some Kalanga people who had influential positions within the government. For example, the late George Silundika, a former Minister of Roads and Transport encouraged the Kalanga to write a lot of literature so that Kalanga could be put

⁵⁰⁸ NAZ BOH/70 (Bulawayo) The Kalanga Promotion Society Circular to the Ministry of Education and Culture and Ministry the Ministry of Information.

⁵⁰⁹ To this effect, he argued that it was Mpangana together with Lobhengula that named places such as Mtshabezi, Kumbudzi (this place was named after one of the Malaba brothers), Mpangana Mine(after Mpangana himself, it was later corrupted to Pangani) and Lupane (the place was full of Mopani trees which are known as Lupani in Kalanga).

on the academic map of the independent nation. George Silundika noted, ‘language does not become acceptable only by government decision, it is also necessary that the people of that language should popularise it by writing.’⁵¹⁰ As already seen above, because of the sanctions and the drying up of sources for Kalanga teaching materials, the teaching of languages experienced some setbacks. It was thus unfair for the KCPS to blame the government for not introducing Kalanga language in the education arena. The association challenged the government arguing that for it to build up a true Zimbabwean national culture, ‘it should be derived from all of Zimbabwe’s different ethnic groups. This could only happen when all languages could be taught and learnt up to a maximum level.’⁵¹¹ It behooved the Kalanga elites to take more initiative beyond this political move. The government was supposed to create an enabling atmosphere for the development of the language but could not be expected to write Kalanga books. So, the government did not completely reject the teaching of Kalanga. The statement below by Mr M. F. Matina, former Secretary for Education and Culture indicates that Kalanga was not completely rejected. He stated:

While I sincerely appreciate the teaching of hitherto neglected local history of Zimbabwe, I must point out that the Ministry of Education and Culture cannot accept a practice that divides Zimbabwean schools along ‘tribal’ lines, nor can we allow the school curricular to sow the seeds of disunity in schools. Thus, all schools will use the local mother tongue from grade one to three then switch to Ndebele or Shona.⁵¹²

Matina’s response was therefore influenced by the very fact that there were insufficient Kalanga books. Moreover, his decision was also influenced by the government’s vision of national unity. Interviewees such as Tjimumoyo Bango, Idah Kulube, Tjililigwe Kulube and Manyika confirmed that Kalanga language was taught in the lower grades. The

⁵¹⁰ NAZ 801/TGS (Bulawayo) Letter from the Minister of Roads and Road Traffic, Posts and Telecommunication, Crd T.G Silundika, 29 May 1980. George Silundika himself was a Kalanga from Bulilimamangwe. His response shows that the government was not completely against the teaching of Kalanga but the problem was the unavailability of literature in Kalanga.

⁵¹¹ NAZ AO7/4 (Bulawayo) Minutes of the meeting of the Kalanga Cultural promotion Society, 06 December, 1981.

⁵¹² NAZ D/132/1(Bulawayo) Letter from Mr. M. F. Matina, Secretary for Education and Culture on Kalanga history at schools, 09 July, 1981.

famous book that they recalled was *Atibaleni* which basically was an introductory text to the reading of Kalanga names. These texts are still available at schools in Bulilimamangwe. While the KCPS blamed the government, not everyone in government was against the teaching of Kalanga language. During the period of the reintroduction of Kalanga, in the early 1980s, parents wanted their children to be instructed in Kalanga at schools since it was their mother tongue.⁵¹³ In some cases it was reported that headmasters who had introduced Kalanga divided the pupils into Ndebele and Kalanga classes.⁵¹⁴ This was a clear indication that not everyone in Bulilimamangwe wanted to learn Kalanga language. The teaching of Kalanga was stopped in 1983 by the former Minister of Education and Culture, Dzingai Barnabas Mutumbuka.⁵¹⁵ The decision was influenced by the Gukurahundi conflict, which resulted in the closure of many schools. This violent episode caused a lot of disruptions on government properties such as schools and clinics. The banning of Kalanga was also influenced by the growth of tensions within the KCPS.⁵¹⁶ The squabbles between the KCPS leaders emanated from the desire by other leaders for their recognition at the expense of others. The tensions in the organisation impacted negatively on their entire campaign and organisational aspects of the KCPS. The tensions defeated the vision of the organisation, which was the recognition of Kalanga language. As a result of these tensions, Butshe Dabudabu resigned as an office holder in the KCPS.⁵¹⁷ His resignation also had an impact on the success of the Association.

In its struggle for the recognition of Kalanga language, the KCPS pressurised the

⁵¹³ NAZ OH /370 (Harare) interview with J. Ntelela Malaba and Gcwalisa Dube, conducted by Mark Ncube, Chief Archivist, National Archives of Zimbabwe.

⁵¹⁴ NAZ OH /370 (Harare) interview with J. Ntelela Malaba.

⁵¹⁵ NAZ OH /370 (Harare) interview with J. Ntelela Malaba.

⁵¹⁶ The squabbles within the KCPS leaders were influenced by the desire by other leaders for their recognition at the expense of others.

⁵¹⁷ For this conflict see NAZ AO7/4 (Bulawayo) Minutes of the meeting of the Kalanga Cultural promotion Society, 06 December, 1981.

The view was also shared during my personal conversation with Saul Gwakuba Ndlovu who was a member of the KCPS and also an office bearer.

government to re-introduce Kalanga. Between 1983 and 1984, they conducted meetings with District Education Officers (DEOs) such as Poyah and J.J. Ndebele who ended up convincing the Ministry of Education to re-introduce the teaching of the Kalanga language. The meetings culminated in the commencement of the teaching of the language in 1985. This was marked by a conference on the restoration of the teaching of minority languages that was held at the United College of Education (UCE). The Kalanga activists also collaborated with other minority groups in exerting pressure on the government to promote their cultures. By 1989, the cultural activists from minority groups such as Kalanga, Tonga and Venda formed the VETOKA publishing house which sought to produce literature in Kalanga, Venda and Tonga languages.⁵¹⁸ Nonetheless, Kalanga cultural activism through the KCPS during the Gukurahundi period and in the 1990s seemed to get overshadowed by the growing political importance of a regional Ndebele identity that was being cemented as a result of the collective violence.⁵¹⁹ Moreover, the death of Nsala Milli Malaba in 1991 (by then former chairman of the KCPS) also led to the demise of the association's involvement in Kalanga cultural activism.⁵²⁰ Nonetheless, the activities of the KCPS led to the recognition of the Kalanga language and other minority languages in Zimbabwe. The Association laid a foundation for the successor organisations such as the Kalanga Language and Cultural Development Association which facilitated the teaching of Kalanga language in Zimbabwe.

5.4. Government education policies and their effects on the teaching of minority languages in Zimbabwe

⁵¹⁸ VETOKA is an acronym derived from the first two letters of the three ethnic groups that formed the publishing house, namely Venda, Tonga and Kalanga.

⁵¹⁹ For more information on this see Msindo, *Ethnicity in Zimbabwe*, p. 222.

⁵²⁰ Saul Gwakuba Ndlovu described Nsala Milli Malaba as the most dedicated member and pillar of the association, who used his own resources in order to promote Kalanga language and culture. He went on to say that some members of the KCPS left the association after the death Nsala Milli Malaba.

In the early years after attaining independence, the Zimbabwean government had no clear policy regarding the teaching of minority languages. This led to the random teaching and suspension of the teaching of minority languages such as Kalanga and Tonga, amongst others. It was only through the Education Act of 1987 that the government sought to address the issue of language policy in education.⁵²¹ The 1987 Education Act permitted the teaching and learning of these languages up to Grade 3. Ndebele in Matabeleland, and Shona in Mashonaland, were used and institutionalised from Grade 4 onwards. Consequently, the education system relied, and still relies on quick-exit transitional bilingual programmes for official minority language speakers.⁵²² Prior to the enactment of the Act, there was no clear policy that was officially adopted on the teaching of minority languages.

The government's lack of interest in promoting 'minority' languages was also spelt out in the four education policy documents between 1990 and 1999. These were: the National Cultural Policy of Zimbabwe (1990), Position Paper on Zimbabwe's Language Policy (1997), The National Language Policy Advisory Panel (NLPAP) (1998) and Nziramasanga Commission on Education and Training in Zimbabwe (1999). In all these policy related documents, the teaching and use of minority languages in the Zimbabwean education system was not recognised. Instead, all these commissions and policy documents encouraged and promoted the teaching of the 'majority' languages, which were Shona and Ndebele. In light of this, Ndhlovu argues that these policies were conveniently tailor-made to serve the interests of 'majority' groups seeking to dominate and control speakers of the so-called

⁵²¹ This was necessitated by the growing agitation by the cultural entrepreneurs who wanted their language to be taught to their own people.

⁵²² E. Ndhlovu, "Mother tongue education in official minority Languages of Zimbabwe: A language management critique", unpublished PhD thesis, University of the Free State, May 2013, p 311.

minority languages.⁵²³ All the four commissions therefore enhanced the status of Shona and Ndebele languages as there were no binding policies that encouraged the teaching of minority languages. The above also illustrates that the organs of the state contradicted themselves. For example, Mr. Matina, Secretary of Education stated that there was no way the government would allow the non-recognition of Kalanga.

The various commissions were criticised by minority language groups that viewed them as unpatriotic. According to the KCPS, the teaching of minority languages remained a problem, which the Association faced in the 1990s. It was only in 2000, with the formation of the Zimbabwe Indigenous Languages Peoples Association that the question of minority languages was addressed.⁵²⁴ ZILPA was founded specifically to promote the languages and cultures of all minority groups in Zimbabwe. Unlike the KCPS, it is an organisation which was partially funded by the government in order to facilitate the teaching of minority language groups such as Tonga, Venda, Kalanga and Sotho. Although it was not an ethnic association, it cooperated with the associations such as VETOKA in promoting the recognition of minority groups in Zimbabwe. Regardless of this endeavour, Kalanga and other minority languages encountered some challenges in being acknowledged in the education system.⁵²⁵ The teaching of minority languages, including Kalanga, was legislated again in 2002 when these languages were taught up to Grade 3.⁵²⁶ By 2005 Kalanga and other

⁵²³ F. Ndhlovu, "Citizenship, Identity and Diversity: Language Policy, Citizenship and Discourses of Exclusion in Zimbabwe" in S. J. Ndhlovu-Gatsheni and J. Muzondidya (eds.), *Nationalism across the Globe vol 3: Redemptive or Grotesque nationalism? Rethinking Contemporary Politics in Zimbabwe* (Peter Lang, Bern, 2011) p.165.

⁵²⁴ The organisation was founded specifically to promote the language and cultures of all minority groups in Zimbabwe.

⁵²⁵ The Centre for Advanced Study of African Society (CASAS) believed in creating a few 'super languages' through the assimilation of the so-called minority languages. Some of the leading proponents of this idea were Chimhundu and Kwesi Prah whom Moyo accuses of being architects of Zimbabwe's assimilationists language policies. See Moyo *The Rebirth of Bulakanga*. Again the idea of CASAS that a super-Shona language be created by assimilating Kalanga group languages which are (Kalanga, Lilima, Venda amongst others) into Shona and creating one standard Shona which would be taught across Zimbabwe was vehemently opposed by the KLCDA.

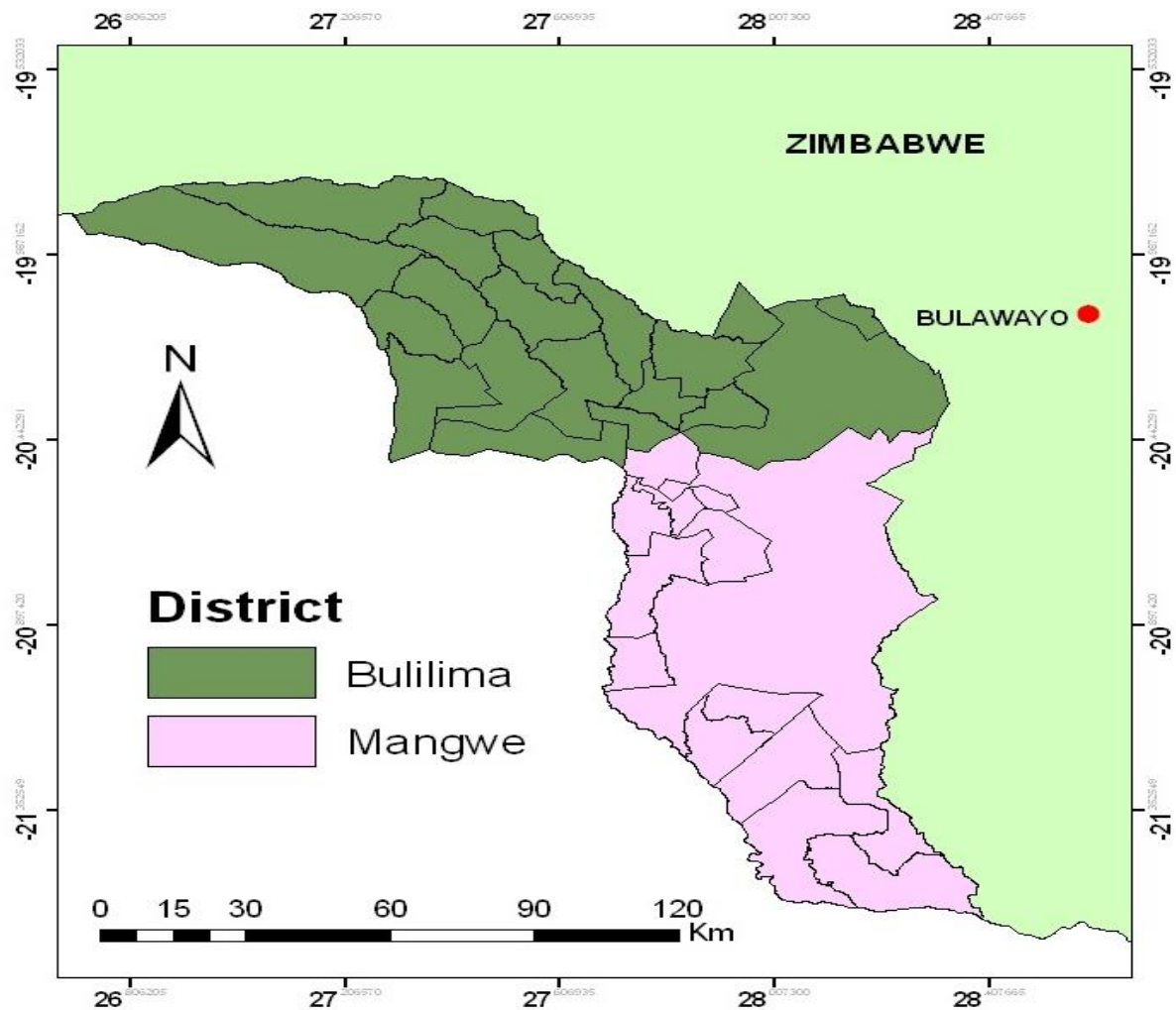
⁵²⁶ NAZ D/132/1 (Bulawayo) Policy Regarding Language Teaching and Learning, Circular 1 of 2002.

minority languages were taught up to Grade 7. This was partly necessitated by the growing agitation by the KCPS and partly by the Kalanga speakers from Bulilimamangwe and other Kalanga speaking districts such as Kezi.⁵²⁷ The language policies instituted by the state can however be viewed as governmental strategies meant, mostly consciously to promote and entrench the interests of specific classes and other social groups.⁵²⁸

Map 4: Map showing Bulilima and Mangwe Districts 2005

⁵²⁷ Following the agitation of the cultural promoters of the minority languages, the government sent the Nziramasanga Commission to investigate the possibility of teaching of Kalanga and other minority languages such as Sotho, Tonga, Venda and Shangaan amongst others. It was through the recommendations of the commission that serious attempts were made by the government towards the teaching of these minority languages.

⁵²⁸ For more detail on language and government policies see, S. Makoni, "A Critical Analysis of the Historical and Contemporary Status of Minority Languages in Zimbabwe", *Current Issues in Language Planning*, volume 12, number 4 (2011) pp. 437 – 455.



Map drawn by Mkhokheli Sithole

5.5. KLCDA and Kalanga particularism

As indicated above, the death of Malaba in 1991 and the tensions amongst the leaders of the KCPS led to the collapse of the Association. The Kalanga Language and Cultural Development Association (KLCDA) was established in 2005 as a follow up to its predecessor organisation, the KCPS.⁵²⁹ Just like its predecessor, the KLCDA's main objective was to struggle for the recognition of Kalanga language in Zimbabwe. But the association was also formed to act as a representative forum for the Kalanga. According to Pax Nkomo, the government's clean up exercise, which sought to remove the illegal structures in urban areas,

⁵²⁹ Interview with Pax Nkomo, conducted by Themban Dube, Bulawayo, 29 November 2011.

code-named *Murambatsvina*, was an immediate act that triggered the revival of the Kalanga Language and Cultural Development Association.⁵³⁰ The association was seen as a viable platform to express particularism. The revival of the KLCDA was also made possible by the Zimbabwe Indigenous Languages Promotion Association (ZILPA).

According to the constitution of the KLCDA, its objectives are to promote the teaching of Kalanga in schools, colleges and universities.⁵³¹ The association also aims at promoting and assisting in the development, production and translation of literature for use in the education system and any other societal spheres of influence.⁵³² Some of the association's major objectives are; to achieve the use of Kalanga in everyday life including but not limited to print and electronic media; information technology; and religious services.⁵³³ In many ways, the aims of this society are similar to those of the KCPS of the 1980s. Nevertheless, the KLCDA differed from the KCPS in that it made some initiatives towards the facilitation of the teaching of Kalanga language. The Association mobilised Kalanga speakers who managed to produce literature on Kalanga language for all Grades at Primary School level. Above all, the KLCDA sought to promote the revival and practice of Kalanga culture through cultural festivals, collection of artefacts and historical documentation, which the KCPS had failed to do.⁵³⁴ To that end, the KLCDA holds an annual cultural festival known as the Domboshaba Cultural Festival in Bulilimangwe and in Francistown, Botswana. It has been through these festivals that Kalanga culture has become known especially to the youth and school children who are taught Ndebele culture at schools in Kalanga speaking areas.

⁵³⁰ For a detailed account of *Murambatsvina* see, Solidarity Peace Trust, 'Discarding the Filth: Operation *Murambatsvina*' Interim Report on Zimbabwean government's "Urban Cleansing" and forced eviction campaign' 27 June 2005.

⁵³¹ The KLCDA Constitution (2005), p 1.

⁵³² The KLCDA Constitution (2005), p1.

⁵³³ The KLCDA Constitution (2005), p 1.

⁵³⁴ The KLCDA Constitution (2005).

Image 5.1 Poster advertising the Domboshaba Cultural Festival



The association's vision is that the KLCDA should not only end by ensuring the teaching of Kalanga at schools but that there should be economic development in those areas where the language would be spoken so that the community becomes an envy to other societies.⁵³⁵ The association also believes that cultural development should encompass the development of sports such as rugby and tennis and that the Kalanga community should also benefit from government development projects, for example the construction of boreholes.⁵³⁶ Due to support from the inhabitants of Bulilimamangwe, the Kalanga syllabus was written and Kalanga language was re-introduced in schools in the district in 2002. Consequently, in 2005, the association opposed the efforts by Shona Cultural Society to harmonise Kalanga and Shona. It also turned down the offer by the Shona Cultural Society to publish and edit all books written in Kalanga. According to Khupe and Moyo, KLCDA was reluctant to accept funding from the Shona Cultural Society because of fear of being subjected to Shona

⁵³⁵ This vision is however shared by the leaders of the association with some of Bulilimamangwe villagers not being aware of the existence of such an association.

⁵³⁶ Interview with Tjidzanani, Malaba, secretary for KLCDA, conducted by Themban Dube, 03 January 2011.

domination.⁵³⁷ They instead accepted assistance from the Society of the Promotion of IKalanga (SPIL), a cultural association that also stands for the recognition of the Kalanga in Botswana.⁵³⁸ Some of the funding for these books came from the Kalanga in the diaspora especially those in South Africa.⁵³⁹ This shows great commitment by the Kalanga who also want to be recognised and believe that through the teaching and recognition of their language they can be respectable and recognised people. Pax Nkomo commented that when he sent Kalanga books for commenting, one Kalanga man on hearing that the books were ready said, isiNdebele: '*Lathi sesizakuba ngabantu*', meaning 'we too will be respectable people.'⁵⁴⁰ This shows the power of written language in the recognition of a certain people. Moreover it shows that the marginalisation of the Kalanga has in part been a consequence of lack of official recognition of their language which was also not taught at school.⁵⁴¹

On the contrary, when the KLCDA went about consulting the Kalanga speakers, there were some Kalanga people who thought that the teaching of Kalanga would divide the people of Matabeleland and hence make them vulnerable to the Shona people.⁵⁴² This has been influenced by the government's tendency to treat all the people in Matabeleland as Ndebele which was facilitated through the teaching of Ndebele in the entire Matabeleland region. This view is shared by the youth who take pride in Ndebele history and thus, in the process

⁵³⁷ This was shared during my interviews with Watson Khupe, interview with Nzimuunani Emmanuel Moyo, a Kalanga political activist, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Bulawayo 16 December 2012 and Tjidzanani Malaba, secretary for KLDC, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Bulawayo, 03 January 2011.

⁵³⁸ The Zimbabwean and Botswana Kalanga argue that they share the same grievances of being marginalised by their post independent governments. Moreover, as has been seen in chapter two, these are the same people who became divided during the colonial period through the establishment of the boundary line that divided the territory into Southern Rhodesia and Bechuanaland Protectorate.

