

A CRITICAL EXPLORATION OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN SELECTED LITERARY

WORKS: A CASE OF TAGWIRA'S *THE UNCERTAINTY OF HOPE* AND OWUOR'S

*DUST*

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**ABSTRACT**

Even though there are several studies in the field of literature that looked at violence, most researches did not necessarily concern with political violence which cast across any human being. Political and electoral violence are pernicious vices that continue to afflict most African states, with Kenya and Zimbabwe included. It is a truism that these two are mother and baby, with political violence being the umbrella under which electoral violence shoots itself. The motivation behind these two categories of violence is eminently political; which is the unfair acquisition of political advantage by one individual or group or individuals over another. This study critically explored how Tagwira and Owour present political violence in their fictional writing which is *The uncertainty of hope* and *Dust*. The study critically analysed the causes, manifestation and effects of political violence as reflected in the novels written in the post independent states. This study presented an argument of what happened during pre colonial and post colonial era in Zimbabwe and Kenya as presented in the literary works. This study further analysed how different sections of the society are depicted as victims and perpetrators of political violence. The purpose of this study was to explore and analyse if the political violence which The African states fought against the colonial rule completely disappeared after the gain of independence which is the backbone of this study. This study was a qualitative desktop research. This study through the analysis of the literary fictional work revealed that political violence that existed before independence never disappeared as the post political leaders inherited the ruling system of the pre political leaders.. The research is informed by trauma and post-colonial theories and both theories are employed in the interpretation of data. Post-colonial theory which shows the end of colonialism and what happens after colonialism. Therefore trauma theory describes how the victims got traumatised due to political violence in the post independent states. This study adds to the body of literature as it informs on why political violence is still prevalent in some of the African independent African states and some preventative measures that could be taken

just to minimise political violence. Based on the findings of this study, it can be concluded that political violence is still prevalent in some of the post independent states as presented in the literary texts analysed due to political leaders who still want to hold on to power, discrimination among ethnic groups (favouring their own tribes) and dissatisfaction on government's ruling system. Finally the exploitation and abuse of human rights of citizen as revealed in the analysis of the literary texts for this study.

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## **DEDICATION**

This thesis is dedicated to:

My late mother: Manga Ellinah Mwanga, who taught me how to work very hard in life in order to manage and be responsible for myself;

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**DECLARATION**

I, Christine Mwendalubi Liswaniso, hereby declare that this thesis is my own original work; has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university, and that the sources I have used have been fully acknowledged by complete references. No part of this thesis may be reproduced, stored in any retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by means (e.g. electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise) without the prior permission of the author, or The University of Namibia in that case.

This thesis is submitted in fulfilment of the Master of Arts in English Studies Degree in the Department of Language and literature.

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Date

<b>ABSTRACT</b>	<b>I</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGMENT</b>	<b>III</b>
<b>DEDICATION</b>	<b>IV</b>
<b>DECLARATION</b>	<b>V</b>
<b>CHAPTER ONE</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.2 ORIENTATION OF THE STUDY	1
1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM	2
1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY	5
1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY	5
1.6 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY	5
1.8 .ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY	6
<b>CHAPTER 2</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS</b>	<b>7</b>
2.1. INTRODUCTION	7
2.2 DEFINING VIOLENCE AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE	8
2. 3. LITERATURE REVIEW RELATED TO THE SELECTED NOVELS	9
2. 3.1 ZANU (PF) manifesto	18
2.3.2. Civil dissent and violence in the 1990s (Operation Murambatsvina)	21
2.3.3 Gukurahundi	24
2.3.4. Political labelling and electoral violence in Zimbabwe	25
2.3.5 History of political violence in Nairobi (Mau Mau rebellion).	27
2.3.6. Politics and religion (Colonialism and religion)	33
2.3.7 Violence in Kenyan literature	34
3. Theoretical framework	36
4. CONCLUSIONS	39
<b>CHAPTER 3</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>METHODOLOGY</b>	<b>40</b>
3.1 INTRODUCTION	40
3.2. RESEARCH DESIGN	40
3.3. POPULATION	42
3.4. SAMPLE	42
3.5. PROCEDURE	44
3.6. DATA ANALYSIS	44
3.7. RESEARCH ETHICS	45
3.8. CONCLUSION	46

<b>CHAPTER 4</b>	<b>47</b>
<b>PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS ON THE EXPLORATION OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN <i>THE UNCERTAINTY OF HOPE</i> AND <i>DUST</i></b>	<b>47</b>
4.1 INTRODUCTION	47
4.2. A BRIEF SYNOPSIS OF THE NOVEL <i>THE UNCERTAINTY OF HOPE</i>	49
4.3 EXPLORATION OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN POST-COLONIAL ZIMBABWE AS PORTRAYED IN <i>THE UNCERTAINTY OF HOPE</i>	51
4.3.1 The portrayal of Gari Moyo’s family as victims of political violence through Operation Murambatsvina	51
4.3.2. The effects of political violence on the market vendors’ source of income through Operation Murambatsvina	55
4.3.2.1. Repression, harassment and the destruction of the Mbare citizens’ property	55
4.3.2.2. Intimidation, fears and poverty in the community of Mbare	57
4.3.2.3. The effect of political violence on key characters	59
4.4. A BRIEF SYNOPSIS OF THE NOVEL <i>DUST</i>	71
4.5. EXPLORATION OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN POST-COLONIAL KENYA AS PORTRAYED IN <i>DUST</i>	72
4.5.1. Post-election violence of 2007 and Odidi Oganda’s fate	72
4.5.2. Effects of political violence on Odidi Oganda’s family	74
4.6. TOM MBOYA AS A POLITICAL KEY FIGURE IN PRE AND POST INDEPENDENT KENYA	75
4.6. 1. Detention and assassinations of key characters	75
4.7. THE LANGUAGE OF SILENCE: TORTURE, FEAR AND INTIMIDATION	78
4.8. THE EFFECTS OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE THROUGH COLONIALISM AND RELIGION	80
4.9 SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS	82
<b>CHAPTER 5</b>	<b>84</b>
<b>CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH</b>	<b>84</b>
5.1 INTRODUCTION	84
5.2 CONCLUSIONS	85
5.3. SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH	87
5.4 CONCLUSION	87
<b>REFERENCES</b>	<b>88</b>

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the study by providing the orientation of the study, the statement of the problem, objectives of the study, significance of the study, limitations of the study, definition of terms used in the study; and organisation of the study.

#### 1.2 Orientation of the study

This study critically explored how literature presents political violence in the selected novels, namely Valerie Tagwira's *The Uncertainty of Hope* and *Dust* by Yvonne Adhiambo Owuor. It critically analysed the causes, manifestation and effects of political violence as reflected in the novels mentioned above. It further analysed how different sections of the society are depicted as victims and perpetrators of political violence. Political and electoral violence are pernicious vices that continue to afflict most African states, with Kenya and Zimbabwe included. It is a truism that these two are mother and baby, with political violence being the umbrella under which electoral violence from. The motivation behind these two categories of violence is eminently political; which is the unfair acquisition of political advantage by one individual or group or individuals over another (Hansen, 2009).

Literature is a mirror of society, and the two novels aptly capture imagined characters. The following, are some of the characters in *Dust* who were killed or went missing, and serve as examples of how political violence in a postcolonial state is imaginatively captured: Odidi, Pio, Hugh, Tom, Kungu and Mbae. These fictitious characters were killed by the police when they were reacting to political mass demonstrations (Hansen, 2009). Theophilus, Kingsley and

Aondowase (2013) have studied political violence and observe that political violence and post-election demonstrations have been part of human history, and it is manifest in the history of all humanity for ages. It is an endemic feature of most of the developing world's political systems, particularly in developing countries like Kenya and Zimbabwe where politics has become an essential feature of the people's means of achieving economic wealth (Tamuno, as cited in Theophilus, Kingsley & Aondowase, 2013). These were some of the issues about political violence that this study explored and analysed as presented in the novels *Dust* and *The uncertainty of hope*.

### **1.3 Statement of the problem**

The aim of this study was to critically explore how literary texts portray the element of political violence in the two novels set in post-independent Africa. The researcher has explored and analysed most forms of political violence as portrayed in the selected novels, that is, *The Uncertainty of Hope* by Tagwira and *Dust* by Owour.

Numerous studies have been carried out by different scholars on the different forms of violence and such scholars include Uukunde (2012) Masule and Kangira (2014), Makando (2014), Davis (2013) and Lalla (2010). These writers focused on the various forms of violence based on gender, race, class and age (children). However, they excluded political violence which essentially indiscriminately cuts across all these categories.

According to Sachikonye (2011, p. 41), political violence in Zimbabwe can be traced back to colonial state structures and practices which ruthlessly suppressed moderate African nationalism in the 1950s. Sachinkonye (2011) further explained that, inter-party violence and terror reached its peak between 2000 and 2008 when the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) increased use of the state agencies, war veterans and militia

during election campaigns. During this period, hundreds of Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) supporters were killed and some remain missing to date. Leaders in the pre-independence era employed sjamboks, dogs, guns, poison as well as torture against nationalist activists (as shown in the character Odidi in *Dust* and Hondo in *The Uncertainty of Hope*) and liberation fighters. Surprisingly after independence most of these weapons of torture were inherited by the new state.

Sachikonye(2011) is corroborated by Fanon (1963, p. 46)who argues that, during colonial rule there were forces which opened up new outlets and engendered new aims for the violence of colonised people., These forces were mainly comprised of political parties and the intellectual elite. During the colonial period, people were called to fight against oppression, the rights of people to self-determination, rights of man to freedom from hunger and human dignity; and after national liberation they are called upon to fight against poverty, illiteracy and underdevelopment. However, as the novelists present, the challenges in post-independent African states go beyond these issues as politically motivated violence has become a perpetual evil.

The colonised man found his freedom through violence as witnessed in *Dust* and the new political leader has sadly failed to let go of this violence. Furthermore, Fanon (1963, p. 63) asserts that, the violence which was used during the struggle for freedom does not really disappear after the jubilant ceremonies for independence. Fanon's line of thinking is also collaborated by Ngugi waThiong'o s fictional writing, which shows the effects of colonialism and how fictional characters such as, Githua, Kahika, Harry and Gikonyo, suffered and struggled for the liberation for independence yet the same African leaders who fought for independence are the ones ill-treating their fellow black Africans (Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 2008, p. 3). Another critical thinker and writer, Freire in his book entitles "Pedagogy of the Oppressed" introduced the concept of Humanisation and dehumanisation. Freire (1993, p. 25-

28) asserts that, the concept of humanisation leads to the recognition of dehumanisation, although both humanization and dehumanization are real alternatives, people prefer to be recognised as humans which is mostly negated by the oppressors. Humanisation is prevented by injustice, exploitation, oppression and the violence of the oppressors; and affirmed by the yearning of the oppressed for freedom and justice and by their struggle to recover their lost humanity. Freire's line of thinking relates to the argument of this study that after independence leaders who were formally socialised under oppressive ideologies become new oppressors when they gained power. Freire (1993, p.28) clearly explains that the situation of the oppressed do not see the "new man" as a person to be born from the resolution of this contradiction as oppression gives way to liberation. Because of their identification with oppressors, the new leaders inherited the oppressive ideology because during the initial stage of their struggle the oppressed find the oppressors as their role model of manhood. Therefore the oppression situation remains unchanged up to date.

