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**CULTURAL DYNAMISM AS A SOLUTION TO ETHNIC CONFLICT THE CASE OF
GOKWE SOUTH DISTRICT 1950- 2017**

By

NCUBE ABIGIRL

REG NUMBER: R147544W

SUPERVISOR: DR G TARUGARIRA

A research submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Bachelor of Arts in

History and International Studies Honours Degree

Department of history

Faculty of Arts

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DECLARATION

I declare that, “Cultural dynamism as a solution to tribal conflicts: the case of Gokwe South district, 1950-2017” is my work and is a result of research I carried out at Gokwe south district on the impacts of cultural dynamism in solving ethnic conflicts. The research has not been submitted before for any degree program at Midlands State University and any other tertiary institutions.

DEDICATIONS

This dissertation is dedicated to my beloved husband Tinosi Baliwe who has always been my pillar of strength even through difficult times, my son Tinevimbo, my mother Getrude Mazvezve Ncube, my Father Nation Bheka Ncube and my family at large, for their inspiration and encouragement throughout my study. I hope the dissertation will inspire you as well.



MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

APPROVAL FORM

The under designed certify that they truly have read and recommended to the Midlands State University for acceptance of research entitled: Cultural dynamism as a solution to ethnic conflicts the case of Gokwe South District, 1950-2017 submitted by Ncube Abigirl in partial fulfilment to the requirements of Bachelor of Arts in History and International Studies Honors Degree.

Supervisor.....Date.....

Chairperson.....Date.....

External Examiner.....Date.....

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ABSTRACT

This research sought to highlight how cultural dynamism solved conflicts between the four ethnic groups of Gokwe south. The research argues that clinging to individual cultures and seeing the next person's culture as inferior was the major cause for conflicts. Therefore accepting one another and bearing in mind that culture is dynamic marked the end of conflicts. As a result people are now living together peacefully and one cannot tell the difference between these groups today. This research therefore proves that while it is true that these people once had hard time staying together, they ended up accepting each other in their differences. Using field work, it was proved that these people are now living together well and there are no more differences. They had done away with their different backgrounds and are now focusing on what is on ground.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATION

ATR : African Traditional Religion

ESAP : Economic Structural and Adjustment Programme

LAA : Land Apportionment Act

MFR : Mapfungautsi Forest Reserve

NLHA : Native Land Husbandry Act

RMC : Resource Management Committees

ZANU-PF : Zimbabwe African National Unity - (Patriotic Front)

ZISCO : Zimbabwe Iron and Steel Company

GLOSSARY

Chidhaka refers to black clay soils which are very suitable for crop cultivation in Gokwe, mostly used for cotton production

MaDheruka a derogatory name which was given to the Shona and Ndebele immigrants by the Shangwe and the Tonga. According to Nyambara the name portrayed the sudden and undesired repositioning in lorries and the name was derived from the sound produced by the lorries.

Madoraushe a name given to the ceremonies to enthrone chiefs

Mapumbu a Tonga name which refers to place of bulbs

Marambakutemwa areas where the Shangwe and the Tonga believed their spirits rested in and where not supposed to be tempered around with.

Mulala a Tonga name for the white snake that bites the fontanel

Mutoro a Shona name for rain making ceremony

Sabhuku is a Shona name to refer to a village head

Sekuru a Shona name for uncle

Shangwa/ Neshangwe refers to a drought / famine prone land or dry land

Shangwe a derogatory name given to the Korekore who settled at Gokwe and the name is associated with primitiveness and backwardness

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER

Introduction

Gokwe South District was created from the division of Gokwe District which was formerly called 'Sebungu' District and was established in 1898.¹ Due to the introduction of Land Apportionment Act (LAA) of 1930 by the colonial masters, displacement of a number of people from different places to Gokwe began in the 1950s when the Native Land Husbandry Act (NLHA) was put across and marked the implementation of the LAA. As a result of these immigrants into Gokwe, population increased thus leading to the division of Gokwe District to Gokwe North and Gokwe South Districts.

Since the division was caused by the immigrants from different places, languages, cultures and likewise having different socio-economic activities, Gokwe South District was made up or has a collection of diverse ethnic groups. Under such a situation, the area experienced tribal conflicts from its creation. This was mostly caused by hatred and looking down upon the next person's language and culture. For example the group of people who came from areas like Gutu, Godhlwayo Purchase Areas near Filabusi, Victoria Reserve and Bikita were nicknamed or labeled as "Madheruka" and/or "MaRhodhesdale" by the groups of people they found settled in the area. These groups are the Shangwe and the Tonga who were tagged "uncivilized, backward" (Shangwe) and the "MaZambezi" (Tonga).² The ethnic or tribal groups in Gokwe South District are the Shona, Tonga, Shangwe and the Ndebele.³

¹ A. Mudzimu, Gokwe District, University of Zimbabwe, unpublished, page 1

² Ibid, page 2

³ A. Oyeniyi, Conflict and violence in Africa; Sources and Types, Transcend Media Services, Africa, 28 February 2011, published since 2008

Ethnic conflicts had been a continuous phenomenon in the history of human societies especially in Africa³. This dissertation thus seeks to unpack the role that was played by cultural dynamism in solving the ethnic conflicts in Gokwe South District. A number of scholars have gathered much information on the language, lifestyle and economic activities of Gokwe South inhabitants. At the same time, the scholars highlight the divisions and sour relations between these different groups. Unfortunately, they are silent on how long or what where the consequences of these divisions. Also, they do not say what brought about the end of the divisions and hatred among these groups. Therefore this dissertation seeks to answer all these questions through engaging the works of cultural dynamism in solving the tribal conflicts.

Among these Gokwe citizens, some or most of the population was forced to migrate to Gokwe. This may lead one to suggest that they were not interested to be Gokwe residents. This is because they argued that the place was not suitable for human life.⁴ Thus from this argument, it becomes clear that upon their arrival they were filled with hatred of the place. This hatred was even extended to the local people that were habituating the area. Therefore, this shows that ethnic conflicts began from the origins of the District.

Background of the study

Gokwe South is a multicultural district. It has four ethnic groups which are the Shangwe, Tonga, Ndebele and Shona. Each and every group looked down upon the next group due to the differences between them. Particularly, these four ethnic groups were influenced by their backgrounds which were totally different in many aspects. These include own traditional or

⁴S.Maravanyika, Local responses to Colonial Evictions, Conversations and Commodity Policies Among the Shangwe communities in Gokwe, Northwestern Zimbabwe, Wageningen University Netherlands, 1963-1980, page 4

cultural practices, language and socio-economic activities. As they met, tribalism, segregation and discrimination became the order of the day leading to antagonism among these groups.

The Shangwe of Chief Njelele are said to have been the first settlers of Gokwe in the late 1890s.⁵ Scholars also say that, by this time the Shangwe people of Chief Njelele once lived side by side with the Tonga at Mapfungautsi.⁶ Therefore, due to this and the fact that their cultural practices were rhyming; their relations though in assumption they were sour, it did not take long for them to understand each other. At the same time, it did not take long for their relations to cordialise. Due to the implementation of Land Apportionment Act of 1930, some of the Tonga people who had settled along the Zambezi River were resettled to different areas.⁷

Among these, some settled in Gokwe South in the area which was named after its Chief Mkoka. Thus the area became known as Mkoka. Near these people were a number of Shangwe villages surrounding them which include Tendeu, Tibhu, Matai to mention but a few.⁸ Therefore, this means that these people lived together for a long time thus their relations remained good. Even today in Gokwe South, it is difficult for one to distinguish between the two groups thus they have more things in common. Having such a situation, scholars are silent on what were or was the push factor towards the togetherness of these groups. Therefore, the researcher is interested in filling that gap.

In the early 1950s, there came a group from areas like Gutu, Godhlwayo Purchase Area near Filabusi, Victoria Reserves and Bikita. The group was made up of two ethnic groups namely the

⁵S. Maravanyika, Local responses to Colonial Evictions, Conversations and Commodity Policies Among the Shangwe communities in Gokwe, Northwestern Zimbabwe, Wageningen University Netherlands, 1963-1980, page 5

⁶ Ibid

⁷S. Nyota, Language Shift among the Tonga of Mkoka, Assessing Ethnolinguistic Vitality in Gokwe South, Curriculum Studies Department, Great Zimbabwe University, Unpublished, page 2

⁸ Interview with Sabhuku Mudhondo in April 11, 2016

Ndebele and the Shona. As they came, they found the Tonga and the Shangwe already settled and their relations were far from cordial. These people described the area or local environment as uncomfortable and unfit for human settlement.⁹ From this description, it means that the settlers of this environment were seen as something less than human hence revealing hatred and prejudice. As if that was not enough, they also perceived the Shangwe as ‘backward’, “uncivilized” and “resistant to change”. The chief reason for calling them names was that the Shangwe were not yet exposed to European clothes, schools, churches and modern farming methods. Thus they were still a hunter –gatherer economy.¹⁰ Hence the fact that the immigrants had their minds colonized while the Shangwe were still far from colonial influence led to conflicts. Therefore that the source of unpalatable relations.