⁵³⁹ Interview with Watson Khupe.

⁵⁴⁰ Interview with Pax Nkomo.

⁵⁴¹ In reality it is very difficult to prove this marginalisation. Again to argue that the government deliberately ignored the Kalanga language on ethnic basis would be too reductionist. Marginalisation on ethnic basis is very difficult to prove. Musemwa has also elaborated this in his study of the water crisis in Bulawayo. For this see Musemwa, "Disciplining a 'Dissident' City: Hydropolitics in the City of Bulawayo, Matabeleland, Zimbabwe, 1980-1994", pp. 239-254.

⁵⁴² Interview with Tjidzanani Malaba.

shun the Kalanga language and culture.⁵⁴³ As Ndlovu observes, ‘Proficiency requirements in Ndebele and Shona at the end of primary and secondary school education promote active bilingualism among minority language speakers and in turn, foster language shift.’⁵⁴⁴ The status of Ndebele as one of the national languages is in itself a form of pressure imposed on minority language speakers to shift. Ndebele language is therefore viewed as a prestigious language amongst the younger generation. In most cases, the Kalanga youth have developed low emotional, functional, intellectual and loyalty stake of Kalanga language and shifted to Ndebele language. As a result, they often lack self-esteem and readily abandon their language, culture and self-identity in favour of the Ndebele language. Their languages are a stigma and these speakers have a low estimation of their languages and culture. The massive emigration of the young generation out of Bulilimangwe district and the country was said to be leading to cases where these emigrants acquire new languages and eventually lose their Kalanga language. Moreover, the Ndebele themselves have promulgated stereotypes of Kalanga culture as backward people stuck in old, exploitative traditions.⁵⁴⁵

In addition to the above, while the Kalanga musicians such as Solomon Skhuza expressed Kalanga identity, their sons and brothers have been viewed as Ndebele

⁵⁴³ See H. J. Moyo, “Lexical Metamorphosis of the Kalanga language: Towards an analysis of the Impact of Ndebele Domination of the Kalanga Language”, *Zambezia*, volume xxix number ii (2002) pp. 142-148, In this study Moyo also observed the tendency by Kalanga youth to shun away from their Kalanga language in favour of Ndebele.

⁵⁴⁴ E. Ndlovu, “Mother Tongue Education in official minority languages of Zimbabwe: A language management critique”, unpublished Phd thesis Submitted to the Department of Linguistics and Language Practice, Faculty Of Humanities, University of the Free State, May 2013, p. 427.

⁵⁴⁵ The Nholowemwizana custom has been used by the Ndebele to denigrate the Kalanga. In the Kalanga society when a son married, he did not sleep with his bride until his father had first done so such that the father and the son are indiscriminate in their cohabitation with each other's wives. The custom was discouraged although there are still who practice it. This was a Therefore when the youth go into cities such as Bulawayo they hide behind a Ndebele identity for fear of being associated with the Nholowemwizana custom. Also see T. Dube, “Oral Traditions, History and the Social Transformation of the Kalanga of South-western Zimbabwe: A Study of the Izimnyama Mpalawali Community, c 1800-2006, unpublished Honours dissertation, History Department, University of Zimbabwe, 2006 about the Nholowemwizana custom and T. Dube, “Culture, violence and the female body: The practice of *Nholowemwizana* custom as a form of cultural violence amongst the Kalanga women of Mpalawali area in Zimbabwe”, *The Journal of History Research*, volume 3, number 4 (April 2013) pp. 290-298.

musicians. A good example is Chase Skhuza, a brother to Solomon Skhuza who is the founder of IYASA dancing group. His music has been well received by the Ndebele people especially the youth in urban Bulawayo.⁵⁴⁶ There is thus a feeling of belonging to the Ndebele ethnic group by most of the youth especially those based in Bulawayo. They feel embarrassed to be identified with the Kalanga ethnic group and some do not even speak the language when they are in Bulawayo and would only do so when they are in a bus travelling to their home areas.⁵⁴⁷ Among the youth, therefore, Bulawayo is an urban space for Ndebele. Pax Nkomo, Saul Gwakuba Ndlovu and Ndzimuunami Moyo attribute the marginalisation of the Kalanga and their language to the denial of the teaching of Kalanga language by successive colonial regimes and the post-independent Zimbabwe.⁵⁴⁸

The community members in Bulilimangwe indicated that they did not know about the association that represents them as Kalanga speakers.⁵⁴⁹ They argued that the delay in the teaching of their language is largely due to lack of advocacy. The few that indicated awareness of the association's existence revealed that the association does not visit them in their communities but rather works in isolation.⁵⁵⁰ They further argued that, right from the formation of the association, local traditional power bases were not involved and this explains their resistance to the policy.⁵⁵¹ The participants indicated that policy development was not properly propagated to the local authorities, hence their reluctance to enforce the

⁵⁴⁶ Interviewees such as Rachel Sibanda and Phindile Dube, Pax Nkomo and Watson Khuphe acknowledged Chess Sikhuza's popularity amongst the urban youth of Ndebele origin who associate his music as Ndebele music.

⁵⁴⁷ See interview with Saul Gwakuba. A similar incidence was observed by the researcher during secondary schooling where Kalanga pupils preferred speaking in Kalanga outside school premises.

⁵⁴⁸ See interview with Pax Nkomo, interview with Ndzimuunami Emmanuel Moyo and interview with Saul Gwakuba Ndlovu.

⁵⁴⁹ This was spelt out during the interviews carried out in the southern parts of the district. Again this indicates that the association has been working in isolation hence the leaders of the association have manipulated it for their political gains. Some of the leading members of KLCDA such as Ndzimuunami Emmanuel Moyo have even called for a Federal republic of Bukalanga. See Moyo's book, *The Re-birth of Bukalanga: A Manifesto for the Liberation of a Great People with a Proud History Part I*.

⁵⁵⁰ These views were expressed during the interviews carried out in Bulilimangwe district.

⁵⁵¹ Also see Ndlovu, "Mother tongue", p. 254.

implementation of the policy in their constituencies.⁵⁵²

The association was also said to be very selective and exclusionary in its membership, leaving out some community members and the local power bases, which could enhance its legitimacy, authority and power. However, some teachers and members of the association argued that some of the reasons for resistance on the part of the chiefs relate to the fact that most of the chiefs, particularly in the southern parts of Bulilimangwe, are Ndebele-speaking and want to protect and promote their language.⁵⁵³ The association was also described by both Kalanga speakers and some participants who have worked with it as not well mobilised because it is fraught with divisions.⁵⁵⁴ The KLCDA also gets support from the Kalanga in the diaspora who established a Kalanga website, www.bukalanga.com.⁵⁵⁵ This was done in an endeavour to preserve and ensure the continuation of Kalanga culture. Above all, the rise of the Kalanga pressure groups has been motivated by the desire to curb Ndebele domination.⁵⁵⁶ The KLCDA has worked closely with the Society for the Propagation of iKalanga Language (SPIL) and even conducts cultural festivals at Domboshaba in

⁵⁵² These views were mostly shared by Chief Ndife Ndiweni and Headman Jim Mabunu Ngwenya in the southern parts of Bulilimanagwe district. See interview with Chief Ndife Ndiweni, conducted by Themban Dube, Osabeni, 12 July 2012 and interview with Headman Jim Mabunu Ngwenya, Osabeni, 3 January, 2012. As was indicated in the previous chapters, most people in the southern parts of Bulilimangwe observe a Ndebele identity.

⁵⁵³ The southern part of the district is dominated by Ndebele speaking Kalanga who have adopted Ndebele culture. Most of the traditional leaders from this part of the district are Ndebele of Nguni origin.

⁵⁵⁴ Leaders of the association somehow confirmed this and they owed these divisions to power struggles.

⁵⁵⁵ The website was founded by Abby Bango the son of Chief Jeremiah Ngugama Bango who is based in the United Kingdom. The website has been used by many Kalanga people to air their views on Kalanga culture. It also seeks to promote various aspects of Kalanga identity such as language and the writing of Kalanga history. In addition to this, a Kalanga cultural activist called Ndzimuunani Emmanuel has also put a Kalanga bloc that also seeks to promote the preservation of Kalanga culture.

⁵⁵⁶ A Kalanga political activist, Ndzimuunani Emmanuel Moyo said that the Kalanga are trying to form their own Federal Democratic State of Zimbabwe Republic. However, he stated that he himself has been severely accused for the idea of a separate Kalanga Republic by the Ndebele political activists who want to establish the Mthwakazi Republic in Matabeleland. Ndzimuunani went on to argue that the Ndebele are very few and should let the Kalanga, who are the owners of the so-called Matabeleland establish their own Bukalanga Federal Republic. Ndzimuunani also stated that the kingdom of Bukalanga would make Mthwakazi, the Ndebele kingdom look like a mere village. Ndzimuunani is an example of a bitter Kalanga political activist who is pained by the domination of Ndebele in Bulilimangwe. He thus concluded by articulating that by right and with reference to history, Matabeleland or Mthwakazi should hence forth be renamed Bukalanga to reflect the history and ethnicity of the majority of its people.

Botswana.⁵⁵⁷ The SPIL, popularly known as *Balumbidzi be iKalanga*, was established in 1980 in order to promote Kalanga language and culture which was being stifled by the Botswana government. SPIL was a successor to Bakalanga Students Association founded in 1945. It is also the successor to earlier student societies some founded at boarding schools, where Kalanga identity was being crystallised in minority/majority encounters, before the University of Botswana was established. Werbner argues that immediately before the birth of the original Kalanga student movement, its founders had recently experienced a revelatory moment of minoritisation.⁵⁵⁸ The two Kalanga groups collaborate in their endeavor to further the cause of the revival of Kalanga language and culture both in Zimbabwe and Botswana.

As has been seen in the previous chapters, the Kalanga of Zimbabwe and those of Botswana share common origins.⁵⁵⁹ The split between the two Kalanga groups was caused by the arbitrary drawing and imposition, by the colonial regimes, of new boundaries that defined their conquered territories. It is believed amongst the Kalanga that Domboshaba was a residence possibly of a representative of the Mambo who looked after the western part of the Kingdom.⁵⁶⁰ Thus, *amawosana* (cult adepts and messengers of the Mwali/Ngwali, the high god of the Matopos) from Zimbabwe and Botswana Kalanga groups perform some dances during the Domboshaba cultural festival. Thus, the Kalanga of both Zimbabwe and Botswana through the Domboshaba festival have determined the authenticity of their claim of being the autochthonous groups in both Zimbabwe and Botswana.

⁵⁵⁷ According to Watson Khupe, there is not a single festival that each association conducts in the absence of representatives of each group. The Kalanga in Bulilimamangwe and in Botswana enjoy cordial relations. They often cross the border frequently and especially when they go to offer their oblations at Ntogwa and Neyile shrines. While these two groups still go to Njelele, recently there has been a tendency to consult the two cults as they argue that there has been too much Ndebele influence at Njelele shrine.

⁵⁵⁸ R. P. Werbner, *Reasonable Radicals, and citizenship in Botswana: The Public Anthropology of Kalanga Elites* (Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, 2004) p. 65.

⁵⁵⁹ See Chapter 2 of this thesis.

⁵⁶⁰ NAZ OH /370 (Harare) Interview with J.Ntelela Malaba and Gcwalisa Dube.

Image 5.2 Wosana dancers at Domboshaba Hill



Source: The Voice BW, 27 September 2011

Image 5.3: Traditional Dancers dancing to Ndazula at Domboshaba Hill



Source: The Voice BW, 27 September 2011

5.6. Conclusion

The colonial marginalisation of the Kalanga language and the peripheralisation of their culture as well as the emphasis given to nation-building by the new ZANU-PF government and its radical opposition to ethnic identities led to the revival of the Kalanga Cultural Promotion Society. The rise of the Kalanga Cultural Promotion Society (KCPS) in 1980 and its successor Kalanga Language and Cultural Development Association (KLCDA) in 2005 was instigated by the desire to make Kalanga an official language used in the Ministry of Education. Kalanga cultural entrepreneurs served as a mouthpiece for the Kalanga people as they fought for the recognition of the Kalanga language not only in Bulilimamangwe district but in Zimbabwe as a whole. The KLCDA joined hands with the Kalanga in Botswana under the auspices of the Society for the Propagation of Ikalanga (SPIL) in their attempts to further the cause of the revival of Kalanga language and identity in both countries. As a result of this cooperation the two Kalanga groups developed an annual festival, which has brought together and crystallised Kalanga ethnic identity both in Zimbabwe and Botswana. It cannot be doubted that the activities of these associations have to some extent epitomised political ‘tribalism’ as these associations not only lobby for the recognition of Kalanga language and culture in Zimbabwe but also the replacement of Ndebele names in Matabeleland with Kalanga names, with the worst being the change of the name of the province from Matabeleland to BuKalanga.⁵⁶¹

⁵⁶¹ Interview with Ndzimuunami Emmanuel Moyo, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Bulawayo, 16 December 2012.

CHAPTER 6:

“WE WANT OUR LANGUAGE TO BE HEARD ON AIR” KALANGA LANGUAGE ON RADIO IN POST-INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE

6.0. Introduction

As we saw in Chapter 5, the KCPS and KLCDA played a key role in the struggle for the Kalanga language to be introduced in lower grades at schools in Bulilimamangwe districts where there was a large number of Kalanga-speaking people, as well as for the recognition of Kalanga culture more generally. However, these associations were also at the forefront of the campaign to have minority languages, including the Kalanga language, used in radio broadcasting in postcolonial Zimbabwe. Just like in the education system, the chapter focuses on the role played by the Kalanga Cultural Promotion Society in order to challenge Zimbabwe’s government’s postcolonial nation-building project which recognised Shona and Ndebele as the two official languages in radio broadcasting.

Despite the massive proliferation of newer information and communication technologies (ICTs), radio remains significant in transforming people’s lives. It has often been referred to as the voice of the people as it is the most dominant, cheapest and most direct media through which the majority of Africans, including Zimbabweans, have access to information and are also able to express their views.⁵⁶² This chapter provides an historical analysis of radio broadcasting in Kalanga language in post-independent Zimbabwe, exploring the motives behind the introduction of Kalanga radio. Right from the onset, the chapter argues that, Kalanga cultural entrepreneurs put pressure on the Ministry of Information by writing circulars protesting the exclusion of the Kalanga from radio broadcasting, thereby

⁵⁶² For more information on this see D. Ligaga, D. Moyo and L. Gunner, (eds.), *Radio in Africa: Publics, Cultures, Commodities* (Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, 2011) and S. P. Lekgoathi, “Ethnic Separatism or Cultural Preservation? Ndebele Radio under apartheid, 1983-1994”, *South African Historical Journal* volume 64, number1 (March 2012) pp. 59-80.

playing a pivotal role in shaping Kalanga ethnic identity.

The last three decades have witnessed a rise in the literature on radio in Southern Africa.⁵⁶³ This literature has covered areas such as radio and regulatory frameworks within which broadcasters operate; radio from the perspective of local development, programming, radio in African languages, histories of radio and community radio. Some of this literature focuses on the influence of the indigenous language speakers on the use of their language in radio.⁵⁶⁴ As Lekgoathi correctly observes, there is also an increasing interest among social scientists in radio and popular culture, music, radio drama, subversion, the creation of communities and ethnic identities, as well as on the use of radio by the liberation movements.⁵⁶⁵

Despite the power of radio to transform people's lives, scholarly work on this medium in Zimbabwe remains very scanty.⁵⁶⁶ The heavy hand of the Zimbabwean state and ZANU

⁵⁶³ For more information on this, see R. Fardon, and G. Furniss, G, *African broadcast cultures: Radio in transition* (James Currey, Oxford, 2000) and D. Ligaga, D. Moyo and L. Gunner, (eds.), *Radio in Africa: Publics, Cultures, Commodities* (Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, 2011).

⁵⁶⁴ Lekgoathi demonstrated this in his work on Sotho and Ndebele radios in South Africa during the era of apartheid in South Africa. See S. P. Lekgoathi "You are Listening to Radio Lebowa of the South African Broadcasting Corporation": Vernacular Radio, Bantustan Identity and Listenership, 1960–1994", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, volume 35, number 3 (2009) pp. 575-594, S. P. Lekgoathi, "Bantustan identity, censorship and subversion on Northern Sotho radio under apartheid", in D. Ligaga, D. Moyo and L. Gunner, (eds.), *Radio in Africa: Publics, Cultures, Commodities* (Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, 2011) and Lekgoathi, "Ethnic Separatism or Cultural Preservation? Ndebele Radio under apartheid, pp. 59-80. Chisita also highlighted on the problems associated with broadcasting in different languages in Uganda. See, M. B. Chisita, "Multiple publics, multiple languages: Radio and the contestations of broadcasting language policy in Uganda", in D. Ligaga, D. Moyo and L. Gunner, (eds.), *Radio in Africa: Publics, Cultures, Commodities* (Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, 2011).

⁵⁶⁵ For more information on this see Lekgoathi, "Ethnic Separatism or Cultural Preservation" p. 63. Also see L. Mosia, C. Riddle and J. Zaffiro, "From Revolutionary to Regime Radio: Three Decades of Nationalist Broadcasting in Southern Africa", *Africa Media Review*, volume 8, number 1(1994) pp. 1-24, K.M. Gqibitole, "Contestations of Tradition in Xhosa Radio Drama under Apartheid", *English Studies in Africa*, volume 45, number 2 (2002) pp.33-45, L. Gunner, "Wrestling with the Present; 'Resistant Medium: The Voices of Zulu Radio Drama in the 1970s", *Theatre Research International*, volume 27, number 3 (2002) pp. 259-274, L. Gunner, "Supping with the Devil: Zulu Radio Drama under Apartheid: The Case of Alexius Buthelezi", *Social Identities*, volume 11, number 2 (2005) pp. 161-169, L. Gunner, "Zulu Choral Music: Performing Identities in a New State", *Research in African Literatures*, volume 37, number 2 (2006) pp. 83-97, S. R. Davis, "The African National Congress, its Radio, its Allies and Exile", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, volume 35, number 2, June 2009, pp 349-373, Lekgoathi, "You are Listening to Radio Lebowa; 'Bantustan Identity, Censorship and Subversion, pp. 139-153.

⁵⁶⁶ The notable scholars who have written on radio are S. Chiumbu, J. Minnie, and H. Bussick, *On Air: Public*

PF in radio broadcasting led to the rise of clandestine broadcasting and community radio stations that operate outside Zimbabwe. Scholars such as Moyo have written on the issue of the rise of clandestine broadcasting and community radio stations that operate outside Zimbabwe.⁵⁶⁷ Similarly, Ndlovu examines how diasporic radio has re-emerged in independent Zimbabwe, where it manages to utilise affordable communication technologies to link with the population, providing the people with an alternative public sphere on which to articulate their views and engage in democratic debate.⁵⁶⁸

This chapter builds on some of the insights derived from this literature to explore the role of radio on the Kalanga as a minority language group in Zimbabwe. The interview material highlights that in post-independence Zimbabwe the demand for Kalanga on radio was advocated by Kalanga cultural entrepreneurs under the auspices of the KCPS and KLCDA as well as some individuals in Bulilimamangwe. However, some of my research participants argued that their struggle for the recognition of Kalanga both on air and in the education system reflected more their personal class interests and aspirations than those of ordinary non-elite Kalanga people in Bulilimamangwe who were primarily concerned about poverty and other major social problems.⁵⁶⁹ The main argument of this chapter revolves around the role played by the state, Kalanga cultural entrepreneurs in the recognition of

Broadcasting in Africa Series: Zimbabwe (OSISA, Rosebank, 2009), although her work focused on broadcasting in general. Chikowero has also focused on the impact of the introduction of British colonial radio broadcasting to Africans in Zambia, Zimbabwe and Malawi, which he argues heralded an unparalleled crisis in European efforts to construct African colonial subjectivity. Using the example of Radio Voice of the People, a Zimbabwean pirate radio station, Mare argues that radio as a medium of communication has adapted and appropriated digital technologies to extend its reach while opening up novel platforms of audience participation. See A. Mare, 'New media, pirate radio and the creative appropriation of technology in Zimbabwe: case of Radio Voice of the People', *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, volume 25, number 1 (2013) pp. 30-41.

⁵⁶⁷ For this see D. Moyo, 'Reincarnating Clandestine Radio in Post-independent Zimbabwe', *The Radio Journal International Studies in Broadcast and Audio Media*, volume 8, number 1 (2010) pp. 23-36.

⁵⁶⁸ E. Ndlovu, 'The re-emergence of diasporic radio in independent Zimbabwe', *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies*, volume 35, number 3 (2014) pp. 54-72.

⁵⁶⁹ This was revealed during the interviews with the Kalanga people from the rural areas of Bulilimamangwe district whose concern is more about poverty and other social problems. These views were mostly expressed by women, such as Melita Sibanda, Baka Mbisana, Idah Kulube and Belinah Sibanda, who argued that they are happy with listening to foreign radio stations from South Africa and Botswana.

Kalanga language on radio in post-independent Zimbabwe. The chapter begins with a broad overview of the colonial state policies on radio broadcasting, followed by a discussion of radio broadcasting in post-colonial Zimbabwe.

