

Institutionalized “Culture Development” and the Development of Local Communities in Zimbabwe

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Abstract

In the Zimbabwean context, two cultures are regarded as dominant; Shona and Ndebele. The domination of these two cultures led to the pushing of the other cultures to the periphery. The domination and or the systematic blocking of cultures from accessing their basic rights is referred to as culture marginalisation; however, culture is regarded as fundamental to any society’s development. Thus, this study used Afrocentricity as the theoretical framework in a bid to unravel the role non-governmental organisations play in cultural development for sustainable economic development. The study engaged both qualitative and quantitative research methodologies. These methods enabled the researchers to establish that ‘culture development’ is a foreign phenomenon in the Shangani community that has achieved little concerning culture improvement. It has also been established that ‘culture development’ cannot be promoted by institutions that are donor funded since donor funds sponsor projects to achieve certain goals. ‘Culture development’ has hence been established to be the manipulation of culture by the elite for various reasons. The study also established that ‘culture development’ in the Shangani community is failing to bring about sustainable community development as per Gaza’s vision thus this study concludes that ‘culture development’ is culture manipulation for various reasons that include political as well as economic.

Keywords: Shangani, Institutionalization of Culture, Culture development, Sustainable development, Popular culture, Politics, Ideology.

DOI: 10.7176/JCSD/70-03

Publication date: June 30th 2023

1. Introduction

There are a lot of cultural-related contestations in the Zimbabwean plateau since the country is a host to more than sixteen indigenous cultures. Makondo (2018) posits that according to the report by the Zimbabwe Surveyor General the Shona make up 73% of the Zimbabwean population and 20% are Ndebele speaking and from the remaining 7%, 3% of them speak the indigenous minority languages, while the other 4% is made up of other languages. The above postulation entails that Shona is dominant in Zimbabwe. Cultural marginalisation which emanates from cultural domination has thus triggered many responses from various developmental stakeholders including Non-Governmental Organisations. These aim at ‘developing’ the marginalised cultures so that they foster sustainable development. This study is thus an exploration of the institutionalization of ‘culture development’ by an NGO Gaza Trust that aims at ‘developing’ marginalized cultures to make them capable of transmitting sustainable development aspects. The founding members of the Gaza Trust are graduates from Great Zimbabwe University who were also members of the Local Languages Promotion during their days at the University. The Local Languages Promotion Club was an association which was advocating for the teaching of local languages in schools and universities. They had their breakthrough when Shangani and Venda were introduced in both schools and universities. After graduating they later formed Gaza Trust as a way of trying to fight against marginalisation. The study thus investigates the contribution made by Gaza Trust in fostering culture and sustainable community development through ‘culture developing’ activities in the Shangani community. It also attempts to find out if the Trust was formed for “culture development or culture promotion”. The study explores the impact of institutionalized “culture development” on the improvement of the Zimbabwean marginalized communities’ social, economic and environmental aspects. It investigates Gaza Trust’s cultural activities which are aimed at nurturing development in the Shangani community to find out their contribution to sustainable development and cultural improvement. Many development scholars among them Nurse (2011) Glennie (2008) and Chigudu (2002) argue that culture is pivotal in sustainable societal development. The UN (2011) also stress the critical role culture should play in the achievement of sustainable development goals. Given the importance of culture in development this study grapples with the issues around the impact of institutionally ‘developed culture’ in development. The study unravels the effect of institutionalized ‘culture development’ on the culture being ‘developed’ and the type of development that emerge out of such an endeavour. The interface between institutionalised ‘culture development’ and the social, economic and environmental development of the Shangani community is the core aspect of this study. The institutionalisation of culture at this juncture thus refers to a scenario whereby a community’s culture is put

under the curatorship of an organisation. The organisation might be governmental or non-governmental; however, the basic function would be to control the behaviour of a certain community. Gaza Trust, an NGO which was established with the goal to "...develop the cultures of the marginalised communities for social, economic and environmental development" (Gaza Trust, 2011) is rendered an institution in this study. Maphosa (2010) has it that an institution is any social structure overriding the behaviour of a certain group of people. On the other hand, Hiraoka, Ichihara, Zhu, Ma and Shimada (2011) have it that, 'culture development' refers to the "unified processes involving increases sociocultural complexity". Although the definition by Hiraoka et al (ibid) may be rendered Eurocentric by Afrocentric scholars this argument may lead to a conclusion that; institutionalised 'culture development' is when institutional activities override community efforts in making cultures more 'complex'. Given the fact that 'culture development' and development are contested areas this study concludes by the unravelling of the impact of Gaza Trust 'culture development' activities on Shangani sustainable community development.