In reaction, the immigrants were called names like “Madheruka” and” MaRhodesdale”.¹¹ The former name portrayed their sudden and undesired repositioning in government provided lorries and the latter identified the immigrants by the name of the place from where they had come from that is “Rhodes dale”. At the same time, due to the fact that some of these Tongas were from Zambezi, they were tagged “MaZambezi by the Madheruka.”¹² Since the Ndebele were also like the Shona and at some point got in touch with the Europeans, they shared most of their practices thus their relations were like that of the Shangwe and the Tonga. Though at some point some of the Shona would refer back to Mzilikazi and Lobengula’s era; where the Shona were raided and

⁹P. S. Nyambara, Immigrants, Traditional Leaders and Rhodesian State : the Power of Politics of Land Acquisition in Gokwe, Zimbabwe, 1963-1979; Journal of Southern African Studies, Vol. 27, No4, Dec2001, page5

¹⁰ Interview with Mr and Mrs Manenge in April 11, 2016

¹¹ S. Maravanyika, Local responses to Colonial Evictions, Conversations and Commodity Policies among the Shangwe Communities in Gokwe, Northwestern Zimbabwe, Wageningen University Netherlands, 1963-1980, page

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¹² ibid

taken to be slaves and wives to the Ndebele¹³; this was quickly forgotten due to of the two groups' mind thus their relation remained good.

Differences between the Madheruka and the Shangwe

According to Maravanyika's summary on the differences between the Madheruka and the Shangwe, one can clearly deduce that the qualities rendered to the Shangwe are the same to those of the Tonga. Due to the fact that the Madheruka had encountered the colonial masters, one may argue that they had assimilated some of their life styles. For example, as compared to the Shangwe who used woven blankets from tree barks and animal hides called *mabhechuneshashiko*, the Madheruka had modern clothing like trousers, skirts, shirts, shoes, blankets among many.¹⁴ The immigrants were educated having small family units and predominantly Christians largely monogamous. Unlike the Shangwe who were still using informal education where the elders were the teachers, having very big families due to polygamy; they were involved in and believed in traditional religion. This traditional religion was called demon worship by the Madheruka. Also, the Shangwe lived in small, many poorly built huts which were more like temporary settlement and they were very poor hunter-gatherers. They were very dirty and had no access to soap whilst the Madheruka had good, big, well built houses and they were very rich large scale agriculturalist who prioritized personal hygiene.

The above arguments explains the sources of hatred that prevailed between these groups which paired themselves according to their ways of life. Scholars articulate that the Shangwe of Gokwe

¹³ Interview with Mr Machonisa in September 23, 2015

¹⁴ S. Maravanyika, Local responses to Colonial Evictions, Conversations and Commodity Policies among the Shangwe Communities in Gokwe, Northwestern Zimbabwe, Wageningen University Netherlands, 1963-1980, page 8

South is off shoots of Gwembe baTonga thus they still have the baTonga practices¹⁵ which is the reason why their relations are so cordial.

Statement of the problem

There have been fierce conflicts among the Tonga, Shona, Shangwe and the Ndebele for a long period. These conflicts were largely due to different cultural beliefs and ways of life. However, with time these conflicts were gradually decreasing. Scholars largely ignored these changing times thus this dissertation seeks to fill this gap. The task of this research therefore is to find out the role that was played by cultural dynamism in solving these ethnic conflicts, showing when peace and tranquility began to prevail amongst these four tribes in Gokwe South District.

Purpose of the study

The research intends to account for the role that was played by cultural dynamism in normalizing the relations between diverse ethnic groups in Gokwe South District who had been once rivals. It also seeks to explain or recognize to what extent cultural dynamism contributed in solving ethnic conflicts between the Ndebele, Shona, Tonga and the Shangwe.

Objectives of the study

- To explain who are the citizens of Gokwe indicating the period they settled and the places they came from

¹⁵ Elizabeth Colson, Kariba Studies, the Social consequences of Resettlement. The impact of Kariba resettlement up to Gwembe Tonga, New York and Manchester, Manchester University Press,

- To highlight the relations of these groups before they accepted each other or at their first contact
- To recognize the role and the extent to which cultural dynamism played in solving these ethnic conflicts.

Research questions

- ❖ Who are the inhabitants of Gokwe and when did they settle there?
- ❖ What were the reactions of these people at first contact?
- ❖ How did cultural dynamism bring about peace and unity among the once rival tribes in Gokwe South District?

Limitations of the Study

This research is based on Gokwe South District which is in the Midlands Province and in the northwestern part of Zimbabwe. To the North is Chief Njelele, to the west is Binga and to the South is Chief Mkoka which is the greatest area where this research will be based. The reason being that the area under Chief Mkoka alone consists of all the tribal groups under discussion thereby limiting the researcher to go as far as Chief Njelele's area. However, the areas under Chief Jiri and Chief Sai will also be considered.

One has to take note the fact that Gokwe South and Nkayi Districts are separated by Kana River. Therefore this means that the Ndebele who are along or just near the river in Nkayi District and

the different groups of Chief Mkoka have neither pure language nor pure customs. This is because they copy from each other as they interrupt in different cases and occasions.

Among the limitations of the study is the fact that the researcher is Ndebele. Therefore since she will be interviewing the Shangwe and the Tonga, there will be a challenge of her being not conversant. As a solution therefore, she will engage an interpreter for the purpose of succeeding in her research.

Another limitation is financial constraints. The research needed a lot of travelling thus calling for financial stability on her part. Worse still, some of the areas where some interviews were carried out had no transport network which meant that there was a need to hire transport. To solve this problem therefore, the researcher made use of samples and focus groups to get enough information.

The Shangwe and the Tonga were greatly affected by being called backward and uncivilized. Therefore very few are willing to be regarded as such. This made it a challenge to get the original Tonga and Shangwe for interviewees. Thus the researcher made use of the village heads and some villagers to identify few Tonga and Shangwe families. Also, to get the information, nephews and grand children were the ones who helped in giving the information.

Significance of the Study

The study is very significant to the readers for it shade light to the fact that though there are wars in life, each and every problem has its solution thus it has its end. Also, the research point out clearly that the wars encountered were caused by people who were resistant to change.

Having such knowledge, people will get a lesson that different languages can by no means avoid peace and unit. All that is important is to accept each other's language knowing that all languages are equally important and should be treated the same. What is to be understood and appreciated is the fact that the Tonga speakers can speak and participate in any gathering for example reading news and teaching in schools just like any other so called important ethnic groups.¹⁶

This research will also help those people who are still tribal to accept other languages as they will know that no language is superior to the other. At the same time, people will get to know that culture is dynamic and language is a vehicle for transmitting cultural values.¹⁷ Thus culture is shared and without a shared culture, members of a society would be unable to communicate to each other. From this point of view, the lesson is that since language is a vehicle to transmit culture, it is learnt and shared thus, without culture a society is doomed.

Sources and Methodology

I made use of interviews which proved to be a very excellent technique of gathering information. It assisted the researcher to divide the information into topics which guided the interviewees. The length of the interview depended on how the responded participated. To make sure every information was grasped, I was writing as well as recording the conversation. However, that depended on whether the participants wanted to the audio-tapped or not. The audio tapped information proved to be more effective for I could replay the audio in order to analyze the information .Even the tone that the interviewees used was useful. For comparison purposes, a

¹⁶ N. Masukume, The State should promote use of all Languages, Chronicle, 26 September 2013

¹⁷ ibid

number of interviews from different people of different ages were conducted. To get firsthand information, I made use of the old people who were involved in the resettling process.

Personal in depth face to face interviews were conducted since they are most useful and beneficial for explanatory studies that seek to clarify concepts prior to developing questionnaire. This method of data collection made it easy for the researcher to get much for she was able to read non-verbal communication from the interviewees. Therefore, this method of data collection encompassed both the literate and illiterate. Also, since the information needed is more familiar and first hand from the old people of which most of them have problems with their sight though some literate thus through interviews the researcher was able to gather more information in a full depth.

Focus group discussions and analysis of Gokwe South articles basing on the subject on the where also used. This has been specifically chosen because it produces more in depth content or information for data collection involves the assessment, research around the area and evaluation of significant information to the study.

The researcher also used group discussions for they give depth information especially on beliefs and attitudes of many people at the same time. This method gave the researcher more data within a very short space of time in comparison with individual interviews. Literate and the illiterate people backed each other in providing relevant information.

Written sources like textbooks, newspapers, articles and journals were used. Literature on the existence of the Shangwe and the Tonga in the Mapfungautsi Plateau and the arrival of the Madheruka or Vabvakure or the Rhodes dale gave enough information on when, why and how did these different people come to Gokwe and how they were related to each other.

Literature Review

Literature on the causes and origins of ethnic conflicts has been written by a wide diversity of approaches which often left a gap on how the conflicts were solved in their conclusions. This research therefore will focus on literature providing information on Gokwe South District putting into consideration the fact that the district is made up of four ethnic groups with different cultures. The task therefore is to trace how these conflicts which were made by the inhabitants being different were solved. Literature on how cultural dynamism solved cultural differences will be used to support the research.

Musoni Francis argues that the Shona – Ndebele hostility in Buhera District was due to land shortages which later called for competition for farm land. Language differences or tribalism worsened the situation,¹⁶ having described all this, Musoni is however silent on how these relations were or could be normalized. Therefore, concentrating on Gokwe South District, my concern is to add on what has been left by scholars on what brought about peace in such a place having different people of different languages.

Moreover, Nyambara traces the origins of Madheruka – Shangwe ethnic identities. He says that they date back to the 1950s with the coming of the immigrants and the introduction of cotton.¹⁸ In this case, the Shangwe who were the indigenous people labeled the immigrants as Madheruka (a sarcastic name) for they were evicted from their original crown land by their colonial masters. In reaction, the Shangwe were entitled backward, primitive and resistant to change. However, having all this information on the origins of ethnicity or tribal conflicts between the Madheruka and the Shangwe, Nyambara leaves a lot of unanswered questions that arise when one reads his

¹⁸ P.S. Nyambara, Madheruka Immigrants and the Shangwe; Ethnic Identities and the Culture of Modernity in Gokwe, Northwestern Zimbabwe, 1963-1975, Unpublished, page 4

explanations. The questions are; how these tribal conflicts between these groups did come to an end and what major factors called for the end of these conflicts if ever they ended. Hence by choosing to research on this topic, my concern is to answer these questions.