6.1. Colonial state policies on radio broadcasting

Radio broadcasting in Southern Rhodesia was started the Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation (RBC) in 1933. However, due to the state's preoccupation with other national projects, the first professional broadcasting which was in English only was established in 1941.⁵⁷⁰ African languages came on air for the first time in 1948. Lusaka became the focal point for broadcasting to African listeners in Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland while Salisbury became the centre for European broadcasting in the region.⁵⁷¹ Radio broadcasting was influenced by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) model of public broadcasting. Broadcasting in African languages was meant to educate, inform and entertain the Africans. As early as this period, broadcasting was a colonial state monopoly. African programmes were censored by the state that made sure that the African programmes did not broadcast 'poisonous' information.⁵⁷² The state monopoly on radio and in broadcasting in general was enshrined in the 1957 Broadcasting Act which stipulated that:

No person other than the corporation shall carry on a broadcasting service in the country. No person other than the Corporation shall operate a diffusion service other than in accordance with the approval of the Minister or other consultation with the

⁵⁷⁰ Radio broadcasting was in English only and African languages were not broadcasted. According to Chief Ndife Ndiweni, radio was a preserve of the whites. This view was also shared by Patrick Manase, who is the current manager of National FM radio station. Given the segregationist tendencies of the white regime, it is therefore not surprising that African languages were discriminated against.

⁵⁷¹ S. Chiumbu, J. Minnie and H. Bussick, *Public broadcasting in Africa Series: Zimbabwe* (OSISA, Rosebank, 2009) p. 10.

⁵⁷² According to ZBC interviewees who chose to remain anonymous, poisonous programmes were those deemed to insight opposition to the white minority regime.

Posts Corporation.⁵⁷³

During this period, presenters of African programmes were also not free to air their views. Although the colonial state manipulated radio, Africans also managed to take advantage of radio in order to challenge colonial rule. Chikowero's work on colonial broadcasting in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi illustrates how African broadcasters ran broadcasts that cunningly countered official ideology, thus turning a tool of imperial and colonial state-making into a means of self-liberation.⁵⁷⁴ More than anything else, the technology demonstrated the capacity of Africans to subvert instruments of colonial power. The use of their own native languages enabled these African broadcasters to use radio for the liberation of their countries. The view was also supported by some ex-military men in Bulilimangwe who articulated that during the days of the liberation struggle, broadcasting in African languages enabled the nationalists to spread propaganda and many people joined the liberation struggle.⁵⁷⁵ December Moyo commented that although he had heard about the nationalist activities while working in Bulawayo, the desire to join the struggle was influenced by his listening to African radio programmes which emphasised the need to fight against colonial rule. Although there was censorship, African presenters managed to use their own languages in order to conscientise the Africans about the need to liberate their own countries.

6.2. Radio broadcasting in post-colonial Zimbabwe

In Zimbabwe, radio falls under the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC). In 1980

⁵⁷³ Broadcasting Act, Section 27 and 28 (1), 1957, Amended 1974.

⁵⁷⁴ M. Chikowero, *Tool of the Empire, Technology of Self Liberation: Colonial radio broadcasting to Africans in Zambia, Zimbabwe and Malawi, 1920s-1980* (Indiana University Press, London, 2014).

⁵⁷⁵ This view was shared by ex- ZAPU military men such as December Moyo, Rich Moyo and Enoch Moyo.

ZBC took over from the Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation (RBC).⁵⁷⁶ The provision of information to the citizens of Zimbabwe was one of the utmost important services that the government had to meet at independence. The new government's preoccupation with nation building also meant that information provision services had to conform to this idea of the one-nation consensus. As such, radio broadcasting in post-colonial Zimbabwe became a state monopoly, the same way as it was during colonial days. The same strategy of control deployed in the education system was applied over broadcasting. In light of this observation, Chiumbu argues that, 'in 1980 the ZBC inherited not only old equipment but also a broadcasting system which had been controlled by the colonial and white minority governments and used it as an effective tool to propagate their aims and keep the subjects.'⁵⁷⁷ The newly independent nation settled on using three official languages, English, Shona and Ndebele on radio services.

Just like in the education system, many indigenous languages such as Kalanga, Sotho and Tonga, among others, were not used in radio services as the use of a multiplicity of languages on the Zimbabwean state radio was considered they were rendered detrimental to the newly formed nation. This meant that many minority language groups were either forced to listen to Shona and Ndebele languages. Kalanga language was one such language that was neglected in the provision of radio services to the people in post-colonial Zimbabwe. As a result, in 1980, Kalanga cultural entrepreneurs lobbied the Ministry of Information for the introduction of Kalanga on radio. Radio 2 was one of the early stations that broadcasted programmes in indigenous languages in post-colonial Zimbabwe.⁵⁷⁸ In the words of the

⁵⁷⁶ Interview with Mr Patrick Manase, National FM Radio Station Manager, conducted by Themban Dube, ZBC, Highlands, Harare, 19 December 2012.

⁵⁷⁷ Chiumbu, *Public Broadcasting*, p. 11.

⁵⁷⁸ Other radio stations established at independence were, Radio 1, 2 and Radio 3. All these broadcasted mainly in Shona, Ndebele and English respectively. Radio 1 now known as Sport FM is a news station focusing on current affairs and debate broadcasting only in English language, Radio 2 now known as Radio Zimbabwe, broadcast mostly in Shona and Ndebele and its programmes appeal to both rural and urban audience and Radio

KCPS, most of the programmes were made to suit the Shona and Ndebele listeners at the expense of other minority language groups such as Kalanga, Tonga and Venda, amongst other.⁵⁷⁹ This was illustrated at the dawn of independence when Radio 2 played Shona and Ndebele revolutionary music.⁵⁸⁰ Noticing these ‘unfair’ tendencies on radio service provision, the KCPS wrote to Nathan Shamuyarira, then Minister of Information and Tourism requesting the use of Kalanga language on radio. The KCPS drew from the example of the South African Broadcasting Corporation during apartheid which catered for a variety of language groups on radio. In one of the circulars addressed to Shamuyarira, the KCPS condemned the Zimbabwean government for practising the worst segregation than South Africa. Part of the letter read:

The South African government which is said to be undemocratic and is called all sorts of names by our government does not oppress any language groups. One listens to South African Broadcasting Corporation one enjoys the variety of languages and cultures. The South African Television networks also screen a lot of diversified cultural activities unlike in Zimbabwe where the name of the programme is derived from Shona ‘*Mvengemvenge*’ hence most of the programmes are Shona related.⁵⁸¹

However, the KCPS was not only exaggerating but basing their claims on false historical assumptions. Lekgoathi’s works have shown the oppressive nature of the South African apartheid regime which even established various homeland-based radio stations in order to assert control over African listeners and popularise and promote its Bantustan identities.⁵⁸²

3 now known as Power FM is a youth music station.

⁵⁷⁹ NAZ AO7/ 7, (Bulawayo) The Kalanga Circular no 3 to the Ministry of Information and Tourism, 1987.

⁵⁸⁰ Perhaps it was too early for the KCPS to make such demands and to accuse the government for marginalising the Kalanga given the fact that Kalanga was not even broadcasted during the colonial period. Again, the demand for Kalanga revolutionary music was unfair. Kalanga revolutionary music which the KCPS referred to were songs composed by Malaba’s choir who was also the chair of the association. Therefore it can be questioned if this was not one of Malaba’s tactics of manipulating the association to push for his own agenda.

⁵⁸¹ NAZ BOH/70, (Bulawayo) Letters from the KCPS addressed to the Minister of Information and Tourism Nathan Shamuyarira, 23 June and 15 August 1980.

⁵⁸² For more information on the establishment of Bantu radio broadcasting in apartheid South Africa see, Lekgoathi, “Ethnic Separatism or Cultural Preservation? Ndebele Radio under apartheid, 1983-1994”, pp. 59-80 and Lekgoathi, “You are Listening to Radio Lebowa of the South African Broadcasting Corporation: Vernacular Radio, Bantustan Identity and Listenership, 1960–1994”, pp. 575-594. Also see L. Gunner, “Supping with the Devil: Zulu Radio Drama under Apartheid: The Case of Alexius Buthelezi”, *Social Identities*, volume 11, number 2 (2005) pp. 161-169.

In response to the requests of the KCPS for the use of Kalanga language on radio, Shamuyarira stated:

We do not see the pressing necessity for broadcasting in the Kalanga language. We know that there are large numbers of Zimbabweans who speak the language. Fortunately most of them speak and understand the Ndebele language as well. In comparison with a country like Zambia where they broadcast in eight different languages, we are lucky to reach the entire population with only two languages, Shona and Ndebele. We think any further subdivision of these two main languages would be a step backwards and should be resisted. While it may be a point of pride for members of your society to listen to Kalanga programmes alone, such a step would open a Pandora box and set in train numerous claims by smaller ethnic groups for their own programmes as well in say, Tshi-Ndau, Tshi-Tonga etc. Such a development would not add to the achievement of a national goal of one identity and one nation.⁵⁸³

The above response sums up not only the attitude of government towards Kalanga language, but also towards other minority groups whose languages were not provided for on the radio services. Moreover, in the eyes of the KCPS elites, the response showed what Ndhlovu called ‘government’s complete and uncritical embracing of the modernisation paradigm of associating ethnic identity with division and backwardness.’⁵⁸⁴ The Minister might have been influenced by the general tendency in the government of treating the Matabeleland region as Ndebele territory.⁵⁸⁵ However, Shamuyarira’s statement appears to have been pragmatic. Without necessarily defending the former minister, the country had just attained independence in 1980 and the KCPS was already making unpractical requests. There were numerous issues which the newly independent state had to grapple with, such as the reconstruction of the country and nation building. Moreover, the liberation war had brought

⁵⁸³ NAZ BOH/70, (Bulawayo) Letter from the Minister of Information and Tourism Nathan Shamuyarira to KCPS, 21 October 1980.

⁵⁸⁴ See F Ndhlovu, *The Politics of language and nation building in Zimbabwe* (International Academic publishers, Bern, 2009) and F. Ndhlovu, “Language Politics in Postcolonial Africa Revisited: Minority Agency and Language Imposition”, *Language Matters*, volume 41, number 2 (2010) pp. 175–192.

⁵⁸⁵ As a result of this, various ethnic groups that reside in this region are often viewed as Ndebele. These ethnic groups include the Kalanga, Tonga, Sotho and Venda amongst others.

some of the sectors of the economy to a halt; hence there were more pressing issues to be dealt with immediately. Therefore, some of the demands by the KCPS were unreasonable.

Members of the KCPS argued that the Ndebele were immigrants yet they had been given undue attention by the post-colonial government.⁵⁸⁶ The KCPS's accusations of the Ndebele as immigrants were unfair considering the fact that by independence they had been there for over a century. The 1980s was also a difficult period for people in the Matabeleland region as a result of the Gukurahundi war that affected Bulilimamangwe district and the rest of the Matabeleland region. Hence, individuals and communities had more pressing demands such as food and security rather than clamouring for the introduction of Kalanga language on radio services.⁵⁸⁷

6.3. Radio programmes and the representation of Kalanga and other minority languages on Radio 4/National FM

Radio 4 which later on became National FM was founded in 1984.⁵⁸⁸ Upon its introduction, the ZBC stipulated that the station would broadcast in the languages of the minority groups including Kalanga, but the station broadcasted mainly in Shona and Ndebele.⁵⁸⁹ Kalanga and other minority languages were to be broadcast for a paltry 15 minutes each, once a week.⁵⁹⁰ The KCPS bitterly complained that Kalanga language was not given enough radio space. Moreover, it complained to the Ministry of Information that the telephone requests in the

⁵⁸⁶ Besides the KCPS this view is shared by Kalanga chiefs such as Masendu and Madlambuzi. See chapter 2 and 3 for information on the first inhabitants of Bulilimamangwe.

⁵⁸⁷ The Gukurahundi conflict affected a lot of civilians in the Matabeleland region. In the words of the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (C.C.J.P) report, curfews were introduced; stores were closed such that people had difficulties in accessing food. This was also exacerbated by the beatings and killings of people under the hands of the Fifth Brigade and the dissidents. Thus, the 1980s were a difficult period for rural dwellers and thus people were worried about their survival rather than listening to radio.

⁵⁸⁸ See NAZ BOH/70, (Bulawayo), Average daily music and other Programmes over the ZBC Radio 4. Initially, the station was established as an educational station which unlike other stations only broadcasted six hours a day. Educational programmes broadcasted on this station included curriculum educational activities. It was also a participative channel involving primary, secondary and tertiary education participants.

⁵⁸⁹ Interview with Phindile Dube, a follower of the Kalanga programmes on radio, conducted by Thembanani Dube Luveve, Bulawayo, 07 December 2012.

⁵⁹⁰ NAZ BOH/70, (Bulawayo), Average daily music and other Programmes over the ZBC Radio 4.

radio stations were made in Shona, Ndebele and English: ‘What is expected of the caller who is stopped from greeting friends and relatives over a national institution, could that not be termed mental torture on the land of our ancestors?’⁵⁹¹ They also lobbied for VETOKA news bulletin and many other programmes including the history of the struggle and revolutionary songs.⁵⁹² While the KCPS was quick to accuse the government of marginalising Kalanga, evidence does not show any intended discrimination of Kalanga by the government.⁵⁹³ Kalanga culture was given some attention – albeit little – in the programmes of Radio 4. Even when the government extended radio broadcasting time from 5am to 12 midnight, there was no change to the time allocated to VETOKA languages. To the KCPS, radio had come to symbolise ‘tribalism’ at its best.⁵⁹⁴ The fifteen minutes covered news bulletin in Kalanga language and the greetings (*ngatibuyisane*). The KCPS was not pleased with the time allocated to Kalanga traditional music. The Association argued that most of the traditional songs played on the radio were Ndebele and Shona songs and dance. According to the KCPS, the Kalanga had a variety of traditional songs and dances such as *Nnumba*, *Hoso*, *Ndazula*, *Tshigubhu*, *Masikusa* and *Mayile*.⁵⁹⁵ Although the KCPS still considered this to be insufficient, the government did take some steps in opening up the airwaves to minority languages. The allocation of radio airspace stood as follows in 1990:

Table 6.1 Allocation of radio space for indigenous languages

Nyanja	Shangaan	Shona	Ndebele	Kalanga	Tonga	Venda	Sotho	
--------	----------	-------	---------	---------	-------	-------	-------	--

⁵⁹¹ NAZ BOH/70, (Bulawayo), Average daily music and other Programmes over the ZBC Radio 4.

⁵⁹² See Appendix 3 for the allocation of Radio 4 programmes in 1986.

⁵⁹³ Instead, the government was concerned with the kind of information which could reach to the people. If anything the government was on guard against any programmes that could instigate some opposition to it.

⁵⁹⁴ This was more pronounced more in the programme *Dzemavilo/ Dzechinyakare/ Ezomdabu* meaning a programme on traditional music. When this music was played in Shona on Radio 4 it was played in a variety such as *Midzimu* and *Mbira*. The same was true when it was played in Ndebele where varieties of traditional dances such as *Isitshikitsha*, *Ngquzu* and *Mbube* would be played.

⁵⁹⁵ Interview with Melita Sibanda. For more on Kalanga music see Otukile, “Bakalanga Music and Dance in Botswana and Zimbabwe”.

2%	1%	63%	30%	1%	1%	1%	1%	
----	----	-----	-----	----	----	----	----	--

Source: BOH/70, Average daily music and other Programmes over the ZBC Radio 4

While there was gross misrepresentation in terms of Kalanga language in Radio 4, the station to some extent tried to include other languages in its programmes. By 2000, there were a number of Kalanga programmes on the station.⁵⁹⁶ This was necessitated by the restructuring of the ZBC in 2000. The restructuring also led to the changing of the name from Radio 4 to National F.M. According to Patrick Manase, the station manager, it was vital to change the name to National F.M, which meant that all the languages of the nation would be heard from this station. The extension of the time allocated to Kalanga programmes was not necessarily influenced by the demands from the KCPS but it was necessitated by the state policies on minority languages. For example, this was also realised in the education policies when in 2000 the Zimbabwe Indigenous Languages Peoples Association (ZILPA) was founded in order to address the issue of the representation of minority languages in the education system in Zimbabwe. More Kalanga programmes on health, culture and educational programmes were broadcasted on this station. These programmes included a Kalanga programme known as *Ngatibuyisane*, meaning greetings. This programme ran for 30 minutes every Tuesday from 2.00 p.m. to 2.30 p.m. During this programme, the Kalanga expressed some happiness because they could greet their relatives on air using their own language.⁵⁹⁷ The programme *Dzemavilo* (traditional music) was also given 30 minutes on air and it was run every

⁵⁹⁶ The programmes introduced in 2000 included *Dzemavilo*, *Tsinde Ledu* and *Tshinyunyibabili komba woga wotshuluka*.

⁵⁹⁷ Research has showed that greetings and death messages on radio are popular programmes to the Zimbabwean radio audience. Mano has captured this in his article where he looks at death messages and how this programme is well received by most Radio Zimbabwe listeners. For more information on this see, W. Mano, "Why radio is Africa's medium of choice in the Global Age", in Gunner, Ligaga and Moyo (eds.), *Radio in Africa: Publics, Cultures, Communities* (Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, 2011).

Wednesday from 8.30 p.m.⁵⁹⁸ Although this programme was intended for Kalanga traditional music, it did not serve its intended purpose because there were no Kalanga traditional songs that were played on air except for the Kalanga instruments such as drums. The other programme that the Kalanga liked listening to was *Tshinyunyibabili komba woga wotshuluka*, meaning “two heads are better than one.” This programme was a 15 minutes magazine broadcast that was run on Saturdays at 3.30 p.m. *Tsinde Ledu*, meaning our culture was introduced on Radio 4.⁵⁹⁹ In this programme, Kalanga cultural entrepreneurs were invited to discuss Kalanga culture and customs. This programme was also allocated 15 minutes and it was broadcast on Fridays at 9.15 p.m. A process supposedly started by the KCPS of demanding the inclusion of Kalanga in broadcasting programmes resulted in the allocation of 15 minutes of presentation once per week per every minority language that received official recognition. A few years later programme slots and broadcasting days during the week were increased. The increase in the time allocated to programmes was part of the government’s restructuring policies. It was not because of the demands from the Kalanga Cultural Promotion Society.

6.4. Radio 4 presenters and their role in Kalanga identity formation in post-colonial Zimbabwe

The promotion or manipulation of the Kalanga and other minority groups on Radio 4 could not have been possible without the influence of the presenters on this station. Thus, it is vital to discuss how these presenters evoked a Kalanga ethnic consciousness during their announcements on air. The ethnic composition of the Radio 4 programme presenters also played a pivotal role in how they handled Kalanga programmes on air. Radio announcers

⁵⁹⁸ These programmes were well known among the Kalanga who were interviewed in urban Bulawayo. However the people in rural Bulilimamangwe seemed not to be aware of these programmes. This is because there are still transmission problems in this area.

⁵⁹⁹ For more information on Kalanga programmes on radio see NAZ BHO/70(Bulawayo) Radio Programmes in ZBC.

elsewhere in Africa have also contributed much to evoking ethnic consciousness and cultural preservation of their own ethnic ethos. Lekgoathi articulates this in his study of Radio Ndebele during the dying days of apartheid in South Africa. He argues that Radio Ndebele flourished because it met its listener's desire for broadcasting in their own language, using the speakers of the language and that the channel came to serve as a medium for ethnic mobilisation as well for the reinvention of Ndebele traditions, culture and identity.⁶⁰⁰ Similarly, Kalanga language native speakers also promoted Kalanga culture on Radio 4 programmes.

The first Radio 4 announcer was Harry Nkololo Nleya.⁶⁰¹ This announcer played an indispensable role in introducing Kalanga culture on Radio 4. Harry Nkololo Nleya was born in Dombodema in the 1960s an area referred by the Kalanga as the cradle of Kalanga.⁶⁰² However little is known about his educational background. He was one of the radio presenters employed by the Zimbabwean government in the ZBC. He made sure that he entertained his listeners in Kalanga by speaking Kalanga idioms and folklores on air. Kalanga listeners enjoyed his programmes as he even took it upon himself to research Kalanga history from the elderly people in Bulilimangwe and presented it during Kalanga programmes on air.⁶⁰³ It was through his programmes that most Kalanga people who resided in urban areas such as Bulawayo became very proud of being Kalanga.⁶⁰⁴ However, as a government employee, he had to conform to government policies during his presentations. Nleya

⁶⁰⁰ Lekgoathi, "Ethnic Separatism or Cultural Preservation? Ndebele Radio under apartheid, 1983-1994", p. 60.

⁶⁰¹ Little is known about this presenter's background.

⁶⁰² I could not find a lot of information on Harry's background. The same is true of all the other presenters some of whom expressed reservations on being interviewed. As such, I had to rely on available primary data from the archives and some interviews with Kalanga people who listened to Radio 4.

⁶⁰³ NAZ AO7/ 7, (Bulawayo) The Kalanga Circular no 3 to the Ministry of Information and Tourism, 1987. The view was also shared by interviewees from Dombodema area. See interview with Bowen Sibanda, Village Head, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Hikwa village, Dombodema, 14 March 2012. Interview with Busiku Moyo, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Dombodema area, Bulilimangwe, 24 April 2011 and interview with Tshidzani Nleya, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Dombodema, 24 April 2011.