It is due to this historical background of political violence from the colonial era to the post independent era which occupied the minds of fictional writers; such that there was a need for carrying out a study focusing on political violence since fictional writers have been fascinated with this phenomenon. This study therefore critically analysed what fictional writers present as reasons for the prevalence of the on-going political violence in most independent states that fought against violent colonial rule. It also critically analysed the causes of political violence and what the writers suggest through fiction to be the possible preventative measures to prevent or minimise political violence in the African states where political violence is prevalent. It is in light of the above that the researcher has found it worthwhile to undertake this study.

#### **1.4 Objectives of the study**

The objectives of this study were to:

- explore the representation of political violence in the selected literary works, and
- Analyse the major causes and effects of political violence as presented in the selected literary works.

#### **1.5 Significance of the study**

This study contributes to the body of knowledge on African literature, and it might provide valuable information for scholars, researchers, policymakers, and academics; as well as those who might be interested in the subject of literary presentation of political violence in Africa, particularly in the two countries (Zimbabwe and Kenya) as presented in the selected novels. This study is a useful source of information for students and policymakers who are interested in further research on issues pertaining to political violence and its causes and effects in fiction.

#### **1.6 Limitations of the study**

This study was limited to the exploration of one theme, which is political violence in the two literary texts. However, this was done so as to allow for an in-depth analysis of the phenomenon of political violence as opposed to when a general approach to all forms of violence is taken. Another limitation was that whilst there were a lot of novels on the subject, the researcher considered only two novels, one from Kenyan literature and one from Zimbabwean literature as they present the same theme of political violence. Another limitation was that only novels written in English were explored. This was done so as to

allow research manageability; thus, some fictional works not written in English were not explored as they fall out of the scope of this study.

### **1.8 .Organisation of the study**

This study is divided into five chapters. Chapter 1 is the introduction, and it gives an overview of the focus of this study. This chapter presents the orientation of study, the statement of the problem, the research objectives, the significance and limitation of the study. The operational definitions were presented in a nutshell which was expanded in more detail in Chapter 2.

Chapter 2 covers the literature review and the two theoretical frameworks which are: trauma and post-colonial theories.

Chapter 3 focuses on the methodology. This includes aspects such as the research approach and design, the population and sample, the procedure, data analysis, as well as ethical considerations.

Chapter 4 presents the findings from the two analysed texts namely *The Uncertainty of Hope* by Valerie Tagwira and *Dust* by Yvonne Adhiambo Owuor.

Finally, Chapter 5 presents the conclusions regarding the research project.

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

#### 2.1. Introduction

This chapter presents a review of related literature and discusses the theoretical frameworks used to elucidate the concerns of this study-“Critical exploration of political violence in selected literary works: A case of Valerie Tagwira’s *The Uncertainty of Hope* and Yvonne Adhiambo Owuor’s *Dust*”. The review provides a historical background to the two countries which form the setting of the two novels. Through the presentation of the historical perspectives on violence in the literature, the chapter aims to provide insights into the background of political violence as the two novels, to a great extent, are based on the fictionalisation of history.

The literature review is divided into subtopics with an introductory part, and definitions of violence and political violence. The subtopics discussed were: Zimbabwe and Kenya’s political parties’ manifestos, Murambatsvina operation, Gukurahundi and the Matabeleland uprising, politics and religion (colonialism and religion), the Mau Mau uprising, pre and post-independence ruling systems of Kenya and Zimbabwe, theoretical frameworks, as well as reasons as to why these theoretical frameworks best suit this research.

Discussion of these subtopics is critical in this study as they facilitated in the development and elucidation of the themes presented in *The Uncertainty of Hope* and *Dust*. Some sources consulted for this literature review though not current, are pertinent to this study hence reference to Fanon (1963) and Babatunde (2006).

The aim of this literature review was to show what was already known concerning political violence, and to show the information gaps in the existing body of knowledge in literature, and how this study sought to fill up the gap. The literature review has also presented the theoretical frameworks that were used for this case study.

## **2.2 Defining violence and political violence**

Breiding, Basil, Smith, Black and Mahendra,(2015, p. 2) state that, “violence can be physical in nature which is defined as the intentional use of physical force with the potential of causing death, disability, injury, or harm”,and this is evidenced in the two novels selected for this study.

Makando (2014, p. 138) defines violence as an “extreme form of aggression such as assault, rape and murder.” This is corroborated by Hansen (2009, p. 1)’s study in which he explored political violence in Kenya and stated that, “political violence typically takes the forms of murder, assault, sexual abuse such as rape, forced pregnancy and sterilisation.” This study has explored this further as demonstrated in *Dust* through the characters Hugh Bolton and Akai-ma and also in *The Uncertainty of Hope* through Hondo and Mawaya.

The study found gaps in the representation of different types of violence, thus it has firstly corroborated what is evident in the literature and then expanded the frontiers of knowledge by incorporating political violence as represented in the selected fiction. Mlambo, (2014, p. 57)’s review of the novel *Dust* notes that, post 2007 political elections in Kenya as represented in the selected novel resulted in torture in cells and gun fights in streets which resulted in a loss of lives.

Hansen (2009) carried a study on political violence in Kenya focusing on the causes, response and a framework for discussions of the preventative action. Hansen (2009) notes that repression of the political opposition was common practice which included excessive use of force, torture, indefinite detention and other measures. Therefore, this study explored violence, mainly focusing on the literary representation of political violence which is perpetrated against the society as noted by Babatunde (2006).

Dumouchel (2012, p. 117) also argues that, “political violence is violence that is committed in the context of a political conflict or that can be related either through its cause or through its motive to political issues.”

Moreover, Gurr (as cited in Theophilus, Kingsley & Aondowase, 2013, p. 262) states that, “political violence refers to all collective attacks within a political community against the political regime, its actors including political groups as well as its incumbents or its policies.” From the foregoing definition of violence, it can be discerned that political violence is committed among the human societies and it is politically motivated due to frustrations among community members.

### **2. 3. Literature review related to the selected novels**

There is little research done on literary works related to political violence in relation to the selected novels. However, some scholars have analysed the novel *The Uncertainty of Hope*. Mlambo, Kangira and Smit (2015) critically reflected on the survival skills against all odds in *The Uncertainty of Hope* while Musanga (2014) explored intra-urban mobilities and the depiction of the Zimbabwean fictional city as reflected in the novel without necessarily focussing on political violence.

Musanga (2015, p. 3) analysed violence exerted on the poor urban dwellers in the Zimbabwean city as reflected by Tagwira (2006) through the government's merciless operation Murambatsvina, that left many Zimbabweans homeless and displaced (for example, Hondo and Sheila, whose shacks were demolished in Harare).

Even though not explored from a literary perspective, Sachikonye (2011, p. 17) has analysed political violence through intra-party groups which developed a notorious reputation for intimidation and torture of opposition party supporters, and this led to most opposition party supporters' deaths, injuries and more displacements especially in the Mbare suburb in Harare. These actions emerge from politically motivated violence which is similar related to violence presented in the selected works of fiction.

Zimbabwe got its independence from Britain on 18<sup>th</sup> April 1980. There was joy and jubilation along the length and breadth of the country Sachikonye (2002, p. 13). Sachikonye, (2002) further stated that, every Zimbabwean was in high spirits, with high hopes expressed for Zimbabwean's political and economic future. According to Sachikonye (2002, p. 13), Zimbabwe was amongst the top four more industrialised countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. Sachikonye (2002) further explain that, the country possessed a more diversified economy than most countries, and it had a better human resource base than most. Furthermore, the country was an oasis of stability in a region that was mired in turmoil from Angola to Mozambique and in liberation struggles from Namibia to South Africa. What was witnessed just ten years down the line was indeed a very sad story to tell (Sachikonye2002). Sachikonye (2002, p. 13) further argues that, by the late 1990s, those early hopes had been dashed. Instead of expanding, the economy had begun to contract, from being a bread basket, the

country had become a basket case. This situation helped a lot in setting the stage for political violence that later characterised the country. Looking at it collectively, the title of the book, *The Uncertainty of Hope* fits very well in this scenario, as all the hopes the people had before independence were gone leaving an “uncertainty of hope” among Zimbabweans. Post-independence Zimbabwe first plunged into political violence during the Matabeleland uprising, which was coined Gukurahundi, that claimed up to 20,000 lives and left a profound legacy of bitterness in those provinces towards President Mugabe’s government till to today (Sachikonye, 2002, p. 16).

According to Sachikonye (2002, p. 17), the second phase of political violence began in 1998 towards even more increased authoritarianism buttressed by the increased clout of war veterans under Chenjerai Hunzvi. According to *The Independent Newspaper*, (1 March 2002) instead of concentrating on wooing the hearts and minds of voters, the bases quickly developed a notorious reputation for intimidation and torture of opposition supporters. The publication further states that between January and March 2002, newspapers were replete of increasing desperate measures such as setting up road-blocks to demand party membership cards as well as torturing those found reading independence newspapers such as the *Daily Newspaper*, *The Standard* and *The Independent*. These repressive tactics were largely condoned by the police. Sachikonye (2002, p. 17) states that, other forms of political violence came in the form of the militarisation of the electorate supervisory commission. Some scholars such as Dzimiri (2014) argue that other signs of the increasing militarisation of the contest were the appointment of military figures to head the electoral supervisory commission, and mostly war veterans and civil servants to constitute the bulk of the 22,000 election monitors (Dzimiri, Runhare, Dzimiri, & Mazorodze, 2014, p. 235)

Press freedom also suffered a big blow through bombings of newspaper offices, detention and deportation of critical journalists, (Sachikonye, 2002, p. 19). Sachikonye (2002, p. 41) further stated that, inter-party violence and terror reached their peak between 2000 and 2008 when ZANU-PF increasingly utilised state agencies, war veterans and militia during elections campaigns. Hundreds of opposition party activists and supporters mainly from MDC-T were killed in the 2000, 2002 and 2008 elections while thousands were injured and thousands more displaced. This is also collaborated by Coltart (2008, p. 234), who argues that increased reliance on force for political support saw the ZANU-PF led government being at war with the nationals who were viewed as opposition supporters. (Coltart, 2008, p. 1) further states that, the promulgation of repressive pieces of legislations prior to the March 2002 presidential elections legalised political violence by the ruling party. Public Order and Security Act (POSA) and Access to Information and the Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA) were all enacted in order to restrict the political space for the MDC (Coltart, 2008).

