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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Preamble

The concept of deviance is an issue which is highly contentious as its meaning varies with cultural settings, national ideologies and even individuals. This is aptly captured by Haralambos and Holborn (2008: 385) who note that "...deviance is culturally determined and cultures change over time and vary from society to society." This therefore calls for one to be particular about the context in which he /she discusses deviance and the theoretical frameworks upon which the criticism is grounded. In a bid to minimise the controversies that go along with the conceptualisation of deviance, this research adopts a sociological point of view ahead of biological and psychological view points. The sociological approach does not look at the deviant as an individual but situate the analysis in the context of the society, how it is structured and other phenomena related to it. Therefore in this research it is the political, social and economic situation prevailing in Zimbabwe especially that from 1990 onwards which forms the basis of this criticism. The research is going to utilise a number of definitions from various sociologists, what they perceive to be the causes of deviance, its role in society and what can be done to reduce the problems associated with it. This background will assist the researcher to contextualise deviance within the world of Shona literature and how it impacts on its development with particular reference to the aspect of moralisation. Some of the sociologists who have looked into the concept include Schaefer (2010:170) who views deviance as "behaviour that violates the standards of conduct or expectations of a group or society". According to Schaefer, this involves among other things the violation and disregard of group norms regardless of whether they have been formalised into law or not. As observed by Henslin (1998:134), "it is not possible for human societies to exist and operate without the existence of values or norms which make life possible and makes behaviour predictable otherwise life would be chaotic." These norms become guidelines with which

people play their roles as expected in their societies and how they interact with each other. Henslin (ibid, 135) further notes that “the lives human beings live are based on particular arrangements resulting from the norms and therefore deviance is normally perceived as a threat to the foundations of social life.” Haralambos and Holborn (2008) agree with the definition postulated by Schaefer above as they note that deviance consists of those acts which are contrary to the norms and expectations of a particular social group. They further observe that generally in the field covered by the sociology of deviance, deviant behaviour is that which is met by negative sanctions. To back this point, they cite another sociologist Clinard who made the opinion that deviance should be reserved to behaviour which is disapproved by society, which society finds hard to condone. One other important aspect of deviance they raise is that it is a relative concept as there is no absolute way of defining a deviant act. This is because of the fact that what may be considered deviant today may be seen otherwise in a different society and also as time progresses in that society. Deviance is therefore a culturally constructed concept which varies from society to society and from period to period. In summary, from sociological point of view, deviance refers to those activities that bring general disapproval from the members of the society as they are in contradiction with the cultural ethos of the people and/or their rules.

Haralambos and Holborn (ibid) advance the following important views on deviance. The first is that deviant behaviour is that which is not normal and this makes deviants different from normal people. The other issue is that deviance should be seen as behaviour that is undesirable, with deviants being abnormal and in need of some therapy as they suffer from some form of sickness. They therefore argue that there is need to answer the question pertaining to why people adopt deviant behaviour as this is fundamental in the quest to diagnose the “illness” which the deviant is suffering from. These observations by Haralambos and Holborn are quite relevant in this research in its quest to analyse how convincing are the

causes and solutions given by the writers to curb deviant behaviour in the context of moralisation. Becker (1974) as cited in Haralambos and Holborn (ibid, 443) advances the view that a “value-free society is impossible”. However, he argues that it is justified to be in sympathy with the “underdog”, the deviant who is labelled by the agencies of social control.

There are different perceptions on what causes deviance. One of these is the functionalist perception which, as noted by Schaefer (2010), views deviance as a common part of human existence with both positives and negatives for social stability. The functionalists postulate the view that deviance helps to define the limits of proper behaviour by humans in society. One such functionalist is Durkheim Emile whose studies had bias towards criminal activities. Schaefer (ibid: 174) notes that one of his views is that punishments within cultural settings inform mechanisms of social control that help to define acceptable behaviour and thereby contributing to social stability. It is Durkheim who introduced the term anomie into sociological literature to refer to a situation of normlessness during a period of social change and disorder like that during the time of economic collapse. Because of the strenuous situations, Durkheim notes that people become more aggressive which results in higher rates of violent crime and suicide. According to Giddens (2001), Durkheim argues that deviance is important in life because it fulfils two important functions. It has an adaptive function through introducing new ideas and challenges into society, thereby becoming an innovative force. The second function is that it promotes boundary maintenance between good and bad behaviour in society. Another functionalist Cohen (1966) cited in Giddens (ibid) advances the idea that deviant acts are a useful warning device to indicate that an aspect of society is malfunctioning. This may draw attention to the problem and lead to measures to solve it. The ideas by Durkheim and other functionalists influenced a shift from individual explanations to social forces.

There is also one other functionalist, Merton, cited in Haralambos and Holborn (2008), who argues that deviance comes from not the “pathological personalities” but from the culture and structure of society. He notes that the initial position is that of value consensus by members of the society, the shared common values. Merton sees inequality of opportunity in society as the major cause of crime and delinquency which are forms of deviance. This situation can be resolved through increasing the opportunities to many in society. But because members occupy different positions in society in the society’s structure, they do not have the same opportunities of realising shared values. Quoted in Haralambos and Holborn (2008:354) Merton (1968) asserts that, “The social and cultural structure generates pressure for socially deviant behaviour upon people variously located in that structure.” It is this situation that creates deviance.

There is also the symbolic interactionist perspective on deviance and its focus is on the relationship between the deviants and those who define them as such. According to Townley and Middleton (1989), symbolic interactionism has its origins in America with proponents such as William James (1842-1910), John Dewey (1859-1952), Charles Horton Cooley (1864-1910), W.I. Thomas (1863-1934) and George Herbert Mead (1863-1931). They further note that all the interactionists are united in the fact that we cannot ignore the importance of the group when trying to understand the nature of the human society but also of human beings. The argument the interactionists advance is that human beings are social creatures, always to be found in groups and the study of humans should start with the issue of human association. For this reason, the individual out of society is meaningless hence isolation is one of the most severe punishments one can get in life. When one seeks to understand the individual or the society, it is the interaction between the individuals that is most important. Mead, as noted in Townley and Middleton (1989), is widely regarded as one of the most influential proponents of symbolic interactionism, and regards the existence of society as

essential to the development of the self in the individual. It is one's membership to a group that gives one individuality. Becoming a member of the society is like to become a member of the group. To act appropriately as a member of the team it is not enough to know your part but of others as well. In society, "we do not simply react to the gestures of others but we interpret them and select the best response from them." (Townley and Middleton, *ibid*: 47). From an interactionist perspective, the study of society is based on the assumption that human beings make sense of the world through their interaction with others. The interactionist perspective therefore seeks to explain a situation by taking into account the actor's definition of it, behaviour becomes explicable when it is understood from the point of view of the actor.

Another perspective to the understanding of deviance is the Marxist one. Sociologists who are inclined to this approach are inspired by the pedagogies of Karl Marx. Such sociologists include William Chambliss, Milton Mankoff, Frank Pearce and Laureen Snider basing their arguments on the Marxist conceptions. Haralambos and Holborn (2008:418) state that their main worry is on "how the superstructure reflects the relationship between the powerful and the relatively powerless, that is, the relationship between the ruling and subject classes." These Marxists require change in society so as to thwart what they term the naked barbarity of capitalism. They argue that the capitalist economic system promotes the growth of crime (and deviance) in the following ways. First of all, it is the economic infrastructure which is the major influence upon social relationships, beliefs and values; it is the capitalist mode of production that emphasises the maximisation of profits and accumulation of wealth. Secondly, it is self-interest rather than public duty which motivates behaviour. The third point they raise is that since capitalism is based on the private ownership of property, personal gain rather than collective well-being is encouraged. The final point they raise is that capitalism is

a competitive system which discourages cooperation for the betterment of all members of society.

Closely related to the Marxists are the Neo-Marxists as most of their arguments are similar to those of Marxists. However, their main intention was to give a more radical approach to the existing theories about deviance. Like Marx, they believe that the key to understanding crime (and deviance) lies in the material basis of society. They view the economy as the most important part of any society. Another issue they raise is that capitalist societies are characterised by inequalities in wealth and power between individuals and that in the inequalities are the roots of crime (and deviance). According to Haralambos and Holborn (2008:384), a radical transformation of society is necessary so that there would be “liberation of individuals from living under capitalism.” To them, deviants are not just passive victims of capitalism but are actively struggling to change capitalism. According to the Neo-Marxists, deviance needs to be explained from a number of viewpoints simultaneously. In light of this, they propose the following aspects of crime and deviance which they believe should be studied. The first thing for criminologists is to understand the way in which wealth and power are distributed in society. Secondly, there must be also consideration of circumstances surrounding the decision of an individual to commit a deviant act. There is also need to get the meaning of the deviant act to the person who commits deviance. It would be a way revenging to the society. Another proposal is that criminologists should consider the ways and reasons for other members of society's reaction to deviance. This reaction needs to be explained in terms of the social structure, who has the power in society to make the rules and why deviant acts are treated differently from others. Then there is need to study the effects of deviance. Lastly, the researcher needs to fuse all these aspects together and have a comprehensive understanding of deviance.

This background will indeed help the research in its attempt to analyse how selected post-independence Shona novelists and short story writers from 1990 onwards portray deviant characters in the context of moralisation. This is done with particular focus on the images given to deviant characters and the impact these images have in making people understand the predicament of the characters. To achieve this, the research analyses how convincing are the causes of deviance as well as the solutions the writers propose to curb deviant behaviour. This portrayal of characters becomes vital for one to evaluate whether the ideas raised by the writers on their goal of moralisation are sustainable within the broader social context of the period in question. This is so because the research hypothesises that the existence of deviance amongst people is an indication of the problems affecting society. The period from 1990 has seen the nation of Zimbabwe battling with a plethora of political, social and economic problems and this makes it imperative for the writers to moralise so as to help keep the society stable. Therefore, the analysis is made in the context of political, economic and social developments in post-independence Zimbabwe as deviance in this case is presumed herein to be neither biological nor inherent but a result of one's interaction with his or her society. The role of literature in any society cannot be underestimated as it is a way in which people are able to view and interpret their world so that they are able to determine their own destiny. Literature has a role to play in the understanding and transformation of people's lives. The problems faced by the people in the period under discussion have a bearing on their being and morals as they battle to transcend the problems affecting their livelihoods. It is therefore argued that usually when people are confronted with survival threats, they resort to anything including adopting behaviour which is not sanctioned by the society both from cultural and legal points of view.

1.2 Statement of Purpose

Deviance is both a contested and intricate discursive site. It presupposes the existence of a moral framework that informs participation and contribution. The fact that literature is generated within such a framework entails that it also becomes part of such intricacies and contestations as its conceptualisation cannot be based on a single point of view and this makes its understanding to differ with individuals and societies involved. This research attempts to resolve this by situating deviance in the Shona cultural context as well as the political, social and economic developments in post-independence Zimbabwe. Deviance is therefore conceptualised from a multiplicity of perspectives which include the ideological, political and cultural ones. As this research views deviance as a sociological concept, it is defined from a Shona cultural point of view since it is the Shona people who are targets of both the literary works under discussion and this critical research. This is so because the understanding of deviance is not universal. It is culture specific hence the Shona people's existential philosophy becomes the basis for the analysis or conceptualisation of deviance. Thus this research fully acknowledges that deviance is a culturally constructed concept.

The focus of this research is to conceptualise deviance within the context of moralisation and at the same time situating it in the development of Shona literature. This study attempts to examine the manner in which the writers link the characters' deviance to the prevailing political, social, and economic environment of the post-independence period. Secondly, the research also endeavours to critique the images attached to deviant characters with particular emphasis on the implications these images have on societal development. There will also be analysis on whether the writers do not fall into the trap of stereotyping deviant characters as social renegades who should be chastised. This issue of chastising deviants has been a trend in some Shona literary works. Such a portrayal poses the risk of making people fail to appreciate the predicament of the deviant characters.

The third attempt of this research is to assess the authors' vision within the context of historical and current experiences as well as the anticipated future. wa Thiong'o (1972: xv) gives an apt description of the relationship between literature and social reality:

Literature does not grow in a vacuum, it is given impetus, shape, direction and the area of concern by social and political and economic forces in a particular society. The relationship between creative literature in Africa and these other forces cannot be ignored...

As noted by Chiwome (2002), there is a tendency by Zimbabwean writers especially those writing in indigenous languages (Shona and Ndebele) to ignore pertinent and sensitive political, social and economic issues choosing to concentrate on trivial issues. This has resulted in the production of literature which is qualitatively underdeveloped. The trend is that writers at the end of the day erroneously resort to blaming individual characters as being responsible for developing deviant behaviour. The ultimate result is that they exonerate the system that is responsible for making the characters adopt deviant behaviour. One observation is that under such circumstances literature ends up enhancing oppression instead of helping to liberate the oppressed people. This could be a legacy inherited from the writers of the colonial period whose majority failed to expose the injustices of the diabolic colonial regime. Their vision is so parochial that they blame the Africans for the suffering they endured under the oppressive colonial rule. Chiwome (2002) and Muwati (2009) note that the colonial regime put mechanisms that ensured that literature written in indigenous languages remain distanced from the truth of exposing how oppressive the regime was to the Africans. Chief among these mechanisms was the establishment of the Southern Rhodesia Literature Bureau in 1954 which patronised literature in indigenous languages. It set competitions among the writers on themes they selected thereby controlling the writers on issues to write on. Muwati (ibid) interviewed Elvis Mari, an ex-employee of the Rhodesia and Zimbabwe Literature Bureau, who commented on its role:

.....an obvious weakness of the Literature Bureau was that it was a government department...the government of the day would not be directly challenged in the stories submitted to the Bureau...writers would attempt to project the picture of the organization.

This resulted in the existence of partisan literature which celebrated the establishment instead of patriotic literature which tries to uplift the lives of the oppressed people. What this implies is that this trend continues after independence and even those writers who did not publish with the bureau seem to have fallen into the same trap.

1.3 Aim of the Study

This study is important as deviant behaviour should be viewed as useful warning that certain aspects of society are malfunctioning. The aim of this research is to analyse the writers' construction of deviant characters in the context of moralisation and its value in enhancing the vision and commitment of the Shona writers in the post-independence Shona novel and short story. The analysis engaged in this research is done in the context of the political, economic and social reality of post-independence Zimbabwe. In other words, there is an attempt to investigate whether deviance is put in the context of the reality of what is happening in the period in question. The research interrogates whether the causes and solutions are relevant with regards to the prevailing situation on the ground. The analysis engaged in is done under the assumption that literature plays a fundamental role in the development of human society and it becomes imperative to assess whether the ideas generated by the writers are of any significance in resolving the crisis obtaining in Zimbabwe. The writers' conception of deviance when linked to moralisation then becomes a barometer in assessing whether Shona literature is developing or not. Also, by virtue of analysing the two genres, the researcher gets the opportunity to have a broader understanding of trends existing in Shona literature. In the end, one should be able to note and explain the similarities and differences in the analysis of the two subgenres.

1.3.1 Research Objectives

The objectives of this research are to:

- 1) explain deviance from a sociological point of view and in the context of Shona literature
- 2) assess the impact of deviance on moralisation as given in the literary works
- 3) discuss how the writers' conceptualisation of deviance is useful in assessing the development of Shona literature
- 4) investigate the influence of Shona oral literature in the understanding of deviance and moralisation.

1.3.2 Research Questions

- 1) What is the significance of deviance on moralisation in literary works?
- 2) What is the relationship between the writers' conceptualisation of deviance and the development of Shona literature?
- 3) What is the relationship between deviance in literature and the political, social and economic forces operating in society?
- 4) What are the continuities and discontinuities from Shona oral literature on the conceptualisation of deviance and moralisation?
- 5) What are the factors that condition and direct the vision of the writers?

1.4 Significance of the Research

This research focuses on post- independence Shona fiction with particular bias on those works produced after 1990 because “most of the critics (of Shona Literature) seem to have a predilection for the novels written during the colonial period or have at least expended their energies on the colonial novel.” (Muwati 2009:14). This is however not to imply that the critical works on post-independence Shona fiction are not substantial but none has pursued the issue of deviance and its ramifications in great detail as intended in this research. This research will therefore help to add depth and dimension in the criticism of Shona literature by making an exegesis of deviance from the literary works produced from 1990 onwards. It is important to highlight the fact that the researcher deliberately chose the period from 1990 as is important in the country`s history as it saw a tempestuous environment where the state-citizen relationship is being reconfigured. From the late 1980s and onwards, the country started witnessing problems which contrasted with the progress seen soon after the attainment of independence in 1980.

It is the quest of this research to examine how the writers of this period relate deviance to the prevailing environment. By attempting to link deviance to the political, social and economic reality of post-independence Zimbabwe, this research makes a contribution to the debate on crisis obtaining in Zimbabwe and how it could be resolved since deviance is assumed herein to be a symptom of the problems confronting society. This is done by looking at what are given as the causes of deviance in relation to the prevailing political, social and economic crisis. This research therefore helps in suggesting possible solutions to the problems affecting the nation of Zimbabwe. Thus research then becomes useful in the debates on issues concerning the nation. It then becomes useful both as a critique and a corrective to the crisis. Studying deviance in relation to moralisation is quite important as moralisation is a major goal of Shona literature whether oral or written especially, as observed earlier on, when

evaluating the sustainability of moralisation in the period when the people are facing various difficulties. This is crucial when it comes to assessing the growth of Shona literature. Moralisation in literature should be done in a way which is empowering for the recipients in their bid to control their environment and also realise their wishes and aspirations. The research also adopts a comparative approach through the investigation of how deviance is handled in the two genres. This allows a broader understanding of the topic in question rather than confining oneself to a single genre.

1.5 Scope of Study

This research is an analysis of the images given to deviant characters in selected post-independence Shona fiction with the particular attention on the causes and solutions to reduce deviance in society. The research project is divided into six chapters. The first chapter is the introduction which has the context and statement of purpose, statement of the problem, aim of the study, objectives, research questions, the significance of research, brief literature review, research methods, theoretical framework, and definition of key terms and the scope of study. Chapter 2 is literature review. It presents earlier research on deviance. Chapter 3 is the theoretical framework upon which the research is grounded. Chapter 4 discusses the methods used in this research. Chapter 5 is the mainstay of this thesis. It presents findings, analysis and discussion. Chapter 6 is the conclusion to the research study. It presents a summary of findings and recommendations.

1.6 Conclusion

This chapter serves as an introduction on how the research was carried out. It defines deviance as violation of rules and norms in society. It acknowledges that the conceptualisation of deviance differs with one`s cultural, ideological, political and economic orientation among other issues. The Shona people`s cultural and existential philosophy and the formal rules are the basis for the understanding of deviant behaviour in this research. Deviance in literature plays an important role in exposing the challenges faced by the people and how these can be resolved and this can only be achieved through a rigorous analysis of the reality obtaining on the ground. Deviance in this case is a manifestation of serious problems in society of which literature can play an important role in solving. The sources reviewed do not adequately address the concept, deviance, and its ramifications hence the motivation to carry out this research. The research utilises a number of theoretical frameworks so as to have a broader understanding of the fluid concept of deviance and also the roles literature has in the lives of people especially when they are facing a number of challenges.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

Chapter one presented the introduction to the study. This chapter provides the literature review. It acknowledges the existence of critical works on deviance, of which the majority are predisposed towards the discipline of sociology. Such works are crucial in this research as they help in the conceptualisation of deviance, the different ways in which deviance manifests itself, the solutions suggested by the writers to curb it as well as the theoretical framework which guide the criticism of the research. Some of these works focus on non-African societies which include those in Europe and America. However, it is important to note that whilst the discussion takes into cognisance various sociological perspectives, on the subject of deviance, it situates it within the Shona moral position and cultural perspectives. Apart from reviewing the sociological works on deviance, the research will also look into the researches on African literature in general and Zimbabwean literature in particular. This is important as this research treats deviance as a sociological concept but it will go further and locate it within the purview of Shona literature and how it impacts on moralisation and ultimately the development of the Shona fiction. Also to be reviewed are some works on the post-independence Zimbabwe political, economic and social developments so as to have insight into the context in which deviance is discussed and also the period and environment in which the literature is produced.

2.1 Prostitution and Homosexuality as Sexual Deviance

In this section of literature review, the attention is on various sources that address issues that have to do with prostitution and homosexuality without necessarily restricting oneself to those focusing on Shona Literature alone.

2.1.1 Review of Works on Prostitution



Indeed substantial research has been done on the subject of prostitution in various disciplines and some of these works are to be considered in this section. These include Mussachio's (2004) that looks at this problem of prostitution in the context of Europe. The research links migration to trafficking in women and prostitution and according to the findings this is one good example of the evidence of the inequality between men and women. It notes that the main reasons women are caught up in this trap to migrate and end up in prostitution include poverty, discrimination, unemployment, under-education, lack of resources and economic instability. These are among the factors that motivate women to leave their countries. It further notes that on the issue of women migration the causes linked to trafficking in women and prostitution are blossoming because of the gap between the rich and poor countries, lack of opportunities for young people to build up an existence and the deprived position of women in many countries which makes them vulnerable for exploitation in the industry. Before the collapse of the Berlin Wall, most of the women migrants to Europe were mainly from South East Asia and Latin America but thereafter it was from Eastern Europe to Western Europe. As a way to remedy the situation, the root causes should be addressed in order to reduce the social and economic inequality and disadvantages which provoke illegal migration. Another issue raised is that prostitution is also linked to various criminal activities. This research benefits in the sense that it looks at circumstances that compel women into prostitution as well as the solutions to the problem. However, this research will differ in the sense that apart from looking at other forms of deviant behaviour like crime, it does so in the context of Shona literature and its reaction to the post-independence developments in Zimbabwe.

Farley and Kelly (2000) make the observation that in most of the recent literature on prostitution in America, there has been focus on HIV which has the tendency of excluding discussions concerning the physical and sexual violence which precedes and which is

intrinsic to prostitution. Above all, they note that there is need for the normalisation of prostitution in the medical and social science literature as the tendency is to blame the victim of sexual exploitation. The research also discusses issues to do with racism and poverty as they are an inextricable part of prostitution. Also discussed is the social invisibility of prostitution, needs of women to escape prostitution and an overview of criminal justice response to prostitution in America. Although the research does not discuss prostitution as some of deviant behaviour and also focuses on the American situation and not the Zimbabwean one, it is important in the understanding of the causes, solutions to prostitution as well as the images given to prostitutes in society as portrayed in the selected post-independence Shona fictional works. Furthermore, this research will discuss deviance in the context of moralisation which is absent in the above cited research.

Fayemi (2009) attempts to explore and defend African ethico-feminism as a viable complementary ideology for curbing the challenges of prostitution and female trafficking in 21st century Africa. According to Fayemi, African ethico-feminism is a new form of feminism developing from Western Feminism and African feminism. He notes that it is similar to Western Feminism in the sense that it notes gender specific issues, women's second class status and aims at redressing them. However, it differs from it in that it does not encourage dichotomy, individualism and competition between the two sexes. At the same time it acknowledges the broad goal of African feminism of having models and paradigms of actions of a realistic world in which African women would be viewed and treated primarily as human and not sexual beings. The difference with African feminism is that it does not seek to emphasise the uniqueness of African women in terms of racial and class (political and economic) prejudices. What essentially the theory is all about is that it operates on the inclusive principles of African ethics, respected autonomy, communalism, co-operation, self-reliance and complementarity gender relations and structures. In essence it is therefore a

hybrid ideology which seeks to combine African interests with African ethics and feminists concerns against women oppression and subjugation in every aspect of life whether it is in politics, social, cultural, psychological and sexual spheres. The above cited researcher notes that African ethno-feminism is a new conception of feminism that is necessarily relevant to the African predicament on prostitution and female trafficking. Among other things, it condemns prostitution and female trafficking as ethically unjustified. The paper posits the view that the strength, resilience and resounding liberation of African women can be positively harnessed and enhanced so as to reduce the spate of prostitution and female trafficking on the continent. There is encouragement for African states to augment the principles of ethno-feminism in a bid to evolve a holistic panacea to the wave of prostitution and female trafficking in Africa. It goes on to note that prostitution and trafficking are difficult and challenging to social crusaders, scholars, feminists, governments, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) regionally, continentally and internationally. The concerns raised by prostitution and female trafficking have to do not only with the exploitation of feminine sexuality by profiteers but also the objectification of women's dignity. The paper becomes relevant in that it also unravels the causes and implications of prostitution as well as its dimensions and manifestations in Africa. Another worthy contribution is that it gives another theoretical approach of ethno-feminism to the conceptualisation of prostitution which helps in the criticism of how it is portrayed in the fictional works under discussion in this research and also the vision of the writers.

Aderinto (2007) in a research article examines child prostitution as one of the numerous forms of social and sexual networking in the colonial urban space. It notes that there is the usual bias by the researchers to focus on adult prostitution, which is what can be generally referred to as prostitution proper. The researcher looks at the social, legal, economic as well as the political dimensions associated with the vicissitudes of child prostitution in colonial

Lagos. Through identifying how the age factor affects the way historians write about child prostitution, the argument raised is that scholars need to appreciate that the study of child prostitution without a critical examination of relevant historiographical problems such as age and masculine sexuality constitute a serious flaw in the attempt towards unraveling this aspect of the human past. Regardless of giving informative data on prostitution, the study focuses on child prostitution which is not the priority of this research but it helps in the understanding of the history of prostitution in Africa and the fact that it has various manifestations. It also looks at this from a Nigerian point of view whilst this research focuses on the post-independence Zimbabwean situation as reflected in the fictional works under exegesis. Apart from this, this research also discusses prostitution from the viewpoint of deviance and above all in the context of moralisation in Shona literature.

Muriungu (2004) notes the research findings of Florence Stratton in *Contemporary African Literature and the Politics of Gender*. She notes that the conversion of the Mother Africa trope into a prostitute metaphor has been a recurring feature of contemporary men's fiction. As postulated by Stratton, the trope has been used to exploit the male-female power relations of domination and subordination. The argument she raises is that the majority of male writers like Ngugi wa Thiong'o and Cyprian Ekwensi use the prostitute metaphor to encode women as agents of moral corruption and contamination in the society. These writers have tended to present the prostitute as a miserable and an exploited woman whose redemption can only come through her repatriation from her operational grounds in the urban areas back to the rural areas in the villages. The prostitute figure has been in most cases been blamed for the evils in society and portrayed as a home breaker and a carrier of disease. Prostitution is thus viewed as "an intolerable social evil that brings moral and physical disaster to all concerned." However, the research by Muriungu discusses how two female Kenyan writers Oludhe Mcgoye and Genga-Idowi in their novels *Victoria and Murder in Majengo* and *Lady in*

Chains, respectively, subvert the notion of the prostitute as a home breaker, and undesirable character or a morally degenerate person as in the above male-authored literary works. Attention is given on the strategies used by the writers to conceal or rather camouflage the activities of the prostitute whilst at the same time trying to project prostitution as a career and as productive as any other economic activity. This endeavour gives prostitutes a human face and revises the negative portrayal as done by many other Kenyan writers particularly the male ones. This argument by Muriungu is significant in this research as it endeavours to analyse how the deviant characters are portrayed but this will be in the context of Shona literature and post-independence developments in Zimbabwe. Furthermore, this research will go on to analyse how moralisation in Shona literature impacts the writers of the selected fictional works in their portrayal and handling of deviance.

Another research on prostitution which the researcher found to be useful is Magaisa's (2011) book chapter in which he notes among other issues that prostitution is a controversial issue in Zimbabwean society. Also, he points out that regardless of the fact that the Zimbabwean law prohibits soliciting and despite expressions of disapproval from moralists, prostitution continues to flourish in many parts of the country. The practice reflects the antagonistic gender relations that pervade the Zimbabwean society. The researcher makes the observation that the unmarried, divorced and widowed with no source of income are compelled to live in the periphery of society where they resort to the sale of sexual services for their economic survival. Another observation the researcher makes is that most of the research on the subject of prostitution have preoccupied themselves with the economic, sexual and health aspects of prostitution that has resulted in women prostitutes being seen as deviant, immoral and dangerous. The argument Magaisa raises is that although the works have to some extent contributed to the understanding of prostitution, it ought to be viewed not only as sexual deviance but also an act of rebellion against the conventional customs and obligations of

women in Zimbabwe. Although the writer views the issue of prostitution in the context of gender imbalances in society, his research is important in that it acknowledges that prostitution is a social problem which needs to be addressed which is one of the assumptions this research takes. It therefore helps in the critiquing of the causes and solutions as projected by the writers of the literary works under discussion.

Muzvidziwa (1997) examines the history of urban prostitution since the colonial times in Zimbabwe. The researcher makes the observation that the employment opportunities compelled men to migrate to towns and because of low wages and the availability of bachelor accommodation, they could not live with their families. To the women who migrated on their own to towns, the only viable occupation they could engage into was prostitution. The research focuses on prostitution in Masvingo urban with bias towards the prostitutes' life situations, motivations and future plans, the impact of the highly criticised Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP), self-definition of their sex worker status, relationship with other prostitutes and the social networks they establish. This work is quite significant in this research as it gives the historical background on the problem and how it is linked to economic and social forces in operation in post-independence Zimbabwe although focusing on the town of Masvingo. This research however will not focus on the town of Masvingo but how prostitution is portrayed in the literary works under discussion. It also goes on to look at other forms of deviant behaviour like crime which Muzvidziwa's article does not focus on. Again, it goes on to analyse how moralisation in Shona literature impacts on the writers' handling of deviance.

Wasosa (2010) comparatively analyses the causes and solutions to prostitution, images given to prostitutes and how these impact on gender relations and ultimately societal development. The selected works include those set in the colonial period like *Garandichauya* (1964),

Pafunge (1972) and post- independence ones like *Mapenzi* (1999) and *Ndozvindza Aniko?* (2006). He investigates whether the writers are able to contextualise prostitution in terms of history and socio-economic forces in operation during both the colonial and post-independence periods. One of the observations of the research is that the harsh colonial and neo-colonial environments compel women into prostitution. Thus the article becomes relevant in the sense that, apart from the fact that one of its targeted works *Mapenzi* is also analysed in this research, it gives insights into the history of prostitution in Zimbabwe as well as the forces in operation in the post-independence era which form part of the context under which prostitution is discussed.

Hungwe (2006) focuses on how women in the former colony of Southern Rhodesia and contemporary Zimbabwe were and are still defined as respectable or unrespectable. In the situation where they are termed unrespectable, they are shown to be dishonourable and lacking dignity, attracting social opprobrium and behaviour not to be emulated. The major objective of the research is to look for the implications of such definitions of respectability for gender struggles in Zimbabwe. For example, it is noted that the term prostitute is not only used to describe sex workers but also a marker to denote any supposedly unrespectable women particularly those who move into the space that is considered to be male territory. Both men and women are responsible for this type of branding for women. Hungwe's research is of importance as it looks on the labels given to women seen both as deviants (like prostitutes) and non-deviants in history and the present moment. Above all, she also analyses the implications of such labels to the individuals and the society at large which constitute part of the objectives of this research. The research is important in that, like this research, it views prostitution as a form of deviance. This then becomes useful in evaluating the vision of the writers of the fictional works under scrutiny but the research will go further to analyse how moralisation in Shona oral literature could possibly influence the vision of the writers.

2.1.2 Review of Critical Works on Homosexuality

Another form of sexual deviance discussed in this research is homosexuality. There have been considerable researches on the subject and these include works on sociology such as Mooney, Knox and Schacht (2012). They note that there are problems associated with well-being and those with inequality, poverty and economic inequality, work and unemployment, gender inequality and problems in education. The emphasis is on the definitions of social problems in the context of social structure elements as well as those related to culture. The fundamental issue raised is that individuals and groups disagree on what constitute a social problem. This is for example the case with issues related to homosexuality or abortion. Some groups within the same society or even across societies in different historical times may disagree on whether these issues are social problems or not. Because of this complexity, it is helpful for one to have a framework within which to view homosexuality. Sociology provides such a framework with sociological tools such as social structure, culture, major theoretical frameworks. The cultural elements include beliefs (what is assumed to be true), values (social agreements about what is considered good and bad, right and wrong, desirable and undesirable), norms (socially defined rules of behaviour, guidelines for behaviour and our expectations of how others should behave), folkways, laws and mores. This work is quite important in that it acknowledges that deviance is not universal but culture specific and also that its conceptualisation may change with time which is the stance this research takes. It also emphasises the need to have a framework with which to understand deviance so as to do away with the controversies surrounding the issues related to it. It does so using the sociological framework which is the same approach this research takes hence the supposition that it will immensely benefit from the work. However, this research will discuss deviance in

the context of moralisation in Shona Literature which is not considered in Knox and Schant's work.

Weiss (2004) identifies narratives dwelling on themes such as homosexuality, HIV and AIDS, prostitution and sexual exploitation and all the stigmatised peoples in these categories who struggle for acceptance. The research articles in this book are quite significant as they help in the understanding of some deviant behaviour like prostitution and homosexuality are portrayed in other literatures which are not Shona which are intended to be covered in this research. Some of the articles help in the understanding of the social challenges confronting the people and these are such short stories like Lizzy Attree's "Reshaping communities: The Representation of HIV/AIDS in Literature from South Africa and Zimbabwe." It surveys different perspectives on the AIDS pandemic that has caused a lot of suffering among the Southern African nations as it has ravaged, exploited and poverty stricken African communities. There is also a chapter by Beverly Dube which highlights the early prejudices against prostitution and current opinions that seem to be giving way to a less subjective, more sympathetic attitude on the part of the writers of fiction. These works are also important in the sense that some of them look at some aspects of deviance like prostitution and homosexuality both from a Zimbabwean point of view as well as from other African countries' perspectives which helps to have a broader understanding of the concept of deviance.

Mabvurira et al (2012) note that in most African societies any sexual orientation that is not heterosexual is treated with scorn. In Zimbabwe, homosexuality is a sexual minority problem as homosexuals live secluded lives in the country because of prejudice and discrimination. However, their observation is that regardless of disapproval that homosexuality is un-African; the research notes that it is "as African as the baobab tree and as Zimbabwean as the Great Zimbabwe Ruins" (218). They also trace the incidences of same sex relations in pre-colonial

and post-colonial Zimbabwe. The observations in the above cited research article are important to this research in its exploration of homosexuality as a form of sexual deviance. It helps to give insight on the controversies surrounding the practice by tracing its history in African societies and how the homosexuals are viewed. However, this will be done in the context of moralisation in Shona literature which is absent in the research article.

This issue of homosexuality is also addressed in Epprecht (1998). The observation in the research article is that many black Zimbabweans believe that homosexuality was introduced to the country by white settlers and is now mainly propagated by the western countries. However, Epprecht observes that the history of homosexuality reveals that since time immemorial it has been practiced by the blacks as is evidenced by paintings of the Bushmen and also in the oral traditions about customary “cures” and punishments associated with the practice. Nevertheless, such relations were disapproved at least beyond the age of adolescence and constrained by the imperatives of pre-modern political economy. During the colonial era, homosexual behaviours among African men flourished in some contexts although disapproved. What the above article brings out is that homosexuality is part of African history although it is detested. This will help this research in understanding the views of African people on the issue of homosexuality but it will go further to discuss it in the context of the Zimbabwean crisis of the post-independence period. Above all, it views homosexuality as part of sexual deviance and how it is viewed in the context of moralisation in Shona literature.

2.2 Crime as Deviance

Among the sociological works on crime the researcher found important is Goode (1994). It focuses on deviance, its definition, causes, and types of deviant behaviour such as crime,

family violence and prostitution among others which are within the ambit of this research. The author takes a multi-cultural approach in the study of deviance although it excludes African cultures. This work will go a long way in helping the researcher to have a broader understanding of the concept of deviance and its various forms which include crime. However, this research will define deviance from a Shona cultural and moral point of view and attempt to situate it in the context of post-independence Zimbabwe's political, social and economic developments.

The same can be said about Thio (1988) who gives a broad analysis of the concept of deviance and the various ways it manifest itself. There is some section dealing with crime as being part of deviance and also gives the theoretical aspect in its analysis which is quite important as it also forms part of the discussions in this research. This will help in analysing what are given as the causes of deviance by the writers of the fictional works under discussion in this research and also the solutions to the problem. Apart from putting deviance (crime included) in the context of Shona culture and the post-independence Zimbabwe which is not covered in Thio's work, this research will go further and analyse it in the context of moralisation in Shona literature.

There is also the work of Adler, Muller and Laufer (2007) which explores the sociological reasons of committing crime and the types of crimes and possible solutions to curb criminal activities. It goes on to discuss various theories related to criminality like the anomie theory, social control theory and cultural deviance theories. Although it focuses on American societies which have a different background to those in Africa and Zimbabwe in particular, the research is useful in critiquing the manner in which the writers understand the subject of criminology including the theoretical approaches and how it (crime) can be prevented. However, this research will differ in the sense that the analysis is done in the context of the

political, social and economic developments in post-independence Zimbabwe and also in the context of moralisation in Shona literature.

Another work on the sociology of deviance which is of great significance to this research is that of Haralambos and Holborn (2008) which devotes a section of the book to issues related to deviance and crime. This book is useful in this research as it goes into great detail on the understanding of deviance, various ideas on what causes deviance by explaining various sociological theories on the subject and the significance of having deviance in society as well as what can be done to solve problems associated with deviance. The book therefore makes an invaluable contribution in the research by providing insights on what deviance is and the various theoretical groundings upon which criticism can be based. This research however would be focusing on deviance from a Shona cultural point of view and also linking it to the political, social and economic developments in post-independence Zimbabwe. Above all, the discussions would be linked to moralisation in the context of Shona literature and how this affects its development. The same can be said about Giddens (2001). The work also has a chapter on deviance and crime. It is quite significant in this research as it explores the relationship between deviance and crime, the overlaps that exist between the two. This is quite important as this research treats crime as a form of deviance and therefore will get information on how the concepts are related. Another important aspect raised by Giddens is that sociologists studying deviant behaviour seek to understand why certain behaviours are widely regarded as deviant and how these notions of deviance are applied differently to people in society. The study of deviance therefore directs our attention to social power, as well as influence of social power and class. This viewpoint becomes handy in this research as it contextualises deviance in terms of the political, social and economic forces operating in post-independence Zimbabwe.

McNeill and Townley (1989) is another work from which this research will benefit. It discusses various sociological perspectives from which one can ground his or her discussions on deviance. These include the symbolic interactionist, functionalist and Marxist perspectives. Also, there is discussion on the evolution that the theories have undergone from the pioneering proponents and the subsequent ones. The theoretical perspectives will help in this research the conceptualisation of deviance as a sociological concept. The attempt to link deviance to social problems is another worthy contribution as it shifts from analysing deviants as individuals but as members of particular societies which is the approach taken in this research. However, this research will anchor its deliberations on Shona fiction and how it handles the issue of deviance in the context of post-independence Zimbabwe and ultimately how this impacts on moralisation and development of the fiction.

Bartollas' (1993) research is multidimensional in as far as the conceptualisation of delinquency is concerned as it looks into the sociocultural, legal, political, economic and historical contexts. The author also analyses the social backgrounds, attitudes and behaviour of the chronic offenders. Apart from this, the social policy on dealing with the problem is suggested at the end of the discussions in every chapter with what is needed to improve the society's response to the delinquent. The study of delinquency is focused on the American society examining it in its wider social context and recommending policy directions to handle more effectively delinquency in the American society. In spite of the fact that it focuses on the American society, this research benefits from how deviant behaviour like crime can be linked to various contexts like the cultural, political, economic and historical ones and also the possible remedies to the problems which are some of its major objectives. In this research, the post-independence Zimbabwean context becomes the basis for the analysis. It will also seek to conceptualise deviance from a Shona cultural and moral point of view.

Box (1983) questions the orthodox view that it is the powerlessness that leads to serious criminal behaviour by focusing on the serious crimes committed by those in positions of power and privilege, particularly in government agencies and multinational corporations. He advances the view that powerless groups like women hardly commit any crime at all. Through raising issues that deal with power and crime, this research benefits in its attempts to see how deviance (in this case crime) relates to the structure of society of post-independence Zimbabwe and how the different writers handle the issue. However, it goes further to be different as it analyses this in the context of moralisation in Shona literature and its possible influence on the vision of the writers of the fictional works under exegesis.

From the website *www. Sociology.org.uk* (accessed 20 April, 2012), there is a section on crime and deviance which explores the nature of conformity and deviation from social rules particularly in the British and other societies. Among the other things which it focuses on is the social distribution of crime and deviance, crime being a major aspect of deviant behaviour and how it relates to various social categories like class, age, gender, ethnicity and locality. It also explores the various theories relating to deviance and crime which explain certain issues related to the two concepts. The issue of deviance is being analysed on the basis of how power is distributed in society, that is, the way social rules are created and applied thereby examining the concept as a means of understanding the nature of social conformity and crime and deviance. Another vital aspect that is raised in the discussion is how society reacts to deviant behaviour together with the roles and responsibilities of the police, courts and penal system. This section is significant in this research as it provides the various dimensions from which the research can conceptualise deviance as well as the social factors that come into play in its development. Above all, it also provides various sociological theoretical frameworks with which to understand crime. This research then uses them to understand

deviance in the post-independence Zimbabwean situation and how the selected post-independence Shona fictional works portray it.

Regoli, Hewitt and Delisi (2007) dwell on the definition of delinquency, violent youth crime, and illegal drug use. These are then explained in the context of sociological theories like labelling and conflict explanations. What is most pertinent is the social context of delinquency as well as providing a comprehensive theoretical framework for the comprehension of the evolving phenomenon of understanding delinquency. It also notes the fact that criminology has become more interdisciplinary. Although not focusing on the post-independence Zimbabwean situation in particular, this research benefits in the sense that the book offers the theoretical understanding of deviant behaviour which are targeted herein such as crime and how it relates to other disciplines which are not sociology.

Karofi and Mwanza (2006) analyse the effects of globalisation on the committing of crime looking at what they term the criminogenic effects of crime. They outline those crimes where people are forced to “migrate into illegality” because of economic reasons that include being impoverished and being marginalised, political conflicts as well as sociocultural changes. Their major concern is to unravel the relationship between different types of crime and globalisation by looking for instance on how technological advancements such as travel and migration, internet and freedom of circulation and establishment of global markets make the world a small place of activity and committing crime. This research benefits from the article in the sense that it reveals how crime is linked to other forces which could be political, social or economic and thus facilitates broader understanding of the subject. It will also help in evaluating what the writers of the literary works under discussion view as the possible solutions to the problem of crime. However, this research seeks to analyse how the issue of moralisation in Shona literature comes to influence the vision of writers of the targeted fictional works.

2.3 Family Violence and Negligence of Duty as Deviance

There are also some researches that have been done that focusing on family violence and negligent of responsibilities by family members which constitute part of deviant behaviour discussed in this research. This can be in the form of struggles between spouses or even other members of different gender and at times between parents and children. Those works discussed in this research include that by Pickup, Williams and Sweetman (2000) which focuses on the prevalence, forms and impact of violence against women as well as the contexts in which the violence occurs in various social institutions. The first section of their research examines definitions of violence against women and attempts to explain why it is a problem around the world. Then the second section looks into the strategies to counter violence against women from over thirty countries in the world of which Zimbabwe, through the Msasa Project, is among the African countries alongside Kenya and non-African countries such as Brazil and Canada. Whilst the ideas generated in their research are not informed by what happens in literary works, they are fundamental in that they help one to evaluate problems related to gender in institutions like families, a situation seen as a form of deviance in this research. This however, will be done in the context of the Shona cultural worldview as this research is on Shona literature. The aspect of linking deviance to the post-independence political, social and economic developments is crucial in this research thus differentiating it from Pickup, Williams and Sweetman`s.

Evans (2003) notes that gender defines and shapes our lives in society. He explores the extent to which social theory has engaged and illuminated the question of relations between genders and between gender and the social world, why gender matters to social theory and how sociological theory addresses the meaning and expression of gender. The question addressed in the book is how this process occurs, and what the social consequences might be. Although not viewing the gender related problems as some of deviance as this research does,

this work by Evans is important in that it will help in understanding some aspects of deviance targeted in this research which are related to family issues which include irresponsibility on the part of family members, violence and how these relate to the social world and gender in particular. Again, this will be done from a Shona cultural point of view and above all in the context of the post-independence Zimbabwe which is absent from Evans` discussions.

Momsem (2004) views gender as a developmental issue. Issues considered include health and environment, gender in rural areas, effects of urbanisation, globalisation and the changing patterns of economic activity, rising prices, conflict situations in poor countries, diseases like HIV/AIDS and TB. Just like Evans` above book, this work by Momsem also helps the researcher to analyse the issues of deviance related to gender, their impact to development and how these occur in other countries and societies which are not Zimbabwe. This then helps to have a broader understanding of the issues related to deviance discussed in this research by looking at how it is viewed in other contexts outside Zimbabwe and Shona literature. However, in this research the bias will be on the Zimbabwean situation and Shona culture. The research will then go on further to study deviance in the context of moralisation in Shona literature and how this impact on the development of the literature especially on how the aspect of moralisation influences the vision of the writers on issues related to deviance.

One other article which helps in the understanding of how gender relates to deviance is by Alden (2008). The writer argues that in the fiction of Zimbabwean writers there is evidence of new strains in gender relations. She makes an observation that the traditional Shona gender roles were severely affected over a half century of colonisation followed by a relatively long liberation struggle stretching from 1967 to 1980 which led to an era of rapid modernisation and uneven economic transformation in the context of globalisation. The Shona people saw themselves as the primary subjects and sought to be agents of history as they felt wrenched

from traditional practices and plunged into circumstances that disrupted core notions of identity, including ideas about gender. The research by Alden is important in that it gives a historical context of the current strained gender relations in Zimbabwean society in post-colonial literary works which then forms the basis of understanding deviance within institutions like families as one gets to understand better the factors surrounding such relations between men and women. However, Alden does not view these strained gender relations as forms of deviance as this research does.

Chitando (2011) investigates how some selected writers narrate issues to do with the HIV and AIDS pandemic. It argues that generally the prevailing images of women in Zimbabwean society and literature are incapacitating. Male authors portray women in disempowering ways as lose, dangerous, weak and dependent on men. The vectors in the spread of HIV point towards women thus perpetuating existing sexist ideologies. The researcher attempts to investigate whether female authors differ with men in their representation of characters in the context of HIV and AIDS through exploring whether Zimbabwean female writers sanction, conform, undermine, assess critically or do away with the unconstructive images of women. Again, this research by Chitando although focusing on the images of women with regards to HIV and AIDS, is quite useful in analysing how the different forms of deviant behaviour especially those relating to the family institution relate to issues of gender. However, the analysis will be done in the context of moralisation in Shona literature and how it affects the literature's development through investigating its influence on the vision of the writes on issues relating to deviance.

Ndlovu (2011) argues that the family should be viewed as consisting of a multiplicity of contesting voices and or interests. Among the contesting voices are those of children, women,

young adults, homosexuals and heterosexuals. The researcher notes that although being aware of the wider socio-political contexts of Mungoshi's works, he gives more attention to contestation or conflict within the family in which the author notes that there is a fluid configuration of power and authority. The conflict and contestation express the desire to reformulate familial and to a larger extent social relationships. Also noted is that the gendered identities are subjected to various claims, negotiations, resistance and refutations. This research by Ndlovu is significant to this research in the sense that it gives a rather unique dimension of viewing conflicts within families without the usual bias of the socio-political being the basis of understanding them but as a way voicing discontent by the various members of the institution. However, this research will differ in the sense that the conflicts and contestations are viewed in the context of deviance in some post-independence fictional works which exclude those by Mungoshi. Again, the analysis of deviance embarked in this research is anchored in the aspects of moralisation in Shona literature an issue not addressed in Ndlovu's thesis.

Kahari (2009) analyses colonial and post- independence texts that deal with colonialism and the early years of Zimbabwean independence. He deals with issues of identity and how it affected blacks in the colonial and post- independence era. Kahari assesses how writers understand the issue of identity. This study benefits from Kahari's critical work on the issue of identity as this has a bearing on how people relate as individuals and families. However, Kahari does not explore how loss of identity relates to deviance and above all the literary texts under exegesis in this research are later publications of the post -independence period. It will go further to explicate the writers' portrayal of the period after 2000 in which the Zimbabwean crisis was at its zenith and how this links to deviance.

2.4 Critics on Deviance in Zimbabwean Literature and the Post- Independence Crisis

As already been alluded to in the introduction, a lot has been written about Shona literature particularly the novel. However, relatively little has been done on the short story which has quantitatively grown in the post-independence period. This study will therefore add some dimension in the understanding of post-independence literature particularly the novel and short story. One of the critical works on Shona Literature which cannot be ignored is the work of Chiwome (2002) which is basically a critique and revision of Kahari's earlier works as he deviates from his formalistic approach to a socio-historical one. Chiwome displays a bias towards works produced in the colonial world seeking an explanation as to why the works are underdeveloped in the qualitative sense as they ended up supporting the colonial system responsible for oppression of the blacks. This study is useful in the explanation of why some writers end up having a blurred social vision, that is producing literature which is not useful in the improvement of the lives of the majority of the people. Although displaying bias towards the literary works produced in the colonial period, the reasons could still be the same for the writers in the post-independence period and this becomes useful in determining whether Shona literature is developing or not. Also, there are some instances in which Chiwome analyses some deviant behaviour like crime and prostitution in colonial novels like *Pafunge* and *Garandichauya* but not in greater detail as this research intends to. However, this research will go further to examine this in the context of post-independence developments in Zimbabwe.

Veit-wild (1992) analyses how the common experiences of some Zimbabwean writers in Shona, Ndebele and English helped to shape trends in Zimbabwean literature. Although it does not focus on the period of focus of this research, that is the post-independence period, her work is useful in that it acknowledges that the writers' background is crucial in understanding the manner in which he or she articulates social reality. This becomes important in explaining why some writers in the post-independence era have particular

visions on the issues of deviance they articulate, which is one of the objectives of this research. The possible influence of moralisation in Shona literature and its impact on the vision of the writers also come under spotlight which is absent in Veit-Wild's work.

Gaidzanwa (1985) examines how writers in the country's three major languages Shona, Ndebele and English portray female characters in their works. However, unlike this research she focuses mainly on the novels written in the 1970s and a few English novels written in the early 1980s. Her work is significant in that it will help in the understanding of the presentation of female deviant characters and also to establish whether post-independence writers especially the male ones are not caught up in the same trap of stereotyping images of women as she shows to have been the case in the earlier works. The same can be said about Mashiri (1994) explores the possible reasons of rigidity by some writers in the portrayal of women in the post-independence works. However, Mashiri's work does not focus on deviance as this research does.

One of the researches which mainly focus on the post-independence literature in indigenous languages is by Gambahaya (1999). It comparatively looks at how poets in Shona and Ndebele respond to the political, economic and social developments in the post-independence era. This is quite useful in helping to understanding the conditions that transpire in post-independence Zimbabwe and how these are captured in the literary works. However, this research, apart from analysing different literary genres from those analysed by Gambahaya, focuses on deviance and moralisation relating it to post-independence realities which is not her major concern.

There are other critical works on Shona literature which focus on how literature relates to history. These include Muwati's (2009) which dwells on the historical novel about Zimbabwe's liberation struggle written in Shona, Ndebele and English. He analyses how

literature responds to certain historical events and processes. Although it leaves out the post-independence period, his study is useful in that it shows that there is an intimate relationship between literature and history. This will help in this research in the effort to contextualise deviance as some of the issues can be best understood in the context of history. It also shows that writers should endeavour to correctly capture events in life as they unfold as this will help the people to transcend problems confronting them. This is similar to Mapara`s (2007) thesis which shows the relationship between literature and history. However, he has bias towards the colonial novel as he leaves out most post-independence novels and leaves out the short story which is the mainstay of this research.