⁶⁰⁴ According to Pax Nkomo, the chairman of KLCDA, most Kalanga people in Bulawayo had tended to shy away from their Kalanga ethnic group and adopted Ndebele identity.

presented on programmes such as *Tsinde Ledu*, (our culture) and *Dzemavilo* (traditional music). In his work on Ndebele radio, Lekgoathi acknowledges the role of the Ndebele radio broadcasters in marketing Ndebele cultural products. Similarly, Nkololo played a pivotal role in promoting Kalanga culture and ethnic pride by marketing Kalanga intangible cultural heritage such as Ngano (folklores) during his time as a Kalanga radio presenter.⁶⁰⁵

The other Kalanga Radio 4 presenters who also followed in Harry Nkololo Nleya's footsteps were Kuda Nleya and Dingumuzi Phuthi. It was during the times of these two that more Kalanga programmes were introduced on Radio 4. In addition, the time allocated to Kalanga programmes was extended from 15 minutes to 30 minutes.⁶⁰⁶ Their presentation of the Kalanga language and their positive attitude towards Kalanga listeners, were hailed by Kalanga indigenous speakers. These announcers went out of their way to explain the origins of *Ndazula* dance in the programme *Dzemavilo* on 21 December 1996. Moreover, the two men also played a lot of Kalanga modern music by Kalanga musicians such as Nduna Malaba and Solomon Skhuza. The music of Nduna Malaba, known popularly as 'Ndux Malax' and Solomon Skhuza is about Kalanga history and casts the Kalanga as the people who are historically responsible for the Mwali shrine based at Njelele in the Matopos.⁶⁰⁷ Therefore, the Kalanga who listened to these programmes were not only entertained but got to learn more about their history.⁶⁰⁸

The two Kalanga presenters of Radio 4 served as cultural entrepreneurs of their indigenous language and the preservers of their culture. However, these were not the only Radio 4 presenters as some Kalanga programmes were broadcast by non-Kalanga presenters. For example, Ingram Nyathi, a Ndebele presenter was accused of omitting Kalanga words

⁶⁰⁵ NAZ BOH/70, (Bulawayo), Average daily music and other Programmes over the ZBC Radio 4.

⁶⁰⁶ NAZ BOH/70, (Bulawayo), Average daily music and other Programmes over the ZBC Radio 4.

⁶⁰⁷ For this see, Nduna Malaba, *Woye Woye Ndodzila Zwangu*, N. Malaba Single Collection volume 3, 1991.

⁶⁰⁸ See interview with Jele Khupe, Watson Khupe, Phindile Dube and Saul Gwakuba Ndlovu.

and names during the presentation of the nation's history by the KCPS.⁶⁰⁹ A circular written by the Nsala Millie Malaba, the chairman of the KCPS to the Ministry of Information stated that Kalanga heroes, such as Mpangana Hobodo Malaba, were intentionally omitted by Nyathi.⁶¹⁰ It can be argued here that Malaba was more concerned about the names of his clan. This is indicated by his failure to include other Kalanga heroes in his circulars to the Ministry of Information. Consequently, the circulars do not give sufficient and convincing evidence to prove that Nyathi was under strict orders to efface certain names from the historical record. The KCPS also accused Nyathi of not allocating enough air space to Kalanga songs. In 1983 Malaba founded Mpangana Malaba Musical Choir which composed a number of Kalanga songs including the national anthem in Kalanga.⁶¹¹ The name of the choir is derived from his surname Malaba. Mpangana Malaba is said to have been his grandfather who was a powerful traditional healer during the time of Mzilikazi. The songs that were composed by the choir included *Bukalanga ndiko ludzi lwedu*, meaning Kalanga is our identity, *Takabva kule kule nehango ledu*, meaning we came from afar with our nation. Accordingly, the songs were sent to ZBC to be played on radio during Kalanga programmes.⁶¹² The KCPS still complained that radio presenters were reluctant to play these songs on air. It was through Malaba's efforts that Kalanga musicians such as Solomon Skhuza were inspired to compose their own Kalanga songs. Solomon Skhuza's album *Banolila*, (meaning they are crying) which was released in 1982, was therefore a response to the promotion of the recognition of the Kalanga people in independent Zimbabwe.⁶¹³ Kalanga musicians such as Nduna Malaba and later on the Ndolwane Super Sounds were inspired by the efforts of the KCPS and also came to support

⁶⁰⁹ NAZ AOH/ 11, (Bulawayo) Letter to the Minister of Information, Post and Tele-Communication, Mrs Victoria Fikile Chitepo, 11/06 1990.

⁶¹⁰ NAZ AOH/ 11, (Bulawayo) Letter to the Minister of Information.

⁶¹¹ See NAZ AOH/ 11, (Bulawayo) Letter to the Minister of Information, Post and Tele-Communication, Mrs Victoria Fikile Chitepo, 11/06 1990.

⁶¹² NAZ AOH/ 11, (Bulawayo) Letter to the Minister of Information.

⁶¹³ NAZ AO7/ 3, (Bulawayo) The Kalanga Circular no 3 to the Ministry of Information and Tourism, 1987.

the idea of the recognition of Kalanga language and culture.⁶¹⁴

By accusing these presenters, the KCPS failed to take into cognisance the reality that they were government employees who were employed to present radio programmes. Radio 4 announcers of the 1990s such as Albert Kashiri who was Shona and Ishmael Simiso Mzilethi who was Ndebele were singled out by Kalanga listeners as patriotic citizens who made an effort to pronounce Kalanga names and phrases such as *Tshinyunyibabili komba woga wotshuluka* (two heads are better than one) correctly.⁶¹⁵ The presence of Ndebele and Shona presenters in Kalanga programmes serves to show the government's half-hearted attempts at supporting minority languages such as Kalanga. This is substantiated by the employment of some presenters of Ndebele origin who were not fully conversant with Kalanga language. Surely there could have been competent Kalanga speakers who could be tasked with the presentation of Kalanga on Kalanga radio stations.

Radio 4 announcer, Nonceba Mnkandla, was also accused of being 'tribalist' especially when it came to the pronunciation of Kalanga names during Kalanga programmes.⁶¹⁶ The KCPS stated that Nonceba's derogatory tendencies were more pronounced in her presentation of the programme, *Ngatibuyisane/ Ukubingelelana/ Kwaziso*, which were messages of greetings. Commenting on this, the KCPS said:

When reading a letter from the minority groups such as Kalanga, she would deviate from the contents of the letter and imply as though the letter involved the entire members of those communities.⁶¹⁷ For example, when she read a letter from Bulilimangwe or Kezi she would say eMaKhalangeni. We consider this to be

⁶¹⁴The Ndolwane Super Sound, which is a Kalanga group of musicians based in the Republic of South Africa, has become popular with its music which champions Kalanga identity and the challenges they have faced in South Africa and in Bulilima and Mangwe districts in their endeavour to assert their identity.

⁶¹⁵ Interview with Rachel Sibanda, conducted by Themban Dube Bulawayo, 15 November 2011. Also see NAZ AO7/ 7, (Bulawayo) The Kalanga Circular no 3 to the Ministry of Information and Tourism, 1987.

⁶¹⁶ The view was expressed by the KCPS. However, Nonceba Mnkandla is remembered by most Kalanga listeners as a presenter who made radio programmes very exciting.

⁶¹⁷ NAZ AOH/ 11, (Bulawayo), Letter to the Minister of Information, Post and Tele-Communication, Mrs Victoria Fikile Chitepo, 11/06 1994.

disrespectful of our Kalanga language.⁶¹⁸

Nonetheless, the so-called mis-pronunciation of Kalanga names was not intentional, but it was part of the same problem of the ZBC asking non-Kalanga speakers to present Kalanga programmes. Efforts to interview Nonceba were fruitless as she expressed some reservations about being interviewed. Nonceba was singled out by the KCPS because she was the popular presenter during the 1980s and 1990s.⁶¹⁹ She is still working at ZBC although she is no longer a presenter. The KCPS complained to the Ministry of Information about such mis-pronouncements. It stated that Nonceba Mnkandla often made excuses for failing to pronounce Kalanga names properly.⁶²⁰ In one of the letters to the Minister of Information, the KCPS stipulated that Nonceba Mnkandla often apologised for not being able to pronounce Kalanga names. With reference to this the KCPS argued:

The same Nonceba Mnkandla who makes excuses for not being able to pronounce Kalanga names is able to correctly interpret Nigerian and Zaire meanings of songs yet, she fails to interpret and pronounce our own local languages.⁶²¹

According to the KCPS, Mnkandla and Nyathi's attitude towards Kalanga language could best be described as lack of patriotism coupled with tribalism, manipulation, oppression and exploitation that was even worse than that perpetrated by the former white government.⁶²² The KCPS argued that the Kalanga had equally contributed to the liberation of the country hence Kalanga language deserved to be on par with Ndebele and Shona languages in radio broadcasting. It equated the so-called 'oppression' of Kalanga language to

⁶¹⁸ NAZ AOH/ 11, (Bulawayo), Letter to the Minister of Information.

⁶¹⁹ Most interviewees recalled that Nonceba Mnkandla was the most famous radio presenter. Interview with Scotch Maphosa, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Bulawayo, 11 July, 2012, interview with Phindile Dube, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Luveve, Bulawayo, 07 December 2012 and interview with Rachel Sibanda, conducted by Thembanani Dube, member of KLCD, Bulawayo 15 November 2012.

⁶²⁰ NAZ AOH/ 11, (Bulawayo), Letter to the Minister of Information, Post and Tele-Communication, Mrs Victoria Fikile Chitepo, 11/06 1990.

⁶²¹ NAZ AOH/ 11 (Bulawayo) Letter to the Minister of Information, Post and Tele-Communication, Mrs Victoria Fikile Chitepo, 11/06 1990.

⁶²² NAZ AOH/ 11 (Bulawayo) Letter to the Minister of Information, Post and Tele-Communication.

lack of patriotism towards the independent state. Thus, government institutions such as Radio 4 and the announcers were seen as the tools used by the government to manipulate minority language groups. Here, the KCPS was playing politics and taking advantage of the situation to mobilise its supporters and put pressure on the government to 'affirm' the Kalanga. Radio presenters have found themselves in a difficult position because of state censorship on what these journalists have to present. According to some presenters I interviewed but chose to remain anonymous, the appointments at ZBC are politically-motivated and the appointees are meant to fulfil the programmes and agenda of the government. Chiumbu also found out during her interviews with ZBC journalists and other practitioners between 2008 and 2009 that there is a great deal of interference by ZANU PF officials.⁶²³

Moreover, there is no evidence that suggests that the government had a vendetta against the Kalanga. As indicated above, the government had also made significant inroads over the years to increase the airing of Kalanga programmes. Regardless of their faults, the Radio 4 presenters, individually and collectively were part of a new era in which the government, through the ZBC, was trying to promote minority languages. If anything, it is in the area of broadcasting that it can be seen that the government had by the late 1990s and 2000s significantly changed its attitude towards minority languages. Nonetheless, the underlying principle is that Radio 4 announcers contributed a lot to the growth of Kalanga cultural and ethnic consciousness. However, this is not to deny that radio has been used as an instrument of government propaganda in Zimbabwe. Lekgoathi observed the same scenario during apartheid South Africa where Radio Bantu was undoubtedly intended for use as a tool of government manipulation.⁶²⁴ The Zimbabwean government retains its monopoly over

⁶²³ S. Chiumbu, S. Chiumbu, J. Minnie, and H. Bussick, *On Air: Public Broadcasting in Africa Series: Zimbabwe* (OSISA, Rosebank, 2009) p. 66.

⁶²⁴ See Lekgoathi, "Ethnic Separatism or Cultural Preservation? Ndebele Radio under apartheid, 1983-1994",

broadcasting with the ZBC being the sole licensed service provider.⁶²⁵

6.5. Radio as a tool of government propaganda: Local content and radio programming in Zimbabwe since 2000

Radio and television broadcasting underwent fundamental changes from the year 2000 onwards following the appointment of Jonathan Moyo as the new Minister of Information and Publicity. The changes introduced by Moyo should be viewed in the context of the political developments in Zimbabwe, and within ZANU PF in particular. Moyo began these propaganda programmes to prop up a tottering ZANU-PF government under the onslaught of the Western media and governments following the violent Fast-track Land Reform programmes, government persecution of the opposition, journalists of the independent media, Non-Governmental Organisations, and the real or imagined fear by the Government that the West was bent on ‘regime-change’. This was the context within which the ‘75% local content’ emerged.⁶²⁶ All the ‘*Hondo yeminda*’ (War over land) jingles were part of that scheme.

Moyo demanded that the new programming structure had to reflect local content.⁶²⁷ This period is best remembered in Zimbabwe as the period of 75% local content. However, most of this local content was propaganda music especially by the ruling ZANU PF. In light of this, the Ministry of Information and Publicity and the government used local content

pp. 59-80.

⁶²⁵ The only alternative Zimbabwean voices are broadcasted outside Zimbabwe and these include, Voice of the people, SW Radio Africa, Studio 7 and Community Radio Zimbabwe. For more information on this see D. Moyo, “Reincarnating Clandestine Radio in Post-independent Zimbabwe”, pp. 23–36, A. Mare, “New media, pirate radio and the creative appropriation of technology in Zimbabwe: Case of Radio Voice of the People”, *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, volume 25, number 1 (2013) pp. 30-41 and E. Ndlovu, “The re-emergence of diasporic radio in independent Zimbabwe”, *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies*, volume 35, number 3 (2014) pp. 54-72.

⁶²⁶ 75% referred to the percentage of local vis-a-vis foreign music that radio and Televisions stations were to play on air. Ironically, this was a reversal of the usual trend where, in Government’s view’ more Western music was being played on air, thereby exposing Zimbabweans to dangerous stuff that brainwashed them and accept Western culture to the detriment of Zimbabwean culture and patriotism.

⁶²⁷ According to Manase, local content meant that 75% of music was to be Zimbabwean, 10% from other parts of Africa and 15% for music from elsewhere.

provisions to introduce programmes mainly supportive of ZANU PF.⁶²⁸ For example, these programmes revolved around the ZANU PF campaign themes for the presidential and parliamentary elections in 2002 and 2005.⁶²⁹ As a follow up to that, the government commissioned ZANU PF music albums and jingles that filled the airwaves.⁶³⁰ The *Hondo yeminda* (war over land) and *Rambayi Makashinga* (remain steadfast) jingles are the most remembered by Zimbabweans across the country. The two jingles were played every five minutes on all radio stations and on television. Jonathan Moyo used state funds to promote the production of a series of albums by a group called Pax Afro and Zvakwana (Enough).

The 75% local content excluded protest songs such as Oliver Mutukudzi's song *Bvuma wasakara* (admit that you are aged), and Thomas Mapfumo's song, *Mamvemve* (The country is in tatters) was blacklisted.⁶³¹ These songs were a commentary on the extent of corruption and the abuse of power by the ruling ZANU PF government. However, the KCPS seemed not to question the power and intervention of the state over radio. Most songs played in all four radio stations were about land issues and they were mostly in the Shona language.

In terms of the Broadcasting Services Act of 2001, the ZBC was to grant licenses to non-state broadcasters and also provide for community radio.⁶³² Contrary to the provisions of the Act, the Minister retained all powers such that no licenses were granted to private organisations. In spite of the absence of radio broadcasting services, the Kalanga in Bulilimamangwe were not exempted from paying radio licenses although they could not get access to ZBC radio broadcasting services. In light of this, Phindile Dube, argued, 'We refused to pay the radio licenses because we saw no reason why we had to pay for a service

⁶²⁸ Chiumbu, *Zimbabwe*, p. 80.

⁶²⁹ ZANU PF campaign themes for those elections focused on land, national identity among others.

⁶³⁰ See Chiumbu, Minnie, and Bussick, *On Air: Public Broadcasting in Africa Series*.

⁶³¹ Chiumbu, Minnie, and Bussick, *On Air: Public Broadcasting in Africa Series*.

⁶³² Broadcasting Services Act 2001.

we never got.’⁶³³

In fact, all radio stations in Zimbabwe could not reach out to the Bulilimamangwe district even up to the early 2000s. It was only in 2007 that people could be able to hear the ZBC services in this district.⁶³⁴ The intended listeners could not be reached. It was stated during the interviews conducted with several people from Bulilimamangwe that the people from this district listened to Botswana radio stations and to some extent South African radio stations like Ukhozi.⁶³⁵ When ZBC radio broadcasting was launched in 2007, most of the people had been used to listening to radio services from Botswana and South Africa to such an extent that they found ZBC programmes uninteresting. Some Kalanga people argued that they sometimes switched to ZBC’s Radio Zimbabwe only during the presentation of Kalanga programmes.

6.6. Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated how and why Kalanga cultural entrepreneurs lobbied for the use of Kalanga language in radio broadcasting in post-independent Zimbabwe. In their eyes, the government’s inconsistent policy towards the use of Kalanga in radio broadcasting indicated that it was not yet ready to include Kalanga language in the independent state. The government’s attitude and response to the Kalanga plea only triggered ethnic consciousness

⁶³³ The statement was also supported by interviewees such as Rachel Sibanda.

⁶³⁴ Interview with Sakhe Dube, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Malalume, Dombodema area, Bulilimamangwe, 24 April 2011. Interview with Chief Tshitshi Mpofu, conducted by Thembanani Dube Tshitshi area, 14 March 2012, interview with Elias Mahumba a former headmaster at Tokwana Secondary School, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Tokwana, 13 March 2012, interview with Mbisana Malaba Ncube, conducted by Thembanani Dube Bulawayo, 2 December 2010 and interview with Idah Kulube, Tjingababili, conducted by Thembanani Dube 16 March 2012. Patrick Manase, National FM Radio Station Manager also confirmed that ZBC services reached the people in Bulilimamangwe and Beitbridge in 2007. He attributed the delay in installing transmitters to lack of funds.

⁶³⁵ This was revealed during interviews conducted in various parts of the district. See interview with Qedisani Dube-Ndiweni, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Osabeni Village, Bulilimamangwe, 27 December 2010, interview with Mbona Matiwaza, conducted by Thembanani Dube Izimnyama area, Bulilimamangwe, 26 April 2011, Interview with, Lisa Dube, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Masendu area, Bulilimamangwe 20 June 2011, and interview with Melaphi Ndlovu, conducted by Thembanani Dube, Osabeni village, Bulilimamangwe, 24 April 2011.

among the Kalanga cultural entrepreneurs who played a pivotal role in fighting for the recognition of not only Kalanga language in the Ministry of Information but also other minority languages such as Tonga and Venda among others. The Kalanga Cultural Promotion Society served as a mouthpiece for the Kalanga as the Association fought for the recognition of Kalanga language in radio broadcasting. The chapter also highlighted that the state also promoted radio broadcasting in Kalanga and other minority languages, although the KCPS felt that the government was not doing enough. Above all, the chapter provided an analysis of Radio broadcasting in Kalanga language in post-colonial Zimbabwe, exploring the motives for its establishment and the role of Kalanga Cultural Promotion Society in lobbying for the recognition of Kalanga language in Radio broadcasting in Zimbabwe.

CONCLUSION

This thesis casts new light on the study of Kalanga ethnic identity and how it was constructed and how it shifted in different historical epochs. It documents the role played by Kalanga chiefs and Kalanga cultural entrepreneurs in the struggle for the recognition of the Kalanga ethnic group and language in colonial and post-colonial Zimbabwe. Using various primary sources that range from archival correspondence and manuscripts, life history interviews, and secondary sources, the thesis contends that what is known as the Kalanga ethnic group is a constructed identity that emerged from the re-interpretation, politicisation and manipulation of pre-colonial forms of Kalanga identities such as language, chieftainship and the Kalanga religion of *Mwali/ Ngwali*, the high god of the Matopos. Contrary to the invention school that submits that ethnicity is a colonial invention, the study argued that, rather than being created by the colonial administrators, the Kalanga transformed a primordial conglomeration of a nuclear Kalanga drawn from the original Khami culture, some Pedi, Tswana and Venda components into a new latter-day Kalanga ethnic identity. The introductory chapters of the thesis spelled out the nature of Kalanga identities before the establishment of colonial rule in Zimbabwe. The origins of the Kalanga people were interrogated as part of the background to the main argument of the thesis which submits that a distinctive Kalanga ethnic identity did not exist in pre-colonial Zimbabwe. Just like in other pre-colonial societies in Zimbabwe, Kalanga identity would fit into what Ndlovu-Gatsheni describes as fluid identities, permeated by complex processes of assimilation, incorporation, conquest of weaker groups by powerful ones, inter- and intra-marriage, alliances, fragmentation and constant movement.⁶³⁶

An attempt was made in the background chapter, to link the origins of the Kalanga to the Mapungubwe state (1075-1220), located at the confluence of the Shashe and Limpopo

⁶³⁶ S. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *The Zimbabwean Nation-state project: A historical Diagnosis of Identity and Power-based Conflicts in a Post-colonial State*, (Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala, 2011), p. 22.

rivers. It was argued that Kalanga developed, as a language which archaeologists associated with the Leopard's Kopje people who were the ancestors of the founders of Mapungubwe. Kalanga was spoken in successor states to Mapungubwe such as Great Zimbabwe and the Torwa state. It was in the latter state that Kalanga identity assumed a political dimension when it became associated with the royalty and political estate of a long line of Chiefs whose last known incumbent was Chibundule, the figure identifiable with descendants that constitute the Kalanga of modern Bulilimangwe. While it was elaborated that Chibundule was the progenitor of the Kalanga who gave the name Kalanga to his followers, this name did not carry any ethnic connotations. Pre-colonial Kalanga also managed to assimilate some groups such as the Venda, Rozvi, Pedi and some Sotho groups who embraced Kalanga language and culture.