On the other hand the issue of MDC support members be killed is also shown by Kangira (2010), who analysed four speeches delivered by President Mugabe at a gravesite during the burial of four national heroes. According to Kangira (2010, p. 27), the heroes all died under mysterious circumstances and were all buried at the national heroes acre within the months of May and November 2001. According to the information above, it is indirectly reveals that, these ministers died under unclear circumstances either because they were against the ruling party's policies or because they were becoming more popular and posed a threat to those above them in the hierarchy. This review of political issues pertaining Zimbabwe is linked to what Tagwira portrays in her post-independence writing.

According to Hansen (2009, p. 2), "both the pre and post-independence systems of governance in Kenya used political violence in their pursuit for political objectives." Owuor,

in her novel *Dust*, corroborates Hansen's view by portraying fictitious characters that also employed political violence in post-independence Kenya to achieve their political objectives. It was evident from the 1952-1960 Mau-Mau rebellion and its repression when the Kenyan people politically stood and fought against the British rule (Hansen, 2009).

From Hansen (2009)'s line of thinking, there is a close link between political violence and colonialism. This can be supported in Hansen's statement that, besides its immediate connection with political violence, colonialism through divide and rule policies has brought about or escalated inter-community conflict, the effects of which may still have an importance for the prevalence of political violence (Hansen, 2009). This was revealed in the exploration of the two novels, noteworthy being that there is paucity of literary criticisms focussing on this area. This collaborates Ezinwnyi (2015)'s argument that, "several factors of socio-political decadence prevalent in many African nations are a direct consequence of the pervading impact of colonialism" (p. 521).

Kenya got its independence in 1963, and noteworthy is that Kenya's political history was marked by violent uprising and repression. This type of repression included excessive use of force, torture, indefinite detention amongst others. The police used a heavy hand to deal with demonstrations that followed. According to Hansen (2009, p. 4), "the election campaign of 2007, the election itself and their aftermath were characterised by threats, harassments and the occurrence of violent clashes between supporters for different parties, claiming the lives of around 1,500 Kenyans and displacing more than 300,000."

Hansen (2009, p. 3) further states that:

Political violence in Kenya, although often at its extremes during elections periods, also exists as an everyday phenomenon. Assassinations of political leaders, prominent

business men, civil society leaders and other figures that possessed significant influence on the allocation of the resources, or political developments in the country are far from exceptional.

Hansen's (2009) line of thinking is corroborated by Goldsworthy (2014) who analysed numerous themes regarding the development patterns of African and third-world countries which includes Tom Mboya's biography. The next section reveals what Goldsworthy states about Tom Mboya.

According to Goldsworthy (2014) Tom Mboya is one of the political key figure in both pre- and post- independent Kenya who played a vital role in the preparation and struggle for the liberation of Kenya. The novel *Dust* is a historical novel which traces violence to the historical period, and in the novel Tom Mboya features as a character and through him the roots of the present violence can be better understood. Therefore, the discussion of Tom Mboya is crucial for this study

According to Goldsworthy (2014):

Mboya was a western African leader who not only helped to shape the early years of independence for Kenya but also helped to promote the interest of that country and of Africa by becoming identified with a number of issues on a world state of meetings, lectures and publication (p. 497).

Furthermore, Tom Mboya was touted as a visionary leader in Kenya. He was a trade unionist and a respected Kenyan leader by the white colonialists. He did not approve of the armed Mau Mau struggle and was more aligned to political negotiation with the British. He was not an advocate of violence, a fact that made him to be respected and listened to by the colonialists. As a result of this, he was instrumental in championing the cause of independence through peaceful means; he had the opportunity to visit Britain and America

clearly underscoring the need for independence to minimize loss of life. Kenya National commission on Human Rights (2013, p 8).

Moreover, he organised with colonialists to train Kenyans locally and abroad for eventual takeover of leadership positions in Kenya. This move was approved, and as a result many young Kenyans including Obama Snr went abroad for studies in several colleges and Universities. On 20 October 1952, six prominent politicians including Jomo Kenyatta, popularly referred to as Kapenguria six, were captured and detained. Tom Mboya remained free and was the secretary of Kenya African Union (KAU) which in 1961 was renamed as Kenya African National Union (KANU), the party that won independence elections in 1963. After independence Mboya became the minister of economic planning and development. It is not clear why and who is responsible for Mboya's assassination. This is revealed in Owuor's literary representation of Mboya. It is alleged that it would have been organised by the Kenyattan Government or his tribesman especially Jaramogi Oginga Odinga as the two fought for tribal recognition and leadership. This corroborates with Babatunde's (2006) assertion that violence has been used by groups seeking power, holding on to power and those in the process of losing power. The rising prominence of Tom Mboya was a threat, real or imagined, to both the government and Kenyatta as well as to Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, his tribesman who claimed to be the unchallenged Luo leader. Weak and self-proclaimed leaders fear opposition, threats and loss of power and authority, thereby leading to assassination of actual and potential threats Kenya National commission on Human Rights (2013, p 8). Indeed as it happened to Tom Mboya as portrayed in Owuor's novel *Dust*

Malaquias (2007, p. 9) posits that, "given the legacies of colonial and post-colonial violence, the achievement of positive peace is by no means guaranteed- at least not in the foreseeable future". This means that, the independence and freedom which was fought for against the

colonial rule were not fully attained even in independent states. Malaquias (2007) point of view also collaborates with Fanon (1963) and Sachikonye (2011) who argue that the attainment of independence does not mean the ushering of freedom, peace and tranquillity; what changed is just the colour of the political leaders, but the ruling system remained the same. This is evident when Fanon (1963, p. 115) asserts that “Blacks, Arabs and Christians realise as they go along that it is sometimes happen that, you get Blacks who are whiter than the whites and that the fact of having the national flag and the hope for independence disappears.”

Babatunde (2006, p. 3) also points out that violence has been used by groups seeking power, holding on to power and those in the process of losing power and this is prevalent and shown in the analysis of the two selected novels. Babatunde (2006)’s line of thinking also corroborates with Kangira (2010)’s views who showed the same idea through his analysis of four speeches read by President Mugabe during the burial ceremony of four heroes who died consecutively in a short period of time. Moreover, Linfield (2010, p. 26) also portrayed political violence through images in which she showed sad images of the holocaust that looked at the Nazi destruction of the polish Jews.

Critics have not yet explored this aspect from a literary perspective; evidently therefore, there was a void in academic knowledge capturing this area and this study brought in new and fresh insights in contemporary literary criticism on post-independence political violence.

Tibaijuka’s(2005)report stated that:

On 19 May, with little or no warning, a military- style “clean-up” operation started in the Zimbabwe capital, Harare. It quickly developed into a deliberate nationwide campaign, destroying what the Government termed illegal vending sites, structures,

other informal business premises and homes, literally displacing hundreds of thousands of people. (p. 12)

This 'clean up' was also called Operation Murambatsvina by the Government which was later called Operation Restore Order, the army and police were mobilised to carry out the demolitions and evictions (Tibaijuka, 2005, p. 12).

The first official announcement of "Murambatsvina operation" came in a speech by the Chairperson of the Government- appointed Harare Commission, Ms Sekesai Makwavarara, (Tibaijuka, 2005, p. 257) Tibaijuka's report emphasised that the programme was put in place to enforce bylaws to stop all forms of illegal 'activity', and said it would be enforced "in conjunction with Zimbabwe Republican Police (ZRP)." Five days later, the City of Harare issued a notice, indicating to the people in the Greater Harare area that persons who had erected illegal structures should demolish them by 20 June 2005(Tibaijuka, 2005, p. 12).

According to Tibaijuka's report(2005) the implementation of the operation Murambatsvina was not done as proclaimed because it was just after few days of the announcement when the demolish team came and started demolishing the illegal structures. This was really unfairly done because people were not yet ready to move out of their homes. In addition, there was no evidence that an advance notice was given in other cities in Zimbabwe to which the operation was extended (Tibaijuka, 2005, p. 12).

Soon the operation started in Bulawayo and other cities, targeting first and foremost vendors' markets, flea markets, other informal market premises and "illegal" housing structures. Twenty thousand vendors countrywide were reported arrested within a week of the operation. The operation involved the destruction of flea markets and housing used for many years by informal traders and vendors. It also involved the bulldozing, smashing and burning of structures housing of many thousands of poor urban dwellers (Tibaijuka, 2005).

### **2. 3.1 ZANU (PF) manifesto**

The researcher found it necessary to include the 1980 ZANU- PF manifesto because in this manifesto is where the hopes of the Zimbabwean people were embedded and the good things that this nation stood for at birth can be found. The manifesto is anchored on 13 fundamental rights and freedoms shown below.

- a) Franchise rights
- b) Freedom of speech, assembly, association, procession, demonstration and strike action.
- c) Freedom of religion and role of the church.
- d) The right to work and the right to a fair wage
- e) Freedom from racial discrimination
- f) Freedom of person and his home
- g) The right to education
- h) The right of women to equality with men
- i) The right to life
- j) The right to rest and leisure
- k) Freedom from hunger
- l) Right to personal property
- m) The right of recourse to courts

People had hopes for what was promised for them as they stood together in fighting the colonial regime. The ZANU manifesto shows what people expected at independence, thus it became the root cause of political violence since what was promised in the manifesto of the ruling party was not fulfilled. When we look closely and analyse the above mentioned promises in the manifesto, for instance, f, I, k and l, these are the most violated human

rights as portrayed by fictional writers in Zimbabwe. For example: we see this in *The Uncertainty of Hope* where the writer demonstrates how poor urban dwellers of Mbare were left without homes through the government's operation Murambatsvina hence breaking one or two of the human rights indorsed in the ZANU manifesto.

After independence, there were tensions between the opposition party and the ruling party which led to political violence in an independent Zimbabwe. By then the political leaders of the opposition and ruling parties who were involved in the postcolonial Zimbabwe elections were Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe who tried by all means to intimidate Joshua Nkomo leading to party supporters protests. Then Joshua Nkomo fled the country. Even though Joshua Nkomo left to UK, there were still several accusations by the ZANU party under the leadership of Robert Mugabe against Nkomo and his supporters. The discussion below demonstrates Nkomo reaction to Mugabe's accusations and blamed Mugabe's ruling party for the perpetration of political violence. This is similar to how political violence is portrayed in *The Uncertainty of Hope*.

While in the UK, Nkomo decided to write a letter to Robert Mugabe and the ZANU party. Nkomo wrote a letter in attempt to express his feelings concerning these accusations and what was happening in Zimbabwe. This information gives a brief background of the causes of political violence in Zimbabwe.