Scholars like P.W Mamimine et al writes a lot describing the conflict between the Shona, Shangwe and the Ndebele of Mapfungautsi Forest Reserve (MFR) which was gazetted by the state from being a communal land.¹⁹ Due to the fact that the Shangwe were the original dwellers of the area, they perceived the Shona and the Ndebele as migrants. In cases where people wanted access to some resources in the forest, they passed through Resource Management Committees (RMC) of which it was predominantly composed of the Shangwe people. Hence, upon issuing permits to the people who needed resources in the MFR, favor and discrimination was the major component.²⁰ Thus due to this, there was a conflict between the Shangwe and the non Shangwe ethnic groups. From this explanation, the scholar left readers still having questions like when and how did those conflicts end? Hence, these questions paved a way for the researcher to research more on the area as a way of answering.

Mudzimu asserts that the relations were very sour because these people met at Gokwe having different backgrounds.²¹ The Madheruka described the area as uncontrollable and unfit for human settlement. This was said in comparison to good areas where they come from. They also perceived the indigenous people as backward. All this explains hostility between the two groups. Having known this, there is need also to know if this is still continuing to date. If no, there is also need to know what brought about peace and tranquility between the once rival groups. Therefore,

¹⁹ P.W. Mamimine, etal, Conflict and Conflict Resolutions in the Management of Miombo Woodlands, University of Zimbabwe, Mount Pleasant Harare Zimbabwe, July 2001, page8

²⁰ Ibid page 8

²¹ A. Mudzimu, Gokwe District, University of Zimbabwe, Unpublished, page 5

that is why I chose to research on this topic. My task is to explain on the factors that brought the end of hostility between these groups.

Maravanyika explains the causes of the Tonga, Shona, Shangwe and the Ndebele hostility being a result of religious and economic differences.²² It is mentioned that the Shona and the Ndebele were agriculturalist while the Shangwe and the Tonga had hunting and gathering as their major economic activities. Thus, the agriculturalist wanted to clear land for cultivation of which the hunters wanted the bushes to keep the animals they hunted for. Hence a clash which called for conflicts. As if that was not enough, the Shangwe practiced African Traditional Religion (ATR) while the Shona and the Ndebele were Christians. From the above citation, one can clearly argue that these groups had their interest parallel to one another. However, having this in mind, it is important to note how these differences ended. This is one of the important questions not answered and is yet to be answered by the researcher.

Dissertation Layout

Introductory Chapter

The introductory chapter introduced the dissertation by giving a background of study, statement of the problem, justification of the study, literature review, objectives and methodology to objectively discuss the impact of cultural dynamism in solving tribal conflicts in Gokwe South District. A background of the case study, in this case Gokwe South District such as population, number of tribes and their different languages are given in the chapter. This chapter gave a clear

²² S. Maravanyika, Local Responses to Colonial Evictions, Conversations and Commodity Policies among the Shangwe Communities of Gokwe, Northwestern Zimbabwe, Wageningen University, Netherlands, 1963-1980, page 8

description of the case study so that people would get an understanding of the area that the research covered.

Chapter 1

The History and the Peopling of Gokwe South District

Chapter 1, focuses on how the area under study got populated. It will outline where the people of different tribes came from to inhabit Gokwe and the reasons why they settled in those areas. To be taken note of is also their chieftainships thus who ruled then as they came, for they were different.

Chapter 2

Relations among these different groups

This chapter will focus on how these groups related to each other on their first encounter and giving each other tags according to their background or where they came from. Also, it shows how they welcomed each other when they settled in the area for they came in different times.

Chapter 3

Cultural dynamism: Relations at play

Chapter three will focus on the role that was played by cultural dynamism in solving ethnic conflicts. The individual group cultural practices are highlighted in comparison to the other. Finally it showed how then those differences did come to be solved and what was finally put in place as a practice for everyone to be satisfied. It shows how people got to understand these

differences and how they got to accept each other as they were. Also the chapter illustrate that there is now no pure customs, no pure languages in Gokwe because of this cultural dynamism.

Chapter 4

Conclusion of the whole dissertation

Chapter four will summarise the whole dissertation providing answers to the research question thus explaining the origins of the people who stay in Gokwe South and their relations. The stages of the changes in their relations and the causes of the changes from far from cordial to cordial were discussed. In the discussion, the role that was played by cultural dynamism in solving these conflicts were also discussed.

CHAPTER 1

THE HISTORY AND PEOPLING OF GOKWE SOUTH DISTRICT

1.0 Introduction

Gokwe South District is made up of four different ethnic groups which are the Shangwe, the Tonga, the Shona and the Ndebele (also called Madheruka). The way these groups are enlisted is according to their arrival in Gokwe. They came to Gokwe because of a number of reasons which vary with each group. These reasons include the search for wild animals and fruits that is hunting and gathering, in search for good land for agriculture, some were deployed to work in the district offices, whilst some were uprooted by the colonial masters from their places of origin due to the implementation of the Land Apportionment Act of 1931(LAA) and the Native Land Husbandry Act of 1950/ 1 (NLHA) to mention but a few. The larger part of the population in Gokwe arrived in the period from 1950 up to 1992.

1.1 The origins of the Shangwe

The origins and history of the Shangwe before settling in Gokwe South District is shrouded in obscurity. This is because historians do not have a common ground to stand on the Shangwe history. Therefore it is the aim of this research to produce convincing arguments from both oral tradition and written sources in tracing the history of the Shangwe. The group by the name Shangwe is the Korekore, they or even the Madheruka supports the view that “Shangwe” was a term which referred to Gokwe as a whole and it means a dry place¹ thus did not refer to their

¹Interview with I. Mahwana, the head Batanai high school, February 17, 2016

ethnic identity. D. N. Beach adds that the Shangwe claim to be Korekore which is a Shona dialect.²

To begin with, the name 'Shangwe' was used to describe the frequent droughts and famines in the pre-colonial period.³ It was derived from the term 'shangwa' which is a Shona name to mean drought and famine. Therefore Gokwe District as a whole was called 'shangwa land' or 'neshangwe'⁴ for it was dry and seen as not suitable for human settlement. Ngwabi Bhebhe asserts that was infertile and semi-arid.⁵ As a result this means that the term did not reflect the original ethnic identity or ethnic composition⁶ of the Shangwe.

The people identified as the Shangwe are the Korekore who are said to have come from the Tavara area which they occupied before they came to Gokwe.⁷ The Korekore are said to have originated from present day Botswana and the original Shangwe were Korekore under Mubvumba, Mupare, Nyamusasa and Mafunga.⁸ Beach avers that the triumph of the Chimera's Rozvi over the Korekore in the 18th century prompted the pre-Rozvi Shangwe dynasty.⁹ Chimera then came to Gokwe running away from Kunahwa who was pursuing him from the Rozvi.¹⁰ He then became the paramount ruler over the Shangwe and assumed the title Chireya which is said to mean twisted and turned to avoid pursuits.

² D. N. Beach, The Mutapa Dynasty; A Comparison of Documentary and Traditional Evidence, University of Rhodesia, History in Africa, , Vol.3, 1976, page 9

³ Interview with I. Mahwana, at Batanai High School, February 17, 2016

⁴ interview with I Mahwana at Batanai High School, February 17, 2016

⁵ Ngwabi. M. Bhebhe, Historical perspectives on violence, Conflict and Accomodation in Zimbabwe, Midlands State University Press, Gweru, Zimbabwe, 2016, page 177

⁶ G.T.Ncube, A History of Northwestern Zimbabwe, 1850-1960, Mond Books, Kadoma, 2004, page 92

⁷ Ibid page 92

⁸ R. R Tapson, Some notes on the Mrozvi occupation of Sebungwe district, NADA, Volume 21, 1994, page 29-32

⁹ D. N. Beach, A Zimbabwean past: Shona Dynastic Histories and Oral Traditions, Gweru Mambo Press

¹⁰ D. K Parkinson, The Vashangwe of Chief Chireya, NADA, Volume 9, Number5, 1968, page 5

Contrary to that, oral tradition claim that the group by the name Shangwe is made up of different dialects and these include the Korekore, the Zezuru, the Ndebele and the Karanga.¹¹ All these people are said to have met at Gokwe in different times. The first settlers of Gokwe were the Korekore who settled there in the 18th century and they originated from Mount Darwin.¹² They first settled at the present day Gokwe North, the then Sebungu under the leadership of Chief Chireya who was the paramount chief. Part of this group in the early 1880s moved to Gokwe South under the leadership of the appointed Chief Charigaduri.¹³

Upon arrival, they settled at ‘Gomoremhembwe’ and ‘Kakomokemachinda’ in present day Sengwa Bridge¹⁴. In the late 1890s, they were attacked by a Nyashanu group from Buhera who were by then called Vahera. Due to the fact that Charigaduri’s group had a strong army, the Nyashanu were defeated. On their way back; some of the Nyashanu people remained behind under Chief Charigaduri.¹⁵ Those who continued with the journey planned along the way to give to Chief Charigaduri a “Mukaranga” which was a wife given to the chief to show surrender and pleading for peace.