Zimbabwe is a multicultural society. In the Zimbabwean constitution, there are 16 recognized languages. WaThiongo (1986) argued that language is a carrier of culture. His argument alludes to the fact that each language may be deemed to be carrying a certain culture with it. The postulation might lead to the argument that the number of languages in Zimbabwe is equivalent to the number of cultures. One may thus talk about sixteen or more cultures in Zimbabwe. Maphosa (2010) grouped these into two categories; the marginalized and the dominant cultures. Ndhlovu (2009) highlighted the fact that Shona and Ndebele are the dominant languages in Zimbabwe. In principle, the dominance of Shona and Ndebele languages may also entail that their cultures are dominant. Concerning Zimbabwe, there is a hierarchical organisation of language use in public spaces (Mpofu and Salawu 2018). The aspect of cultural dominance or superiority in Zimbabwe can be explained by the advent of colonialism (Matsilele 2012). When the colonial masters colonized the local Zimbabweans they constructed cultural stratifications. White people were regarded as being at the top of the cultural hierarchy. Cultures that came into contact with the whites earlier were regarded as better and closer to the English 'civilized' cultures (Cole, 2000). The colonial type of governance led to the marginalisation of certain cultures in Zimbabwe and including Shangani, Venda and Shangwe. Maphosa (2010) argues that these cultures are getting extinct since they were pushed to the periphery due to colonial and to a lesser extent post-colonial policies. In the Zimbabwean community, there are numerous efforts to rejuvenate these cultures. This in most cases is done to foster development since culture is critical in any development initiative (UN, 2011). There are various stakeholders in the fight against culture marginalization and or culture under development. The government as well as the NGOs contributes towards culture promotion. On the part of the government, various activities that include schools' cultural heritage museum projects are being carried out. The establishment of universities such as Great Zimbabwe and institutions like the National Arts Council is also an attempt at rejuvenating languages and cultures (Magwa, 2008). In the NGO category, there are institutions like Culture Fund Zimbabwe which was established in 2000 (Chimhundu, 2000). In the Chiredzi district, there are also many cultural institutions which include the Gaza Trust which was established to "...develop the cultures of the marginalised communities for social, economic and environmental development" (Gaza Facebook page, 2013). The abrupt rise of these cultural institutions in Zimbabwe calls for scrutiny. This study consequently focuses on Gaza trust cultural activities which are aimed at developing the Shangani community economically, socially and environmentally. The domain of this study is therefore to establish the contribution of 'culture developing' activities to the Shangani culture and community development.

Many scholars discuss the contribution of culture to development among them Hamann (2008) and the UN (2011) however in the Zimbabwean context many cultures are regarded as marginalised (Maphosa, 2010). This to some critics hinders these cultures from being agents of sustainable development. The marginalised status of these cultures led to various efforts by various institutions towards the promotion and or 'development' of these cultures. Cultural 'development' is done to integrate the positive aspects of culture into sustainable community development (Gaza, 2013). The Shangani culture in Chiredzi is one such culture which is being 'developed'. Gaza Trust an NGO was formed in 2011 to "...develop the cultures of the marginalised communities for social, economic and environmental development" (Gaza Trust, 2011). This study hence seeks to unravel the interface between 'culture development programs and the development of local cultures and communities. The subject that is dealt with in this study, therefore, becomes the clearance of the obscurity around the contribution of Gaza's institutionalised 'culture development activities to the development of the marginalised Shangani culture and the local community.

2. Theoretical framework: Afrocentricity

This section will first and foremost elucidate on Afrocentricity. Although this theory is a culmination of many Afrocentric ideas by scholars like Achebe (1988), Mazrui (2002) and Chinweizu (1985) this work is going to be guided by the chief crafter Asante's (1998) ideas. Asante (1998:2), describes Afrocentricity as

African genius and African values created, recreated, reconstructed and derived from our history and

experiences in our best interests...it is an uncovering of one's true self, it is the pinpointing of one's centre, and it is the clarity and focus through which black people must see the world to escalate.