According to Nkomo's (1984) letter to Robert Mugabe after independence; Nkomo expressed concerns about why Mugabe laid so many accusations against him. According to Nkomo (1984), Zimbabwe was in danger of complete disintegration to the detriment to its entire citizenry. Nkomo (1984) wrote the letter to Mugabe because he was convinced that Mugabe believed that Nkomo was the main contributory factors to this dangerous situation. However, Nkomo (1984) argue that, Mugabe stated publicly on several

occasions that Nkomo had plotted, and continued to plot to overthrow Mugabe and his government. Nkomo (1984) further argued that, Mugabe stated that Nkomo conspired and continued to conspire with South Africa to organise dissident groups for the purpose of destabilising Zimbabwe with the intention to overthrow Mugabe and his government. Nkomo believed that all series of accusation which started on 6 February 1982 against Nkomo and his party ZAPU were false and unfounded. Some of the accusation made against Nkomo were that, Nkomo ran to Britain because his life was in danger, assisted the former combatants to form occupation for those of them who were not incorporated into the Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) and the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) (Dzimiri, 2014, p. 235).

According to Nkomo (1984)'s letter to Mugabe, during the weeks that followed, the fifth Brigade in western Matabeleland was deployed up to the day Nkomo left Zimbabwe. Hundreds of brutally assaulted people from the so called curfew areas of Mbembesi, Nyati, Nkayi, Lupane and Tsholotsho came to Nkomo's home and related horrible accounts of brutal beatings, mass raping, maiming of hundreds of innocent unarmed, unresisting men, women and children as well as the looting and burning of villages and homes, hence the beginning of political violence perpetrated by the government against its people. According to Nkomo (1984)'s letter, Nkomo attempted to give an account of Mugabe's publicly expressed opinions and beliefs about Nkomo and his party ZAPU. Nkomo further tried to summarise the more important events that took place (For example, Gukurahundi and Operation Government Murambatsvina) as well as actions and non-actions during the course three years since Zimbabwe's independence and Mugabe's attempt to impose a one party state on the people of Zimbabwe.

Nkomo (1984) further argued that, Mugabe banned the companies that run various properties and projects, and accused the ZAPU party to have bought more than 25 farms which was not the case.

As a direct result of government terrorism, thousands of people have fled into neighbouring territory and many, many more have left their villages and gone into hiding. In keeping with the worst excesses of the Smith Era, there has been the burning of villages and other barbarities referred to in the report, as well as the widespread practice of extortion and attempts at compulsory indoctrination as stated in preceding paragraphs (Nkomo, 1984).

Nkomo (1984) further states that, the Zimbabwean government is not a government; it is the abuse of government, an abuse which transforms the rule of law into the law of rule. As such, it cannot lead to a free, united, peaceful and prosperous Zimbabwe. But to one in which oppression, division, violence and poverty will shadow all our hopes, and make a mockery of the freedom struggle in which so many heroes gave their lives.

The preceding discussion gives some evidence of how Zimbabwe was led into political violence immediately after independence perpetrated by the government and the political leaders fighting for powers. The discussion below demonstrates what other scholars such as Dzimiri (2014) posit as the reasons for the culture of violence in the post independent African states. Dzimiri explored and explained the reasons for the culture of violence and why it became prominent in post 2000 and other critical events such as the 1983-1987 Gukurahundi violence in the Matabeleland and the midlands province.

### **2.3.2. Civil dissent and violence in the 1990s (Operation Murambatsvina)**

According to Dzimiri, Runhare, Dzimiri and Mazorodze (2014) assert that, at first glance, it appeared that the Unity Accord of 1987 would herald a new era of peace and tranquility in

post-independence Zimbabwe, but soon the Zimbabwean government found itself at war with its own people (p. 231). According to Parsons (as cited in Dzimiriri et al, 2014., p. 231), that the end of the Cold-War in the 1990s meant adjusting to the imperatives of the new international economic and political order as demanded by the global financial institutions (the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB)).

Parsons (as cited in Dzimiriri, 2014) further states that, Zimbabwe adopted the prescribed liberal reforms such as Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes (ESAP) and privatisation. These measures had serious implications for the welfare of ordinary Zimbabweans. ESAP led to sudden shrinkage of public service jobs, decline in workers' income, high unemployment, introduction of unaffordable user fees in schools and hospitals. The situation at large affected urban dwellers and triggered popular dissent characterised by nationwide strikes, food riots, looting of shops and destruction of property from 1996 onwards Reeler (as cited in Dzimiriri, et al., 2014).

The 1996 public sector strike brought the country to a standstill as nurses, doctors, public service workers and teachers suspended their services. Confronted with such a situation, the Zimbabwean government responded by waging an undeclared war against its people. Running out of options on how to address popular demands, the police descended on people with brutal force, torturing, beating and detaining the protesters' leadership (Raftopoulos & Alexander 2006, p. 5).

The ZANU (PF) government assumed that its power was being challenged and as result it unleashed military violence on its citizens (Dzimiriri & Runhare, 2012). This is prevalent in *The Uncertainty of Hope*. The state security forces' brutal force on protesters soured relations

between the military and the civilian populace leading to the formation of the Movement for the Democratic Change (MDC) in 1999. The MDC quickly became a powerful opposition political party against the ruling ZANU-PF majority support from the disgruntled working class, as Zimbabweans sought a political alternative. Thus, from 1999 the ZANU (PF) government and the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) had not only disengaged, but urban dwellers and the MDC party were labelled as puppets of Western neo-colonial powers by ZANU (PF). This culminated in the 2005 countrywide ‘military invasion’ of the urban dwellers by the government in what was coined operation *Murambatsvina* or clean up the mess (Dzimiri & Runhare 2012, p. 204).

However, Ranger (2004, p. 8) observes that any political party that offered an alternative view to the ruling ZANU (PF), such as the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) would be labelled as traitorous operating under the control of Western neo-imperialists. From the above discussion, it can be argued that, ZANU (PF) demonstrated its intolerance and unwillingness to share the political stage with any opposing view as evidenced by the negative naming of opposition voices. As a historian, Ranger (2004) has identified Chigwendele as a key player in a new ZANU-PF driven discourse of state history that is explicitly antagonistic to academic historiography which he labels “patriotic history” (Ranger, 2004, p. 218).

Furthermore, Ranger (2004) points out that, Mugabe and ZANU-PF are made to appear as custodians of history while the MDC presents the end of history and a historicised, globalised morality (Ranger, 2004, p. 223)

### 2.3.3 Gukurahundi

In order to better appreciate the background to the violence presented in the selected novel, it is important that a historical perspective be presented here about the violence now better known through the name Gukurahundi. Zimbabwe's transition into independence was characterised by ethnic tensions that culminated in the Gukurahundi war leading to the death of up to 20 000 people as the country was just emerging from the protracted war of independence (Dzimiri et al., (2014). The country has been ravaged by a vicious cycle of violence since 1981(Dzimiri et al., (2014, p. 228)..There was violence at Entumbane, Connemara and Ntabazinduna in February 1981 where over 300 people died, the *Gukurahundi* killings of 1983-87 and the unprecedented 2008 electoral violence. Narratives on the complexities and challenges facing Zimbabwe's transition to democracy however tend to concentrate on policy dimensions in their account for the political and economic challenges experienced in the country. This however, eclipsed the problem of ethnicity, party politics and racial cleavages in understanding the culture of violence that has threatened all facets of human security in the country (Dzimiri et al.,2014, p. 227).

*Gukurahundi* violence in Matabeleland and the Midlands province, the 1985 electoral violence targeting the opposition party, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZAPU), 1990 electoral violence targeting another opposition party, the Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM), the 2000 farm invasion violence and the post-2000 increased militarisation of the state and electoral violence.

It is the contention of this research that political violence in Zimbabwe cannot be explained in isolation from the ruling party hegemony and ethnic as well as the racial connotations. The researcher argues that the ruling party Zimbabwe African National Union–Patriotic Front

(ZANU-PF) in its bid to maintain political party domination deliberately perpetrated violence along political and ethnic lines (Dzimiri et al., 2014, p. 227).

#### **2.3.4. Political labelling and electoral violence in Zimbabwe**

Despite the ethnic and political dimension of the Zimbabwean violence, there is also an electoral explanation to it. It was through the conduct of democratic elections that Zimbabwe attained the Black majority rule and this has been sustained from 1980 to the present. While elections are the pathway towards democratic consolidation, Matlosa (2011 as cited in Dzimiri et al., 2014) posits that, what matters most is integrity and credibility in the conduct of elections. (Matlosa, 2011, p. 3) describes elections as a “double edged sword” in the sense that they can be both a source of stability and instability. It is true that democracy is only possible through elections, but elections can be conducted in situations where democracy is highly constrained (Dzimiri et al., 2014, p. 232).

According to Diamond (2008), “what matters is not the quantity of elections or the number of times a country has held elections but the quality of those elections, that is, how free and fair those elections are” (p. 40). A critical analysis of pre-and post-electoral violence in Zimbabwe augurs well with Matlosa (2011)’s and Diamond (2008)’s explanations. The regularity of elections in Zimbabwe has failed to translate into peace. A culture of violence has always been part of Zimbabwe’s electoral politics. This is what has been revealed in the analysis of *The Uncertainty of Hope* as presented by Tagwira. There is a view that violence between 1980 and 1985 was amplified by electoral campaigns. Prior to the 1985 elections, ZAPU posed a threat to ZANU-PF’s power base and as a result, ZANU-PF resorted to violence in its bid to force the opposition out of the electoral contest (Dzimiri et al., 2014, p. 228).

The police, army, intelligence and other arms of the state security forces unleashed violence against PF-ZAPU leadership and their Ndebele supporters (Sithole & Makumbe 1997, p. 120). Driven by intolerance and the quest for electoral hegemony, ZANU-PF detained most of the PF-ZAPU leadership like Lookout Masuku and Dumiso Dabengwa in 1984 (Sithole & Makumbe 1997).

Electoral violence accounts for much of the human rights violations during the *Gukurahundi* and since then; violence has become way of maintaining political party dominance by ZANU-PF which is the ruling party. The detention of PF-ZAPU (which is the opposition party) leadership and the subsequent signing of the 1987 Unity Accord meant that Zimbabwe was practically a “de factor one party-state” (Sithole & Makumbe 1997, p. 122).

Unlike the 1985 elections which were compounded by party politics and ethnic violence, the 1990 general elections and presidential elections in Zimbabwe made conspicuous the challenge of electoral violence. The late Edgar Tekere, former ZANU-PF secretary general, opposed the idea of introducing a one party-state model soon after the signing of the Unity Accord (Sithole & Makumbe 1997, p. 129). Together with other disgruntled members of ZANU-PF, Tekere formed the Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM) in 1989 and contested the 1990 elections. ZANU-PF perpetrated violence against ZUM leadership which resulted in the shooting of the late Patrick Kombayi who had challenged the late Vice President Simon Vengesai Muzenda for the Gweru parliamentary constituency (Muzondidya 2009, Sithole & Makumbe, 1997). Selective application of the rule of law resulted in arbitrary detention, forced disappearance and torture of many ZUM sympathisers.