The Kalanga of Bulilimangwe are thus derived from the Chibundule dynasty which was later defeated by the Rozvi under Changamire Dombolakona-tsingwango/alias Chirisamhuru/alias Nechasike in around 1690. As indicated in the thesis, prior to the Rozvi invasion of Butua, Chibundule dynasty, the Kalanga had already spread to most of the south-western parts of the Zimbabwean plateau and became highly concentrated in the present day Bulilimangwe such as Dombodema, Tokwana and Ngwabhane. Kalanga language and culture continued to thrive during the Rozvi state despite the defeat of Chibundule by the Rozvi. It is important to note that the Kalanga in pre-colonial Zimbabwe identified themselves with their rulers. Kalanga, therefore, did not denote any ethnic connotations. Nonetheless, they worshipped *Mwali*, the high god of the Matopos. The chapter considered the situation of the Rozvi state during the times of the Nguni invasions led firstly by the Swazi under Nyamazana, the Ngoni factions under Zwangendaba and Nxaba and the final onslaught by Mzilikazi's Ndebele in the 1830s. It stressed that, in all these developments, pre-colonial societies were characterised by heterogeneity and the incorporation of some

weaker societies by stronger ones. It emphasised that although the Ndebele hierarchical organisation of the state led to the marginalisation of the Kalanga and other indigenous people who inhabited the Zimbabwean plateau prior to the arrival of the Ndebele, this did not lead to the development of consciousness among the Kalanga as a distinctive group. Having established the ways in which Kalanga identity manifested itself in pre-colonial Zimbabwe, the study further demonstrated how these forms of identities were politicised by the colonial state which mistook these forms of identities for ethnic identities. The study provided a starting point to study the Kalanga as an ethnic group as it explored the nature of Kalanga identities from pre-colonial to colonial Zimbabwe and the various transformations and shifts that Kalanga identity underwent.

It was only from the late 1940s and early 1950s that the Kalanga developed a more distinctive ethnic consciousness in the context of the implementation of the Native Land Husbandry Act. While Kalanga identities may have survived in various forms throughout the early colonial period, their ethnic identity crystallised in the critical years leading to, and during the implementation of, the Native Land Husbandry Act (NLHA) of 1951. The NLHA played a significant role in forging Kalanga ethnic identity during the opposition to the implementation of the NLHA. Kalanga ethnic consciousness was evoked during the implementation of the colonial state agrarian policies. Among other things, this particular Act led to the uprooting of people from their lands, destocking and the reduction of farming and grazing lands. The NLHA attempted to abolish the traditional practices of land tenure and chieftainship by introducing freehold tenure and in some cases going to the extent of abolishing or downgrading existing chieftaincies. It also further weakened the traditional position of chiefs who were stripped of their powers to preside over or allocate land.⁶³⁷ Although the establishment of the chiefs' courts and customary law theoretically paved the

⁶³⁷ See Alexander, *The Unsettled Land: State Making and the Politics of Land in Zimbabwe*, pp. 47-48.

way for institutional forms of control, there was little possibility of this being exercised in practice. Africans were condemned by the colonial administrators for bad farming methods. This was done in an endeavour to marginalise the African indigenous knowledge systems and to render them dependent on the state. By so doing, the coloniser, aside from enforcing discipline, also sought to extend power over the colonised through control over the discourse of knowledge.⁶³⁸ Opposition to the Act in Bulilimamangwe district assumed ethnic overtones.

Kalanga ethnic identity was deployed to resist movements induced by the Act. Such resistance was prevalent mostly in the northern parts of the districts where original Kalanga clans were concentrated. The study explored how Chief Madlambuzi Ncube and Chief Masendu Dube mobilised their followers such as Headman Baleni and Tseyamu Ncube to resist the implementation of the NLHA. All the troublemakers were deposed as a result, and these included the ‘ringleaders’, Madlambuzi Ncube and Masendu Dube as well as other chiefs such as Ndolwane Sibindi, Hobodo Malaba, Sangulube Ncube and Hikwa Nleya. They were replaced by Chief Mpini Ndiweni, a Ndebele who was installed as the chief to superintend over the ‘troublesome’ Kalanga chiefs of northern Bulilimamangwe. The appointment of Chief Ndiweni in areas formerly ruled by Kalanga chiefs further promoted the development of Kalanga ethnic consciousness. In the end, the opposition to the NLHA in Bulilimamangwe also became an opposition to the promotion of the Ndebele chiefs and influence in Bulilimamangwe which was viewed as an invasion to the Kalanga area. Although this Kalanga ethnic consciousness was widespread in the northern parts of the district where most of the Kalanga chiefs were deposed, it was also true that some Kalanga cultural entrepreneurs played a critical role in promoting the development of Kalanga ethnic identity under the auspices of the Kalanga Cultural Promotion Society (KCPS).

⁶³⁸ For more information on this see, M. Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, Tavistock Publications, New York 1972 and M. Foucault *Power/Knowledge*, translated by C. Gordon (The Harvester Press, New York 1980).

This movement was founded in 1946 in protest against what it perceived as the marginalisation of the Kalanga in urban Bulawayo by Ndebele associations such as *Ilihlo Lomuzi* and the Matebele Home Society which promoted ‘ethnic bigotry and crass Ndebele-centred “tribalism.”’⁶³⁹ During the 1950s, the movement lobbied for the recognition and teaching of Kalanga in schools. The KCPS aimed at promoting Kalanga culture and the Kalanga language which was being marginalised by colonial rulers in the 1950s who deposed Kalanga chiefs such as Madlambuzi Ncube and Masendu Dube amongst others and imposed Ndebele chiefs in the areas formerly under these Kalanga chiefs. Although the KCPS was based in Bulawayo, the chapter explained how it also helped the Kalanga chiefs during the implementation of the NLHA in Bulilimangwe. The study specifically departed from the analyses which privilege the colonial rulers in shaping and promoting ethnic identities in Zimbabwe.

The temporary loss of power of the state in the reserves in the early 1960s following the failure of the NLHA brought a new political context and approach to colonial policy as the Rhodesian government shifted from technocratic control to Community Development. The study examined the development and sustenance of Kalanga ethnic identity, following the abandonment of the NLHA. In essence, this policy was designed to make Africans return to ‘tradition’ by elevating traditional authority using chiefs who would be agents of state-driven development for their people. However, it can be argued that this was a strategy to shift accountability away from the colonial state and to place responsibility for development onto rural African communities. Instead, Community Development resulted in the development of new forms of resistance against the state which often assumed ethnic overtones in Bulilimangwe district. Thus, this policy served to strengthen and nurture

⁶³⁹ See E. Msindo, *Ethnicity in Zimbabwe: The Transformation in Kalanga and Ndebele Societies, 1860-1990*, pp. 171-178.

Kalanga ethnic consciousness through the failure by the Rhodesian government to re-install deposed Kalanga chiefs. As a result, there was outright opposition to government projects that were earmarked for Community Development. The people who were in the forefront of this opposition were the deposed Kalanga chiefs and headmen in the northern parts of the district who boycotted the rural councils. Opposition to Tribal Land Authorities and Chief Mpini Ndiweni often took ethnic overtones where the deposed Kalanga chiefs and some Kalanga people interpreted the appointment of Chief Mpini Ndiweni as the leader of the Tribal Land Authorities as a deliberate attempt to undermine the Kalanga custom of land allocation. Kalanga ethnic identity was expressed especially in *Ngwali/Mlimo* religion at Manyangwa cult. As the liberation struggle intensified, the Manyangwa cult became very instrumental as a base for Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA) guerrillas and as a centre for the consolidation of Kalanga ethnic identity. The Kalanga hoped that with the coming of national independence, all the efforts towards the recognition of the Kalanga that had been hindered by the Ndebele and the colonial regime would be realised. An intriguing theme that emerged in this thesis also concerns the continuities in the struggle for the recognition of the Kalanga ethnic group in colonial Zimbabwe, from 1963 to 1979.

The closing chapters specifically chronicled the state of Kalanga ethnic identity in the post-colonial Zimbabwean state. It demonstrated how the Kalanga Cultural Promotion Society (re-launched in 1980) and other Kalanga associations were central in the struggle for the recognition of Kalanga ethnic identity in Zimbabwe. While the Gukurahundi conflict led to the politicisation and intensification of Ndebele identity amongst the Kalanga, their cultural promotion associations continued with the struggle for the recognition of the Kalanga and Kalanga language in post-independent Zimbabwe. These associations specifically engaged the Ministry of Education requesting the recognition of Kalanga Language in Zimbabwean education system. The marginalisation of the Kalanga as an ethnic group

prompted these associations to write circulars and letters to the responsible ministry, lobbying for the teaching of Kalanga language in Kalanga speaking areas and the use of Kalanga language on radio. The chapter also explained how the Zimbabwean education policies contributed to the marginalisation of the minority languages such as Kalanga. As a result of this marginalisation on the part of the Zimbabwean government, the Kalanga association, the Kalanga Language and Cultural Development Association (KLCDA) collaborated with the Kalanga in Botswana under the auspices of the Society for the Propagation of Ikalanga (SPIL) in their attempts to further the cause of the revival of Kalanga language and culture both in Zimbabwe and Botswana.

The study also captured the role played by the state, Kalanga cultural entrepreneurs, Kalanga listeners and radio presenters in lobbying for the recognition of Kalanga language in Radio broadcasting in post-independent Zimbabwe. It also provided an historical analysis of radio broadcasting in Kalanga language in post-independent Zimbabwe. Moreover, the study explored the motives behind the introduction of radio broadcasting in Kalanga and other minority languages in Zimbabwe.

This thesis concludes that the rise and development of Kalanga ethnic identity in Zimbabwe cannot simply be explained in terms of the state manipulation. It argued that Kalanga chiefs and cultural entrepreneurs were active in defending Kalanga ethnic identity. Nonetheless, this identity was not static but shifted at various historical epochs. The study has contended that ethnic identities are not rigidly fixed and primordial entities, but are rather flexible and dynamic and their boundaries continue to be inaugurated, negotiated and renegotiated. Overall, I have tried to analyse the complexity, shifts and transformation of Kalanga ethnic identity and the struggles that the Kalanga have undergone in order to reassert their ethnic identity in colonial and post-colonial Zimbabwe. This study has detailed how the Kalanga contributed to the redefinition of their ethnicity especially during the implementation

of the NLHA and in the post-colonial era. In closing, I quote some extracts from the Kalanga Language and Cultural Development Association Constitution as these so adequately capture the feeling of marginalisation so prevalent among most Kalanga people in Bulilimamangwe.

*We members of the Kalanga Language and Cultural Development Association: Recognising that each language is a repository of accumulated thoughts and experiences of a community; realizing that TjiKalanga is an endangered Language, and that its demise will be detrimental to the preservation of an important part of the Nation's history; honouring the skills of our ancestors who erected the Great Zimbabwe cognisant of the role of the government towards the development and well-being of its citizens, dedicate ourselves to the development of BuKalanga and the incorporation of Tjikalanga into the education system and the official media.*⁶⁴⁰

⁶⁴⁰ The Kalanga Language and Cultural Development Association Constitution, 2005, p. 1.

APPENDIX 1

Kalanga Clans

Below are some of the nuclear clans that are found in Bulilimamangwe whom the Kalanga regard as the 'original' Kalanga. This is not an exhaustive list as there are other clans that subscribe to Kalanga ethnic identity whose clans are not represented below.

Clan : Tjuma

Male members

Miha

Kazaha

Komaha

Bayela

Nizwita

Female members

Bagonde

Bankumbi

Bambalambi

Banimwala

Banizwita

This clan is commonly found in the Gonde areas to the north of Plumtree although there are some who are found in Tsholotsho.

Clan: Shoko

Male members

Mhulu

Female members

Bamhulu (found in the present day Madlambuzi area)

Clan: Mbizi

Male members

Mihha

Mundambeli

Batshibabe

Bango

Female members

Banikuwana (found in Tokwana)

Batshidumi (found in Muke area)

Batshidumi (found in Muke area)

BaBango (found in Sanzukwi and Kezi areas)

Benisitu

Benimasitu (found in Masendu,)

Clan: Nleya

Male members

Ndazila

Mndambeli

Female members

Banibuso (found in Matjinge,)

Mandazi (found in Dombodema)

Clan: Maphosa

Male members

Nswimbo

Female members

BaNlondo (found in Gonde area at Jonasi)

Clan: Howu/Zhowu

Male members

Nkalange

Gabula

Nimeho

Habe

Nhabe

Female members

Bankalange (found in Dombodema, and Khame areas)

Bagabula (found in Bezu)

Banimeho (found in Malalume)

Bahabe (found in Vaka and Izimnyama areas)

Banhabe (found in Nopemano and Cingo)

Clan: Hungwe

Male members

Hungwe

Female members

Bahungwe (found in Brunapeg and Ingwizi areas)

Clan: Dumane

Male members

Female members

Ngalongde

Mlalazi (found in Mlomwe and Nyabani areas)

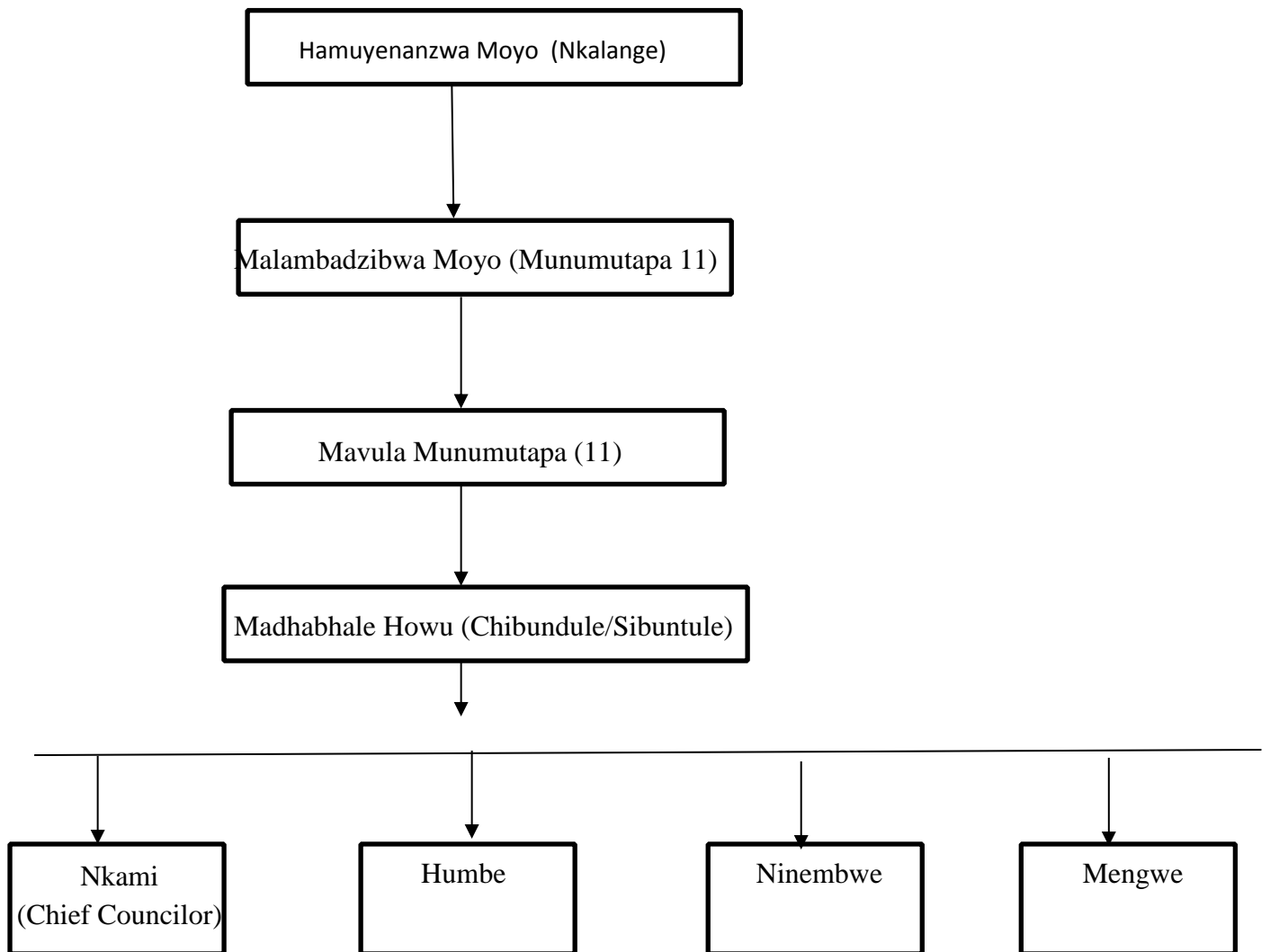
The following illustrates the original Kalanga that were changed when the Ndebele under Mzilikazi conquered the Kalanga.

Kalanga	Ndebele
<i>Mbizi</i>	<i>Dube</i>
<i>Nhembwe</i>	<i>Mpunzi</i>
<i>Nungu</i>	<i>Inungu</i>
<i>Hungwe</i>	<i>Nyoni</i>
<i>Shili</i>	<i>Nyoni</i>
<i>Howu</i>	<i>Ndlovu</i>
<i>Tshibelu</i>	<i>Ndebele</i>
<i>Maposa</i>	<i>Maphosa</i>
<i>Moyo</i>	<i>Mthunzi</i>
<i>Moyo</i>	<i>Nhliziyo</i>
<i>Moyo</i>	<i>Dewa</i>
<i>Ngwena</i>	<i>Ngwenya</i>
<i>Hulo</i>	<i>Vundla</i>
<i>Bepe</i>	<i>Bhebhe</i>
<i>Wudo</i>	<i>Ncube</i>
<i>Hoko</i>	<i>Ncube</i>
<i>Mofu</i>	<i>Mpofu</i>

APPENDIX 2

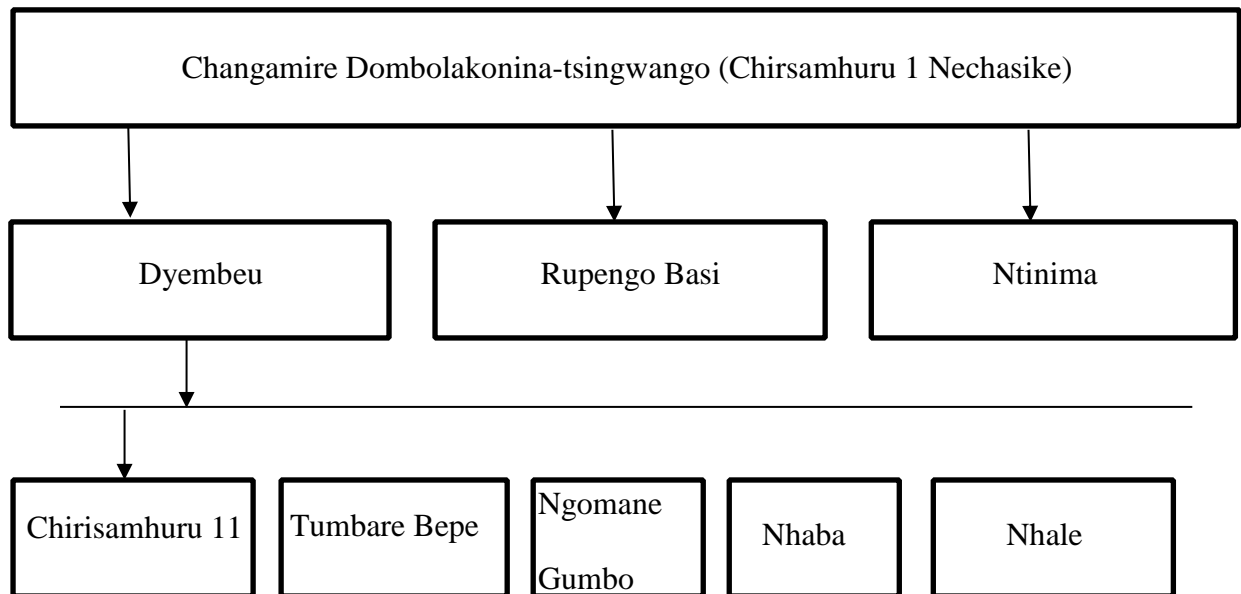
Genealogies of Kalanga Chiefs

Chibundule Chieftainship



By Author

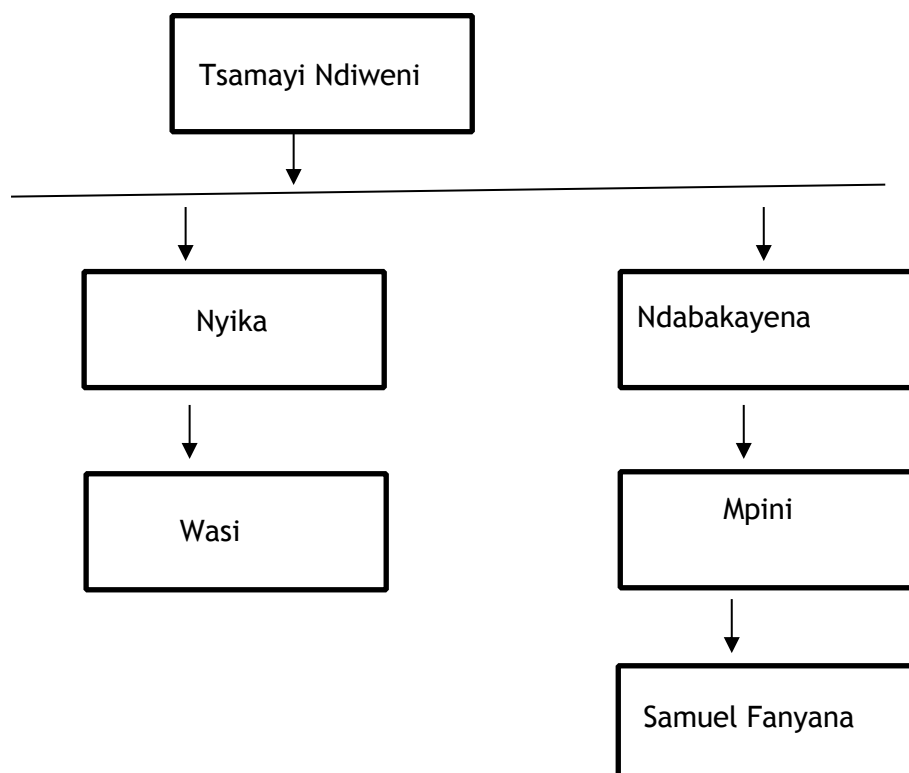
Genealogy of the Rozvi Mambos (Chiefs)