Also focusing on the interface of literature and history is a doctoral thesis by Chigidi (2009) whose focus is analysing the way Zimbabwe`s liberation war is portrayed in Shona fiction and also the factors that shaped the writers` perspectives on that war. He identifies the factors which include the mood of celebration and euphoria, the dominant ideology of the time, situations of independence and freedom and literary competitions. He further notes that generally the writers romanticised the war and in the process simplified and distorted history. Whilst this research does not focus on the literary works of the liberation struggle, it similarly acknowledges that there is an intimate relationship between literature and history. This relationship becomes clear when the research evaluates the vision of the writers on the ideas on how deviance could be curbed and this can be viable if one does this in the context of the political, social and economic developments of the post-independence era. This is also the same case with the article by Muwati and Mutasa (2011) which focuses on the novels written and published between 1980 and 1985 and advances the thesis that the literature was or is legitimating the discourse of the new nationalist government at independence. The government needed state-centred narratives that would sanctify its rule and it seems the liberation war novel provided an undisputed source for such narratives and this pattern has

remained intact up to now. What the two researches reveal and vindicate is that it is difficult to detach literature from history which is the exact stance this research takes as some issues relating to deviance can be best understood in the context of history. This research will proceed to look at the various forms of deviance as well as the validity of the solutions given by the writers in order to curb the problem basing on political, social and economic realities obtaining in post-independence Zimbabwe.

Chinyowa (1994) gives crucial information on the political, social and economic developments in post-independence Zimbabwe and how the Shona playwrights respond to these developments. This therefore will help in understanding the trends in Shona literature focusing on the post-independence period. However, this research is different in the sense that on top of looking at different literary genres, Chinyowa does not link these to deviance and moralisation in Shona literature although he focuses on the post-independence period.

Makaudze (2009) provides a worthy contribution to this research as he makes an analysis of how post-independence writers treat various socio-economic issues in pre-colonial and post-independence Zimbabwe such as customs of the Shona people before the advent of colonialism, the gains of independence, emancipation of women, HIV and AIDS and its effects as well as the continued existence of poverty among Africans. This study is essential in that it acknowledges the existence of a crisis in Zimbabwe and how writers respond to it. However, it is not concerned with deviant activities and how they relate to moralisation which is the main concern of this research but will provide the framework for the analysis in the handling of deviance, how it is contextualised and the relevance of the suggested solutions.

One other significant research is that by Muponde and Primorac (2005). The research shows that literature cannot be understood separately from larger social trends thereby making a

statement about the Zimbabwean crisis of today. The research works in Muponde and Primorac's book are from a varied background such as history, economics, political and social sciences. Therefore, these works are important to this researcher in his endeavour to understand deviance using multi-disciplinary approaches and contexts which will help to have a broader conceptualisation. The focus however will be on Shona literature and the Shona peoples' cultural values as the basis for the conceptualisation and analysis of deviance.

Another useful critical work of literature is that of Primorac (2006). This is an exploration of the ways in which Zimbabwean fictional texts rehearse, refract and interrogate themes and events. It starts from the premise that all literature has the capacity to participate in and comment on social change, and that novels are particularly well placed to do so because of their formal malleability and the narrativity they share with historical accounts of events. It gives detailed accounts of post-independence Zimbabwean novels. The author looks at the politics of literary form, and although the texts do not directly refer to the crisis experienced in Zimbabwe, they nevertheless contain a powerful commentary on some of its key aspects. It deals mostly with the colonial rather than the post colonial period of Zimbabwe's history. It also discusses questions to do with the social functioning of Zimbabwean fiction, and with methodologies of reading fictional texts. As a point of departure from Primorac's work, this research will focus on the portrayal of the Zimbabwean crisis after 2000 and the texts that reflect this period in short stories and novels in Shona and how this relates to the various forms of deviant behaviour analysed in this research. However, the ideas in Primorac's book will help the study to have wider appreciation of the context of some of the issues raised in the literature of the period under study.

Rukuni (2009) shows how leaders can lead their states in ways that can help to improve the welfare of their people and cultivate a positive mindset that values the development of the African space. This understanding is important in this research as it assumes that deviance is

related to problems or crises obtaining in society and therefore a stable society is crucial in the efforts to curb deviance in society. The ideas generated by Rukuni therefore help in the efforts by the researcher to evaluate the plausibility of the solutions suggested by the authors of the fictional works under study. In his other book, Rukuni (2007) defines what it means to be an African and how it helps in improving the ability of people of Africa to work together. He shows how people can capacitate themselves in rebuilding their nations and being good leaders of their families, communities, business, country and even globally. Although the ideas generated by the writer in these works are not based on works of literature, they raise fundamental issues on how Africans have lost their cultural bearings in modern life and this form the basis for the conceptualisation of deviance in this research and what the writers of the literary works under review suggest as the way forward to reduce problems related to deviance.

Chinyowa (2001) notes that there were euphoric expectations by the people of Zimbabwe after the attaining of freedom from colonisation. He notes that the glorious promises of the protracted liberation struggle (1966-1980) have apparently been betrayed by the futile material gains of independence. His major objective is to discuss the question of identity in the selected literary works published after independence. The critic observes that the general picture emanating from these literary works is that the black majority's desire for freedom and a fulfilling spiritual identity is being thwarted by the effects of the unfavourable structures of the post-colonial period. Although the research by Chinyowa does not focus on deviance and its various manifestations which is priority of this research, it is useful in understanding the conditions that the people in post-independence Zimbabwe find themselves in and how these relate to deviance.

Bond and Manyanya (2003) provide essential criticism to the political, economic and social crisis that the people of Zimbabwe are facing. Although the work does not analyse deviance

in fictional works, it provides the basis for the criticism done in this research as it provides vital information on the situation on the ground as far as the post-independence crisis and how it happened. The same can be said about Hammar and Raftopoulos (2003) and Sithole (1999) which seek a political explanation to the existing crisis in Zimbabwe. The ideas in these critical works become helpful in this researchers`endeavour to analyse if the writer`s handling of the causes and solutions to deviance is valid and relevant to the situation obtaining on the ground in post-independence Zimbabwe.

Mangezvo (1996) makes an exploratory study of the effects of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) had on the people. The work does not constitute part of literary criticism and does not address issues related to deviance but will help this researcher on the criticism on the way the writers of the fictional works under discussion handle the aspect of deviance by providing insights on the political, social and economic developments in post-independence Zimbabwe. The coming in of ESAP is generally viewed as marking the beginning of the Zimbabwean crisis which is the context in which the fictional works under exegesis are produced and therefore this research will situate deviance in that particular context.

Raftopoulos` (2008) research comments on the genesis of the Zimbabwean crisis. It covers the period stretching from the late 1980s looking at the current political, social and economic problems affecting the nation. He notes that there is a combination of political and economic decline which has affected the people of Zimbabwe. He further observes that whilst the crisis had its origins in the long-term structural political and economic legacies of the colonial regime as well as the political legacies of African nationalist policies. The crisis manifested itself in multiple ways that involve struggles and confrontations over land and property rights, contestations over the history and meanings of nationalism and citizenship, the emergence of critical civic society groups revolving around trade unionism. According to him, the key

aspect of the crisis was the rapid decline of the economy, characterised by among other things steep decline in industrial and agricultural activity, historic levels of hyperinflation, informalisation of labour, and dollarisation of economic transactions, displacements and a critical erosion of livelihoods. The ideas propagated by the Raftopoulos aid in the understanding of the challenges confronting the people of Zimbabwe and how these relate to the different types of deviant behaviour and how these can be resolved as propagated by the fictional works under discussion in this research.

Another useful research is by Kurotwi (2003). It explains what Zimbabwe is and what outsiders want from it and shows how Zimbabweans help in their own incarceration by abusing privileges they have by supping with enemies. He regards the Zimbabwean future as bleak if the future generations are not properly guided by the things that hold them together such as self identity in search of a prosperous future. His ideas though reflective of the early years of the twenty- first century, are helpful in the understanding of the forces at play in Zimbabwe. This research goes on to analyse how these forces help in the moulding of peoples` behaviour and to be specific how it relates to deviance. If one understands the context in which deviance exists, then it becomes easier to find solutions to the problems. The issue of moralisation in Shona literature and how it influences the writers` vision in the manner they handle deviance is also of paramount importance in this research which is not a concern to Kurotwi.

Wasosa (2007) comparatively analyses the projection of social, political and economic realities in post-independence Zimbabwe in the novels *Mapenzi* (1999) and *Chairman of Fools* (2005). He focuses on how the writers` use of characters` mental instability both as a technique and condition to portray the problems confronting people in the country. This research is quite helpful as, apart from looking at one of the novels under discussion in this research *Mapenzi*, it aids in the endeavour to contextualise deviance in the political, social

and milieu of the post-independence era. However, this research differs in that, apart from focusing on the various forms of deviance in other literary works, it goes further to look at how Shona oral literature could possibly have influenced the handling of deviance in the context of moralisation and how this has affected the development of Shona literature.

Mazuruse's (2010) Master of Arts thesis is an investigation of the extent to which protest literature is indispensable in the struggle of African people to liberate themselves from imperialist servitude. Novels on socio-political protest show how the government has failed to deliver on most of its promises because of neo-colonialism and corruption. Novels on socio-cultural protest show how cultural innovations in post-independence Zimbabwe brought problems. The study comes to the conclusion that for literature to be reliable and useful to society it is not enough to highlight problems and challenges but it should go beyond that and offer constructive and corrective criticism. This shows that protest literature is a vital tool for social transformation in Zimbabwe. Whilst it is not the priority for Mazuruse's to focus on the manner in which the writers handle aspects related to deviant behaviour, the research becomes handy taking into cognisance that it looks at the post-independence problems and the role of literature in resolving them. Similarly, this research analyses how deviance is related to the prevalent political, social and economic problems of the post-independence period and how these can be resolved. This then is linked to the vision of the writers which makes it distinct from Mazuruse's thesis.

Another research that focuses on post-independence Shona literature is Tembo's (2012) doctoral thesis which pursues the quest and struggle for total liberation in post-independence Shona poetry. It looks at the politico-economic and socio-cultural factors that go against Africa's total liberation in general as well as women's liberation respectively. It

simultaneously makes judgments of the manner in which poets immerse their art in African existential philosophy. He makes the recommendation that the poets and other literary stakeholders need to widen their canvas beyond fighting internal oppression and internationalise their struggle, i.e. looking at both endogenous and exogenous factors that obstruct their authentic liberation. As the research focuses on obstacles to the realisation of independence by Zimbabweans, it then becomes significant to this research in critiquing the manner in which the fictional works under study herein contextualise deviance in terms of the reality obtaining in the political, economic and social spheres of the post-independence period. Also, Tembo does not concern himself with deviance and how the aspects of moralisation come to influence the vision of the writers of the literary works which is one of the major priorities of this research.

Muchemwa (2010) analyses English novels and short stories which include Valerie Tagwira's *The Uncertainty of Hope* (2006), Pettina Gappah's *An Elegy of Easterly* (2009) and Brian Chikwa's *Harare North* (2009). The main focus of the critic is on the millennial juncture of Zimbabwean history marked by the failure of the Zimbabwe state following a disastrous consequence of ethno-populism which has implications for freedom of artistic expression, identity politics and the security of populations. These literary works are a response to the crisis. The critic also notes that in Zimbabwean history, excluding the war of liberation of the 1970s, there have been no records of mass movements of people in direct response to state politics. His other observation is that the literary works focus on the experiences of a populace that has been externalised by the state and whose contributions to the welfare of those who remained cannot be overstated. Like the previous works above on post-independence Zimbabwe, the critical work by Muchemwa aids in the understanding of the period of what has been generally referred to as the Zimbabwean crisis which is the

setting of the fictional works under discussion in this research and how this has impacted on the people's behaviour and attitudes and probably what can be done to rectify the situation. It is vital to note that whilst Muchemwa's discussion does not focus on deviance and its manifestations as is the case with this research.

Chan and Ranka (2006) explore the crisis obtaining in the country not focusing only the political space in Zimbabwe but its international context as well. The major focus is on those areas of deprivation, exclusion and silence within the country that go beyond the daily face of politics. The articles are written either by Zimbabweans or internationally acknowledged "experts" on Zimbabwe, all agree that silences in and surrounding the African state cannot continue. This volume engages a multi-disciplinary approach through utilisation of the perspectives of diplomacy, health, law and literature in both English and Shona and those of the democratisation of Zimbabwe and its surrounding region. The various articles in this book are important in this research as they contribute to the understanding of the Zimbabwean crisis using different approaches including literature which is the target of this research. As pointed earlier on, most of the fictional works are set in the period now generally referred to as the Zimbabwean crisis and this becomes the context of analysing the writers' conception of deviance as well as the solutions to the problems. This research goes further on to analyse the concept of deviance in the context of moralisation in Shona literature which the articles in the above book do not address.

Yoshikuni (2007) focuses on what ensued after the encounter between African pre-colonial societies and colonial capitalism, how the traditional way of life was changed and how Africans changed themselves. However, the main issues addressed concern migrants and labour protests and African experiences in location. Although not focusing on deviance, this research is significant in that it shows the effects of modern life on Africans' behaviour and

this form the basis of understanding deviance in the context of the political, social and economic developments of the post-independence period.

Muchemwa and Zimunya (2008) examine the stylistic and thematic features which are used to disconnect, reconnect tracing how these are shaped by historical contexts. The 1990s unmask the socialist trappings of ZANU (PF) through the introduction of ESAP, the drought of 1991-92, War Veterans Compensation Fund (1996-97) and the Democratic Republic of Congo military adventure. According to them, the last two had disastrous effects on the economy, its downward spiral giving birth to a vibrant trade union movement, civil society and opposition political movements with which the ruling power has to contend using the tactics of infiltration, ruthlessness, disinformation, harassment and decimation. Although this research focuses on post-independence poetry mainly in English, it helps in the assessment on how the writers respond to the various challenges in post-independence Zimbabwe which is also one aspect of this research in its evaluation of how the writers of the selected fictional works in Shona link deviance to the existing forces in society.

Gambahaya and Muwati (2007) analyse the depiction of morality and the human condition in Shona and Ndebele novels. The criticism observes a clear link between morality and politics as well as the economic situation obtaining in the society. They further observe that most novels in Shona and Ndebele have institutionalised the narrow victim blame syndrome. Instead they should be seen to be unmasking the forces that to a larger extent shape the morality of the people. The argument raised by the two scholars is that such a creative modality is instructive as it provides an effective strategy for writers to explore social reality, in the process, this increases awareness about forces that have negatively impacted on people's lives. The main thesis postulated by the two researchers is that Africa's deplorable

economic conditions make rational moral choices a luxury which the majority can ill-afford. At the end of the day, morality is being linked to the subversive economic conditions in post-independence Zimbabwe. This is the same stance which this research takes in examining how the writers relate deviance to the prevailing political, social and economic conditions and if they fail to do so what could be the possible reasons for it.

Muwati (2006) focuses on HIV and AIDS. He observes that gender differences are the major point of reference in social existence and such conceptualisation inevitably leads writers to place both genders on a grading scale to see which poses the greatest danger to humanity or society. The unequivocal position of the writers is that women are largely responsible for the transmission of HIV and AIDS and other sexually transmitted infections. The researcher argues that such a vision is ideologically vapid and pedagogically subversive and disempowering in the contemporary African world where the fight against HIV/AIDS has assumed greater levels. Although his bias is on gender and HIV/AIDS and not deviance as is this research, his work is of importance when it comes to evaluating the aspects related to deviance basing on how the two genders are portrayed be it in crime, prostitution or deviant behaviour within families.

2.5 Critics on Oral-Literacy Link and Moralisation in African Literature

There are some critical works on literatures in Africa including Shona literature which focus on the manner in which oral literature has impacted on the development of the written literature. These include such works as that by Sackey (1991) which pays attention on the growth and development of modern African Literature. It is noted that the African traditional oral poetics is playing a very significant role in the development of modern literature. The critic notes that there is evidence in African poetry, drama and novel of this influence. The

African writers have found source in the African oral heritage a new enrichment and a new revitalisation of contemporary African writing. It observes this in the various writings of such prominent writers such as Ayi Kwei Armah, Ngugi wa Thiongò, Ama Aidoo, Chinua Achebe and Kofi Awoonor. Although not focusing on deviance, the observations by Sackey are important to this research in that they reveal that modern African literature has heritage in its oral literature which continues to influence it. This is then linked to what transpires in Shona written literature, how it is influenced by oral literature particularly on the aspect of moralisation and how this ultimately impacts on its development.

Chinweizu, Jemie and Madubuike (1980) have a section that looks at Africa's oral antecedents to the novel in which they dismiss Eurocentric perceptions on the alleged deficiencies of African orature and its alleged negative influence on the African novel. They note the influence that orature has had on written literature as they write, "These narratives have made thematic, technical and formal contributions to the African novel...In their themes and techniques, African novelists have utilised material from African tales, fables, epigrams, proverbs etc" (Chinweizu, Jemie and Madubuike, 1980:27). Again, this research will benefit in the sense that it shows that written literature in Africa, not excluding Shona literature, has been and continues to be influenced by oral literature. This research however will mainly focus on the aspect of moralisation and how this influences the writers' vision in their handling of deviant behaviour.

Kahari (1990) provides pioneering critical works on the Shona novel. He focuses mainly on the pre-colonial and colonial novels which he has termed "Old World" and "New World" novels respectively. Although there is no focus on the post-independence works as it is in this research, Kahari's work becomes useful as it gives information on the historical growth of the Shona novel as well as the oral-literacy link in the genre. This will help in this research to

explain the possible influence of Shona oral literature on some trends which continue to manifest themselves in the post-independence fictional works especially when it comes to moralisation and how it relates to deviance.

Kahari (1982) analyses the transformation of the traditional folktales, myths and legends which have elements of fantasy into the Shona Western-type novel. He observes that the oral art was transformed into the written form, a process which recognises written art as somehow being an improvement upon the old spoken narratives. Although his stance of viewing written Shona literature as being advanced more than the oral one has been widely dismissed by subsequent scholars like for example Chiwome (1996, 2002), his research is important in that it helps in the analysis on how Shona oral literature impacted on written literature particularly on the aspect of moralisation and ultimately the development of the written literature.

Another research by Kahari (1994) deals with the following aspects related to the romance and the epic among other issues, myths and fantasies, pastoralism, parallels and typologies, characterisation and narrative techniques, themes in plots, archetypal patterns and images. He notes that the Shona romance was not created as a replica of the English fiction but evolved out of an existing oral culture with its own ideology, beliefs and world view. The study also focuses on the romances' immediate antecedents, the traditional legends, chronicles and Shona mythology. Although focusing on the romance genre in particular, the study by Kahari vindicates the fact that oral literature has influence on written literature which is what this research investigates but focusing mainly on the aspect of moralisation and how it affects the writers' vision on deviance which is an issue that Kahari does not address.

In yet another research, Kahari (1997) makes a comprehensive study of Chakaipa's ethical values and narrative techniques, the Shona psyche and its relationship to the Christian

doctrine of eschatology or redemption. He notes that, though controversially, the simplistic, traditional naivety and the treacherous tone which so pervaded the folktale is also carried over into the new industrial genres of the novel. Of his major concern also is the biblical influence like St. Augustine's teachings, thematic concerns, characterisation and narrative techniques and the author's Christian and ethical values. Despite focusing on Chakaipa's works only, the research by Kahari is significant in examining the factors that influence moralisation in Shona literature which then is linked to how the writers of the fictional works analysed in this research handle aspects related to deviance in the context of post-independence Zimbabwe.

Chirere (1999) explores the innovativeness which is more on the stylistic and structural elements and how this impacts on the meaning of the novel. In his introduction, he cites Zhuwarara's argument on Zimbabwe Literature in Shona in which he (Zhuwarara) observes that the Shona have oral traditions which through language, folktales, myths and legends have shaped to some extent the texture of written Shona literature which emerged in the late 1950s. In the novels themselves, there is blending of elements of Shona legends and folktales with aspects of the Western novel. This observation would be helpful in this research's endeavour to see how oral literature has continued to influence written literature in post-independence especially with issues related to moralisation which then is linked to the portrayal of deviance.

Another critical work which looks at the relationship between Shona oral and written literature is Nyaungwa's (2008) thesis. The thesis investigates the degree and type of influence the Shona folktale has had on the writing of the Shona novel particularly on the development of the plot, setting and characterisation in the targeted literary works. On the

development of the plot, the study focuses on exposition, complication, climax and resolution. On setting it focuses on place, time or social circumstances. This study is vital in the sense that it shows that Shona oral literature indeed has influence on written but this research will do so with focus on how moralisation in oral literature has impacted on the novel with particular reference to how the writers handle aspects related to deviance in their works.

Chiwome (1998) analyses how a Zimbabwean writer, Solomon Mutsaers employs myths and legends to reconstruct past Zimbabwean history. He views orature as a rich source of historical information that has been documented today. Again, the study by Chiwome reinforces the ideas postulated by other critics on African literature that written literature is indeed influenced indebted to oral literature. This is one of the issues this research investigates but with focus on moralisation in Shona literature and how this relates to the authors' handling of deviance.

2. 6 Conclusion

The works reviewed in this chapter focus on various issues to be covered in this research. These include sociological works covering aspects on deviance which include the definitions and the controversies that go with it, types of deviant behaviour like prostitution, homosexuality, crime, violence within families and negligence of responsibilities, solutions to curb deviance as it is generally viewed as a social problem as well as the theoretical framework for the conceptualisation of deviance. Some of these works focus on European and American societies whilst others are on the African (Zimbabwe included) societies. Other research works reviewed are on African and Zimbabwean literatures which include

Shona literature which is the target of this research. Apart from these, there are also those works focusing on the post-independence crisis which is the context within which deviance is discussed. Among these works, there are those covering the history, politics, economics as well as social issues which all help in raising issues which enhance the understanding of deviance. Thus the literature reviewed has shown that this research, although it is on literature, takes a multidisciplinary approach. This approach therefore helps to have a broader understanding of the subject of deviance and at the same time studying it in the context of post-independence Zimbabwe and developments in Shona literature.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.0 Introduction

The previous chapter is the literature review which discusses the connection between the current research and others linked to the subject of deviance and moralisation as portrayed in post-independence Shona fictional works. This chapter focuses on the theoretical framework upon which the research is grounded. The significance of theories when it comes to literary criticism cannot be underestimated. One of the critics who analyses value of applying theories to literary criticism is Furusa in his 2002 doctoral thesis *An Appreciation of Critical Practice in Zimbabwean Literature*. He begins by analysing how literary theories originate. He notes that literary theories are a result of studying how literature is produced, the producers of literature, the conditions under which it is produced, the reasons for its production and the targeted audience. Therefore according to Furusa (ibid: 16) theories “establish a coherent set of concepts that serve as a central focus of literary studies.” Also, they provide both the critical methodology and criteria for the evaluation of literature. Ultimately, the theories are important as they ensure the growth and development of literature. One of the issues emphasised by Furusa is that it would be hard for critics to have meaningful research and evaluations of literature without basing their arguments on theories as there is need for systematically analysing literature and it is the theories that provide mechanisms for such analysis. As a way of summarising the significance of theories he deliberated on above, Furusa (ibid:17) says; “... a people`s literature develops or stagnates, flourishes or withers, strengthens or weakens according to the theories that set the tone for its creative and critical methods and provide concepts and criteria that mark its direction for development.” It is therefore critical that a researcher selects theories that are relevant to the nature of the research that one engages on. Apart from literary theories, the research also

utilises some sociological theories to unpack the discourse on the highly contentious subject of deviance. It is crucial that this research adopts a metatheoretical approach taking into cognisance the fluidity of the subject of deviance and the multidisciplinary nature of the research. Since the research is on literature, it will foreground the literary theories but without undervaluing the sociological theories as the concept of deviance falls within the domain of the discipline of sociology. The literary theories to be discussed are Afrocentricity, Africana-Womanism and Marxism whilst the sociological ones include the conflict theories, the labelling or symbolic interactionist theory as well as the functionalist theory. However, it is important to note that despite relying on a variety of theories, that is, both literary and sociological ones, the main theory which informs criticism in this research is Afrocentricity. This is because of the interconnectedness between culture and theory. Furusa (ibid) notes that literary theories exist and function within cultural frameworks and are a consequence of cultural assumptions and expectations of a people's literature. This prioritisation of Afrocentricity is important in this research as it allows the researcher to view deviance within the context of Shona culture by virtue of the theory's centeredness on African culture. However, the research still adopts an eclectic approach to cover as many issues as possible and also to cater for the controversies that may result from studying the subject of deviance.

3.1 Literary Theories

This subsection explores the literary theories on which criticism of this research is premised and these are Afrocentricity, Africana Womanism and Marxist literary theories. Attention is paid on the background of the theories, tenets of the theories and their relevance to this study.

3.1.1 Afrocentricity

As already indicated above, the main literary theory which informs the criticism of this research is Afrocentricity. Some of the major proponents of the theory include Molefi Kete Asante, Maulana Karenga, Kariamu Welsh-Asante, Marimba Ani, Chinweizu, Chinua Achebe and Ngugi wa Thiongò. However, it is Molefi Kete Asante who is widely regarded as the father of Afrocentricity or put differently, the leading proponent of the Afrocentric approach. This should not be mistaken to imply that Asante is the first to call for Africans to be centred in their culture and history. Asante himself pays tribute to Cheikh Anta Diop for having influenced his worldview of putting African history and culture at the centre of everything that has to do with Africans and their lives. It is through his 1980 book *Afrocentricity-The Theory of Social Change* that he popularised the concept with unprecedented vigour and first uses the term Afrocentricity in that book hence the credit he gets. This prompted subsequent proponents like Gray (2001) to praise the work as being the first in the modern era to succinctly explore what the theory entails and its implications to the life of Africans.

According to Asante (2007:29), “Afrocentricity is an intellectual perspective deriving its name from the centrality of the African people and phenomena in the interpretation of data.” To strengthen his definition, Asante (ibid) cites Karenga, one of the major proponents of the theory, who describes Afrocentricity as, “... a quality of thought that is rooted in the cultural heritage and human interest of African people.” Arguably, the theory is the most relevant in understanding the life of Africans, their challenges, fears, hopes and aspirations by virtue of its centeredness in their history and culture. This makes it problematic to solely rely on borrowed theories particularly western ones which have no interests in transforming the lives

of Africans as theories are products of particular societies' history and culture. Hudson-Weems (2004: xx) is quite unequivocal on the need for Africans to rely on their own theories:

I cannot stress enough the critical need today for Africana scholars throughout the world to create our own paradigms and theoretical frameworks for assessing our works. We need our own Africana theorists, not scholars who duplicate or use theories created by others in analyzing Africana texts. Indeed developing paradigms and critical theories, which is our true mission, makes possible for better monitoring interpretations of our works in an effort to keep them both authentic and accurate in order to maintain their originality in meaning and value.

Afrocentricity is therefore wholly an African centred theory. Asante (2007:16) defines it as:

A consciousness, quality of thought, mode of analysis and an actionable perspective where Africans seek, from agency to assert subject place within the context of African history.

Therefore one of the major issues emphasised under Afrocentricity is the need for Africans to be active participants in their lives and not to be on the periphery on issues that concern them.

Asante (ibid:17) further makes it clear that under Afrocentricity "the issue of agency is of paramount importance as the African people ought to be viewed and view themselves as agents rather than spectators to historical revolution and change that has to do with their lives." One can then argue that the ultimate goal of Afrocentricity is the transformation of the lives of the African people be it in political, social or economic spheres as it seeks to make them masters of their own destiny. Thus Afrocentricity views the African as the subject and not the object of his history. Also central to Afrocentricity is the idea that African peoples and interests must be viewed as actors and agency in human history, rather than as marginal to the European historical experience and cultural worldview that has erroneously been institutionalised as universal. Achebe (1989) speaks strongly against the imposition of European culture and civilisation as the universal mode upon which all other cultures of the world should be modelled.

As already alluded to, the theory strongly emphasises the significance of African culture and history in the analysis of information concerning African people. The emphasis on history is what Gray (2001: 101) terms “the Sankofan approach”. This implies that Afrocentricity both in theory and practice is rooted in African history. However, this is not to say that we must be stuck in our history and traditions remaining motionless but rather we should use these in an empowering way so as to confront and resolve our contemporary predicaments. Chinweizu (1975: 303) is quite clear on this when he says:

We should realise that a sterile worship of any tradition, not excluding the modern European, will bring cultural death, not renaissance.

Chinweizu also takes heed of Aime Cesaire’s warning that mere copying from our past is inadequate to face the current problems. This principle of Afrocentricity is what Gray (2001) calls Harmosis which basically calls for the harmonising of the ancient and traditional values of African culture in a manner that would be beneficial and empowering for the Africans. Chinweizu (ibid: 496-7) further notes that under Afrocentricity, “we ought to approach all problems and issues from the viewpoint of our own interests and work towards liberating ourselves and our culture in the new global world.” The theory therefore becomes relevant in this research by virtue of emphasising the importance of using African history to understand the current reality confronting the African people. Amuta (1989) argues that African literature should be deeply rooted in African history as it is the primary condition of its origin and understanding. In this research, the Zimbabwean history becomes important in the understanding of the developments in the post-independence era as some of the problems obtaining in the country can be best understood in the context of history. One of the proponents of the theory, Niane (1965: iv) argues that the African writers have the roles of historians. He notes that “the artist occupies the chair of history.” As already indicated, history will help in the understanding of the current situation obtaining in the country. This

becomes crucial in this research`s endeavour to find out if the writers are able to historically contextualise some forms of deviant behaviour.

One of the major tenets of Afrocentricity that this research adopts is that of “cultural centeredness” and location. Through emphasis on the importance of African culture, the theory becomes important in this research as it helps the researcher in the conceptualisation of deviance as the issue is culture specific: in other words what is perceived as deviance in one culture may not be seen as such in another cultural context. In this research therefore, the Shona people`s cultural aesthetics enshrined in their existential philosophy are the basis for the understanding of deviance as it is them (the Shona people) who are the target of the literature under exegesis. Prior to the advent of written literature which came through colonialism, the Shona people had their own literature which was verbal and it manifested itself through various forms that included folktales (*ngano*), proverbs, legends, myths and taboos and riddles. In all these art forms, the aspect of moralisation is of paramount importance and the ultimate goal is to provide mechanisms of countering deviance as the art forms have definitions and benchmarks of ethical behaviour. As for the proverbs, Hamutyinei and Plangger (1987: xix) argue that one of the major functions of proverbs, apart from verbalising customary law, is to enunciate rules of conduct in the Shona people`s lives. They further argue that the proverbs represent a people`s philosophy of life and “in so doing, they serve to impose some sort of regularity on the unfolding variety of life and to stress the proper form of behaviour or type of character or action to be expected” (xxi). Still on proverbs, Mandova (2013:357) also argues that “Shona proverbs are an expression of the *Unhu/Ubuntu* philosophy”. He notes that *Unhu* is a social philosophy which embodies virtues that celebrate mutual social responsibility, mutual assistance, trust, sharing, unselfishness, self-reliance, caring and respect for others among other ethical values. This philosophy

therefore carries with it certain specified expectations of what constitutes the right and acceptable behaviour. It is not surprising that most of the early Shona novelists make use of proverbs in their works and this can be reflected through the titles of the novels. Some examples cited in Hamutyinei and Plangger (ibid) are as follows; Patrick Chakaipa's *Rudo Ibofu* (1961), Ignatius Zvarevashe's *Museve Wade Nyama* (1983), Edward W. Kaugare's *Kukurukura Hunge Wapotswa* (1978), Amos Munjanja's *Rina Manyanga Hariputirwi* (1971) and Joyce Simango's *Zviuya Zviri Mberi* (1974). Even the post-independence Shona literary works continue to make use of the proverbial lore although this does not feature prominently on the titles as it was in the earlier works particularly those produced in the colonial era. This can be observed even inside the texts as the writers impart certain moral lessons to the readers using proverbs. The same can be said about how the Shona folktale influenced and continues to influence the modern writers. It is evident that the ultimate goal of the folktales is moralisation as they impart certain ethos that defined what is right or wrong (deviance). Mutasa, Nyota and Mapara (2008:32) comment on the didactic nature of folktales when they say:

Therefore, Ngano becomes the platform where people learn the dos and don'ts, as well as the repercussions on anyone who would violate an interdiction.

There are various types of folktales especially when it comes to characterisation. There are some with animal characters and in other instances inanimate characters whilst others have human characters or a mixture of the above. However, there is one salient feature in all folktales as the characters are polarised into two groups, the good and the bad. In a bid to impart moral values, those who do the virtuous things are rewarded whilst who are associated with vice (the deviant) are punished. Chiwome (2002) notes that this type of characterisation can be observed in some Shona novels as the writers attempt to sell certain moral values to the readers. The story tellers' major duty is to teach and socialise their audience in

accordance with the cultural values and expectations of their societies. Achebe in an 1989 essay entitled *The Novelist as a Teacher* emphasises the need for the African novelists to draw inspiration from the traditional story teller whose major responsibility was to teach his/her audience about the cultural worldview of the society and its history.

Apart from the proverbs and folktales, the Shona people have riddles which also play a critical role in imparting moral values to the people. Gelfand (1979) notes that among the Shona, riddles aid the young to learn about the existence of social values and equips them with the yardsticks to measure them. This is the same in other African societies as reflected by wa Gachanja and Kebaye (2013) who analyse the significance of riddles among the Abagussi people of Western Kenya. They note that riddles, regardless of being viewed by some Eurocentric critics as childish in nature and therefore not to be considered seriously, have various functionalities in societies and these include cultural, social and historical ones. Furthermore, they argue that riddles can be viewed as artistic attempts to express the dangers that are associated with the negation of the traditional practices. One example they cite is that of some riddles that advocate the communal approach to life discouraging individualism as it promotes selfishness widely viewed as a vice. The communal approach to life is also the one revered by the Shona people as it helps to unite people thereby cultivating the spirit of belonging and oneness.

One other way the Shona people impart morals in an attempt to curb deviance is through *zviera* (taboos). As put forward by Masaka and Chemhuru (2011), Shona taboos provide moral sanctions that help in the moulding of the people's *unhu* (virtue) in the community. This is achieved through threatening severe punishment as well as misfortune to those who may attempt to engage in anti-social behaviour. Masaka and Chemhuru (ibid:133) summarise the significance of the taboos when it comes to moralisation among the Shona as they note

that:

Taboos among the Shona have a teleological nature in that they are sanctions that are meant to inculcate the most appropriate traits in the person that would make him a worthy member of his community.

Some of the morals enshrined in the Shona taboos include avoiding bad behaviour like cruelty to others, sexual misconduct and selfishness. One can therefore conclude that the above indigenous forms of expression, that is, the proverbs, folktales, riddles and taboos reveal the fact that the Shona people were conscious of the debilitating consequences of deviance in society. These forms of expression therefore mounted a whole cultural corpus to contain deviance and define the benchmarks for ethical behaviour. Written African literature should therefore draw inspiration from its oral antecedents. Achebe (1989), Chinweizu, Madubuike and Jemmie (1981) note that the novelist should draw inspiration from the story teller who was not detached from his or her community as the product (folktale) was always relevant to the people of the community. Therefore, the novelists should ideally become conduits of propagating the community's worldview and philosophy of life. African oral literature still continues to play a significant role in the development of written literature in terms of both form and content. This relationship between oral and written literature is important in this research in its attempt to examine the possible influence of oral literature on the written particularly when it comes to moralisation and how this impacts on the vision of the writers and ultimately the development of Shona fiction.

As argued by Asante (op.cit), the theory's major objective is to enhance the political, economic and social transformation of the African people. This becomes crucial taking into cognisance the history of the Africans stretching from the period of slavery, colonialism and the prevalent neo-colonial forces which have provided various problems to the African people. The theory calls for the emancipation of the people in the wake of such challenges

and the approach to resolving the problems should be Afrocentric for it to be relevant. The theory provides assumptions on the roles and or responsibilities of writers and it is these assumptions that are used in the evaluation of whether the works of literature are of any significance in the transformation of the lives of the Zimbabwean people as it is hypothesised in this research that the prevalence of deviance is an indication of problems existing in society. Most proponents of Afrocentricity note that literature has a role to play in exposing the injustices existing in society thereby helping in the liberation of the oppressed. One such proponent is wa Thiong'o (1981) who argues that every writer is a writer in politics whether consciously or otherwise. He states that writers are expected to be on the side of the ordinary men and women who are oppressed in the societies they live in by exposing the injustices and what could be done to solve them. This perception on the role of literature in African societies becomes significant in this research as it helps in the criticism of what are given to be the causes of deviance and also it is equally important in the examination of the relevance of the solutions provided by the writers to curb deviance taking into cognisance the political, social and economic situation prevalent in the period of history (post-independence era) under discussion. As has already been stated deviance in this research is hypothesised as a symptom of a crisis obtaining in society and literature is expected to play a significant role in finding the solutions to the crisis. There is need for the writers to thoroughly analyse what is obtaining in the society first before suggesting the way out as they risk giving irrelevant solutions. This makes the theory relevant in this research as it helps in the criticism of the solutions given by the writers to curb deviance taking into cognisance the needs of the Shona (African) people by analysing whether the solutions are able to transform their lives for the better or otherwise. The transformation should be done within the context of African culture for it to be sensible as Asante (2007:30) contends:

Indeed, Afrocentricity contends that there could be no social or economic struggle

that would make sense if African people remained enamoured with the philosophical and intellectual positions of white hegemonic nationalism as it relates to Africa and African people.

This relates to the advocacy for cultural centeredness and location which is one of the major tenets of Afrocentricity.

One other issue that ought to be considered seriously under the tenets of Afrocentricity is that of audience. The proponents of the theory argue that African audience has to be the priority for African writers with the ultimate goal being to transform their (Africans) lives for the better. These proponents include Achebe (1989) who reinforces the point that it is unimaginable in his mind that an African writer can have a foreign audience as the target when producing his/her work. Therefore from an Afrocentric literary point of view, literary works ideally should help to propel the Africans forward in their lives by looking at the causes and solutions to their problems in the context of their culture and history. In particular reference to this research, the ideas generated by the writers of the Shona post-independence fictional works on the causes and solutions to deviance should be relevant to the people's needs, hopes and aspirations by virtue of being anchored in their culture and history. This then would ultimately help in the evaluation of the vision of the writers through evaluating the relevance of the solutions to deviance as suggested in the fictional works being examined in this research. One other thing to be noted is that as a theory, Afrocentricity discourages pessimism but rather encourages confidence inspired by their culture and history and this should also be reflected in the literary works discussed in this research as the people battle to resolve problems they face as epitomised by the prevalence of deviance. Afrocentricity as a theory recognises the importance of both form and content as inseparable mutual categories in the articulation of society's political, social and economic experiences. Form becomes an expression of content and is determined by themes emanating from the political, social and economic conditions. This recognition of the importance of form will help the researcher in

the analysis of characterisation as depicted in the fictional works. Characterisation is the most important conduit of expressing the themes by the author and the manner in which he views the reality around him/her. This is captured by Priestly cited in Achebe (1989:59):

Characters in society make the novel...Society itself becomes more important to the serious novelist and indeed turns into a character itself, perhaps the chief character.

The images attached to characters therefore should not be detached from social reality. This then becomes important in this research as it attempts to analyse deviance in the context of the political, social and economic conditions of the post-independence Zimbabwe.

3.1.2 Africana Womanism

Another literary theory which this research relies on is Africana Womanism, propounded by Clenora Hudson-Weems in the late 1990s. Aldridge in Hudson-Weems (2004: xii) defines an Africana womanist as:

...a self-namer and self-definer who is family centred with a strong grounding in sisterhood and an unyielding belief in positive Africana male-female relationships as foundations for the survival of Africana people and humankind.

Also defining the Africana womanist Hill in Hudson-Weems (2008:5) observes that “an African womanist ...is a black woman activist who is family centred rather than female centred and who focuses on race and class empowerment before gender empowerment.” One of the major arguments raised by the proponents of the theory is that the problems affecting women of African descent should be addressed from an African perspective. With regards to this stance, Hudson-Weems (2004:24) articulates that the theory “... advances in a direction best suited for accuracy in authentic literary theory that is, creations and interpretation focusing on the totalling of the Black Women’s presence within our own rich and unique historical and cultural zones.”

As is in the case of Afrocentricity, history and culture are of paramount importance in

addressing the problems faced by African women. The tenets of Africana Womanism that would be adopted in this research are gender complementarity and family centeredness. Overall, African Womanism is defined as a movement that is family centred. The following are the qualities expected from an authentic Africana woman as postulated by Hudson-Weems (2004: xxii). The identified pointers are “self-namer, self-definer, family-centred, genuine in sisterhood, strong, in concert with male in struggle, whole, authentic, flexible role player, and respected, recognized, spiritual, male compatible, respectful of elders, adaptable, ambitious, mothering and nurturing.” The theory becomes relevant in the research in the analysis of male-female relationships particularly when it focuses on prostitution and family violence as forms of deviance. It becomes useful particularly in the analysis of the images given to both female and male characters as it detests the existence of acrimonious relationships between men and women as these deter development in resolving the problems facing the people.

3.1.3 Marxist Literary Theory

Another literary theory which this research will make use of is Marxism. The tenets of the theory correspond to those of the conflict theory which are noted below and those of the conflict theory are a sociological conceptualisation of deviance. From the website [En.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marxist Literary Theory](http://En.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marxist_Literary_Theory) (accessed 20 April 2012), Karl Marx is often regarded as the founder of Socialism and his studies have provided a basis for much in socialist theory and research. He collaborated with Friedrich Engels on various publications on capitalism, class struggles and socialist movements. It is significant to point out that it is quite normal and justified to come across where there is reference to Marxist literary theories. Forgacs (1982:166) notes that this is because “Marxism as an ideology generally is a living body of thought and a set of real political practices.” According to Forgacs, Marxism is

influenced by changes in the world and aims to intervene to change the world and this is conducive to have many developments, rifts and reassessments in Marxism to suit the changes. These reproduce themselves to some extent in works of literature produced by Marxists. The other reason as postulated by Forgacs (ibid) is that the Marxist thinking tends to have a hybrid character as it has taken shape by scrutinising and sharpening itself not only on the real world and on its texts but also against non-Marxist thinking.

Some of Marx's famous works include *The Communist Manifesto* (1845) and *The Preface to the Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859). His major argument is that the history of all societies is the history of class struggle. Since class struggle is the driving force of history, one must analyse the class relations that typify certain historical epochs, the antagonisms and forms of class struggle embodied in such class relations. This involves the development of class consciousness and follows the revolutionary movements that challenge the dominant classes. According to Selden and Widdowson (1993), the Marxists insist that the economic aspect of society is the ultimate determinant of all other aspects of society. Forgacs (ibid) corroborates this model of base and superstructure which Marx succinctly outlined in the foreword to *Towards a Critique of Political Economy*. According to Forgacs, one of the things which differentiated Marx's view of history and society from his predecessors and contemporaries was the emphasis it placed on the socio-economic element in any society as the ultimate determinant of that society's character. Socio-economic in this case refers to the social relations created by the kind of economic production prevalent in a given society. In a capitalist society, it is the relationship between the capitalist and proletarian. It is founded on exploitation and therefore is one of potential or actual conflict. The basic economic structure (or base) engenders a number of social institutions and beliefs which regulates the conflict and maintain the mode of production in society. According to

Marxists, ultimately all ideological systems are products of real social and economic existence.

From a Marxist literary point of view, socialist realism should be regarded as the highest form of literature- a theory based on art movement that depicted and glorified the proletariat's struggle towards societal development. Works of literature have to focus on the lives of the different classes. The other postulation is that literary creation is a result of both subject inspiration and the objective influence of the writer's surroundings. The system of belief relies on the social classes as well as the economic and political development of society. Forgacs (ibid: 167) stresses the point that there is "consensus among Marxists that literature can be properly understood within a larger framework of social reality." They argue that treating literature in isolation, excluding and divorcing it from society will be inadequate in explaining what literature is. It is erroneous to treat literature as a product of a writer's individual processes. Also as noted in Forgacs (ibid), Marxism notes that literature has a role to play in revolutions that should happen in societies. This is the stance by one of the proponents of the theory Leon Trotsky in his work *Literature and Revolution* of 1924 in which he argues that art has always borne the stamp of the ruling class and was primarily a vehicle that expressed its tastes and sensibilities. According to Trotsky, the task of the proletariat therefore is to assimilate all the cultural achievements of the past and lay the foundations for truly classless and human culture and art in the future.

This research will benefit in a number of ways from the arguments raised in Marxist literary theories. Firstly, Marxism acknowledges the fact that literature is a product of society and this becomes useful in this research as it attempts to link the portrayal of deviance to the political, social and economic forces operating in post-independence Zimbabwe. Society has a role to play in the development of literature and therefore literature should not be detached

from reality. Secondly, the theory acknowledges that conflict in societies is a result of class struggles which basically is a result of capitalism. It is without doubt that the post-independence Zimbabwean society is capitalist in nature as it is constituted by classes of the rich and the poor. As postulated by Marxists, the poor engage in deviant activities like crime because of the economic problems they face because of capitalism. Forces in operation in society have influence in the development of deviance which is one other assumption of this research. The other issue raised by Marxists which is significant in this research is its acknowledgement that literature has a role to play in the liberation of the oppressed and disadvantaged and in the case of this research, the deviant. The theory will therefore help the researcher to analyse the side from which the writers view the reality concerning the problems confronting the deviants and if their works are able to emancipate the deviants from the challenges they are facing. Literature should be there to liberate and transform the people's lives especially when they face oppression from the politically and economically powerful groups. In this research, those characters with deviant behaviour are assumed to be victims of those wielding political and economic power and therefore literature should provide practical and valuable solutions so that they resolve their predicaments.

Regardless of the relevance of the Marxist literary theory as argued above, it is important to note that the theory has been subjected to a barrage of attacks by some Afrocentric scholars such as Armah (1984) and Furusa (2002). One of the major accusations raised by Armah (ibid: 81) is that the approach by Marxists to non-European societies is "decidedly colonialist, Western, Eurocentric and hegemonistic." He goes further to highlight the fact that Marxism's approach to the non-European majority of the world "is demonstrably racist, racist in a prejudiced, determined, dishonest and intelligent fashion." This, according to Armah, is evidently demonstrated through the notable absence of Africa in Marxist literature. However,

the absence according to Armah is not only intentional but also premeditated. This, he argues, originates from the assumption that Africa had no history and had to be initiated into the stream of history through European conquest. The fact that Marx and Engels had no interest in studying African history is not assuming as they believed that nothing was in existence in Africa. The fourth issue raised against Marxism by Armah is the “linear philosophy of history” adopted by Marx and Engels. This stance reinforced the racist schema that put the Anglo-Saxons at the world’s movement toward communism. What this implied was that the non-Western values (including those of Africa) were necessarily inferior to Western values and destined toward them.

When it comes to Furusa, his major argument is that since literary theories are grounded in particular cultures and therefore products of these cultures, it does not help the black Zimbabwean (African) literary critics to rely on theories that are not of African origin. He stresses the weaknesses he sees in the critical works of black Zimbabweans who rely on foreign theories like Marxism, Formalism and Structuralism. According to him, relying on these theories will ultimately result in the underdevelopment of Zimbabwean literature and even its distortion. It eventually leads to indoctrination so that the black Zimbabwean would view themselves as being marginals to Europe and being objects instead of being subjects. Whilst the arguments of centeredness are convincing as raised by Furusa and the inherent weaknesses of the Marxist theory as espoused by Armah, this researcher finds it prudent to select some tenets from theories which are not of African origin like Marxism. This approach would allow the research to view the problem from a multiplicity of perspectives which has the advantage of opening up avenues that would be otherwise closed when one is restricted to a single theory. The danger of being grounded in a single theory is that you would approach and interpret phenomena from a single vantage viewpoint. It is important to

broaden the analytical tools by selecting what one thinks is significant from the theories that are not African in origin and complement that which obtains in the Afrocentric theories. The infusion of ideas from the outside cultures if done carefully without altering the fundamental traditions will strengthen the culture rather than weaken it.

3.2 Sociological Theories

In this subsection, focus is on the three sociological theories namely, the conflict theory, the labelling or symbolic interactionist theory and the functionalist theory. What is dealt with is how the theories explain deviance in the context of what transpires in society and this helps in the endeavour to have a better conceptualisation of the subject as a sociological issue.

3.2.1 The Conflict Theory

Among the sociological theories this research benefits from is the conflict theory which in essence is a Marxist perspective on deviance. Apart from Marx, the other conflict theoreticians include sociologists such as William Chambliss, Milton Markoff, Simmel, Coser, Dahrendorf and Frank Pearce Vold, Quinney, Turk, Taylor, Walton and Young, Chambliss among others. The theory resulted from the sociologists who studied the works of Karl Marx and other Marxists. As put forward by Haralambos and Holborn (2008: 381), their main argument is that “power is possessed by those with and who control the means of production.” This then makes the superstructure of society to reflect the relations between the powerful and the powerless, the ruling and subject classes. The state, agents of social control, the law and definitions of deviance in general reflect and serve the interests of the ruling class. Schaefer (2010:178) notes that the underlying argument under the conflict theory is that “people with power protect their own interests and define deviance to suit their own needs.” The conflict theory is based on the view that the fundamental causes of deviance including

crime are the social and economic forces operating within society. According to Clinard and Meier (2008), the conflict theories focus their explanations on deviant behaviour through addressing the origins of the norms or rules rather than the behaviour that violates the established rules. They hinge their arguments on the pluralistic nature of society and the differential distribution of wealth and power among the groups constituting the society. They note that some have social power which enables them to formulate rules that protect their interests which at the same time excludes those of others. It is from this situation that the conflict theory conceives society as being made of competing groups which are in conflict with one another as those with power create laws that protect their own interests. Most of the proponents of the theory reveal considerable interest in the origins of the norms that define certain acts as acts of deviance. Hester and Eglin (1992) cited in Clinard and Meier (ibid) argue that from the point of view of conflict theorists, deviance represents behaviour that conflicts with the standards of segments of society who wield the power to shape public opinion and social policies. From this perspective, crime and other forms of deviance are socially constructed. As noted during the deliberations on the Marxist Literary theory, the Marxists view society not as a product of consensus but a result of the continued struggle between social classes. According to them, definitions of deviance emanate from class conflict between the powerful and those who are powerless. Clinard and Meier (ibid) observe that with specific regards to Karl Marx, the society is an uneasy relationship between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. According to them, Marx further argues that the state is not neutral when it comes to the two groups as it is found to be defending the interests of the ruling class. He also argues that developing capitalism would compel proliferation of criminal laws to act as important mechanisms by which rulers could maintain order. The laws that are formulated are there to prohibit certain conduct that might threaten the rulers' interests. At the end of the day, the social conflict is tied to the economic relationships of

capitalism.

Although there could be differences among the theorists, they agree on certain views on crime as a reflection of social power differentials. It is not unusual for conflict theorists to view crime as a rational act. An example as put forward by Taylor, Walton and Young (1973:221) is that “thieves steal because of social conditions created by inequitable distribution of wealth which compels them to do so”. Colvin and Pauly (1983) argue that economic repression of workers creates alienation from society and these in turn produce criminality.

The conflict model has undoubtedly made an important contribution to the study of deviance. It focuses on the role of political, economic and social structure particularly laws enacted by the political elite/ state in defining deviance. They note that the definitions of crime reflect society’s values and not merely violations of those values. Conflict theorists highlight the basic value in deviance: society’s transformation of values into laws and other rules. Cullen and Agrew (2003:334-335) make the following summation of what the conflict theory says about deviance:

- 1) Deviance is related to inequalities to power and materialism in a capitalist society. Such inequalities lead to crime as capitalism provides the opportunity for the powerful to exploit the weak.
- 2) Social power is the key of defining what deviance is thereby making the consideration of deviance not being an impartial process.
- 3) System of social control including the justice system usually upholds the interests of the capitalist system rather than those of the poor and socially marginalised.
- 4) This makes it feasible for one to conclude that the root cause of deviance is capitalism

which neglects the poor. The poor often turn to crime and forms of escapism such as alcohol, drugs and suicide.