Thus, Afrocentricity puts the African people at the centre of any African endeavour. Accordingly, Afrocentricity has been singled out as the main theory due to its positioning of the African people and cultures. This study is about the African people and the 'development' of African culture to foster development in Africa hence the need to choose a theory that is African in nature. Afrocentricity enables this study to scrutinise the Gaza Trust activities from an African perspective. Achebe (1988) and P'Bitek (1986) highlighted the need for African works to be judged from an African perspective. The pith then becomes the quest to use an African point of view to unravel the pros and cons of a culture-developing institution.

3. Population and data collection techniques

Table 1.1 Total number of participants

Place	Female	Male	Total
Chitanga	2	4	6
Zaka	1	2	3
Mahenye	4	3	7
Magudu	2	2	4
Chikombedzi	8	13	21
Gezani	5	4	9
University students and Lectures	3	2	5
Grand Total	25	30	55

The sample was selected from the total population using the random systematic sampling method. The above sample categories call for different research instruments. The main instrument used in this study was the interview. Du Plooy (2009:196) asserts that "an interview is a transitory relationship between an interviewer and an interviewee". Thus, the researchers travelled to different places to establish such type of relationships with the participants. This was done to get empirical data about 'culture development' and its impact on sustainable community development. Brain and Clarke (2006:90) also observe that an interview is "a method of data collection, information or opinion gathering that specifically involves asking a series of questions." Participants were asked questions that were designed by the researchers to gather relevant data. The researchers observed the behaviour of the interviewees and carried out interviews to come up with a credible body of knowledge on 'culture development' for sustainable development. Direct conversations with interviewees were employed in this study. The rationale behind the use of conversations was to generate authentic knowledge of the activities of Gaza and the ideas behind their establishment. There are many interview techniques, and these include structured, semi-structured, standardized, face-to-face and unstructured (Greer, 2008). For this study, the researchers conducted semi-structured interviews to gather empirical data from different perspectives. Face-to-face interviews were mainly used with the people from the elderly group category. This is because most of them cannot read or write. Semi-structured interviews were also used here since they allow participants to air their views freely in a guided direction. This is because a semi-structured interview "represents characteristics of both a structured questionnaire and characteristics of an in-depth interview" (Rossouw, 2003:148). Du Plooy (2009) further notes that the in-depth part of the interview allows the interviewer to understand how an interviewee constructs meanings while the structured part allows the interviewer to ask close-ended questions. The unstructured part of the interview allowed the interviewer to create an atmosphere of trust and encouraged the Shangani people to talk about particular sensitive subjects broadly. This method enabled the researchers to gather relevant data. People were guided on what to answer while at the same time, they were free to raise other issues where necessary. Brain and Clarke (2006) has it that an interview involves asking a series of questions in a bid to gather people's opinion. Thus the structured interview technique helped the researchers to ask all the questions that helped unravel the impact of Gaza Trust's activities that are aimed at 'developing' the Shangani culture for social, economic and environmental development.

Questionnaires were also employed since they are economical and ensure anonymity (McMillan and Schumacher, 2001). The fact that some information is regarded as private in the Shangani community questionnaires enabled participants to air their views anonymously. Giuseppe and Dennis (2020:252) define the questionnaire as "a set of carefully designed questions given in the same form to a group of people to collect data about some topic(s) in which the researchers were interested." The researchers as a result designed relevant questions and administered them. Questionnaires were used mainly on respondents from the under forty group, the academic category and the Gaza trust category. This is mainly because these groups have educated participants who can read and write. Thus, questions were designed and sent to different participants for comments; these reached many people at once saving time and money.

Participatory observations were made to obtain certain information that may not be given easily by

respondents during interviews and or questionnaires. Douglas (2000) has it that “participatory observation aims to gain a close and personal familiarity with a given collection of individuals and their practices through an intense participation with them in their cultural environment”. The researchers participated as part of the crowd during traditional galas. Yet again they are part of the Chiredzi community thus whenever Gaza Trust carried out its community involvement workshops the researchers were among the voluntary participants. This helped the researchers gather as much data as possible for the study. The data was analysed using thematic analysis procedures. These helped the researchers to come up with different themes which were developed into various propositions. Document analysis was also employed. The researchers analysed the literature with relevant information.