Appendix 3: Genealogy of Ndiweni, Madlambuzi Ncube, Masendu Dube and chieftainancies

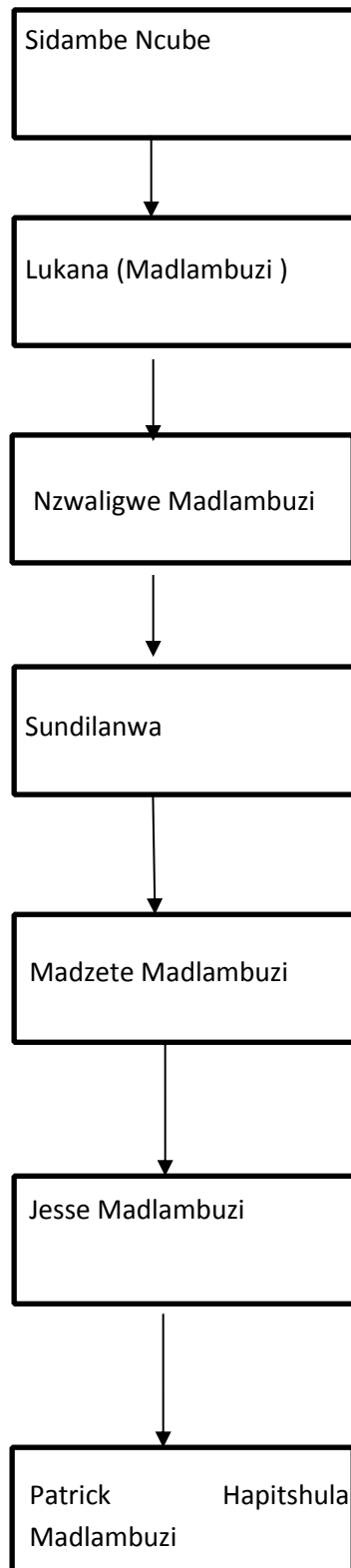
By Author

The Ndiweni chieftainship



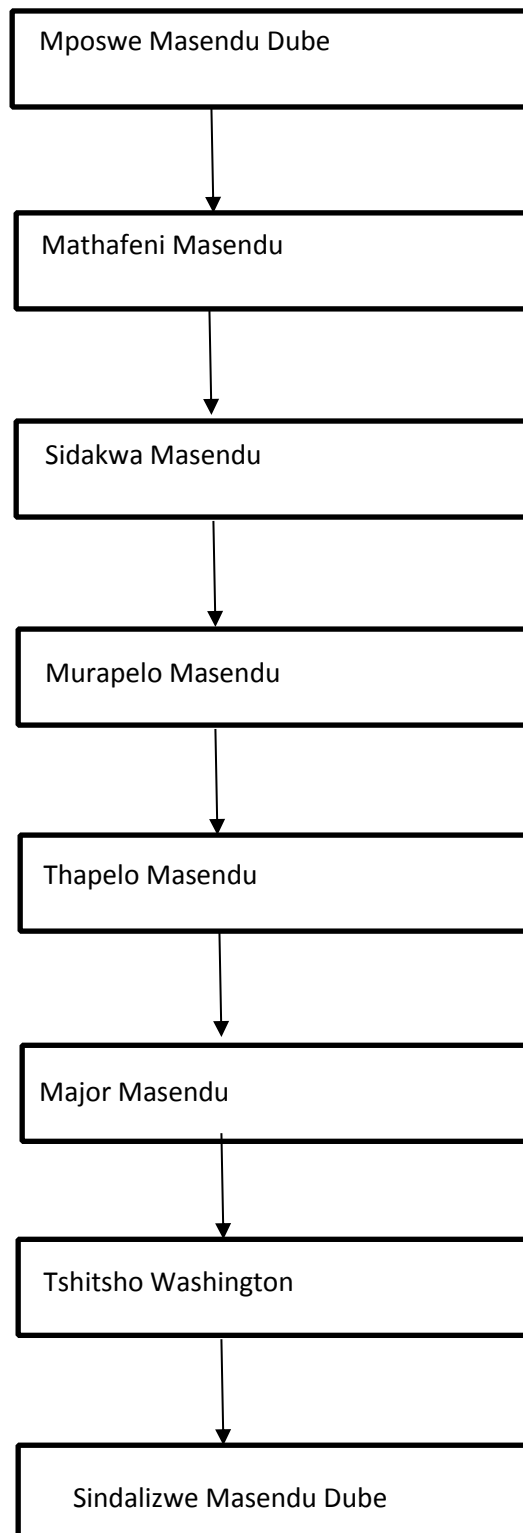
By Author

Madlambuzi Chieftainship



By Author

Masendu Dube chieftainship



By Author

APPENDIX 3

Programmes over the ZBC Radio

Revolutionary songs	Shona 85%	Eng Unknown	Ndeb 14%	Njanja 1%	Kalanga Nil	Tonga Nil	Venda Nil	Shangaan Nil	
Cultural Music	90%	Unknown	10%	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	
Religious Music	90%	Unknown	10%	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	
Ordinary Music	82%	Unknown	5%	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%	
Forums	90%	Unknown	10%	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	
Requests	50%	Unknown	40%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	
Football Commentary	50%	100%	50%	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	
Interviews	90%	Unknown	10%	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	
Telephone Requests	55%	Unknown	45%	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	
News Bulletin	50%	100%	50%	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	
Birth Reports	60%	Unknown	40%	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	

Death Reports	60%	Unknown	40%	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	
Wedding Reports	60%	Unknown	40%	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	
Engagements	60%	Unknown	40%	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	
Educational	70%	Unknown	25%	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%	
Agricultural farming	50%	Unknown	50%	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	
Entertainment	60%	Unknown	40%	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	
Total	1917%	200%	520%	6%	3%	3%	3%	3%	

Source: BOH/70, Average daily music and other Programmes over the ZBC Radio and ZTV in 1986

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The bibliography has been divided into:

- (i) Interviews cited
- (ii) Archival sources from the National Archives of Zimbabwe (NAZ) cited
- (iii) Print Media sources cited
- (iv) Unpublished papers, theses and dissertations cited
- (v) Government Publications and Reports cited
- (vi) Published books cited
- (vii) Published Journal Articles cited
- (viii) Electronic sources cited
- (ix) Audio tapes cited

- (i) **Interviews** (All interviews were conducted by the author except for one interview which was conducted by Sindiso Bhebhe)

Allen Bidi Moyo, Bezu, Plumtree, 10 April 2012.

Atibaleni Dube Masendu, 22 December 2011.

Baka Mbisana, Izimnyama area, 22 December 2005.

Belinah Sibanda, Bhaningumba, 10 March 2012.

Bowen Sibanda, village head, Hikwa village, Dombodema, 14 March 2012.

Busiku Moyo, Dombodema area, Bulilimamangwe, 24 April 2011.

Charles Phuthi, an ex- ZAPU military man, conducted by Sindiso Bhebhe, Nswazi area, 14 March 2012.

Chief Ndife Ndiweni, Osabeni 12 July 2012.

Chief Sindalizwe Masendu Dube, Masendu, 11 March 2012.

Chief Tshitshi Mpofu, Tshitshi area 14 March 2012.

December Moyo, an ex-ZAPU military man, Osabeni, 18 March 2012.

Elias Mahumba a former headmaster at Tokwana Secondary School, Tokwana, 13 March 2012.

Elijah Ndebele, kraal head, Madlambuzi Centre 18 March 2012.

Enoch Moyo, an ex-ZAPU military man, Osabeni, 18 March 2012.

Gogo NakaKheni Moyo, Osabeni, 21 December 2011.

Headman Adelaide Hikwa Nleya, Dombodema, 14 March 2012.

Headman Baleni Dube, Muke village, 11 March 2012.

Headman Grey Ndlovu, Madlambuzi area, 10 March 2012.

Headman Jim Mabunu Ngwenya, Osabeni, 3 January, 2012.

Headman Lindiwe Mdongo, Nopemano, 11 March 2012.

Headman Mazwaligwe Dube, Masendu, 11 March 2012.

Headman Zwini Dube conducted by Thembani Dube, 11 March 2012.

Idah Kulube, Tjingababili, 16 March 2012.

Jele Khupe, a Kalanga activist, Tokwana, 13 March 2012.

John Tshuma, Izimnyama area, 21 December, 2011.

Kenneth Dube, Springs, Republic of South Africa, 29 February, 2011.

Lisa Dube, Masendu area, Bulilimamangwe 20 June 2011.

Lucy Dube, a wosana, Osabeni, 20 December 2011.

Mandlebe Ndebele, an elder Izimnyama area, 20 December 2005.

Manyangwa Dube, Tjehanga Village, 13 March 2012.

Manyika Moyo a former teacher at Osabeni School, 12 October 2010.

Martin Kanji, Lecture at the NUST, Bulawayo, 10 April 2012.

Master Khupe, Pretoria, 02 February 2010.

Mbisana Malaba Ncube, Bulawayo, 2 December 2010.

Mbona Matiwaza, Izimnyama area, Bulilimamangwe, 26 April 2011.

Mbulawa Kungubo, Alexandra, Johannesburg, Republic of South Africa, 6 March 2012.

Melaphi Ndlovu, Osabeni village, Bulilimamangwe, 24 April 2011.

Melita Sibanda, Osabeni, Bulilimamangwe, 28 December 2010 and 26 April 2011.

Nconyiwe Ncube, wife of the late Chief Madlambuzi, Bhaningumba, 10 March 2012.

Ndzimuunami Emmanuel Moyo, a Kalanga political activist, Bulawayo 16 December 2012.

Panimaha Ndlovu, a wosana, Masendu, 19 December 2012.

Patrick Manase, National FM Radio Station Manager, ZBC, Highlands, Harare, 19 December 2012.

Pax Nkomo, Chairman of KLCDA, Bulawayo, 29 November 2011.

Phindile Dube, a follower of the Kalanga programmes on radio, Luveve, Bulawayo, 07 December 2012.

Payaya Dube, Madlambuzi, 10 March 2012.

Pius Ncube, Bhaningumba, 10 March 2012.

Qedisani Dube-Ndiweni, Osabeni Village, Bulilimamangwe, 27 December 2010.

Rachel Sibanda, member of KLCD, Bulawayo 15 November 2012.

Reakopa Mokwena, Makhubung area, 12 April 2012.

Rich Moyo an ex-ZAPU military man, Osabeni, 18 March 2012.

Sakhe Dube, Dombodema area, Bulilimamangwe, 24 April 2011.

Saul Gwakuba Ndlovu, a Kalanga activist, Bulawayo, 28 November 2011

Scotch Maphosa, Bulawayo, 11 July, 2012.

Simoyi Dube, an elder, Osabeni Village, 16 October 2012.

Siyatsha Dube, Osabeni village, 21 December 2012.

Solonia Dube Osabeni, Bulilimamangwe, 28 December 2010.

Sotsha Ngwenya, Osabeni village, 15 September 2013.

Tjebukani Ndebele, Berea, Johannesburg, 19 May 2011.

Tjidzanani, Malaba, secretary for KLDC, Bulawayo, 03 January 2011.

Tjililigwe Kulube, Tjingababili, 16 March 2012.

Tjimumoyo Bango, Bango area, 5 July 2011.

Tseyamu Ncube, Madlambudzi area, 10 March 2012.

Tshidzanani Kulube, Tokwana village, 13 March 2012.

Tshidzani Nleya, Dombodema, 24 April 2011.

Watson Khupe, a member of the KLCDA, Bulawayo, 18 December 2010.

- (ii) **Archival sources from the National Archives of Zimbabwe (NAZ).** There are two departments of the National Archives of Zimbabwe, one is Harare and the other is in Bulawayo.

NAZ AOH/11 (Bulawayo) Letter to the Minister of Information, Post and Tele-Communication, Mrs Victoria Fikile Chitepo, 11/06 1990.

NAZ AO7/ 7 (Bulawayo) The Kalanga Circular no 3 to the Ministry of Information and Tourism, 1987.

NAZ A3/18/28 (Harare) Lamming to C.N.C. Bulawayo, 12 June, 1910.

NAZ A3/18/18/5 (Harare) N.C Plumtree to Superintendent of Natives, Bulawayo, 11 May, 1920.

NAZ AO7/2, (Bulawayo) Minutes of the meeting of the KCPS, 10 August 1980.

NAZ AO7/4 (Bulawayo) Minutes of the meeting of the Kalanga Cultural promotion Society, 06 December, 1981.

NAZ BE2/1/1 (Harare).

NAZ BOH/70 (Bulawayo) Letters from the KCPS addressed to the Minister of Information and Tourism Nathan Shamuyarira, 23 June and 15 August 1980.

NAZ BOH/70 (Bulawayo) Letter from the Minister of Information and Tourism Nathan Shamuyarira to KCPS, 21 October 1980.

NAZ BOH/70 (Bulawayo) Average daily music and other Programmes over the ZBC Radio 4.

NAZ BOH/70 (Bulawayo) The Kalanga Promotion Society Circular to the Ministry of Education and Culture and Ministry the Ministry of Information.

NAZ D/132/1 (Bulawayo) Letter from Mr. Matina, Secretary for education and Culture on Kalanga history at schools, 09 July, 1981.

NAZ D/132/1 (Harare) Policy Regarding Language Teaching and Learning, Circular 1 Of 2002.

NAZ F137/312B-A (Harare) Governor J.N Kennedy to Secretary of state, 15 January 1952.

NAZ Hist Mss 936 (Harare) Kalanga Cultural Promotion Society to Witness Mangwende.

NAZ Hist Mss 938 (Harare) Kalanga Cultural Promotion Society to the Ministry of Education, 6 June, 1989.

NAZ 38/5/9R Box 56276, Bulawayo Records Centre.

NAZ MO1/3/1/1-2 (Harare) Moffat Diaries 1863-65.

NAZ MS823/2 (Harare) Second Symposium on Community Development, Kampala, 20-30th November 1961.

NAZ NB/6/5/2/4 (Harare) N.C Plumtree to C.N.C Bulawayo, 1904.

NB6/5/2/2 (Harare) N.C Plumtree to C.N.C Bulawayo, 8 June 1898.

NAZ N3/33/8, (Harare) N .C Bulilimamangwe to C N C Bulawayo, “History of Native Tribes”, February 1904.

NAZ N3/21/ (Harare) Petition from the Loyal Matabele society to the Administrator, 21 August 1939.

NAZ N9/1/1 (Harare) History of Native tribes.

NAZ OH /370 (Harare) Interview with J.Ntelela Malaba and Gcwalisa Dube, conducted by Mark Ncube.

NAZ S484/3, (Harare) Native Policy.

NAZ S2/8/827, (Harare) Working Party D, District Surveys for Plumtree, 23 August 1962.

NAZ S2584/451 (Harare) letter from Plumtree Native Commissioner to Provincial Native Commissioner, Bulawayo, 19 September 1948.

NAZ S3706/55 (Harare) Tshitshi Council Minutes, Bulilimamangwe District, 27 May 1977.

S2808/2/8 (Harare) Working Party D: Robinson Commission, Revision of the Native Land Husbandry Act.

NAZ S1051 (Harare) Bulilimamangwe Annual Report, 1959.

NAZ S2828/4 (Harare) Plumtree District Commissioner to Provincial Commissioner, 7 March 1963.

NAZ S2806/1988 (Harare) N.C Plumtree to P.N.C Gwanda, 20 December 1960.

NAZ S1561/25 (Harare) Native Councils Bill, 1926-37 (Minutes and Memoranda): Acting AG to CNC, 24 Dec 1928.

NAZ S2929/6/2 (Harare) Bulilimamangwe Delineation Report, 1965.

NAZ S S2793/4 (Harare) Minutes of Bulilimamangwe council meeting.

NAZ S2806/1/8 (Harare) Land Husbandry Act, Bulilimamangwe District.

NAZ S2808/1/7 (Harare) The Land Husbandry Act, Bulilimamangwe.

NAZ S1308/19 (Harare) National Archives of Zimbabwe.

NAZ S2827/1/1 (Harare) Assessment Committee report, area A, Nata Reserve, 28 May 1956.

NAZ S2793/4 (Harare) Minutes of the meeting of Nata Council, 1967.

NAZ S3706/39 (Harare) Izimnyama Council Minutes of all meetings, September 1969.

NAZ S2929/8/5 (Harare) Delineation Reports for the Mapanzure and Charumbira Chieftainships, 1965.

NAZ S3276/4 (Harare) Notes on the Mediums.

NAZ 14.8F/69691 (Harare) Working Party D, "Provisions of the Native Land Husbandry Act", Paper no 23, 24 December 1961.

NAZ 40/19/R (Bulawayo) Box no 56191, Establishment of Councils in Bulilimamangwe.

NAZ LAN/16 (Bulawayo) Box no 56195, Bulawayo Records Centre.

NAZ L/C/8 (Bulawayo) Bulilimamangwe District Administration, 1979-1990

NAZ 801/TGS (Bulawayo) Letter from the Minister of Roads and Road Traffic, Posts and Telecommunication, Crd T.G Silundika, 29 May 1980.

(iii) Newspapers and periodicals cited

Bantu Mirror, 18 February, 1961.

Bulawayo24 news, 21 December 2010.

The Chronicle, 21 March, 1999.

The Chronicle, 18 April, 1983.

The Chronicle 25 January 1982.

The Chronicle 10 September 1980.

The Chronicle, 21 December, 2010.

The Daily News, 30 March 1961.

The Voice BW, 27 September 2011.

(iv) Unpublished papers, theses and dissertations

Bulman M.E, “The Native Land Husbandry Act of Southern Rhodesia: A Failure in Land Reform”, unpublished MSC thesis, University of London, 1970.

Cobbing, J. R. D. “The Ndebele under *the Khumalo* 1820-1896”, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Lancaster, 1976.

Dube, T. “Oral Traditions, History and the Social Transformation of the Kalanga of South-western Zimbabwe: A Study of the Izimnyama Mpalawali Community, c 1800-2006”, unpublished Honours dissertation, History Department, University of Zimbabwe, 2006.

Duri F. P. T. “Antecedents and adaptations in the borderlands: A Social History of informal socio-economic activities across the Rhodesia-Mozambique Border with particular reference to the city of Umtali, 1900-1974”, unpublished PhD, Faculty of Humanities , The University of the Witwatersrand, 2012.

Kosmin, B. “Ethnic and Commercial Relations in Southern Rhodesia: A Social Historical Study of the Asian, Hellen and Jewish Populations, 1898-1943”, unpublished PhD Thesis, History Department, University of Rhodesia, 1974.

Lekgoathi, S. P. “Ethnicity and Identity: Struggle and Contestation in the making of the Northern Transvaal Ndebele, ca 1860-2005”, unpublished Phd thesis, Graduate School, University of Minnesota, 2006.

Lonsdale, J. “Moral Ethnicity and Political Tribalism: The Case of the Kikuyu”, Paper Wissenschaftliche tagung Vereinigung der Afrikanisten, in Deutschland, Duisburg, April, 1995.

Makombe, E. K. “A Social History of Town and Country Interactions: A Study on the changing social life and practices of rural-urban migrants in colonial Harare and Goromonzi 1946-1979”, unpublished PhD thesis, Faculty of Humanities, University of the

Witwatersrand, 2013.

Mazarire, G. C. "A Social and Political History of Chishanga: South-Central Zimbabwe c.1750-2000", unpublished PhD thesis submitted in the History Department, Faculty of Arts, University of Zimbabwe, 2010.

Mazarire, G. C. "Who are the Ndebele and Kalanga in Zimbabwe?" unpublished seminar paper presented in the History Department, University of Zimbabwe, 2004.

Msindo, E. "Rethinking the Ndebele and the Kalanga, 1860-1960", unpublished M. Phil thesis, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, 2002.

Msindo, E. "Ethnicity in Matabeleland: A study of Kalanga- Ndebele Relations", unpublished Ph.D Thesis, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, August, 2004.

Mujere, J. "Autochthons, Strangers, Modernising educationists and progressive farmers: Basotho struggles for belonging in Zimbabwe 1930s-2008", Ph.D thesis submitted to the History Department, University of Edinburgh, 2012.

Mujere, J. "Vhunjere via Bheterere: A Social History of the Basotho in the Dewure Purchase Areas in Gutu, c. 1932-1960", unpublished Masters thesis, History Department, University of Zimbabwe.

Munjeri, D. "A Brief Outline of the Political Economic, Social and Religious History of the Kalanga", Henderson seminar paper, number 30, December, 1974.

Mwatwara, W. "A history of state veterinary services and African livestock regimes in colonial Zimbabwe, c.1896-1980", unpublished Ph.D dissertation, Stellenbosch University, 2014.

Ndhlovu, F. "No to Everything British but their Language: Re-thinking English Language and Politics in Zimbabwe", unpublished paper delivered at the Department of English 6th International Conference on 'English and the Distinctly African University'. 1-3 June, Gaborone: University of Botswana, 2011.