Since 1990, ZANU-PF's confrontational strategies against the opposition have been used to silence critics and opposition political parties. Clearly, right from the attainment of independence party-politics became contention problem as violence was perpetrated along political party affiliation (Dzimiri et al., 2014, p. 233).

The above discussion refers to some background of political issues which are presented not only in *The Uncertainty of Hope* by Tagwira (2008) but also in *Dust* by Owour (2014). Therefore the foregoing analysis is important in that it provides the socio-cultural and historical context in which the novel *The Uncertainty of Hope* was written and also provides the literary environment from which the novel is drawn. The socio-cultural and historical context of Kenya is presented in the next section so that the context in which violence is presented in the novel *Dust* can be better understood as presented by Owour from a literary fictional point of view.

### **2.3.5 History of political violence in Nairobi (Mau Mau rebellion).**

According to Carotenute (2012) who explored the causes of contemporary violence in colonial Kenya states that, Kenyans expected the most free and fair elections in their history but instead it turned into one of the nation's darkest hour. Carotenute (2012) further states that because of the irregularities some of the leading parties such as ODM and PNU accused the other parties of corruption practices. Raila Odinga as an opposition leader seemed to be leading in the counting of the election ballot, however Mwaki Kibaki was privately quickly sworn in as the President. This led to the outraged political supporters protesting violently. Due this violence the police and sponsored gangs took control of the violent situation which led to thousands of Kenyan citizen injured or killed and hundreds of thousands misplaced (, p. 1).

On the other hand Carotenute (2012)'s argument concur with Majeshi ya Wazee (n.d) that Political violence in Kenya is as old as the nation. However, new forms of political violence

began to feature significantly in 1988. From then, youths have either been hired by politicians to perpetrate violence against opponents or provide them with security. This has worked well for the sponsors of violence and since then it has been a popular way of getting and keeping power.

The coming of colonialism was accompanied by violence and Africans naturally reacted to it with more violence. The most marked period of political violence however was the Mau-Mau rebellion when Africans embarked on armed struggle against the colonial government. The Mau-Mau resistance struggle was characterised by violence against the settlers and the government, as well as their African supporters just as the colonial government used it to oppress Africans and to keep them in control. The last years before independence were chaotic in Nairobi and selected parts of the Kenya highlands that served both as the capital and military base of the colonial government. During that period, thousands of Africans who engaged in war or protest to end the colonial government were isolated and killed. The other side also faced losses. Nairobi was seriously affected by the Mau-Mau war. Thousands of people were killed and injured. Others were displaced. Property of great value was destroyed. Between 1963 and 1987, there were isolated incidents of political violence in Nairobi (Lewis, 2008, p. 51).

The assassination of Tom Mboya, Gio Gama Pinto, and J.M Kariuki, all prominent politicians, sparked off violent protests against the State (Evans, 2016) This is what is portrayed in Owuor 's literary fiction and revealed in the analysis of *Dust*

The murder of Tom Mboya caused tension and violence both in Nairobi and Kisumu. The murder was widely viewed by pro-Mboya forces as a strategy to check the political progress of the Luo. The formation of the Kenya Peoples Union (KPU) by Jaramogi Oginga Odinga in 1966 was followed by political violence. The State used violence mostly under the guise of KANU youth wingers to intimidate members of the KPU. Apart from a few incidents,

political violence was not a major problem in Nairobi for a long period until 1988 (Goldsworthy, 2014). During that year, KANU youth wingers began to be dominant in Nairobi as key perpetrators of political violence. The youth wingers were deployed to bus stations in Nairobi allegedly to protect the public from being harassed by touts. This made them clash frequently with the touts they were seeking to replace and a few cases of death were reported. The services of the KANU youth wingers were also vital in the general election of the same year. Some politicians in Nairobi reportedly hired the wingers during the nomination campaigns to harass their opponents. The nomination day was relatively violent in many stations in Nairobi and scores of people were injured. Violence was also caused by the queue-voting method where it was alleged that candidates with shorter queues emerged victorious. In Nairobi, police arrested scores of people and found them with all kinds of weapons including stones, pangas, rungas, iron bars, among others. No death was reported though (Nissimi, 2006. p. 8).

Electoral politics in Kenya can also be understood best by looking at the role of the process and institutions charged with overseeing such a process. The electoral system in Kenya is based on constituencies whose boundaries are congruent with the boundaries of tribal areas. These boundaries have been used to manipulate democratic outcomes. The constituencies are represented by a member of parliament and a number of local authority representatives at ward, town and urban council levels. Their election takes place at the same time as that of presidential and parliamentary ones. The boundaries are determined by the electoral commission if there is evidence that populations have outgrown the current demarcations. This decision is however made by the electoral commission without consulting the local communities and in most cases at the directive of the president. The president without parliamentary approval appoints the Commission. However, the problem with numbers in

Kenyan politics is that they are never correct or close to truth. This originates from history of manipulation of constituency population numbers during the single party era, but also lack of regular census and update of births and deaths records (Pogge, 2016)

It is therefore not surprising to see “ghost names” in voter registers (not deleted even after a whole five year preparation and multibillion investment in the process) or to see number of registered voters increase during presidential vote tallying contrary to the actual number at constituency level or previous attempt to create extra constituencies in the incumbent friendly regions in order to meet the 25% constitutional requirement for presidential eligibility (Pogge, 2016)

Furthermore, Makoni (2013) states that, the problem with the electoral process did not start in recent years; the political competition that followed immediately after independence gave birth to the mechanisations, manipulation of the institutions responsible for electoral process and the blatant rape of the constitution to suit those in power. This began with the erosion of the party system, when immediately after independence in 1963, the political alliances began to fall apart with The Kenyan African Democratic Union (KADU) joining Kenya African national Union (KANU) and internal struggles within KANU leading to the formation of KPU. Although the fall out between Kenyatta and Odinga has been described as ideological, the actual cause was the feeling that Kenyatta had betrayed his colleagues and the entire nation on three crucial promises at independence, namely eradication of poverty, illiteracy and disease, as prescribed in the manifesto. Kenyatta betrayed this cause by allocating huge parcels of land left by white settlers to him and cronies, including large tracts in the present Rift Valley province (Makoni, 2013).

According to Branch (2011 as cited in Small Arms Survey Issue brief, 2012, p. 3) argues that, Upon Kenyatta's death in 1978, Daniel Arap Moi, a member of the Kalenjin, assumed power in 1978. During his 24 year reign, Moi exploited the Kenyan diversity and politicised ethnicity to levels where he could instigate clashes in districts and provinces with mixed groups, a practice he perfected in the 90's in order to discredit the onset of multiparty democracy in Kenya (Branch, 2011, p. 58). Politically motivated ethnic clashes were used to disrupt and displace populations and groups that supported the opposition (mainly the Kikuyu in Rift Valley, Luo in the slums of Nairobi and Mombasa). He also used divide and rule tactics, pitting on group against another and at times bought politician through patronage in order to have more support in parliament. These tactics ensured that the opposition lost the elections of 1992 and 1997 Throup and Hornsby, (1998 as cited in Small Arms Survey, 2012. p. 3) It was not until 2002, when his constitutional terms in office expired that he had no options, but also due to the unity of the opposition through NARC (Rainbow coalition of Kijana Wamalwa FORD- Kenya, Raila Odinga of LDP, Charity Ngilu and Kibaki of NAK/DP) got together and managed to defeated Moi's preferred choice of successor, Uhuru Kenyatta (the son of Jomo Kenyatta). Moi was voted out of office in 2002, and Kibaki became president (Throup and Hornsby, (1998 as cited in Small Arms Survey, 2012. p. 3).

Anger against Kibaki's leadership is real and genuine, and it stems from the fact that Kibaki was elected on a platform of reform, in the sphere of constitutional change, end to corruption, tribalism and establishment of an equitable system that could uplift the living conditions of all Kenyans regardless of their ethnicity and other background factors. Kibaki's failure to grasp these genuine concerns, self-imprisonment from reasoning and lack of desire to leave a legacy in Kenya, caused a great anger in the majority of Kenyans whose hopes had been dashed by Kibaki's conduct, corruption and arrogance of people around him. For instance, people's disgust with Kibaki's regime was expressed at the 2005 referendum in which the

Wako Draft (a diluted version of the Boma's draft, which was a constitutional product of a people led process) was defeated. Seven provinces made up of diverse ethnic groups voted for "NO" while the "YES" vote was only represented by central province (Maame, 2014, p. 187).

This outcome reflected the wishes of the majority and cannot be seen as a vote against the Kikuyu since the vote was for a devolved system or a unitary system. But then, one cannot lose sight to the ethnic dimension the vote took during the campaigns, when people of central province were told to vote for "Yes" because it meant protecting "their presidency".

This anger and frustration was captured in the 2007 elections in which Kibaki lost his close allies from his own backyard (central province) and high profile lieutenants from other regions who were rejected at grassroots level. The 2007 elections also saw a new trend of ethnic alliances, which were formed for political expediency, even though hidden behind critical issues. Some groups could however identify with each other in terms of political and economic marginalisation than others, thus the divide the has been reflected in the post ethnic conflict even if some analysis attempt to reduce it to the work of political leaders as the ones behind the ethnic divide NSC (2011a as cited in Small Arms Survey 2012, p. 4).

In the current situation, old wounds have been revived, but the degree of suffering under previous regimes differs from group to group, while frustration also exists within the groups themselves, whereby, Kalenjin rejected their own, in Moi and his sons, while the Kikuyu rejected the cabal that have surrounded Kibaki since 2002. The same was witnessed in Nyanza where Luo and Kisii Nyanza voted out MPs that they thought did not deserve another parliamentary mandate (Lewis, 2007).

### 2.3.6. Politics and religion (Colonialism and religion)

According to Oguntola-Laguda (2008, p. 123) religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices which unite into one moral community called a church all those who adhere to them. Politics is about the acquisition of power and the use of such power.

Onyekpe (1998) defines the term politics as, “the struggle for power which itself is the authority to determine or formulate and execute decisions and policies, which must be accepted by the society... it is the struggle for power of governance, especially executive authority” (p. 16). Therefore, this subtopic, *Politics and religion* is relevant to this study as it is revealed in Owour’s literary fictional writing in *Dust*. This is revealed in *Dust* through the two characters, Silas and the Jacobs family. The preachers who manipulated Silas through the word of God and when Silas realised later he disappeared.