At the end of the day, the theory suggests that having a more equitable society through reducing the gap between the rich and the poor is fundamental as is the reform of systems of social control to make them more responsible to the needs of the poor. This theory becomes important to this research in a number of ways. Firstly, it gives clue as to who defines deviance in a society and this happens to be those with political, social and economic power. Secondly it observes that the causes of deviance are the social and economic forces operating in society and this becomes handy in this research's quest to find how convincing are the causes of deviance, that is, whether they are linked to the political social and economic forces operating in post-independence Zimbabwean society. Thirdly, it also helps in evaluating the validity and relevance of the solutions proposed by the writers as the theory advocates that an egalitarian society will do more to reduce the prevalence of deviance.

3.2.2 The Labelling Theory

The other sociological theory on deviance used in this research is the labelling theory also known as the symbolic interactionist perspective. Some of the proponents of the theory include Lemert, Becker, Garfinkel, Goffman and Scheff among others. As noted by Clinard and Meier (2008), this theory views deviance of an individual to be a result of the individual's interaction with the society and it is that society that labels one deviant. The main idea propounded under this theory is that every individual interprets life through symbols that we learn from the main group to which he or she belongs. At times it is referred to as the interactionist perspective, paying attention to the results of the deviance's interaction with the conventional society, particularly the agents of social control. Unlike the conflict theory, it devotes little effort in explaining why certain individuals begin to engage in

deviance but is more concerned on the process through which society defines acts as deviance and the role of negative social sanctions in influencing individuals to engage in subsequent deviant acts. The theorists shift their attention from individuals and their actions and toward the dynamics of social definitions that label particular individuals or activities as deviants. Apart from this, they also focus on the effects of committing deviant acts. The theory emphasise the developmental process leading to deviance by detailing a sequence of events “with varying stages of initiation, acceptance, commitment, imprisonment in a deviant role are primary due to the actions of others.” (Traube and Little, 1999:376). The analysis of the process highlights the reactions to individuals or their actions by others who are termed the definers or labellers) or on acts perceived negatively by evaluating others. Therefore, the labelling theory incorporates two important components: a particular conception of deviance (the reactive conception) and a concern with the results of social control efforts known as the theory of secondary deviation. The labelling theorists claim that one can understand the relative and ambiguous concept of deviance only through examining the reactions of others to the behaviour. Becker (1974) in Clinard and Meier (ibid: 87) defines deviance as a consequence of the application “offender.” Thus the deviant is one to whom the label has been successfully applied; deviant behaviour is that people so label. What is crucial according to this definition is society’s reaction to an act, not the act itself. Therefore labelling theorist define deviance not by reference to the norms but by reference especially sanctions of the act’s social audience. In emphasising the label that society places on deviants, those theorists shift their attention from the origin of the deviant behaviour to the characteristics of the societal reactions experienced by the labelled individuals and consequences of the label for further deviation by the individuals.

As noted by Clinard and Meier (ibid), the theory identifies two kinds of deviance: primary

deviation or casual and occasional acts which are not supported by the individual's self-concept. Then there is secondary deviance when someone is labelled, perhaps repeatedly, as a deviant, comes to use deviance as a defence mechanism or an expression of role behaviour. They also note that those who agree to this theory of secondary deviation have used it to explain a number of different forms of deviance including homosexuality, drug use, crime and alcoholism. Secondary deviation is only one of the negative consequences of labelling. It is vital to note that the theory relies mainly on interactions between deviants and others in society. Giddens (2001) states that the theory emphasises that individuals become deviant through interaction with the social audience to their deviance, represented mainly by the actions of social control agents who may apply society's sanctions for deviant acts. According to the theory, labels sometimes force people to continue to occupy deviant roles.

Within this broad perspective of symbolic interactionism, there is the cultural transmission theory which says there is no innate, natural manner in which people interact with each other. This is because humans learn how to behave in social institutions. As put forward by Sutherland (1962) cited in Clinard and Meier (ibid), through interactions with a primary group and the significant others, people tend to acquire proper and improper behaviour. Under symbolic interactionism, there is also the social disorganisation theory which notes that "increases in crime and deviance can be attributed to the absence or breakdown of communal relationships and social institutes like the family." (Schaefer 2010:174) Then there is also the differential association theory which argues that people learn to deviate through their association with others. Henslin (1998). As also noted in the preamble, under the interactionist perspective the focus is on "the relationship between deviants and those who define them as such." (Haralambos and Holborn (2008:373). It examines how and why particular individuals are defined as deviants and the effects of such a definition on their

future actions. Becker came up with the labelling theory in which he argues that social groups create deviance by making rules whose interaction constitutes deviance and by applying those rules to particular people and labelling them outsiders. According to Becker, there is no such thing as a deviant act, an act becomes deviance when others perceive and define it as such (Haralambos and Holborn, *ibid*). His argument is that deviance is not a quality that lies in the behaviour itself but in the interaction between the person who commits an act and those who respond to it. This theory becomes helpful in the contextualisation of deviance as it allows one to critique what are given as the cause of deviant behaviour and also it is the assumption of this research that deviance is not inherent but rather conditioned behaviour. This is important in the evaluation of the solutions suggested on their validity in the context of the prevailing environment. The labelling theory is important in the criticism embarked in this research by virtue of its emphasis on the society's role in the creation and conceptualisation of deviant behaviour. It also notes the important role formed by culture in the development of deviance as it is the norms that guide people and the violation of these creates deviance. This will be significant in this research on the definitions and conceptualisation of deviance on the basis of the Shona people's cultural values and their institutions as the research is on their literature. On the causes of deviance, the theory particularly the social disorganisation sub-theory helps in examining how the writers handle the causes of deviance as it attributes the prevalence of deviance to the lack of or breakdown of communal relationships like the family institution. This then is linked to the political, social and economic situation responsible for the crisis obtaining in the post-independence Zimbabwe. Also, this becomes useful in evaluating whether the manner of moralisation is relevant taking into cognisance the reality of the situation obtaining in society.

3.2.3 The Functionalist Theory

The third sociological theory which informs this research is the functionalist perspective on deviance. One of the pioneering functionalists is Emile Durkheim. According to Schaefer (2010), the functionalists view deviance as a common part of human existence. In Durkheim's view, punishments (both formal and non-formal) enacted within a cultural setting help to define acceptable behaviour and therefore contribute to stability. He introduced the term anomie to describe the situation when social control over individual behaviour has become ineffective and this leads to deviance. Anomie is a state of normlessness that occurs during the time of economic collapse. According to Henslin (1998), deviance is functional in society as it contributes to social order through its three main functions. The first one is that it clarifies moral boundaries and affirms norms, a group's ideas about how people should act and marks its social boundaries. Deviance then challenges those boundaries and to punish deviance is to assert what it means to be a group member. The second major function of deviance is that it enhances social unity as by punishing deviants it promotes the "we" feeling among the group members. The third is that it promotes social change when people attempt to seek solutions to deviance they address the problems affecting society. Therefore, the three functions make this theory relevant as it helps in the conceptualisation of what constitutes deviant behaviour by linking it to the morals cherished by society. It also acknowledges the view that the existence of deviance in society is an indicator of problems affecting it and this makes the theory important in this research's efforts to link deviance to the political, social and economic problems confronting the people in post-independence Zimbabwe. Finally, the need to seek solutions will help in assessing what the writers propose as solutions necessary in curbing deviant behaviour in society.

3.3 Conclusion

The discussion in this chapter was concerned with the theoretical framework upon which the

research is anchored. In a bid to cover various aspects and clarify certain issues which may be controversial as the subject of deviance is highly contentious, the research adopts an eclectic approach utilising various literary and sociological theories. Reliance on other theories which are not of African origin does not mean that one is not Afrocentric as Asante (2007:37) notes that "...the aims of Afrocentricity with regards to the cultural idea are not hegemonic." He further argues that Afrocentricists do not express interest in one race or culture dominating another as they express the belief that it is possible for the diverse populations of this world to live harmoniously but without giving up their fundamental traditions. The theories selected in this research therefore complement each other in addressing different issues related to deviance and the aspect of moralisation in Shona literature. As far as the theories are concerned, the research mainly relies on Afrocentricity by virtue of its prioritisation of the well-being of African people as it emphasises the importance of culture and history as determining their destiny. The Afrocentric theory also aims at transforming the lives of Africans whether it's in political, economic and social spheres which make them relevant in this research as deviance in this research is linked to the various problems within these spheres in the post-independence dispensation. The arguments raised under Afrocentricity are complemented by those obtaining in Africana-Womanism especially those that deal with Africana women's problems. Both theories agree on the need for Africans to be centred in their culture and history if they are to succeed in confronting their problems and transform their lives. The solutions to curb deviance are also analysed in the context of the political, economic and social developments obtaining in post-independence Zimbabwe. Regardless of the criticism raised by some Afrocentric critics on the Marxist literary theory particularly on the issue that it is Eurocentric as observed earlier on in this discussion, the theory is useful in this research as it augments on the issues raised under Afrocentricity and Africana Womanism especially on its argument that class conflicts and the disparities associated with

these are the fundamental causes of deviance. Just like the African-centred theories, the Marxist literary theory suggests that literature has a role to liberate people in a society with classes. When it comes to the sociological theories, these complement the literary theories especially when it comes to the conceptualisation of deviance and how the social structures come into play and mediate in the development of deviants in certain individuals. The conflict theory has some similar tenets with the Marxist literary theory as both have been inspired by the works of Karl Marx. Its main worry is on what causes deviance and this it attributes to class struggles prevalent in different societies. As for the labelling theory or symbolic interactionist, the main focus is on how the society helps in the development of deviance with bias on the process of acquiring that behaviour and the consequences associated with it. Finally, the functionalists view the existence of deviance in society from a positive point of view. The positive functionalities of deviance they raise are that it clarifies the people's moral boundaries as it reflects their norms. Also, it cultivates the spirit of unity among the members of society as people do not wish to be associated with deviance. The other issue argued by the functionalists is that deviance helps in restoring social order and tranquillity by indicating the wrongs in various social institutions and also how these may be resolved.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.0 Introduction

The previous chapter was an exploration of the theoretical framework which provides the mechanisms for criticism in this research. This chapter is focused on the research methodology and the various methods used in the collection of data. Research methodology in this case may be viewed as a systematic way of resolving a research problem, how the research has to be carried out and the reasons for embarking on such procedures. It is imperative that one comes up with the necessary research methodology that is relevant to the type of research that (s) he engages in. Generally, in research there are two types of methodologies that are used namely the quantitative and the qualitative approaches. Quantitative research deals with those researches based on quantitative measurements of some kind. In other words, quantitative research concerns itself with phenomena that can be expressed in terms of quantities. On the other hand, Dooley (1990) describes qualitative research as social research based on nonquantitative observations made in the field and analysed in nonstatistical ways. This research adopts a qualitative approach instead of a quantitative one because it is the most ideal when it comes to researches that do not deal with figures or quantities like this one. Haralambos and Holborn (2008:793) explain why qualitative research methodology is the preferred approach in the humanities rather than the quantitative:

Compared to quantitative data, qualitative data are usually seen as richer, more vital, as having greater depth and as more likely to present a true picture of a way of life, of people's experiences, attitudes and beliefs.

Therefore qualitative research is specifically relevant in the behavioural sciences where the goal is to unravel the underlying motives of human behaviour and as is the case of this research this would relate to deviant behaviour and its portrayal in post-independence Shona fiction. Flick et al (2004) state that qualitative research has become part of training in

research in various subjects and disciplines extending to sociology through psychology, cultural studies, education and economics. The chapter will also discuss the data gathering techniques employed in this research such as interviews, use of questionnaires and content analysis. Furthermore, it will also look at the advantages and challenges that come along with the use of these techniques.

4.1 Definition and Characteristics of Qualitative Research

This subsection is focused on defining what constitutes qualitative research as well as its characteristics as part of the attempt to justify choosing the methodology.

4.1.1 Definition of Qualitative Research

Qualitative research is described by Marshall and Rossman (2006) as empirical research where the data are not in form of numbers as usually they are in form of words. Gilbert (2008) notes that qualitative research most often describes scenes, gathers data through interviews or analyses the meaning of documents. Some of the goals of qualitative research are given by Degu and Yigzaw (2006) who observe that it is concerned with developing explanations of social phenomena. This means that it helps us to understand the world in which we live and the reasons why things and phenomena are the way they are. Furthermore, they argue that by virtue of its concerns about the social aspects of our world it seeks to answer the questions relating to why people engage in certain behavioural traits, how opinions and attitudes are formed, how people are affected by the events that go around them, and finally how and why cultures have developed the way they have. In light of this perspective of qualitative research and also with the concerns and objectives of this research, the adoption of qualitative research enables the researcher to explore the reasons for adopting deviant behaviour by certain members of the society, how the deviants are viewed in society

and how their behaviour affects other elements of the society. This will be done in the context of the Shona cultural worldview as the conceptualisation of deviance and other issues related to it are to be anchored in specific cultural frameworks and need not to be generalised. It is because what is perceived as deviance in one cultural context may be viewed otherwise in the other context and in a certain historical epoch.

There are various advantages that come along with the adoption of the qualitative approach in this type of research. According to Corbin and Strauss (2008), qualitative research allows the researcher to get at the inner experience of participants, to determine how meanings are formed through and in culture. Through its prioritisation of culture, qualitative research becomes relevant in this research particularly when it comes to the conceptualisation of deviance as it has already been observed that the concept ought to be understood in the context of culture. The other important reason they (Corbin and Strauss) raise on choosing qualitative research is the desire by the researcher to step beyond the known and enter into the world of participants, to see the world from their perspective and in doing so make discoveries that will contribute to the development of empirical knowledge. This viewpoint is corroborated by Gerson and Horowitz (2003) who note that qualitative research always involves some direct encounter with the world, whether it takes the form of ongoing daily life or interactions with a selected group. To add more weight on this point, Flick et al (2004: 1) observe that one advantage of using qualitative research is that it describes life-worlds “from inside out”, that is, from the point of view of the people who participate directly on issues related to the research. In that way, it aims to contribute to a better understanding of social realities and to draw attention to processes, meaning patterns and structural patterns. They also point out that it makes use of the unusual or deviant and unexpected as a source of insight and a mirror whose reflection makes the unknown and the known perceptible in the

unknown thereby opening up further possibilities for (self) recognition.

From the above deliberations, one can therefore argue that the aim of qualitative research is to learn about how and why people behave, think and make meaning as they do rather than focusing on what they do or believe in. This becomes crucial in the researcher's endeavour to critique the selected post-independence Shona fictional writers' understanding and vision of deviance particularly on the reasons for the characters to engage in such type of behaviour. The qualitative research method is also context specific which makes it appropriate to discuss deviance in its proper context and with regards to the focus of this research, the political, social and economic developments of post-independence Zimbabwe become the basis for understanding deviance as is portrayed in the fictional works.

Also as argued by Fraenkel and Wallen (1990), the method allows the researcher to carry out investigations where other methods such as experiments are neither practical nor ethically justifiable. This becomes advantageous in that it enables the researcher to explore his/her area of study without the controlled approaches such as experiments. Fraenkel and Wallen (ibid.) argue that the qualitative genres are intrigued by the complexity of social interactions expressed in daily life and by the meanings that the participants themselves attribute to these interactions. The interactions take qualitative researchers into natural settings, rather than laboratories, and foster pragmatism in using multiple methods for exploring a topic. In the end, this makes qualitative research pragmatic, interpretive and grounded in the lived experiences of people under focus. To back this point, Jupp (2006:249) emphasises that:

...qualitative research is often based upon interpretivism, constructivism and inductivism. Its concern is to expose the subjective meanings through which people interpret the world, the different ways in which reality is constructed (through language, images and cultural artefacts) in particular contexts.

One other justification of using the qualitative research is given by Marshall and Rossman

(2006) who note that qualitative research crosscuts disciplines, fields and subject matters. This becomes relevant to this research as it takes a multidisciplinary approach in unraveling and critiquing issues related to the fluid and in some instances controversial concept of deviance. Although the research is focused on literature, it also relies on other disciplines like sociology and history in its endeavour to have a holistic approach in the analysis of deviance as it is portrayed in post-independence Shona fiction and how it relates to the political, social and economic developments of the period.

The following are some of the reasons for studying using qualitative research. The first one is that from Wilson (1970) in Flick et al (2004:5), who argues that in its approach to the phenomena under discussion, qualitative research is “frequently more open” and thereby “more involved” than other research strategies that work with large quantities and strictly standardised and therefore uses more objective methods and normative concepts.” Secondly, in a world where fixed social life-worlds and lifestyles are disintegrating and social life is being restructured out of an increasing number of new modes and forms of living, research strategies are required that can deliver, in the first instance, precise and substantial descriptions. Also, they must take into account the views of those involved and the subjective and social constructs of their world making it a reliable methodology.

The qualitative research method has also some basic assumptions that go with it. Some of them are given by Flick et al (2004). They argue that although qualitative research is characterised by heterogeneity, there are basic assumptions and features that are common to them all. The first one, which they credit to Blumer (1992), is that social reality may be understood as a result of meanings and contexts that are jointly created in social interaction. Both are interpreted by the participants in concrete situations within the framework of their subjective relevant horizons and therefore constitute the bias for shared meanings that they

attribute to objects, events, situations and people. These meanings they constantly modify and frame according to the context in reaction to the meanings of others. In this sense, social realities appear as a result of constantly developing processes of social construction. For the methodology of qualitative research, the first implication of this is a concentration on the forms and contents of such everyday processes of construction more than on re-construction of the subjective views and meaning patterns of the social actors. From the assumption about the constant everyday creation of a shared world, there emerge the character of the process and the reflexivity of social reality. For qualitative research methodology, a second implication of this is the analysis of communication and interaction sequences with the help of observational procedures and the subsequent sequential text analysis. The third assumption as argued by Flick et al is that human beings live in a variety of life situations that may be objectively characterised by indicators such as income, education, profession, age, residence and others. They show their physical circumstances meaningfully in a total synthesised and contextualised manner and it is only this that endows such indicators with an interpretable meaning and thereby renders them effective. Statements obtained from subjects and statements classified according to methodological rules may for instance be described using the concept “life-world”. The fourth assumption of qualitative research again as given by Flick et al has to do with background assumptions. These background assumptions of a range of qualitative research approaches are that reality is created interactively and becomes meaningful subjectively. This then is transmitted and becomes effective by collective and individual instances of interpretation. Accordingly, in this type of research communication takes on a predominant role. In methodological terms, this means that strategies of data collection themselves have a communicative dialogic character. It is because of this that the formation of theories, concepts and types in qualitative research itself is explicitly seen as the

result of a perspective-influenced reconstruction of the social construction of reality.

Apart from the above assumptions of qualitative research given by Flick et al, there are some postulated by Rossman and Rallis (2003) cited in Marshall and Rossman (2006) which in essence are complementary to the once discussed. They note that there are some basic assumptions raised under qualitative research. One of the assumptions is that the research report is not transparent but rather is authored by raced, gendered, classed and politically oriented individual. This is important in the sense that it allows one to deal with subjectivity aligned to the researcher. These social identities such as race, class and gender are also crucial for understanding experience and this becomes handy especially when it comes to the respondents and how their identity may influence their responses.

Rossman and Rallis (2003) again cited in Marshall and Rossman (ibid) also note that the new perspectives on qualitative research contain three contributions worthy to be taken care of by the researchers. One of the things the researcher has to do is to examine how they represent the participants (the other) in their work. The second is to scrutinise the complex interplay of people`s biographies, power and status, and interactions with participants and the written word. Lastly, researchers are to be vigilant about the dynamics of ethics and politics in their work. The implications of the above concerns is that qualitative researchers pay close attention to their participants` reactions and to the voice they use in their work as their representation of the relationship between them and their participants.

4.1.2 Characteristics of Qualitative Research

Marshall and Rossman (2006) outline some of the characteristics of qualitative research. The first one they present is that it is naturalistic in the sense that it takes place in the natural world. In other words as put forward by Flick et al (2004), the data are collected in their natural context, and statements analysed in the context of an extended answer or narrative or the total course of an interview or even in the biography of the interview partner. One other feature of qualitative research Marshall and Rossman (ibid.) note is that it draws on multiple methods that respect the humanity of the participants in the study. Put differently, it makes use of multiple methods which are interactive and humanistic. Flick et al (ibid.) are in agreement as they note that there is no single method but a spectrum of methods belonging to different approaches that may be selected according to the research questions and the research traditions. Apart from the above observations, Flick et al (ibid.) give some other characteristics of qualitative research. One such characteristic is the appropriateness of the methods as for almost every procedure it is possible to ascertain for which particular research object it was developed. The other issue relating to qualitative research is that it has a strong orientation to everyday events and /or the everyday knowledge of those under investigation. Also, action processes are situated in their everyday context which then makes qualitative data collection, analytical and interpretive procedures bound to a considerable extent to the notion of contextuality. In the process, attention is paid to the diversity of perspectives of participants. Another feature of qualitative research is that the reflective capability of the researcher about his or her actions and observations in the field of investigation is taken to be an essential part of the discovery and not a source of disturbance that needs to be monitored or eliminated. Understanding is oriented, in the sense of methodologically controlled understanding of otherness, towards comprehension of the perspective of the other party.

Qualitative research emphasises the need to permit the perspective much freedom as possible and to get as close to it as possible.

The other aspect raised by Flick et al (2004) is that data collection in qualitative research is characterised by the principle of openness: questions have an open formulation and in ethnography observations are not carried out according to some rigid observational grid but also in open fashion. Qualitative studies frequently begin with the analysis or reconstruction of (individual) cases and then only proceed as a second step, to summarising constructions of those under investigation. Also, Flick et al note that regardless of the growing importance of visual data such as photos or films, qualitative research is predominantly a text-based discipline. This is because it produces data in the form of texts like, for example, transcribed interviews or ethnographical fieldwork notes and concentrates, in the majority of its interpretive procedures, on the textual medium as the basis for its work. In its objective, qualitative research is still a disciple of discovery and this is why concepts from epistemology enjoy growing attention. To augment on the above characteristics of qualitative research, Wellington and Szczerbinski (2007) give the following features. The first include the issue of involvement of the perspectives of the researcher as (s) he is part of the situation. The other aspect is that there should be equal status of the researcher and the participants. Above all, the view of the world or reality ought to be considered subjective or socially constructed so as to deal with issues relating to bias. It is also typical to have participant observation when it comes to qualitative research. Lastly, one other feature of qualitative research is the emphasis it puts on the description of individual cases so as to avoid generalisations.

Apart from exploring the characteristics of qualitative research, Marshall and Rossman (2006) also highlight some ethical considerations that qualitative researchers ought to take into cognisance when engaging in research. These include viewing social worlds as holistic,

engaging in systematic reflection on the conduct of the research, being always sensitive about their own biographies and or social identities and how they influence the study as well as relying on complex reasoning that moves dialectically between deduction and induction. This then makes qualitative research a broad approach to the study of social phenomena. There are various genres associated with qualitative research. One of these is narrative analysis which seeks to describe the meaning of experience for the people who frequently are marginalised or oppressed as they construct stories about their lives. In this research, deviant persons are hypothesised to facing some form of disadvantages in society. Life histories, biographies and autobiographies, oral histories and personal narratives are all forms of narrative analysis. Each approach assumes that story telling is integral to understanding people`s lives and that all people construct narratives as a process in constructing and reconstructing identity. The other genre of qualitative research is critical ethnography which is grounded in theories assuming that society is structured by race, ethnicity, gender and sexual orientation to maintain the oppression of marginalised groups. Madison quoted in Marshall and Rossman (2006: 6) observes that:

Critical ethnography begins with ethical responsibility to address processes of unfairness or injustice within a particular lived domain. Critical ethnography may go beyond the classroom to ask questions about historical forces shaping societal patterns as well as the fundamental issues and dilemmas of policy, power and dominance in institutions including their role in reproducing and reinforcing inequities such as those on gender and race.

Apart from critical ethnography, the other genre is that of the domain of cultural studies which, according to Marshall and Rossman, is broad and diverse, encompassing a set of theoretical and political commitments in research. Marshall and Rossman (2006:8) state that “it takes culture as the central, organising concept whilst problematising the notion by questioning the historical essentialising tendencies of studies of culture by cultural anthropology and sociology of culture.” Furthermore, they note that researchers challenge

the totalisation of culture but still focus on groups and identity, often as people construct and reconstruct notions of identity in the mundane aspects of their lives.

4.2 Data Gathering Techniques

This section focuses on the various ways of collecting the data used in this research. These include interviews, questionnaires and content analysis techniques. Apart from attempting to define these techniques, there is also discussion on the various types as well as the advantages and disadvantages associated with each of the techniques. As put forward by Van Maanen (1979) in Welman et al (2005:188), qualitative research is an “umbrella” phrase “covering an array of interpretive techniques which seek to describe, decode, translate, and otherwise come to terms with the meaning of naturally occurring phenomena in the social world.” Therefore qualitative research may be theoretically described as an approach rather than a particular design or set of techniques. Jupp (2006:249) indicates that “the methods used in qualitative research, often in combination, are those which are open-ended (to explore participants’ interpretations) and which allow the collection of detailed information in a relatively close setting.” According to Jupp (ibid.) these methods include depth interviewing, ethnography and participant observation, case studies, life histories, discourse analysis and conventional analysis. However as has been already indicated, this research is relying on interviews, use of questionnaires and content analysis. The section starts by looking at the samples of the targeted population from which the data gathering process will be focused on.

4.2.1 Sampling

In simple terms, a sample can be defined as a subsection of the population selected for a

certain study. The choice of the sample, that is which and how many people to select, is determined by the objectives and characteristics of the study of the population. It is virtually impossible for every research to include everyone and everything in the data gathering process hence a sample of the targeted people will be selected. Miles and Huberman (1994) cited in Punch (2005:101) explain this situation when they note that:

All research, including qualitative research, involves sampling. This is because no study, whether quantitative, qualitative or both, can include everything: “you cannot study everyone everywhere doing everything”.

Samples are drawn from the population under study and there are reasons for selecting certain samples. Although there are various types of sampling, this research relies on what is termed purposeful sampling. In this case, subjects are selected because of certain characteristics which they possess and this is done in accordance with the pre-selection criteria which suit the particular research. The interviews to be conducted and the use of questionnaires with the various people is based on what Gerson and Horowitz (2003) term purposeful sampling with groups considered to be strategically positioned to give representative ideas. This sampling strategy has to provide an efficient way to answer large questions with a comparatively small group of people. The ultimate goal in choosing a sample is to select a group of respondents who are strategically located to shed light on large forces and processes under investigation. In this research, the interviews are done with the authors of the works under discussion focusing on issues that have to do with deviance and moralisation. As far as moralisation is concerned, this will be largely focused on how oral literature continues to influence the written forms. Other writers of Shona literary works whose works are not under discussion will also be used especially on the interface of orality and literacy in Shona literature with the definite bias on aspects of moralisation. The views of critics of African literature especially those specialising in African languages will also be considered again on the influence of oral literary forms on the development of written literature. These include lecturers and students at

colleges and universities. Also sociologists and social workers including those who are academics will be interviewed or their views sought from questionnaires on issues relating to deviance particularly the cause and possible solutions. These views are useful in critiquing the vision of the authors especially on how they relate deviance to the political, social and economic forces operational in post-independence Zimbabwe. Apart from the above groups, views from deviants like prostitutes, homosexuals and criminals are sought focusing on the causes, possible solutions as well as the attitudes of the members of society towards them.

4.2.2 Interviews

This subsection pays attention to the definition of interviews, the types of interviews and those utilised in this research as well as the advantages and challenges encountered when using interviews as a data gathering technique.

4.2.2.1 Definition of Interview

One of the methods tied to qualitative research is the use of interviews. Jupp (2006:157) defines an interview as “a method of data collection, information or opinion gathering that specifically involves asking a series of questions.” Also, David and Sutton (2004:87) observe that “interviewing involves asking people questions, but it is equally about listening carefully to the answers given.” Furthermore, Jupp (ibid.) notes that the interview represents a meeting or dialogue between people where personal and social interaction occur. As argued by Dyer (1995) cited in Cohen et al (2010), an interview is not an ordinary everyday conversation for it is tailored for a specific purpose, is usually question-based with the questions being asked by the interviewer and the response ought to be as detailed as possible. Another description of an interview is given by Kvale (1996) in Cohen et al (2010:348) who states that it is:

an inter-view, an interchange of views between two or more people on a topic of mutual interest is characterised by the centrality of human interaction for knowledge production and emphasises the social situatedness of research data.

The significance of interviews as a research tool is noted by Cohen et al (2010: 349) as they observe that:

Interviews enable participants - be they interviewers or interviewees - to discuss their interpretations of the world in which they live, and to express how they regard situations from their own point of view. In these senses the interview is not simply concerned with collecting data about life: it is part of life itself, its human embeddedness is inescapable.

It is therefore necessary in this research to use interviews because Mason (2003:226) characterises them as “the art of knowledge excavation and construction.” Also as put forward by Punch (2005), an interview is a data collection tool of great flexibility and which can be adapted to suit a wide variety of research situations.

One cannot ignore the fact that there are different types of interviews each with a different purpose in research and therefore the type of interview selected ought to be in line with the strategies and research purposes. In other words, different types of interviews are suited to different situations. The interviewees in this research are the authors of the literary works , literary critics who include academics and students, sociologists and some deviants like prostitutes which will provide face-to-face interactions so as to help in getting first hand information which is intended in helping to critique the representations given by the authors on deviant characters. It becomes easier for one to learn better through dialoguing with the groups of people mentioned above as they provide first hand information on issues deliberated on deviance in the context of moralisation in Shona Literature.

4.2.2.2 Types of Interviews

As has been noted above, there is need for recognising the existence of many types of interviews which calls for selection of the suitable types based on research purposes and

questions. Fielding (1998) cited in Punch (2005) gives the following types of interviews; standardised (structured), semi-standardised (semi-structured) and non-standardised interviews. On standardised ones, which are sometimes referred to as structured interviews, the process is tightly structured and standardised. The questions are planned and standardised in advance and precoded categories are used for responses. However, there is little room for variation in response, though open-ended questions may sometimes be used. In this situation, all the intended respondents are given the same questions in the same order and in a standardised manner. On the other hand as put forward by Degu and Yigzaw (2006), unstructured interviews sometimes referred to as depth or in-depth have hardly any structure at all. When the interviewer goes into the interview, (s) he has the intention of discussing a limited number of topics and at times as few as one or two but they would be covered in greater detail. Unstructured interviews are those where the interviewer wants to find out about a specific topic but has no structure or preconceived plan or expectation as to how they will deal with the topic. According to Punch (2005) questions in unstructured interviews are not pre-planned and standardised but instead there are general questions to get the interview going on smoothly and to keep it moving. It is during the interview that questions will emerge and the choice of words depends upon the direction the interview takes. There are no pre-established categories for responding. It is used as a way of understanding the complex behaviour of people without imposing any a prior categorisation which might limit the field of enquiry. There is need for flexibility in the unstructured interview what Douglas (1985) in Punch (2005) calls creative interviewing. It is a powerful research tool, widely used in social research and other fields, and capable of producing rich and valuable data. Apart from the expenses that accompany them, they are preferable to questionnaires in the event that they are conducted by skilful persons.

As for the semi-structured interviews, Degu and Yigzaw (2006) observe that they tend to work well when the interviewer has identified the aspects he is certain he wants to address. Although the interviewer can decide in advance the areas intended to be covered, he /she should be open and receptive to unexpected information from the interviewee. The semi-structured interviews depend on a series of open-ended questions based on the topic areas the research wants to cover. It is advantageous to use open-ended questions as, apart from defining the topic under discussion, it provides opportunities for both the interviewer and interviewee to discuss some topics in more detail. The other advantage is that if the interviewee has difficulties in answering a question or provides a brief response, the interviewer can use cues or prompts to motivate the interviewee to consider the question further. That is in a semi-structured interview, the interviewer has the opportunity to probe the interviewee to elaborate on the original response or to follow a line of inquiry. The difference between unstructured and semi-structured interviews, according to Degu and Yigzaw (ibid.), is that in a semi-structured interview the interviewer has a set of broad questions to ask and may also have some prompts to keep the interviewee in line with the questions. The interviewer has also the time and space to respond to the interviewee's responses. This research relies on semi-structured and unstructured interviews mainly because of the flexibility that it gives during the discussions as there is no pre-coding of questions.

Apart from the above type of interviews, this research utilises what are called group interviews or focus groups. The two terms are used interchangeably. This is a situation in which the researcher works with several people simultaneously rather than a single person. Like other interviews, they can be structured, semi-structured or unstructured. The role of the researcher changes in a group interview more as a moderator or facilitator, and less as an

interviewer. Group interviews can be useful in research as put forward by Morgan (1996) quoted in Punch (2005:171) when he says, “the hallmark of group interview is the explicit use of the group to produce data and insights that would be less accessible without interaction found in a group.” The group situation can also facilitate or stimulate people in making explicit their views, perceptions, motives and reasons. This makes group interviews an interesting data gathering option when research is trying to probe those types of people’s behaviour. They are inexpensive, data-rich, flexible, stimulating, recall-aiding, cumulative and elaborative. The group interviews were confined to students of literature at university level. However, there can be also problems associated with group culture and dynamics and in achieving balance in the group interaction.

4.2.2.3 Advantages and Challenges of using Interviews

The decision to use interviews as a data gathering method was influenced by Ely et al (1991:4) who maintain that “qualitative researchers want those who are studied to speak for themselves, to provide their perspectives in words and other actions.” Arksey and Knight (1999) cited in Gray (2009:25) are in agreement with this observation as they comment that “interviewing is a powerful way of helping people to make explicit things that hitherto been implicit- to articulate their tacit perceptions, feelings and understandings”. The following are the advantages of using interviews as given by Degu and Yigzaw (2006). One of them is that a good interviewer can stimulate and maintain the respondents’ interest which in the process ensures that the answers are frank. Apart from that, if anxiety is aroused for example on the reasons for being asked certain questions, the interviewer has the opportunity to allay such fears. Also the other advantage is that an interviewer can repeat questions which are not understood and give standardised explanations where necessary. It is also without difficulty that an interviewer can ask follow-up questions or probing questions so as to clarify a

response. Lastly, an interviewer can make some necessary observations during the interview which may help to deal with issues that lack clarity.

Denscombe (2010) add the following advantages of using interviews. The first is that there is depth of information through probing of subjects and pursuing lines of investigations over a long period of time. They are also a reliable way of obtaining data based on the interviewee's opinions, feelings, opinions and ideas. There is also the advantage of flexibility which enables one to make necessary adjustments and high response rates are almost guaranteed as they (interviews) are arranged prior to the time and validity of the information can be checked for accuracy and relevance. Lastly, they can be therapeutic to the informant unlike in the case of questionnaires and experiments as there is more personal contact and people tend to enjoy the unusual chance of talking at length to a person whose major purpose is to listen without being critical.

However, this does not suffice to say that there are no challenges that are associated with the use of interviews. Denscombe (ibid.) gives some of the disadvantages of using interviews. One of them is that they are time consuming in terms of data analysis, that is, analysis is end-loaded rather than pre-coded as is the case with questionnaires. Closely related with this challenge is that interviews tend to produce non-standard answers especially with semi-structured and unstructured interviews. The other one is that data from interviews can be based on what people say rather what they do. Interviewee statements can be affected by the identity of the researcher. There are also inhibitions associated with face-to-face especially the audio recorder may affect the respondent. Interviewing without the necessary skills may lead to what may be seen as invasion of privacy or upsetting the informant. Interviews can also be costly in terms of travel and time especially if the informants are distant apart. Nevertheless, they are an invaluable data gathering technique as they allow the targeted

individuals to tell their own side of the story and what is needed are the necessary skills so as to avoid information that is biased.

4.2.3 Questionnaires

Apart from the interviews mentioned above, the researcher also utilised questionnaires. This is because, as argued by Denzin and Lincoln (1994:2), “qualitative research deploys a wide range of interconnected methods, hoping always to get a better fix on the subject matter at hand.” The use of questionnaires therefore complements the role of interviews.

4.2.3.1 Definition and types of Questionnaires

One of the definitions of a questionnaire is given by Sidhu (1984) who describes it as a form prepared and distributed to secure responses to certain questions. He goes on to state that it is a systematic compilation of questions that are submitted to a sampling of population from which the information is required. Gray (2009) notes that questionnaires are research tools through which people are asked to respond to the same set of questions in a predetermined order. This is usually done when one can not readily see personally all of the people from whom one desires responses or where there is no reason to see them particularly.

It is observed by Sidhu (ibid) that there are various types of questionnaires which can be used. These include the structured and non-structured questionnaires. The structured questionnaires contain definite, concrete and directed questions whereas on the other hand non-structured may consist of partially completed questions or statements. Then there is also the closed form and the open form. The closed forms call for short check responses usually providing for marking a yes or no answer, a short response or checking an item out of a given list of responses. There is restriction on the choice of response. The open form, open ended or

unrestricted type of questionnaire calls for a free response in the respondent's own words and since there are no clues provided, the respondent frames and supplies his own response. Sidhu (ibid) further notes that there are also what are termed fact and opinion questionnaires. The questionnaire of fact requires certain information of facts from the respondent without any reference to his opinion and attitude toward them. As for the questionnaire of attitude, this is when the opinion and attitude or preference regarding some phenomenon is sought.

4.2.3.2 Advantages and Challenges of Using Questionnaires

As a data gathering technique, there are some advantages associated with the use of questionnaires as articulated by Sidhu (ibid). These include the fact that when the subjects of study are scattered far and wide, it becomes a better tool as compared to interviews or observations. It permits a nationwide or even international coverage. One other advantage is that it focuses the respondent's attention on significant aspects. Its standardised instructions for recording responses which ensures some uniformity as it is administered in written form. Again, information of a personal nature often may be obtained more readily by means of questionnaires especially when the respondent is permitted to omit signatures.

Sidhu (ibid) also notes that there are some disadvantages associated with the use of questionnaires. For instance, they may be completed by other people on behalf of the targeted respondents. Other questionnaires may not be returned whilst their utility may be determined by the literacy and numeracy levels among other disadvantages. The other disadvantage of using questionnaires is given by Denscombe (2010) who notes that pre-coded questions can be frustrating to the respondents and therefore deter them from answering. This could be so because of the fact that they can be restrictive and frustrating. Another challenge that may come up with pre-coded answers is that they can increase bias towards the researcher's perspective rather than the respondent's way of viewing the subject. Still on the

challenges of using the questionnaires is that, unlike interviews, it does not give the researcher the chance to check on the truthfulness of the respondent's answers. This stems from the fact that there is no direct contact between the two. In fact unlike in interviews, there is no clue to see the incongruity and disparity between answers and some factors.

However, it is important to take some precautionary measures when using both interviews and questionnaires as there are possible sources of bias during data collection. As argued by Degu and Yigzaw (2006), one of the sources can be defective instruments like questionnaires with open-ended questions without guidelines on how to ask or to answer them, vaguely phrased questions, or "leading questions" that cause the respondent to believe one answer would be preferred over another or questions in an illogical order. When it comes to interviews, they note that there is observational bias when making observations or utilising loosely structured group or individual interviews. There is the risk that the data collector may only see or hear things (s) he is interested in and will miss information that is critical to research. This can be avoided by preparing observation protocols and guidelines for conducting interviews. Another possibility is using the tape recorder and transcribing it word by word. The effect of the interviewer on the informant is possible in all types of interviews. The informant may mistrust the intention of the interview and may dodge certain questions or give misleading answers. Bias may be effectively reduced by adequately introducing the purpose of the study to informants, phrasing questions on sensitive issues in a positive way, by taking sufficient time for the interview and by assuring informants that the data collected will be confidential.

4.2.4 Content Analysis Technique

Since there are different approaches used under qualitative research, this research also makes use of the content analysis technique. According to Fraenkel and Wallen (1990), this technique allows researchers to study human behaviour in an indirect way through an analysis of their communications. This can be through analysing sources of data like textbooks, essays, newspapers, novels, magazines and journal articles as well as political speeches among the various means of communication by human beings. They further note that the advantage of this technique is that it is not obtrusive as the researcher can observe without being observed since the contents being analysed are not influenced by the researcher's presence. The researcher then gets the opportunity to access information that might be difficult to get through direct observation or other means gained unobtrusively through the analysis of textbooks or other communications without the writer being aware that it is being analysed. Another advantage is that content analysis enables the researcher to delve into records and documents to get some feeling of the social life of an earlier time as she/he is not limited by time and space to the study of present events. This becomes important in this research as some issues related to deviance and the problems affecting the nation of Zimbabwe can be best understood in the context of the country's history. Critical works on the political, social and economic developments of post-independence Zimbabwe will be used to provide background information to the understanding of deviance as it is studied in the context of the prevailing environment of the period. Also relied on are critical works on literature that will be made reference to so as to provide critical insights to trends in existence in particular periods in Zimbabwean literature. Cross-reference will be made to other literary works even those written in Ndebele and English that relate to issues under discussion to enhance a broader understanding of the Zimbabwean literary canon especially

that of the post-independence period. This will also help the researcher to highlight and explain the similarities and differences of the issues under discussion.

4.3 Conclusion

The deliberations in this chapter were concerned with the exploration of the research methodology employed in this research. It has been noted that the research methodology employed in this research is qualitative in nature because of its relevance to researches conducted in the various fields of the humanities like this one. The chapter started by analysing what research methodology entails in general before proceeding to the definitions, characteristics and the assumptions of qualitative research as stated by various scholars. Also covered are the advantages that come with using such an approach in this research. Apart from this, the chapter also discussed the data gathering techniques like the use of interviews, questionnaires and content analysis. It outlined the advantages and precautions that the researcher ought to take when using each of the techniques. What has been observed is that one salient feature of qualitative research is that it does not encourage reliance on a single data collecting method but rather it encourages the use of various techniques which in effect have a complementary role. In other words, the weaknesses of one of the techniques are covered when one employs the other technique thereby lessening the risk of relying on biased or irrelevant data.

CHAPTER 5 : ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

5.0 Novels and interviewees' perspectives

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter centred on the research methodology and one of the major highlights is that this research benefits from the use of questionnaires and interviews as data gathering techniques. This chapter constitutes the main discussion in that it principally engages the selected fictional works and their depiction and conceptualisation of deviance. Information gathered from questionnaires and interviews is used to abet the discussion and analysis of the narratives. The central argument revolves around the fact that deviance, just like other forms of human behaviour, is best understood in the context of events and structures obtaining in the society in which people live. In this research, it is argued that it is the living conditions that are responsible for moulding human behaviour. In other words, deviance is seen as a reaction by people to the various problems and phenomena affecting their lives. The people become deviants, ignoring the questions of cultural integrity and morality, as they simply focus on survival. All the selected fictional works are set in the post-independence period of the “Zimbabwe Crisis” and deviance in the selected literary works has to be understood in this context. What is entailed in this discussion is the exegesis of the literary works focusing on the causes of deviance, solutions as prescribed by the authors and also the images of the deviants as well as the implications of such images to the readers’ understanding of the predicament of deviants. It also attempts to explain deviance both as a sociological concept and in the context of Shona literature. As for the analysis of deviance in the context of Shona literature, it is done taking into cognisance the influence Shona oral literature has on written literature with particular emphasis on how moralisation (as it was handled in oral literature) affects the vision of the writers and ultimately the development of Shona literature. It is

important to note that deviance in this research is defined from a Shona cultural point of view since, as argued by p`Bitek (1986:23), “it is only participants in a culture who can pass judgment on it... ” Deviance is a culture-specific concept as it differs with cultural worldviews and periods in their history and this makes it logical to base the conceptualisation in the Shona cultural worldview as they are the audience of the literary works. It is also prudent to contextualise it in the period of the crisis since all the fictional works discussed here are set in the period. The starting point however is the discussion of the setting and context of the literary works which happens to be the period now referred to as the “Zimbabwe Crisis” as well as the synopses of the literary texts.

5.2 The Zimbabwe Crisis as Context of Deviant Behaviour

As indicated above, the discussion on the manner in which the authors of the selected fictional works under exegesis deal with issues related to deviance will start by discussing what transpired in the period now usually referred to as the Zimbabwe Crisis. Some of the scholars who have used the term Zimbabwe Crisis include Muzondidya (2008), McGregor (2010) and Muchemwa (2010). This is because all the fictional works are set in this period and handle issues to do with deviance. It is vital to have this context as it forms the basis of criticism of the selected fictional works. Kabira cited in Vambe (2005) notes that every artist should be studied within the context of his community and in relation to the historic development of the society which has created him. This period of the crisis is one in which everything in the country had “fallen apart”, that is, politically, socially and economically as the country entered into a crisis. There are conflicting standpoints as to the period covered under this decade of crisis. According to Muzondidya (2008), the period covered under the crisis differs with analysts with some arguing that it covers the period between 1998 and 2008 whilst others opt for the period between 2000 and 2008. However, as Muzondidya

(ibid) observes, the difference is only of the time frame but what transpires in the period is basically the same. As alluded to above, this period of the crisis becomes the context in which the writers' understanding of deviance is to be analysed and therefore it becomes the basis for the criticism in this research. It is logical to do so since deviance is conceptualised as a sociological concept hence the need to have an understanding of the broader social milieu hence this becomes one of the instruments to evaluate the vision of the fictional works discussed in this research.

As put forward by Hammar and Raftopoulos (2003), in this period by any measure, Zimbabwe was in a crisis as it faced an interruption in the reproduction of economic, cultural, social and / or political life. They argue that although there is much debate on what constitutes and caused the crisis, its effects and for whom, there are multiple and emerging trajectories of the crisis in Zimbabwe together with critical political and conceptual polarities that contribute to its persistence. They (Hammar and Raftopoulos, ibid) further argue that the country's economic and political crisis was long underway before the events of 2000 triggered by the rejection of the constitution in February 2000. According to them, the crisis can be viewed as a culmination of a number of other "crises" that had happened since the attainment of independence as the Zimbabwean government battled to keep the sound economic structures it inherited from the colonial regime intact. As noted by Muzondidya (2008), the Zimbabwean government made notable inroads especially in the first two years after the attainment of independence as it received a lot of backing from both the local communities and foreign donors especially the Scandinavian countries which saw massive expansion of health and educational facilities in the rural areas. In the foreword in Raftopoulos and Savage (2005), Villa-Vinceio corroborates this idea by Muzondidya as he notes that Zimbabwe was a beacon of hope at the time of independence in 1980 as it showed

promises of moving transcending the diabolic rule entrenched by colonialism and the minority regime of Ian Smith. Villa-Vinceio argues that what constituted this promise was the political reform underlined by the policy of reconciliation, restructuring of the education sector and military integration. For example, as noted by Mlambo (cited in Muzondidya, *ibid*: 169), “the number of students enrolled in primary schools rose from 82 000 to in 1979 to 2, 216, 878 in 1985 and as for secondary schools there was an increase from 66 000 to 482 000. Furthermore, between 1980 and 1990 the number of both primary and secondary schools rose by 80%”. Apart from the gains made in the educational sector, there was also considerable progress in the provision of drinking water to more than 80% of the population by 1988. Increases were also observed in the workers’ wages as well as their living conditions. In general, there was substantial progress made in infrastructural development, employment creation, education and health systems.

However, as Muzondidya (*ibid*: 169) observes, the gains made were “limited, unsustainable and ephemerally welfarist in nature” as the developments later took a downward trend. He observes that the economic boom of the immediate post-independence did not last long and the economy experienced mixed fortunes throughout the 1980s as it went through negative effects of droughts, weakening terms of trade and high interest rates and oil prices. Apart from the above factors, Muzondidya (*ibid*) notes the fact that pressure from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank compelled the government to abandon some of its social policies in 1983 and 1984. Also, he notes that the growth rate for the unemployed grew quite substantially from the time the country attained independence as the government managed to create 10 000 jobs which in itself did not match with the number of graduates from schools. With particular reference to the urbanites, Muzondidya (*ibid*) argues that these were generally marginalised in the state’s development projects and some of the problems

they faced are transport and housing shortages due to pressure from the ever increasing rural-urban migration starting in the 1970s due to the intensification of the war.

After the promising beginning, Zimbabwe then entered into a period which Muzondidya (2008: 189) labels “one of the politics and economics of liberalisation, 1990-1997”. This period saw the initial gains that were made in the provision of social services being steadily eroded by the economic decline of the 1990s. On the period of economic decline, Hammar and Raftopoulos (2003) note that by 1990, the government being under pressure from a new global neo-liberal hegemony after the collapse of Soviet socialism, was compelled to design a World Bank-style economic structural adjustment programme (ESAP). Hammar and Raftopoulos (ibid) also assert that officially cast as a “home grown” reform, ESAP had initially been more about expansion than contraction. However, Hammar and Raftopoulos (2003) argue that it is the implementation of ESAP that had catastrophic consequences. They observe that because of ESAP, deregulation of prices and the removal of subsidies on basic goods meant more hardships for the workers, the poor and the unemployed as prices increased and real wages declined. The government also introduced cutbacks in education and health. Poverty intensified and increased pressure on rural land and natural resources as the retrenched either send their families to rural areas or joined them. Sibanda (2002) notes that one of the major objectives of ESAP was trade liberalisation and the cost of living skyrocketed as the government could no longer intervene. The first two years saw approximately 25 000 jobs being lost in the private sector. Another result of ESAP is given by Muzondidya (2008) who states that the urbanites lost faith with the government and engaged in strikes especially the workers as they strived for a better life and one such example of the restlessness among the workers is the general strike of June 1996 as civil servants were supported by civic groups like the churches, human rights organisations and

student movements. As argued by Bond and Manyanya (2003: xi), this dire situation became exacerbated by “the government’s resolution to award the pensions and gratuities to war veterans resulting in the Black Friday 14 November 1997 when the Zimbabwe dollar lost its value against the United States of American dollar within hours of trade.” According to them, this was because the money awarded to the war veterans of the liberation struggle was not budgeted for.

In as far as the political landscape is concerned; there were clear and distinct signs of intolerance displayed by the ruling party ZANU (PF). Muzondidya (2008:176) observes “the increasingly repressive nature of ZANU (PF) after independence, whether it was dealing with the official opposition, striking workers and students or civil society.” This overreliance on coercive tactics apparently is a development during the liberation struggle to elicit civilian compliance as argued by Sithole (1999) cited in Muzondidya (ibid: 176):

The liberation struggle also left a significant mark on Zimbabwe’s political culture. The commandist nature of mobilisation and politicisation under clandestine circumstances gave rise to the politics of intimidation and fear. Opponents were viewed in warlike terms, as enemies and therefore illegitimate. The culture from the liberation struggle was intolerant.

Therefore, this attitude of intolerance had a negative bearing on the political landscape of the nation. Although multi-party elections were held, the government’s lack of tolerance of political diversity betrayed its commitment to democratic politics. The approach to elections was that of “battles” and viewing opponents as enemies to be annihilated rather than as political contenders or competitors. There was also politicisation of state institutions to the advantage of the ruling party as Muzondidya (2008:176) observes:

besides deploying its violent youth and women’s wings to commandeer support during elections, the state marshalled resources and institutions such as the army, police, intelligence services and public radio and television to ensure its election hegemony.

The political environment became tense with the entrance of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) in September 1999 which offered arguably the most formidable opposition to the ruling ZANU (PF). Above all, the following year 1998 was a watershed one in terms of independent initiatives to develop a more democratically-based constitution for Zimbabwe. In the end the ruling party became more aggressive as Raftopoulos (2005: ix) observes:

confronted in 2000 with the first real challenge to its rule, ZANU (PF) radically changed the terrain of Zimbabwean politics towards one of frontal assault that had its major targets the former colonial master Britain, the local white people, the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), the civic movement and in general the farm workers and the urbanites among whom the opposition had gained a substantial number of supporters.