4. Institutionalization of ‘Culture development’ explained

This section first and foremost defines an institution to lay a proper foundation for the understanding of institutionalised ‘culture development’. An institution is defined by Simpsons (2010) as an organization that governs human behaviour. Giuseppe and Dennis (2020) also postulate that institutions range from social, and political to economic institutions. These vary in the way that they influence human behaviour. However, both Simpsons (2010) and Giuseppe and Dennis (2020) concur that these institutions govern human behaviour. In a social setting, Giuseppe and Dennis (ibid) cited institutions like marriages, schools and families as examples. These socialize human beings into behaving in a certain manner. In the political arena institutions might include political parties. Companies in the corporate world are also under the umbrella term institutions because they govern the way human beings behave at given times. One participant, a university lecturer argues that an institution is any arrangement aimed at controlling people socially, economically or politically. In this study, Gaza Trust is categorised as an institution because it aims at ‘developing’ the cultures of marginalized communities. Gaza has a motto which reads ‘Culture developed is culture better’ (Gaza, 2011). The above motto shows that Gaza is an institution that aims at influencing the behaviour of the Shangani people. By ‘developing’ the Shangani culture Gaza Trust in a way will be trying to socialise the Shangani people in a manner that is deemed appropriate by the Trust. The ‘development’ of a people’s culture as alluded to by Gaza Trust is referred to as the institutionalization of culture in this study.

There are various definitions of institutionalized ‘culture development’, Coyne and Leesen (2009) have it that institutionalized ‘culture development’ is when the total way of life of a people is controlled by an organization formulated for the sole purpose of directing human behaviour towards a certain direction. Comaraff (2010) agree with Coyne and Leesen (2009) on the idea that there is control of the total way of life of a people in the institutionalization of culture concept. A participant who is a commercial traditional dancer from Mahenye puts across the idea that the Trust instructs them on the types of dances they must perform and the degree of cultural fusions that are acceptable to the organisation. The above postulations indicated that institutionalised ‘culture development’ is an artificial activity carried out in most cases by an organization that uses the top-bottom approach in the implementation of aspects. The ideas came from those at the top of the institutional hierarchy and those at the bottom are there just to accept what would have been recommended to them.

The definitions by the above scholars point to the fact that institutionalized ‘culture development’ is the controlling of a people’s way of life. This study adopts Oswell’s (2008) definition of the institutionalization of ‘culture development’. Oswell argues that institutionalized ‘culture development’ refers to a scenario where cultural aspects are made more advanced by an organization formulated through outside influence in a bid to influence the way people live, act and think. This definition is adopted because it recognises the fact that the influence is from outside forces. Institutions in most cases are not formulated by the community but they are imposed on communities by the state which becomes the outside force at this juncture. During the study one responded who is a master’s student of African Languages and Culture at Midlands State University in response to what he views as the institutionalization of cultural ‘development’ has this to say:

I think institutionalization of culture is a scenario whereby culture is put under the mentorship of a certain institution that determines the direction in which it grows. That same institution determines the parameters under which ‘culture development’ is judged.

This response can thus be said to be in line with what the Simpsons (2010) postulates about institutions. He argues that they aim at governing human behaviour. The above point alludes to the fact that institutionalization of ‘culture development’ involves an organization and a culture that is managed by the organization. Johnston (2004) posits that the relationship between the culture and the institution becomes that of a subject and an object the culture being the object in this relationship. The response by the master student also points to the fact that the institution will then craft the definition of culture and ‘culture development’. The people in the society and their culture become the objects that are acted upon by the institution. Gaza became the subject and the Shangani people and their culture become objects. Another participant who is a student at MSU argues that “we cannot talk about the institutionalization of culture in Zimbabwe and not talk about the influence of the state in such aspects”. This argument again proves the fact that institutionalisation of cultural development is done by

organisations that have the blessing of the state. In other words, the state is part and parcel of institutionalised 'culture development'. The respondent gave the education system and its cultural huts project at schools as a good example of the institutionalisation of culture by the state. This study as a result unravels the outcome of the deliberate control of culture to achieve certain goals. The question that this study answers is; what will come out of culture if it is twisted into 'improving' in a certain direction by an organization that is foreign to the community?