However, this was done in disguise since their aim was to kill the chief in secret. It is said that during the night the Chief and the Mukaranga were given a room to sleep where the Mukaranga murdered the chief using a machet and she took his head and ran away.¹⁶ In the morning, Charigaduri’s army followed her and they found her resting under a Mopane tree where they

¹¹ Interview with Sekuru Mdhudhuwadhu on 18 April 2017

¹² Interview with Sekuru Mdhudhuwadhu Mateka on 18 April 2017

¹³ Interview with Cephas Katopore on 15 April 2017

¹⁴ Interview with Sekuru Mdhudhuwadhu Mateka on 18 April 2017

¹⁵ Interview with Godwin Shava on 18 April 2017

¹⁶ Interview with Sekuru Mdhudhuwadhu Mateka on 18 April 2017

butchered her. Upon their arrival, they found the Mopani tree where the girl was resting coiled by a huge snake and thus they named the place 'Mupani Wemuombera' after the event.¹⁷

Among the people who were working in the district offices were the Ndebele and the Karanga. As a result of intermarriages, these people became part of the Shangwe for after marriage they built their homes in the Shangwe land since it was sparsely populated and the land was good for agriculture. Among these is a Mateka family who became the Shangwe because their father got married to a Shangwe whom he met while he was working as a messenger. These people were the Zezuru and they came from Wedza.¹⁸

Also, the Sai people who now stay in Gokwe South District originated from Mberengwa and they are of the Moyo totem thus the Rozvi. Due to the fact that they had settled for so long in Gokwe under the leadership of Charigaduri and had proved to be possessing good leadership qualities, they were given chieftainship. That was the time when they used the title Sai as their 'chidawo' thus referring to the area under their leadership. They were also said to be the first rulers of Gokwe South leading the Shangwe and the area they ruled stretched up to Gwamayaya; a place in Matabeleland North.¹⁹ Since the area they settled in was a Shangwe land; they were also engulfed into the group and they were also named the Shangwe.

The Shangwe were the first settlers of Gokwe South District. They occupied Mapfungautsi plateau under chief Njelele and Sai area under Chief Sai. The term Shangwe became their ethnic

¹⁷ Interview with Sekuru Mdhudhuwadhu Mateka on 18 April 2017

¹⁸ Interview with Ground Mateka On 18 April 2017

¹⁹ Interview with I Mahwana on February 17, 2017

identity after they settled in Gokwe.²⁰ Therefore this is in support to the view that Shangwe is not an ethnic identity but rather it was a derogatory name.

1.2 The origins of the Tonga

To understand better the history of the Tonga, it is important for one to be familiar with the origins and the meaning of the term 'tonga' though it is shrouded in obscurity. Tremmel notes that the Tonga were called 'Balonga' which means people of the great river, then 'donga' which means great river, most probably that's where the term 'Tonga' evolved. Colson argues that the meaning of the term is unknown for it has a foreign origin.²¹ On the same note, Posselt articulates that it means 'those who had never had any chief except the Mambo South of the Zambezi whom they ran away from'.²² Though there are many definitions for this term, considering the livelihood and the settlement of the Tonga people even today, one can agree with Tremmel's definition for up to date the Tonga are living alongside rivers. Another view point out that the Tonga features conspicuously in the history of the Mutapa state which is a pointer to the fact that they are linked to the wave of migrants from Great Zimbabwe in the 15th century.²³

The Tonga were the second group to inhabit Gokwe South after the Shangwe. They arrived from different places at different times. Some historians argue that the Tonga once stayed in the Mapfungautsi plateau alongside the Shangwe. Due to the repeated attacks by the Ndebele, they

²⁰ G. T. Ncube, A History of Northwestern Zimbabwe, 1850-1960, Mond Books, Kadoma, 2004, page 92

²¹ E. Colson, Kariba Studies, the Social Consequences of Resettlement. The impact of the Kariba Resettlement up to the Gwembe Tonga. New York and Manchester, Manchester university press,

²² F.M.T, Posselt, A Survey of the Native Tribe of Northern Rhodesia, Salisbury: Rhodesia printing and publishing Company, in N Nyoni page 16

²³ Gerald C. Mazarire Reflections on precolonial History of Zimbabwe 1850-1880s. Raftopolous, B (ed) Becoming Zimbabwe. A History from the pre-colonial period to 2008. (Harare: Weaver Press 2009) page 10 in N Nyoni page

fled to the Zambezi in the period between 1840-1890.²⁴ Zacchariah Nyoni, in an interview posited that they originated from Gunubuhwa that is present day Buhwa mine in Zvishavane.²⁵ They left the place because they were fighting with the people from Lalaphansi. Thus they moved in two groups, the other group crossed the Zambezi River to Zambia while the other group remained in Zimbabwe. They stayed along the Zambezi where they moved after a long stay because there arose problems like flooding of the river and wild animals which devoured their crops.²⁶ Also, there were tsetse flies in the area thus these people were forced to move and they settled at Matovoro in Binga under the leadership of Chief Siange.

Binga had mopane trees and was too hot such that people could not withstand the temperatures. Worse still, the land was difficult to till for it was clay and they were also wild animals which kept on devouring their crops. As a result, they were forced to move southwards to Gokwe under the leadership of Chief Mkoka after the death of Chief Siange.²⁷ Due to the fact that they travelled on foot, some died on the way. They settled in a place called “Mapumbu” in Tonga which means place of bulbs²⁸. The place is presently called ‘Maboke’ and is a Shangwe inhabited area. Upon their arrival, they were warmly welcomed by Chief Sai the Chief of the Shangwe who ruled up to Gwamayaya in Matabeleland North. Chief Sai’s hospitality saw him giving them a place to settle.²⁹

They left the place because it had snakes called “mulala” in Tonga. These were white snakes which bit at the center of the heads of the people that is fontanel. The Tonga moved away from

²⁴ Collette, *CW Delineation Report Gokwe* 1965 page 26 in N Nyoni, *Uprootment and mobility North-western Zimbabwe: A History of Development Induced Spatial Displacements (DISD) 1950-2013*, Unpublished page 5

²⁵ Interview with Zacchariah Nyoni in February 23, 2017

²⁶ Interview with Zacchariah Nyoni in February 23, 2017

²⁷ Interview with Marvis Ngwenya in February 23, 2017

²⁸ Interview with Marvis Ngwenya in February 23, 2017

²⁹ Interview with Kwanda Mkwanya in February 23, 2017

Maboke because of these snakes and settled at a place called Dhindi near Dzuke and some moved as far as Sikombela / Raji³⁰. From Dhindi some returned westward to Mazinyo village where they stay to date. Some went to Mkoka with the chief and that is where they are staying to the present.

1.3 The origins of the Shona and the Ndebele (Madheruka) in Gokwe South

The arrival of the Shona and the Ndebele in Gokwe South District cannot be separated. This is because these were the groups who became Gokwe citizens from different areas due to the implementation of the Land Apportionment Act (LAA) of 1931 and the 1950/ 1951 Native Land Husbandry Act (NLHA). Scholars state that:

The new comers who arrived into Gokwe South District, Dhenuka in the local Vernacular were mainly Shona and Ndebele speaking natives who were victims of colonial government's Land Apportionment Act of 1931 which witnessed the removal of scores of natives from land designed for white settlement.³¹

Thus these groups were uprooted from the crown lands which were to be occupied by the Europeans. Their immigration into Zimbabwe was increasing for the Second World War had ended and the ex-service men were in need of their promised portions of land.³² Therefore, this

³⁰Interview with Kwanda Mkwanya in February 23, 2017

³¹See B. T, Hanyani, farming systems in Zimbabwe's smallholder agricultural sector; the case of Gokwe south district, working paper AEE

³²P.S. Nyambara, A History of Land Acquisition in Gokwe, North-western Zimbabwe, PhD Thesis in history, Illinois North-western university, 1999, page 9

led to the influx of immigrants from the south³³ into Gokwe hence increasing the population in Gokwe South which was sparsely populated by the Shangwe and the Tonga.

These groups were labelled 'Madheruka' and or 'MaRhodesdale'. They mainly came from Gutu area, Godhlwayo Purchase area near Filabusi, Victoria reserves and Bikita.³⁴ Their uprootment was done within a short period of time and were given short notice. Though they attempted to counter the action, their efforts at trying to resist were in vain thus they were loaded into big trucks or lorries and transported to Gokwe South where they were dumped. The sounds produced by the trucks were the ones which brought about the name Madheruka and the fact that they came from Rhodes dale gave them the name "Marozidheri" in Shona. Also, "Madheruka was an onomatopoeic word intended to evoke sound produced by the lorry engines that brought the immigrants from Rhodes dale".³⁵

Amongst the first victims of Rhodesdale were the 1 100 families under the headman Muyambi and Selima who were dumped in Gokwe Special Native Area.³⁶ Nyambara notes that the first group was allocated the Kana block that is the area between Lutope and Kana River.³⁷ This area was tsetse infested and had poor rainfall patterns thus not good for agriculture which made life difficult for these people. As a result, the indigenous Tonga people whom they found at Muyambi area were displaced forcibly by Madheruka³⁸ to areas like Lukukwe, Mwambani and beyond. One of the interviewees who had her parents settled at Muyambi outlined that though she was young, her mother told her that they were chased away by 'Vabvakure' and they are now

³³ibid

³⁴A. Mudzimu, Gokwe District, Unpublished

³⁵Ngwabi, M. Bhebhe, Historical Perspectives of Violence, Copnflctand Accomodation in Zimbabwe, Midlands State University Press,2016, page 182

³⁶P.S.Nyambara, A History of Land Acquisition in Gokwe, North-western Zimbabwe, PhD Thesis in history, Illinois, North-western university, 1945-1997, page 99

³⁷Ibid, page 99

³⁸Interview with Sabhuku Mudhondo in April 11, 2016

staying at Mwambani.³⁹ The term ‘Vabvakure’ is a Shona name which was given to the immigrants meaning to say those who came from afar.