Huntington (1993) accounts for the global violence by linking it to incompatibilities in religious and cultural values. This model has been employed to explain the post-Cold War contestation between Christianity and Islam and the resultant violence. Huntington’s approach, while correctly highlighting values and culture as an explanatory model for global violence, fails to pay adequate attention to other factors such as power-politics (party politics) ethnicity and race. Moreover, unlike Huntington’s model, Neo-Marxists have persuasively explained violence in the context of political economy by linking violence to poverty, social and economic inequalities (Sen, 2008, p. 8).

It is further argued that impoverished people resort to violence in a bid to register their discontent (Sen, 2008). Despite their wide appeal, Marxist and Neo-Marxists explanatory models of violence fail to take into account situations where the state is the chief perpetrator of violence as has been the case with Zimbabwe. What both Huntington (1993) and scholars aligned to Marxism seem to have underplayed in their explanations is the critical role of

notions of identity in cases where the state has been the chief perpetrator of violence. According to Huntington (1993) who studied political violence, his study was more aligned to ontological explanations of political violence, and he claims that issues of identity and labels are crucial in explaining violence of political nature. That is why issues of identity were key to his study since they enabled us to understand political attitudes, perceptions and behaviour that emerge in the Zimbabwean context. This is more related to the current study that may reveal the political attitudes which indirectly contribute to political violence.

### **2.3.7 Violence in Kenyan literature**

Until late 2007, Kenya was considered one of the most stable countries in Africa. It has functioned as East Africa's financial and communications hub, the headquarters of many international nongovernmental organizations, and a magnet for tourism (Hunson, 2008, p. 1)

In Kenya, most institutions including the judiciary, parliament, and the electoral commissioner are subservient to the president. The president appoints high court judges and electoral commissioners, has the power to dissolve parliament, and controls the federal budget. The extent of presidential power is a holdover from the colonial period, experts say, and has changed little since independence in 1963. For instance, the president still appoints provincial and district commissioners, who oversee municipal services such as education, health, and transportation. (Anderson, 2002), notes that, these commissioners function like a "shadow government entirely in the control of the president." Districts known to be supportive of the opposition party, or with opposition parliamentarians, tend to receive fewer resources than those controlled by the ruling party, said Anderson.

Members of parliament are elected by the general population, but parliament has little power to address public grievances. When voters realise elected officials aren't going to address their concerns about social and economic inequality, this leads them to distrust institutions

and produces a “sense of disempowerment and disillusionment,” says Juma (2012 as cited in Hanson, 2008). This is revealed in the analysis of the selected novel *Dust* as portrayed by Owuor. In Owuor’s writing, it is apparent how conflict became a tool of violence among the unsatisfied ethnic groups after the post 2007 elections. The electoral commission’s inability to resolve disputes over the legitimacy of vote tabulation following December 2007 elections served as further evidence that Kenya’s political institutions could not be considered independent.

However, Robertson (2008) argues that, the violence and turmoil that overtook Kenya in the wake of the disputed December 2007 presidential elections came as a surprise to many in the world. Although Kenya has long been viewed as a source of stability on the African continent, the current strife has already killed more than 1,000 people and displaced more than 300,000. For Robertson (2008), this tragedy was not unexpected. While many analysts have attempted to explain the events as tribal warfare, Robertson (2008) reveals the unrest’s historical roots in the long standing economic mismanagement and political corruption of both colonial and post-independence governments.

The foregoing analysis is important in that it provides the socio-cultural and historical context in which the novel *Dust* was written and also provides the literary environment from which the novel is drawn. It also shows how political violence emerged from the 2007 election as shown in *Dust* (Owuor, 2014). This is a presentation of violence from a socio-historical perspective, and due to such background and literature review this study builds the argument on the literary presentation of political violence using the two novels. The next section will discuss the theoretical frameworks which have been used as critical lenses in the study.

### 3. Theoretical framework

This study has utilised trauma and postcolonial theories as literary lenses to analyse the selected fiction. According to Marder (as cited in Mlambo, 2015, p. 146), the word “trauma” comes from the ancient Greek meaning “wound”. Although the precise definition of the modern concept of trauma varies according to context and discipline, there is general consensus that if trauma is a wound, it is a special and a very peculiar type of wound. There is no specific set of physical manifestations identifying trauma, and it almost invariably produces repeated, uncontrollable, and incalculable effects that endure long after its ostensible precipitating cause. Therefore, wound in this case is metaphorical, which refers to some kind of psychological pain.

Some of the theorists behind this theory are Caruth, Freud and Lacan. Caruth (as cited in Marder, 2006, p.2) notes that the pathology of trauma does not have a clear explanation, for people are traumatised differently. Pathology consists rather in the structure of experience and reception. In short to be traumatised is to be possessed by an image or event Caruth as cited in Marder 2006, p. 2). This means that trauma takes place differently in different victims because an event that may traumatise one person may not traumatise the other. Some people may spend the rest of their lives being traumatised by an event that took place many years ago. Literary trauma theory posits the relationship between violence experienced by individuals and cultural groups or the relationship between victims, perpetrators and witnesses as presented in fiction (Balaev, 2014, p. 5), that could result in chronic or mental illness and unrest as it has been revealed in the analysis of *Dust* and *The Uncertainty of Hope*. Hondo in *The Uncertainty of Hope* serves as a good example of a character who suffered trauma due to political violence, while Ajany in *Dust* suffered trauma due to the disappearance of her brother, Odidi.

According to Mlambo (2015), in the most general sense, trauma theory examines the ways in which traumatic occurrences are processed by and through literary texts. Trauma theory attempts to understand the different ways by which traumatic occurrences are demonstrated, processed, exposed, and repressed throughout a variety of literary and historical texts (p. 146).

The term “trauma” thus refers to the sudden intrusion of new and unexpected knowledge into someone’s psyche, usually due to a sudden confrontation with violence or death. The definition of trauma is seen through the characters portrayed as victims of political violence in the chosen novels. This traumatic event leaves the survivor emotionally and intellectually divided between what he or she felt or believed in before the event and what he or she now knows or believes in., this in turn causes a psychic separation in identity and consciousness, which often leaves the survivor confused, frightened, and disturbed (Mlambo, 2015) for example Hondo in *The Uncertainty of Hope*. A traumatic event is often an event which leads one in to an immediate confrontation with the reality or possibility of death, a confrontation which leads to a new and sudden awareness of one’s mortality and vulnerability, something which serves to deeply upset one’s psychic state (Mlambo, 2015, p. 146).

Trauma can be product of violence, as victims of violence could become traumatized, and according to Caruth (as cited in Marder,2006,p.2 ) perpetrators of violence may also be victims of trauma hence trauma theory is relevant to this study as it helps to explore the political violence presented in *Dust* and *The Uncertainty of Hope*. This is particularly significant as noted by Marder (2006, p.4) that when there is some form of violence victims can become traumatized.

In addition to trauma theory, the study also adopts post-colonial theory. Post-colonialism refers to the regime of knowledge or studies pertaining to the impact or implications or effects of colonialism on erstwhile colonial enclaves after the end of the colonial relationship or after the beginning of national sovereignty (Punter, 2000, p. 89). Furthermore, Thieme (2003, p. 45) states that post-colonial theory, “examines the problems which were posed by Europe’s colonization of various regions of the world throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries and the cultural, political and social effects of such.” By using post-colonial theories, the researcher considered how characters from colonial powers (Britain, France, and even America) treat characters from Africa or the Caribbean for instance as revealed in the two analyzed novels written within perspective of Zimbabwe and Kenya. The two novels are set in two former British colonies and the political terrains evidently have traces of British imperialism hence the adoption of the post-colonial theory. The situation in Kenya and Zimbabwe before independence as presented in Ngugi, Marechera and Mungoshi’s writings were such that the colonizers did not want to hear active voices who spoke on behalf of others. This is evident enough in Ngugi Wa Thiong’o fictional writing in his book, *The Grain of Wheat* in which he shows how the colonizers or white people oppressed and tortured Black Africans. This is shown through the fictitious character Githua in his words to Mugo, “I tell you before the Emergency, I was like you; before the Whiteman did this to me with bullets, I could work with both hands...” (Ngugi Wa Thiong’o, 2008, p. 3). The same draconian rules are still being used in post-independence fiction, where we see characters like Odidi who had become an activist also disappearing under unclear circumstances. Post-colonial theory thus examines the origins and effects of both immediate and long-term political, cultural and social results of European (as well as American) colonization of different cultures and regions of the world through the study of the various literary texts. (Stringer, 2006, p. 57).

#### **4. Conclusions**

Chapter 2 has reviewed literature relevant to this study. It focused mainly on the political violence, its causes and effects as they are represented in the two literary selected novels which are *The Uncertainty of Hope* and *Dust*. This chapter has an introductory part that discussed the Zimbabwean and Kenyan's detailed history on political violence and a brief introduction in relation to literature review, definition of violence and political violence were also discussed. It further discussed subtopics related to the research topic. Finally, it discussed the theoretical frame works that were used in the interpretation of the data analysed from the selected novels. The next chapter presents the methodology used in the collecting data and analysis.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter discusses the methodology that was used to carry out this research. Methodology is the study of how research is done, how we find out about things, and how knowledge is gained Kothari (2004, p. 2). Furthermore Kothari (2004, p. 8), defines research methodology as “a way to systematically solve the research problem.” It may be understood as a science of studying how research is done scientifically. However, Creswell (2008) defines research methodology as, the system of collecting data for a research project.

McGregor and Murname (2010, p. 2) states that:

The word methodology comprises two nouns: method and ology, which means a branch of knowledge; hence, methodology is a branch of knowledge that deals with the general principles or axioms of the generation of new knowledge. It refers to the rationale and the philosophical assumptions that underlie any natural, social or human science study, whether articulated or not. Simply put, methodology refers to how each of logic, reality, values and what counts as knowledge inform research.

Methodology refers to the principles that guide research practices and therefore explains why particular methods or tools are used in a research. This chapter discusses the research design, population, sample, procedure, data analysis and finally the research ethics.

#### **3.2. Research design**

According to Kothari (2004, p. 31), a research design is the arrangement of the conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance to the research

purpose. As a result, this study employed a qualitative, desk top research design. Qualitative research is an inquiry approach useful for exploring and understanding a central phenomenon (Creswell, 2012, p. 626). Qualitative research is a means for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem or situation (Creswell, 2009, p. 232). Creswell (2014, p.6) outlines the advantages of using qualitative research. One of the benefits of qualitative research is that through both verbal and non-verbal communication, the researcher is likely to expand his or her understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. Furthermore, without being subjective, the researcher will be in better position to understand how people make sense of their world and their experiences in the world. This is revealed in the chosen novels through the characters portrayed as victims of political violence exhorted on them. Therefore, the researcher chose a qualitative approach in order to understand the context of political violence, so as to explore how victims and perpetrators of political violence are portrayed in the post independent states.