5. 'Culture development': The definition

'Culture development' is a relatively new phenomenon in the African context. As a result, there is limited literature that deals with this subject. This section gives the definitions from these few sources that discuss 'culture development' are given. The views of participant academics are also given in this section.

Hiraoka et al (2011) postulate that 'culture development' is the increase in cultural sophistication as cultures came into contact with each other and or when a culture increases cumulatively due to internal forces. The definition entails that a culture is regarded as developed if it becomes sophisticated. The complexity of a culture according to this definition becomes development. The way and form of complexity are not very important. The problem now becomes the measurement used to gauge sophistication. The internal forces Hiraoka et al (ibid) refer to our capitalistic inventions. The traditional African communities were communal; however, that does not mean that they were not developed. This view of 'culture development' as sophistication becomes problematic. Gaza Trust's main goal is to "...develop the cultures of the marginalised communities for social, economic and environmental development" (Gaza Trust 2011). The definition of culture development by Hiraoka et al (2011) points to the fact that 'culture development' is a process of making cultures complicated. The aim of the Gaza Trust may thus be viewed as trying to make the Shangani culture more complex. The problem now becomes how that culture is made complex and the indices used to measure that complexity. This definition is thus not Afro-compatible as it refers to certain cultures as 'developed' and those that need 'development' are regarded as lower-class cultures. Seventy-five-year participant from Chitanga puts across the fact that the activities which were being fostered by the trust were not traditional to them. This clearly shows that making culture by an institution is problematic in Africa.

There is another group of scholars who attempt at elaborating on 'culture development' and these are the intercultural diffusionists. Smith (2001) has it that inter-cultural diffusion theory holds that there is a centre of culture and all the other cultures are affected by that super culture which is at the centre. The centre invents the culture that remains strong at this central point. The only way those at the periphery could be at par with the centre is through cultural improvement. Smith (ibid) argues that 'culture development' is defined as the mutation of peripheral cultures into something similar to the powerful 'developed culture', according to this theory the centre is the source of the 'developed culture'. These views however are opposed to those of the participants from the academics category. All five participants argued that if anything is to be categorized as 'culture development' it must not involve one culture assimilating the characteristics of the other. To them without the idea of comparison cultures can still be considered developed. However; as cultures come into contact, they borrow and share certain aspects. The resultant culture according to these participants cannot be regarded as 'developed' in the sense that there was an interface between a super culture and a lower-status culture. When cultures interface there is a symbiotic exchange. Both cultures benefit thus no one culture can be said to be 'developing' in the direction of the other. This clearly shows how contested the term 'culture development' is. Thus, the postulation by Smith (2001) is not compatible with African cultural studies. Afrocentricity views African cultures as adequate in all respects. One respondent argued that from an African perspective, the influence of outside cultures such as the European cultures causes cultural erosion, not development. To her 'culture development' is the preservation of the traditional culture in modern societies. The notion that 'culture development' involves the diffusion of cultures from a developed centre to the underdeveloped periphery is therefore problematic.

Rosenberg (1957) in his work on 'culture development' postulates that according to the Darwinian theory of social cultural stratification cultures are 'developing' from a lower state which in most cases is referred to as barbaric to a higher civilized state. These cultures follow certain stages in 'culture development'. He argued that certain cultures have reached the peak of 'culture development' and all the other cultures must follow certain linear stages towards 'culture development'. This view on 'culture development' might mean that there are certain higher-class cultures and others that are regarded as lower-class cultures. When asked about the same question on what he regards as 'culture development' one participant who is a Shona teacher in the Chiredzi district and a graduate of Great Zimbabwe University argues that; genuine cultural improvement can only be realized when cultures are affected by internal forces. To this participant, culture development is the internal positive changing of cultural aspects in a direction that is fostered by the community and the general public must agree. The above contradictions allude to the fact that the definition of 'culture development' is greatly affected by the philosophies of society from where one comes from. There is a difference between the definitions by

scholars that are not from Africa and those from Africa and this study establishes the rationale behind these differences. Most of the above definitions of ‘culture development’ were thus dismissed because they contradicted the views that emerged from the local Zimbabweans. Thus, this work established that ‘culture development’ is a contested term. The study interrogates the activities of Gaza with the full knowledge of the fact that this phenomenon is foreign to the African worldview. If the phenomenon is to be acceptable in the African context it must at best be fostered by internal forces, not by outside influences.