Among those who came in the 1950s was the Mawala family who came into Gokwe due to the mass movement by the colonial administrators. They came from Fort-Rixon an area in Gwanda around the mid-1950s. They say that they found the Tonga people and a few Shona speaking people who were scattered for the land was still plentiful.⁴⁰ Due to the fact that the land was still plentiful, these people could tell their friends and relatives who were living in small areas which did not allow them to practice agriculture to come to Gokwe.

Between the 1960s and 1970s, another wave of immigrants was witnessed at Gokwe South from the southern part of the country where land pressure had become excessive. This was because Gokwe still had much of unoccupied land.⁴¹ In 1967, Chief Jiri and his people arrived in Gokwe South. Their reason was political though. They had ran away from Bikita their original place because of civil wars which were caused by boundary disputes.⁴² Jiri had disagreements with some chiefs like Mkanganwi in Bikita over boundary issues.⁴³ As a result, their issue was reported to the then government thus they were forced to move from their place. Since Chief Jiri had his personal lorry; he carried his people to Gokwe and they settled in the area between Chief Mkoka and Chief Sai who agreed to cut their portion to give chief Jiri and his people.

During the 1970s, people took advantage of the guerrilla war to migrate to Gokwe. Hence these voluntarily sought to move to Gokwe though indirectly forced by the increasing land shortages. Unlike those from Rhodesdale who were forced by colonial officials. Some got their friends and

³⁹ Interview with Mai Luyando in April 11, 2016

⁴⁰ Interview with Mawala family in February 24, 2017

⁴¹ A. Mudzimu, Gokwe district, unpublished

⁴² Interview with I. Mahwana in February 17, 2017

⁴³ Interview with I Mahwana in February 17, 2017

relatives who had been victims of 1950 uprootment and they informed them that there was good land in Gokwe. Among these was Maringwa family who got the information from Dumhe family who had settled in Gokwe due to uprootment. Thus they came in 1972 from Chirumanzu due to land shortages⁴⁴ and settled at Mazise village under Chief Mkoka.

After the war in the late 1970s, large numbers of people from Masvingo, Mberengwa, Chirumanzu, and Chivi among many also flocked into Gokwe. Also, those who had migrated into towns and some secure places in search of refuge, instead of returning home with others, the young couples who owned no land took advantage to secure their own independent farms.⁴⁵ Hence they moved into Gokwe which still had free land.

After independence or after the war in the late 1980s and the early 1990s, another wave of immigrants were also witnessed at Gokwe South as people were retrenched from work. The majority of these came from Kwekwe town due to them being retrenched from Zimbabwe Iron and Steel Company (ZISCO) due to Economic Structural and Adjustment Programme (ESAP). These people after being retrenched sought land for agriculture to earn a living. They had heard, the good news about Gokwe- especially the fact that Gokwe had good soils for agriculture and the cotton boom which was the talk of the day made people rush to settle there.

The 1991/ 1992 drought which affected much of Southern Africa particularly Zimbabwe called for more immigrants to Gokwe in search for better quality land for agriculture that is 'chidhaka' which is a Shona name meaning clay soils.⁴⁶ In this juncture, it becomes clear that from the whole country all those who were in need of plentiful fertile land hurried to Gokwe. Hammer

⁴⁴Interview with Marigwa in January 22, 2016

⁴⁵P.S Nyambara, a history of land acquisition in Gokwe, Northwestern Zimbabwe, PhD Thesis in history, Illinois , Northwestern university, 1945- 1999

⁴⁶S. Maravanyika, Local Responses to Colonial Eviction , Conservation and Commodity Policies among Shangwe Communities in Gokwe ,Northwestern Zimbabwe, Wageningen university Netherlands 1963-1980

posits that this information was spread by friends, relatives or even the politicians, chiefs and bureaucrats or even in bars for Gokwe had been the talk of the time.⁴⁷

Politicians especially from Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU-PF) officials also played a role in encouraging people to migrate to Gokwe. The reason was that they claimed that the immigrants would teach better methods of agriculture to the indigenous people thereby boasting agricultural production. They also said that the immigrants of the other ethnic groups would bring ethnic fusion thus fostering national unity.⁴⁸ All this however was said in disguising the fact that they wanted to get more people to vote for them. Thus by so doing, they called for a large number of immigrants who found themselves landless in Gokwe South.

1.4 Conclusion

Gokwe South District has been sparsely populated by the Shangwe who lived for some time alone. They had come from Mount Darwin and they are the Korekore.⁴⁹ All those who arrived in Gokwe South before other groups had settled there were engulfed into the Shangwe groups and up to now they are called the Shangwe.⁵⁰ In around 1900, they were joined by the Tonga who came from different places like Binga and Zambia. Upon the arrival of the Tonga, they were given land to stay by Chef Sai who was the Shangwe Chief. It is said that Binga was part of

⁴⁷ Hammer in Nyambara, A History of Land Acquisition in Gokwe, North-Western Zimbabwe, 1945-1997, page 90

⁴⁸ Ibid, page 91

⁴⁹ Interview with Mdhudhuwadhu Mateka in 18 April 2017 a son to Mr Mateka from Wedza who worked in the district offices and got married to a Shangwe lady and later on built their home at Sengwa Bridge where they stayed till death leaving their children there

⁵⁰ Interview with Godwin Shava in 18 April 2017, a son to Mr Shava who was among the Nyashanu people who fought Chief Charigaduri and is among those who remain behind as other returned back

Gokwe and it was separated by a white man nicknamed Sqanyana who worked in the district offices in around 1930s.⁵¹

From the 1950, a number of people flocked into Gokwe because of the implementation of Land Apportionment Act of 1930. The Europeans who fought in the Second World War were promised portions of land in Zimbabwe. Therefore, their immigration increased almost in daily basis for they were in need of their promised land. As a result, all blacks who settled in the crown lands were forced to move into reserves which were created through the Native Land Husbandry Act of 1950/ 1951.

From then up to around 1992, people did not stop flocking into Gokwe South for they were told that Gokwe still had good land for agriculture. Also, the cotton boom of 1960s and the availability of black clay soils contributed in bringing about large numbers into the area. Finally, some people found themselves landless in Gokwe.

⁵¹Interview with Ground Shoko in 15 April 2017, a son to Mateka who was born when the ground for aeroplanes was constructed at Gokwe center

CHAPTER 2

ETHNIC RELATIONS IN GOKWE SOUTH

2.0 Introduction

Different background and different beliefs at first contact among the Shangwe, the Tonga, the Shona and the Ndebele soured the relations of these groups and they were very far from being cordial. They could give each other sarcastic names which mostly described where they came from or which referred to their background. In most cases, the descriptions which were referred to the Shangwe also referred to the Tonga. This is because these groups are said to have shared the same ancestors.¹ That is the reason why they could live harmoniously with each other.

Upon the arrival of the Madheruka from 1950 however, everything changed and that was when the tagging of each other began. The groups were divided in the way that the Shona and the Ndebele were united against the united Shangwe and Tonga. Relations were never good because of these divisions and each group looked down upon the other.

2.1 Shangwe –Tonga relations

When the Tonga arrived in Gokwe South during 1900, they found the Shangwe of Chief Sai, those of Chief Njelele and of Chief Nemhangwe. Their first settlement in Gokwe was at Maboke which is an area under the leadership of Chief Sai and by then he ruled up to Gwamayaya a place in Matabeleland north province.²

¹ P.S. Nyambara, Ethnic Identities and the Culture of Modernity in Gokwe, Northwestern Zimbabwe, 1963-79, the journal of African history vol. 43. No. 2(2002) page 300

² Interview with Kwanda Mkwenya February 23, 2017

At first contact, there was some form of enmity for they were quarreling over the control of land. However, this did not take long for they were intermarriages between the groups which became good foundation for good relations.³ Thus, the Tonga were warmly welcomed by Chief Sai who gave them a place to settle. More so, Mkoka who was the Chief of the Tonga was regarded as a nephew by Chief Sai.⁴ Also, intermarriages were practiced among these groups without any complications for their cultural practices were almost similar.

2.2 Indigenous –Madheruka relations

From different scholarly perspectives, it becomes clear that Madheruka was not an ethnic label. This is because those who were called by that name were an amalgam of diverse people from different parts of Zimbabwe. Therefore, the term was the beginning of ethnicisation of immigrants.⁵ This is the reason why most people believe that the Madheruka were only the Shona of which in that group were the Ndebele.

The Madheruka and the Shangwe groups could not live peacefully with each other. Their relations were more than sour. The major cause was the interference of the colonial masters. As Nyambara suggests would explain it, ‘In colonial Southern Rhodesia, the administrative officials often couched the rhetoric of modernization in ethnic terms’.⁶ In this case, the colonial masters created some divisions for they regarded the Madheruka as the embodiment of modernization because they had been exposed to forces of modernization. Unlike the Shangwe whom they perceived as backward because they were geographically isolated in the remote northern areas

³ Interview with Sekuru Mdhudhuwadhu in 18 April 2017

⁴ Interview with Kwanda Mkwenya in February 23, 2017

⁵ P. S. Nyambara, ethnic identities and the culture of modernity in Gokwe, Northwestern Zimbabwe, 1963-79, the journal of African vol. 43. No 2 (2000) page 301

⁶ Ibid

which were less accessible to the colonial masters until early 1960s.⁷ From this view point, to be a Shangwe in the eyes of the colonial officials and the immigrants was to be anti-modern, backward, primitive and resistant to change while being an immigrant or dheruka was to embody a modern style of being civilized.⁸ Therefore by so doing the colonial masters fuelled a wave of sour relations between these groups.