McGregor (2010) argues that politically the state lacked tolerance of political diversity relying mainly on coercion rather than persuasion with the state's hegemonic discourse of citizenship and nationhood also remaining narrow and monolithic. Therefore in the end, McGregor (ibid) notes that the nation of Zimbabwe became polarised along the political and religious lines with the media reflecting and consecrating this polarisation.

Violence also became part of the political landscape. According to Potts (2006) and Solidarity Peace Trust SPT (2005) cited in McGregor (2010: 7), further periods of escalated violence followed the 2005 elections through the state's politicised programme of urban demolitions known as Operation *Murambatsvina* (Remove the Filth) through which about 700 000 people lost their homes and/or their informal urban livelihoods. Furthermore, hunger and food shortages were further intensified through Operation *Taguta* as the military commandeered food and unrealistic price controls thereby rendering the formal trading unprofitable. Bracking and Sachikonye quoted in McGregor (2010: 8) observe that after the MDC'S narrow victory in 2008, "state violence to punish its supporters and voters so as to influence the presidential runoff reached new levels through Operation *Mavhotera papi*." In the end they argue that there was political deadlock and on the economic sphere inflation

levels reached exponential levels.

One of the notable problems during the crisis was that of the land. On this issue, Sachikonye (2005) makes the observation that several factors combined to exacerbate the “land crisis” as the 1990s drew closer. The first one is linked to the demographic conditions as the population grew larger ramblings of discontent over the delays in land resettlement also grew louder in the rural areas. Secondly, ESAP which was introduced between 1990 and 1995 did not yield the desired goals as it failed to revive industrial growth and there were job lay-offs in some industries. Unemployment grew in the conditions of deepening poverty both in the urban and rural areas. Kazenye (2004) cited in Sachikonye (ibid) links deteriorating conditions of livelihood in rural areas and the subsequent pressure for land occupations from 2000. Apart from ESAP and devastating effects of the HIV and AIDS pandemic, it is the broad contours of events namely the military engagement in the DRC that started in 1998, further deterioration of the economy, the rejected constitution of 2000, the land invasions and the subsequent fast-track land reform and the emergence of the MDC as a formidable opposition are some of the elements which contributed to the crisis.

Therefore this decade of the crisis was characterised by massive political repression as well as rampant economic deterioration. Inflation sky rocketed and most industries either closed or retrenched workers resulting in massive brain drain as people migrated to other countries in the region, Asia, Europe and the Americas. The period also saw basic services such as education and health almost ceasing to function. Diseases such as HIV/AIDS and cholera also added weight to the crisis by claiming several lives. In the post-independence era, this is arguably the toughest time in the people`s lives as they struggled to live fulfilling lives. This is the context in which the stories in the fictional works unfold and this becomes the basis for evaluating the writers` portrayal of deviance in their works.

5.3 Data generated from Fictional Works

All the five fictional works are set in post-independence Zimbabwe during the period of “the crisis”. *Mapenzi* (1999) is a novel reflecting on the mental instability of the people of Zimbabwe which is mainly a result of the amorphous challenges they face in the late 1990s and beyond. The people reeling under the crisis include street kids, university students, war veterans and political leaders who are shown to be displaying varying types and degrees of mental instability. There is political intolerance resulting in violence between political parties, rampant corruption by both public figures and those in the private sector, economic collapse, unemployment, poor service delivery by council offices and the devastating HIV/AIDS pandemic among other things. It is these problems which compel the people to engage in activities like prostitution, criminal activities and homosexuality. It is this that the author views as *upenzi* (madness/foolishness). Those in privileged positions who are shown to be abusing their offices and also underperforming are viewed as *mapenzi* (fools or mad people). The author makes a scathing attack on people from the lowest level of the social strata like street kids, those in the middle class in both the public and private sectors up to those at the top echelons of power like members of parliament and other political leaders. Challenges associated with post-independence urban life especially the capital city Harare are aptly captured when the main character, Hamundigone, comments:

Dhiraivha, Harare inondityisa muninina, inombondirovesa nehana kuti ndihwo hupenyu here? Asi ndakamboitiza ndikaenda seri kwenyika, ndikanzwa ndoisuwa nezvinoita kuti ive iyo. Asikawo, pane nguva dzandinoinzwa kuti Harare chigumburo chinorwadza sekurambwa nemwana wekubereka kwete nemusikana wekunyenga nekuti magara ukama manga musina.(30)

(Driver, Harare frightens me, it makes me wonder if this is the way to live? But when I left it for the remote areas I started to miss it and all things associated with it. But there are times when I feel that life in Harare is painful like being rejected by your child not by a girlfriend as you are not related to her from the beginning.)

This is because the story is set in the city of Harare and its former dormitory town

Chitungwiza which epitomises the hardships the generality of the urbanites in Zimbabwe were facing as the crisis raged on. The complex nature of the city life is described further by Hamundigone when he uses the metaphor of a prostitute which is attractive and at the same time has dangers associated with it:

Ah, Harare here amai, yagara ndiwo mugariro wayo, haina kunaka. Usiku kana zviye kwati tsva-a, Harare zipfambi rakazvipenda-penda zvakadarika mwero. Inopfeka uso hwemagetsi emarudzi nemarudzi ichivavaririra kunanzva zvanza zvine dovi emadhora nemasenzi, mari! Mari ine ropa vabereki, haina kumbosiyana nehondo yatakarwa kuti bhunu ribve, ine ropa. Asi Harare hainyare munombozviziva izvozvo amai? Uye Harare haina mwoyo. Inenge ndiro inopakurwa isina kusukwa...Harare!Harare, ndinoizeza.(32)

(Ah, mother that is the way Harare is, it is not good. At night when it is dark, Harare is a prostitute with overdone make-up. It has everything that attracts the use of money. Money has blood associated with, just like the war we fought. Harare has no heart. It is like a plate that is put food into it before it is cleaned...Harare, I fear it.)

The author is warning the danger associated with money as it defines one's being in the city and also people use whatever means to get it even unethical ones. The people in the city are described as heartless as they no longer care for one another.

In *Ndozvudza Aniko?* (2005), the author, as indicated before, grapples with the problems that came with the crisis. The story is mainly set in the city of Harare in which the people are shown to have lost their humanness and no one seems to be caring for the other human beings hence the title, *Ndozvudza Aniko?* (To Whom Shall I tell?). The experiences by the main character, Fiona, in the streets become a precursor to her becoming a prostitute. Most of the problems emanate from those associated with street kids which the author addresses in the novel. In the novel, all the characters who end up living in the streets are victims of the socio-economic problems affecting the country which led to the collapse of the social fabrics that used to hold people together. The story unfolds towards the climax of the Zimbabwe crisis as people are failing to live meaningful lives across the different sections of the society. The city of Harare had been generally viewed as one such place in which individuals

could uplift their lives as it was easy to get money through engaging in various income generating activities.

Zvose izvi zvaitora nzvimbo manheru pane rimwe bhini remarara muguta reHarare, guta rinonzi nevamwe sunshine city. Ndiroro guta rine hwezvo inenge nzungunyakuteya mbeva muriva, ndirori guta rinoita kuti voruzhinji kumamisha, kunyanya majaya nemhandara, vanzwe zvipfuva zvavo kutamba-tamba, kuri kudokwairira kuzotsikamo. (1-2)

(All this was happening at night at a rubbish bin in the city of Harare, a city some called sunshine city. This is the city which is quite attractive, which many in the rural areas particularly young men and women get excited and get anxious to live in it.)

However, for Fiona what she experiences and realises is the antithesis of her imaginations about the city. Because of the several hardships they are facing, the people of Harare have lost the values that constitute their humanity under the auspices of the philosophy of (*unhu/ubuntu*) which is expected from the Africans in general:

Mwanasikana akabvuma kuti Harare haina tsitsi. Akabvuma kuti upenyu hwekumbeya-mbeya mumigwagwa yeHarare hwainge huri makwishu kuvhiya nyama yemusoro.(3)

(The girl realised that there was no mercy in the city of Harare. She acknowledged that it was extremely difficult to be wandering in the streets of Harare.)

The hardships confronting the people are mainly reflected through the life of Fiona who is an orphan from the rural areas coming to town hoping to find employment in the city but ends up in the streets as all her plans are to no avail. She is a victim of the harsh living conditions of the streets and is raped which marks the climax of her problems. In the end she becomes a prostitute through coercion. The severity of hunger as she was outdone in the battle for the space at Fantasyland by the older and ruthless Wisdom is described as follows:

...Kana munhu waisimbofunga kuti doro, waini nembanje ndizvo bedzi zvinodhaka pasi pano, musi uyu waizvionera pamhuno sefodya pana Fiona kuti nzarawo inodhaka. Makumbo emusikana aisava nesimba uye aigwagwadza setsanga iri mudziva rine mafungu. (9)

(...If you thought that it was only beer, wine and marijuana that made people drunk, then Fiona this day realised that even hunger could also make you

drunk. She was powerless in her legs and trembled a lot like a reed in the midst of a deep pool.)

Another pointer to the economic hardships of the period is the various ways in which the unemployed would act in certain ways which in reality were means of begging. One such example is a man in First Street whom Fiona had observed for some time doing bizarre acts like riding on a wire or lifting heavy objects like a piece of railway line using his teeth something which she thought needed about three strong men to achieve. However, she subsequently heard that these were survival tactics as the man had been retrenched from the company together with several other workers. It is shown to be the situation when the rule of the jungle “survival of the fittest” operates. In reality, several companies had to close because of the political, social as well as economic conditions which were not conducive for business to operate.

The other issue tackled by the writer include the criminal activities by both unemployed and those in employment. Poor remuneration and other working conditions transform the workers into criminals and this unfortunately includes civil servants like the police who under normal circumstances should be the law-enforcing agents. The two street kids, Wisdom and Chimusoro, satirise corruption that rocked the country even when the War Victims Compensation Fund as well as the awarding of gratuities for war veterans was abused. The fund was meant to benefit those who suffered both physically and emotionally during the war but most of the high ranking government officials awarded themselves hefty amounts whilst others who were supposed to benefit did not get anything. Mabasa in *Mapenzi* also highlights this issue through Hamundigone a war veteran but did not benefit from the fund and blames high ranking government officials for looting the fund. It is through the discussion of the two street kids that this issue is highlighted:

Kana uchiziviza chiteeresa. Vanhu vaigova mari dziya vazere nefevha. Chizivano choga choga. Ndizvo zvakandirasisa chete izvozvo, otherwise kutaura kuno ndingadai

ndiri hwereshenga, munhuwamari...Ndingadai ndiri umwe weavo vanokuisirayi mafufu mubhini. (7)

(If you know now listen carefully. The people who were distributing those funds were full of favour. That was nepotism. That is what made me to lose, otherwise I could have been filthy rich...I could have been one of those leaving leftovers for you in the bins.)

Apart from the corrupt activities of the government officials, there are other pointers of abject poverty through the living conditions of the various characters in the novel.

In *Ndafa Here?* (2008), the author Mabasa, questions the significance of marriage these days as the economic and social crisis has brought with it a number of challenges. Through the marriage of Watson (Wati) and Betty, the author is making an appeal to all those women whose marriages are not working to do away with the traditional mentality that one should not leave the institution regardless of the difficulties one may be facing. Wati through the instigations of his mother and sister abuses his wife both physically and psychologically. The only family member who seems to be reasonable is one of Wati's sisters who defends her from the wrath of her husband, mother-in-law and sister-in-law. The father pretends to be on Betty's side yet has sinister motives and sexually abuses his daughter-in-law, something considered taboo in Shona culture. Betty's situation becomes more dire after giving birth to an albino daughter making her a subject of ridicule especially from her husband's sister Kiri. Wati's migration to London leaves Betty more exposed as the in-laws go on a rampage terrorising her. The mother psychologically traumatises her through her verbal assaults backed by Kiri whilst the father continues with his sexual advances. In the end, the family disintegrates as Wati's mother and Kiri follow him in the United Kingdom whilst Betty is whisked away by her friends to start a new life. Life for Wati in the diaspora is not as rosy as most people back home believe and those who are married like him are shown to be pressurised to abandon their families, with others getting married to new partners and some resolving to go into prostitution so as to make ends meet. One can therefore argue that all the

three novels address issues that have to do with the crisis and there are some overlaps in as far as articulating the various problems is concerned and at the same time there are also differences.

The short stories in *Totanga Patsva* were written by women with the intention of reflecting how they have been infected and affected by HIV/AIDS. The stories target women in various situations but they mainly focus on those in marriage and the vulnerability they face especially with the promiscuous behaviour of their husbands. It is men's behaviour that is shown to be the major obstacle in the fight against the pandemic as they are shown not only to be reckless but also to be rigid and unwilling to learn and accept the presence and effects of the disease. The stories also dwell on how the traditional Shona customs like that of inheritance worsen the situation in which women find themselves in. Again, men are shown to be trying to continue with outdated practices which only help in the spread of the disease. On the other hand, women, regardless of being the most affected by the disease, are shown to possess better knowledge of the disease and easily accept their status and live better lives as compared to men. Women are also aware of the preventive measures that ought to be taken and also remain steadfast even if their husbands abandon them or even if they die.

The novel *Makaitei?* is part of the exilic writings that have become prominent with the advent of the crisis as the nation faced multiple political, social and economic problems. The story is centred on Takaendesa's family which is on the brink of disintegration as most of the family members have joined the band wagon into the diaspora which include some regional countries like Botswana, the United Kingdom and Canada. It is a novel focusing on the effects of such movements not only to their families but also to the nation at large. The father of the family is suffering from a disease which could not be treated in the hospitals but it is when they consult the traditional healers and the prophets that they are told of the source of

the problem. It is noted that the cause of the disease was the children`s decision to share the father`s estate whilst he was alive. The father was bed ridden and the children saw it fit to share the estate amongst themselves. This move is against the Shona cultural values and is even considered taboo. At the end of the story, the children who had taken time to return to attend to their ailing father come back and there is a ray of hope for both the recuperation of the father and the reunion of the family.

5.4 Prostitution as reflected in the Selected Novels

This section of the chapter analyses the depiction of prostitution in the novels *Mapenzi*, *Ndozwiudza Aniko?* and *Ndafa Here?* This research adopts the definition of prostitution by Fayemi (2009) who views it as an act of having sex for money and is usually associated with women. Therefore in this research the term prostitute is reserved for women with multiple sexual partners in exchange for money and /or other material benefits. Clinard and Meier (2008) state that a basic definition of prostitution identifies the practice as a promiscuous and mercenary sexual behaviour with emotional indifferences between the partners. In some instances, it is regarded as dehumanising indulgence and a gross violation of the laws of nature.

It is significant to note that anthropological research on prostitution in Africa reveals the non-existence of the practise of prostitution prior to colonialism. As observed by Robertson cited in Muriungu (2004), the history of prostitution in Kenya as in most parts of Africa, was facilitated by colonialism. This is because the establishment of towns by colonialism provided employment opportunities only for men and not for women. Muzvidziwa (1997) in a research on prostitution in the town of Masvingo in Zimbabwe concurs with Robertson`s observation as he notes that urban prostitution was basically a result of colonial structures in the urban areas as the low wages and the provision of bachelor accommodation in towns

forced men to leave their families in the rural areas. There was rural-urban migration especially by men in search of employment leaving women and children in the rural areas as the laws did not allow African women to work and let alone live in towns. According to Muzvidziwa (ibid), for the women who decided to migrate independently to town, the only viable occupation they could engage in was prostitution and in some instances being the providers of cooked food. The type of accommodation reserved for Africans in the colonial period was conducive for prostitution. Commenting on the nature of houses in the African townships during the colonial period, Vambe (1976:54) says:

maold Brikisi” consisted of single-roomed houses and it was hoped that this would prevent the “native” from having his wife and rows of piccaninnies in the area. In these houses, it was inevitable that many thousands of children living under these conditions heard or saw their adults (parents) making love, gambling, swearing, stealing and reeling drunk.

Cawthorns (1995) and Furusa (2006) are in consensus that colonialism impacted negatively on an African economy as well as on the labour, social and gender relations. In the end, women were marginalised losing the economic power and other privileges they had prior to colonialism. It is these structures put by the colonisers that compelled the Africans to seek ways of redressing the issue of sexual starvation and marks the genesis of prostitution among the Africans. Also, it is the introduction of a cash economy which forced Africans to look for new alternatives to earn a living. In the absence of conventional employment, prostitution enabled women to earn money with which to acquire property. One can therefore conclude that the origins of prostitution in Africa are linked with the developments that are associated with modernity and capitalism brought by Europe especially through colonialism as an entirely new culture was ushered in replacing the existing one in which prostitution could not flourish. It is mainly the marginalisation of women economically, socially and politically that eventually led them to “sell their bodies” as a means of survival.

Prostitution is one of the themes that feature regularly in Shona literature stretching from the colonial period up to the post-independence but in most cases its handling has been problematic as the writers attach negative images to the prostitutes (Chiwome, 1996, 2002 and Gaidzanwa, 1985). Usually the prostitutes are blamed for destabilising families and also being carriers of sexually transmitted infections and these images distort the reality on prostitution. It is within the ambit of this research to analyse how the writers portray prostitution in the selected novels.

5.4.1 Images of Prostitutes as Victims of the Crisis in *Mapenzi*

It is through the activities of two fictionalised University of Zimbabwe female students, Magi and Kundai, that reflections on prostitution are made. They both confess that the practice is rampant among the university's female students. There are varying reasons that are given by both Magi and Kundai as to what drives the university students to engage in prostitution. The first one has to do with the financial constraints as the students are not getting adequate support from government forcing them to engage in sexual relationships including those with married men so that they get extra money to meet their needs. Magi is unequivocal on this:

Also nyaya yekuti mari yatinopiwa ishoma kuti ikuitirewo zvaunoda. I just did like what most girls are doing pano. Vanodanana nevarume vevanhu vachinyatsoziva, asi they tell you kuti vari kuda kungowana mari yekuti vararame. Vazhinji vacho vanoramba kuti mahure, asi chokwadi ndechekuti tose titongori mahure. (41)

(Also the issue that the money we receive is inadequate to meet your needs. I just did like what most of the girls here are doing. They are knowingly in love with married men but they tell you what they need is to survive. Most of them deny that they are prostitutes but the truth is that we are all prostitutes.)

The government is failing to adequately support institutions of higher learning or at least put into place mechanisms that will ensure that life for the students becomes affordable. It is in the students that the future of the nation is dependent and no development can take place in

any society when the human factor is under threat as is the case in the novel *Mapenzi*. As a way of reflecting on the dire need of the students, Magi ends up doing her hair in Mbare, a high density area in the capital city and one of the oldest where obviously it is cheaper than in other affluent places. To her, prostitution becomes a means to an end. She ends up engaging in sexual relationships with married men so as to get money and other benefits for her survival. She makes reflections which are a pointer to the fact that it is not out of volition that she engages into prostitution and she even wishes to have a steady relationship and or marriage:

Nyaya yekungoita munhu asina wake iyi inotoda vanhu vanenge Kundai akapikira hupenyu hwekusimudza hembe kumaAvenues...Zvanzi naKundai it's not always ndinozviita part time kuwedzera mari yangu kana ichishota here and there! Saka nyaya dzekuCollege dzekudanana nevanhu zvekuwana mari zvakatozoramba kuperaka! Zvakaoma !(158)

(The issue of failing to have a single lover is fit for people like Kundai who has vowed to be a prostitute in the Avenues...Kundai says she does not do it always but it is part time to supplement the money she has. So the issue of having sexual partners paying for her services which she started whilst at college is continuing! It is quite sad!)

The economic conditions which push women and in particular female students into prostitution are similar to those given by one of the interviewees who happen to be also a student and a “part-time prostitute”. According the interviewee, “... life at college is difficult especially for female students as the money they get from home is in most cases inadequate to meet their basic needs like food, clothes and other requirements in their studies.” The financial resources of these students are inadequate and they are pushed by circumstances to become prostitutes. What transpires in the novel is similar to the views given by the sociologists who are in consensus that economic conditions are crucial in understanding why women become prostitutes. One of them said “...whenever there is a crisis, there is a tendency by the people to deviate from the norms...and all forms of deviant behaviour have

to be fully understood in terms of the living conditions of the people.”

The other reason for her engaging into prostitution is linked to her status as a single mother. She gets frustrations from the affairs which are to no avail as most of the boys dump her after realising that she was a single mother:

Asi chavasingaone ndechekuti I try kuitawo masteady relationships mufunge asi zvinongoramba. Ndinombozama zvechokwadi; hapana munhu anonakidzwa nehupenyu hwekungoramba uri munzira usina destination. You need a station where you can rest. Dai ndakaziva ndakangoenda zvangu kunopikira kuita sister kuchechi yeRoma.(49)

(But what they fail to realise is that I try to have steady relationships but it does not work out. I really try as there is nobody who wants a life without destiny. You need a station where you can rest. If I had known I could have gone to become a nun in the Catholic Church.)

Therefore in an attempt to secure a permanent partner who could marry her, she becomes a victim of male machinations who only engage in affairs of convenience for sexual gratification and she has to endure the stigma associated with her status as a single mother. Magi was impregnated by Hamundigone whilst she was a student at the same school he was teaching at.

Just like Magi, Kundai gives the reasons on why she became a prostitute and they are all a pointer to the economic problems the students are facing:

Hanzi naKundai ndakabvira kuhura zvekusimudza hembe kumaAvenues tichiri kuCollege: “I did it occasionally to supplement payout when things were not going fine.” (159).

(Kundai says she became a prostitute displaying her nude body in the Avenues whilst we were still at college: “I did it occasionally to supplement payout when things were not going fine.”)

As argued by Fayemi (2009), prostitution is inherently morally objectionable as it is not an act of free choice because of the fact that in most cases it is usually women with fewest choices that are found in the net work. It is for this reason that prostitution becomes ethically

unjustified. Options were closed for Kundai with life being extremely difficult for her and there was no other way to survive than to engage in prostitution:

Shamwari kusiri kufa ndekupi? Ndakarambwa ndikasiirwa vana two. Ever since we parted, a lot has happened. Mari yangu haikwani nyangwe zvangu ndiine degree, degree rine basa rei pakukwira kweshuga nechingwa? Handiti vamwe makaita nhumbu dzenyu mukachengeterwa vana nanamai venyu, saka hapana chinombokurwadzai. (160)

(My friend, what is the difference with death? I was divorced and left with two children. Ever since we parted, a lot has happened. Even though I am a graduate, my money is inadequate, what does being a graduate has to do with the increase of prices of sugar and bread? Some of you got impregnated and your children were looked after by your mothers and you do not feel the pain.)

The fact that Kundai does not fear death because of the risk posed by the HIV virus is a reflection that prostitutes are in a predicament in which their options are limited and in the end they resort to having sex for money as a means to live a meaningful life. To make matters worse, she is a single mother and no one was looking after her two children and this compels her to use “any means necessary” to ensure the upkeep of both herself and the children. The circumstances that Kundai find herself in are almost the same as those given by one of the prostitute interviewed. She was also a divorcee and since she was not employed she ended up being a prostitute as a way of ensuring survival. At some point, Kundai was saying she was running a consultancy in the city but was not clear on what it was exactly about and this turned out to be that she was still into prostitution:

Hanzi ikozvino ndine kaconsultancy job kandiri kuita, asi ukabvunza kuti kei chaizvo haatauri. Anyway, rega ndimumirire ndinzwe kuti ndeipi yake. Ndave kutomutya kuti nditi kuvanhu ishamwari yangu. (160)

(She says she now has now has a consultancy job but if you ask her to specify she cannot. Anyway let me wait so that I get her side of the story. I am now ashamed to tell people that she is my friend.)

After some visit Magi observes that her friend apparently was not feeling well and appeared exhausted. From the look of things, there was also the probability that she was sick. Previously, Kundai had been employed at a company where Magi's brother Bunny worked

in the audit department and yet she was a holder of a Bachelor of Arts Honours degree in English. She did so to avoid teaching as it is one of the professions many try to avoid these days because of poor working conditions including salaries which are usually pegged below the poverty datum line. It all shows the desperation she had and this put her at the risk of contracting the deadly HIV/AIDS disease. The novelist here explains why the characters develop deviant behaviour and he does so appropriately in the broader context of the neo-colonial environment. As Haralambos and Holborn (2008) note, an attempt should be made to explain human behaviour, institutions and societies in social context rather looking to individuals. The society's structures should guide when making accountability to human behaviour. Usually in societies there are material inequalities and differences in power that lead to some having more opportunities than others and those with limited opportunities devise means of survival even if it means unsanctioned behaviour. This is exactly what transpires to the two university female students in the novel *Mapenzi*. Muwati and Gambahaya (2007) note that the novel *Mapenzi* was produced when the economic situation had reached its lowest point. The economic downturn directly affects the human condition and morality. Some of the pointers to the crisis are issues like ESAP, HIV/AIDS, grinding poverty, abuse of power and rising employment. These factors are responsible for subverting the human condition. Muwati and Gambahaya (2007) further applaud the writer for being different from a number of novelists using African languages as the medium of communication who have the tendency of locating the erosion of African morality in the context of the tragic misalliance between Africa and Europe. According to them, this incompatibility and mutual exclusivity of the two cultures seriously undermined the morality of those caught between the resultant conflicts. This pattern continued from the colonial period into the new post-independence dispensation. However, as argued by Muwati and Gambahaya (ibid), in the post-independence dispensation such a creative modality seems to

be anachronistic because it canalises reality into a scheme where the new African economic dis(order) is not linked to morality and human condition. It may also be viewed as a creative modality that circumvents commitment to the exposition of the incapability of the Fanonian “national bourgeoisie” to transform the lives of the ordinary. Babu (1981:170) comments on shortfalls of the leaders:

...The short post-colonial history of Africa has been the long, sad spectacle of the naked misuse of power by people in authority, in some extreme cases comparable to the worst of Oriental Despotism...

Furthermore, Babu (ibid) notes on the failure of the leadership:

Leaders are increasingly isolated from the people and from reality, and live in a world of their own delusion, which forces them into actions which are irrational and often fatally damaging to the country and people.

If the writers fail to note the role of the post-independence leaders in the problems faced by the people, this, according to Muwati and Gambahaya (ibid) becomes political convenience for the leadership whose mismanagement of the economy has undermined *unhu/ubuntu*. It is *ubuntu* that forms the basis and expression of the morality of the people. In *Mapenzi*, the writer emphasises the vulnerable condition of his characters without blaming them for the condition like most of the writers do.

5.4.2 Images of Prostitutes as Victims of the Crisis in *Ndozwiudza Aniko*?

In this novel, there are three female characters namely Fiona, Magreta and an unnamed school teacher who are prostitutes. There could be varying circumstances that led them to become prostitutes but all are related to the hardships they face in life. However, the issue of prostitution to a larger extent is reflected through the life of Fiona who is a victim of circumstances both at familial and national levels. Fiona met her fate early in life when his father Mushayapokuvaka (One without a place where to build) decided to marry a second wife after her mother Runesu had taken too long a time to have another child. As if that was

not enough, the fact that when she eventually had one and that child was not a boy riled her father as the second wife who ironically started to bear male children. This brought untold suffering to both Fiona and her mother as the father stopped fending for them. In a bid to sustain herself and the child, the mother decided to go for gold panning in a nearby river and she died after the part she was digging collapsed. This further worsened Fiona's plight and she left school after failing to raise fees as she was only eleven. To make matters worse, the father decided to marry her to an elderly widower and this forced her to leave for Harare hoping to find work as a domestic worker, just like what her friend Vicky was doing. She got employed as a barer by some family in Harare but unfortunately for her, the father of the family started proposing love to her but she refused several times. Later when she came home later after visiting to where Vicky worked without notifying him, he took advantage to sack her with the concurrence of his wife. Also by that time Vicky had been killed in a road accident and she was left with no one to share her problems. This led her to live in the streets and became a victim of rape by the fellow street kid Wisdom. After being raped she fell pregnant and later dumped the baby which led to her arrests after a tip off from fellow street kids, she was sentenced for two years at Northcot Training Institute and Remand Centre in Mount Hampden. What boggled her mind was that no one listened to the ordeals she underwent after being raped especially by the police officers. Her status of being a street kid made her not to be listened to. Even during her trial, her explanations of the events leading to her dumping the baby were not considered:

Tsanangudzo dzake idzi, uye nekuti akatombomhanàra nyaya yacho yekubhinywa kwake kumapurisa akasatererwa, zvakaonekwa sezvaive zvisina musoro uye chokwadi. Zvakamunetsa zvokuti akashaya kuti ozviudza aniko angamuteerere akamunzwisisa.(103)

(Her explanations and also the issue that she once made a report to the police and got no attention were seen as being unimportant. This troubled her wondering who she could tell and be listened to.)

She was only fifteen and her resolution to dump the baby was a result of desperation. The traumatic effects of being raped and getting pregnant and at the same time the living conditions in the street made her to make that resolution. She did not see any relevance of being a human being as she felt useless:

Chandakasikirwa panyika chii chaizvo? Kuti ndizoone pfumvu yakadai? Nyika yandionesa nhamo nekundiseka...Dai ndaiva nemari handiti ndingadai ndakaenda kundozvrapisa?(104)

(For what reason was I was born? So that I will see all these problems? The people are mocking me...If I had money I could have gone to get medication.)

The situation that Fiona finds herself in is similar to that of one of the interviewed prostitutes who became a prostitute at the tender age of fifteen after being impregnated and abandoned by the husband who migrated to South Africa. Because of the hardships, people are no longer ethical in terms of their behaviour as Africans. As argued by Fayemi (2009), African ethics essentially operates on the praxis of respected autonomy, communalism and cooperation, self-reliance and complementary gender relations and structures. This is what lacks in Fiona`s entire life as people are no longer caring for others. There was nothing to benefit from the city as people like Fiona who had migrated from the rural areas had hoped for:

Panguva yemunakamwe, mijakaranda yaipfeka maruva aiita seanobwaira achiyevedza. Fiona achiona izvi, pfungwa dzake dzaiita chamuhwiriri dzakananga kumusha kwavo kwaMutoko uko aisona masango akashonga maruva avaitarisira kuti achazovapa michero ...vagodya pasina kana sendi rabviswa. Mudhorobha reHarare, mijakaranda yaiita hayo maruva, asi hapana michero yaibudapo. Izvi zvaigarosvota Fiona seadya zhanje mbishi. (11)

(In the rain season, the jacaranda trees` flowers blossomed and were quite attractive. Observing this, Fiona thought of her rural home area in Mutoko where the forests were full of flowers they anticipated would give them fruits that they ate without even paying a cent. In the city of Harare, the jacaranda trees had flowers but there were no fruits that came from them. This always greatly troubled Fiona.)

The city is attractive but does not yield anything fruitful to the occupants. This is what Mabasa implies in *Mapenzi* when he says *Harare zimudzimu...* (Harare is an uncaring ancestor...). In the Shona religious worldview it is the ancestors who should protect the

living but in this case they (the ancestors) are like monsters. This shows that the environment in the city is not conducive for people to realise their dreams. This is further noted in *Ndozwiudza Aniko?* when the writer says:

Harare akaiona semombe yedhaka yausingakwanisi kukama mukaka. Harare akaiona ichiita sezibhinya rionowanzouya mupfungwa dzepwere kana dzichinge dzatyityidzirwa nevakuru. (12)

(She saw Harare like a cow made of mud which you cannot milk. She saw it like a monster which comes into kids' minds when they are frightened by adults.)

The metaphor of a cow which does not give any milk points to the futile attempts that the urbanites go through in the city of Harare to live a meaningful life but without any success. According to Kirzt (1998:155), in postcolonial African fiction, the city is both a "site and symbol of the conflicts" in people's lives. Fiona is later raped by Wisdom whilst sleeping in the open but she fails to get any cooperation from the corrupt police officers who are shown to be after making money and not carrying their mandates. The trauma she gets from all these problems makes her hallucinate and at times she is heard calling for Vicky her late friend from the rural areas and former school mate. It is through the actions and confessions of Wisdom that one gets insight on how the hardships confronting the street kids had transformed them into another status not befitting the African cultural worldview:

...Mwana wamai vangu here? Unoti anoda kufa nenzara ndiani? Rega zvife. Muno muHarare hamudi hope, hamudi utsvene, hamudi tsiye nyoro. Wakanganwa kutaura kwemadhara kwekuti tsitsi dzinotsitsirira, uye mwoyochena unobayisa? Ukangoita ngonono chete unoswera wafushirwa masikati machena. (5)

(Is she my mother's child? Who do you think wants to starve? Let her die. In Harare you have to be awake, you don't have to be kind. Have you forgotten the old people's saying that it is dangerous to be merciful? If you are not careful you will die in broad day light.)

The novel opens with the abuse of Fiona by a fellow male street kid Wisdom who accuses her of invading his territory after she had taken food from one of the rubbish bins at a fast food

outlet called Fantasyland. She is severely assaulted because of this and Wisdom is quite apt on his action; “*Unofanira kuziva kuti nzvimbo ino ndeyangu. Mabhini ose ari panharaunda ino ndeangu*”. (2) (You must know that this is my place. All the bins in this place are mine.) This is the same situation in *Mapenzi* as Hamundigone is severely assaulted by street kids for eating food from one of the bins “owned” by Thomas, a fellow street kid and gang leader. Generally, Africans have a communal approach to life where virtually every event which affects one individual has bearing on the other as Mbiti (1975) has observed. This philosophy of life guide most African cultures but because of the hardships confronting the people this approach to life becomes difficult to fulfil. The people have lost their humanity or *ubuntu* as they battle to live a contending life. Nussbaum (2003:1) defines *ubuntu* as “the capacity in African culture to express compassion, reciprocity, dignity, harmony and humanity in the interests of building and maintaining community with justice and mutual caring. It carries connotations of the Africans’ interconnectedness, their common humanity and the responsibility to each other that flows from our deeply felt connection.” She goes on to argue that the adage *Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu* (a person is a person because of others) summarises what is entailed in the philosophy of *ubuntu*. According to Nussbaum (ibid), *Ubuntu* is a social philosophy, a way of being, a code of ethics and behaviour deeply grounded in African culture. Furthermore, the underlying value seeks to honour the dignity of each person and is concerned about the development and maintenance of mutually affirming and enhancing relationships. It lies at the core of intrinsic values in the traditional African culture, although in the urban areas (like in the case of Fiona in Harare), such values are being eroded. The South African Bishop Dandala cited in Nussbaum (2003:2) notes the following about *ubuntu*:

Ubuntu is not a concept easily distilled into a methodological procedure. It is a rather bedrock of a specific lifestyle or culture that seeks to honour human relationships as primary in any social, communal or corporate activity.

This, according to Nussbaum (ibid), becomes a fountain from which actions and attitudes flow in which consciousness of what one is able to give and/or receive becomes equally important.

To reveal the degree of desperation as well as the poverty that haunted her before, she is greatly troubled when she thought of the life in the streets of Harare that was waiting for her. Just like before, she found herself in the streets and life was as harsh as before. It is during that time that she met Magireta Marimatombo alias Silver Dollar whom she admired because of her dressing and the food she ate. She had known Fiona some two years back after she had begged for mercy from her when some fellow male street kids had whisked away her ice-cream. She presented a picture of a well –to-do lady, a business lady and quite caring. She started giving Fiona food and money as a way of luring her to work as a prostitute at her brothel. However, she had been tricked into prostitution as initially she started as a waitress at the same house as she was selling beer illegally and later on was forced into prostitution. Throughout, she had the hope of raising money from her work as a prostitute for a sewing project as she had learnt of the skills when she was at Northcort reformatory centre. However, Magireta had other ideas and exploited her vulnerability as she had virtually nowhere to go except in the streets:

Fiona, sokuziva kwako, upenyu hwemuno mutaundi hunodhura. Chose chaunoda unototi uchibvisire mari. Nokuda kweizvi, ndaona zvakakodzera kuti ubatane nevasikana vanogara pano mukuita zvavanoita nevarume, kuitira kuti tiwane chinotoraramisa...Pamusoro paizvozvo, varume vakawanda kwazvo vanouya pano vanogara vachindinetsa vachiti vanokuda. (143)

(Fiona as you are aware that life here in town is very expensive. Whatever need, you have to have money. Because of this, I found it fit that you join what other girls are doing with men so that we survive...Above all, there are several men who come to me showing interest in you.)

After refusing several times Magireta threatened to dump her back into the streets:

Fiona, ukada kuita dambe neni, uchiramba, ndinoswera ndakupa kadhi dzvuku.

Ndinokudzinga pano, wodzokera kumugwagwa kwandakaita zvokukunhonga uchitambura. Waiva neyi iwe pawakati mha? Wainhuwa nhamo iwe? (144)

(Fiona if you don't take me serious refusing what I tell you I will dismiss you. I will remove you from this place and you go back into the streets where I found you struggling. What did you have? You were very poor.)

This became her dilemma as both options of being thrown back into the streets or becoming a prostitute were not viable for her. She detested both prostitution and life as a street kid:

Fiona akazviona ave pamhararano yenzira, paakange oshaya kuti ota gwara ripi reupenyu. Zveupfambi akaona zviri zvinhu zvakaipa, zvine urwere, zvisina unhu, uye zvinoita kuti areruke sebepa pane vamwe. Pamusoro pazvo, ainge akura achinzwa dzidziso yokuti zvakaipa. Upenyu hwemumigwagwa aihuziva kuti hwakaoma, hunovava segavakava... (145)

(Fiona realised her dilemma not knowing which direction to follow. She saw the evils of prostitution, the diseases, as dehumanising and making one lose respect. Above all, she had been taught as she grew that it was a bad practice. Life in the streets was extremely difficult...)

The intensity of the manner in which Fiona detests prostitution is in line with the cultural ethics of the Shona. The Shona people, just like in many other cultures, do not condone promiscuity and this becomes worse for prostitution as it seriously undermines the institution of marriage and the family to which they attach a lot of value. In the Shona cultural worldview, it is the people's view that to live a complete life at the end of the day a person whether male or female should get married. There are some religious implications that go with marriage and therefore deliberately deciding not to get married, is taken as a serious matter and negligence of duty. The cardinal of Shona moral values include perceiving sex as sacred and not to be indulged in willy-nilly as the prostitutes do and therefore engagement into prostitution makes it lose its intrinsic value. Sex becomes a religious act as can be evidenced in the love poems as people (usually those married) involved in the act invoke the ancestors to bless the activity. This is seriously undermined as in prostitution there are conditions that do not allow the involvement of the ancestors as it is usually between two strange partners and the relationship is for economic benefits only. Therefore, prostitutes are

generally viewed as having loose morals and therefore deviant. Mbiti (1975:89) notes how Africans view the marriage institution:

Marriage links both the community of the living and the community of the living dead to the community of those to be born. In this sense, marriage is the meeting point for the three layers of human life, according to [the] African religion. The departed come into the picture because they are the roots on whom the living stand. The living are the link between death and life. Those to be born are the loins of the living and marriage makes it possible for them to germinate and sprout.

Just like in the case of Kundai in *Mapenzi*, she had closed options and in the end she opted for prostitution and worked at Magireta's brothel. This situation in which Fiona finds herself in is succinctly summarised by Chitando (2011) who argues that women may be forced into commercial sex work by their own economic situation or that of families. As argued by Chitando (ibid: 62) quoting a World Council of Churches report on prostitution, "a woman who works in the brothel may reason: "If I work here I may die in ten years. If I do not, I will die of starvation tomorrow." This is what is argued by the three interviewed prostitutes as they are in consensus that desperation to survive drove them into prostitution. One of the interviewees said she "...did not get support from her family after divorce and could not go back to the rural areas where her parents stayed... and she was unemployed ...becoming a prostitute after seeing that there was no other way to survive together with the children." They are all aware of the dangers associated with prostitution like HIV/AIDS and they all detest the practice but because of closed opportunities they still find themselves being prostitutes. It is interesting to note that Fiona still had the plans to leave the place eventually and to have her own place where she would stay with her son who was being kept at an orphanage. As a prostitute, Fiona is shown to be having the sense of courage, fortitude and resilience and her dream is to find a better way of earning a living together with her child. This vision is similar to that of one of the interviewed prostitutes who noted that "...if I get another source of livelihood that will sustain me with the child I will quit prostitution."

As for Magireta, the reason for her becoming a prostitute have to do with her failure to secure employment after she had migrated into the city of Harare from her rural home area hoping to find work but she ended up in the streets as a prostitute as it was extremely difficult to find any jobs. At one point she is picked up by a white German national Jeremies who later entered into a marriage of convenience with her. He later returned to Germany leaving her owning his house but later on she fails to pay the rates and struggled to clothe and feed herself. She is compelled to turn the cottage of the house into a brothel as she employed some women to work as prostitutes. Apart from Fiona and Magireta, there is also an unnamed teacher at a certain school in the suburb of Glen View who is shown to be a prostitute. The teachers were one of the hardest hit professionals during the crisis and became subject of scorn because of the paltry wages they were getting. The significance of education in any society cannot be underestimated and ideally teachers ought to be role models in their society. However, when teachers get to an extent that they become prostitutes, this signals the appalling living conditions prevalent in the country.

One positive thing on the portrayal of prostitutes in the novel is that the author portrays them as victims of circumstances. No one is shown to be an inherent prostitute but becomes one when the hopes and aspirations of the person are not met. Under such circumstances, people tend to look for alternatives and for women prostitution becomes one. It is the desire to earn a decent living that drives the three women in the novel into the prostitution. This is exactly what one of the interviewed sociologists observed as he said, "In the period beyond 2000, people have been battling to live a decent life and this has seen an increase in the cases of prostitution [and crime] for instance." However, especially in the case of Fiona she still has the courage and desire to make a decent living outside prostitution which reinforces the point that women only resort to the practise when all other avenues and opportunities have been

closed.

5.4.3 Images of Prostitutes as Victims of the Crisis in *Ndafa Here?*

Prostitution in the novel is practised by Zimbabwean women both at home and in the diaspora which in this case is London. Women in both situations are failing to make ends meet because of the economic challenges. Life in the UK is not as rosy as most people do believe as there are a number of challenges people face there. Reflecting on prostitution in London by the Zimbabweans living in the diaspora Wati says:

Ndakanzwa nechimwe chimoko chinohura zvinosemesa kuno kuLondon zvanzi kune mafaro. Chihure chiri kuno chichaita kuti London isare yangova neAIDS pese paunotarisa, Zvanzi naCynthia, “Ko, kana tikasahura muri kuda kuti vari kumba vati tiri kutambudzika kuno here?”

(I was told by another girl who is a prostitute that here in London there is joy. The level of prostitution here will make London full of AIDS everywhere. Cynthia says if we do not get involved in prostitution you want those back at home to know that we are living well here.)

Therefore it is pressure from home as people always view life in the diaspora as being less difficult than at home. The journey to the diaspora was synonymous with an improved life as Wati's mother states when he was about to leave for the UK:

Iwe ziva kuti mwana wangu ari kuenda kuUK, kuLondon, kuvaRungu. Handingakundwe kugara zvakana nanamai Kambarami vane vana vakaenda kuUK vasina kufunda, asi vakavakira mai vavo imba ine makamuri masere nechimbuzi neshower zviriri mubhedhurumu ravo zvavo vega nemurume wavo.(7)

(Just know that my child is going to UK, to London, to the whites. I can't be outdone by Mai Kambarami with children who went to UK but not learned but they built their mother an eight roomed house and a bedroom with its own bathroom with for her and the husband.)

Another prostitute Wadza says that it is even better to die in the diaspora than going home where there is poverty:

Kana tikafira kuno hazvina basa, nekuti kumba chaiko hakuna chiriko chekuti ungati dai ndandorwarira kuZimbabwe ndikafirako ndikavigwako.” (24)

(If we die here it does not matter because back home there is nothing you may wish

that you get to die there.)

The challenges posed by the diaspora compel the Africans living there to use unethical means like prostitution as the only way of making people back home view them as at least doing something better for a living. The sanctions that the society back home can impose in terms of regulating human behaviour are not in existence in the foreign lands and worse still in the western world which generally is individualistic in outlook as compared to the African worldview which is communalistic. Therefore the author is demystifying the myth that diaspora represents good living as the experiences of the emigrants force the women to engage in prostitution. This is the same scenario which obtains in neo-colonial Zimbabwe in which the socio-economic and the political hardships are the major reasons for the engagement of women into prostitution. This is the reason why Muzvidziwa (1997) notes that prostitutes represent the underpaid, downtrodden, despised and discarded group by society but nevertheless it is seen as an occupation which brings them food, rentals and clothes. In simple terms, it becomes a survival strategy. Bromley (1982) cited in Muzvidziwa (1997:77) observes that “most young women without access to significant capital are aware that prostitution may be potentially the most remunerative form of work.” The situation is thus similar both in the neo-colonial state of Zimbabwe and the diaspora. These perspectives concur with those given by the sociologists in the interviews who explain deviance in terms of the problems people face in society especially the economic and political ones. Therefore deviance cannot be separated from what is obtaining in particular societies at certain periods of their history.

However, it is interesting to note that to some extent Mabasa in *Ndafa Here?* gives a new dimension of economic independence for those women who are into prostitution. At one point whilst arguing with her father who was accusing her for not working for herself and

her children, Kiri reveals that prostitution was giving her some form of autonomy:

Pacho pandinosisangana nemi ndinosikukumbirai mari yedoro here ini? Ndakambokukumbirai doro renyu ramunenge muchimwa here ini? Ko, inga wani inguva zhinji dzamunogashira doro kubva kuvanhu vandinenge ndiinavo. Munenge muchiti riri kubva kupi? Munenge muchiti imana iri kubva kudenga here? Pinduraika? (48)

(When I meet you do I ask money for beer? Did I ever beg for your beer? In most cases you receive beer from the people I will be with. Where do you think the beer you drink will be coming from? Do you think its manna from heaven? Answer the question.)

In this case, Kiri has attained some form of self-independence from the money she is getting from prostitution and is no longer dependent on her father regardless of her being unemployed. This dimension of conceptualising prostitution as a form an economic occupation is what Muriungu (2004) views to be the ideal one. The examples given by the critic Muriungu are that of two Kenyan female writers Oludhe Mcgoye in *Victoria and Murder in Majengo* and Genga-Idowu's *Lady in Chains*. In the two novels, the authors succeed in subverting the image of the prostitute as a home breaker, an undesirable character or a morally degenerate person. As an alternative, what they offer in their works is the concealment of the activities by prostitutes and simultaneously project it as a career and as an economic activity as viable as any other, a "sweet pepper". The two female authors reveal that women who become prostitutes are not inherently immoral but they are forced by the kind of life they face daily to reinvent their survival strategies in conditions in which poverty is increasing, economic life changing and traditions increasing to be unbearable. They note that prostitution should be regarded as part of the entire mix of society rather than being singled out as the originator of the various evils confronting people.

Muzvidziwa (1997) notes that in the Masvingo bars and pubs, prostitutes generally referred to themselves as "*vasikana vebasa*" (working girls), thus viewing it as a form of occupation. On

the “benefits” of prostitution Muzvidziwa (1997:77) states that:

In most ways prostitution for these girls marked a break from a cycle of home-based abuse and was looked at as a way to establish financial and residential independence. Those from abusive backgrounds looked at prostitution not only as an escape from conditions of impoverishment and a search of freedom but also a way to remove themselves from the socio-physical environment of abuse which included parents or parent-surrogates.

The living standards of Kiri`s family are not all that comfortable because of the economic crisis bedevilling the country hence her brother Wati`s decision to leave for the diaspora. Her mother is a vendor as a way of supplementing the meagre salary her father was getting as a driver at a newspaper company. Therefore as already alluded to, the money she gets from prostitution gives her some degree of economic independence.

5.4.4 Problematic Handling of Prostitution in *Mapenzi* and *Ndafa Here?*

Whilst to a greater extent the author manages to convincingly explain prostitution in terms of the economic conditions of the women, it is vital to note that there are instances in which Mabasa gives a rather ambivalent vision on the manner in which the prostitutes are portrayed in his two novels. It seems the author in both novels *Mapenzi* and *Ndafa Here?* at times focus on individual characters engaging in prostitution without explaining their behaviour in the broader social context thereby falling into the trap of what Muwati and Gambahaya (2007) call “victim –blame syndrome.”

In *Mapenzi*, it is through the altercation between the main character Hamundigone and Kundai in a commuter omnibus travelling from the town of Bindura to the capital city Harare that Mabasa is seen to be castigating prostitutes for deliberating choosing to be in that position. Wasosa (2007) comments on the significance of Hamundigone in the novels as he notes that he is a former combatant and teacher who also becomes the author`s voice of

reason and the voice of the voiceless. Whilst he suffers from war related traumas, the writer makes use of his mental condition to comment on sensitive and overt political, social and economic issues obtaining in post-independence Zimbabwe. According to Wasosa (2007), both Hamundigone and other characters' mental instability is not only a condition but a technique to capture the reality obtaining in the nation. The political and professional background of Hamundigone, that is, former teacher and combatant authenticates his position to articulate issues pertaining to the nation's liberation and its development. His name indicates the defiance and consistence with which he articulates the political issues without hesitation. It all starts when Hamundigone, who was busy narrating his nightmarish experiences when he was sacked from employment as he worked as teacher on the grounds of mental instability, asks Kundai some question and the later frowns much to his chagrin. Because of this, Hamundigone labels Kundai a witch:

Uchenjere kuroya, iwe! Futi ndakanganisa unetenge unoroya. Kana uchida ndiendese kumapurisa kuti ndakuti muroyi. Handitye asi ndinotya kutya kwacho... (12).

(Be careful, you could be practising witchcraft! I think I made a mistake it seems you are a witch. If you want to report me to the police go ahead. I am not afraid...)

Later on as Kundai was disembarking in the avenues area where prostitutes usually wait for their clients, Hamundigone attacks Kundai:

Kubva mondoshandha zvakanaka nhai chimhandara, asi musatiurayire nyika! Uye udzidzewo kutaura zvakanaka, kwete kutaura nemumhuno kunge munhu ane dzihwa. Munotisemesa nechinozi chenyu ichi. (31)

(Go and work nicely young lady but do not destroy our nation. Also learn to speak nicely not through the nose like somebody with flue. You annoy us by speaking through the nose.)

In the above instances, the prostitutes are presented as social renegades who should be condemned for the destruction of society. Kundai replied confessing and bragging about her prostitution; “*Ndinoita mari iri tax free ende handina unondidzinga nekuti ndini boss wangu, uye handipengi sewe.*” (31) (I get money which is tax free and also there is no one who

dismisses me because I am my own boss and I am not as mad as you are.)

The conductor of the commuter omnibus joins in the discussion expressing the same sentiments with Hamundigone:

Kana musingazvizivi anamai, uyu musikana ndatomuona kare. Ari kuuya kuno kuHarare kuzouraya vanhu. Ipfambi uyu. Vanogarira vanhu muno munaSecond, kwete ini asi vanoda vane mota, vanobhadhara mari zhinji. (31)

(If you are not aware you mothers this girl have already observed her behaviour. She is a prostitute. They wait for clients in Second Street not those like me but those with cars who pay more.)

Hamundigone goes further to liken prostitutes to witches as he argues:

Rega zvipedzane. Asi varoyi vanhu ivava. Munoti kufamba usiku kudai kuti zvidii? Kunyepa here munini`na dhiraivha? (31)

(Let them finish each other. They are witches these people. What is that which makes them walk at night? Is it not true my young brother the driver?)

Hamundigone, who is the author`s voice of reason, gives disturbing comments equating the prostitutes to witches which does not give the correct picture of the practice of prostitution. As argued by Wasosa (2010), in the Shona culture, just like in many other cultures, witches are known to be the bringers of misery among the people which include diseases and death. For this reason, equating prostitutes to witches is tantamount to labelling them enemies of humanity. The driver, speaking for the first time since the beginning of the journey, replies in concurrence with both Hamundigone and the conductor when he says:

...nyika yashata iyi vabereki. Ungati vanhu ivava havaoni kufa kuri kuita vamwe. (31)
(...things are now extremely bad parents. You may think that these people are not seeing that others are dying.)