The desktop type of study used in this research does not need the researcher to conduct field work research, but to use the available sources at hand such as journals, books, the internet and many other publications. The study thus used primary data in the form of novels and these were critically analysed in order to understand the central phenomenon of political violence. The primary data are those which are collected afresh and for the first time, and thus happen to be original in character (Kothari 2004, p. 95).

### 3.3. Population

Bhattacharjee (2012, p. 65) defines a population as, “all people or items (units of analysis) with the characteristics that one wishes to study.” Similarly, Burns and Grove (2003, p.213) define a research population as “all the elements that meet the criteria for inclusion in a study.” Therefore, the population is the entire group that represents the other parts that the researcher wishes to study. Usually, the population consists of the totality of units having specific defined features in common. In many cases the population is invariably alike in some facets. From the foregoing definitions, the population of this study are all literature texts which present the element of political violence in Africa written in English by female authors.

The texts in the chosen population have the similar theme of political violence. This delineation of the population supports the definition by Fox and Bayat (2007) that, a population is any group or individuals that share similar characteristics and represent the whole case that is involved in a study.

### 3.4. Sample

In every research work the data through two approaches namely census (in where all units of a population are studied) and sample (in where parts of a population are studied) could be collected. Generally, the most desirable way to collect data is sampling approach that it is addressed with, the type of universe, sampling unit, sampling frame, size of sample and sampling techniques. The size of sample refers to selected units of population that should neither be excessively large, nor too small and generally it must be optimum. The size of sample depends to some factors like size of population, the nature of population, kind of study Stacks and Hocking (as cited in Pasi, 2009, p. 64). The sampling technique is divided into two techniques namely probability and non-probability. The probability sampling

technique is the technique in which all units of the universe have an equal chance to be a member of sample. Kothari (2004, p. 152) states that ‘the non-probability sampling technique “also known by different names such as deliberate sampling, purposive sampling and judgement sampling’ is the type of sampling, where items for the sample are selected deliberately by researcher; the choice concerning the items remains for supreme. In other words, under non-probability sampling the organisers of the enquiry purposively choose the particular units of the universe for constituting a sample on the basis that the small mass that they so select out of huge one will be typical or representative of the whole. The above discussion is supported by Kothari (2004, p. 110), who defines sampling as, “the process of obtaining information about an entire population by examining only a part of it.” Consequently, for this study, non-probability techniques, including convenience sampling and purposive sampling was as sampling techniques used. According to Kothari (as cited in Pasi 2009, p. 69) non-probability sampling techniques include: convenience sampling, quota sampling and purposive sampling. Kothari (2004) further defines convenience sample as a type of sampling which involves the sample being drawn from that part of the population which is close to hand. That is to say, a sample population selected because it is readily available and convenient and purposive sampling as one which is selected by the researcher subjectively. It is often used in political polling- districts chosen because their pattern has in the past provided good idea of outcomes for whole electorate (Pasi, 2009, p. 72). Convenience and purposive sampling are relevant to this study as the study’s focus is on the exploration of political violence as represented in the chosen literary novels; and the novels were conveniently chosen and readily available at hand. However, the researcher using such a sample cannot scientifically make generalisations about the total population from this sample because it would not be represented enough.

As such, the selected novels, *The Uncertainty of Hope* and *Dust* were conveniently selected for this study. These were purposively chosen as they present various elements, causes and effects of political violence. The researcher selected the two novels because they are novels written in recent years, for instance: *The Uncertainty of Hope* (2008) and *Dust* (2014) and they have not been fully explored. Kenya and Zimbabwe share the same colonial legacy of British imperialism hence the novels have much in common and they are both examples of Anglophone African literature set in the new millennium.

### **3.5. Procedure**

The researcher first completed an in-depth reading of the two novels while taking notes and analysing the texts, especially through character analysis and narrative exploration. This was done to determine which characters were affected and or involved in political violence, noting the reasons for why they got entanglement in this phenomenon, how they reacted and the consequences they faced. The data were collected through a critical analysis of the two texts through applying specified theories of literature namely trauma and post-colonial theory. Journals, critical literary works and research papers were also read in order to gain more insight into the subject of political violence.

### **3.6. Data analysis**

Data analysis is the process of systematically applying statistical and/or logical techniques to describe and illustrate, condense and recap, and evaluate data (Resnik, 2000). Data analysis in qualitative research consists of preparing and organising data (i.e., text data as transcripts, or image data in photographs), for analysis, then reducing the data into themes through a process of coding and condensing the codes, and finally representing the data in figures,

tables or a discussion (Creswell, 2013, p.180).“Content-analysis consists of analysing the contents of documentary materials such as books, magazines, newspapers and the contents of all other verbal materials which can be either spoken or printed (Kothari, 2004, p. 110). In this study, the elements of political violence in the novels were critically analysed using a desktop content analysis method

The major theories for analysing the data were trauma and post-colonial theories. The major causes of different forms of political violence as presented in the selected literary works were also critically analysed. The findings were categorised into themes and sub themes and presented in narrative form with textual evidence being provided and compared to the available literature on the subject.

### **3.7. Research ethics**

Research that involves human participants raises unique and complex ethical, legal, social and political issues. Research ethics is specifically interested in the analysis of ethical issues that are raised when people are involved as participants in research (Walton, 2016, p. 1).

Walton (2016) further posits that, there are three objectives in research ethics. The first and broadest objective is to protect human participants. The second objective is to ensure that research is conducted in a way that serves interests of individuals, groups and/or society as a whole. The third objective is to examine specific research activities and projects for their ethical soundness, looking at issues such as the management of risk, protection of confidentiality and the process of informed consent.

However, this research is solely desk research which does not bring the researcher into direct contact with participants as part of the research process. The data collected is used purely for academic purposes, and not for the researcher's personal benefit or economic reasons. The study was conducted in an academic and professional manner and has adhered to the ethical code prescribed to by the University of Namibia. In addition, it is unlikely that ethical issues were aroused beyond the normal issues of academic honesty and plagiarism which the researcher endeavour fully observed.

### **3.8. Conclusion**

This chapter has presented the research methodology of this study which included aspects contained in methodology such as research design, population, sample, procedure, and data analysis and research ethics. Each aspect has been discussed in detail. The next chapter presents the discussion and exploration of the analysis of the selected novels and how political violence, its causes, and effects are portrayed in these selected works of fiction.

## CHAPTER 4

### PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS ON THE EXPLORATION OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN *THE UNCERTAINTY OF HOPE* AND *DUST*

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter is a presentation and discussion of the findings on the exploration of political violence in the novels *The Uncertainty of Hope* and *Dust*. The chapter presents the discussion and analysis of the fictional representation of political violence, its causes and the forms of political violence as portrayed in the selected novels. It further analyses how different sections of the society (fictitious characters) are depicted as victims and perpetrators of political violence. This chapter presents what fictional writers present as reasons for the prevalence of political violence in most independent states that fought against violent colonial rule. It also presents what writers suggest through fiction to be possible preventative measures to prevent or minimise political violence in African states where political violence is prevalent as has been shown in chapter 2.

This chapter further presents the discussions on how colonialism, through divide and rule policies, has brought about or escalated inter- community conflict. This is of critical importance for the prevalence of political violence, as argued by Hansen (2009) that just after independence in 1963, Kenyan's political history was marked by violent uprising and repression as discussed in chapter 2. The Mau Mau uprisings and the 2007 post-election violence in Kenya and Murambatsvina, and Gukurahundi operation in Zimbabwe therefore offer a significant background for the analysis of the two novels. These types of operation included the excessive use of force, indefinite detention and other measures such as forced

sexual activities by different actors. This is revealed in the selected novels which are analysed below.

This chapter incorporates trauma and post-colonial theories as the major theories for the interpretation of the data as portrayed in the selected novels. These theories help in the interpretation of data and maintaining the focus of the study. In this chapter, the research will attempt to respond to the research objectives which are as follows:

- Explore the representation of political violence in the selected literary works, and
- Analyse the major causes and effects of political violence as presented in the selected literary works.

This study argues against what was fought for during the colonial rule because before independence, the African nationalist fought for independence using the gun which resulted in numerous nasty casualties and at the attainment of independence they advocated for peace, tranquillity and the gospel of national as well as racial reconciliation where all live in peace and harmony which is contrary to what is happening now. African leaders indicated that, the Europeans should pack their things and go back to their own continent; they exploited the Africans in their own motherland. But the question remains, was it true that the goals of independence was an achievement for the benefit of every individual in the society. The truth is that, the objectives of independence were partly achieved as it is revealed in the literary texts showing a series of political violence in independent states, the case of Kenya and Zimbabwe. This is supported by Malaquias (2007) who asserts that, “given the legacies of colonial and post-colonial violence, the achievement of positive peace is by no means guaranteed- at least not in the foreseeable future (p.9).” Malaquias (2007), Fanon (1963), and Sachikonye (2011) give a comprehensive coherence in the development of this study as they all portray the theme of political violence and they further argue against the attainment of

independence because what was changed was the white colour of the rulers but the ruling system remained the same. Hence, political violence is still prevalent in states like Zimbabwe and Kenya as portrayed in the selected literary works and other authors' fictional writings mentioned in chapter two. The analyses of the two novels are arranged as follows: First the novel *The Uncertainty of Hope* is briefly discussed, and an exploration of political violence follows. Secondly the novel *Dust* is briefly discussed before an exploration and presentation of data follows

#### 4.2. A brief synopsis of the novel the uncertainty of hope

*The Uncertainty of Hope* is a novel written by Valerie Tagwira a Zimbabwean Medical Doctor and an author who won the National Arts Merits (NAMA) in 2008. *The Uncertainty of Hope* is set in the deeply populated suburb of Mbare, Harare, and explores the complex lives of Onai Moyo, a market woman and a mother of three children and her best friend Katy Nguni, who is a vendor and black-market foreign currency dealer. Onai Moyo is married to Gari, an abusive, improvident and promiscuous drunk who is later retrenched from his job and finally dies of HIV/AIDS related illness. Katy Nguni on the other hand is married to John, a supportive, cross-border haulage-truck driver. The novel gives insight into the challenges faced by a wide section of Zimbabwe, where life expectancy has dropped to 37, and where people survive by their wits, their labour and friendship. The novel is set in 2005, against the shadow of Operation Murambatsvina, the government's urban clearance programme, which created over half a million internally displaced people and destroyed the livelihood of many.