As if that was not enough, the colonial officials spoiled the relations of these people when they told the indigenous people that they were to be joined by immigrants who were thieves and would bring with them large herds of cattle stolen from Rhodes dale.⁹ Due to that reason, when the immigrants arrived in Gokwe; they were said to be thieves and crooks which they learnt from the whites.¹⁰ By so doing, the colonial administrators reinforced ethnic differences with the aim of using the divide and rule tactic to their subjects. The way Madheruka lived with the indigenous people proved them to be crooks and thieves. Zacchariah Nyoni points out that they could lend land from the Tonga and when the owners wanted their land back they refused arguing that they was no written evidence.¹¹ From this incident ,it becomes clear that the immigrants took advantage of the fact that they were educated whilst the indigenous people were yet to be introduced to education thereby creating and reinforcing enmity.

The hatred grew intense up to an extent of the local people composing songs against the Madheruka. For example they composed the song with the following words;

⁷E. Worby, remaking labour, shaping identity: cotton commoditization and culture of modernity in in northwestern Zimbabwe PhD dissertation, McGill university, 1992

⁸ E. Worby in P.S. Nyambara Ethnic identities and the culture of modernity in Gokwe, northwestern Zimbabwe. 1963-79, the journal of African history

⁹ P.S. Nyambara 2002

¹⁰ Interview with Zacchariah Nyoni in February 23, 2017

¹¹ Interview with Zacchariah Nyoni in February23, 2017

Ngaabve muno

Ngaabve muno

Madheruka ngaabve muno¹²

The song meant that the Madheruka should leave and it was sung in “mapwaira/ magadziro” which means commemoration ceremonies. From the song, one can tell that the relations were very sour.

Upon having visited by a Mudheruka, the Tonga would burn the stool that would have been used by their visitor. They called them prostitutes and they are said to be the ones who brought sexually transmitted diseases which they got from the whites.¹³ Therefore they could not share a stool or use a stool that was once used by such people. All this shows that the hatred was just too much. Providence Sianyenzu point out that his grandfather would offer a house to the visitors to sleep especially the Madheruka people. Due to such acts he was nicknamed "Siyabenzu" a Tonga name meaning someone who welcomes visitors.¹⁴ However, the name was ironical for he welcomed them and later on killed them at night. This therefore shows that there was great enmity between these groups and blood shed was never considered inhuman as long as it was done to an immigrant.

To concretize that, Ndlukula notes that even 'kundari' a Shona name referring to homemade beer, a Tonga/Shangwe could not drink in the same jug with Ndebele/ Shona.¹⁵ He goes on to say that he was once attacked by a group of Tonga people after they played cards together and he won.

¹² Interview with Marvis Ngwenya in February 23,2017

¹³ Interview with Kwanda Mkwanya in February 23, 2017

¹⁴ Interview with Providence Sianyenzu in December 26,2016

¹⁵ Interview with Sabhuku Ndlukula in his homestead in January 20,2017

The last person whom he played with faked friendship with him and went back to his home promising to come back. As he returned Ndlukula had moved from where he was seated and the person who seated on that stool was hit with an arrow and he died in the spot. Therefore this shows that even where these people met, all they thought of was killing each other which is a pointer to hostile relations.

Maravanyika explains the abnormality of these relations from the point of terming or tagging of each other which took place within these groups. The indigenous Shangwe termed the immigrants 'MaRhodesdale' a term whose origins lay in the eviction of the immigrants from crown land by colonial officials. "Madheruka" was a term which intended to evoke the sounds produced by the lorries that brought them. At the same time, the Madheruka/ MaRhodesdale tagged the Shangwe as primitive, backward and resistant to change for they were still using their African way of life in every aspect of their lives. Whilst the Tonga was labelled "MaZambezi" referring to the place they originated from. Adding on, Sabhuku Mdhondo points out that the road from Manoti to Mbungu was labelled Madheruka road.¹⁶ From this view point, it becomes clear that these relations were far from cordial for this name calling of each other was done out of animosity.

To further demonstrate that the relations were sour, the immigrants were regarded as colonial collaborators. Thus in the 1970s guerrilla warfare, they were attacked by the guerrillas and their sympathizers. Due to the fact that most of the immigrants were forced to be Gokwe residents, they began tagging the place and its dwellers thereby negatively affecting their relations. Nyambara points out that there was an interconnectedness process in Gokwe by which ethnic

¹⁶ Interview with Sabhuku Mudhondo in his homestead in April 11, 2016

identities were constructed alongside the adoption of new economic policy.¹⁷ This points to the fact that these people were under harsh conditions for everything was at the point of change. They were supposed to change their way of life at the same time welcoming the cultural changes hence enmity.

The Shangwe and the Madheruka had different economic practices. The Madheruka had acquired a lot of agricultural knowledge from colonial masters whilst the indigenous people were hunter-gatherers. Therefore these differences caused havoc. Making the two groups with different economic organizations live in the same inhabitant set the stage for conflict between them.¹⁸

The Shangwe lived on forest thus they were a forest community¹⁹, hunter –gatherers. This was the same with the Tonga who apart from that were also fishers and that is why they lived alongside rivers. At the same time, Madheruka needed to clear vast areas of land for agricultural activities. By clearing land, they kept wild animals away from their farms and domestic animals. That resulted in the first frontier of conflicts. Since the indigenous people wanted the same animals to hunt for meat and some of the trees they cut down were of importance to Shangwe and Tonga. To make matters worse, in Shangwe tradition, it was a taboo to wantonly cut down trees. They would seek permission first before doing so or cut the dried ones for firewood.²⁰

Religion also played a crucial role in the day to day lives of the indigenous people. Since they were not yet colonized, they were pure African Traditional believers. Before the commencement

¹⁷ P. S. Nyambara Ethnic identities and the culture of modernity in Gokwe, northwestern Zimbabwe, 1963-79, the journal of African history Vol. 43. No. 2, 2002

¹⁸ *ibid*

¹⁹ A.Mudzimu, Gokwe district, unpublished page 7

²⁰ *ibid* page 7

of all economic activities²¹ like agriculture and hunting, traditional ceremonies were held. All seeds were treated with traditional medicine. The indigenous were not agriculturalist at a significant scale – they grew small patches of sorghum and millet on river banks thus they were subsistent farmers.

Traditional leaders would give them permission for the harvest of forest products like timber.²² For example Mapfungautsi forest was preserved by a number of traditional beliefs. Many places were considered sacred because of their rain making ceremonies called ‘mutoro’ which were a very important aspect of the local religion. In that same forest they were some places which were reserved for ceremonies to enthrone chiefs and that was called ‘madoraushe’. They were also trees and portions of forest which lay at the ‘marambakutemwa’ category. These were the trees that people believed the spirits rested in. Therefore when all these areas were tempered around with, the worship of the indigenous people was disturbed. Worse still, their ancestors punished them upon being against the set rules thus leading to conflict between these groups.

Contrary to that, Madheruka were Christians for they had encountered Christian missionaries. Therefore all the practices done by the indigenous were seen as barbaric thus showing that the relations were very sour. The indigenous people could marry more than plenty wives and could have up to fifty or more children of which the Madheruka had small families.

Sabhuku Mudhondo one of the Madheruka commented that one factor which contributed to them hurting the indigenous people is the fact that in all of their commemoration ceremonies, the Tonga would kill one of their family members in preparation for the other ceremony at the same

²¹ Ibid page 8

²² S. Maravanyika, local responses to colonial evictions, conservations and commodity policies among Shangwe communities in Gokwe, northwestern Zimbabwe 1963-1980, Wageningen University Netherlands 1963-1980

time the following year.²³ This practice was resented by Madheruka who were stern christians thus resulting in differing of cultural practices.

Concretizing this, Mateka says that after the commemoration ceremony the Tonga men would perform cultural dances while fighting with spears. This dance would continue up until someone was killed thus they would only stop as they would be preparing for the burial of their fellow man which was done that very day.²⁴ Therefore as they were dancing each and every one had a mandate to avoid coming into contact with the spear. That on its own led to the Madheruka excluding themselves from all the gatherings of the indigenous people.

In a way to avoid death, those who had a commemoration ceremony would wake up early in the morning of the day which the ceremony would begin in the evening. They would catch a chicken and give it to a child who would run around where drums would be beaten.²⁵ The drums were beaten from a distance but around the homestead where commemoration ceremony would be held. Then the chicken was killed and the blood sprinkled around the drum which was called 'mutive'. The chicken was called 'huku yekuripira' and after it was killed the cultural dance was never performed.²⁶

As a result, some of the Tonga village herds and their people were displaced. For example Tendeu and Tibhu were displaced to Lukukwe. As the Madheruka were called prostitutes and crooks, the indigenous people were called witches thus they hated each other.

²³ Interview with Sabhuku Mudhondo in April 11, 2016

²⁴ Interview with Sekuru Mdhudhuwadhu in 18 April 2017

²⁵ Interview with Cephass Katopore in 15 April 2017

²⁶ Interview with Sekuru Mdhudhuwadhu Mateka in 18 April 2017

2.3 Conclusion

The relations between the Shangwe, Tonga, Ndebele and Shona were influenced by their beliefs. Cultural differences made it impossible for these groups to befriend each other. Also, the fact that each group was clinging to its cultural practices seeing the next group as being primitive in their beliefs made it an impossible task for them to have good relations.