From the driver`s comments, it seems there are other options for women who engage in prostitution so that they avoid the risk of death associated with the practice. Again, in this case the author is failing to realise that as Kundai correctly noted in her conversation with

Magi noted before, that prostitutes are in a fix to an extent that they do not fear death as otherwise according to them, even without engaging in the practice they were still going to face the same predicament. This is what is amiss from the comments of both Hamundigone and the driver of the commuter omnibus they fail to see the practice in the broader context of neo-colonial forces in operation which make women vulnerable. The first point of concern is that Mabasa castigates the prostitutes for being deviants in their individual capacities. It seems that that the author is saying it is out of their volition that they become prostitutes. Then secondly, the author also goes on to make a scathing attack on their physical appearance which he apparently links to their morality. The unappealing physical stature of the prostitutes is linked to immorality. At some point Vincent complained:

Nezuro chaiye vakauya kumba kwangu nehure racho rino zimunhu rinenge gomo kukura nemazizamu anenge mombe dzemukaka. (51)

(Yesterday he came to my house with the prostitute. She is quite huge as a mountain with massive breasts like dairy cows `udders.)

These negative sentiments that the author uses to castigate prostitutes are reflected through what happens to Saba and his prostitute. On another occasion, Saba takes his prostitute to his cousin Vincent (VC) `s place so as to have sex but he refused forcing them to find other alternatives. Vincent expressed the following sentiments after he had refused to accommodate him and the prostitute:

Handinawo kure kwandakamboenda. Ndakawana sekuru Saba nezimunhu ravo zvakagumbatirana muzasi meheji pedyo nezvituckshop zvichimedzana miromo. (53)

(I did not go very far. I found Uncle Saba and his prostitute hugging each other under some hedge kissing each other near the tuck shop.)

The noun *zimunhu* has implications to both the physical appearance and the behaviour of the prostitute. In this case, it refers to someone having a big stature as well as having bad morals. In reality, there is no link between one`s physical appearance and his or her morality. Actually the Shona warn each other about the dangers of being carried away by someone`s

beauty through such proverbs like *Guyu kutsvukira kunze mukati rizere mawonde* (the fruit of the fig tree outwardly might be attractive but might have ants inside.) It is in the proverbs that one can access a people's cultural values and worldview. This criticism of prostitutes to some considerable extent weakens his vision.

Also when VC's girlfriend Joyi tells him that she was pregnant he refuses to tolerate this saying:

Joyi anopenga. Anofunga kuti ndingarooro hure ini? Nhumbu yaainayo iyoyo achaibvisa zvake. Anoda kundikanganisa bhizinesi rangu.(167)

(Joyi is mad she thinks I can marry a prostitute? She is going to terminate the pregnancy she has. She wants to disturb my business.)

At one point whilst chasing Joyi from his place after selling his marijuana and fearing that she might demand some money he says: "*Magarinya anonetsa. Imbwa dzevanhu idzi. Zvine mukondo z futi.*" (68) (Prostitutes are a nuisance they are dogs. They are carriers of AIDS.)

The bestial terms used by VC are meant to show the lack of *unhu/ubuntu* on the prostitutes which has the negative effect of not clearly explaining their predicament. To refer to someone as a dog is a sign of the lack of values among the Shona people that qualifies for someone to be called a person. However, the problem with VC's views is that he is not linking the problems of Joyi to the broader social context in which the forces in operation are responsible for her development of such a character. Apart from this, another problem raised in the sentiments of VC is that the prostitutes are portrayed as the sole transmitters of the deadly HIV/AIDS pandemic which somehow exonerates their male clients. The irony is that VC was apparently not using protection whilst having sex with Joyi and that is why she got pregnant but still he believes that Joyi is the transmitter of the disease.

Just like in the case with *Mapenzi*, there are some reservations in the manner in which the author handles issues related to prostitution in *Ndafa Here?* Through the character Kiri and

the altercations she had with his brother, one can reflect on the position of the writer with regards to prostitution. The prostitute Kiri is labelled a liability to the family and even her children are a potential source of problems:

Kana zvinhu zvikanetsa, sekuti baba vafa, tuvana twako utwu twunogona kundiuraya, nekuti vana vemahure vazhinji vacho mahure kana matsostsi! (128)

(If things get tough in the event that father passes on your children may kill me because children of prostitutes most of them are prostitutes or criminals.)

Just like in *Mapenzi* in the altercation between VC and Joyi, the prostitutes are shown to be responsible for the spread of AIDS which is misleading. Kiri is told by her brother:

Unoti kana ini ndine Aids iwe ungaishaye? Iwe zvako muroora webhawa! (130)

(You think that if I have AIDS you don't have it you prostitute.)

It seems as if Mabasa is continuing with the trend in *Mapenzi* in which the prostitutes are blamed as the bringers of misery in society and therefore are condemned for their acts. They are shown to be bringing instability to the family and ultimately the society at large since it is the family that forms the basis for the development of society. This ambivalent portrayal weakens the vision of the writer who starts by correctly contextualising prostitution in the events of the Zimbabwean crisis. Also as argued by one sociologist interviewed by the researcher, “deviants like prostitutes and criminals in society should not be ostracised but rather should be supported to ensure that they regain the normal status.” To this extent therefore he perpetuates the trend in Shona literature, especially that of the colonial period, of victim blame which has the negative effect of failing to explain how the socio-economic conditions contribute to the development of deviance in the various characters. Chiwome (1996) notes the weaknesses of the writers who often give a shallow and familiar warning that prostitutes are a liability, hypocritical and ultimately a menace to family stability. As argued by Wasosa (2010), in the end the prostitutes are shown to be unethical and deviant and yet the truth is that they are in that situation because they will be struggling to make ends

meet. According to Wasosa (ibid), prostitution is a result of women struggling for survival and it therefore becomes an economic necessity. Mabasa therefore is subscribing to the stigmas usually attached to prostitutes by viewing them as social misfits. In this case, there are some notable similarities in the writings of some fellow African male writers who write on the subject of prostitution like those in Kenya as observed by Muriungu (2004). The Kenyan literary critic makes an observation on Kenyan literary works written mainly by men that in the works the prostitute is frequently given the blame for the evils in society and portrayed as a home breaker and a carrier of diseases. Therefore according to Muriungu (ibid: 287) prostitution is viewed as an “intolerable social evil that brings moral and physical disaster to all concerned.” This is because the prostitute metaphor has been used by the male writers to encode women as agents of moral corruption and contamination in society. This is what Mabasa in the above instances does and it becomes problematic in as far as understanding the reality about prostitution. However, as Muriungu (2004) argues the ideal situation is the one adopted by the two Kenyan female writers who seem to be “writing back” against their male counterparts Oludhe Mcgoye in *Victoria and Murder in Majengo* and Genga-Idowu’s *Lady in Chains*. In the two novels, the female authors succeed in subverting the image of the prostitute as a home breaker, an undesirable character or a morally degenerate person. This standpoint is that which lacks in Mabasa in some instances as he lambasts the prostitutes as social renegades and responsible for the society’s problems.

5.4.5 Critique of the Authors’ Vision on Prostitution

Using the data gathered from the critics of literature in African languages, the general opinion was that most of the writers of post-independence fiction are able to explain deviance to explain it in the broad context. However, there were some who felt that the most of the writers explain deviance out of context. From a general sociological point of view,

there is an intrinsic relationship between human behaviour and the forces in operation in society. These forces are responsible for the moulding of human behaviour and therefore ideally, it is the duty of the writers to unravel such forces to enable the readers to have a deep understanding of the human condition. Muwati and Gambahaya (2007:51), whilst analysing the human condition in relation to the economic conditions prevalent in post-independence Zimbabwe, note that writers in African languages and in this case Shona and Ndebele usually display a weakness in that they have “institutionalised the narrow victim blame syndrome.” However, the writers should strive to succeed in unmasking the forces that to a larger extent shape the morality of a people. This observation by Muwati and Gambahaya is quite important as this research focuses on post-independence Shona fiction and how issues on deviance are handled. Morality is critical in the conceptualisation of what constitutes deviant behaviour. However, in most instances Mabasa in the two novels *Mapenzi* and *Ndafa Here?* as well as Nyandoro in *Ndozwiudza Aniko?* are able to raise “new critical perspectives on morality and the human condition in post-independence Zimbabwe thereby increasing consciousness about forces that have negatively impacted on the people’s lives.” What Muwati and Gambahaya (2007:57) detest is the scenario in which “writers in indigenous languages who engage in victim-blame often reflect a deformed consciousness which helps to reinforce the very systems of oppression which dehumanise the ordinary people.” This constitutes to some extent to what could be termed “narrow-moralisation” which functions effectively for the privileged and defectively and subversively for the ordinary. From the interviews with both the writers and critics of literature, it emerged that it is the responsibility of the writers to expose the social injustices prevailing and also the post-independence disillusionment which has become characteristic of the life on the African continent. One of the interviewees said, “Another issue that needs to be tackled by the African writers is the issue post-independence disillusionment in the continent as most of the

objectives of the liberation struggles have not been met. The issues of political instability, corruption and poverty should be some of the concerns of the writers.”

There have been several weaknesses observed in the portrayal of prostitutes in African literary works especially those by male writers. Commenting on the weakness of male writers in their portrayal of prostitutes, Stratton (1994) in Muriungu (2004) argues that one of the regular features of fiction by men in Africa has been the conversion of the Mother Africa trope into a prostitution metaphor. This, according to Stratton, has been used to exploit the male-female power relations of domination and subordination. Also, the author of *The Prostitute in African Literature* Senkoro (1982) cited in Muriungu (2004) observes that most critics and writers of African literature tend to avoid the subject of prostitution because it is perceived as a forbidden field that is circumscribed with rules and taboos. According to Senkoro (1982) in Muriungu (ibid: 286), it is therefore the duty of every writer who chooses the theme of prostitution to break the rules and “justify his dealings with the forbidden dirty subject of prostitutes and prostitution.”

Furthermore, Muriungu (ibid) observes that sexuality is an important way of maintaining power over people and also a means of acquiring power over people and at the same time also a means of acquiring knowledge of oneself and to others. Bluberg and Soal (1997) again cited in Muriungu (ibid) also claim that talking about sexual issues to some is to be considered a liberating process and also on the other hand as a subversive act in itself. In the fictional works *Victoria and Murder in Majengo* by Oludhe McGoye and *Lady in Chains* by Genga-Idowu`s, Muriungu observes that there is suggestion of libratory avenues for women through the practising of prostitution. There is the call of acknowledging the existence of prostitution in society and trying to shed light at the end of the day for the prostitute figure as the prostitutes advance in life through the savings realised from the practice. In the two

novels, prostitution should be rather viewed as a form of work which can come with success and failures rather than a form of sexual violence. This positive image of the prostitute is what Nyandoro attempts to give in *Ndozviudza Aniko*? Although Nyandoro does not advocate that prostitution be regarded as a form of work as the two Kenyan female writers do, the qualities of fortitude and resilience he gives to Fiona makes him have a better vision than Mabasa whose vision has been shown to be ambivalent. Nyandoro is consistent in reflecting on how the human condition is linked to the economic conditions obtaining in society unlike Mabasa who is vacillating and oscillating between two standpoints. On one hand he is blaming the economic circumstances and on the other he blames the prostitutes themselves.

Nevertheless, both Mabasa and Nyandoro are positive in that they are not condoning prostitution, which according to Fayemi (2009), is the most demeaning thing that can be done to women. The lives of women cannot be made better or safer by legalising or decriminalising prostitution as it is a vicious institution of inequality of the sexes. Through the lenses of African ethico-feminism, Fayemi proposes some possible way of achieving this which includes a massive transformation of attitudes and beliefs of both men and women. As far as African societies are concerned, the liberation of women is not simply about sexual freedom for women as most men tend to think and fear. This is what Filomina (1987) cited in Fayemi (2009:210) says, “freedom of women is about the larger challenge of the redistribution of the privilege, power, property between the rich and the poor, encompassing the smaller challenge of redistribution of power and privilege between men and women.” Also of great importance as noted by Fayemi (ibid) is that the satisfaction of the basic needs such as food, habitat, health, education and security is a basic prerequisite for achieving women empowerment and liberation. However, again this is dependent on the basic

structural transformations of societies and these can only be achieved through good governance and sincere leadership in the case of contemporary Africa. The provision of basic infrastructural facilities, institutions, programmes and opportunities will enhance the role of self-worth of not only women but the lives of all Africans. These are exactly the same sentiments echoed by the prostitutes interviewed by the researcher who noted that empowering the females through education and creating employment opportunities for them which will improve their economic conditions will help reduce the chances of women becoming prostitutes. Still on this note, the views of the sociologists from both interviews and questionnaires indicate that stability in society is fundamental in curbing deviance. With regards to prostitution, the general view was that it can be reduced when the economy is performing well as it is basically a result of poverty. Regardless of his weaknesses, Mabasa in the novel *Mapenzi* calls for the transformation and a change in attitude by the political leadership in Zimbabwe so as to do away with oppressive tendencies which have been largely responsible for the poor living conditions which the people find themselves in. This can be observed largely through the sentiments of the main character Hamundigone. As has already been noted, the projection of a mentally unstable character as a central figure enables the author to transcend self-censorship which has a tendency of diluting and compromising creative commitment. He is shielded by his character which enables him to say things otherwise which could be considered subversive. As observed by Wasosa (2007) in Freire (1970) 's words Hamundigone stands for the "practice of freedom" and this freedom which he represents is not for the individual but for the group. To a larger extent the ruling elite is blamed for the suffering the nation is facing and life is shown to be meaningless:

MuZimbabwe mave nechirwere, chirwere chisiri njovhera. Ukatarisa unoona kuti pane zvinoda kushandurwa asi nguva, tariro, cheudzo kana pekutangira unopashaya.(5)

(In Zimbabwe there is now a new disease which is not sexually transmitted. You look at what you are and get convinced that change is necessary. However, time, hope,

inspiration and even the starting point remain elusive.)

Also, he implores for change in oppressive leadership through a Shona folktale which he strategically places at the end of the novel. Among the Shona, folktales are the fountains of the people's cultural values and reflect their worldview. In this story, the king of the birds *Zizi* was oppressive to other birds and lied to them for a long time that he had horns and anyone who did not obey his orders especially of bringing him food he would destroy him using the horns. This continued for a long time until one of the birds *Nhengure* studied *Zizi* and then realised that they were not horns but feathers and he chased him away for good. This story is about oppressive leadership which is a hindrance to the progress in society and the need for transformation. Killens (1971:361) notes that one of the major tasks of the writers is to transform the world:

...I am a writer, first of all, and precisely because the world stinks and I want to change it...any writer worth his salt is up to the same subversive business. This is the way things always were, the external contradiction between the artist and society. Every time I sit to the typewriter... I am out to change the world, to capture reality, to melt it down and to forge it into something entirely different.

This is the transformation that to some extent Fayemi is advocating for which will empower women and live fulfilling life that will limit their chances of engaging in deviant behaviour like prostitution.

5.5 Homosexuality as Deviance: Engaging *Mapenzi* and *Makaitai*?

As presented in chapter 1, homosexuality is perceived as deviant as it does not conform with the Shona people's cultural ethics. Even from the interviews carried out with sociologists and social workers, the consensus was that homosexuality although it may exist in African societies it is treated as unethical and at time it is criminalised. According to Clinard and Meier (2008), initially the term homosexuality was popularised around 1869 by Benkert who

defined it as failure to achieve "normal erection" during contact with a person of the opposite sex. Regardless of applying it to both men and women, the stance to define it on the basis of sexual functioning rather than a general sexual preference had significant consequences. However, as Clinard and Meier (ibid) note, this definition has since been widened as the narrow conceptualisation rejects other alternatives like homophilic which refers to falling in love with members of one's own gender or homogenic which is about simple attraction to members of one's gender. The word homosexuality describes a general orientation of sex with other members of one's own gender, whether males (gay) or for females (lesbian). It is thus a generic term used to describe these sexual preferences whether they are among men or women although in some specific contexts the term refers to refers to sexual preferences by men to men whilst lesbianism is specific to the sexual preference among women for sex with other women. As stated by Gunda (2010), homosexuality refers to the sense or state of being sexually and /or emotionally attracted to members of the same sex and the term is applied to both male and females to whom the terms gay and lesbian are used. It is the opposite of heterosexuality.

Another conceptualisation of homosexuality is that given by Mabvurira et al (2012) who note that it is usually associated with sex between people of the same sex but there are other issues which help in the definition of the issue. According to them, this among other things includes someone whose primary erotic, psychological and social interests are in a member of the same sex although the interest may not be explicitly expressed. Above all Mabvurira et al (ibid) assert that the passionate feelings, emotional attraction, fantasies and definition of self should be also involved as we try to define and understand homosexuality. However, generally these have to deal with sexual orientation specifically referring to a person who is emotionally and sexually attracted to someone of the same sex. Therefore they argue that the

term homosexuality should be applied to a number of distinctive homosexual behaviours and activities that go beyond the narrow physical conceptions based solely on sexual acts. As argued by one Roman Catholic priest in an interview with this researcher, it is also significant to note that “there is a distinction between homosexual condition or tendency and individual homosexual acts. This is so because homosexual acts are genital acts performed between persons of the same sex. A person with a homosexual condition or tendency is one who is attracted both physically and erotically by persons of his or her sex. Also, this person usually has no attraction to the opposite sex and in most instances has a positive revulsion for sexual acts with a member of the opposite sex.” Another issue raised is that it is of great importance to note that the practice of homosexuality is not limited to particular cultural groups or social classes. Clinard and Meier (2008) point out that homosexuality is not restricted to particular members of social classes, neither does it depend on a person’s level of education, nor occupation and profession. Again, this is not dependent on whether the individual is married or not. Therefore homosexuality is a broad concept although in most instances it is used to refer to sexual acts of the members of the same sex and is not confined to particular groups of people.

In Shona literature very few authors have dwelt on the issue of homosexuality and those who have done it like in the case of Mabasa in *Mapenzi* and Mavesera in *Makaitei?* have not given the issue the space like they did to other issues in the novels. The author’s sentiments towards the behaviour in *Mapenzi* is expressed through the main character Hamundigone in one of his numerous pedagogies on the difficulties the people are facing during the crisis especially the urbanites. In one of the instances as he was discussing with Bunny after the death of his sister Maud he notes how life in Harare was difficult to comprehend with such issues as bestiality and homosexuality:

Bunny zvemuHarare here? Muzere mapenzi. Makazviona kwaani kuti

imbwa inoitwa mukadzi. Kana murume kuitwa murume nemumwe murume? Zvakangofanana nekunzwa kuti banana rava nemhodzi. Saka horaiti kana zviriro izvozvo tiri kuendepi, kwei, nani, uye tozodii taveko isu tichingori mapenzi ega ega? (142)

(Bunny, of things that happen in Harare? It is full of fools. Where did you see that a dog is made a wife? Even that a man is made a spouse by another man? It is the same as hearing that a banana has seed. If that is the case, where are we heading and what are our aims when we are all fools?)

Furthermore, the city life is shown to be quite complex and difficult to understand:

Harare Blazo, hanzi havarari muHarare. Ko, iko kuri kunyepa here? Hamurarwi muHarare, uye zvese zvirimo. Kana usingazvione hauone, tsvaga magirazi. Zvidhakwa, vanamati, zvifeve, vemapati ekufara, vemapati emusangano yengochani..... A, Harare inondipaza musoro sefoshoro inopakwa manyowa. Handiinzwisisi, yakaora, inonhuwa, asi ndinoida.(33)

(My brother they don't sleep in Harare. But isn't it true? People don't sleep in Harare and everything is there. Drunkards, religious people, prostitutes, those for pleasure and organisations for homosexuals....A, Harare I fail to understand it. I don't understand it, its rotten, it stinks but I like it.)

It is interesting to note that Hamundigone is linking homosexuality to the complex and confusing life of the capital city Harare. Generally urban areas have been treated as the “death bed” of African cultures and to him homosexuality is another form of mental instability as it is unimaginable to him that people of the same sex can be in love. Whilst resting in the park in Africa Unity Square, Hamundigone comes across a boy who is homosexual from the conversations they had as well as his actions with another man. The boy came to sit nearby Hamundigone wearing a white suit, had one earring and holding a red rose symbolising love. It is because of the flower that Hamundigone thought that he was waiting for his girlfriend but to his utmost disbelief, he was told that he was waiting for his boyfriend. Hamundigone initially thought he had not heard him well and repeated his question and the answer remained the same. The question of Hamundigone was, *Wakamirira musikana wako nhai?* (Are you waiting for your girlfriend?) and the gay's response was, *Ndakamirira*

mukomana wangu. (24) (I am waiting for my boyfriend.)

From the discourse between Hamundigone and the gay, there are indications that the homosexual was someone who was not centred in his cultural world view. He was unable to speak in Shona but always code-switched to English. Although code-switching is a product of bilingualism and may not necessarily imply loss of cultural values, it is the manner in which the boy was talking that Hamundigone describes as irritating:

Ainge rata rine ngura radonha kubva pamusoro pechirugwi chehuku. Ndizvo zvandaiona maari. Zengwete, zenè rine ngura, gwati remarara rakaraswa pamwe chete nemarara kudurunhuru.... Aiva nekanzwi kanorutsisa. Kanzwi kanenge rata riri kuchekwa. Aitaura kunge weti iri kupinda muchemba iine karuzha kekuchururuka kanosvota. (24)

(He was like a rusty iron sheet falling from a fowl run. That's what I saw in him. Useless rusty iron sheet, dust pan in the rubbish pit... He had a very bad voice which can make one to vomit. The voice was like an iron sheet being cut. He talked like urine making disturbing noise in the chamber).

The author therefore is of the opinion that homosexuals are liabilities in societies and likening him to rusty iron sheet and dust pan in the rubbish pit all reinforce the point of him being a misfit. What was further mind boggling for Hamundigone is the way he greets his boyfriend:

Akafamba achinopinda mumota yaive kumhiri kwaNelson Mandela, padivi pechechi yeAnglican. Ndakamuona achitsvodana pamuromo chaipo nemumwewo murume aivemo vasati vasimuka. Ndakasara ndonzwa musoro wakawedzerwa kurwadza, kunge maive nemoto wamarasha uri kuparadzirwa kuti ubike chingwa chemupotohayi. (25)

(He walked and got into a car in Nelson Mandela Avenue on the side of the Anglican Church. I saw him kissing with another man on the mouth in the car before they left. I was left with a worse headache and was extremely disturbed.)

The homosexual had the negative perception of some African tradition and therefore adored the modern ways:

Chii chinonzi bute? Ho-o snuff! That is a disgusting habit! Kuchine vanhu vachiri kuputa snuff mazuva ano? (24)

(What is *bute*? Ok, snuff! That is a disgusting habit! Are there people still taking snuff

these days?)

The author labels the homosexual a social misfit. Homosexuality is therefore viewed as abnormal, unexpected and a reflection of mental instability. The city life is portrayed to be extremely complex and people are shown to be restless in their bid to survive. Therefore the practice of homosexuality is understood in the broader context of the people's mental instability especially the urbanites which basically is a consequence of their battle for survival. The nation is shown to be reeling under severe crisis and in the end people even opt for deviant behaviours in order to make ends meet. In their analysis of how societies develop attitudes towards homosexuality, Adamczyk and Pitt (2009) advance the argument that nations that are facing economic and political challenges are more likely to have a negative attitude as the trend is that as nations undergo the process of industrialisation and modernisation, attitudes and values shift away from the concerns about physical and economic security to worldviews that are increasingly rational, tolerant and trusting. They further argue that instead of worrying about how to fulfil basic needs like food, shelter and safety, people become increasingly interested with issues related to subjective well being, quality of life and self-expression. It is within the new orientation that people can move easily to tolerate new ideas and non-normative behaviours like homosexuality. In other words, the hypothesis by Adamczyk and Pitt (2009) is that individuals who reside in nations characterised by survival orientation will have more disapproving attitudes towards homosexuals than people in nations characterised by self-expression. There is a supposed link between economic development and attitude change, as societies shift their attention from survival to self-expression, attitudes about homosexuality become more accepting. This may be probably why European nations are more tolerant to homosexuality than most African countries that are still economically less advanced as Europe. Closer home, South Africa which legalised homosexuality has a better economy and has different attitudes from

other African countries which have criminalised the behaviour.

As has already been noted, just like in *Mapenzi*, the issue of homosexuality is not given a lot of space in the novel *Makaitei*? It is only through the discussions of some women who happen to be vendors in the city of Gweru who were debating whether the person who had got into a car was male or female because of the dressing which is usually associated with women. However, it turned out that the person was a gay who use the Fairmile hotel as the base to get his clients. One of the women comments on the confusion from the dressing:

Aikazve mhute ndipo painongoipira haunyatsoona zviri kuitika. Ndanga ndichida kunyatsoona kuti akwira mota iyo yakananga kuFairmile musikana kana kuti mukomana. Ungati anenge anga akarova tirauzi, mhetete dzichingaima kabheke kakati mujinga kwati (120).

(Mist is bad as it makes me not to have a clear vision of what is transpiring. I wanted to see whether the person who got into the car was a girl or a boy. It seems the person was wearing some trousers, with shining earrings and a little bag on the side.)

The other woman responds:

Aiwa hamumuzive, ndiJohn uyu. She is further surprised; Mati mukomana! Inhema dzenyu kune mukomana angabva arova madhikauzi nokupema musoro? Idzi ndidzo nhema. Ingotii hamuna kuona zvakanaka seni. Izvozvo zvoga here? Ko handiti ndiyo yatova trade yake. (120-121)

(A-aa you do not know, it's John. You say it's a boy! This can't be true. Just say you did not see properly like what I did. She responded; Just only that? Isn't it that is now his trade?)

In the novel homosexuality is linked to the economic challenges the people are facing especially the urbanites. It is in essence a survival strategy although the writers detest it. As argued by Plummer (1975) quoted in Clinard and Meier (2008:424) and from a sociological perspective, sexuality is a social construction "that has been learned with interaction with others." Therefore sexuality is dictated not only by body chemistry but by social interaction,

situations and expectations. In the case of the two novels, it is important to understand it in the context of the political, social and economic interaction. This stance to some extent is similar to the views given by sociologists through questionnaires and interviews. The majority of the respondents were of the opinion that it is the economic conditions that promote homosexuality as those involved in it find it to be financially lucrative.

However, some of the respondents gave other views linking the behaviour to “structures that are put in society which deprive men and women of interaction with members of the opposite sex. Such deprivation as in the cases of confinement in places like prisons, jails or schools reserved for people of the same sex compels people into engaging in homosexual behaviours.” The other point of view attempts to explain homosexuality in terms of the genetic makeup of an individual. This perspective ignores the contribution of social forces in shaping people’s behaviour and sociologists have dismissed such claims as not convincing at all. It becomes difficult to explain human behaviour from a biological point of view as society has immense contribution to the manner people behave. The two novelists view homosexuality with the same lenses as they do on prostitution which they argue to be a result of the economic conditions people find themselves in.

5.6 Crime as Deviance in *Mapenzi*, *Ndozviudza Aniko?* and *Ndafa Here?*

From the discussions held with some interviewees and respondents of questionnaires, crime was categorised as deviance because it refers to those activities society deem illegal. Above all, it also contravenes the people’s cultural ethics because of the numerous problems it brings with it to the society. The discussion is going to focus on the causes and solutions to combat criminal activities as well as the implications of the images of criminals given by the

authors in understanding their predicament. Haralambos and Holborn (2013) cite one sociologist Clinard who argue that the term deviance should be reserved for the behaviour that is disapproved, that community finds it impossible to tolerate. From this conceptualisation they argue that crime and delinquency are the most obvious forms of deviance. Just like in the case of other deviant behaviours, the concept of crime is not fixed as argued by Walsh and Hemmens (2011:2) on the reason that “every vice is somewhere and at some time a virtue.” There has been a frequent and general use of the term criminal to an extent that it can and has been used to many types of behaviour some of which nearly almost everyone may be guilt of at some point in time. One of the most cited definitions of crime is one by Tappen (1947) cited in Walsh and Hemmens (ibid) which says crime is “an intentional act in violation of the criminal law committed without defence or excuse and penalised by the state.” From this definition, criminal activities are those that are prohibited by state laws as it is the state that has the jurisdiction to label the activities as such. Since human societies are diverse and dynamic, it is problematic to define crime as argued by Walsh and Hemmens (ibid: 16):

The definition of crime is problematic because acts that are defined as criminal vary across time and culture. Many criminologists agree that because crimes are defined into existence we cannot determine real crimes and criminals are.

According to Hawkins (1995) in Walsh and Hemmens (2011), the concept of crime keeps changing and because of that some criminologists have declared it impossible to generalise about what is and is not “real” crime.” Therefore from a sociological point of view, crime is socially constructed as it lacks any “real” objective essence and instead of being discovered, it is defined into existence. By social construction, it means nothing more than human beings have perceived a phenomenon, named it, and categorised it according to some classificatory rule that notes of the similarities and differences among the things to be classified. Nevertheless, Walsh and Hemmens (ibid) argue that there are some forms of crime that are

universally condemned and these are predatory crimes that cause serious harm and are defined as *mala in se* (inherently bad) as opposed to *mala prohibita* (bad because they are forbidden).

5.6.1 Crime in *Mapenzi*

In *Mapenzi*, criminal activities are mainly reflected through the behaviour of Vincent (VC) who survives on selling marijuana (*mbanje*) which is illegal as it is categorised as an illicit drug. The customers of Vincent included police officers, commuter omnibus drivers and some members of the apostolic faith sects. His landlady Mai Jazz is aware of the criminal activities but she cannot allow him to leave because of some benefits she got from him. At times he would lend her money and was a reliable rate payer. This illegal trade of the drug he called it “business” together with his friend Sanchez who happens to be a commuter omnibus driver. Sanchez comments on his friend’s selling of marijuana:

Aa-a handiti ndiyo iri bhanya sezvo murimi maindigenous businessmen ari kutaurwa naBob negovernment yake? Munofanira kuitawo muchinonoka kumuka kuratidza kuti hupfumi hwava mumaoko edu isusu mabhoyi eblack! (62)

(Isn’t this fine as you are the indigenous businessman being encouraged by Bob and his government? You must wake up relaxed to show that we the blacks are now the owners of the economy.)

The author is satirising the indigenous policy of the government which it claims is benefitting the black Zimbabweans. The general feeling of the people is that the policy has only benefitted a few individuals who are usually linked to the political elite. Vincent is so obsessed with his “business” that he has no other plans for his life and future. When talking to his long time girlfriend Joyi, he is clear that he did not want marriage as this would disturb his business:

Unenge uchindidzosea shure kubusiness rangu. Rangu business unoriziva ; no wife,

no girlfriends, no kids, no relatives and no... (64)

(You will be disturbing my business. You know my business no wife, no girlfriends, no kids, no relatives and no...)

The police have a helping hand on crime and on this Vincent confess twice whilst talking to Joyi and also to his brother Bunny. He suspects that there was a time Joyi had tipped the police to raid his premises after they had an altercation. It were some other policemen with whom he had some connections who told him of Joyi's betrayal:

Hapana chekufungidzira, ndakaudzwa nemapurisa mafesi angu kuti waive wanonditegesa ndiwe! (64)

(There is nothing to think of; I was told by my friends the police officers that you sold me out).

The author clearly makes the point that Vincent opted for the criminal activity after realising that this would give him better living conditions than being formally employed. Vincent had nine passes at Ordinary Level but could not take the job which Bunny had secured for him because of the paltry salary offered to him. When his brother warned him against selling the drug and also castigating him for rejecting the offer for employment he replied:

Blaz, basa makaita henyu sitereki, asi handingamboshandira one thousand two hundred dollars pamwedzi. Imi munozviziva kuti imari yandinoita pazuva, kana kutodarika.(67)

(Bother you did well but I can't work for one thousand two hundred per month. You know that I can raise that money in a single day or even more.)

The state of the economy in which salaries and wages of the workers are no longer adequate to give them a decent living clearly explains as to why Vincent made the choice. Vincent was well connected in his criminal activities as he had some police officers who covered him up so as to avoid arrest. He assured his brother Bunny that in the meantime he was safe that as most of the police officers were his friends:

Ndinotozosungwa kana mapurisa ese macustomer angu apera kuchinjwa kubva kuno

achiendeswa kuBeitbridge kana kuMutorashanga blaz. (67)

(I will be arrested when all my friends the police have been transferred to Beitbridge or Mutorashanga brother.)

The altercation with Bunny started when Vincent wanted to borrow some money from him so that he could go to Malawi to buy marijuana for resale in Zimbabwe. Bunny tells him that if life in the city had become unbearable for him it was better that he relocates to the rural area. On the concept of business Bunny replies:

Manje bhizinesi rako rekutengesa mbanje! Dai uri mubhizinesi rinopa mari yatinoonawo ndaikunzwisisa, manje unogara uchida kukwereta mari yekuvhara maburi, profit yacho hatiioniwo saka ibhizinesi rudzii? Uchazoiteiwo naro?(67)

(Your business of selling marijuana! If it was proper business which gives you money I could not understand but you are always borrowing money to cover up things, we do not see the profit so what kind of business is it? What will you do with it?)

Just like in the cases of prostitution and homosexuality, the writer reveals that the criminal activities emanate from the economic crisis obtaining in the country. It becomes one of the available options for Vincent regardless of the risks associated with it as he, like many others, struggle to make ends meet. From the views of the respondents and interviews on crime as deviance, it is observed that it results from people confronted by survival threats and as is the case with post-independence Zimbabwe it is the poor living conditions. According to the respondents, it is vital to consider the nature of the society when analysing the causes of deviance. The political and economic crisis obtaining in post-independence Zimbabwe is conducive for people to adopt deviant behaviour as the people are frustrated by the failure to live meaningful lives. This is what Mabasa captures in *Mapenzi* as Vincent is shown to be frustrated by failure to find a decent paying job when he had done well in his school examinations.

The sociologist Giddens (2009) makes the point that some types of crime and deviance are

produced by structural tensions and a lack of moral regulation in society. This happens when the aspirations held by individuals and groups do not coincide with society's available rewards and the disparity between desires and their fulfilment will be seen in the deviant motivations of some of its members. Merton's strain theory helps to account for some types of individualistic acquisitive crime. According to Giddens (2009), Durkheim coined the term anomie in reference to the situation in modern societies in which traditional norms and standards become undermined without being replaced by new ones. As argued by Durkheim, anomie exists where there are no standards to regulate behaviour in a given area of social life. In such situations, people at times feel disoriented and anxious. This is the state of affairs in the novel *Mapenzi* as the norms that should guide the people in terms of behaviour are no longer operational as people are fighting for survival in the difficult times of the crisis. Everyone in the novel is portrayed as being mentally unstable which is an indicator of the breakdown of norms in society as people's behaviour is shown to be the antithesis of the expected.

Merton (1968) cited in Haralambos and Holborn (2013) commenting on the functionalist perspective made the following observations on the aspects relating to culture and structure of society itself. He began from the standard functionalist position of value consensus, that is, all members of society share the same values. However, members of society are placed in different positions in the social structure (like they differ in terms of class position) and it is this situation that is capable of creating deviance. In Merton's words quoted in Haralambos and Holborn (ibid: 323): "the social and cultural structure generates pressure for socially deviant behaviour upon people, variously located in that structure."

Lack of opportunity for success is a key differentiating factor between those who engage in criminal behaviour and those who do not. In society, there are inequalities that are always in

existence and the conflict theories which are influenced by Marxism explain these disparities. People actively opt to engage in deviant behaviour in response to the inequalities of the capitalist system. Conflict theories locate crime and deviance within the structure of society. The author of *Mapenzi* correctly situates the criminal activities by Vincent to the existing economic environment. It is because of the unfavourable working conditions that he decided to do the risky “business” of selling marijuana as he earned more money than going to work. He told Bunny that the money he will get from the job he could in actual fact make it within a day or even more than that. In reality, the salaries and wages most of the Zimbabwean workers are getting are far from being near the poverty datum line. Under such circumstances, people tend to look for other alternatives and crime becomes of them as one quickly gets the money from the activities. Because of the social inequalities in post-independence Zimbabwe, people are resorting to deviant behaviour so as to cope with the demands in life. By implication, Vincent is suggesting that if the salary was adequate to sustain him, he could not have been selling *mbanje*. He is driven into the “business” because of the unfavourable working conditions. Criminals in this case are victims of circumstances and they are portrayed as not inherently criminal. The poverty they are facing is responsible for their deviance. Becker (1992) cited in Walsh and Hemmens (2011) in his “The Economics of Crime” postulates the view that the essence of the economic approach to crime suggest people decide whether to venture into crime by comparing the benefits and costs of engaging in crime. There is need to analyse how earnings and fewer opportunities are a factor behind crime and teenagers with lower earnings and few opportunities end up engaging in criminal activities. This is exactly what Vincent does as it was going to give him more money than going to work.

To further strengthen the point that Mabasa correctly contextualises the criminal activities of

Vincent, he gives him a positive image and does not condemn him for his deviance. There are instances in which he is portrayed as a moral criminal especially when he reflects the shortcomings of his uncle Saba whose negligence when it comes to caring for his family is alarming. Vincent comments on Saba`s unbecoming behaviour:

Asi chokwadi kupenga kwakadai kuchapera riinhi? Sekuru Saba vakatengera hure madhirezi maviri nepeya imwe chete yebhutsu. Asi mukadzi wavo ukamuona unototya kuti hembe dzake ndedzekunhonga here kana kuti ndedzenhaka. Zvasekuru Saba vakomana! Ndiko kunonzi kubvinza kwemwoyo yedu, mweya nenjere tiri muno muHarare....Mukadzi wavo anogarouya kuno kuzokumbira hupfu, kana shuga yekubikira mwana poriji kana mari yekuti atohodha mafreezits, asi ivo ndipo pavanowana mari yekupa hure.

(But when will this madness come to an end? Uncle Saba bought two dresses and a pair of shoes to a prostitute. But if you see his wife`s clothes you think she inherited them. That is what is called failure to care and reason...The wife always comes to me asking for mealie-meal or even sugar to cook porridge for the child or money to buy "freezits" for sale but he gives money to a prostitute.)

At one point Saba came with his prostitute intending to sleep at Vincent`s place but he adamantly refused to accommodate him. Still on VC`s conscience, he protested against the ill-treatment of his landlord`s maid Saru by the entire family. She is subjected to various forms of abuse which include physical and psychological as well as sexual abuse by Eddie, the landlord`s “son-in-law”. At one point he is beaten unconscious after Eddie and his “wife” Heaven who had assaulted Saru and forced her outside the house naked much to his dismay. It was when he tried to intervene that he was assaulted. So regardless of his criminal activities, VC is shown to still possess the values that the African people encourage of caring for one another.

5.6.2 Crime in *Ndozwiudza Aniko*?

As has already been indicated in the synopses of the literary works being discussed in this

research, the novel is set toward the climax of the crisis. This was a period of unparalleled economic challenges in the country's history. Criminal activities are done by two groups of people, those who are unemployed (the Marxist lumpen proletariat) and those going to work. The first group includes the down trodden like the street kids who end up being criminals. This is centred on the criminal activities of Wisdom Shumbayaonda, Tapson and Chakanyuka Mhukayesango who all reside in the high density suburb of Mbare in the capital city Harare, notorious for criminal activities. One of the victims of crime is Revai who had his car broken into after leaving it in the road as it had developed a mechanical fault. In the process of making a follow up of as to whether his friend who lived in Mbare had heard anything about the stolen goods which included a lap top, he meets Wisdom who was selling a manual book which was one of the items stolen in the car. He then teamed up with police officers making a trap leading to a chain of arrests which included Wisdom and Tapson who were the middlemen as well as the person who had stolen the goods Chakanyuka. It is significant to note that the writer is explaining the criminal activities in terms of the squalid conditions as well as poverty hounding the characters especially Wisdom, a former street kid. These inhuman conditions are shown to be the forces behind the committing of crime. The deplorable conditions of the place in which Wisdom lived are described by the writer:

Muchinda uya akapinda muyadhi mepamba paya ndokunanga mune kamwe kadumba kemapuranga kaiva padivi pemba hombe yepo. Kadumba aka kaiva nemupanda mumwe chete. Kamba aka, ako kaigara muchinda uyu seroja, kainge kakatsonga zvekuti munhu waifunga kuti mugari wemo, nemumhu wake mukuru, aitotanga abuda panze kuti akwanise kupinduka pauriri. (64-65)

(That guy entered the yard of the homestead and went to a wooden shack besides the main house. The shack had one room. The shack, in which this guy lived as a lodger, was so small that you would think the person who lived in it, with his big body, would first go outside to turn over when asleep.)

There is a connection between the environment and crime. This is captured in the social

ecology or social disorganisation theory with some of the proponents being Shaw and McKay (1972). According to them, crime is concentrated in socially disorganised areas inhabited by economically deprived people. What is entailed in this theory is that both people and the place they live in are important in explaining crime. The living conditions in the suburb of Mbare are squalid to say the least and the majority of the people who reside there struggle to make ends meet. It is apparent that Wisdom, a former street kid, had no other means for surviving and desperately wanted the money so that he could access some needs which every other ordinary human being is entitled:

Muchinda uyu paaitatura zvose, Revai ainge akabata bhuku riya achirivhura-vhura mapeji. Airitarisa neziso rairatidza kuti airifarira, zvinova zvakaita kuti nyakutengesa akwenye mhuno nekasiyanwa, achiti dai rangotengwa kani tiwane kamari kechikari paBlue Bar. (66)

(As this guy was talking, Revai was busy opening the pages of the book showing interest which gave hope to the seller so that he will get money for beer at Blue Bar.)

Bonger (1905) in Walsh and Hemmens (2011) notes that human beings are basically pleasure-seeking but pleasure in the capitalist society (like that during the Zimbabwe Crisis) requires lots of money. Consequently, egoism (selfishness) is stimulated. Bonger further argues that in pursuit of pleasure, both the bourgeoisie and the proletariat become prone to crime as they lose the compassion and a sense of responsibility toward others. This is also the wish of Wisdom and other elements in his gang who also want pleasure but are unable to afford it as they are unemployed. He wants to refresh with beer but has no formal means of getting the money and in the end, committing crime is the way for him and the gang to achieve this. Poverty resulting from capitalism prompts crime to the extent that it creates desperate need for food and other life necessities. The price of the stolen goods does not correspond to the real value as the criminals are after fast cash and this is shown when the laptop was sold to the accountant at the company at which Tapson worked as an assistant

mechanic for a paltry Z\$30 000 when it was worth millions of dollars. This was the period of the Zimbabwean crisis and one of the characteristics of the period was that of hyperinflation as prices of goods and services went astronomical on a daily basis. This need for cheap goods cuts across all the classes in society including professionals as the people cannot afford the formal market. The stolen lap top was bought by an accountant at Tapson's work place at a lower price much to the amusement of the police:

Indava murume mukuru muchiita basa rekutenga zvinhu zvakabiwa? Hamunyari here? Munhu washefu ndiye anobata matakanana akadai ekutamba nembavha! Indava kusaita matyira nemidziyo yevamwe vanhu kudaro? Zvinotoratidza kuti nemiwo muri mbavha. Pamwe ndimi mudhara anoita basa rekutuma vechidiki ava kuti vabire vanhu zvinhu zvavo.(78)

(Why does such an elderly man like you buy stolen goods? Aren't you ashamed? A person with such a high post associating with thieves! Why don't you respect other people's property? It shows that you a thief also. May be it is you old people who send the young to steal from other people.)

As said by one of the police officers Toro, as an accountant he was supposed to know the real market value of the computer but this was not to be the case as he could not afford those sold in the formal market. Toro queries the decision of the accountant:

...Imi maigotenga kombiyuta inoita 30 000 maiti munhu wacho waiwanepi kana achichipisa zvakadaro?...Semunhu waaccountant hamutarisisrwi kunge muchitadza kuziva mitengo yemakombiyuta.(79).

(...How could you buy the computer for 30 000, where did you think the person had got it at such a cheap price)... As an accountant you can't be expected not to be aware of the prices of computers.)

Whilst in remand prison, Wisdom makes a reflection of the journey he had travelled so far which led him to become a criminal. From the beginning he was not academically gifted and he was always a nuisance at school. He was the ring leader of all the mischief whilst at boarding school and some of the mischievous behaviours he led include things things stealing from the kitchen and school fields. So as to avoid the wrath of his parents, he had to

flee to Harare when it was obvious that he was going to be expelled. He had high hopes of an affordable life in the city. However, this tended to be the opposite as the conditions were not conducive and he ended up in the streets. When the money he had got finished he went for the food in the rubbish bins and in the process he became a street kid and a vagabond in Mbare:

Zviya zvekusema zvokudya zvemumabhini, zvinoitwa kana munhu uri murugare. Kana nhamo yakutamba tsvina, unoona uchimhanya wega kubhini pasina akutuma kunofukunura marara uchitsvaga zvokudya sezviya zvinoita imbwa. (93)

(When avoiding food from the rubbish bins you will be living well. When you are in abject poverty you will go to the bins without being asked to scavenge for food like what dogs do.)

In the end, he became a gangster with fellow street kids. They then migrated to the city centre and although the food was “better” life was not easy because of the incessant battles with others over space. Those at the bottom of the social caste like the street kids and the vagabonds are the ones referred to by Marx as the lumpenproletariat. Drug abuse was also rife as they battled with the living conditions. At some point he decided to go back to the rural areas where his parents were staying but this was short lived and he re-united with Chimusoro and they terrorised fellow street kids including Fiona. After starting to make motorists pay for the services they offered of securing their parked cars in the streets of Harare, he looked for accommodation in Mbare where he became friends with criminals Freedom, Cryboy, Chakanyuka and Tapson as they became regular patrons at the Blue Bar. The other members of the gang were former employees of a certain company and confess as to why they became criminals:

Chakaita kuti tisvike pakuira mabasa akadai kutambirisa mari shoma kwataitwa. Mari yacho yaive shomanene. Hameno kuti murungu wacho aifunga kuti tinorarama nei ihwo hupenyu huchidhura kudai. Izvi ndizvo zvazotituma kuti timugadzirise nekumubira. Tikati regai tinokore nerweseri zvaiva mudura rake, imo muhorosero make, togwana chinotiraramisa. Hazvaita kuti tife nenyota makumbo ari mumvura.

(160).

(What made us to engage in such activities so that our pay was too little. The money was quite little. I don't know how our bosses thought how we would survive when things were so expensive. This is what led us to steal from him. We stole from the wholesale so as to survive. We could not die when the resources were accessible.)

Just like in the case in *Mapenzi*, paltry salaries contribute to people's committing of crime. Poverty is believed to be the major cause of crime and this is observed in the confession of criminals above. Bonger (1905) cited in Walsh and Hemmens (2011) emphasises on the causal chain linking crime with the precipitating economic and social conditions. Criminal activities are linked to demoralised individuals, products of dominant capitalism. This is the same scenario with the former workers in *Ndozviudza Aniko?* who are now criminals as they were frustrated by the poor working conditions. There is a tendency for industrial capitalism to create "egoism" rather than altruism in the structure of social life. The "criminal thought" is engendered by the conditions of misery forced on the sections of the working class under capitalism. Secondly, it is also a product of the greed encouraged when capitalism thrives as Walsh and Hemmens (ibid: 210) argue:

Criminal activities are causatively linked with an environment encouraging egoistic action; These persons adopt to their environment only with difficulty...have a smaller chance to succeed in our present society, where the fundamental principle is the warfare of all against all hence they are more likely to seek for means that others do not employ (prostitution for example).

It is the poverty and squalor in the city which is a result of the collapsing economy that forces the people into committing crime. The wretched and miserable life people live in is shown to be the cause of crime in *Ndozviudza Aniko?* One of the characters explains the dire situation of the criminals to Revai:

Kuoma kuri kuita upenyu hwanhasi ndiko kunenge kuri kutuma vanhu kuti vadai. Pamusoro paizvozvo mabasa haachawanikwi, uyezve vanhu vari kugumurwa pamabasa zuva nezuva...Pamusana pokuti anenge otsvagwo kurarama ndipo

paanoswera opfuvisa vanhu kuburukidza nekuvabira. (66)

(It is the hardships in life which are causing people to behave like that. Above all, jobs are hard to come by and the workers are being retrenched every day...Because one wants to survive, he will trouble others by stealing from them.)

The gang comprising of Freedom, Wisdom and Cryboy had bought a house in Waterfalls which with tight security, engaged in organised criminal activities that included robbery especially of cars, conning people and failing to pay for services such as fuel. Eventually, their run came to an end after the cases involving stolen vehicles increased and they were set up by the Criminal Investigating Department officers.

The other group of people shown to be engaging in criminal activities are civil servants and the police in particular as well as those working in the private sector. Some of the criminal activities are well-organised whilst some are rather random. The corruption of the police force is shown in the conversation involving Chaza and Nzunza a former graduate teacher now working in the traffic section. The revelations on corruption start when he brings food from a fast food outlet and shares it with his colleagues. He even discloses that he left the teaching profession because there were no opportunities to make extra money on top of his salary. Also, he tells Chaza that he was building a posh house in the rural areas using the money he gets from bribery especially from public transport operators:

Panhau yekuguma here ndiri shasha. Ukanzwa ndichiti ndava kundojuruja kumoneylink, zvakadai ndozvandinenge ndava kunoita. Ndinowanzozviita kana tava kuda kunotambira, apo tinenge tabhuroka zvebasa.(19)

(On the issue extortion I am an expert. If you hear me saying I am going to the money link that it is what I will be going to do. I usually do this towards pay when we are extremely broke.)

Later on as the conversation progressed, Chaza tells him that they did not buy vegetables and fruits as they always raided vendors and took the stuff home. However, this they attribute to the economic hardships and the rising cost of living:

Zveshuwa zvinhu zvadhura. Icho chingwa kudhura! Iwe! Vana tichavapeiko gore rino? Aa-a ndezvemeso muromo wozvinyararira. Munguva pfupi inotevera tichange tave kuzochinhuwa kamwe pagore sokunonzi kuruzevha kwachinodyiwa paKisimusi bedzi. Zvino mutawundi hazvidi kudaro... (21)

(Of course things are now expensive. The cost of bread! What will we feed our children with? In near future we will only eat bread once per year like in the rural areas where it is eaten only at Christmas. That has not to be in town.)

As the Marxists argue, the economic and social arrangements, the material conditions of people's lives determine what they will know, believe and values and how they will behave. Bohm (2001:115) justifies crime in a capitalist society where a few will be living well whilst the majority are struggling; "crime in capitalist societies is often a rational response to the circumstances in which the people find themselves in." This is what the workers in the novel *Ndozwiudza Aniko?* happen to do as a survival strategy. The corruption and graft they are involved in is a reaction to the paltry salaries they received from government. The view by Bohm is supported by Gordon quoted in Haralambos and Holborn (ibid) who argues that, "given the nature of capitalist societies, crime is rational it makes sense. This is because in a "dog-eat-dog" society, where competition is the order of the day, individuals must fend for themselves in order to survive. Therefore in a situation in which life is characterised by competitiveness and inequality as in capitalist societies it is logical that people engage in criminal activities." Other modern Marxist criminologists who include Chambliss (1976) quoted in Haralambos and Holborn (ibid) also subscribe to this theory as he views criminal behaviour as being no more than rightful behaviour of persons exploited by the exploitative economic relationships. The class struggles are the only source of all crime.

To indicate the frustrations the general populace, especially the urbanites, had with the high cost of living, there is reference in the novel *Ndozwiudza Aniko?* to the food riots of the late 1990s:

Zvinhu zvichikwira kudai, chinoshamisa ndechekuti mari yedu yatinotambira inoramba iri pakaderera kudaro, iri shoma. Ukazotarisa zvinoda kubhadharwa, unoona zviri gumi nefararira, mudungwe wazvo. Kunotika mutero wemba, magetsi, mvura, mari dzechikoro, mari dzebvunzo...Iwe, ndizvo zvinganzi ndezvemeso muromo zvinyararire izvozvo? ...Ndosaka vanhu vakazoita mafood riots gore riya.(21)

(When the prices of commodities are rising like this, what surprises me is that our salaries remain stagnant, being paltry. If you consider at what needs to be paid you find that they are many items. This includes rentals, electricity, water, school fees, examination fee... Then you are told not complain? ...That is why that year there were food riots.)