6. Development: The definition

‘Culture development’ by Gaza Trust is done in a bid to foster community development (Gaza, 2011) thus it becomes very vital at this juncture to give an exposition of the aspect, of sustainable community development to lay a foundation for this work. Carmody and Taylor (2010), postulate that development is a versatile subject with different and sometimes contentious definitions. This section thus seeks to bring to the fore, most of those perspectives and at the end of the day find out the type and form of sustainable development being fostered by Gaza Trust. Thomsett (2009) postulates that; the term development was initially used more frequently in the 20th century. The concept however has been in the West for centuries. Modernization, westernization and industrialization are other terms used to refer to development (Thomsett, 2009). The origins of the concept remain obscure, however, most scholars agree that development is closely bound up with the evolution of capitalism and the demise of feudalism (Thomsett, *ibid*). Phillips (2004) argues that the concept of development came into being soon after world war two in 1945 when people started building infrastructures after the destruction of the war. The Allied forces/countries wanted to rebuild the world by making favourable trade conditions. This period saw the formation of organizations like the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in a bid to foster infrastructural development in the world. In that respect, the concept of development is closely linked to infrastructural construction projects by monetary institutions.

The definition of development, however, changed from time to time and setting to setting, as a result, Ress (2001) argued that the changing of definitions is quite sensible because the changing circumstances and sensibilities call for different definitions. There has also been the emergency of sustainable development in recent years which has a bearing on environmental aspects. It entails the use of resources by the present generation without destroying the environment for future generations. Development then serves as a mirror of the varying economic and social capabilities, precedence and preference because of those varying definitions. The above points demonstrate that the concept of development in general and sustainable development, in particular, cannot be approached using a one size fits all approach. There are varying definitions and circumstances and thus the need to scrutinize the type of development that Gaza Trust is trying to induce in the Chiredzi District through its ‘culture developing’ activities against the circumstances on the ground.

7. Conclusions: The effect of institutionalised ‘Culture development’ on culture

In the debate on the terms ‘culture development’ and development above, this study found out that these terms are very difficult to define in the African context due to their Eurocentric origin. The definitions by Hiraoka, Ichihara, Zhu, Ma and Shimada (2011), Smith (2001) and Rosenberg (1957) on ‘culture development’ in the section above were all refuted by the academics as they regard them as Eurocentric. The findings have also pointed to the fact that from an Afrocentric point of view ‘culture development’ is a Western way of continuing with neo-colonialism. One interviewee who is a traditional chief’s aide from Save pointed to the fact that some of the Gaza Trust funds that fund the galas come from politicians. Pisirai (2009) in his study on land reform also found out that the State used the *pungwes* as of the liberation struggle in pushing forward their agenda. This study as a result found out that there is a link between cultural galas and the liberation struggle *pungwes* and thus it has also been concluded from these findings that ‘culture development’ is ideological. The findings pointed out that the ruling elite might be manipulating culture to make the masses docile thereby becoming easy to rule. It has also been concluded that institutionalized ‘culture development’ is a form of culture manipulation for political gains. The findings show that institutionalised ‘culture development’ is closely linked to the ruling elite and the production of mass culture. These elites through the institution of Gaza Trust override the behaviour of the Shangani people. They override the people’s behaviour about the making of political decisions. Due to the activities of Gaza Trust Zimbabwe, the ruling party ZANU PF has managed to maintain its dominance in the Chiredzi South constituency. The findings pointed to the fact that the ruling elite who sponsor the Trust tailor make culture initiatives that support their dominance. One interviewee indicated that the local community is not allowed to decide on sustainable development activities on their own since certain individuals imposed themselves as culture developers in the Shangani community. Gaza Trust was established by a few educated elites who are graduates from a local university and thus the main ideas fostered are those of the founders who at this juncture are referred to as the elites. These findings concur with Althusser (1976)’s view that culture is part of the ideological state apparatus. The ruling elite in the form of Gaza Trust founders has therefore established an institution that is not part of the State but fosters the ideas of the state and the ruling party.