The Ndebele and the Shona who had once been in contact with the whites viewed African practices as backward. This was because they had been colonized so they had colonial point of view in everything. This was up to an extent of them forgetting that some activities like hunting and gathering, commemoration ceremonies among many had been their cultural practices too.

The indigenous people did not want also to accept change. They wanted to continue with the African indigenous system of education and everything else. Building of modern houses and sending their children to school was referred to as involving their children in the white man's business.²⁷ Polygamy and having many children symbolized wealth then doing away with such was never good for them for it meant poverty.²⁸ Thus each group wanted to cling to their practices and no one was flexible to accept each other as they were hence leading to hostile relations.

²⁷ Interview with Sekuru Kwenya in February 2016, the son of a descendant to Chief Sai

²⁸ Interview with Ground Shoko in April 2016

CHAPTER 3

CULTURAL DYNAMISM: RELATIONS AT PLAY

3.0 Introduction

Cultural dynamism played a crucial role in normalizing the relations between the various ethnic groups in Gokwe South District. After the dwellers accepted that culture is fluid and dynamic, life became easy for everyone because people now were eager to learn the next person's culture and by so doing looking down upon each other and viewing others as barbaric came to an end.

The term culture has been explained and defined in many ways but in an attempt to clarify the fact that it involves the values and norms of people's behavior fuelled by their historical background and their geographical location. Therefore from the above view point it is clear that culture can fuel conflicts because cultural identities can be defined by ethnicity, class, area of origin and geographical region.¹ Thus showing great differences between people living together for they behave differently depending on their norms, values and beliefs² which explain or point to the way they behave which might be interpreted by differently by the next person thereby leading to conflicts.

For these conflicts to be resolved, there is need for every individual to be flexible and to accept the next person as they are, being in the mood to learn and share cultural differences instead of looking at them in a stereotype manner and finally accept assimilation for the purpose of maintaining good relations.

¹ A. Williams, Resolving conflict in a multicultural environment. M S C conciliation quarterly. Summer, 1994, pp 2-6

² Ibid, page6

After people from Gokwe accepted change, that marked the end of conflicts caused by cultural differences. Therefore everyone became ready to compromise their culture for the sake of preserving peace and unity. Thus cultural dynamism became the great and massive weapon in solving cultural dynamism in Gokwe south district. In this chapter therefore the researcher will be explaining the contribution of cultural forces in ending ethnically rooted disputes

3.1 Relations after cultural dynamism

After understanding the fact that culture changes constantly with environment and can easily be lost for it only exist in the mind the different ethnic groups of Gokwe south could live together peacefully. Because Gokwe is diverse society, it does not have original culture for everyone has done away with the original culture and now there is the use of subculture. People had learnt and shared their cultures as they interact, this is because culture are complexes of learned behavior patterns and perceptions.³ The interruption has led to the Gokwe society having same knowledge, beliefs, and morals and custom which are totally different from those that were practiced by individual groups. Even the languages spoken in Gokwe are not original and that on its own had been a good reason for good relations at Gokwe.

Ndlukula notes that upon the arrival of the immigrants in Gokwe south district under chief Mkoka, the immigrants were warmly welcomed by the chief. He affirms that because they were the pioneers who first came and surveyed the area and informed the chief that the Shona were coming thus they were welcomed. He further notes that the chief allowed them mainly because he was told that Chief Muyambi from Gutu and chief Chirima from Fort Rixon in Gwanda were to be under him as headmen.⁴ Also because the Tonga were just few and had vast land they

³ E. B. Taylor, primitive culture, 1987

⁴ Interview with Sabhuku Ndlukula January 20, 2017, a victim of uprootment from Rhodes dale

could not feel being disturbed. This shows that political reasons also contributed in stabilising the relations for the chiefs wanted to main their chieftaincies and did not want their areas to be cut off.

The indigenous people had almost the same beliefs therefore it did not take long for them to be in good books. The Shangwe and the Tonga were hunter-gatherers whilst the Shona and the Ndebele were farmers therefore when the indigenous people wanted to preserve bushes for easy trap of animals, the immigrants wanted to clear land for cultivation. Thus causing tension between these groups, worse still the cutting down of trees was not allowed to be done without the permission from the traditional leaders who were said to be the ones protecting the forests.

However, after cultural dynamism, all these groups found themselves cultivating many crops especially cash crops that is cotton which was introduced in the 1960s.⁵ Though the indigenous people called it white men's crop. Also hunting and gathering though done in small scales but it is practiced. One of the villagers pointed out that hunting is now a good thing to them and the taste of game meat is even nicer than the domestic one.

Mai Zvkwete in supporting the fact that the cultural practices in Gokwe south has changed asserted that 'my grandson was struck by lightning and he died in the forest hunting only to see him after two days'.⁶ All these are signs that the relations in Gokwe are now cordial for people are living almost the same life style.

The immigrants had brought with them new economic ideas which though were at first seem like a product of colonization were accepted and put into play by the indigenous people. For example

⁵ P. S. Nyambara, Immigrants, Traditional Leaders And The Rhodesian State: The Power Of The Politics Of Land Acquisition In Gokwe, Zimbabwe, 1963-1979, *Journal Journal Of Southern African Studies*, Vol 27, No 4, December 2001

⁶ Interview with Mai Zvkwete in January 13, 2017

new crops like maize were brought by the immigrants and the local people were used to growing sorghum, millet, and rapoko mainly.⁷ Thus they accepted maize production which up to date is grow like no man's business and the sorghum, rapoko and millet are grown by a few individuals. Therefore this shows that the relations are very cordial and people are now sharing their ideas.

To note also is the fact that the local people were used to small scale agriculture for their main economic activity was hunting and gathering. However, all this came to an end and now one cannot tell which farm belongs to the Shangwe/ Tonga or to the Ndebele or Shona. Everyone make sure to cultivate more than their family consume so that the excess will be sold to get money.⁸ This is because of cultural dynamism which diluted everything and made people to live together as one family.

Chief to note is the fact that economy and culture influence each other.⁹ Therefore by the time of economic change, culture also changes. This is proved by the change of the Tonga and Shangwe from being hunter-gathers to being farmers and of the Shona and Ndebele to being hunter-gatherers though to these the change was more of going back to their traditional ways. Also all those forests which were said to be sacred and not allowed to be visited by anyone without the approval of traditional leaders stopped. While the economy was changing, and the values of the wider environment always had an effect in the family values.

Adding on, intermarriages played a crucial role in bringing about good relations in Gokwe South. This is because though long before it was a taboo to marry from across one's ethnic group unless in the cases of a Shona getting married to Ndebele or a Tonga getting married to a Shangwe. In

⁷ Interview with Mr Mahwana the headmaster at Batanai High School in January 13, 2017, a brother to Chief Jiri and was a victim of relocation from Bikita

⁸ Interview with Often Siamtondo in December 18, 2016

⁹ D. Martins, Culture is not Static, it Responds Dynamically to new Factors, November 14, 2007

cases of children going against the rules, they were forced to divorce as soon as they married each other¹⁰. However, as time went on, all those rules became a thing of past thus proving the point that ‘ culture is dynamic and complex, culture is fluid rather than static which means that culture changes all the time, every day, in subtle and tangible ways’.¹¹

The fact that these people did not call a meeting to say we have been hurting each other for a long time let’s stop, shows that ‘cultural systems are communicated and expressed in many ways. These ways make it impossible for one to see the process of cultural change hence seeing the consequences’.¹² Hence in the case of Gokwe, the evidence of cultural dynamism is peace prevailing in the district.

Schooling which was viewed as disturbing the Cosmo visionary trinity which link humanity, spirit and nature by the Tonga and the Shangwe who educated their children through the use of indigenous knowledge system whereby the elders where the teachers became a supplementary education. Which means it is now done while children are going to school which is where they get most of the education. Nowadays it is not common to get lessons from elders as it used to be for children get most of such lessons from churches.¹³ It was not the duty of the parent to teach his or her own children but now because this generation is full of too much I know and pride, they find it hard to listen to someone who is not their parents. They sometimes tell the elders to mind their own businesses.¹⁴ Therefore elders find it hard to educate the youngsters. Thus most of the education comes from schools and churches were they are taught in groups hence showing

¹⁰ Interview with Kwanda Mkwenya February 23, 2017

¹¹ J. Oliver, Product Based Cultural Change; Is the Village Global? Journal of economics, Vol. 92, Iss. 2 March, 2014

¹² Ibid

¹³ Interview with Simbisai Baliwe in November 9, 2016

¹⁴ Interview with Gogo Mandlovu in November 9, 2016

that relations are now good for in these groups all ethnic groups will be represented and the lessons taught are the same.

Bond was also created when children mate at school¹⁵, at school children could talk and befriend each other. The aspect of sharing even food made them be united. The friendship went beyond up to an extent of visiting each other thus promoting the major attributes of culture for culture is both leaned and shared. In support of this, one scholar says

Cultural transmission is seen as the outcome of interaction between decisions around socialization within the family and other socialization processes such as social imitation¹⁶

This proves the fact that cultural changes occurs through socialization. Thus through socialization of children, culture changed and the fact that the friendship of children somehow includes parents, relations became more and more cordial in Gokwe south.