Ndhlovu, F. "Is there Anything Minor about Minority Languages? Another look at the Politics of Language in Zimbabwe", unpublished paper delivered at the Fourth International Conference on Preserving African Languages, organised by the African Languages Research Project. 4-7 November, University of Maryland Eastern Shore, Maryland, 2004.

Ndlovu, E. "Mother Tongue Education in official minority languages of Zimbabwe: A language management critique", unpublished Phd thesis submitted to the Department of Linguistics And Language Practice, Faculty of Humanities of the University of the Free State, May 2013.

Nyathi, I. "Ndebele Kalanga ethnic relations in Bulilima-mangwe South: Integration or Assimilation? A case study of the colonial and post- colonial Bulilimamangwe", unpublished Honours dissertation, History Department, University of Zimbabwe, 2004.

Wright, J. "Notes on the Politics of Being Zulu, 1820-1920", Conference on Ethnicity, Society and Conflict in Natal, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa: University of Natal, 14-16 September 1992.

Otukile, S. P. "Bakalanga Music and Dance in Botswana and Zimbabwe", unpublished PhD thesis, Department of Music, University of Pretoria 2003.

Passmore, G. C. "Historical Rationale of the Policy of Community Development in the African Rural Areas of Rhodesia" a paper presented to the Department of Political Science, University of Rhodesia, 1971.

(v) Government Publications and Reports

Africa Watch, *Zimbabwe: a break with the past?* Africa Watch, New York, 1989.

Broadcasting Act, Section 27 and 28 (1), 1957, Amended 1974.

Broadcasting Services Act 2001.

Chimhundu, H., Nkiwane, M. D., Gutsa, J. N., Mano, J.D., Matimati E. K. and Muchemwa, K. M. M. Report on the formulation of a national language policy: National Language Policy Advisory Panel, 1998.

Diogo, de Alcazova's Report, 1566.

Report of Provincial Native Commissioner, Bulawayo for the Minister of Internal Affairs: NLHA persecutions at Plumtree.

Solidarity Peace Trust, 'Discarding the Filth: Operation Murambatsvina' Interim Report on Zimbabwean government's "Urban Cleansing" and forced eviction campaign' 27 June 2005.

Southern Rhodesia Native Land Husbandry Act, No52, 1951, Salisbury, 1952.

The Kalanga Cultural Promotion Society Constitution, 1984.

The Kalanga Language and Cultural Development Association Constitution, 2005.

The 1999 Report of the Nziramasanga Commission of Inquiry into Education and Training in Zimbabwe.

Thomas, W. E. "The Mlimo superstition", in The BSAC Reports. Native Disturbances in Rhodesia, 1896-1897, Books of Rhodesia Publishing Pvt Ltd, Bulawayo, 1975.

(vi) Published books

Akrofi, E., Smit, M. and Thorsen S. M. (eds.) *Music and identity: Transformation and negotiation* (African Sun Media, Stellenbosch, 2007).

Allman, J., Geiger, S. and Musisi, N. "Women in African Colonial Histories: An Introduction", in Allman, J. Geiger, S. and Musisi, N. (eds.), *Women in African Colonial Histories* (Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 2002).

Alexander, J. *The Unsettled Land: State Making and the Politics of Land in Zimbabwe, 1893-2003* (Weaver Press, Harare, 2006).

Allen, T. "The Invention of Tribes Revisited (11) Making the Madi: The Invention of Ugandan Tribe" in laGorgendiere, L., King, K. and Vaughan, S. (eds.), *Ethnicity in Africa: Roots meanings and implications* (Centre of African Studies, University of Edinburgh, 1996).

Anderson, B, "Ethnicity and Nationalism: The Nation and the Origins of National Consciousness", in Guibernau, M. and Rex, J. (eds.), *The Ethnicity Reader: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Migration* (Polity Press, Cambridge, 1997).

Anderson, B. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (Verso, London, 1983).

Atkinson, R. A. *The Source of Ethnicity: The Origins of the Acholi of Uganda before 1800* (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1994).

Babbie, E., Mouton, J. and Provesky, B. *The Practice of Social Research* (Oxford University Press, Cape Town, 2001).

Barnard, E. M. *Herder on Nationality, Humanity and History* (McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal, 2003).

Barnes, T. "Virgin Territory?: Travel and Migration by African Women in Twentieth-Century Southern Africa," in Allman, J., Geiger, S. and Musisi, N. (eds.), *Women in African Colonial Histories* (Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 2002).

Barth, F. (ed.) *Ethnic groups and Boundaries* (Boston, 1969).

Beach, D. N. *A Zimbabwean Past: Shona Dynastic Histories and Oral Traditions* (Mambo Press, Gweru, 1994).

Beach, D. N. *The Shona and their Neighbours* (Blackwells, Oxford, 1994).

Beach, D. N. *The Shona and Zimbabwe 900-1850: An Outline of Shona History* (Mambo Press, Gweru, 1984).

Beach, D. N. *Zimbabwe Before 1900* (Mambo Press, Gweru, 1984).

Berman, B. and Lonsdale, J. *Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya and Africa*, volume 2 (James Currey Ltd, London, 1992).

Bhebe, N. *Christianity and Traditional religion in Western Zimbabwe* (Longman, London, 1979).

Bhebe N. M. "Missionary activity among the Ndebele and Kalanga", in Dachs, A. J. (ed.) *Christianity South of the Zambezi* (Mambo Press Gwelo, 1973).

Bloom, L. *Identity and Ethnic relations in Africa* (Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Aldershot, 1998).

Bourdillon, M. F. C. *The Shona peoples: Ethnography of the contemporary Shona, with special reference to their religion* (Mambo Press, Gweru, 1998).

Bozzoli, B. "Interviewing the women of Phokeng", in Perks, R. and Thomson, A. (eds.) *The Oral History Reader* (Routledge, London, 1998).

Bratton, M. *Beyond Community Development: The Political Economy of Rural Administration in Zimbabwe* (Catholic Institute for International Relations, London, 1978).

Bravman, B. *Making Ethnic Ways: Communities and their transformations in Taita, Kenya, 1800-1950* (Heinemann, Portsmouth, 1998).

Bullock, C. *The Mashona* (Juta, Cape Town, 1928).

Chanock, M. *Law, Custom and Social Order* (University Press, Cambridge, 1985).

Chieni, T. and Spencer, P. "The World of Telelia: Reflections of a Maasai woman in Matapato", in Spear, T. S. and Waller, R. (eds.), *Being Maasai: Ethnicity and identity in East Africa* (James Currey, London, 1993).

Chigwedere, A. *The Karanga Empire* (Books for Africa, Harare, 1981).

Chikowero, M. *Tool of the Empire, Technology of Self Liberation: Colonial radio broadcasting to Africans in Zambia, Zimbabwe and Malawi, 1920s -1980* (Indiana University Press, London, 2014).

Chisita, M. B. "Multiple publics, multiple languages: Radio and the contestations of broadcasting language policy in Uganda", in Ligaga, D., Moyo, D. and Gunner, L. (eds.), *Radio in Africa: Publics, Cultures, Commodities* (Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, 2011).

Chiumbu, S. Minnie, J. and Bussick, H. On air, *Public Broadcasting in Africa Series: Zimbabwe* (OSISA, Rosebank, 2009).

Coillard, F. *On the Treshhold of Central Africa* (Frank Cass, London, 1897).

Coleman, J. S, "Tradition and Nationalism in Tropical Africa", in Kilson M. (ed.), *New States in the Modern World*, M.A (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1975).

Dachs A. J. *Christianity South of the Zambezi* (Mambo Press, Gwelo, 1973).

Dachs, A. J and Rea, W. F. S. J, *The Catholic Church and Zimbabwe* (Mambo Press, Gwelo, 1979).

Daneel, M. L. *African Earthkeepers volume 1: Interfaith Mission in Earth-Care* (Unisa Press, Pretoria 1998).

Daneel, M. L. *The God of the Matopo Hills: An Essay on the Mwari Cult of Rhodesia* (The Hague, Mouton, 1970).

Davison, J. *Gender, lineage and ethnicity in Southern Africa* (Westview Press, Colorado, 1997).

Dawson, A. C. (ed.) *Shrines in Africa: History, Politics and Society* (University of Calgary Press, Calgary, 2009).

Delius, P. A *Lion amongst cattle: Reconstruction and resistance in the Northern Transvaal* (Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1996).

Despres, L. A. (ed.), *Ethnicity and Resource Competition in Plural Societies* (Mouton Publishers, Chicago, 1975).

Dube, T. *The Oral Traditions of the Kalanga of Izimnyama Community, Mangwe District, c.1800-2006* (LAP Lambert Academic Publishing Company, Saarbrucken, 2010).

Epstein, A. L. *Ethos: Three studies in Ethnicity and Identity* (Tavistock Publications Ltd, London, 1978).

Fardon, R. and Furniss, G. *African broadcast cultures: Radio in transition* (James Currey, Oxford, 2000).

Fiona, A. and Mackenzie, D. *Land, Ecology and Resistance in Kenya, 1880-1952* (Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1998).

Foucault, M. *Power/Knowledge*, translated by C. Gordon (The Harvester Press, New York 1980).

Foucault, M. *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language* (Tavistock Publications, New York 1972).

- Gann, L. H. *A History of Rhodesia: Early Days to 1934* (Chatto and Windus, London, 1965).
- Garbett, C. K. "The Land Husbandry Act of Southern Rhodesia", in Diebuyk, D.(ed.) *African Agrarian Systems* (Oxford University Press, 1963).
- Geschiere, P. "Witchcraft, Kinship and the moral economy of ethnicity: Regional variations in Cameroon", in laGorgendiere, L., King, K. and Vaughan, S. (eds.), *Ethnicity in Africa: Roots meanings and implications* (Centre of African Studies, University of Edinburgh, 1996).
- Gray, R. (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Africa vol.4, From c.1600 to c.1790* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1975).
- Green E. D. *Ethnicity and Nationhood in Pre-Colonial Africa: The Case of Buganda* (London School of Economics, London, 2010).
- Greene, S. E. *Gender, Ethnicity, and Social Change on the upper Slave Coast: A History of the Anlo-Ewe*, (Portsmouth, N.H, 1996).
- Gunner, L., Ligaga, D. and Moyo, D. (eds.), *Radio in Africa: Publics, cultures, communities*, (Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, 2011).
- Hachipola, S. J. *A Survey of the Minority Languages of Zimbabwe* (University of Zimbabwe Publications, Harare 1998).
- Hall, M. and Stetoff, R. *Great Zimbabwe* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2006).
- Hamilton, C. *Terrific Majesty: The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Imagination* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1988).
- Harries, P. *Culture, Work, Culture and Identity: Migrant Labourers in Mozambique and South Africa, c 1860-1910* (Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, 1994).
- History Workshop, *Oral History: A guide to educators* (Mpumalanga Provincial Government, Department of Education, 2004).
- Hobsbawn, E. and Ranger, T. *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1983).
- Hofmeyr, I. "Building a Nation from Words: Afrikaans Language, Literature and Ethnic Identity, 1902-1924," in Marks, S. and Trapido, S. (eds.), *The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in Twentieth-century South Africa* (Longman, London, 1987).
- Holleman, J. F. *Chief Council and Commissioners* (Oxford University Press, London, 1968).
- Horowitz, D. L. (ed.), *Ethnic groups in conflict* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1985).
- Hrbek, I. and Muhammad, F. *Africa from the Seventh to the Eleventh century* (UNESCO, London, 1988).
- Huffman, T. N. *The Leopard Kopje Tradition* (National Museums and Monuments of Rhodesia, Salisbury, 1974).

Isaacman, A. F. and Isaacman, B. S. *Slavery and beyond: The making of men and Chikunda ethnic identities in the unstable world of south-central Africa, 1750-1900* (Heinemann, Portsmouth, 2004).

Jacobs, N. J. *Environment, power and injustice: A South African History* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2003).

Keulder, C. *Traditional leaders and local government in Africa: Lessons for South Africa* (HSRC, Pretoria, 1998).

Lan, D. *Guns and Rain: Guerrillas and Spirit Mediums in Zimbabwe* (James Currey, Oxford, 1985).

Lekgoathi, S. P. "Bantustan identity, censorship and subversion on Northern Sotho radio under apartheid", in Ligaga, D., Moyo, D. and Gunner, L. (eds.), *Radio in Africa: Publics, Cultures, Commodities* (Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, 2011).

Ligaga, D., Moyo, D. and Gunner, L. (eds.), *Radio in Africa: Publics, Cultures, Commodities* (Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, 2011).

Lindgren, B. "The Politics of Identity and the Remembrance of Violence: Ethnicity and Gender at the Installation of a Female Chief in Zimbabwe", in V. Broch-Due, (ed.), *Violence and Belonging: The Quest for Identity in Post-Colonial Africa* (Routledge, London: New York, 2005).

Lindgren, B. *The Politics of Ndebele Ethnicity: Origins, Nationality and Gender in Southern Zimbabwe*, Published D Phil (Department of Cultural Anthropology and Ethnology, Uppsala University, 2002).

Lonsdale, J. "Moral and Political Argument in Kenya", in Bernam, B. Eyoh, D. and Kymlika, W. (eds.), *Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa* (James Currey, Oxford, 2004).

Lonsdale, J. "The Moral Economy of Mau Mau", in Berman, B. and Lonsdale, J. (eds), *Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya and Africa* (James Currey, London 1992).

MacGonagle, E. *Crafting Identity in Zimbabwe and Mozambique* (University of Rochester Press, New York, 2007).

Magwa, W. *Language planning and policy for mass education: A case for Zimbabwe* (Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society, Cape Town 2010a).

Magwaza, "So that I will be a marriageable girl: Umemulo in contemporary Zulu society", in Carton, B. Laband, J. and Sithole, J. (eds.), *Zulu Identities: Being Zulu, Past and Present* (University of kwaZulu Natal Press, Scottsville, 2008).

Mano, W. "Why radio is Africa's medium of choice in the Global Age", in Gunner, L., Ligaga, D. and Moyo, D. (eds.), *Radio in Africa: Publics, Cultures, Communities* (Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, 2011).

Martin, D. and Johnson, P. "Zimbabwe: Apartheid's dilemma", in Martin, D. and Johnson P. (eds.), *Destructive Engagement: southern Africa at war* (Zimbabwe Publishing House, Harare, 1986).

Masola, K. *Nhau DzabaKalanga: A History of the Kalanga*, volume 1 (University of South Africa Press, Pretoria, 1983).

Mazarire, G. C. "Reflections on Pre-Colonial Zimbabwe, c.850-1880s", in Brian Raftopoulos and Alois Mlambo (eds.), *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-Colonial Period to 2008* (Weaver Press, Harare, 2009).

Macmillan, H. "A nation divided? The Swazi in Swaziland and the Transvaal, 1865-1986", in Maxwell, D. (ed.) *Christians and Chiefs in Zimbabwe: A Social History of the Hwesa people* (Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1999).

Miescher, S. *Making Men in Ghana* (Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 2005).

Moyana H. V. *The Political Economy of Land in Zimbabwe* (Mambo Press, Gweru, 1984).

Moyo, N. E. *Bukalanga, The Re-birth of Bukalanga: A Manifesto for the Liberation of a Great People with a Proud History Part 1* (Mapungubwe News Corporation, Plumtree, 2012).

Msindo, E. *Ethnicity in Zimbabwe: The Transformation in Kalanga and Ndebele Societies, 1860-1990* (The University of Rochester Press, New York, 2012).

Mudenge, S. I. G. *A Political History of Munhumutapa, c 1400-1902* (Zimbabwe Publishing House, Harare, 1988).

Mukamuri, B. "Ecological Religion: Local Politics and Conservation in South-Central Zimbabwe", in Virtanen, P. (ed.) *Management of Natural Resources in Zimbabwe* (University of Tampere, Helsinki 1990).

Mulwafu, W. O. *Conservation song: A history of peasant-state relations and the environment in Malawi, 1866-2000* (The Whitehouse Press, Cambridge, 2011).

Mumpande, I. *Silent Voices: Indigenous Languages in Zimbabwe* (Weaver Press, Harare, 2006).

Munro, W. *The Moral Economy of the State: Conservation, Community Development and State-Making in Zimbabwe* (Ohio University Press, Athens, 1998).

Mziki, Mlimo: *The Rise and Fall of the Matabele* (Books of Rhodesia, Bulawayo, 1972).

Ndhlovu, F. "Citizenship, Identity and Diversity: Language Policy, Citizenship and Discourses of Exclusion in Zimbabwe" in Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. and Muzondidya, J. (eds.),

Nationalism across the Globe vol 3: Redemptive or Grotesque nationalism? Rethinking Contemporary Politics in Zimbabwe (Peter Lang, Bern, 2011).

Ndhlovu, F. *The Politics of language and nation building in Zimbabwe* (International Academic Publishers, Bern, 2009).

Ndhlovu, F. "Zimbabwe's Postcolonial Language Policy Formulation Paradigms, 1987-1998", in Crawhall, N. T. and Ostler, N. (eds.) *Creating Outsiders: Endangered Languages, Migration and Marginalization* (The Foundation of Endangered Languages, Bath, 2005).

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. *Do Zimbabweans Exist? Trajectories of Nationalism, National Identity Formation and Crisis in a post-Colonial State* (Peter Lang, Bern, 2009).

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. *The Zimbabwean Nation-state project: A historical Diagnosis of Identity and Power-based Conflicts in a Post-colonial State* (Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala, 2011).

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. and Muzondidya, J. (eds.), *Nationalism across the Globe vol 3: Redemptive or Grotesque nationalism? Rethinking Contemporary Politics in Zimbabwe* (Peter Lang, Bern, 2011)

Newbury, D. *Kings and Clans: Ijwi Island and the Lake Kivu Rift, 1780-1840* (University of Wisconsin Press, Madison 1991).

Nnoli, O. *Ethnicity and Development in Nigeria* (Avebury Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Aldershot, 1995).

Ntaragwi, M. *Gender, Identity and performance: understanding Swahili Cultural Realities through Songs* (Africa World Press Inc, Trenton, 2003).

Ntsebeza, L. *Democracy compromised: Chiefs and the politics of the land in South Africa* (Brill, Boston, 2005).

Nyarota, G. *Against the Grain: Memoirs of a Zimbabwean Newsman* (Struik, Cape Town, 2006).

Olupona, K. and Nyang, S. S. (eds.), *Religious Plurality in Africa: Essays in honour of John S. Mbiti* (Mouton De Graytor, Berlin, 1993).

Otite, O. "Resource competition and Inter-ethnic relations in Nigeria", in L. A. Despres, (ed.) *Ethnicity and Resource Competition in Plural Societies*, Mouton Publishers, Chicago, 1975.

Palmer R. H. "Aspects of Rhodesian Land Policy 1890-1936", CAHA Local Series 22, *Central African Historical Association*, Salisbury, 1968.

- Passerini, L. (ed.), *Memory and Totalitarianism* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1992).
- Perks, R. and Thomson, A. (eds.), *The Oral History Reader* (Routledge, London, 1998).
- Pikirayi, I. *The Zimbabwe Culture: Origins and Decline of Southern Zambezia States* (Altamira Press, California, 2001).
- Posselt, *Fact and Fiction* (Books of Rhodesia, Bulawayo, 1935).
- Ranger, T. "African Identities: Ethnicity, Nationality and History: The Case of Matabeleland, 1893-1993", in Heidrich, J. (ed.) *Changing Identities: The transformation of Asian and African societies under colonialism*, (Das Arabische Buch Verlag, Berlin, 1994a).
- Ranger, T. "Missionaries, Migrants, and the Manyika: The Invention of Ethnicity in Zimbabwe," in Vail, L. (ed.), *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (James Currey, London, 1989).
- Ranger, T. "Women and Environment in African Religion: The case of Zimbabwe", in Beinart, W. and McGregor, J. (eds.) *Social History and African Environments* (James Currey, Oxford, 2003).
- Ranger, T. O. "Invention of Tradition Revisited: The Case of Colonial Africa", in Ranger, T. and Vaughan, M. (eds.) *Legitimacy and state in Twentieth Century Africa* (Macmillan, London, 1993).
- Ranger, T. O. *The Invention of Tribalism in Zimbabwe* (Mambo Press, Gweru, 1988).
- Ranger, T.O. "The moral economy of identity in Northern Matabeleland", in la Gorgendiere, L., King, K. and Vaughan S. (eds.), *Ethnicity in Africa: Roots meanings and implications* (Centre of African Studies, University of Edinburgh, 1996).
- Ranger, T. O. *Voices from the Rocks: Nature, Culture and History in the Matopo Hills of Zimbabwe*, (Baobab Books, Harare, 1999).
- Rasmussen, R. K. *Migrant Kingdom: Mzilikazi's Ndebele in South Africa* (Rex Collings Ltd., London, 1976).
- Ritchie, D. *Doing Oral History: A Practical guide* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2003).
- Romanucci-Ross, L. and DeVos, G. A. (eds.) *Ethnic identity: Creation, conflict, and accommodation* 3rd edtn (Altamira Press, London, 1995).
- Schieffelin, B., Woolard, K. A. and Kroskrity P. V. (eds.) *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory* (Oxford University Press, New York, 1998).
- Schmidt, E. *Mobilising the Masses: gender Ethnicity and class in Nationalist movements in Guinea, 1939-1958* (Heinemann, Portsmouth, 2005).

Schoenbrun, D. *Review of Jean-Pierre Chretien's Book* (L'Afrique Des Grands Lacs, Deux mille ans D'Histoire, Paris, Aubier, 2000).

Selous, F. C. *Travel and Adventure in South East Africa* (Rowland Ward & Co, Piccadilly, 1893).