The food riots heralded the genesis of the crisis as the people became restless because of the ever increasing costs of living. Because of the pressure to survive, professional ethics are shown to be highly compromised as the corrupt police officers mock one of them who had refused a bribe of Z\$25 000 dollars only to be awarded Z\$350 dollars and the cop of the month award. To them this was an act of “madness” as it no longer paid to be professional. Because of the frustrations, it was no longer logical to be honest and hardworking. Achebe (1964:5) notes on how Africans in traditional emphasised on hard work and not criminal activities but this have since changed:

In those days wealth meant the strength of your arm. No one rich became rich by swindling the community or stealing government money. In fact, a man who was guilty of theft immediately lost his titles. Today we have kept the materialism and thrown away the spirituality which kept it in check.

It is the working conditions during the time of the crisis when salaries and wages could not match the rate of inflation which is responsible for creating dishonesty among the workers. The corruption and other ways of extorting money from the public by the police officers are an antithesis of what the people expect them to do as law enforcing agents. It is interesting to note that during their conversation, the police also blame the government leaders for leading in corruption. The political elite is blamed for betraying the hopes of the people:

Kunyangwe imo muhurumende pane vamwe vakuru vakaora mumwoyo zvebasa, vasina matyira pakuira madhiri nekuba mari kubva muhomwe yenyika. Ndosaka nyika isina kubudirira. Asi kana

vari pamagungano akanangana nekuti vavhoterwe vanovimbisa zvinofadza, asi vasingazovizadzikisi...such politicians behave like a drunken motorist who signals, through indicator lights, an intention to turn right but ends up turning left.(24)

(Even in government there are some senior officials who are so corrupt, who are not afraid to engage in dirty deals and stealing from national coffers. That is the reason the country is not developing. But when they are at campaign rallies, they make good promises but they will not fulfil them... such politicians behave like a drunken motorist who signals, through indicator lights, an intention to turn right but ends up turning left.)

This blame on the political leaders is in tandem with the observations made by some of the respondents who mentioned that political leaders encourage the existence of corruption as they are also corrupt themselves. According to the respondents, crime can be effectively dealt with if there is political will and also if the economy is stable. All these are shown to be non-existing in *Ndozviudza Aniko?* hence the existence of crime. Post –independence Africa`s problems have been largely blamed on the political elite which has betrayed the wishes of the people as they abandoned the goals of the liberation struggle. The trend is that they seek self-enriching agendas at the expense of the wishes of the majority. This betrayal of the people is what Franz Fanon has termed the “pitfalls of national consciousness.” Fanon (1968:166) observes this shift of goal posts by the leaders in Africa when he says:

Before independence, the leader generally embodies the aspirations of the people for independence, political liberty, and national dignity. But as soon as independence is declared far from embodying in concrete form the needs of the people in what touches the bread, land and restoration of the country to the sacred hands of the people, the leader will reveal his inner purpose to become the general president of that company that profiteers....

The African political elite has teamed up with the westerners to create neo-colonialism making the life of the people in the continent miserable. It is this misery experienced by the people that the author of *Ndozviudza Aniko?* explores in the novel and it is correctly depicted to be the source of deviance which include crime and prostitution.

5.6.3 Crime in *Ndafa Here?*

The novel *Ndafa Here?* is part of the exilic writing which emerged during the time of the crisis as the movement of the people into the diaspora is one of the issues it addresses. The people of Zimbabwe went in search of greener pastures in the region and overseas as is the case with Wati in the novel. It is through Wati's young brother Pasi that criminal activities are addressed by the writer. Just like Vincent in *Mapenzi*, he is a holder of ordinary level certificate but is unemployed. Like many others in the country, the family is shown to be dysfunctional because of the socioeconomic problems hence the movement of the people into the diaspora. Wati, a ray of hope for the family, is a university graduate but decides to join the exodus to London as employment was difficult to come by and also the working conditions deplorable. It is through the altercation between Pasi and her sister Kiri, both unemployed, that point to the fact that Pasi was into criminal activities as at times he sought the luxuries associated with the employed:

Pasi rega kuda kudhonzera vanhu munyaya yawatanga yematsotsi. Unoti vana vangu vachaita matsotsi, ko, kuti iwe hausi? Unorarama nei, unotenga fodya, doro nekubhadhara mahure nei kana usiri tsotsi? Kubasa hauendi asi doro unongomwa. Mari yacho unoiwanepi? (129)

(Pasi do not involve some other people who have nothing to do with the issue of criminals. you think if my children were criminals, you are not? What makes you survive, what do you buy tobacco, beer and pay prostitutes with if you are not a criminal? You do not go to work but you drink beer. Where do you get the money from?)

Whilst there is no clear cut reference to the actual criminal activities done by Pasi, it is apparent that he was into crime. This is because during the period of the crisis, it was extremely difficult to secure employment as most companies were struggling and retrenching

if not closing down. Therefore like in the other two novels discussed above, criminals are individuals who would have been frustrated by the harsh economic conditions and end up resolving to engage in such activities. The social structure theories help in explaining the criminal activities in the novel. When referring to social structure, McCaghy and Capron (1997) note this is about the framework of social institutions, the family, educational, religious, economic and political institutions that operate to structure the patterns of relationships members of society have with one another. Their philosophy is summed up in their proposition that society prepares the crime and individuals are the only instruments that give life. They further note that given the socially constructed assumption, the task of structural criminologists is to discover why social animals commit anti-social acts. They postulate the view that if human nature is socially constructed, the presence of anti-social individuals reflects defective social practices such as competitiveness, poverty, racism, inequality and discrimination rather than defective human materials.

Social structural theories focus on social forces that influence people to commit criminal acts. As noted in McCaghy and Capron (ibid), the social ecology theory emphasise that “deviant places” can cause delinquent and criminal behaviour regardless of the personal characteristics of the individuals residing there. In such areas, there is social disorganisation which results from the diverse cultural traditions within slum areas. This can be said about the town of Chitungwiza where Pasi and his family lived as the living conditions are appalling. The problems of sewer reticulation, water shortages and garbage collection are some of the issues that have made the town unpopular. In the novel *Mapenzi*, the writer describes the squalid conditions of the area:

MuUnit D maive nevanhu vakawandisa. Vaye vanogara kumasabhabha embozha muHarare kuri kuti vanenge vazomboshanyawo kuUnit D vangarambe kuti muZimbabwe. Unit D idhizasita semutauriro wavanoita. (110)

(Unit D was overpopulated. Those who lived in low density areas in Harare if they

happened to visit Unit D will doubt if the place is in Zimbabwe. Unit D is “disaster” as is usually said.)

Vincent in *Mapenzi* also highlights the sewer problems affecting the residents of Chitungwiza:

Ndakatsika muzvimvura zvaiyerera kubva muzvimatangi zvesuweji...Chakandibhowa kunyanya kunamira-namira kwazvaiita. Ndakangofunga kuti itsvina yavanhu chete yandaiva ndatsika, nekuti ipapowo ndipo pandakanzwa mweya wayo kuti kape. Chete taive tazvijaira zvesuweji dzemuChitungwiza. Handiti vanhu vanoti kana bofu rinotoziva kuti rave muChitungwiza nekuda kwekunhuwa kwesuweji. (53)

(I stepped into some waters trickling from sewage tanks...What bored me most was that they were sticking. I thought this had to be human waste because that is when I smelt the bad odour. It is only that we were used to sewage in Chitungwiza. This is why people say even a blind man knows that he is in Chitungwiza because of smelling sewage.)

According to McGaghy and Capron (Ibid) in the slum areas there is continuous increase in crime rates regardless of the ethnic or racial composition of the inhabitants. In real life, there is no doubt that there is a meaningful relationship between rates of delinquency and rates of poverty.

Using a Marxist perspective, McGaghy and Capron (1997:53) describe the deviant as “demoralised and brutalised by the day-to-day experience of employment (and unemployment) under industrial capitalism but still able to grasp at the necessities of life through theft and graft.” This is the situation that the character Pasi finds himself in. He failed to secure employment and the family is reeling under economic pressure resulting in lack of unity of purpose. In the novel *Ndafa Here?*, the extent of desperation by Pasi is reflected as he is even planning about the father’s estate in the event that he dies something considered unethical as it is tantamount to wishing someone dead. He threatens that Kiri together with her children will not live at the family home as there was no space for them as the estate was reserved for the male children:

...nekuti kana baba vachishanda, vanoshandira isu vana vavo vakomana, kwete vasikana, nevana vevakuwasha vasingazivikanwe. Baba vakafa pano haupagari rega ndikuudze.(129)

(...because when father goes to work he does so for us his male children not for the female ones and their children whose fathers are not known. If father passes on you will not stay here let me tell you.)

As was the case in the analysis criminal activities in *Ndozviudza Aniko?*, Durkheim's anomie theory is applicable with reference to the family in which Pasi lives as well the as society at large. Since anomie is a scenario characterised by lack of rules or normlessness, it comes from the fact that rapid social change leads to social deregulation and the weakening of restraining social norms. This in the end unleashes "insatiable appetite" which some seek to satisfy through criminal activity. Another sociologist who emphasised on the anomie or strain theory is Merton's. It is crucial in understanding Pasi's criminal activities as it states that in a capitalist society all the members have been socialised into wanting to attain monetary success but some are denied access to the legitimate means of attaining it. It is these people who may resort to crime to achieve what they have been taught to want and Pasi fits well into this category. The good aspect of the theory is that it explains high crime rates among the disadvantaged and how cultural norms create conflict and crime. It explains the various ways of adapting to strain.

5.6.4 Critique of Authors' Visions on Crime

Unlike in the case of prostitution where the author displayed an ambivalent vision, Mabasa in the two novels *Mapenzi* and *Ndafa Here?* is consistent throughout as the stories unfold to explain the criminal activities of some of the characters in the broad social context. This is also the case with Nyandoro in *Ndozviudza Aniko?* and both authors succeed in avoiding the victim-blame trend which is prevalent in most Shona novelists. From one of the interviews carried out with the sociologists, "deviants like prostitutes and criminals in society should not be ostracised but rather should be supported to ensure that they regain the normal status."

There are other writers who have made attempts to explain deviance as a sign of something being “wrong” with the individual, rather with society. These attempts view crime as caused by factors outside an individual’s control embedded either in the body or in the mind. The blame is put on individual characters for developing deviant behaviour without putting the behaviour into social context. However, Mabasa and Nyandoro go beyond the superficial reality to unravel the forces behind the character’s adoption of deviance. Just like in the case of prostitutes, the criminals are not fearful of risk as their activities become means of survival. It is clear that the political, social and economic problems confronting post-independence Zimbabwe are all responsible for nurturing the characters into becoming criminals as no one is portrayed to be inherently criminal. It is for this reason that one of the literary critics during the interviews that he commented the vision of the writers as they clearly explain the relationship between the human condition and the economic crisis. The crisis has created immense pressure on the people who are no longer able to live normal lives and they resort to deviance in order to survive meaningfully. According to some interviewees who happen to be sociologists, “this context of the crisis is fundamental if we are to adequately account for the deviants’ behaviour.” The interviewees concurred that economic problems are the main force for people to become criminals.

The research has utilised both the Marxist and interactionist perspectives in discussing crime and this according to Haralambos and Holborn (2013) is significant because Marxism emphasises the importance of society in shaping human behaviour whilst on the other hand interactionism emphasise the importance of human behaviour in shaping society. This approach is preferable as it examines both the structure of society and social interaction. It is only through combining the study of the major changes in society and individual lives that one can develop his or her understanding of social life. In the case of this research, the

approach aids in getting a wholesome understanding on deviant behaviours like crime and others discussed herein. Any meaningful explanation for the reason people commit crime has to be sociological. According to Giddens (2009), social context is very important in understanding criminal activities. This is because for someone to engage in a criminal act or come to be regarded as a criminal, this is influenced fundamentally by the social learning and social surroundings. The sociologists have successfully argued that inequalities of wealth and power in society strongly influence the opportunities available to different social groups and the kinds of activities regarded as criminal. It is for this reason that one can conclude that the criminal activities are learnt in much the same way as law-abiding ones and tend to be directed towards meeting the same needs. The approach of the sociologists of seeking to explain human behaviour in the broad context of society is what the writers of the novels *Mapenzi*, *Ndozviudza Aniko?* and *Ndafa Here?* successfully manage to do.

5.7 Family Violence and Negligence of Duty by Family Members as Deviance in Selected Fictional Works

From the data gathered from the interviewees who happen to be sociologists and a social worker, there was consensus that violence within families and when family members are unable to discharge expected duties and responsibilities constitute deviance. This is because in every society and cultural set-up there are certain expectations which human beings are supposed to meet. From an African point of view, each individual in institutions like families has a role to play although at the end of the day it ought to be complementary to the other members. One is not expected to engage in activities which are not sanctioned by culture and has to behave within the parameters of that which society expects him or her to do. It is for this reason that p`Bitek (1986:19) makes the following assertion:

Man cannot be free, “son”, “mother”, “father”, “husband”, “wife”...It is by such complex terms that a man is defined and identified.” These are responsibilities and

designations not mere words or labels. The biological and social designations should not be mere labels. “Man is not born free. He cannot be free. He is incapable of being free. For only by being in chains can he remain “human.” What constitutes these chains? Man has a bundle of duties which are expected from him by society, as well as a bundle of rights and privileges that society owes him.

This point is reinforced by Sofala in Mguni et al (2006:43):

The world view of the African is rooted in a philosophy of holistic harmony and communalism rather than in the individual isolationism characteristic of European thought...If one is cut off his community, one is considered dead(Ehusani1991:92). The individual belongs primarily to a context and within it he/she moves and has his or her being.

This is a pointer to the manner in which Africans behave characterised by social collectivism which contrasts with the western concepts of autonomy and individuality. The individuals in the fictional works adopt violent behaviour against fellow family members but some are shown not be fulfilling their obligations. It is the intention of this section to unmask and evaluate the reasons that are given by the writers of the literary works for the development of such behaviour. From there, there will also be discussions on the images given to the deviants as well as the solutions suggested in the literary works and their relevance to the social reality obtaining on the ground. Both men and women are portrayed as violent although it is the former who are dominant. Other members like children, fathers-in-law, mothers-in-law and sons-in-law are also portrayed as being grossly negligent and in some instances violent against fellow family members.

5.7.1 Violent and Negligent Husbands in *Mapenzi*

In the novel *Mapenzi*, it is through the “marriage” of Saba and his wife Mai Tanya that the issues both violence and negligence are reflected. In reality, the two were actually in a marriage of convenience as Saba had not paid the bride price and among the Shona people it is the payment of the bride price (*roora*) that legitimises and sanctifies marriage. It is this process of paying the bride price that unites the two families, that is that of the husband and

that of the wife and without it the marriage becomes illegitimate. There are various incidents which all reflect lack of care for both the wife and the child by Saba. Clearly, Saba is the antithesis of the ideal Shona father (*baba*) as he literally does nothing in terms of fending for the family and is a liability to the family throughout. Fending for the family is one of the key responsibilities of a father and/ or husband. Failure to provide for the family reduces him to being a biological father and yet the label father has several connotations all which are absent in the manner Saba behaves. Even his cousin Vincent (VC) who is a drug dealer as he survives on selling marijuana observes the recklessness and lack of care by his uncle Saba:

Handisi kuti ndine musoro, asi zvasekuru Saba zvinondishamisa. Hure here? Mukadzi wavo anogarouya kuno kuzondikumbira hupfu, kana shuga yekubikira mwana poriji.... (50).

(I am not saying i am sensible but Uncle Saba`s behaviour surprises me. A prostitute? His wife is always around asking to be helped with mealie-meal or sugar for cooking porridge for the child...)

Saba is busy spending money with prostitutes and yet the family is starving. Mai Tanya was not employed and tried to survive on selling cool drinks and this situation makes her vulnerable to abuse. McCaghy and Capron (1997:196) argue that it is the dependence on men that makes women exposed to abuse:

The great power of a man over his wife, as a consequence of his economic preponderance, may equally be a demoralising cause. It is certain that there will always be abuse of power on the part of a number of those whom social circumstances have clothed with a certain authority.

In the end women have to endure the abuse as Mai Tanya does but unfortunately she is murdered the very moment she decides to leave her husband.

Saba inflicts both physical and psychological violence which includes assault and marital rape. Vincent complains that his uncle is too obsessed with looking for money and spending it on unproductive things including on prostitutes and beer:

Vanhu vanenge Saba havasi bho-o. munhu rudzii anongogara

achifunga mari? Kana ainayo anenge achiidya; kana asina anenge achitsvaga kwekuiwana. Kwaari hazvinei kuti yauya sei, chero yauya chete. Hupenyu hwaSaba ndehwekukanya vamwe kunge madhaka. Munhu ungatore chingwa nemukaka zvatengwa nemukadzi wonotengesa kuti uwane mari yembanje? Chete hazvishamisi: Handiti chero hembe yaakapfeka anongotengesa? (84)

(People like Saba are not good. What kind of a person is he who always thinks of money? If he has it he overspends it; if he does not have it he will be looking for it. It does not matter to him how he gets it. Saba is always disturbing other people's lives. How can one take the bread and milk bought by the wife to resell so that one gets money to buy marijuana?)

These actions by Saba defy the concept of fatherhood as he should be there to provide comfort to the family but he is found to be the source of misery. He is found wanting both materially and spiritually. Stress, within families or even at national level, often supplies one important source of pressure on drinking behaviour. Drinking may become deviant depending on the norms of the group to which an individual belongs as society's norms determine when alcohol consumption has become a problem. Among the Shona, if one drinks he or she should not be a problem to others or even to oneself. If one becomes a problem they say *anemarambadoro* implying that one cannot control himself or herself after getting drunk. This is what Saba does thus making him a deviant.

There are other incidents which all reflect gross negligence on the part of Saba. He is promiscuous and does casual sex and Mai Tanya complains that her husband infected her with a sexually transmitted disease which should be a rare thing in these days as people should be aware of the preventive measures. Saba openly tells her that he does not care about paying *roora* and also that when she got pregnant it was an accident and was not bothered by it. However, the climax of Saba's madness and deviance is when he brings home a prostitute and forces his wife out of the bed so that he sleeps with the prostitute. He lived in a one roomed shack. After having sex with the prostitute, he forces his wife after battering her to

have sex with him saying that was what she was crying for. The wife laments:

Munhu ungauyawo here nehure mumba mune mukadzi wako? Ndakadzingwa pamubhedha iye achirarapo nepfambi. Ndakaradzikwa pasi nemwana wangu mumaoko. Zvese zvavaiita ndaizvinzwa. Ndakanzwa moyo wangu kupisa zvekuti ndakachema chigumbezi chandaive ndakararira chikasara chatota. Anzwa kuti ndiri kuchema akamuka paaive nehure riye ndokundirova zvakaomarara nezvibhakera. Akandizvakatsa zvekuti ndakaita mazuva ndichitadza kusvinura kana kudya. Paakandirova afunga kuti zvakwana, awonazve kuti aneta, akachindibvarurira hembe dzangu ndokundimanikidza, achiti ndizvo zvandenge ndichichemera, saka akanga ondipawo mugove wangu.(101)

(Can one come home with a prostitute where the wife is? He removed from the bed sleeping there with the prostitute. I was made to sleep on the floor with the child. I heard everything that they did. I was pained and I cried wetting the blanket I was sleeping on. When he heard that I was crying he got up from where he was sleeping with the prostitute and started hitting me with clenched fists. He assaulted severely that I spent some days without seeing properly or eating. After beating me and feeling that he had done enough, he tore my clothes and forced me to have sex saying that is what I was crying for.)

This act by Saba is a reflection of the fact that he had lost his moral bearings and lacked *ubuntu/unhu*, the values which make one human and respected. The South African sociologist Buntu Mfenyana quoted in Nussbaum (2003:2) explains ubuntu as “the quality of being human. It is the quality or behaviour of “ntu” or society that is sharing, charitableness, cooperation. It is spirit of participatory humanism.” Furthermore, Mfenyana notes that in its practical manifestation, ubuntu could include any actions that express an individual, organisational corporate or governmental commitment to express compassion, caring, sharing and responsiveness to the community as a whole. Some of the principles of *ubuntu* include that mark the hallmark of *ubuntu* are about listening to and affirming others with the help of processes that create trust, fairness, shared understanding and dignity and harmony in the relationships. It is all the qualities that are absent in Saba especially with regards to his treatment of his wife, child and other relatives like Vincent. There can be no other way of showing utmost disrespect to one`s wife than having sex with another woman let alone a prostitute in her presence and later assaulting and raping her. According to Nussbaum

(2003), the statement *Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu* (a person is a person because of others) becomes a statement that levels all people. It essentially states that no one can be self-sufficient and that interdependence is a reality for all but to Saba he does not care about other people.

However, the author of the novel is linking Saba`s deviant behaviour to the stress induced by the crisis. The bestial behaviour by Saba is a result of the frustrations he had in his life as the socio-economic conditions were impacting negatively on his behaviour. The causes given by the author corresponds to those from the research findings as the interviews attributed violence within families and other forms of irresponsibility to frustrations people get when they are facing challenges particularly those to do with the economy. When people face such problems, they become incapacitated to perform the duties as members of families thus rendering them deviants. However, the other respondent attributed this to lack of religious inclination which results in people not having guidelines on how to behave. But it is the first point of view which is more convincing as there is an inalienable link between the human condition and the economy (Muwati and Gambahaya 2007). Saba is part of the Fanonian “wretched of the earth” and the poor standards of life can be observed by the type of accommodation in which he lived. It was not suitable for human habitation as described by the author:

Chitangwena chacho chainzi vanodzingwa chaiive chakatoora zvacho. Yaingovewo imba nekuti vanhu vanoshaya, asi kune vaye vane mari yekuchengeta imbwa, havaimbobvuma kuti imbwa dzavo dzirare munhu makadaro. (111-112).

(The shack that was said that they will be removed from was in a very bad state. It was just a house for them as they were poor but for those with money to keep dogs would not allow them to live in such a horrible place.)

Also, the fact that at some point he wanted to use Vincent`s room to have sex with his prostitute is an indicator that he could not afford somewhere decent to do this. At the end of

the day, he is seen to be always drunk and he murders his wife in cold blood as he came from a drinking escapade of more than three days. McCaghy and Capron (1997) assert that the poor by the mere fact of being poor encounter stress a normal ingredient of their lives for the poor and the rates of violence among the poor are usually high. On the fateful day, Mai Tanya had saved adequate bus fare so that she could go back to her parent`s home in rural Jerera but this was not to be. As usual, there was no respect to the wife and he calls her a witch threatening to kill her:

Iwe mwana wemuroyi, handina kukurooraka ini, saka usade kuvhaira uri mukati umo. Unorara nanine dzino unorwara here? Paunozovhura door iroro ndinokuuraya ini, unonyatsondiziva zvako. (114)

(You child of a witch, I did not marry you so do not play around with me when you are inside there. You sleep at nine are you sick? When you open that door I will kill you, you know who I am.)

Spouse abuse is disproportionately concentrated in the lower class as it is more likely to be exposed to stressful conditions but is least likely to have resources to handle the situation. McCaghy and Capron (1997) observe that victims do not readily seek the help of outsiders because the victims are indifferent or ignorant, feel powerless, fear retaliation or are reluctant to do anything that jeopardises their relationship with the assaulters. They further argue that assault is usually into two sections, physical and sexual contacts. Above all, they assert that wife abuse has its roots in the continued subordination of women not only in the home but in the economic and political spheres as well. The marriage institution is unique in the sense that it both fosters violence and shields the aggressor and this is the problem with Mai Tanya`s marriage to Saba and unfortunately it results in death for both of them as Saba later hangs himself in prison.

5.7.2 Violent and Negligent Husbands in *Ndafa Here*?

In *Ndafa Here*?, the issue of violence by husbands to their wives and lack of care for spouses

and children has striking similarities with what transpires in *Mapenzi*. Wati is “married” to Betty and have one albino daughter. Just like Saba, Wati has not paid any bride price since he started living with Betty. They were both students at the University of Zimbabwe but Betty withdraws from college after falling pregnant and the aunt who was living with her and paying for her fees ditched her. She went to live with Wati’s parents in Chitungwiza but she faced various forms of abuse from both her husband and the in-laws. The sour relationship is mainly a result of the influence of Wati’s mother and sister Kiri. At one point the mother lied that Betty was disrespectful to her and even does not greet her. This greatly infuriated Wati resulting in him severely assaulting Betty kicking her all over her body. The sister Kiri threatens to woo some other beautiful girls if Betty fails to leave the family. As has already been alluded to, Watson is behaving almost in the same way as Saba in *Mapenzi*. Chivaura (2000:22) notes that it is necessary for men and women to have cordial relations for the betterment of society:

In a collective or cultural progress, dialogue between men and women encouraged unity of purpose. It looks forward to everyone’s participation in social life. The dialogue is based on the individual’s capacity to be creative and contributive to the collective good. It operates at all levels and enriches all involved.

This is the type of dialogue that is absent in both Wati and Saba’s marriages. After returning from a drinking escapade, he labels Betty a prostitute and behaving like a witch:

Iwe hure iwe, vhura apo. Uri kuda kuti ndirare kupi? Wakauya nechinhwano pano iwe?.. Iwe katsi, muka unditsvagire machisa. Unongoti maziziso anenge katsi bwai bwai uchindityisa unofunga ndinotywa varoyi here ini?... Unonditarisa kudaro ndine mari yako here ini? Nei uri kunditarisa neziso remuroyi kudaro? Asi unoroya here nhai iwe imbwa iwe?(41)

(You whore open the door. Where do you want me to sleep? Did you come with anything at this place? You cat, wake up and look for matches for me. You are twinkling your eyes like those of a cat try to frighten me; do you think I am afraid of witches? You look at me like that, do I owe you some money?... Why do you look at me like a witch? Are you a witch you dog?)

It is vital to note that apart from the influence of her mother and sister, Wati's soul has been brutalised by the socio-economic problems bedevilling the country. He is a graduate with a Bachelor of Arts degree but is failing to secure employment. He has no time to find out whether what is said by both his mother and sister is true. Muwati and Mguni (2012) analyse what transpires in the novel and according to them, it is a novel which depicts a problematic universe of gender. They argue that "the problematic nature of the male-female relationships typifies "House of Hunger" where every morsel of sanity is snatched away from you the same way some kinds of birds snatch food from the very mouths of babes. And the eyes of the House of Hunger infer upon you as though some indefinite beast is about to pounce upon you."(Muwati and Mguni 2012:51) The novel focuses on the marriage of Wati and Betty which is dysfunctional to say the least because of a number of reasons such as failure to conceptualise the specific gender roles of fatherhood and motherhood, interference from other family members as well as the diaspora factor. It is this failure by Wati to understand his role as a father which constitutes deviant behaviour. This problem according to Muwati and Mguni (ibid) could be a result that most African men inherited from colonialism a distorted and distorting value of the father as the superior force, provider and breadwinner and the woman as the marginal. On what constitute fatherhood, Muwati and Mguni (ibid) state that from a Shona cultural point of view, it is a designation based more on participation than on solely gender and biology and this explains why fathering experience can be shared by female especially the aunts. Furthermore, they argue that it is a quality of life and action, emotional and physical, social, economic, which finds expression in the statement *baba vemusha* (head of the family). Just like in the case of Saba, Wati does not have what it takes to be called human from an African cultural point of view. He does not have any sense of responsibility both to the wife and the child. Mkhize a South African psychologist cited in

Nussbaum (2003:3) describes what it means to be a person from an African point of view:

The African view of personhood denies that a person can be described solely in terms of the physical and psychological properties. It is with reference to the community that a person is identified. The importance of the community in self-definition is summed up by Mbiti, "I am because we are, and since we are, therefore I am..."

Wati has lost his humanness or ubuntu as what he does is an antithesis of what is expected from him as the father of the household. He is not providing for the family but ironically he expects the wife who is not working to prepare food which he does not provide. He takes the opportunity to go to London as a way of abandoning both Betty and the child:

Munhu haangandiudze nehabharasi randiinaro kuti haana mari yekunditengera kanyama kekuitisa kasadza kamangwanani. Imbwa yemunhu. Ndosaka ndichizomutuka nezvaamai vake. Ndinombonzi aniko ini? Dai ndakaziva ndakamuramba sezvaitaurwa namai naKiri....Asi hazvichisina basa. London here I come! (100)

(How can she tell me with the hangover i have that she cannot cook sadza with some meat? That is why I scold her and her mother. What is my Name? I should have divorced her as was being encouraged by my mother and Kiri...Anyway it is no longer important. London here I come.)

The situation for Betty becomes worse when Wati leaves for the United Kingdom and this worsened as the mother-in-law and sister-in-law make concerted efforts for her to leave the family. It is apparent that Wati was not prepared for marriage and his relocation to London came as a chance to divorce Betty. Apart from the fact that he was not prepared for marriage, he also outlines the alienating effects of the diaspora to the family members once they get there:

Kuno vanhu vanenge vari vanhu mazuva avanenge vachangosvika, asi hazvitore nguva refu kuti London ivakweshe nekuvabvisa hembe, hunhu, pfungwa nemaonero avanenge vakabva nawo kumusha. Vazhinji kuno vanonzwa kuti nhingi afa kumusha, vanongoti, "Ndichatumira mapounds mashoma ekuti vabatsirikane, but kudzokera handidzokere." (23).

(Here people will have their morals in the first days but it does not take long for the life in London to make them lose their morals they had from home. Most of them when they hear of a funeral would say, "I will send some pounds to help them but I

will not return.”)

Wati notes that there are no sanctions in the diaspora to regulate human behaviour as it is back home and this result in the breakdown of both families and marriages. Wati comments that; *Kuno tiri mombe dziri kurima dzisina munhu pamberi. Kwete, tiri mombe dzamashanga, hadzina mufudzi.* (25) (Here we do not have guidance. We are cattle in summer without herders.)

Whilst in the UK, he confirms that he did not have any love for Betty and the child and his wish is that she looks for another husband:

Rega ndione kuti ndingatumire Betty mari here, ndomuudza kuti atsvage zvake mumwe murume anomuda, asingamurove, ane hama dzinomuremekedza nekumuonawo semunhu....Donation yandakaita yembeu yakazova mwana wedu yakakwana, uye ndakanga ndichitori very generous mhani. Ndichangomuudza kuti shamwari chienda handichadzoki kuZimbabwe. (52)

(Let me see that I send Betty some money and then tell her to look for another man who loves her, who does not beat her, with relatives who respect her and treat her like a human being... The donation that I did of the sperm which became our child is enough and I was very generous. I will tell her that she should go and I will not return to Zimbabwe.)

The predicament of Betty is similar to that of an unnamed woman in the novel who was abandoned after giving birth to a paralysed child. Women are shown to be at the receiving end of men`s brutality in marriage.

5.7.3 Violent and Negligent Husbands in *Makaitai*?

As for the novel *Makaitai*?, Chenjerai is shown to be abusing his wife Chenai. At some point Chenjerai was doing well in the informal sector running some flea markets before the government embarked on Operation Murambatsvina which brought untold suffering on

urbanites as some unauthorised houses were demolished and at the same time saw the informal sector closed. He is shown to be wholly dependent on his wife but still lacks respect in a number of ways. For Chenjerai and family, life became tough and he had to rely from the paltry earnings of Chenai who worked as a teacher. The workers were severely affected during the crisis to an extent that it was better off not to be formerly employed. This also had serious consequences on the education sector as most of the school children could not see the importance of education after all. Chenai, a school teacher reflects on the debate that happened at some school regarding the importance of education. A student called Revai argues, "*Zvitori nani kundoita DW (domestic worker) nekuti hautemwe nemusoro nokufunga kuti usavi huchabvepi, sepa uneiwanepi kana mari yekufambisa.*" (17) (It's better to become a DW (Domestic Worker) because you are not bothered about where the relish will come from, when you will get soap and money for transport.) Chenjerai's sister Makaitei feels for Chenai and the abuse she experiences regardless of the sacrifices she makes for the family. What pained her most was that Chenai was a graduate and well behaved and her brother only went as far as Form Four but was not being respected. She traces this to the neurosis prevalent in men that if they marry educated women they have to abuse them as a way of showing their manhood. Chenjerai does not amend his ways of cheating on his wife since the time he was doing well in the informal sector and this becomes worse when he was now using Chenai's money. Chenai laments on Chenjerai's abuse:

Kana uri sewe Chenjerai unonyatsoziva kuti unondifondosa kudarika dhongi reGokwe. Handina kana nezororo pano apa. Ndinotanga runyanhiriri kumuka hwandambi ndichinhonga masokisi, shangu zvose nemamini briefs zvaunenge warashanya bhedirumu rose kuita sezvinonzi unodzingirirwa kana wokurura. Ndichagozopinda pane yekukuwachira semunhu akati handingawachirwi nomushandi setsvimborume. Ndichabvapo ndinorusimudzira ndonanga kubasa kunokushandira kubva kumari yebepanhau, fodya nedoro zvose. Pedzezvo musha wose uchada chikafu chinobva kuna Chenai.(57)

(Chenjerai you are quite aware that you make me overwork like a donkey in Gokwe. I do not have time to rest. I start at dawn waking up very early picking your socks, shoes and mini- briefs scattered all over the room as if you were being chased whilst

removing the clothes. I will then start washing for you as you said the maid cannot do it for you as if you are a bachelor. From there I start working for money you use to buy newspaper, cigarettes and beer. After all, all the family wants food from Chenai.)

The abuse can be a result of the neurosis most men have that women have to feel their manhood through abuse which usually is in form of physical abuse. Straus (1989) in McCgahy and Capron (1997) gives some of the conditions underpinning wife abuse and the cultural norms which approve such type of violence. The first is compulsive masculinity in which the physical aggressiveness is linked with the identity of being a “man.” They cite Straus who asserts that “most men feel that to be passive is to be womanlike, a shameful trait in a “real” man.” Secondly, there is the issue of male authority, the presumption that males are superior. In the face of a challenge to their authority, males often resort to physical violence to maintain or restore their position.

Chenjerai is not grateful to the wife as he continues to abuse her regardless of relying on her virtually for everything for his upkeep:

Chinzwa iwe kana wobva kwaunobva warakwa nemari yangu imwe yacho uchitoita yekunzvengesa kumasmall house... Unondivhurumutsa kuhope ndirere zvangu kuti ndimuke ndikupe sadza (57). Zvino iyo Murambatsvina ndokukura tsvina dzose kwava kuti njo pamba paChenai. Yangu iyi inonzi Operation Mugamatsvina yomene.(56)

(When you return drunk using the money I give you and even giving some of it to small houses... you force me to wake up so that I give you sadza. Now Murambatsvina carried all the dirt leaving it at Chenai`s house. Mine is Operation Mugamhatsvina pure.)

Because of the abuse Chenai faces, she is regretting why she got married to Chenjerai:

Unotozopepeuka pamwe wave mumba kuti handiyo quality yacho yauri kuda. Chinozonetsa panenege pasina panel beating sembambaira. Kunenge kwatongova kuenderera mberi nayo ndima yacho nokuti unenge wakatombonetswa nevabereki vachiti “nyatsofunga”, iwe uchiti mava kutondipedzera nguva ndizvo z vandatofunga. Apoka apo! Reverse yacho inonetsa nokuti ine mainjuries. Hanzi vamwe vanotozopenga chaiko kuita dhunyazi vamwe ndivo vanobva vazotadza kutanga patsva zvachose. (23)

(You only realise it when you are married that that is not the quality you wanted. The problem is that there will be no panel beating like sweet potato it will be only a matter of continuing with the task because you will have defied the parents` advice that you should think seriously saying that they are wasting your time. It's difficult to reverse because it has negative effects. Some become mentally deranged and failing to start over again.)

Regardless of being learned and employed, women are portrayed as still being on the receiving end of men as they are abused in several ways both physically and psychologically. The devastating effects of Operation of *Murambatsvina* are clearly spelt out by Chenjerai`s friends who observe how hard hit he was when his business was affected by the operation:

Chenjerai haachina chero pekupfakanyikira varume. Ikozvino tarisai chero source of income haachina. Muoonei kuti ava kusiririsa sei. Kana zvimasvutu zvaaimboshaina nazvo achititi isu vamwe tinopfeka dzeDhubhai muri kuona kuti zvangoremba nenguva pfupipfupi yakadaro. (100)

(Chenjerai has nowhere to go guys. Right now he has no source of income. Look at how miserable he is even the suits he used to wear saying some of us we wear those from Dubai are now too big for him in such a short period.)

Muchemwa (2010) analyses the effects the operation had on the people of Zimbabwe especially those living in the urban areas. The first effect is the movement of people outside the country in large numbers. One of the causes of the migration is the operation in May 2005 embarked by the government which it termed Operation *Murambatsvina* (Restore Order) which was in effect a massive nationwide programme of destroying unapproved urban structures, displacement of people, dislocation of families and criminalisation of the informal economy that had enabled the urban working class to escape the worst ravages of a post-ESAP economy. Muchemwa (ibid) is critical of the language used by the government as there is the metaphor of disease and filth which “medicalise” conceptions of citizenship and from the discourse of disposability and precariousness and the sanitisation of state violence. According to him, this discourse criminalises the poor, vilifies the political and ethnic other

and endangers the lives of women and children. This visualisation of the operation is also similar to that by Mano and Willems (2010) who note that the exclusion of urbanites by the government was partially expressed through Operation *Murambatsvina* which started on the 19th May 2005 and lasted for several months. They argue that although it was intended to eliminate criminal elements in the informal sector, it aimed to demolish “illegal” residential structures in the urban areas. In the end, the residents lost their livelihoods or homes or in some instances both. According to Mano and Willems (ibid), one of the possible reasons for this attack on urban residents was primarily motivated by the fact that Zimbabwe’s urban areas were the major support of the opposition the MDC. There are instances during the crisis in which urban Zimbabweans were increasingly presented as not belonging to the nation. For instance, during a rally in Bindura in 2000, Mugabe singled out residents of Mbare as “undisciplined, totem less elements of alien origin.”(Mano and Willems: 185) The suburb of Mbare was established in the colonial period as a dormitory township and housed a significant number of migrant workers from the entire Southern Africa. Just like in the case of Saba in *Mapenzi*, Chenjerai’s ill treatment of his wife is worsened by the economic woes confronting him which are a result of the crisis. Also, as argued by Muwati and Mguni (2007) he, just like other African men, could have inherited from colonialism a distorted and distorting value of the father as the superior force and the woman as the marginal.

5.7.4 Husband Promiscuity and HIV/AIDS in *Totanga Patsva*

Men’s deviant behaviour is also an issue addressed in *Totanga Patsva* which is a compilation of short stories by members of the Zimbabwe Women Writers (ZWW). The husbands are also shown to be responsible for spreading HIV/AIDS to their wives through their promiscuity and insatiable sexual desires. The stories have themes centred on the HIV/AIDS disease and how women are infected and affected by the disease. The book was sponsored by

the National AIDS Council and HIVOs in the Stop Aids Campaign. Kandawasvika-Chivandikwa (2006) notes that organisation ZWW was formed in 1990 with the major aim being to provide platform for women to reflect on their concerns through literature. It has also drawn membership from outside the country and these members have the same goals regardless of race, ethnicity and culture because of the feeling that they are oppressed. Masowa and Chivandikwa (2012:140) state that this development created a platform for females to express their views:

Through the ZWW Association, Zimbabwean women created for themselves a platform from which to tell their story, narrativise their grievances, articulate their agency and contribute towards dismantling the plethora of obnoxious myths about them, generated and disseminated with a view to limiting their appreciation of their worth and thus limiting what they could possibly do to ameliorate their imposed pariah status as down-trodden social underdogs.

The creation of ZWW was also a reaction to the fact that a large percentage of the writers was male and this gave a chance for more women to become writers and express themselves on issues that concerned them. As argued by Dube (2004) in Chitando (2011:12), the male authors “fail to re-imagine the role of women in society.” Perhaps as a response to the problematic portrayal of women in works by male writers, female authors have found it necessary to describe women’s experiences using what they feel are alternative images of women in the period of the pandemic. In reality, women are more affected by HIV and AIDS mainly because of their economic dependence on men and therefore the need to express their experiences in creative works. According to Gunda (2012), the female writers who chose to write about HIV/AIDS issues were questioning the assumption that women are the carriers of the disease and probing the cultural factors underlining such an understanding of the epidemic. Muwati (2006) cited in Chitando (2011:56) commenting on Shona novels by male writers observes that, “the unmistakable trend in the novels ... is their ignominious association of HIV and AIDS including a host of other sexually transmitted disease with the

female principle.” As argued by Javangwe (2011), the African female writer who embarks on writing a life narrative engaged with issues of HIV and AIDS is therefore confronted with myths and pseudo-scientific theories that seek to condemn her individual self, race, geography as embodiments of threatening forces.

In the majority of the stories, men are portrayed as promiscuous and therefore responsible for the spread of the disease. This can be observed in stories like *Ndofirei Senge Ndini Ndakajuruja?* written by Shirley Gumbodete. In the story, a woman called Mazviitireni is married to a promiscuous husband Kurauone. Apart from being promiscuous, the husband is shown to be committing marital rape as at one point he forces his wife to have sex with him after she had refused fearing to be infected being conscious of his reckless behaviour:

Mazviitireni nhasi unotoadya. Wakaingei pano? Nhasi unondiona wakainga kuzobika sadza pano! Nhasi unotoadya majuru chete. (1)

(Mazviitireni today we are going to have sex. What did you come here for? Today you will see my wrath. Did you come here to cook sadza! Today you will have sex.)

These issues are also tackled in the story *Ndichiyeuka Vabereki Vangu* (Remembering my Parents) by Josephine Muganiwa. The narrator is a final year female medical student who became an orphan after both of her parents died of the pandemic. However, she blames the father's promiscuity as the major cause of the problems:

Baba vangu vaiva namesomeso uye vasina nyadzi. Vaitsvaga madzimai akabudirira, ane hupfumi hwavo vaida varume vekungofara navo chete. Mai vangu vaiva vasingaendi kubasa kunopiwa muhora. Nekudaro vakanga vasina mari zhinji. Baba vangu vakatanga kusema mai vangu nekuramba kuriritira mhuri yavo. Vakanga vaona shamwarikadzi sevanhu vari nani chose pana amai vangu. (10)

(My father was promiscuous without any shame. He liked rich women who were just looking for men to have pleasure with. My mother was not employed. Therefore, she did not have a lot of money. My father started to ignore my mother and failed to look after the family. He saw his girlfriends as being better than my mother.)

Men's hypocrisy is also shown to be another hindrance towards the fight against the pandemic. In the story *Munhu Munhu* written by Ennet Ndlovu, Petros, a renowned preacher is castigated for his failure to practice what he preaches. In one of his sermons, he castigated people who are promiscuous and those who engage in pre-marital sex as this was against God's desire that people respect their bodies. He is the antithesis of the ideal man which he advocates:

Chinoziva ivhu kuti mwana wembeva anorwara chokwadi. VaPetros vangu taiziva kuti guyu kutsvukira kunze mukati muzere masvosve. Vamwe vose taiva takaputirwa nejira dema rekusaziva. (5)

(It is the individual who knows the truth of his life. Petros knew that what he said was different from what he practised. The rest of the people were in the dark.)

Petros also attacks his sister who is a single-mother for being irresponsible but ironically it is her who later nurses him when he becomes sick.

This behaviour of men continues to be the same as is the case with Edward in the story *Hamburamakaka* written by Beauty Savala who dumps his wife Sharai when she is admitted in hospital and opts to marry his girlfriend Maybe. However, when the girlfriend became pregnant she gets sick and dies. Since he had not paid the bride-price, he is made to pay five head of cattle before burial but this did not deter him from getting into another marriage as he married a third wife:

Murume akamboti haachawani asi nokuda kwechedu chisimbi chamawara hazvina kudaro. Musoro wainge wachena kuratidza kuti wanga akura, asi iye wanga asingazvioni. Waingova wedu goremucheche. (69)

(The husband decided that he was not going to marry but because of the penis that was not going to be. He had grey hair a sign that he was old but he was not aware of it. He old but acted as he was still young.)

Therefore men are shown to be immature and they engage in illogical behaviour mainly

because they are unable to exercise control of their sexual desire. Men's behaviour is explained in terms of their anatomy. The writer of the story goes on to blame the penis as being the major problem, a feature of feminist writings. Instead of seeking a sociological explanation to their behaviour, the writer opts for a biological one which unfortunately gives emphasis on the individual instead of the broad context of understanding a person's behaviour.

Even in cases where women are shown to have multiple sexual partners, men are blamed for being the carriers of the disease. In the story *Zvakatanga Nekupindwa nechando* by Carona Chikwereveshe, the female narrator is now sick from the disease and although she acknowledges her promiscuity, at the end of the day she traces the origins of the disease to the male partners she had sex with:

Vanhu vandakafara navo vakawandisa. Kana nanhasi handinzwisise kuti ndiSam, ndiItai here kana Peter...Nekutika mukadzi waPeter akambofawo nei? Zvakare iye hameno...(44)

(The people I enjoyed with were many. Even up to now I do not know whether it was Sam, Itai or Peter... What killed Peter's wife? Even with him am not sure...).

This is exactly the same situation in the story *Tete Teresa* by Georgina Sanhu. The narrator Teresa is tested for the HIV virus and is found to be positive and the blame is again on the men she had sex with:

Asi Muchenjeka, ndiye andiurayisa...Ndiyeka aindichengeta ndichibva ndapereka feya feya pasina kondomu kani muroora. Kuti ndiJaffet?... (46).

(But Muchenje is the one making me suffer... He is the one who looked after my welfare and ended up not using condoms. Could it be Jaffet?...)

Apart from being promiscuous, men are shown to be engaging in reckless sexual contacts as reflected in the story *Goremucheche* by Sarudzai Ndamba:

Hapana akanga asingandizivi mudunhu reMarondera. Kubvira vakadzi vevanhu,

vasikana vechidiki, vanapabhawahapavharwi kusvikira kumbwa chaidzo. Vose vaitoziva kuti auya gore mucheche. (48)

(Everyone knew me in the district of Marondera. From other people's wives, young girls those who patronised beer halls and even the dogs. They all knew that the young man was around.)

The man will only go back home to change his clothes as he went on his sex escapades. Another male character Samaita in the story *Tikaramba Takadaro Tinokunda* written by Pelagia Kaseke is shown to be confused on his conception of manhood as according to him it meant to have several sexual partners. He is also shown not to be aware of the dangers associated with the disease:

Aida kuzvitaridza kuti murume chaiye nekuva neshamwarikadzi dzakakwanda. Waiti ukamuudza nezvechirwere chaitha mbiri ichi, aitokuudza kuti kwese kufa. (59)

(He wanted to show his manhood by having several girlfriends. If you told him of the pandemic, he would tell you that at end one will die.)

His behaviour is described as being more than bestial and does not invest for the family as he sought pleasure. He is shown to be worse than a male dog which went for several partners during the mating periods.

In *Hamburamakaka*, when the wife is sick and also when the girlfriend dies, the man proceed unashamedly to marry another wife. He rejects the sick wife thereby showing a lack of understanding of the disease. When the wife passes on he had already impregnated Maybe much to the dismay of his daughters and all the relatives. Maybe also died but he proceeded to marry another wife who was a widow:

Murume waive ave chishambwe chepakaunda. Vaida kumutsinga vaimuwanira ipapo. Musoro wainge wachena kuratidza kuti wanga akura asi iye wanga asingazvioni. Waingova wedu goremucheche. Murume zvino zvange zvava kuchichinha sowadya nyama yenguruve. Zvaive zvoti iye anotatamuka nedivi Brantina nedivi kusvika zvamutorera kure. (69)

(The man was always around the counter. Those who wanted to get hold of him would go there. He had grey hair to show that he was old but he did not realise it. He was still behaving like he was young. But now the man was now seriously ill. This was affecting both him and Brantina until he died.)

In the story again it is the penis that towers above the man as a human being. It is almost the central character in the stories as men lack maturity because of the penis. This portrayal of men is similar even to literary works in English written by women focusing on HIV/AIDS. One such example is given by Chitando (2011) Valerie Tagwira's *The Uncertainty of Hope* in which the masculinity exhibited in the story thrives on violence, subordination of women, irresponsibility and insatiable sexual desire. According to Chitando (2011:149), the male character of Gari is a representation of "all that is wrong and flawed masculinity". Above all, he is a representation of what Morrell and Richter (2006) quoted in (Chitando *ibid*) calls "crisis of fatherhood."

5.7.5 Problematic Portrayal of the Father Figure and the Spread of HIV/AIDS in *Totanga Patsva*

According to Chitando (2011), women's issues have turned out to be an area of interest for scholarly consideration mainly because of the various factors obliterating the progress of women. This is because in most instances women find themselves being disadvantaged as compared to men. Besha (1996) argues that the economic position of women should not be overlooked when dealing with issues related to problems women face. Their dependence on men as their husbands, or fathers is seen as the basis of their lowly position so that if women are helped to be economically independent most of their problems if not all their problems would be over. This has been made more precarious by the economic crisis obtaining in Zimbabwe. Chitando (2011) argues that the dominant images of women in the society have been to a larger extent debilitating especially through literature. They have been to a larger extent portrayed as dangerous, weak and dependent on men and this has been worsened by the pandemic. The transmission of HIV from one person to another has been unfair with women being depicted as the sole vectors in its spread. According to Chitando (2011), female

writers in Zimbabwe endorse, destabilise and critique the construction of women as carriers of HIV and AIDS. Although female writers are more likely to focus on HIV and AIDS out of an existential necessity, they can be better positioned to provide empowering images of women, since many of them have suffered blame in the spread of the disease. Therefore according to Gaidzanwa in (1985) in Chitando (2011:3), “it is up to the writers and people who contest the images (of women) to redefine them in ways that they deem to be more realistic, constructive and liberating to the society in question.” Male creative writers, whether writing in indigenous languages or English have written creative works on the disease and they conform to the stereotype of women as carriers of disease. The assumption is that generally in the context of HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe, women are oppressed and as they write they seek to correct the images attached to them. There are several myths associated with women and Schmidt (1992) observes that in colonial Rhodesia African women`s health was associated with unbridled sexuality and disease. According to Schmidt (ibid), in the colonial context of Rhodesia, Victorian and Evangelical notions of femininity and sexuality promoted the image of the African woman as a whore. It is these images and distortions that female writers seek to redress but as illustrated below there are some problems in the process to do so.

Whilst this research applauds the entrance of female writers onto the scene and their effort to correct the distorted images, there are several problems which hinder this noble objective. A general survey of the stories in *Totanga Patsva* indicate to the point that there are stereotype images attached to male characters who are shown to be solely responsible for the spread of the disease whilst women are shown to be victims of men`s behaviour. Men are portrayed as rapists, promiscuous, rigid, lacking knowledge about how the disease is spread and not caring for their spouses when infected and affected by the disease. On the other hand, women are the

antithesis of men as they are given positive images. Their behaviour and attitude as well as mental strength are that which lacks in men. Even where women are promiscuous, they end up blaming their male counterparts for contracting the disease. Above all, in the rare instances where women are portrayed as being promiscuous and therefore responsible for the spread of the disease, they are nevertheless shown to be saviours of men and also possess a strong character to live positively with the disease. This is the situation reflected in the story *Hazviitwe Zviya Vasikana* written by Synodia Mufukari. There is a character who happens to be a teacher and reflects on her life as a student teacher at Mutare Teacher's College. She confesses that she had several well-to do lovers who included her lecturers. She became pregnant during her teaching practice and gave birth to twins, a boy and a girl. This made her to change her behaviour and became a repentant Christian where she confessed about her previous evil character. A bachelor in the church decides to marry her regardless of her status of being a single mother. However, it is her who decides that they go for blood tests before they wed. It is there where she is told that she is positive together with her children. This does not have a negative impact on her as she draws inspiration and strength from her children who are healthy regardless of them being positive. In this case, the man is saved by her as he had no intention of visiting the testing centre and could have been a victim had it not been for the woman who is portrayed to be well-informed about the disease.