Gaza Trust's funding calls for scrutiny, the findings have highlighted the fact that some of Gaza Trust's funds come from politicians and cooperate companies and hence the conclusion that it's a culture manipulation project for political and economic gains. It has also been established that the project is to a larger extent donor funded. Mpofo (2012) in his study on NGOs noted the fact that donor projects are implemented without proper consultation with the local communities. The founders of the organisation thus determine the operation and the end product of Gaza's activities. 'Culture development' is thus categorised as, an initiative by the elite together with the donors for their gains not for the betterment of the community. Ninety per cent of the general responses by some local Shangani people highlighted that only the top members of the Gaza Trust and the organisers of these cultural galas benefit from them. It is also vital at this point to highlight that 'culture development' in the Shangani community is not achieving any form of sustainable development as intended by the activities but it is to a certain extent culture developing gimmicks by the society's elites. The urge to fuse the Shangani culture with modern cultures for developmental purposes has resulted in this study concluding that 'culture development' administered in the Zimbabwean Shangani community must be an awakening of the locals to the reality that their culture is regarded as incapable of fostering sustainable development without being altered to be compatible to the new world realities.

On Gaza's 'culture developing' activities the study concludes that Gaza Trust is carrying out the activities that they say to be 'culture developing' activities, though it is very difficult to link them to sustainable development. In this study, it has been found that six per cent of the total sample interviewed is not aware of the impact of Gaza's 'culture developing' activities. They take them as entertainment. The findings thus highlighted the fact that the activities by Gaza Trust might be at best labelled culture promotion activities not 'culture developing' for sustainable development activities. Although Gaza Trust activities are said to have promoted the learning and teaching of Shangani in Schools, colleges and universities as well as the writing of the Shangani books by thirty per cent of the sample, these activities may be said to only encourage the people not to shun their traditional cultures in favour of the more dominant cultures in the region among them the Shona culture. Hence using the term 'cultural development for development' for the activities may be a mismatch. Some activities such as the dances and initiation programmes that the Trust label 'culture developing' activities were practised long ago and also found in other communities like the Kalanga community in Matabeleland and they are regarded as culture promotion activities not 'culture developing'. The study thus concludes that from the findings on the type of activities that are labelled as 'culture developing,' it is best to regard them as culture-promoting activities because the 'culture developing' aspects are improbable.

This study has also explored the institutionalization of the 'culture development' aspect in a bid to establish its contribution to culture and sustainable community development. The parameters under which economic, social and environmental developments are measured were given above. The researchers through ethnographic research and participants' responses established that there are no such forms of development as fostered by the Trust in the Shangani community. The definition of development by Todaro and Smith (2009) posits that the economic increase must reach 5% or more to be regarded as development, nevertheless, it has been established that the developmental contribution by Gaza is insignificant in this community. The researchers observed that the Shangani community's development is mainly fostered by economic gains resulting from cross-border activities. The number of people who benefit financially from the trust's activities is too little to contribute meaningfully to the GDP of the Shangani community yet again the form of development fostered by Gaza is not cumulative. Taking all this into consideration this study concludes that 'culture development' in the Shangani community is a mere cultural promotion

Gaza Trust also claims to be developing the people environmentally; however, observations and interviews with the local people have shown that one hundred per cent of the sample indicated no knowledge of any activity by Gaza that is environmentally/ sustainable in nature. This has enabled this study to conclude that the 'culture development' initiative by Gaza Trust is not developing the Shangani community environmentally. The study concludes that the inclusion of environmental aspects is because, in modern society, one cannot talk about development and leave out sustainable development. The findings prove that Gaza Trust members are the greatest beneficiaries of the initiative, not the Shangani people.

The researchers as a result recommend that institutionalised 'culture development' projects be implemented with great care in Zimbabwe. That is mainly because the findings in this study have highlighted that 'culture development' is not a domain of institutions. The findings have pointed to the fact that it is a natural communal process which is fostered by a community's experiences. There is hence no need to view certain cultures as warranting development. The moment a culture is produced for certain reasons it becomes mass culture.

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