Skinner, E. P. "Competition within ethnic systems in Africa", in Despres, L. A. (ed.), *Ethnicity and Resource Competition in Plural Societies* (Mouton Publishers, Chicago, 1975).

Siegel, B. "The "Wild" and "Lazy" Lamba: Ethnic stereotypes on the Central African Copperbelt", in Vail, L. (ed.), *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (James Currey, London, 1989).

Sithole, M. "Ethnicity and Democratisation in Zimbabwe: From Confrontation to Accommodation", in Glickman, H. (ed.), *Ethnic Conflict and Democratisation in Africa* (African Studies Association, Atlanta, 1995).

Sithole, M. "Managing Ethnic Conflicts in Zimbabwe" in Nnoli, O. (ed.) *Ethnic Conflicts in Africa* (Codesria Book Series, 2000).

Smith, A.D. *The Ethnic Revival in the Modern World* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1981).

Smith, A. D. *The Nation and in History: Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Polity Press, Cambridge, 2000).

Spear, T. and Waller, R. (eds.) *Being Maasai: Ethnicity and Identity in East Africa* (James Currey, London, 1993).

Spring, W. *The Long Fields: Zimbabwe since independence* (Pickering and Inglis. Basingstoke, 1986).

Tabler, E. C "Impressions of Hendriks Pavs", *Rhodesia*, number 5 (1960).

The Zambezi Missionary Record: *A Missionary Publication for Readers at Home and Abroad*, volume vi, number 47, January, 1910.

Thompson, P. "The voice of the past: Oral History", in Perks, R. and Thomson, A. (eds.), *The Oral History Reader* (Routledge, London, 1998).

Tlou, T. and Campbell, A. *History of Botswana*, Macmillan (Botswana Publishing Co Pty Ltd, Gaborone, 1997).

Tosh, J. *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New directions in the study of Modern History* (Longman Group, London, 1991).

Tremmel, M. *The People of the Great River: The Tonga Hoped the Water would Follow Them* (Mambo Press in Association with Silveria House, Gweru and Harare, 1994).

- Uchiendu, V. C. "The dilemma of ethnicity and polity primacy in Black Africa", in Romanucci-Ross, L. and DeVos, G. A. (eds.) *Ethnic identity: Creation, conflict, and accommodation* 3rd edtn (Altamira Press, London, 1995).
- Vail, L. (ed.) *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (James Currey, London, 1989).
- Vansina, J. *Living with Africa* (The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1994).
- Vansina J, *Oral Tradition as History* (James Currey Ltd, London, 1985).
- van Binsbergen W. M. J. "Minority language, ethnicity and the state in two African situations: The Nkoya of Zambia and the Kalanga of Botswana", in Fardon, R. and Furniss, G. (eds.), *African languages, development and the state* (Routledge, London, 1994).
- Vaughan-Williams, H. *A Visit to Lobhengula in 1889* (Glasgow, 1947).
- Verhoeven, L. I. "Sociolinguistics and Education", in Coulmas, F. (ed.) *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics* (Blackwell Publishers, Malden, 1997).
- Wallis J. P. R. *The Matabele Journals of Robert Moffat, 1829-1860*, 1954.
- Weinrich, A. K. H. *African Farmers in Rhodesia: Old and New Peasant Communities in Karangaland*, (IAI, Oxford University Press, London, 1975).
- Weinrich, A. K. H. *Chiefs and Councils in Rhodesia: Transition from Patriarchal to Bureaucratic Power* (Heinemann, London, 1971).
- Werbner, R. P. "Continuity and policy in Southern Africa's High God Cult" in Werbner R. P. (ed.) *Regional Cults* (Academic Press, London, 1977).
- Werbner, R. P. *Reasonable Radicals and citizenship in Botswana: The Public Anthropology of Kalanga Elites* (Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, 2004).
- Werbner, R. P. *Tears of the Dead: The Social Biography of an African Family* (Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1991).
- White, L. Miescher, S. and Cohen, D. W. *African Words, African Voices: Critical Practices in Oral History* (Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 2001).
- Wilmsen, E. N. and McAllister, P. (ed.), *The Politics of Difference: Ethnic Premises in a World of Power* (The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1996).
- Wylie, D. A. *Little God: The Twilight of Patriarchy in Southern African Chieftdom* (Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, 1990).
- Woollet, A. Marshal, H. Nicolson, P. and Dosanih, N. "Asian women's ethnic identity: The impact of gender and context in the accounts of women bringing up children in East London", in Bhavnani, K. K. and Phoenix, A. (eds.), *Shifting identities, shifting racisms: A feminism and psychology reader* (Sage Publications Ltd, London, 1994).
- Yngstrom, I. "Representations of custom, social identity and environmental relations in

Central Tanzania, 1926-1950", in Beinart, W. and McGregor, J. (eds.), *Social History and African environments* (James Currey, Oxford, 2003).

Yoros, P. (ed.), *Ethnicity and nationalism in Africa: Constructionist Reflections and Contemporary Politics* (Macmillan, London, 1999).

Zezeza, P. T. "The inventions of African identities and languages: The Discursive and developmental implications", Selected proceedings of the 36th Conference on African Linguistics, MA Cascadilla, Somerville, 2006, pp. 14–26.

Zvobgo, C. J. M. *A History of Christian Missions in Zimbabwe* (Mambo Press, Gweru, 1996).

(vii) Published Journal Articles

Alexander, J. and McGregor, J. "Modernity and ethnicity in a frontier Society: Understanding difference in North-Western Zimbabwe", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, volume 23, number 2 (June 1997) pp. 187-202.

Beach D. N, "Ndebele raiders and Shona Power", *Journal of African History*, volume XV, number 4 (1974) pp. 633-651.

Beach, D. N. "The Mutapa Dynasty: A Comparison of Documentary and Traditional Evidence, *History in Africa*, volume 3 (1976) pp. 1-17.

Beinart, W. "Soil erosion, Conservationism and ideas about development: A Southern African exploration, 1900-1960", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, volume 11, number 1 (1984) pp. 52-83.

Bessant, L. L. "Coercive Development: Land Shortage, Forced Labor, and colonial development in the Chiweshe Reserve, colonial Zimbabwe, 1938-1946", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, volume 25, number 1 (1992) pp. 39-65.

Bessant, L. L. and Muringai, E. "Peasants, Businessmen, and Moral Economy in the Chiweshe Reserve, Colonial Zimbabwe: 1930-1968," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, volume 19, number 4 (1993) p. 551-592.

Bickford-Smith, V. "Black Ethnicities, Communities and Political Expression in Late Victorian Cape Town," *Journal of African History*, volume 36 (1995) pp. 443-465.

Breckenridge, K. "Migrancy, Crime and Faction Fighting: The Role of Izitshozi in the Development of Ethnic Organizations in the Compounds," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, volume 16, number 1 (1990) pp. 55-78.

Brubaker, R. and Cooper, F. "Beyond Identity", *Theory and Society*, volume, 29, (2000) (pp.1-47).

Cheater, A. "Africa: The Ideology of 'Communal' Land Tenure in Zimbabwe: Mythogenesis

Enacted?", *Journal of the International African Institute*, volume 60, number 2 (1990) pp.188-206.

Chimhundu, H. "Early Missionaries and the Ethno-linguistic Factor during the Invention of Tribalism in Zimbabwe", *Journal of African History*, volume 33 (1992) pp. 87-109.

Cohen, R. "Ethnicity: Problem and focus in Anthropology", *Annual Reviews Inc*, volume 7 (1978) pp. 379-403.

Davis, S. R. "The African National Congress, its Radio, its Allies and Exile", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, volume 35, number 2 (June 2009) pp. 349-373.

Delius, P. and Schirmer, S. "Soil Conservation in a Racially Ordered Society: South Africa 1930-1970" *Journal of Southern African Studies*, volume 26, number 4 (December 2000) pp. 719-742.

Drinkwater, M. "Technical Development and Peasant Impoverishment: Land use Policy in Zimbabwe's Midlands Province", *Journal of Southern African Studies* volume 15, number 2 (1989) pp. 287-305.

Dube, T. "Culture, violence and the female body: The practice of *Nholowemwizana* custom as a form of cultural violence amongst the Kalanga women of Mpalawali area in Zimbabwe", *The Journal of History Research*, volume 3, number 4 (April 2013) pp. 290-298.

Field, S. "Turning up the Volume: Dialogues about Memory Create Oral history", *South African Historical Journal*, volume 60, number 2 (2008) pp. 175-194.

Gondo, K. T. "A Call for the upliftment of the Shangani Language: An evaluation of the problems surrounding Shangani Language status and their implications in Zimbabwe", *NAWA Journal of Language and Communication*, volume 3, number 1 (2009) pp. 129 – 138.

Gora, R., Mavunga, G., Muringani, B. and Waniwa, F. "The use of Shona as a medium of instruction in the first three grades of primary school in a Tonga community: Parents and teachers perceptions", *Zimbabwe Journal of Educational Research*, volume 22, number 1, March (2010) pp. 87-102.

Gqibitole, K. M. "Contestations of Tradition in Xhosa Radio Drama under Apartheid", *English Studies in Africa*, volume 45, number 2 (2002) pp. 33-45.

Gunner, L. "Supping with the Devil: Zulu Radio Drama under Apartheid: The Case of Alexius Buthelezi", *Social Identities*, volume 11, number 2 (2005) pp. 161-169.

Gunner, L. "Wrestling with the Present; 'Resistant Medium: The Voices of Zulu Radio Drama in the 1970s", *Theatre Research International*, volume 27, number 3 (2002) pp. 259-274.

Gunner, L. "Zulu Choral Music: Performing Identities in a New State", *Research in African Literatures*, volume 37, number 2 (2006) pp. 83-97.

Harris, P. "The Anthropologist as Historian and Liberal: H-A. Junod and the Thonga", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, volume 8, number 1 (1981) pp. 37-50.

Hendricks, F. T. "Loose planning and rapid resettlement: The politics of conservation and control in Transkei, South Africa, 1950-1970", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, volume 15, number 2 (1989) pp 306-325.

Jeater, D. "No Place for a Woman: Gwelo Town, Southern Rhodesia, 1894-1920" *Journal of Southern African Studies*, volume 26, number, 1 (2000) pp. 29-42.

Kramer, E. "A Clash of Economies: Early Centralisation Efforts in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1929-1935", *Zambezia: The Journal of the University of Zimbabwe*, volume 25, number 1 (1998) pp. 83-98.

Lancaster C. S. "Ethnic identity, "History" and tribe in the middle Zambezi Valley", *American Ethnologist*, volume 1, number 4 (1974) pp. 707-730.

Lekgoathi, S. P. "Ethnic Separatism or Cultural Preservation? Ndebele Radio under Apartheid, 1983-1994", *South African Historical Journal* volume 64, number 1 (March 2012) pp. 59-80.

Lekgoathi, S. P. "You are Listening to Radio Lebowa of the South African Broadcasting Corporation: Vernacular Radio, Bantustan Identity and Listenership, 1960-1994", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, volume 35, number 3 (2009) pp. 575-594.

Lentz, C. "Colonial Constructions and African Initiatives: The History of Ethnicity in North-western Ghana", *Ethos*, volume 65, number 1 (2000) pp. 107-136.

McGregor, J "Conservation, Control and Ecological Change: The Politics and Ecology of Colonial Conservation in Shurugwi", *Environment and History*, volume 1, number 3 (1995) pp. 257-279.

Machingaidze V. E. M. "Agrarian Change from above: The Southern Rhodesia Native Land Husbandry Act and African Response", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, volume 24, number 3 (1991) pp. 557-588.

Madzudzo, E. and Dzingirai, V. "A Comparative Study of the Implications of Ethnicity on CAMPFIRE in Bulilimamangwe and Binga districts of Zimbabwe", *Zambezia: The Journal of Humanities of the University of Zimbabwe*, volume 22, number 1 (1995) pp. 28-33.

Mager, A, "Patriarchs, Politics and Ethnicity in the Making of the Ciskei, 1945-1959," *African Studies*, volume 54, number 1 (1995) pp. 49-72.

Magwa, W. Revisiting the language question in Zimbabwe: A multilingual approach to the language education policy, *Journal of Multilingual Discourses*, volume 5, number 2 (2010) pp. 157- 168.

Makoni, S. "A critical analysis of the historical and contemporary status of minority languages in Zimbabwe", *Current Issues in Language Planning*, volume 12, number 4 (2011) pp. 437-455.

Makoni, S., Makoni, B. and Nyika, N. "Language planning from below: The case of Tonga in Zimbabwe", *Current Issues in Language Planning*, volume 94 (2008) pp. 413-439.

Makuvaza, N. "Philosophical reflections on the Nziramasanga Commission on education and training of 1999 with special reference to chapter 4 Hunhu/Ubuntu (holistic education)", *Zimbabwe Journal of Educational Research*, volume 22, number 3 (November 2010) pp. 357-365.

Mare, A. "New media, pirate radio and the creative appropriation of technology in Zimbabwe: case of Radio Voice of the People", *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, volume 25, number 1 (2013) pp. 30-41.

Mashingaidze, T. M. "Beyond the Kariba Dam Induced Displacements: The Zimbabwean Tonga's Struggles for Restitution, 1990s–2000s", *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights*, volume 20, issue 3 (2013) pp. 381 – 404.

Mavunga, G. "The use of Shona as the medium of instruction in the first three grades of primary school in Tonga-speaking community: Teachers and parents' perceptions", *Language Matters*, volume 41, number 1 (2010) pp. 126-147.

Mazarire, G. C. "Oral Traditions as Heritage: A Historiography of oral historical research on the Shona Communities of Zimbabwe: Some Methodological Concerns", *Historia*, volume 47, number 2 (2002) pp. 412-445.

Mazarire, G. C. "Politics of the Womb: Women, Politics and the Environment in Pre-colonial Chivi ,Southern Zimbabwe, c1840 to 1900", *Zambezia, The Journal of Humanities of the University of Zimbabwe*, volume 30, number 1 (2003) pp. 35-50.

Mhlanga, B. "Ethnicity or Tribalism? The discursive construction of Zimbabwean national identity", *African Identities*, volume 11, number 1 (2013) pp. 47-60.

Mombeshora, S. "The Salience of ethnicity in political development: The case of Zimbabwe", *International Sociology*, volume 5, number 4 (1990) pp.427-444.

Mosia, L., Riddle, C. and Zaffiro, J. "From Revolutionary to Regime Radio: Three Decades of Nationalist Broadcasting in Southern Africa", *Africa Media Review*, volume 8, number 1, (1994) pp. 1-2.

Moyo, D. "Reincarnating Clandestine Radio in Post-independent Zimbabwe." *The Radio Journal International Studies in Broadcast and Audio Media*, volume 8 number 1 (2010) pp. 23–36.

Moyo, H. J. "Lexical Metamorphosis of the Kalanga language: Towards an analysis of the Impact of Ndebele Domination of the Kalanga Language", *Zambezia, The Journal of Humanities of the University of Zimbabwe*, volume xxix, number ii (2002) pp. 142-148.

Msindo, E. "Ethnicity and Nationalism in Urban Colonial Zimbabwe: Bulawayo, 1950 to 1963", *Journal of African History*, volume 48, Cambridge University Press (2007) pp. 267-

Mudenge, S. I. G, "The Role of foreign trade in the Rozvi Empire: A Reappraisal", in A. G. Hopkins, A.G., Law, R. C. C. Marks and Robert, D. (eds) *The Journal of African History*, volume xv, number 3 (1974) pp. 373-391.

Munochiveyi, M. B "We do not want to be ruled by foreigners: Oral histories of nationalism in colonial Zimbabwe", *Historia*, volume 73, number 1 (2011) pp. 65-87.

Musemwa, M. "Disciplining a 'Dissident' City: Hydropolitics in the City of Bulawayo, Matabeleland, Zimbabwe, 1980-1994", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 32, Number 2, June 2006 pp 239-254.

Mutasa, D. E. "The Language Situation in Zimbabwe with Special Reference to the Sociological, Orthographic and Linguistic Problems of Minority Language Groups", *South African Journal of Linguistics*, volume 13, number 2 (1995) pp. 87-92.

Muzondidya, J. and Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. "Echoing Silences': Ethnicity in post-colonial Zimbabwe, 1980-2007" *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, volume 7, number 2 (2007) pp. 275-297.

Ndamba G. T. "The Official language in education policy and its implementation at infant school level in Zimbabwe", *Zimbabwe Journal of Educational Research*, volume 22, number 3 (2010) pp. 242-260.

Ndhlovu, F. "Language and African Development: Theoretical Reflections on the place of languages in African Studies", *Nordic Journal of African Studies* volume 17, number 2 (2008) pp. 137-151.

Ndhlovu, F. "Language politics in postcolonial Africa revisited: Minority agency and language imposition", *Language Matters*, volume 41, number 2 (2010) pp. 175-192.

Ndlovu, E. "Mother tongue education in official minority languages in Zimbabwe", *South African Journal of African languages*, volume 31, number 2 (2011) pp. 229-242.

Ndlovu, E. "The re-emergence of diasporic radio in independent Zimbabwe", *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies*, volume 35, number 3 (2014) pp. 54-72.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. "Nation building in Zimbabwe and the challenges of Ndebele particularism", *African Journal of Conflict Resolution*, volume 8, number 3 (2008) pp. 27-56.

Nkomo, D. Language in Education and Language Development in Zimbabwe, *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*, volume 26, number 3 (2008) pp. 351-362.

Nyambara, P. S. "Immigrants, Traditional Leaders and the Rhodesian State: The Power of 'Communal' Land Tenure and the Politics of Land Acquisition in Gokwe, Zimbabwe, 1963-1979", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, volume 27, number 4 (2001) pp. 771-791.

Nyambara, P, "Madheruka and Shangwe: Ethnic Identities and the Culture of Modernity in Gokwe, North-western Zimbabwe, 1963-79", *Journal of African History*, volume 43 (2002)

pp. 287-306.

Nyika, N. "Our languages are equally important: Struggles for the revitalisation of the minority languages in Zimbabwe", *Southern African Linguistic Applied Language Studies*, volume 26, number 4 (2008) pp. 457-470.

Parsons, Q. N. "On the Origins of the bamaNgwato", *Botswana Notes and Records*, volume 5 1973, Botswana Society (1973) pp. 82-103.

Phimister, I. "Rethinking the Reserves: Southern Rhodesia's land Husbandry Act Reviewed", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, volume 19, number 2 (1993) pp. 225-239.

Ralushai, N. M. N, "Further Traditions concerning Luvhimbi and the Mbedzi", *Rhodesian History: The Journal of the Central Africa Historical Association*, volume ix (1978) pp. 1-11.

Ralushai, N. M. N. and Gray, J. R "Ruins and traditions of the Ngoni and Mbedzi among the Venda of the Northern Transvaal" *Rhodesian History: The Journal of The Central Africa Historical Association*, volume 8 (1977) pp.1-11.

Ranger, T. "Matabeleland since the Amnesty", *African Affairs* volume 88 (April 1989) pp. 161- 173.

Ranger, T. "Tradition and Travesty: Chiefs and the administration in Makoni District, Zimbabwe, 1960-1980", *Journal of the International African Institute: Past and Present in Zimbabwe*, volume 52, number 3 (1982) pp. 20-41.

Ranger, T. O. "The Meaning of Mwali" *Rhodesian History, The Journal of the Central African Historical Association*, volume 5 (1974) pp. 5-17.

Richards, J. B. "The Mlimo: Belief and Practice of the Kalanga", in *NADA*, volume 19, 1942. Samarin, W. J. "Bondjo Ethnicity and Colonial Imagination," *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, volume 18, number 12 (1984) pp. 345-365.

Seager, C. E. "The original marriage customs of Makalanga", *NADA*, volume xi, number 45, 1942.

Spear, T. "Neo- Traditionalism and the Limits of Invention in British Colonial Africa", *The Journal of History*, volume 44 (2003) pp. 3-27.

Thompson, G. "Is it lawful for people to have their things taken away by force? High Modernism and ungovernability in colonial Zimbabwe", *African Studies*, volume 66, number 1 (2007) pp. 39-77.

van Beusekom, M. M. and Hodgson, D. L. "Lessons Learned? Development Experiences in the Late Colonial Period," *Journal of African History*, volume 41 (2000) pp. 29-33.

von Sicard, H. 'The origins of some of the tribes in the Belingwe Reserve' *NADA* volume 27, 1950.

Welsh, D. "Ethnicity in Sub-Saharan Africa", *International Affairs Royal Institute of*

International Affairs, volume 72, number 3 (July 1996) pp. 477-491.

Worby, E. "Maps, Names, and Ethnic Games: The Epistemology and Iconography of Colonial Power in Northwestern Zimbabwe", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, volume 20, number. 3, Special Issue: Ethnicity and Identity in Southern Africa (September, 1994) pp. 371-392.

Young, C. M. "Nationalism, Ethnicity and Class in Africa: A Retrospective", *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines* Vol 26 Cahier 103 (1988) pp. 421-496.

(viii) Electronic sources cited

<http://www.ndzimuunami.blogspot.com>

[Date accessed: 3 June, 2013](#)

<http://www.bukalanga.com>

Date accessed: 3 June, 2013

Bulawayo 24 News, 21 December 2010, <http://www.Bulawayo24.com>

Date accessed: 3 June, 2013

<http://Bulawayo24.com>, 25 November 2013

Date accessed: 5 January 2014

(ix) Audio tapes cited

Nduna Malaba, Woye Woye Ndodzila Zwangu, Nduna Malaba Single Collection volume 3, 1991.