One can also argue that the spread of the disease is limited to one gender and this distorts the reality on the ground. Furusa cited in Chitando (2011:41) notes that most of the writings of women make "representations of the relationships between Zimbabwean men and women paint a picture of a culture that unleashes a large-scale, barbaric and indiscriminate abuse of women." Throughout the stories, there is a negative depiction of the male character. The impression is that it is only the female character who cares for the family whilst the male is

careless and immoral. Generally, there is over celebration of the female character whilst condemning the male character. Thus as argued by Masowa and Chivandikwa (2012), although the writers try to underline the role of women as important figures in the family, they over glorify the mother figure.

Men are shown as not learning from their mistakes as they are controlled by their sexual desires rather than rational thinking. This differs from women who successfully resist temptations to engage in sexual relationships with other men when their husbands are sick or when they die. Men therefore make the fight against the spread of the disease extremely difficult because of their inability to control their sexual desire and ignorance on the disease. Men's ignorance is shown in the story *Ndofirei Senge Ndini Ndakajuruja?* written by Shirley Gumbodete. The wife advises the husband to use condoms as a preventive measure but the husband declines saying:

Wakazvinzwa nani, ndiko kukirabhu kwako kwawakazvinzwira? Ini handiite zvakadaro. Enda undopfekerwa kumusha kwako. (1)

(Who told you that? Is it from your club? I will not do that. Go and use them at your home.)

In the stories, men are shown to be suffering from what Chitando (2011:226) calls “condom phobia”. This again is shown to be the habit of Tobias is who is condemned for the contracting of the disease as he did not use condoms:

Pamwe hatina baba vangu imi kumbufungawo zvekushandisa iwo makondomu anongoparidzirwa mumaredhiyo nemumaTV. (17)

(May be he did not think of using condoms as advertised on radio and television.)

Tobias joins the other men in the stories who are shown to be the ones responsible for the problem of spreading HIV/AIDS especially when it comes to their spouses at home. It seems

the writers view the use of condoms as an end in itself in as far as the fighting of the disease is concerned. Whilst it is true that the use of condoms helps in the prevention of the spread of the disease, the writers should have endeavoured to find a more convincing solution by addressing social and economic issues that put women in their disadvantaged position. This would have gone a long way in addressing the plight of women rather advocating for the use of condoms which is rather a superficial way of dealing with the problem. The impression that readers also get is that it is only men who are rigid as they fail to appreciate the methods of prevention which are being encouraged. There is no mentioning of women playing having a contributory role to the spread of the disease. The moral lesson seems to be that men are bad whilst women are understanding and more tolerant.

Besides attacking the personalities of men, the writers also bemoan the existence of traditional Shona cultural practices and customs which endanger women's lives in the context of HIV/AIDS. The marriage institution is criticised for enhancing the chances of women to be infected by the disease as they are forced to have sex with their husbands when they are not willing to do so. What is blamed in particular is the custom of payment of bride-price as it becomes a major stumbling block for women in their fight against abuse by their husbands as it renders them powerless:

Maiwe ndofirei senge ndini ndakajuruja! Ko, ndingadiniko ini ndakatengwa. (1-2)

(I am now dying but I was not promiscuous! What was I supposed to do when I was bought?)

The writer erroneously blames the custom of paying bride-price as a way in which women lose their freedom. She reduces the whole concept of bride-price to one of "purchasing" women which unfortunately distorts the significance of bride-price among the Shona people. The abuse which women may face cannot be attributed to this custom but to other factors in the broader socio-economic environment prevailing. Instead, the payment of the bride-price

brings dignity to the woman to whom it is paid both from her family and society at large. Schmidt (1996:16) comments on the significances among the Shona brought about by marriage:

Of all relationships that determined women's status, marriage was a social act, the primary purpose of which was to create bonds between two kin groups and to produce children for her husband's patrilineage. As such it was not a contract between individuals but between two kin groups.

As noted by Chiwome (1996), the problem of regarding wives as property arose from modern materialism which transformed the social and economic relations of an agrarian society into capitalistic relationships. He goes on to note that in the ideal situation, *roora* (bride price) gave men matrimonial and legal rights over their wives and children in tandem with the patriarchal logic. The other major reason for paying bride price as noted by Chiwome (ibid) was to compensate for labour lost by the wife's family. It is important to note that a woman could not be owned by a man as always proven at her death when her funeral rites were overseen by her sanguinary group.

The other Shona traditional custom that comes under heavy criticism is that of *kugara nhaka* (inheritance). This is the case with Elizabeth Zambezi's *Murume Zvaafa Ndorarama Sei?* In the story, the widow Mai Chipu refuses the advances by his late husband's brother to inherit her together with the estate. The brother says:

Kana nemiwo ndinochengeta. Hatingasiye zvinhu zvakasiyiwa nemuninina zvichiparara, imi moenda kumusha kwenyu, vana dzove mombe dzamashanga. Vana vanochogetwa zvakanaka mai vavo varipo. Tichagara dare toona kuti pane angatarisa zvinhu tisati tarova guva here. (51)

(I will also look after you. We cannot watch what was left by my young brother going down the drain and children without someone to look after. The children's welfare is best when their mother is around. We will sit together to decide who will look after the estate before we have the memorial service.)

The woman is rescued by her mother as she explains the dangers of inheritance in the times

of the deadly disease. She is portrayed to be possessing knowledge which men do not have:

Unoona mwana wangu mauve ano kune zvirege, hadzisi kuti nacho here kana kwete. Uye vemumusha muno vangada kukugara nhaka vachida mari yakasiwa nemurume wako vasingakude iwe....Ini hangu saamai vako ndati zvichengete iwe nevana vako nezvose zvauinazvo wakazvimirira. (51)

(You know my child that these days there are diseases and you do not know whether you are infected or not. Also the relatives of your husband may try to inherit you envying the money left by your husband without caring about you...As your mother my advice is that you keep yourself together with your children.)

Men are shown to be backward and still faithful to some cultural practises that are no longer relevant particularly in the context of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. The blame is put on both men and the custom of inheritance. The writers deliberately distort how the custom is conducted to achieve their goal of castigating men as the sole reason of the complicated fight against the disease. There is no mentioning of the rites and procedures that accompany the custom of inheritance as it seems to be a prerogative of men to decide on behalf of women and yet women had their clearly defined role to play. Under normal circumstances, the wife of the deceased has the freedom to choose whether she could be inherited or not without being forced to. Also, inheritance does not necessarily mean that the sexual act between the wife and the late husband's brother or cousin is guaranteed as reflected in the Shona axiom *nhaka sandi bonde* (inheritance is not (about) sex). As Mguni (2006:55) points out this distortion of African culture when she says:

In most of the colonial and neo-colonial literature in indigenous languages, African men and customs are made to be the cause of social and economic problems faced by women. This is done without giving a broad and insightful picture of the nature of colonialism and neo-colonialism and their impact on the lives of Africans in general and women in particular.

As put forward by Petersen (1995), African cultural values denigrated by colonist ideologies and institutions demand positive representation and this restitutive pulse has frequently been seen to conflict with the feminist reformation. There has been an important impetus behind

the wave of African writing which started in the 1960s with the desire to show both the outside world and the African youth that the African past was orderly, dignified and complex and altogether a worthy heritage. Unfortunately, the writers of these short stories in *Totanga Patsva* are not having this view of African culture.

Men are castigated for their rigidity and arrogance in the fight against the disease. Their behaviour is characterised by violence, lack of care and recklessness which go against the responsibilities expected from an ideal father who should be the protector of his family. From a Shona cultural point of view, an ideal father figure should show care to his family and provide all that is necessary. Men are shown to be abusing the responsibility of paying bride price to oppress women. There are several teachings among the Shona which calls for faithfulness and these can be found in the proverbs like *Zingizi gonyera pamwe maruva enyika haaaperi* the moral being that there are so many beautiful women and therefore it is prudent to have one. The other one *Muto wetsenza ndomumwe chete* teaches that women are the same and therefore there is no need to have many of them. The trend among men is that when the woman is diagnosed to be HIV positive, they become elusive and cease to be supportive of the family refusing even to buy food. This is against the expectations from a father figure who should endure the problems in life regardless of the extent of the difficulties. Running away from the problems is against the African worldview as noted by p`Bitek (1986). In the story *Ndichiyeka Vabereki Vangu*, the father blames the mother for bringing misery into his life:

Vakaudza hama dzavo kuti amai vangu vaidza kuvaurayisa. Havo ndokututa twavo twese kuti vasafuriswe mufaro wavo. (11)

(He told his relatives that my mother wanted to see him dead. He took his belongings and left so that he will not be disturbed on his pleasure escapades.)

Only the female characters are shown to be understanding her mother's problems and are

responsible for looking after her:

Shamwari dzaamai vangu dzakamira-mira dzichivakuridzira. Vanatetewo vaimira navo nekupota vachitidongorera. Kunyangwe zvavo vave kutorwara, amai vangu vakashinga kuzvishandira nekundirera. (11)

(My mother`s friends were active and encouraging her. Even our aunts were supportive by visiting us. Even when she was sick, my mother endured to support me.)

The mother has a positive living unlike the father who fails to accept his status. Regardless of the problems they encounter, women are shown to be human and forgiving. The mother says, *Chigumbu chinosungirira iwe chekutadzisa kuita zvaunoda sezvo chichisveta simba. (13)* (It does not pay to keep grudges as this will disturb your plans by diverting your focus.)

This is the same case with Thomas in the story *Dzinoruma* by Ellen Chiramba who is promiscuous and abuses her wife and does not care about her welfare. He only changes behaviour after he tested positive. Regardless of the wrong doings he had done to her, the wife who is negative does not divorce him after receiving counselling from a women`s club where she is a member. In sharp contrast to men, in the story *Ndichiyeuka Vabereki Vangu* women are portrayed as being more informed and accepting the presence of the disease:

Ndakafarira chinhu chimwe chete chekuti kekutanga kunzwa kumunhu wezera ramai vangu achidura kuti AIDS iriko. (18)

(I was happy that for the first time I heard someone of my mother`s age confessing that AIDS is a reality.)

The strong character of women is also shown in the story *Taemurwa* in which the main character is a married woman who is diagnosed positive after being involved in a fatal accident which claimed her husband. This troubles her a lot as she regularly visited testing and counselling centres together with her husband. It is after she is told that there are many ways in which the disease can be contracted and it was possible that she got infected when she was involved in the accident. This makes her strong and begins to live positively. This is

different from the male characters that are shown not to accept their status and end up trying traditional medicine and faith healing which only worsens their position. Unlike men, women are shown to accept the status of their spouses and live with them.

Throughout the stories, men have been given stereotyped images and are the deviant characters whilst in sharp and distinct contrast women have glorified images. Stralton (1994) cited in Kandawasvika- Chivandikwa (2006) notes that the creation of stereotypical male characters has become a trend in African female fiction. This view is corroborated by Eustance (1993) who notes that women writers portray exaggerated male images in a process Stralton (ibid) refers to as “inversion.” This “inversion” can be said to be a reaction to the negative images given to female characters by male authors. However, she notes that this “inversion” does not resolve the problems of gender in Africa as the effect is to imprison one section of society whilst liberating the other. This is an inadequate strategy because it replicates and hence reinstates the oppressive structures.

Masowa and Chivandikwa (2012) state that the stories in *Totanga Patsva* are about the depiction of mother characters in the context of HIV/AIDS and the strategic position of women and in particular mothers in the family. They argue that Shona concept of the home (*musha*) is incomplete without reference or inclusion of women. All these female writers celebrate the position of women in the family thus reflecting some aspects of family centeredness but in the process they have a problem of giving stereotype male characters. This then makes it difficult to search for solutions to the challenges in the family. This stigmatisation of men does not take into cognisance that both men and women are equally responsible for the spread of the HIV/AIDS virus. Although it could be true that women are economically disadvantaged in that the majority of them are not employed and rely on men for survival, this approach weakens the vision of the writers which happens to be a one sided

approach to the spread of the disease as one gender is to be solely to blame. The writers apparently adopt a feminist approach in which men, because of the patriarchal nature of most societies, are viewed as enemies to the progress of women and therefore should be fought against. Chitando (2011:7) argues that there could be “biological, cultural and socio-economic conditions that contribute to women’s greater vulnerability to HIV.” However, instead of attacking men in their individual capacities, the writers should have looked at the broader neo-colonial forces that are responsible in shaping men’s behaviour as well as how women at the end of the day find themselves in a disadvantaged position. It seems the female authors in *Totanga Patsva* are simply retaliating on what the majority of the male writers have been doing, giving the female gender as the sole transmitter of the disease. The relationship between men and women with regards to HIV/AIDS is simply viewed as the existential threat men pose to women. (Chitando 2011)

This vision is also similar to that of some female writers of short stories in English. Chitando (ibid), whilst making a point on Zimbabwean female writers who focus on HIV/AIDS writing in English, argues that the overall image of men is negative as they are portrayed as sex predators like in the stories in *Desperate* where the sex workers each have a story to tell about abuse by men. She contends that the female writers accuse men as being wrongly socialised to believe that they have unlimited sexual desire and are privileged to treat women with disrespect. In addition, they suffer from condom phobia and having multiple concurrent partners means men are a real danger in the time of HIV and AIDS. Men are portrayed as spoilt, violent, insensitive and unsupportive beings and according to Chitando (ibid), these observations summarise the manner in which men are portrayed throughout the stories.

The writers in *Totanga Patsva* seem to be heavily influenced by feminism which views men as enemies of women. In an interview with one of the academics in the Department of

African Languages and Literature at the University of Zimbabwe, he highlighted that “the problem with the Zimbabwe Women Writers in *Totanga Patsva* is the inclination on feminism which has made them to stereotype men as the evils which women should avoid in their lives. This impacted negatively on their vision and this approach is similar to what the colonial writers did, blaming characters for their anti-social behaviour. Their vision was going to be better and more convincing if they had adopted the approach advocated by Africana-womanism in which men are taken as partners instead of enemies. On this Chitando (ibid:227) argues:

Whereas African womanism seeks to promote harmonious relationships between women and men, most of their works discussed in this study preclude this possibility because of their problematic descriptions of men. They use stereotypical descriptions to project men as abusive and insensitive. It is therefore difficult to imagine a new society where women and men collaborate as partners when men are demonised. Without the active participation of men it is extremely difficult to defeat HIV. To a larger extent therefore, Zimbabwe female writers have not lived up to the ideals set by Africana womanism.

Commenting on the ideal relationship between African men and women, Azodo (2003) quoted in Mguni, Furusa and Magosvongwe (2006) says:

For [African] women, the male is not the other but part of the human same, each gender constitutes the critical half that makes the human whole. Neither sex is totally complete in itself to constitute a unit by itself. There is need to affirm the complementary nature of masculinity and femininity in the African worldview seeing both men and women rising in a unified voice to fight challenges that demean their humanity. (ix)

It is for this reason that Muwati et al (2012) encourage the writers to follow the unprecedented stance taken by the widely believed founder of the movement of Africana womanism Clenora Hudson-Weems that in the attempt to resolve the challenges confronting black women, the black women should not emulate their efforts after the Eurocentric feminism but after the historic and triumphant women of African origins. They argue that the salient tenet of the literary theory is the foregrounding of family centrality and an

uncompromising quest to find solutions to the dysfunctional male-female relationships with the union between the African man and woman within the family itself. The emphasis on family centrality rather than on female centrality distinguishes Africana Womanism from other feminist theories. There is no need for the African woman to emulate her white counterpart simply because the white woman views her husband as “her primary enemy [and is certainly] carrying out an age-old battle with her white male counterpart for subjugating her as his property.” (Muwati et al 2012: xvi). They further argue that the ideal position of the African woman which she should reclaim is that of an equal partner as passive female subjugation has never been the norm in the African worldview and community. Besides this, they also note that the movement is a family-centred enterprise, encouraging positive male-female relationships and the resolution of gender related problems within the African cultural matrix. This should have been the case with the writers of the short stories but unfortunately they are seen to be fighting men instead of collaborating with them in the endeavour to deal with the scourge.

Instead of viewing men and African culture as the source of problems affecting women, there are other factors which the writers should have focused on. One of them is colonialism which is partly to blame for the low status accorded to African women as it transformed the gender realities that were in existence before. According to Furusa (2006), the Africans and in the case of Zimbabwe, the Ndebele and Shona had flexible gender constructions where daughters could become sons and consequently male and where daughters and women in general could be husbands and consequently male. According to him, these were replaced with fixed western rigid categories based on biological sex. On the flexibility of the gender roles among the Shona Furusa (2006:3) argues:

In Shona culture, all people on my mother`s side including males are responsible for mothering me. This means that my mother`s sisters, brothers and all the male and

female children of her brothers are my mothers. Similarly, all my fathers' brothers and sisters are responsible for fathering me.

Tiffin (1993) in Mguni, Furusa and Magosvongwe (2006) states that colonialism's discursive and institutionalised apparatuses obliterated and continue to obliterate, the colonised [especially female] body. Furusa (ibid) notes that the British transformation of the Zimbabwean ancestral space into a fundamentally European construction which they named Rhodesia after Cecil John Rhodes, the main architect in the colonial project, involved the distortion and /or erasure of indigenous sexual relationships. The British reproduced and valorised European culture within the colonised Zimbabwe's geopolitical and mental space, thus systematically transforming the way Zimbabwean men and women experienced their relationships together with time and space to replicate western gender notions and practices. Zimbabwean women were not only relegated to the status of the outsiders with no social and political authority, dignity or human rights within this Rhodesian performance space but their humanity was also turned into stereotypical images of continuous abuse. Still on the impact of colonialism, Schmidt (1996) advances the view that colonial rule resulted in a transformation of patriarchal authority as old measures of control were gradually replaced by new forms of patriarchal control both African and European that were not only compatible with, but actually enhanced capitalist economic development. Auret (1990) states that the settlers that came to this country, the missionaries, government officials, miners and farmers were for the most part products of a middle class Victorian background where men dominated both the private and public spheres. Women were regarded as being the centre of the home and were not expected to work out of it. These attitudes were forced onto the Africans and women started to face some forms of oppression they had not experienced hitherto. This continued in the current neo-colonial environment and it is these issues the female writers should be battling with rather than focusing on men as individuals.

Fayemi (2009) is against the use of feminism when dealing with issues to do with problems affecting African women. This is because feminism is viewed as a product of universal thought which concerns women irrespective of their race, social class and religion. Making an observation on the weakness of feminism, Petersen (1995:262) states that feminism tries to universalise the problems facing women as its position is, "All of us (women) of the same gender, across classes and cultures, are somehow a homogenous group." This is the assumption that characterises much of the feminist discourse. In the view of any feminist analysis, women are characterised as a singular group on the basis of shared oppression. What binds women together is the sociological notion of the sameness of their oppression.

However, from an African point of view this is a false assumption as it is a western concept and becomes a reflection of western cultural predilection and is designed to meet the particular needs of the western women. It is therefore of no relevance to Africa. Instead, according to Fayemi, a theory like African ethico-feminism is more relevant than feminism. The difference is that it emphasise the uniqueness of African women in terms of race and class (political and economic) prejudice. Essentially, it operates on the inclusive principles of African ethics, respected autonomy, communalism and cooperation, self-reliance and complementary gender relations and structures. It is a hybrid ideology combining African interests, experiences and peculiarities together with African ethics and feminist concerns in the struggle against women oppression and the subjugation in all spheres of life: economic, language, political, social, sexual and psychological. It also seeks the complementarity ethic of male and female gender socialisation. However, unlike the models of western feminism, it does not foster dichotomy, individualism between the two sexes. Related challenges facing African women should be challenged historically. The current tendencies and practises of western feminism of passing universalistic judgements on issues that affect the female folk,

which have sometimes become paradigmatic action programmes in Africa, are critically circumspect by African ethico-feminism. Petersen (1995) notes that one of the most important differences between Western feminists and African feminist discussions is that whilst the western feminists discuss the relative importance of class and emancipation of women, their African counterpart are against the fight against neo-colonialism. Put differently, for Africans the fight against neo-colonialism takes precedence over that of class. This fight against neo-colonialism is the one which lacks in the stories.

As noted by Masowa and Chivandikwa (2012), generally the short story writers portray distorted images of women in Zimbabwe thereby limiting possibilities of growth and triumph. In the stories, the female characters are portrayed as being hapless victims of men. However, this creative modality is consistent with the feminist perspective which prioritises first and foremost the polarisation of relations between men and women. On the tensions created on men and women by feminism, Davidson (2005) in Hudson-Weems (2008:61-62) comments:

The feminist perspective imposes one-dimensional interpretation on all aspects of human life, namely that, evils of the world can all be traced to men oppressing women. It generates female chauvinism and sex-hate mongering.

This scenario is what Mguni (2006:141) labels “narrow notions of feminism that focus on the idea of women as victims and man as the oppressor or enemy.” African women are not as passive, naive, disempowered and dehumanised as reflected in the short stories. Mguni (2005) cited in Masowa and Chivandikwa (2012: 143) challenges the African women writers to be more realistic when dealing with gender issues:

There is need for women writers to move away from stereotyping African women and men. Women`s creative efforts need to move to the centre by boldly articulating the concerns of a broad spectrum of women... with a view to positively transform their lives will not yield the desired results, as they will be diagnosing the wrong disease and therefore giving the wrong prescription to their problems....The coming together of African men and women to forge a collective struggle for survival and

human dignity, using their own tools, is a significant step towards harmony and development

The perpetrator is always the husband who is given as a child molester, adulterer, deceitful, insensitive and hypocritical. Ladner (1972) quoted in Masowa and Kandawasvika (2012:144) observes that in normal situations, “Black women do not perceive their enemy to be black men but rather the enemy is considered to be the oppressive forces in the larger society which subjugate black men, women and children.” This is what the writers of the short stories should have been doing and this they could have done in addressing the problems faced by women with regards to HIV/AIDS as the “...varied problems of African women emanating from within and outside African race have to be solved on a collective basis within African communities.” (Mguni, 2006:43)

5.7.6 Violent and Negligent Wives

Although in the novels under exegesis in this research men have largely been portrayed as perpetrators of violence in the families, there are also occasions in which women are also shown to be at times committing violence in the family. One such example is Mai Watson in *Ndafa Here?* who terrorised both his husband and daughter-in-law being helped by her daughter Kiri. The father is physically and psychologically abused by the two. On one of the occasion, she physically assaults him and the author describes the assault on the father as follows:

Kiri akabatsirana namai vake kupopotera baba. Mai vakazopedzisira vorova baba vachikuridzirwa naTete Kiri, zvekuti dai ndisina kutuma Maki kundodaidza Mai Chipere, baba vaidai vakakuvara zvakaipisisa. Asi chakandityisa, uye chichiri kundityisa nazvino zvivindi zvaTete Kiri. Kurova baba vavo here asikana? Kuwana simba rekugarira baba vako matunduru? (42).

(Kiri helped her mother to scold the father. In the end, the mother had to beat father with the encouragement from Kiri to an extent that if I had not send for Mai Chipere father could have been severely hurt. But what frightened and amused me is the

courage of Auntie Kiri. Beating your own father? Having the guts to sit on top of your father?)

The father is labelled a drunkard who should be beaten to sober up. When the father retaliates on Kiri, she threatens to ban him from drinking beer at a local pub:

Manje muri kundiroverei ipapa? Ndinokubhanisai kunwira kuRusununguko mukaita zvekutamba neni. Hamukuendi futi imi ndikada zvangu! (51)

(So for what reason are you beating me up? I will ban you from drinking at Rusunguko if you do not respect me. You will never go there if I want to!)

Ferris (2005) notes that this trend has already been in existence and although women have tended to be more peace-loving than men, there have been always violent women. Muwati and Gambahaya (2012), whilst commenting on women and their roles in *Ndafa Here?*, argue that the images of women as mothers are the architects and authors of all problems that blight the family space, either through excessive and unbracketed power or through complete weakness and failure to participate as mothers. This is exactly what Mai Watson does and apart from abusing her husband she also fuels tension between her son Watson and the wife Betty and ensured that they get divorced. Mai Watson's behaviour can be explained from the stress the family is enduring because of the economic hardships. Some of the children are not employed and the one on whom she had pinned her hopes gets married before finishing college. To her, the marriage becomes a hindrance to the monetary benefits which she expected from her son. She even hoped to leave the stressful vending but this is threatened by the marriage of her son. This creates intense frustrations thus she becomes violent especially to her husband who supported the daughter-in-law. Again, this corresponds to the data gathered from the respondents that violence is common to families undergoing stressful experiences. In an interview, a Roman Catholic priest attributed violent behaviour to "the breakdown of societal values because of the hardships faced which basically is a result of the economy which is not performing well." From the questionnaires it emerged from the

responses that “violence in families is mainly associated with those who are poor and it is a reaction to the frustrations faced by the family members.” From an African ethical point of view as argued by Fayemi (2009), Mai Watson’s actions should be condemned as actions which are morally praise worthy are defined in part on the basis of promoting the communal nature of the African society. He goes further to assert that actions are considered morally good if they are capable of fostering an intimate sense of obligation, cooperation and belonging to a quite large group of people on the basis of kinship affiliations. The actions of Mai Watson are an antithesis for those considered to be morally good therefore deviant. However, the author is quite clear that it is because of poverty that she behaves in the manner that stands in contradiction to the cultural ethos of the society. Poverty is described by Townsend (1996) quoted in Charles (2000:125) as “apply(ing) to those whose resources do not allow them to fulfil the elaborate social demands and customs which have been placed on them as citizens of the society.” If the mother had a reliable source of income, she could not have been so violent to both the husband and the daughter-in-law who she viewed as stumbling blocks for her envisaged support from her graduate son.

5.7.7 Deviance by in-laws in *Mapenzi*

Apart from the spouses, there are other family members who are also shown to be deviant through actions which contradict the cultural expectations. Their actions are against what they are expected to do within the families. These family members include in-laws like Eddie in *Mapenzi*. Eddie is staying with his mother-in-law Mai Jazz as he is her daughter Heaven’s “husband.” Just as in the case of Saba and Mai Tanya, he did not pay the bride price for her marriage with Heaven. Also, it is interesting to note that Eddie was unemployed so it was the mother-in-law who was catering for all his needs. Just like in other African cultures, the Shona people expect some distance between some relations and this should be the case

between a son-in-law and his mother-in-law. Eddie goes against these sanctions living with his mother-in-law thus making himself a deviant. This unsanctioned behaviour by Eddie invite heavy criticism from Hamundigone who is Heaven`s uncle (mother`s brother):

Ini handisati ndambozviona kuti munhu akasvika sewe so mupfanha anoita zvivindi zvekugara mumba maambuya. Ndizvo zvamunoita kwenyu here? Iwewe Heaven wave kuda kufarisa mazuva ano. Dai waiva nababa ndainovabvunza kana vakaonawo pfuma yakakomana kako ikaka. (81)

(I have never seen that a normal person like you young man is courageous to live at his mother-in-law`s. Is that what you do where you come from? You Heaven you are getting too excited these days. If you had a father i would go and ask him if he received bride price from the boy.)

He goes on to further probe Heaven on the reasons Eddie is staying with her when he is not her legitimate husband as he has not paid the bride-price. Hamundigone asks Heaven the following questions:

Heaven, ndipindurewo mibvunzo iyi. Mukomana wako akaroora here? Mukomana wako anoshanda here? Anodya sadza raani? Pano pachokw anogara achiti anogara pamba pani? (82)

(Heaven, just answer my questions. Did your boyfriend pay bride price? Is your boyfriend employed? Whose food does he eat? When staying here he does so staying at whose place?)

According to Hamundigone, the behaviour by Heaven and her mother together with her “husband” Eddie is pure case of some psychiatric disturbance that they deserve to be detained in the psychiatric unit of Harare Hospital:

Iwe uri muzukuru wangu, inini sekuru vako ndinopenza saka handitevedzerwi, asi kana ini ndichipenga, iwe, mai vako nekakomana kako munotoda kuendeswa kuPsychiatric Unit kuGomo...A, ptu. Heaven handiyemuri mimba yembwa seinokamwa mukaka muzukuru. (83)

(You are my cousin, me your uncle I am mentally unstable so don`t mind what I say but if I am mad then you, your mother and your boyfriend you need to go to the Psychiatric Unit at Gomo (Hospital)...A,ptu. Heaven I don`t admire useless things my cousin).

This unsanctioned behaviour by Eddie is a result of the economic problems he has as he is unemployed. There is an emergence of a new urban culture which comes under fire from

Hamundigone:

Chete isu vamwe hatingayemuri zvamuri kuita izvi, zvacho zvamunoti chiHarare. Harare yamakawana yavepo iyi. (83)

(It's only that some of us do not admire what you term Harare culture. You found Harare there before you were born.)

However, Heaven remains adamant and has the audacity to tell him to leave her alone as he was mentally unstable:

Sekuru ndanga ndisingazvibvume kuti mave kupenga, asi apa mazviratidza mega. Endai munotsvaga kunaCleodia mwana wenyu mupengere ikoko pane kunetsa isu vana vevamwe vanhu. (83)

(Uncle, all along I did not believe that you are now insane but here you have shown it yourself. Go and look for your child Cleodia and show your insanity there instead of disturbing peace of other people's children.)

The behaviour of Eddie is not only an amusement to Hamundigone but also to other people like Magi a university student whose brother was a tenant at Mai Jazz's place. Whilst conversing with his brother Bunny she had this to ask:

A-a, bhudhi muri kuda kundiudza kuti mukwasha uyu, wamuri kuti murume waHeaven, anogara pamba paambuya? (122).

(A-a, brother are you saying this son-in-law, whom you say is Heaven's husband is staying at his mother-in-law's home?)

To show lack of respect and focus, Eddie sexually exploits the maid of his mother-in-law threatening her with expulsion from work if she divulged information about his advances. Eddie is not respecting his position as a "son-in law" as he is seen forcing Saru to be intimate with her. In the end, Eddie is murdered by Heaven after discovering that he had impregnated the housemaid. The maid was desperate to keep her job as she was saving money to pay examination fees for her young brother. This compels her to give in to Eddie's demands. At one point they are caught pants down in a toilet engaging in what Zhuwarara (2001:48) describes as "animal-like copulation." The setting for the sexual encounter the toilet itself is an indicator of the gravity of moral decadence which can be understood in the context of the

economic meltdown which gave rise to high levels of unemployment. If both Eddie and Sarah had alternatives to live meaningfully this relationship could not have existed. Among the Shona, sex is sacred as it involves the blessing of the ancestors as evidenced in the traditional love poems in which the ancestors are invoked to bless the marriage during love making. Therefore Eddie's behaviour reflects gross negligence and failure to respect his position as son-in-law.

5.7.8 Deviance by in-laws in *Ndafa Here?*

The in-laws in *Ndafa Here?* are also shown to be deviant and irresponsible in the family particularly with regards to the marriage of Betty and Watson (Wati). The manner in which the father-in-law, the mother-in-law, the sister-in-law and brother-in-law relate to Betty is the antithesis of their roles and responsibilities from a Shona cultural point of view. Betty is subjected to various forms of abuse which include verbal and sexual assaults. The comfort one should get in marriage is non-existent because of the behaviour of Watson's parents and siblings. The story is about the challenges confronting women in the institution of marriage today. Traditionally among the Shona people, marriage is treated as sacred as it has some religious significance attached to it and there are various structures that were put into place as a way of ensuring its survival. Divorce is something which is not condoned and made to be extremely difficult except may be in cases of adultery and witchcraft. The parties in marriage are encouraged to endure the challenges associated with the institution. However, in the novel *Ndafa Here?* through the experiences of Betty calls for women to re-think and re-focus their position in marriage as they are put into a precarious position which makes it risky for them to remain in marriage. The country is facing numerous political, social and economic problems which have torn the moral fabric apart which used to ensure that people maintained culturally sanctioned behaviour. These challenges are a result of what has become popularly

referred to as the Zimbabwean crisis. The husband under the influence of his mother and sister, frequently assaults her accusing her of not respecting them and also being irresponsible with the family's property. As for the mother-in-law, she verbally abuse her accusing her of being a stumbling block to the support she expected to get from her son who was a beacon of hope in the family as the rest of the children have no future to talk about. The mother is so dominant that even the father is hapless and in some instances he is assaulted with the help of the daughter Kiri. In the ideal situation, she was supposed to provide comfort to her daughter-in-law and whenever problems she was supposed to intervene. Ba in *So Long A Letter* explains what it means to be a mother:

One is a mother in order to understand the inexplicable.

One is a mother to lighten darkness.

One is a mother to shield when lightning streaks through the night, when thunder shakes the earth, when mud bogs one down. (82-83)

The grudge between Betty and her mother-in-law is explained when the later says to Watson;

Ungazondichengeta iyewe pauri apa wave nemukadzi nemwana vanoda kuchengetwa? Ini ndatobuda mutsoro yako mwanangu.... Hapana chandakaona chinoitirwa mubereki nemi vana vamazuva ano kana maroora. Vakadzi venyu ava vanokuudzai mashoko ekuti chembere hadzina basa. (30)

(Would you look after me when you now have a wife and a child who need to be supported? I am now out of your plans my child... I have never seen anything meaningful done to parents by you children of today. Your wives tell you that these old women are not important.)

It is clear that it is because of the economic hardships that the mother expects her son to rescue her from poverty but the hope fades when he gets married. In other words, poverty is responsible for creating hatred between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. So as to ensure that Betty leaves the family, she begins to peddle lies about the behaviour of Betty which results in Wati physically abusing her. At one point she is hit by a certain object and falls unconscious only to wake up in hospital. She convinces the nurses not to report the matter to

the police as a way of safeguarding her marriage. That is where the problem lies with African women as it is difficult to go back home and tell that the marriage is dysfunctional. Betty confesses:

Ndiko kufa kwemunhukadzi muAfrica chokwadi, kutyira kwaunoti kuchengeta pako paugere, kusarudza kuurayiwa nemunhu uchiona nekuti unotyva kudzokera kumba kwenyu, kwawakabva uchinotaura kuti zvekuroorwa zvakona.(42)

(That is the fate of women in Africa, being afraid to lose your home, choosing to be killed by someone because you are afraid to go back home where you came from telling them that marriage has failed.)

It is for this reason that the author calls for women to be brave and leave marriage if the conditions are always endangering them. There is no need for continuing to respect men who are not showing any love to women:

Vakadzi ngatidzidze kushinga, kuzvimiririra tisinganamate varume vasina rudo, vanozochinja kubva pakukuti mudiwa, chihwitsi chemwoyo votuka kuti nguruve, imbwa nezvimwe... Kuroorwa kunoda kuti kugadziriswe, kuti vanhu vagowirirana kugara vese pasina kuroora kuitira kuti kana mukadzi oda kuenda nekuti anenge achiona murume wake achiuya akabata mapaper bag eAIDS, achiti nditambire ndauya ngatigoverane agone kuti kwete. (42)

(Women we should learn to be courageous, to be independent and not to rely on men who do not have love, those who change from loving you calling you sweetheart to scolding you calling you pig, dog and other insults... Marriage should be re-looked into so that people agree to live together without paying bride price to ensure that the women will be free to leave when she feels like because she will be seeing her husband bringing AIDS and have the power to say no.)

Kiri is on the side of her mother and fuel the tension between Watson and Betty. They reduce Betty to the level of being their maid and domestic worker not treating her as a daughter -in- law. They refuse to let her continue with her studies claiming that no one would look after her child and yet Kiri was unemployed and most of the times she would be patronising beer halls and night clubs. Betty`s reflections on her marriage:

Kuroorwa kubayiwa nemunzwa. Kana munhu achitadzawo kukuona semunhu, achifunga kuti wakafanana nemombe inoda kurohwa kuti ipinde mumuforo, pane dambudziko.....Ini ndiri munhu, asi kugara kwangu pano ndasara ndave imbwa chaiyo. Futi imbwa ikatenge nani ine zita, ina tenzi uye kana iri yemurungu inorara mumba ichidyira mundiro. Kutukwa, kudzvinywa, kukaviwa, kudzurwa vhudzi nekugara ndakaudzwa kuti ndichafira mumaoko emunhu sewachi, zvinhu zvinondityisa. Hazvinei, ndichatsvaga pekugara pasi, pane mumvuri nditumbure munzwa uri kunditadzisa kufamba uyu. (9)

(To be married is like a thorn in the flesh. If a person fails to recognise you as a human, thinking that you are like an animal which is beaten to do what is needed then there is a problem...I am a human being but my stay here has made me to be a dog. In reality, a dog is better because it has a name, an owner and when it is owned by a white man it sleeps in a house and feeds from the plate. Being scolded, strangled, kicked, hair stretched and being always reminded that I will die in someone's hands always frightens me. Anyway, I will look for where to stay, where there is shed and remove the thorn in my flesh which is disturbing my movement.)

Things become worse for Betty after the husband leaves the country for the United Kingdom which was a common trend during the period of the Zimbabwean crisis. The situation is further complicated when Betty gives birth to an albino daughter because of the stigma attached to albinism. She is actually accused of causing albinism to the child and also the mother-in-law is quite clear on her displeasure at having a girl child as her grandchild who above all is an albino. She complains:

Musha wakambokura nekuzvarirwa vanasikana chete here?...Handiti mwana iyeye musope, kwedu hakuna vanhu vakadaro, hameno kwenyu. (43)

(Have a family ever grow when girls are born?.. This child is an albino and we do not have such children and am not sure from your side.)

The mother-in-law displays her neurosis through her position with regards to the girl child in the family. In Shona culture, there is no segregation on children based on the sex of the child. The emphasis is not on the biological make up of the child but the role it plays in the family. The mother-in-law is manipulating the situation so that her wish of seeing Betty leave the family is fulfilled. The author is also making a point on how the diaspora factor has affected the lives of the Zimbabweans especially during the period of the crisis. Muchemwa (2010) makes the observation that exilic writing (of which *Ndafa Here?* is part of) is assuming

increasing great importance in and outside the country because of contemporary demographic and political landscape in the country. He further notes that in the history of Zimbabwe, there are no records with the exception of the liberation war period of the 1970s, of massive movements of people in direct response to state policies as people migrated mainly to South Africa, the United Kingdom and North America. When Watson decides to leave for the diaspora tensions increased because of the anticipated benefits from the UK. On the day when Watson was leaving for the UK, Betty observed the following:

Tarisiro yaive nehama dzaWati, kunyanya mai vake, itarisiro yaizadza mukombe ukasvika pakupfachukira. Ini ndoda kuti unditumire mari Wati, nditenge imba kuMount Pleasant ndibve kuChitungwiza nesuweji dzayo. Ndinoda kuti ndimutswe nekuimba kweshiri, kwete kumutswa nevanhu vanenge vachitengesa makenduru nekobhura....Ikoko kune dzimba dzinovhurwa magedhi nemishini, hakuna magedhi seedu ewaya ekukiya necheni. Kwakanaka mai mwana, kune miti yekuti kana watsva nezuva unogara mumumvuri pamba pako uchiverenga bepanhau wakarara mucheya dzakagadzirwa zvekuti munhu agare akazorora. (6-7)

(The hope that Wati's relatives had especially his mother was too high. When you send me money i want to buy a house in Mount Pleasant so that I leave Chitungwiza and its problems of sewage. I want to be awakened by the singing of birds not by the vendors selling cobra and candles. There the gates of the houses are opened by machines, there are no gates made of wire and chains like ours. It's quite nice there are trees where you can rest on chairs when it is hot whilst reading newspapers.)

McGregor (2010) notes the existence of elitist connotations associated with the term diaspora by the people in Zimbabwe. As a multitude of Zimbabwean transnational social networks to Britain were elaborated, so migration was encouraged by fantasies of a luxurious life. One example cited by McGregor (ibid: 124) is of one secretary from Harare who summarises the esteem associated with the United Kingdom: "I imagined I would live like the Queen and would return rich after a few months." This was her thinking when she left for Britain in 1998 to work to save for a house and her children's education. This is the vision most of the migrants have as they migrate to the diaspora. McGregor (ibid) correctly observes that the term diaspora has elite connotations, the fantasy of the colonial motherland and other

relatively wealthy diasporic destinations as the sites of easy riches. Such perceptions can be reinforced despite the acute exclusion many in the diaspora have faced through the difficulties of conveying realities of insecurity and hardships to those at home and the sense of failing to live up to expectations. Wati's mother thought his son's going to the diaspora would signal an end to her economic problems and she would cease to be a vendor:

Ani futi anenge achaita zvemusika? Kana, rino gore ndiro ravachapedzisira kundiona kumusika ndichihodha. Ndigonohodha mwana ari kunyika yaKwini, kune mapondo, kune mari, kune rugare runoonekera pamakanda avanenge vabvako? Bodo, ndaramba. (8)

(Who still will be a vendor? No, this year is the last one to see me at the market hoarding. How can I be a vendor when my son is the Queen's land where there are pounds, where there is money, good living as reflected by the skin texture of those who return from there? No, I can't.)

McGregor (ibid) further notes that there is central contradiction between the elite connotations of the term "diaspora" as it has entered Zimbabwean popular discourse and the realities of life in Britain is the acute loss of status most Zimbabweans have experienced. There are a number of challenges associated with life in the diaspora as reflected by Wati's thoughts whilst in the United Kingdom. He had promised to arrange travel documents so that his wife and child will follow but because of the influence of her mother and sister together with the challenges and pleasures he enjoys, nothing materialises. Life in the diaspora is shown not to be as contenting as the emigrants wish:

Muupenyu tinojairira zvimwe zvinhu zvekuti hatizvikoshese, asi unozoti wave kunyika yakaita seBritain kudai ndipo paunoona kuti hupenyu hwedu kumba hune upenyu mukati. Kuno unopanga mushana chaiwo, unopanga sadza rekunhamo riya rina makabhichi nenyama yemombe yabikirwa mudhiranu ikasaiswa mafuta. Inenge ine kunaka kenya kwakangozvimirira. Kuno tafinhwa neBurger King neMacDonalds nekuti ndivo vanotengesa chikafu chakachipa, asi chichikanganisa mwoyo nekuti chizere mazifuta, uye chinobikwa chopu chopu chisina nguva yekuti chiibve zvisihoma nezvisihoma sezvatinoita tichigocha chibage pamoto wemarasha. (22)

(In life we are used to some things and we do not see their importance but when you in a country like Britain then you that our situation [back home] is full of life. Here you long for sunshine and even the sadza cooked at funerals served with cabbages and beef prepared in a drum without cooking oil. Here we are fed up with food from

Burger King and McDonalds because it's cheap but it is harmful as it is full of oil and it is prepared quickly.)

McGregor (ibid) notes that the lure to Britain has been encouraged partly because of the opportunities for work and study, and the ease of entry. He further observes that over the structural decade of the 1990s, the horizons of the Zimbabwean middle class had begun to shift beyond national borders and beyond the region, especially to Britain as a former colonial administrator. Those who migrated were taking advantage of the openings, particularly in the feminised occupations such as nursing and social care and young women formed a significant number of the migrants. Because of his experiences in London, Wati demystifies the elitist visualisation of diaspora among the people back home as he outlines the ordeals the Africans are facing:

Diaspora chii? Izita chete rekuti tiri kuLondon, asi tiri imbwa kana tiri muno, kusahukura kunyara chete, asi miswe tiri kupinimidza tichipinimidzira pound. Pondo. Gehena riri pano pasi vakomana. Munhu ari kuhura kuti awane pekurara chete, vamwe vari kuhura kuti vawane chekudya. Vamwe vakabva kumba vakasiya varume, vakatoroorwa kuno kana kutobika mapoto. (25)

(What is diaspora? It is just said that we are in London but we are dogs with nothing and we are desperate to get the pound. Pound! Hell is here on earth. People are becoming prostitutes so that they get somewhere to sleep, others so that they get food. Some left their husbands and got into marriages of convenience.)

On another occasion Wati uses the metaphor of wild animals in a game park (Gonarezhou) to show the disorder as well as the challenges that the people in the diaspora are facing. In the diaspora, there are lack of restrictions that would have been there when living together with the members of the family and the community at large back home. These restrictions would ensure that people behave well according to the expectations of society. The hardships confronting the people make their life inhuman and they also lose their Africanness, which are their values they cherish in their culture.

Apart from the mother-in-law and sister-in-law, Betty had also to endure sexual advances of

the father-in-law. Initially, he pretended to be on her side and yet he was after his own interests. The Shona culture does not condone incest as is in the case of a father-in-law and a daughter-in-law. He was supposed to behave like she was his own daughter. There are several incidents in which he makes his sexual advances and in the process abuses Betty. At one point, he peeped through the window when she was applying lotion to her body after bathing. On the other occasion, he took advantage that she was carrying the baby at her back and patted her buttocks. Her fear was that he was going to rape her. Betty then exposed him to other members of the family when he touched her breasts whilst pretending to take the child from her. When his wife and Kiri were about to leave for the UK, he had the guts to propose marriage to her something taboo from a Shona cultural point of view. This reflects part of the mass neurosis in which the people's souls have been brutalised by the problems in their lives. The father-in-law was traumatised by his family life and usually sought to drown his sorrows in alcohol consumption. Therefore, his sexual advances to Betty and the desire to marry her are a result of the frustrations from his wife and children. It is unfortunate that he directs them against a wrong person and his behaviour is totally against the Shona cultural values. The distance that is supposed to be there between the mother-in-law and son-in-law is exactly the same that is supposed to exist between the father-in-law and the daughter-in-law. Mbiti (1969:143) comments on how African culture imposes restrictions on certain relationships:

In African societies the kinship involves among other things relationships in which physical avoidance between individuals is carefully observed. For example, this is the case between a man and his mother-in-law; physical avoidance protects the individuals concerned from sexual contact.

Still on marriage, African culture is also clear with its guidelines on marriage including which people one should marry. On this, Mbiti (1975:107) observes that:

There are, in all African societies, regulations concerning those that one may not marry. These are most often people of one's clan, relatives of one's mother or father up to a certain kinship.

But this is not the case in the novel as the father-in-law violates the taboo by proposing marriage to his daughter-in-law:

Saka tichasara tiri tega. Ini ndiri kuda uzive kuti ndinogona kukupa rudo, ndikakuchengeta. Wakanaka zvekuti haufanirwe kutambudzika sezvauri kuita. Ndinogona kutengesha imba ino, toenda kwedu tega, kana kuHatcliffe tonoitwa hupenyu hwedu ini newe...tichidanana. (149)

(So we are going to be alone. I want you to know that I can give you love and look after you. You are beautiful that you should not be in troubles as you are. I can sell this house and go where will be alone even in Hatcliffe and have our own life being in love.)

This is part of the mental instability which results when people are in a crisis and the author Mabasa addresses this in both novels *Mapenzi* and *Ndafa Here?* The climax of his sexual advances is when he forcibly grabs her without her anticipation and kissed her:

Vandibata mapendekete vachibva vandikwevera kwavari ndisina kumbozvitarisira. Ndanga ndichiri kuedza kubatanidza mashoko avo. Pfungwa dzangu dzakaita chiveve. Vabva vandikisa pamuromo nemuromo wavo unonhuwa. Ndanzwa dikita ravo kunhuwa kuti pfu-u. Ndasara padiki kufenda nekutya, kunzwa kupera simba sezviya zvaunoita kana wabatwa nedzikirira. (149)

(He got hold of me without anticipating and pulled me closer to him. I was still trying to come into terms with his words. I was still not sure of what was happening. He kissed me on the mouth with his stinking mouth. He smelt sweat and I almost fainted because of fear.)

Apart from the father-in-law, Watson's young brother Pasi also joins in making sexual advances to Betty and yet he was supposed to give her the respect he gives to his mother as is the norm from a Shona cultural point of view. In normal circumstances, one's elder brother's wife acts as one's mother and the two are not expected to have an intimate relationship. He told her that Wati would not return and therefore it was noble that she gives him the conjugal rights.

5.7. 9 Deviance by in-laws in *Makaitei*?

Another case of deviant behaviour between in-laws is addressed in the novel *Makaitei*? this

is a case in which an elder brother had an intimate relationship with his young brother's wife before going to the diaspora. When he was about to return home, he becomes afraid that people would notice. It is apparent that Nevanji had an incestuous relationship with his young brother Chenjerai's wife Chenai before he went overseas and confesses his fear:

Nyaya inondivhundutsa inyaya yangu naChenai. Tiri vanhu venyamawoka nhaimi! Ivo vanaChenjerai naMarita ndivo vanamuparanzvongo. Sei kuzo...Asi ivo kuti hava... kana kuti zvavo vakazviz...Kumusha kune faira rangu naChenai ndiyoyo.(86)

(The issue that troubles me is that of Chenai. We are human beings made of flesh! Chenjerai and Marita are the culprits. Why did they... but they... or they did not... Back home there is a file of me and Chenai.)

He is even afraid to go back home as the secret may explode. He tries to get solace from the fact that may be Chenjerai and his wife Marita have also their own secrets which they are unwilling to share:

Manje kuti tikadzokera tingazoti nenguva yazvo kana kuti chii haneno? Hana yangu inorova. Chenjerai mwana wababa vangu uyu Chenai tinonzwisana asi ugh kuti tingazozvikwanisa!.... Kunyangova kutya pamwe ivovo vanaMarita naChenje vane makona avo avasingadi kuti arongodzwe. (86)

(If I go back what will we say? My heart is greatly troubled. Chenjerai is my sibling and at the same time we understand each other with Chenai but will we manage!... May be I may be afraid but Chenjerai and Marita may have their own secrets which they keep to themselves.)

At the same time, Chenai is seen also confessing and being uneasy about the relationship with Nevanji. Under normal situation, Nevanji as the first born son of the Takaendesa family had the responsibility of being the father of the family. However, just like the case of the father-in-law in *Ndafa Here?* he does the opposite. In the story in *Makaitei?*, the Takaendesa family is shown to have lost its rootedness in Shona culture as evidenced by the decision to inherit the fathers' estate when he was still alive. Before the crisis and migration into the diaspora, the family was admired because of the cohesion that existed but this ceased to be when life became unbearable during the crisis.

5.7.10 Deviance by Children in *Mapenzi*

The other category of family members who engage in deviant behaviour are children whose actions to parents and other family members is unexpected. This behaviour includes violence against the parents. One such character is Heaven in *Mapenzi* who fails to respect her mother Mai Jazz. The name Mai Jazz is an apt one describing the pitch of her voice when scolding people and this was likened to the trumpets used in jazz music. She is portrayed to be in her own class when it comes to showing disrespect especially scolding other people. Mai Jazz represents the political elite whose misdirected policies like ESAP resulted in the crisis. She is the political commissar of ZANU (PF) Chirigamabhunu Women's Branch in Chitungwiza. Through the changes in the lifestyle of the dog Harare which Mai Jazz inherited from her former white employers who left the country after independence, the author is lambasting the political elite for running down the economy. She used her pension benefits to buy a house in Chitungwiza but the life of the dog changed for the worse after she used the money left for its upkeep to start her "business" of selling beer at her house. The changes in the lifestyle of the dog Harare symbolises those in the Zimbabwean economy which was sound when the blacks took over from the whites but was mismanaged in the process. She battles for the upkeep of the child and herself and ends up selling liquor illegally at her place and it is this exposure to such conditions at a tender age which moulds Heaven into becoming a deviant. The author is showing how the material squalor in post- independence Zimbabwe has brutalised the people's souls to an extent that they develop mental instability. Heaven's mother was unpopular for shouting at people but the child is shown to be outclassing her mother on this aspect:

Nyangwe mai vake vaipenga, vaizviziva kuti akashamawo wake muromo aisadzoreka. Mai Jazz vaizivikanwa nembiri yekupopota, asi Heaven aive nembiri yekupenga zvese nekurwa, zvekuti mazuva ake mai vake vachine shabhini, iye achaenda kuchikoro, ainetsa nekugara akarova varume vaiuya kuzomwa doro. Akazombokutsirwa

nemadzimai aive aroverwa varume akapenga zvekutozodaidzirwa mapurisa.(84)

(Even though her mother was good at shouting at others, she also knew that she [Heaven] was unstoppable once she starts. Mai Jazz was known because of shouting at people, but Heaven was known both for shouting at people as well as fighting to an extent that when her mother was selling beer illegally at their house, whilst she was still going to school, she was a nuisance as she always fought the male patrons. At one point she was beaten by women whose husbands she had beaten after they teamed up.)