The fact that people accepted other people's languages also promoted good relations. This is because language is the vehicle of transporting culture.¹⁷ Therefore through accepting the languages everyone was eager to learn the next person's language thus in so doing culture was learned and shared. The Ndebele could accuse Shona language calling it names. They had a tendency of saying talking in Shona is *ukudonsa amazenge*.¹⁸ This is said because mostly Shona is spoken fast and there is the use of 'r' which is not in the Ndebele diction. This though still said is not as severe as it was, now it is said out of joking. Hence showing that cultural dynamism solved all the problems and almost everyone is now in the mood of talking the language of everyone.

¹⁵ Interview with I Ndhlukula in January 20, 2017

¹⁶ J. Oliver, Culture and Economy: Understanding the Dynamics of Globalization, April 21, 2007

¹⁷ N. Masukume, The State Should Promote the use of All Languages, September 26, 2013

¹⁸ Interview with Mrs Manenge in April 11, 2016

As a result very few are still talking of them not getting what the next person will be saying even if using their language. In Gokwe south Shona is now the basic language for everyone but this does not mean that other languages are not in use and does not stop the Shona from speaking any of the languages at Gokwe.

The other point of concern which brought about conflict was the religious beliefs. The indigenous people were still pure African traditional religious believers and the immigrants because of them being colonized for they had mate the missionaries were Christians and perceived ATR as a barbaric religion which promoted witchcraft. Commenting on this, Nyambara asserts that conflict over religious differences was another problem between the different ethnic groups of Gokwe south. Because culture changes after its inhabitants see the next culture appealing to them¹⁹, the indigenous people accepted Christianity and among the immigrants, not all of them had accepted Christianity. Therefore relations became good for people mate in different occasions where they shared their cultures. Thus bringing them together and normalizing relations for some mate at church while others mate in bars and / or kundari.

It was Tonga culture to kill someone in each and every commemoration gathering.²⁰ Therefore seeing this the Shangwe had no problem for they had accepted it. However the immigrants could not stand for it thus they avoided attending their gatherings calling the Tonga names like witches and gluttons. Also the way they bit their drums was totally different from of the immigrants and their way was very noisy hence irritating.²¹ As if that was not enough, before the commemoration gathering, the wife of the husband who was commemorated was supposed to

¹⁹ D. Martins, Culture is not a Static Condition it Responds Dynamically to new Factors, November 14, 2007

²⁰ Interview with Mr Maringwa at Batanai High school in January 22, 2017, one of the people who voluntarily settled at Gokwe South after being told that there was enough good land for agriculture there.

²¹ Interview with Sabhuku Ndlukula in January 20, 2017

have sexual intercourse with one of the husband's relatives in small hut which was built near the grave of the husband.²²

The reason for this was withheld, also upon the death of a wife or husband the living was supposed to have intercourse with the dead as a way of saying goodbye to him or her. All this was innocently done as a way of respecting their culture but those who were not part and parcel of the culture viewed and interpreted it in a number of ways totally different. However the bottom line is that the each and every group had different rituals and burials.

The introduction of shops in Gokwe south under Chief Mkoka's area also supported the issue of learning each other's language. The first shop to function is at Mahundura a village which was called after the name of the village head.²³ Since the owner of the shop wanted to persuade customers, he was supposed to talk to everyone in their languages. At the same time customers were supposed to talk in the language of the shop assistant for them to understand each other. Therefore this interaction brought people together thus calling for unity and peace.

As people are living together, they chose what to copy and what to reject from the next person's cultural practices. Although changes are inevitable, each and every culture chose to retain some of its values for it is a significant aspect therefore the rubric of a culture does not get lost.²⁴ The cultural changes are caused by the fact that as people are living together, the inhabitants of the culture might have some of the behavior from the next culture appealing to them hence copying it. That's why scholars say that 'unless the inhabitants of a culture make a conscious decision to isolate themselves from external influence, change is inevitable'.²⁵

²² Interview with Mr Maringwa at Batanai High School in January 22, 2017

²³ Interview with Sabhuku Ndlukula in January 20, 2017

²⁴ D. Martins, Culture is not a Static Condition, it Respond Dynamically to new Factors, November 14, 2007

²⁵ D. Martins, Culture is not a Static Condition, it Respond Dynamically to New Factors, November 14, 2007

Because of that, nowadays, it is a difficult task to distinguish between the Shona and Tonga. Worse still they are now living in the same villages which means they even share the same kings and chiefs. And the calling names of each other names stopped. People meet in funerals, commemorations, burial societies and even *kundari*. In all these gatherings they share ideas peacefully and one cannot see which ethnic group has said what for they are almost having similar practices. Therefore unless told so, one cannot tell who Shona, Ndebele, Shangwe or Tonga. In mapwaira is / *magadziro*, Tonga drums are used even in the Shona /Ndebele homes. In weddings everyone partake in helping from the preparations up to the end of the event.

The structure of their contractions were also different, even if they were building the same thing, but the structure could not be alike. The homes of the indigenous people could be seen by having a number of small huts while the immigrants could build one big housed with many rooms and have one or two huts which were bigger and well thatched. In this case the indigenous people's homes were termed ruins. However, due to cultural dynamism, it is now different to distinguish between the homes. This is because all those who cannot build hire builders to build them their houses and the plans are according to what one sees good. Thus showing that cultural dynamism has moved a long way in making people of different ethnic groups equal at the same time normalizing their relations.

Moreover, those who had many huts were doing so because polygamy²⁶ was the order of the day and they had many children as a result. Hence each wife had her huts which tallied with the number of children they had. Because of the introduction of independent churches in Africa, there are some churches which promote polygamy therefore whether one belongs to which tribe, as long as being a member of that church, one way or the other they ended up polygamous.

²⁶ S. Maravanyika, Local Responses to Colonial Evictions, Conservation and Commodity Policies Among the Shangwe Communities in Gokwe, northwestern Zimbabwe, Wageningen UniversityNetherlands, 1963-1980, page 7

Which means more children and more if not bigger houses to accommodate the growing family. This point to the fact that religion also brought about some changes which promoted unity in Gokwe south.

3.2 Conclusion

After learning that culture is not static but dynamic and it can be learnt and shared, life began to change in Gokwe south. People stopped clinging to their cultural practices and they accepted each other as they were. They learnt other people's culture, adopting what they viewed well to them. Also they learnt that language is the vehicle to transport culture.

As a result, today Gokwe south has no pure language, culture or anything. Rather all of their practices are mixed up. Almost everyone is able to speak in any language though most people speak in Shona which is used as a common language for all. In commemoration and funerals, elders regardless of the ethnic group are used to play the major role in directing all the cultural activities.

All the activities which were done by the individual groups and viewed as not good by other groups like the cultural dances which were practiced by the Tonga ceased to exist. Buildings constructed today are just similar and it is not easy for anyone to distinguish who is Tonga or Ndebele from the type of buildings or the type of clothing.

CHAPTER 4

Overall conclusion

Gokwe south was established as a district in 1894. It was populated by the Korekore whom after settling in Gokwe which was called Neshangwe or shangwa land were labelled the Shangwe. Thus Shangwe began as a derogatory name but ended up being used as an ethnic identity. This research discovered that the Korekore originated from Mount Darwin and they settled at Chireya that is where they moved to present day Sengwa.

It was also discovered that amongst the Shangwe are some people who are not Korekore and those are the Zezuru, the Karanga and the Ndebele. Some of these people were engulfed into the Shangwe groups through intermarriages while some migrated from their local areas. For example the Karanga from Mberegwa who inherited chieftainship from Chief Charigaduri and those are the Sai people.

In around 1900, the Tonga from Binga arrived in Gokwe south and they were given land by Chief Sai. Though at first they were some conflicts over the control of land, intermarriages solved that problem and they later on lived together peacefully. These two groups had some cultural practices common for example hunting and gathering, on religion they were African Traditional believers among many. Therefore all these made relations easy to stabilize leading to the groups living together as one.

After fifty years of living together, the Tonga and the Shangwe were joined by a group from Rhodesdale whom they called Vabvakure, Madheruka and MaRhodesdale. This group was made up of the Ndebele and the Shona who were evicted from the crown land for the land was to be occupied by the Europeans who had fought in the Second World War.

Upon the arrival of this group, relations were very sour. The Madheruka had contact with the Europeans thus they had learnt new skills like new farming methods, formal education and even Christianity. As a result, the Tonga and the Shangwe who were still pure Africans were viewed as barbaric, backward and resistant to change. By so doing, tagging each other with names began revealing animosity between the groups. The Madheruka were seen as crooks and prostitutes. The indigenous people believed that it was them who brought with them diseases like HIV/ AIDS and all sexually transmitted disease. By that time it was very easy for a Tonga and a Shangwe to kill a Mudheruka. This was caused by the fact that the Tonga and the Shangwe were united against the Shona and the Ndebele and vice versa, a clear indicator of the division between these groups. The indigenous people went up to an extent of formulating songs against the Madheruka. Also upon having been visited by the Shona or the Ndebele, when they left the stools they would have used were burnt.

All the above enlisted conflicts were caused by each group refusing to accept change that is failure to be flexible. They all held tightly to their cultures thus accepting the next person with his or her culture became a problem. However, as time went on people learnt that culture is not static but dynamic, it is learnt and shared. By that time the indigenous people who had been refusing to go to school, to build big tin roofed houses and to be Christians began to participate. Therefore finally they could share everything and each group could copy anything they viewed well for them

Today, though all these groups still exist in Gokwe south, it is now a difficult task for one to differentiate which one belongs where. This is because even the contraction of buildings has changed. Almost everyone there can speak almost all languages. Thus people are living together peacefully.

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