Heaven`s behaviour became wayward because of the exposure she got at their home when her mother was running a shebeen. This exposure at a tender age had negative effects on her behaviour as shown by lack of respect to her mother, uncle Hamundigone and other elders in general. There are a lot of activities some of which may include violence and prostitution that are associated with such places like at the shebeen and these obviously contributed to her future behaviour. She has the guts to threaten to beat her own mother something strongly condemned in Shona culture and is usually accompanied with drastic consequences. In the traditional set up there, was the concept of *kutanda botso* in which someone was severely punished for wronging his or her mother when she was still alive but did nothing to compensate her. This aggressive character of Heaven also contributed to Eddie`s stay at the home as the mother was afraid of restraining her. Even when the combative Hamundigone tried to force him out, she threatened to hire people who will beat him if he continued to interfere in their family affairs and this forced him to develop cold feet. Heaven had lost her sense of humanity and even when her mother`s young sister was on the death bed in hospital she never visited her. Whenever she had conflict with her mother she would remind her that she once beat her and she can repeat it:

Handiti Heaven akambopopotedzana namai vake pachivanze vanhu vakaungana? Ndipo paakavaudza kuti vanyarare vapinde mumba achiti, “Amai nyararai ndisati ndakurovai! Ndakambokurovai ende ndinogona kuzvidzokorora futi ipo pano.”(73)

(Heaven once involved in verbal exchanges with her mother and people gathered at

the yard to witness? She told her to keep quiet and go inside the house saying, “Mother you keep quiet before I beat you! I once did it and I can repeat it now!”)

Apart from the violence against the adults, Heaven also sexually abused her cousin brother Reuben after he was left under her care. Reuben was infected with a sexually transmitted disease and this drew the wrath of Hamundigone who bashed her only to lock herself in the toilet and it took the intervention of Hamundigone’s mother who happens to be both Heaven and Reuben’s grandmother to save the situation. Charity describes the pain Reuben had undergone and the ruthlessness of Heaven. As an elder sister she was supposed to provide due care and protection to him. This is what Reuben had to say to Charity:

Zviri kurwadza. NdiHeaven aitamba nechinhu changu achichiisa pane chake. Ini ndakange ndichichema asi haana kumbondiregera achiti ndikangotaura anondiendesa kuvanhu vemakombi ndonochekwa musoro. (144)

(It is painful. It is Heaven who played with my thing [penis] putting it on hers [vagina]. I was crying but she did not leave me saying she will take me to owners of commuter omnibuses so that i get beheaded.)

Charity is apt on her assessment of Heaven’s behaviour which she describes as inhuman:

Heaven agara zvake haasi munhu wekuti ungaverenge pane vamwe vanhu uchiti tine munhu. (144) (Heaven is not human, you cannot count her among others saying we have a human being.)

If the Shona say *hausi munhu* literally translating to “you are not a person” it means you are not in tandem with their cultural aesthetics, you are going against the set standards and norms in their cultural worldview. This qualifies you to be labelled a deviant. Nussbaum (2003) notes that African culture under the auspices of *ubuntu*, values and processes are geared towards seeking consensus, mutual understanding and maintaining harmony. Attempting the definition of assault on children, Martin (1987) quoted in McCgay and Capron (1997:196) says; “...usually [under] a broad definition, abuse and neglect include all acts that interfere with the optimal development of children....” She also notes that assault on children usually comes in form physical injury or sexual contacts with adults. It should

be noted that abuse is common in families under stress emotionally, physically or economically. This is what happens to Heaven's family and in the end she loses her moral bearings hence the violent behaviour and other forms of deviant behaviour because of the stressful life she experiences. It is not surprising that at the end of the day she commits murder against his "husband" Eddie after discovering that he had impregnated their maid.

5.7.11 Deviance by children in *Ndafa Here*?

Another character who behaves in almost the same manner as Heaven is Kiri in *Ndafa Here*? who does not show any signs of respect to her father and is shown to be violent. She helps her mother to beat up the father which is a sign of moral decadence on her part. Just like Heaven, she is part of the people whose souls have been brutalised by the post-independence crisis. She has two children with different fathers as she failed to secure marriage. To worsen her plight, she had no source of income and she found herself being a prostitute. Not only is she cruel to the father, but she was also instrumental to ensure that Betty's marriage with her brother Wati collapses and openly tells her that she will look for better girls for Wati to marry. She went further to blame Betty for giving birth to an albino daughter. At some point, she verbally abuses her father who had told her to work for the family:

Asi imi hamuone here kushanda kwandinoita nhai baba zvamunotaura sekunonzi mave kupenga? Regai kubva mapfupika zvese nepfungwa mhani! (47-8)

(Dad are you not aware of the work I do and you talk as if you are now mad? Do not be wanting both in height and in brains.)

In terms of the expected duties as daughters, both Heaven and Kiri do not qualify to be members of their families as their behaviour is the antithesis of what is enshrined in Shona cultural philosophy. It is the harsh socio-economic environment which nurtures them to be deviants. As one of the interviewees argued, "for one to understand deviance it is important to look at the nature of society in which the deviant lives...whenever there are problems in

society especially political and economic ones. These tend to have a bearing in the manner in which people behave.”

Nussbaum (2003:3) explains that, “in several traditional African cultures the “self” is rooted in the community. It is this rootedness of the self in the community that gives rise to sayings such as *Umntu ngumuntu ngabantu/ Motho ke motho ka batho babang* (a person is a person because of others). These roughly translate to: “It is through others that one attains selfhood.” This sense of self hood is explained by Leopold Senghor, a West African philosopher, quoted in Nussbaum (ibid): “I feel the other, I dance the other therefore I am.” Reverend Battle, again cited in Nussbaum (ibid), who has written about Desmond Tutu`s works on *ubuntu*, notes that ubuntu reflects a strong interdependence of human beings:

We say a person is a person through other persons. We don’t come fully formed into the world...we need other human beings in order to be human. We are made for togetherness. We are made for family, for fellowship (for community) to exist in a tender network of interdependence. ” (4)

It is this lack of interconnectedness that makes both Heaven and Kiri deviants in as much as they fan violence within the families and fail to fulfil their responsibilities society bestowed unto them as daughters of the family.

5.7.12 Deviance by children in *Makaitei*?

In the novel *Makaitei*?, Takaendesa`s children are no longer responsible family members particularly in the manner in which they treat the issue of inheritance when their father was bed ridden. The majority of the family members had joined the exodus into the diaspora because of the economic problems facing the nation of Zimbabwe. Some had gone to Canada, Britain and other regional countries like Botswana. Chenai, a daughter-in-law to the family

laments on the negative effects of brain drain both to the country and the family:

Apa ndipo pandinomoonawo kuipa kwebrain drain. Zvino musha wose zvakwasara ivava vaifura maticha nerekeni munoti pane chinofamba ipapa? (55)

(Here that's when I see the effects of brain drain. Now the whole family is overseas and those who remain are not educated, is there anything going to progress?)

The movement of Takendesa's children into the diaspora is one the origins of the family's problems as this affected its hegemony.

McGregor (2010) explains the intensity of the problems associated with migration through the experiences he had during a church service in Britain under the theme "Restore Zimbabwe" in which asylum seekers were brave enough, without papers, to stand in front of the congregation and television cameras to speak emotionally about the difficulties of life in the UK without rights to work, study or use of their skills. Those who braved the situation included a policeman, an accountant, a banker, an engineer and a businesswoman separated from her children for eight years. The various professionals who attended the service are a pointer to the massive brain drain which affected the country. This extraordinary exodus to Britain since 2000, according to McGregor (ibid) was made easier, because of the links between the nations as Britain was the former colonial master. According to McGregor, the prefix "new" on New Zimbabwe is deliberate as it emphasises the unprecedented dispersal of Zimbabweans over the last decade and differentiates recent movements from previous displacements shaped by Zimbabwean history. As observed by Pasura (2006) cited in McGregor (ibid:7), a population of about 200 000 Zimbabweans migrated to the UK and "this emergence of the diasporic identities and claims from 2000 is without doubt connected to the changes in the Zimbabwean homeland and cannot be understood in separation from Zimbabwe's trajectory of the economic and political crisis."

In the novel *Makaitai?*, the ailing father is also aware of the impact of the dispersed children

had to the cohesion of the family. There was no one who could be around to resolve the crisis in the family and the father is disturbed:

Iko zvino mhuri yose ndokuti mwanda saka wochengeta musha ndiyani? Pavana vose gumi, vaviri chete iye Makaitei naChenjerai ndivo chete vari muno mumusha. Vamwe vose vakati ware ware kuenda mhiri kwemakungwa kune dzimwe nyika. (24)

(Now the entire family has dispersed who will look after the home? Of the ten children only two Makaitei and Chenjerai remain at home. The others have gone to other countries overseas.)

Those in the diaspora at times can be out of touch with the reality on the ground at home. One of Takaendesa's sons Samere cannot understand the hyperinflation characteristic of the period of the crisis and is shown to be wondering why people back home are complaining of the economic hardships when they have become millionaires:

Chandisiri kunzwisisa inyaya yekuti vanhu vanotambira mamirioni akaturikidzana vanotadza nei kukwanirwa nemari yacho? Handiti zvanzi chero vanaMarwei vashandi vomudzimba votambira iwo mamirioni iwayo? Ipapa wozonzwa vanhu vachingoti zvinhu hazvina kumira mushe, mari haikwani. Kuona kwangu vanhu ndivo vava kuwanza zvekutenga futi. (30)

(What I fail to understand is that people who are paid all the millions are saying its inadequate? It is said even the domestic workers are now millionaires? Then you hear people saying that things are not well, the money is inadequate. As I see it these people want to buy too many things.)

It is because of the negative effects of being in the diaspora that Takaendesa's granddaughter Patience is mocked by her peers at school that his relatives will perish in the jungle. She could not understand why people living in countries like Botswana and Britain, perceived to be greener pastures, could be said to be living in a jungle.

Before the children's movement into the diaspora, the family of Takendesa was admired throughout the community and it showed a sense of unity. However, this cohesion is no longer in existence hence Takaendesa's concern that this marks the end of his family. This disunity is observed by Chenai's brother:

Asi zvenguva iyoyo taitombonzwawo kuti mhuri ine chiremera. Handiti vaiungana

nguva zhinji pamichato vachiita mapitse okupemberera mwenga? Vaitovawo vanhu nokuti kana vasvika munoti havo vanhu, chero ukamhorosa unoti uyu munhu, kunyange kutaurirana uchitiwo ndiri kutaura nemunhu. (40)

(But at that time we could see that the family was well-up. They used to get together oftenly at weddings competing to give gifts for the bride? They used to be people worthy to be respected when you meet them even talking to them you could feel you talking to somebody.)

No one in the family seems to be cognisant of his duties especially those in the diaspora. This is reflected by Makaitei, the only daughter to remain behind, whose name questions her siblings' roles in helping the father to recuperate and also to keep the family intact. She is critical of her brothers who seem not to be bothered by the sickness of their father. One of them instead of concentrating on the treatment of the disease, he is shown to be preparing for his death:

Vamwe vanhu vakafa vakavigwa vachifamba. Mungafungawo here kuti ndivo vacho vainzi varidzi vomusha vanakomana? Ungatotsunga shuwa kutaura nezveH.I.V status yomubereki in such a sarcastic way? Kurwara, kurwara ingava H.I.V ... chero kuvhunika mutsipa kwese kurwara kunongoda kunzwirana chete. Dai achitozogumira pakutaura nyaya yemaARV cheteka zvino kuzoenderera mberi oti kana zvanyanya undiudze titumire mari yecascade. (12)

(Some people are useless. Can you imagine that the male children who were said to be the owners of the home? You have the courage to talk about the HIV status in such a sarcastic way? To be sick is the same whether it is HIV... or fracturing your neck all is sickness. If he had stopped on that issue of ARVs it was better but went to say he will send money for a casket.)

The source of conflict is when the children decided to inherit the father's estate when he was still alive and this is shown to be the cause of his illness which the hospitals failed to treat. This is revealed when they visit traditional healers and the prophets. These actions are in contradiction with the cultural ethics of the Shona people. Even the father openly tells them:

Makadzoka mobata chirungu pamusoro sebhaskiti. Zvino handiti danga ringadai rakangoti tashu nemombe. Imi mukati togovana ndichiri mupenyu nokuti mabopoto angazowanda. Makambozviwonepi kuti pfuma inogohwa murwere achitandadza nhai? (7)

(You followed the western ways in the wrong way. Now the cattle pen could have been full. Then you decided to share when I was still alive because the conflicts were going to intensify. Where have you heard that the estate is shared when the owner is

still on his death bed [living]?)

The same sentiments are echoed by the traditional healer as he is surprised by their decision which he described as nonsensical. This loss of identity is reflected by Asante (1998:7) when he comments, “We have been moved off our (cultural) platforms. This means that we cannot be truly ourselves or know our potential since we exist in a borrowed space...” However, it is interesting to note that it was because of the deleterious effects of the economy that forced the children to do so as they resolved to migrate into the diaspora where they thought life was more meaningful.

Just like in *Ndafa Here?*, the alienating effects of the diaspora on the being of Africans are shown in the novel. Nevanji, the first born son, is shown to have lost his cultural centeredness and no longer suitable for his role as the leader of the family. By virtue of being the first born son, he becomes the *de facto* father of the family. He shows that he no longer had the wish to return home and to him family was no longer important. To reveal that he was no longer rooted in his culture, he had started to change the Shona names for his children opting for the English ones, a sign of serious cultural dislocation:

... ini pachangu pazima zvokumusha ndanga ndatozviharira mudundundu ndikarasa kiyi yacho. Mhuri yaTakaendesa kwandiri vanga vangovawo vamwe vanhu vandakakura ndichiona nokuziva kwete zvokuti ndingabatikana navo. Zvokuti tingaramba tichifambidzana nokutevedzera kuti ukama igasva zviri retrogressive. Ini zvokufamba namanhendesure zvinondiwisira mumakwiringwindi namabvokocho. Ndiko saka vana ndanga ndava kutosandura mazita kuti afambirane nenzvimbo nenguva... (78)

(... I had long forgotten about home. The family of Takaendesa to me are just ordinary people I grew up seeing not that I can be concerned about them. If we still continue with the tradition of helping one another it is retrogressive. I cannot go backwards as this will lead me astray. That is why even I had given children names that are relevant to the place and period...)

The people's nomenclature is basically a reflection of their cultural worldview, history geography and any other phenomena related to their daily lives. Through their naming

patterns, you can tell how the people relate to each other, their fears, failures, successes, hopes and aspirations. Naming of children is very important in African societies and therefore the choice of a name has to be considered carefully. According to Thipa (1986) in Neethling (2005:8):

In African society, the naming of a child assumes some very particular significance. A child especially in the very traditional homes is regarded as belonging not only to his immediate biological family but also to the extended family and eventually to the community.

Therefore his decision to opt for English names at the expense of the Shona ones reflects his loss of identity. He even goes on to blame himself for giving names which were a burden to his children and resolves to rename the children with those names which have nothing to do with Africa:

Asi neniwo ndaimbova ndakadzikotsira hope. Chandairegera mwana achipiwa mazizita anorema kudaro. Mazita here anoti zita pacharo, chipauro nechidudzirazita uye nhoroondo yemhuri zvinoturikidzana pamwana....Kumwe kuremedza mwana nezvaasinei nazvo. (78)

(But I was also not wise. Why did I allow a child to be given such troublesome names? The names are the nouns, an adjective and a qualifier and the history of the family all piled on the child... At times it is burdening the child with issues that have nothing to do with it.)

This is a sign of how serious cultural alienation on Nevanji was. Refusing names from your own culture is tantamount to refusing your identity.

Muchemwa (2012) notes that migration into the diaspora is fraught with insecurities and uncertainties that make the displaced afraid and that may lead to destructions and disconnections. As noted by Muchemwa (ibid), it is for this reason that Shilja Patel the Kenyan poet uses the term “migritude” to conceptualise the problematic space of the migrant and the precariousness of identity in a space that is constantly on the shift. Ani (1994:1) adds weight on the challenges posed by the diaspora on Africans and their cultural identity when he asserts that “Europe’s political domination of Africa and much of the non-European world

has been accompanied by a relentless cultural and psychological rape...” The wife of Nevanji had to remind him of the obligations he had to the family as the first born son after he was refusing to go back home and attend to their ailing father:

Iwe Nevanji usakanganwa kuti ndiwe mukuru. Ndiwe unofanira kutungamirira musha waTakaendesa. Iko zvino unoda kuti vana vaite sei iwe worambira kuno ivo baba vachirwara? Usakanganwa kuti izvezvi mhosva inopiwa ini kana tikasaenda kumusha. (84).

(You Nevanji do not forget that you are the eldest. You should be the one leading the Takaendesa family. What do you want the other children to do when you remain here whilst father is sick? Do not forget that the blame is put on me if we do not go home.)

Following consultations with the diviner and the prophet, they were told that only unity of purpose would solve their problems. They were supposed to come together and decide how to compensate the father after their wrong doings and this would make him recuperate. This is exactly what is in the thoughts of Takaendesa as he saw that his sickness will not be cured in the hospitals. Asante (1998:7) calls for the African people to regain their cultural identity if they are to make any progress in life:

...by regaining our cultural platforms, standing in our own cultural space and believing that our own way of viewing the universe is just as valid as any, we will achieve the kind of transformation that is needed to participate fully in... society.

There was no need to seek an external solution to a problem rooted in the traditions of the people:

Uyezve mwanangu, yangu hosha inotoda magodobori edu echivanhu. Pane chii chingazibwa nemuchena nezvechirwere chemutema? Kana zvikanzi imbawazukuru inofanira kuripwa angazvikwanisa kuzviona? A-a, bodo mwanangu mhiri handiendi. Womuudza iye Nevanji kuti handiuyiko. Uti baba vati, “Kurumwa netsikidzi rambira mumba, chitete chinokupinza mune chikobvu.”(9)

(Also my child my disease needs African traditional healers. What can a white doctor know about an African disease? If it is said there is need for *mbwazukuru* should be paid, what does he know about it? A-aa no my child I can't go overseas. Tell Nevanji that I will not come there. Tell him that father has said, “even when beaten by house bugs remain in the house, what may appear small my lead you to bigger things.”

The author is calling for the resolution of the problems using internal means. Even going to the diaspora will not help in solving the problems back home as most people would think. On this, p`Bitek (1973:6-7) says:

I believe that most of our social ills are indigenous, that the primary sources of our problems are native. They are rooted in the social set-up, and the most effective solutions cannot be imported but must be the result of deliberate re-organisation of the resources for tackling specific issues.

Takaendesa foresaw doom to the family because of the effects of the diaspora as he could no longer trust his children because of the alienation they experienced. Therefore the sources of deviance of Takaendesa`s children are a result of both the crisis at home and the diaspora. The crisis made it difficult to live fulfilling lives and they were pushed into the diaspora which has its own numerous challenges most of them insurmountable hence the labelling of it as a jungle. The author notes the solution cannot be found by leaving home for the diaspora but this has to come from within.

5.8 Oral-literacy Link: Moralisation and Its Impact on the Social Vision of the Writers

This section of the chapter focuses on the interface of orality and literacy in the fictional works discussed above with particular reference to the aspect of deviance and how it is treated in the context of moralisation. It starts by exploring the generic relationship between the two genres and then proceeds to analyse how oral literature and in particular reference the aspect of moralisation affects the vision of the writers as well as the development of Shona literature. This is because for both oral and written literature, moralisation has remained a major priority.

It is without doubt that there is an intrinsic relationship between oral and written literature in Africa because prior to colonialism most parts of the African society relied on the oral means of communication and up to today the oral word still continues to be relevant among the African people as it is in it that their culture is embodied. Basing on the responses from the critics and some of the writers of literary works under exegesis in this research, oral literature has immense influence on the written literature and there are issues adopted by the novelists from oral literature. One of the interviewed writers admitted that he "...utilises some oral genres like songs and poetry, proverbs and riddles so as to enhance the articulation of the issues being addressed." As Chiwome (2007) contends, until the introduction of writing by the missionaries in the early 20th century, Zimbabwe was an oral culture in which verbal art was disseminated using oral strategies. Above all, Chiwome (ibid) further notes that oral art is a functional part of Shona culture, reflecting the primacy of African cultural collective values, beliefs and knowledge systems. According to him, it consolidated pivotal aspects of the African heritage through exploratory creativity and supported the African family and community life as the fountain head of Africanness (*unhu*). One such form of oral art is the folktale (*ngano*). Vambe (2005) notes that the story teller (*sarungano*) in Shona culture played different roles and was the repository of the community's values. The stories themselves functioned to warn, caution, advise, praise, denounce and urge people on certain issues that could have happened. The stories provided the cultural rules that underpinned the community's way of life, or sum-total of their philosophical outlook. Those who went "against the grain", the deviants are castigated in the stories. Also from one of the respondents to the questionnaires, "people whose behaviour contradicted the cultural norms of society feature in folktales and the story tellers did ensure that people should behave well."

When the culture of writing was introduced to Africans, it did not mean that their oral way of

doing things vanished. Rather, there was a blend of the two cultures and this is the same scenario that happened to African literature. Vambe (2005) contends that there is need for the writer to identify the common threads, differences and similarities in the use of orality both inside and outside the novel. According to him, there is need to recognise the complexity of oral artists as originators of knowledge that then is absorbed by that society to become community property. The oral artist or *sarungano* from a Shona cultural point of view is thus the sensitive needle in society and in the case of the communal narrator, the spokesman for the little people, the underprivileged as argued by Kabira 1983. Fortune (1974) cited in Vambe (2005) notes that a perusal of the *ngano* will show that they are didactic in nature, enshrining lessons for life and also that they provided entertainment and relaxation for their audiences. On the importance of folktales, Gudhlanga and Makaudze (2012) note that among the Shona folktales are vehicles of moral lessons for life. They are serious literature and are functional, depicting the Shona people's philosophy as lived and celebrated in their society. They impart knowledge and the society's cultural values to children through socialisation. Furthermore, Vambe (ibid) contends that the *ngano* is used in the Shona communal life to resolve local problems. The modern *sarungano* is using the novel, television and radio but carrying on with the same functions from their predecessors. Vambe (ibid) states that proverbs, repetition, rural image have been embedded in the black novel in ways that validate African people's experiences but in a manner described by Solomon Iyasere as oral literature being brought into the novel "selectively, adding and transforming [it] to bring a form of artistic novelty to their usage." (13)

In most cases the writers of African literature have the exposure of both the oral tradition and literate education. In an interview with one of the critics of African literature, "most of the prominent African writers grew up in oral cultures and listened to folktales and some of the

writers confirm that they are story tellers of some kind and this obviously has a bearing in the manner in which they write.” Thus according to Vambe (ibid), African writers are fully aware of the uses of the story as a communal form that transcends the narrow limits of pure aestheticism and entertainment to encompass broad social and ethical purposes. With particular reference to the interface of orality and literacy on the Zimbabwean novel in English, Vambe (ibid) argues that the writers are not mere slaves to tradition waiting passively to be influenced by orality but rather they select some aspects and fuse these with the new ideas that either confirm, modify or even reject the old elements of tradition in their bid to transform their works into something new. Abiola Irele in Vambe (ibid) fruitfully suggests that the relationship of indigenous oral resources to the modern African novel is one “not much of an abiding, permanent, immutable stock of beliefs and symbols, but as the constant refinement and extension of these in a way which relates them to an experience that is felt as being at once continuous and significantly new.”(13). As argued by Obiechina (1992), the theoretical question one may ask is that of the effect of the written word when it is superimposed upon an ancient oral traditional culture. The quickest observation one makes according to Obiechina (ibid) is that the oral culture does not immediately disappear by the mere fact of its being in contact with writing nor does the literature of the oral society disappear because of the introduction of written literature. In reality, a synthesis occurs in which features of the oral culture survive and are absorbed, assimilated, extended and even re-organised within the new cultural dispensation. Various aspects of oral literature are absorbed into an emerging written literature of greatly invigorated forms through metaphors, images and symbols, more complex plots and diversified structures of meaning. The importance of oral literature on written literature is captured by Org (1982) cited in Obiechina (ibid) who asserts that writing from the beginning did not reduce orality but in reality enhanced it. According to Org therefore it is no longer possible to undertake a meaningful

critical discourse of African literature, whether written in indigenous languages or European languages, without seriously adverting to its oral traditional constituents in the matrix of composite forms and contents. The oral tradition impulse is therefore strong in the modern African novel, which embodies these experiences especially because as stated earlier on the writers themselves are a product of both the oral tradition and literate education.

With regards to the relationship between oral and written literature with specific reference to Shona literature, Kahari (1990) makes the following observations. The first is that some titles of the novels are taken from folktales in their historical content and perspective. Also, songs which punctuate the traditional *ngano* are also found in almost all modern narratives and they bear testimony in their importance and roles not only as independent genres but in Shona society as a whole. The other observation is that the idea of giving characters allegorical and apt names by the novelists as an effort to advance the author's point of view is a carryover of the folktale. Lastly, Kahari notes that the exclusive use of the proverb in illuminating points of view also reinforces the significance of the impact of oral literature on written form. Muwati (2006) notes that the fictional writers identify with the Shona people's oral experiences and in *Mapenzi*, Mabasa use them in a manner which is empowering thereby maintaining the line between tradition and continuity. The oral art forms are part of the philosophy of the Shona people, their controlling consciousness which perfectly suits their lived experiences. As argued by Muwati (ibid), the use of oral art forms in *Mapenzi* elevates orature to a position where, as asserted by Chinweizu 1980: 2, "it is the incontestable reservoir of the values, sensibilities, aesthetics and achievements of traditional African thought and imagination...[While serving] as the ultimate foundation, guidepost and point of departure for a modern liberated African literature." The story tellers and other artists were significant to their communities and their art was not difficult to comprehend to members of

their communities. According to Chinweizu et al (1985:24), “the artist in the traditional milieu spoke for and to his community and the imagery; themes, symbolisms and forms he used were drawn from a communally accessible pool. In this way, he made sense.” It is this which should direct the vision of the writers as they ought to make sense to their communities.

One of the areas of continuity between oral and written literature is that of moralisation. It is without doubt moralisation was the paramount intention of oral literature and the writers of the various genres of Shona literature continued with the tradition. From the responses of both the critics of Shona literature and some of the authors of the literary works discussed in this research there was consensus that moralisation is one of the primary goals of Shona literature. The interviewed writers pointed out that one of their major intentions is moralisation. One of them said, “The quest for moralisation should continue to be the guiding principle for African writers.” They are men and women of culture who ensure that people live within the set guidelines of their cultural framework. It is for this reason that deviance has always been part of the thematic framework of Shona literature including the oral genres especially the folktale. It is within the aspect of moralisation in which issues to do with deviance are addressed. However, in the case of written literature the context in which they moralise is now different from that of oral literature as colonialism and neo-colonialism have brought new challenges that were not in existence in the relatively stable traditional society. In the folk tales for example, all those who acted against the expectations of society (the deviant) are condemned and blamed for their character. When colonialism came, it brought with it the problem of cultural dislocation among the Africans and the writers saw it fit to moralise so that the Africans regain their identity. Unfortunately for most of the writers they moralised out of context as they did not analyse the behaviour of the people in relation to the

impact of colonialism. It is for this reason that Chiwome (1996) observes that morality in most of the colonial novels evidently taking place at a superficial level and at the end of the day not exposing their underlying reality. As observed by Chiwome (ibid), many artists view the novel as a moralising weapon. Gambahaya and Muwati (2007) observe that the weakness found in some literary works by writers in indigenous languages is that of perpetuating the story telling tradition of locating morality in the context of culture conflict thereby promoting an apparently decontextualised perspective. They argue that this has to be avoided and in the post-independence this may end up exonerating the neo-colonial system and in particular the political elite for being responsible, through misgovernance, for creating the environment which nurtures people into deviants. Therefore with regards to the aspect of deviance, the writers of the novels with the intention of moralising face the danger of dealing with superficial reality instead of exposing the underlying truth, the forces in operation that mould the characters' behaviour. Thus moralising should be done in a manner that is empowering as it should expose to the forces that are responsible for nurturing the characters into deviants. According to Chiwome (2002), failure to explain human behaviour in the appropriate social context is a major setback to most of the writers in indigenous languages especially those who wrote in the colonial period. This is not to imply that it is bad to moralise but this should be done in a manner that does not compromise the vision of the writer. The writers of the novels *Mapenzi*, *Ndafa Here?*, *Ndozvudza Aniko?* and *Makaitei?* as observed in this research have to a greater extent been able to moralise in the broader context of the "Zimbabwean Crisis" which makes their social vision convincing. They do not condone deviant behaviour but they are able to unravel the neo-colonial forces particularly those prevailing during the period of the crisis as being behind the characters' development of deviance. This is a positive development in Shona literature as they do not fall into the familiar trend of victim-blame as in the novels the problems that are characteristic of

colonial and early independence works. The problems in post-independence Zimbabwe during the period of the crisis are the ones shown to be causing deviance. There is political and economic instability and as a result people do whatever it takes for them to survive. In the novels, there is disillusionment as the goals of independence are shown to be far from being realised. It is these problems that compel people to migrate into the diaspora hoping to improve their lives. The movement into the diaspora further complicates the lives of the people both abroad and back home. All the deviant characters the prostitutes, homosexuals, criminals, violent spouses and other negligent family members have their sources of behaviour clearly explained in the context of the crisis in Zimbabwe and the effects of the diaspora. No one is shown to be inherently deviant although in some instances Mabasa in *Mapenzi* and *Ndafa Here?* displays some ambivalence as he blames the deviant characters, the prostitutes in particular, in their individual capacities. However, generally the way they moralise affects the development of Shona literature in a positive manner as it is done in the proper social context.

The only problem is with the writers of the short stories in *Totanga Patsva* who fail to explain male deviance beyond the men's individual selves. Throughout the stories, men are portrayed as being solely responsible for the transmission of the disease thereby exonerating women from having any role with regards to the spread of the disease. The problems affecting African women today cannot be fully understood without going into history and "...look back and see when the rain began to beat us." (Achebe, 1989:42) This is because colonialism is largely to blame for the position women find themselves in as it transformed the existing gender roles and modelled them along western patriarchy which treated women as subordinate to men. The post-independent African states have largely been unable to address the problems of gender to enable women to reclaim their status prior to colonialism.

Moralisation in these stories in *Totanga Patsva* militate against the development of Shona literature as the writers perpetuate the trend of blaming the villains without unraveling the forces behind men's development of such unethical behaviour. Forces in operation in both the colonial and neo-colonial periods are responsible for moulding men into becoming social renegades and also for their neurosis with regards to their treatment of women. In the folk tales, the usual trend is that there is polarisation of characters as the good are pitted against the bad. Towards the end of the story, those who do well are rewarded whilst those who do badly are punished. This was all tailored to make the intended morals clear to the community. Most of the writers adopted this feature of folk tales and the antagonists are condemned and punished but as indicated earlier on the context is now different from that of the pre-colonial period whose society was relatively stable with fewer challenges in life as compared to that in the colonial and post-independence eras. Whilst there is nothing wrong with moralisation, some of the writers do not realise that the context is now different from that of the folk tales. Even some post-independence writers unfortunately fall into the same trap and this has negatively impacted on the vision of the writers. However, oral literature cannot be blamed for being responsible for the poor vision of the writers there are many examples of African writers who have utilised it in a manner that is empowering and has contributed immensely to the development of literature. In the case of Shona literature, such writers include Mabasa in his novels and Chirikure in his poetry.

5.9 Conclusion

This chapter, which is the mainstay of the research, has data presentation, analysis and discussion. The data gathering techniques used include interviews and questionnaires. Generally, the observations made were that deviance is non-normative behaviour and it is a relative concept as it differs with culture and period of that particular society. This approach

is in agreement with the sociologist Clinard (1974) cited in Haralambos and Holborn (2013) who states that deviance should be reserved for behaviour which is so much disapproved of that the community finds it impossible to tolerate. He also notes that deviance is relative as there is no absolute way of defining a deviant act. Definition can only come up in relation to a particular standard and no standards are fixed or absolute. Therefore according to Clinard it is a relative concept as actions are only deviant with regards to the standards of a particular society at particular time in its history. The conceptualisation of deviance has been done in the context of the Shona people's cultural values since it can be sensibly defined within the parameters of particular cultures. Therefore the Shona people's cultural values become the basis of understanding the characters' deviance as it is them who are the subjects of discussion in the fictional works under exegesis. The *unhu* (humanness) is what determine someone's being and it is the absence of those celebrated values that constitutes deviance. p'Bitek's definition of culture as the philosophy as lived and celebrated by the people is crucial in understanding deviance. Also, the social context was crucial as from a sociological point of view, human behaviour has to be understood in the broad context of what transpires in society. For the reasons noted above, this research fully acknowledges that deviance can be understood differently by different people at different times. It is for this reason therefore that the research explains deviance in the context of Shona people's existential philosophy and what transpires politically, economically and socially in post-independence Zimbabwe which is the setting of the fictional works. With regards to the fictional works discussed in this research, the context of the "Zimbabwe Crisis" is of immense significance in the discussion of deviance because it is the forces which are operational in the period that should be the basis of its understanding human behaviour. What is happening in the society should provide guidance to the writer and it is also that which the writer should capture without any bias. As argued by Priestly quoted in Achebe (1989:59), it is the "characters in society [that]

make the novel... [with] society itself becoming more important to the serious novelist and indeed turns out to be the major character itself, perhaps the chief character.” This is also captured by wa Thiongò (1972: xv) who argues that “literature does not develop in a vacuum, but rather it is given impetus, shape, direction and area of concern by social, political and economic forces in a particular area.” Therefore, the period of the Zimbabwe crisis is the context for the evaluation of how the authors handle issues related to deviance. Muchemwa (2010) notes that part of the “Zimbabwean Crisis” include the ill-conceived urban project of urban cleansing (Operation Murambatsvina), a collapse of industry with loss of jobs, collapse of agriculture and the financial sector, government repression of dissenting voices and the HIV/AIDS pandemic. He goes on to argue that although the ESAP of the 1990s caused a brain drain that built upon other previous trajectories of flight on part of the Ndebele speakers (after the 1980s massacres) and white settlers (before and after independence), the political violence that followed the emergence of the MDC in late 1999 signalled the onset of a new era marked by intense repression, extraordinarily rapid economic contraction and displacement on an unprecedented scale. This is the context in which Zimbabweans began to see themselves as and started to organise as diasporans, exiles and in other ways. The crisis had debilitating repercussions on the human condition and people became deviants in their struggle to survive. Except for the short stories in *Totanga Patsva* and the ambivalence handling of prostitution in *Mapenzi and Ndafa Here?*, the other literary works did quite well in as far as their treatment of deviance is concerned. They manage to pursue the issue in the context of moralisation and in the process unearthing the underlying factors responsible for the development of deviance among the characters. This is what ideal literature should do “... giv[ing] us more and sharper insights into the moving spirit of an era than all the... documents treating the same moments in a society’s development. The novel in particular, especially in its critical realist tradition, is important in that respect.” (wa Thiongò 1981:72).

Their (authors) vision is convincing as they avoid the victim blame trend which has compromised the vision of most of the writers in indigenous languages in Zimbabwe. The problem of blaming individual characters is that which make the vision of the writers of the short stories in *Totanga Patsva* problematic.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

6.0 Introduction

This chapter is the conclusion and therefore summarises the research findings in the discussion. The research is an exegesis of how authors of the selected novels and short stories namely *Mapenzi* (1999), *Ndozwiudza Aniko?* (1995), *Ndafa Here?* (1998), *Makaitei?* (1998) and *Totanga Patsva* (2003) portray deviance in the context of moralisation in Shona literature. The forms of deviant behaviour discussed include prostitution, homosexuality, crime, violence and negligence of duty in families. All the literary works are set during the period of crisis bedevilling the nation of Zimbabwe. The intensity of the country's political, economic and social problems was unprecedented in its history. Particular attention has been paid to what are given as the causes of deviant behaviour and in some instances the possible solutions prescribed by the writers. Above all, the research also focused on the images given to deviant characters and their implications in understanding deviant behaviour. Apart from presenting the research findings, the chapter also makes recommendations on possible areas of research involving Shona literature.

6.1 Research Findings

It has been observed in this research that the concept of deviance is indeed a contested and a convoluted discursive site. To understand and define deviance, it is crucial that it is located within the purviews of particular cultural frameworks and historical periods. In other words, deviance is fluid and delicate hence the endeavour in this research to critique it within the confines of the Shona cultural worldview and the post-independence period starting from the late 1990s which is now commonly referred to as the Zimbabwe Crisis. The forms of deviant behaviour discussed in this research include prostitution, homosexuality, crime and violence in families and negligence of duty by family members. As discussed earlier, the crisis is a culmination of the other crises that had occurred from the early periods after the attainment of independence in 1980 as well as the developments in the political landscape especially in 1999 which saw the emergence of the MDC which gave a real possibility of defeat to the ruling ZANU PF party. The political crisis which followed as the political parties battled for space was accompanied by a deteriorating economy and these developments had far reaching consequences on the livelihoods of the nationals of Zimbabwe. Disputed elections, political violence, the controversial fast-track land reform programme, collapsing economy, colossal migration of people into the diaspora, deteriorating infrastructure and almost non-functional social services such as health and education are some of the issues that constituted the crisis. It has been observed in this research that the forces in existence during the crisis are responsible for “manufacturing” the peoples` deviant behaviour. The brutal environment brutalised the people`s spirits and in the process eroding their humanity as they battled to survive. It is for this reason that it has been argued in the research that there is no need to ostracise people who are deviant because it is not by volition that one goes “against the tide” but there are various insinuating circumstances in the environment in which they live that compel them to do so. The people became incapacitated to fulfil obligations or perform duties as sanctioned by society thus becoming deviants. There is need to portray deviants in a

manner which does not prejudice their being and appreciation of their predicament. They should not be portrayed as being a threat to humanity, a trend existing in some literary works. People should be made to re-think and re-consider their attitudes towards deviants and this is achievable through giving them positive images. The writers should strive for passion for the truth by giving the reality of what obtains in life and with reference to this research unearthing the real causes of deviance will go a long way in appreciating the deviants' position. At the end of the day, the readers should have a picture of deviants as victims of the neo-colonial environment and post-independence disillusionment.

On prostitution, the general observation has been that the writers gave a convincing explanation as to why the female characters who are prostitutes engage in such type of behaviour. What comes out from the novels discussed is the fact that prostitution is a survival strategy by the women as all those who engage in it have closed options to live meaningfully. Some of the women who end up being prostitutes include college students, street kids, divorced women and those unemployed. They all find themselves in such a situation because of the economic difficulties. For the college students in *Mapenzi*, the financial support they receive from the government as well as that from their families is inadequate to meet their demands and they become "part time prostitutes" to supplement the meagre resources. In *Ndozviudza Aniko?*, the predicament of prostitutes is mainly illustrated by the life of Fiona who became a street kid after being orphaned and comes face to face with reality of brutal life in the streets of the city. Eventually she succumbs to the pressure and "works" as a prostitute at a brothel. The other two prostitutes Magireta and an unnamed teacher become prostitutes because of the economic situation. The former fails to get employment whilst the latter's salary is inadequate to enable her to survive. As for prostitution in *Ndafa Here?* again it emerged that the women who engaged it do so as an economic necessity. One of them lives

in the diaspora but is battling for survival and saw prostitution as the only way out. The other one is a single mother of two and is unemployed and it is through prostitution that she fulfils her needs. Therefore what is clear and uniform in the three novels is that women become prostitutes because they would have failed to access other options which would have enabled them to live normally. It also came out that it is only through empowering women through accessing education as well as creating employment opportunities will go a long way in narrowing their chances of being victims of poverty.

However, it has been observed that there is ambivalence in the way Mabasa handles issues related to prostitution in his two novels *Mapenzi* and *Ndafa Here?* This is a result of the fact that there are incidents in which he castigates the prostitutes as social renegades who bring misery to society by being transmitters of diseases such as HIV/AIDS. In the end, this waters down his vision as he had earlier on shown that they are victims of the economic circumstances.

In as far as the portrayal of criminals is concerned, it emerged that it is the unequal structures in society which propel people into becoming criminals. Those in *Ndozviudza Aniko?* include workers both in the civil service and private sector who blame the poor working conditions in particular paltry salaries which were of no match to the astronomical levels of inflation. Criminal activities also involve those whose life has been already miserable such as street kids and the unemployed who turn to crime as a means of earning a living. This is the same situation we find with the prostitutes in as reflected before. In both situations, no one is portrayed as an inherent deviant but becomes so because of the various circumstances. In Mabasa`s two novels *Mapenzi* and *Ndafa Here?*, the characters who opt to become criminals are both school graduates with Ordinary Level qualifications. The one in *Mapenzi* actually turns down the job offered to him because of the paltry salaries whilst the other one in *Ndafa*

Here? fails to secure employment. In all the three novels, the vision of the writers is convincing as they correctly contextualise crime to the economic conditions of the crisis. The criminals are not ostracised and their behaviour is explained in terms of the environment in which they live.

As for violence in families and negligence of duty by family members, it has been noted that that violence is mainly a result of the stressful conditions that people find themselves in because of the complications of life during the crisis. The environment is not conducive for them to fulfil their responsibilities as expected in families and it is out of frustration that they become violent and abuse other family members in the process. The mass movement of the people into the diaspora, which in itself is a consequence of the political and economic problems affecting the nation of Zimbabwe, further complicates the position of the people as the diaspora, in spite of the elitist connotations it has among the people, is portrayed as being more challenging than life at home. One of the dangers associated with the diaspora is that of being displaced from one's cultural platforms. People are shown to be relating in ways that are in conflict with what is prescribed in their cultural worldview. Existence of incestuous relationships between in-laws, violent spouses, children abusing their parents and siblings failing to support each other all emanate from the debilitating effects of the crisis. The collapsing economy is shown to have effects on the morality of the people and families disintegrate as they are reeling from the effects of the economy. On the portrayal of negligent spouses, the problem has been noted in the short stories in *Totanga Patsva* in which men are given stereotyped images as they are shown to be the sole vector in as far as the spread of HIV/AIDS is concerned. The impression one gets is that men are responsible for the problems women face in their lives. It seems the main problem with writers is that they fail to go beyond narrow moralisation and find themselves blaming individuals for being anti-social.

Another problem noted is that these female writers are “writing back” against the male writers who constitute the bulk of the percentage of the writers in Shona literature. In most of the works by the male writers, women have been given negative images as the problems faced by men and society at large are shown to be caused by women. When women found space to express their sentiments regarding issues concerning their lives using literature, they found themselves being guided by vengeance and in the process distorting the images of men. Institutions like Zimbabwe Women Writers were created to provide such platforms. Also, it came out that the other problem is that of theoretical grounding of the writers. It emerged that the women are influenced by feminism which categorises men as impediments to women’s progress and therefore should be fought or even eliminated. The situation could have been different and more realistic if the writers had been informed by African Womanism, a theory grounded in the history and culture of the African people. Under the tenets of Africana Womanism, the problems confronting African women can be clearly explained and understood in the context of history thereby allowing people to trace the origins of problems. The theory does not put the blame for the problems women face on men. Instead, the colonial and neo-colonial forces are shown to be responsible for most of the problems affecting women. It is therefore erroneous to blame men in their individual capacities or African cultural customs as the writers in *Totanga Patsva* do. By blaming men and African customs, the end result is the exoneration of colonial and neo-colonial forces responsible for men’s deviant behaviour.

Another observation is the existence of an intrinsic relationship between oral and written literature in Africa. For any criticism of African literature to be convincing, it has emerged that it is necessary to examine the oral-literacy link. Oral literature continues to be influential on written literature and one such aspect that has continued across the two genres is that of

moralisation. Deviance has been shown to be a recurrent theme in oral literature particularly the folktale and the treatment of deviant characters has been that of condemning them as social renegades who deserve to be punished. Themes on deviance are also prevalent in the colonial and post- independence period literary works and some of the writers have perpetuated the trend in oral literature of ostracising the deviants. This unfortunately has resulted in decontextualised criticism of deviants as the environment is now different from the traditional society and it is no longer prudent to ostracise the deviants as before. The end result is that deviant behaviour is not adequately accounted for hence the victim-blame syndrome. However, it is important to emphasise the point that moralisation is significant as long as it is done within the broad context of the social milieu. The development of Shona literature, basing on the handling of deviance in the novels discussed in this research, is positive as it makes the difference with the previous works in that it is done in the appropriate context. Most of the writers in post-independence especially after the 1990s have shifted from the victim-blame syndrome to focus on real issues that affect the human condition during the period of the crisis reflecting on its deleterious consequences. To confirm their relevance, these writers also address pertinent political, social and economic issues of the day. The other observation has been that if deviance is correctly contextualised then moralisation is done in a manner which is empowering. None of the writers is shown to be condoning deviance and it is the economic environment that nurtures people to be deviant. Save for the ambivalent portrayal of prostitution in *Mapenzi* and *Ndafa Here?* as well as the problematic images of men in *Totanga Patsva*, the writers have managed to give a convincing picture of deviant characters. There is no character whose behaviour is not explained in terms of the broad social context thereby giving a satisfactory account of people's behaviour. Their vision is directed by what is obtaining in society and human behaviour is explained in terms of this environment. No behaviour is shown to be inherently deviant as the writers trace the origins

of each character's behaviour to particular issues and events in their lives. The novels discussed in this research are paradigmatic in nature because in their narratives they expose the basic reality in a fundamental manner. There is indictment of the neo-colonial political, social and economic structures that reduce people into deviants. To the people, the key issue is about surviving and they do not bother themselves with issues pertaining to cultural integrity.

6.2 Recommendations

In light of the research findings, the researcher makes the following recommendations:

1. Since there has been an increasing number of exilic writing in Shona literature largely as a response to the movement of the people during the crisis, there is possibility for the critics of Shona literature across the genres to analyse how the writers of the literary works handle issues related to migration.
2. Closely related to the above recommendation, the other possibility is to make research on how the Zimbabwean crisis is presented in all the genres of Shona literature.
3. Other researchers like sociologists, political scientists and historians focusing on deviance and the Zimbabwean crisis can also make reference to Shona literature which has been shown through this research that it can be a reliable source of information taking into cognisance the way deviance and the crisis has been presented in most of the literary works.
4. The other recommendation is for the critics of Shona literature to adopt an eclectic approach when analysing literature as it is by nature multidisciplinary. This also helps significantly in having a broader picture of issues under discussion by not relying on a

particular theoretical inclination.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Questionnaire for Critics of African Literature

I am Wellington Wasosa, a doctoral student with UNISA and my thesis is entitled **Deviance and Moralisation as Portrayed in Post-independence Shona Fiction**. This research seeks to unravel the manner in which the writers of the selected fictional works handle aspects relating to characters' deviance in the context of post-independence Zimbabwe. It also looks on how the interface of orality and literacy particularly how the aspect of moralisation affects the vision and development of Shona literature. I therefore kindly request you to contribute to this research by providing your responses that will be solely used for purposes of this research. The contributions will undoubtedly immensely contribute in the construction of arguments in the research.

1. What is your understanding of deviance?



2. Has deviance been a subject in Shona literature?

3. If yes give example of the works it has been a subject.

4. Are you satisfied with the manner in which issues that have to do with deviance are handled in Shona literary works especially those focusing on post-independence? Explain your answer

This image shows a blank sheet of white paper with horizontal ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and extend across the width of the page. There are no margins, text, or other markings on the paper.

5. Comment on the interface of orality and literacy in African literature focusing particularly on Shona literature

6. Do you think modern writers should continue to draw inspiration from the oral storytellers?

7. If so, explain

8. What is your view on the opinion that in an attempt to moralise, most Shona writers end up weakening their social vision?

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9. In your view, is Shona literature developing qualitatively especially with regards to post-independence works?

Appendix B: Questionnaire for Sociologists and Social Workers

I am Wellington Wasosa, a doctoral student with UNISA and my thesis is entitled **Deviance and Moralisation as Portrayed in Post-independence Shona Fiction**. This research seeks to unravel the manner in which the writers of the selected fictional works handle aspects relating to characters' deviance in the context of post-independence Zimbabwe. It also looks on how the interface of orality and literacy particularly how the aspect of moralisation affects the vision and development of Shona literature. I therefore kindly request you to contribute to this research by providing your responses that will be solely used for purposes of this research. The contributions will undoubtedly immensely contribute in the construction of arguments in the research.

1. What is your understanding of deviance?

2. Can you give examples of what may be considered deviant behaviour especially from an African/ Shona cultural point of view?

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3. Explain why the behaviours you have listed above are considered deviant

This image shows a single sheet of white paper with horizontal blue or grey ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There are approximately 20 lines visible. The paper has a slight shadow on its right side, suggesting it's resting on a surface.

4. What do you think are the causes of deviance in society?

[illegible]

5. What do you think should be done in order to curb deviance in society especially with reference to post-independence Zimbabwe?

6. Do you think that deviance has any positive functions in society?

Appendix C: Interview guide for writers

1. When and where were you born?
2. What gave inspiration to be a writer?
3. What can you say is your major goal when you write your literary works?
4. Is deviance part of the issues you address in your works?
5. How do explain your characters` development of deviant behaviour?
6. What can be done to solve problems that relate to deviance?
7. Do you still view oral literature as still having influence on the manner in which you write?
Explain
8. Are there any advantages and /or disadvantages of the influence oral literature has on its written counterpart?
9. Would you consider moralisation to be one of your major goals when you write?
10. What is your view on the opinion that in an attempt to moralise, writers may weaken their social vision?
11. Which factors condition and direct your vision as a writer?

12. Do you think Shona literature is developing in the right direction? Explain

Appendix D: Interview Guide for African Literary Critics

1. What are your areas of interest as far as research and teaching of African literature are concerned?
2. What do you think “good” African literature should be all about?
3. Is there anything positive written literature should gain from oral literature?
4. What is your assessment on the development of Shona literature in post-independence Zimbabwe?
5. Has deviance been part of thematic issues in Shona literature?
6. Are you satisfied with the manner in which issues related to deviance are handled in Shona literature?
7. In your opinion, what factors should shape and condition the writing and vision of African writers?

Appendix E: Interview Guide for Sociologists and Social Workers

1. What really constitute deviant behaviour?
2. Would you consider crime, prostitution, homosexuality, violence within families and negligence of duty by family members as deviance?
3. What are other examples of deviant behaviour?
4. What are the most common types of deviant behaviour prevalent in your society today?
5. What causes one to become deviant? Make special reference to our current situation in Zimbabwe.
6. Are deviants to blame for their character?
7. What can be done to resolve problems associated with deviance?

Appendix F: Interview Guide for Prostitutes

1. What is your name and where do you live?

2. Do you live with any other relatives of yours?
3. What do you do to learn a living?
4. For how long have you been into the practice of prostitution?
5. What is your attitude towards the practice?
6. What led you into engaging into the practice?
7. Were there no options available other than prostitution?
8. Are you not afraid of diseases such as HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted infections?
9. Given opportunities, would you quit prostitution?
10. What do you think should be done to reduce the problem of prostitution?