The urban slum clearance of post-election 2005 in Zimbabwe have been inscribed in the nation's history as a major public policy and political scandal that amplified the already heightened tension and suspicion between the rulers and the ruled in this politically volatile period. The timing and the setting of the mass displacements have particularly come under

intense debate, with pro-government voices seeking to project a positive picture of the demolitions while most non-governmental organisations and civic societies on the other hand perceived a subtle backlash on the ‘dissident’ urban population. Through Tagwira’s portrayal of fictitious characters who were affected by Operation Murambatsvina, demolitions were meant to force the ‘oppositional’ urban shack dweller to return to his/her rural home for some political re-education, and given the dominance of ZANU-PF in the rural communities. Such a returnee victim’s political re-orientation and acquiescence to the rule of ZANU PF was almost certain. “The bulldozer policy” has always been the post-independence establishment’s response to urban migration that was straining the capacities of urban structures. Whatever the motive, what gives Operation Murambatsvina an immense political significance is the resulting magnitude of human suffering which made it a humanitarian catastrophe warranting the intervention of the United Nations (Tjibauka’s 2005 report). Furthermore, the extensive sympathy for the displaced from non-governmental organisations and opposition political parties transformed the victims into potential political expendables as shown by Tagwira’s depth and sensitivity in her novel *The uncertainty of hope*. Consequently, analyses and representations of Operation Murambatsvina became a contest of binary oppositions where the government sought to sanitize its image, while some non-governmental organisations, opposition political parties and other civic pressure groups used it to vindicate their regime change agenda. Therefore, Tagwira pulls these many threads into a densely woven novel that provides us with some of the many faces of contemporary Zimbabwe, and shows how the government turned against its citizens who fought and liberated Zimbabwe from British colonial rule leading to post-colonial violence.

### **4.3 Exploration of political violence in post-colonial Zimbabwe as portrayed in the uncertainty of hope**

#### **4.3.1 The portrayal of GariMoyo's family as victims of political violence through Operation Murambatsvina**

*The Uncertainty of Hope* opens with Onai Moyo, a market vendor, who is left alone to protect her three children when burglars came at night in the absence of her husband Gari, who is irresponsible and a drunkard. Onai and her three children, sixteen year old Ruva, fifteen year old Rita and ten year old Fari, huddled together in tension and fear as they listened to muffled sounds (Tagwira, 2008, p. 2). Onai's children were caught in surprise and asked their mother about their father's absence at such time of the night. This is shown in Ruva's words. "Amai! Where is Baba? Look at the time. It is three o'clock...! He should have been here to protect us." (Tagwira, 2008, p. 2). In her novel Tagwira starts her story using Gari's family, to show the sufferings of the Zimbabwean society from a family level which is the developmental linkage to political violence in this literary text. Tagwira's portrayal of Gari's family as a microcosm of the whole country and by demonstrating the "fatherlessness" of this family and its vulnerability, on a symbolical level the novel is also demonstrating how post-independence statesmen have failed to be the traditional father figures of the nation and consequently they let down the family and all their family shields are too porous to resist the wicked forces from both outside and within. The presentation of Gari as the only person who can make decisions on behalf of his family symbolises the autocratic government where decisions are made by a small group of people or a single person in power.

According to Bhatti (2012) autocratic leadership, also known as authoritarian leadership, is a leadership style characterised by individual control over all decisions and little input from group members. Autocratic leaders typically make choices based on their own

ideas and judgments, and rarely accept advice from followers. Autocratic leadership involves absolute, authoritarian control over a group. This is shown in Gari's family when Onai decided to study and complete a diploma in dressmaking, during this time Onai suffered beatings from her husband Gari as he regarded her decision to go college as a wilful defiance, a deliberate challenge to his authority as man (Tagwira 2008, p. 58). Due to political and economic instability countrywide, Gari's behaviour is politically insinuated by the political situation in this country.

The setting of the book is ideal, and it foregrounds violence in many ways. It was in that part of the society where the unfulfilled wishes of the society, as contained in the election manifesto of ZANU PF in 1980, are more pronounced and where the society's uncertainty of hope is very high, as most of the people fail to fend for their families and do not even know what the next day has in store for them. Gari's behaviour is an epitome of a failed father who has lost all hope of a better life for his family. He is portrayed as one who has totally lost hope and resorts to negative coping mechanisms such as excessive drinking and deserting the family, leaving the family without protection. That is the real 'uncertainty of hope' that the Zimbabwean population is going through as portrayed in the book *The uncertainty of hope*. Even though Gari was employed, his salary was too minimal to sustain his family, and this is all emanates from the unstable political economy of the country. Therefore, from this angle of analysis, political violence can be stretched to also imply economic violence as politically perpetrated against the citizens.

In addition, Onai and her children are being abused and ill-treated by her husband. This is shown when Gari's irresponsibility made Onai's mother to sell five of her six cows to help Onai to pay for the fees and for the sewing practical. Her children had walked to school

barefoot, and had worn threadbare uniforms. For that they had borne the brunt of their friends' taunts (Tagwira, 2008, p. 59). Dispute Gari's irresponsibility, Onai, as market vendor, raised money just to feed her kids and save them from hunger. However, the economic instability of the country failed her to fulfil her responsibility as a mother. There was a shortage of food in shops. The shortages meant that what she has laid on the table was always the best food, just passable as a meal which was usually *sadza* and boiled cabbage. Gone were the days when the availability of such food products had been a matter of course because when Fari was sent to buy cooking oil last Saturday he spend the whole day in the queue and had returned home empty handed (Tagwira, 2008, p. 67). It was worse for Onai when Operation Murambatsvina was implemented as it shut down all her sources of raising the money. This is discussed in detail about the effects of the operation Murambatsvina in the community of Mbare and other parts of the country which was politically implemented by the ruling government. Even though the life situation changed, Gari with his minimal salary did not bother himself. The worst situation was when Fari and Rita opted to start selling food illegally at the bus terminus to assist their mother raise money and this sometimes worried Onai. Was this the right way to raise her children? What sort of people was she exposing them to at the bus terminus? When Rita and Fari returned in the evening from sales, Onai was troubled that Gari barely took any notice. She longed for Gari to have given them some kind of approval or acknowledgement. Even some indication that he didn't want his children to become illegal vendors would have made a difference, but Gari was such an indifferent person (Tagwira, 2008, p. 180). Fari and Rita were arrested, and were meant to clean up the rubbish and carrying rubbish to dump. Onai tried to search for her children, but all was in vain. When she returned home, she cried with relief when she found Rita and Fari huddled on the sofa, they looked miserable and exhausted. "They arrested us, mum", she cried. "He squeezed my breast he fondled me, mum" cried out Rita. Rita could not explain further or say

what she saw or heard, because the language of this time was silence, which indicated that whatever happens to you or see or even hear, you are not supposed to expose it to other people or else that would be the end of your life. Just as it happened with the people who arrested the children, Fari and Rita were instructed not to say any word in disclosure of any person involved. As defined by Hansen (2009), political violence typically takes the forms of murder, assault, sexual abuse such as rape, forced pregnancy and sterilisation.” Sexual abuse is shown in Rita’s words when she said, “he squeezed my breast he fondled me, mum”, this shows sexual abuse which was indirectly executed on Rita through political violence which emerged from the Operation Murambatsvina.

The above analysis demonstrates that Gari’s family’s rights to education, to life, freedom from hunger and the equality right of women to men were stolen from them. However, this is contrary to what is endorsed in the 1980 ZANU PF’s manifesto. The ZANU PF manifesto states that every citizen should have the right to education, right to life, freedom from hunger to mention but few as discussed in section 2.4.1 of this study. Tagwira exposes the way some political leaders violate the fundamental rights and freedom endorsed in their manifestos.

According to the ZANU PF manifesto, when Zimbabwe got its independence, Zimbabwe was declared a free and independent country because most of the Zimbabwean people fought together against the exploitation of the colonial rule. The manifesto contained fundamental rights and freedom for each and every person in the society. However according to Tagwira (2008) this was political violation of human rights as it is seen in the development of the story of market vendors who were politically affected through the government’s Operation Murambatsvina. The above analysis concludes how Operation Murambatsvina affected Gari and Onai Moyo’s family economically and psychologically.

### **4.3.2. The effects of political violence on the market vendors' source of income through Operation Murambatsvina**

In order to respond to and address the objectives of this study, the analysis focused on the identification of key characters and their relevance to political violence. For instance, Onai Moyo, Katy Nguni, Maya and Hondo are the most humiliated persons among all.

#### **4.3.2.1. Repression, harassment and the destruction of the Mbare citizens' property**

Tagwira's portrayal of political violence through the above identified characters collaborates with what other scholars has revealed about the effects of political violence perpetrated by political leaders on their citizens. Scholars such as Sachikonye (2011) Musanga (2015) and Hansen (2009) have revealed how political violence developed a notorious reputation for intimidation and torture of opposition party supporters, and this led to most opposition party supporters' deaths, injuries and more displacements.

Before the implementation of Operation Murambatsvina, the community of Mbare was very committed to their daily business at the open market where each and every vendor spread their sales on the their stalls ready for business. Among the market vendors was Onai who sorely relied on her sales to generate income to pay her children's school fees, and buy food to save them from hunger. Her friend, Katy Nguni, who is also a market vendor though she had an extra source of income as a black market foreign currency dealer and other market vendors were left without hope when the rumours went around market vendors of the announcement made by the police about the demolishing of the illegal structures and the closure of the marking. Onai's frustration about what Maya had just told her about Gari's

relationship with Gloria made her miss all the gossip about the operation which was due soon. When Maya (known gossip) started talking about the operation Murambatsvina; Katy was surprised because she believed that Commissioner Nzou would not have lied to her that it was just a rumour. The rumours were confirmed by Rhode another market vendor who got surprised to find out that other market vendors were still not informed about the clean-up restore order as it is referred to in Tjibauka's report. "I am surprised that you girls don't know about this". The police went around yesterday announcing something about a clean-up operation which will involve closing some markets and demolishing shacks which are not in good condition", lamented Rhode (Tagwira, 2008. p. 128). Rhode's argument corroborates with what Sheila said about the operation Murambatsvina, assuring Onai who was not also aware of the clean-up operation. "You really don't know? Someone told me that "the police went round announcing that the shacks should be destroyed" said Sheila (Tagwira, 2008. p. 140). The above quotation reveals to some extent that the citizen were not given enough time to prepare themselves after the announcement as most of the people were not aware about the implementation which was due so soon.

A lot of complaints, gossip and suggestions were heard among the market vendors, but did not bring any change to what the government had already planned. Some suggested that, the operation was supposed to target the criminals who deal with foreign currency; in this case Katy was seen as the criminal offender as a black market dealer of foreign currency (Tagwira, 2008. p. 128). While men and women stood nervously sharing the bad news. Suddenly, Paul came and shouted to the group of ladies, "Good morning ladies, why are you still here?, Haven't you heard the news that the police are out in full force" (Tagwira, 2008. p. 128)..Paul then warned all the market vendors to quickly remove their vegetables before the group of police riot arrived, because they are armed with teargas canisters and think baton sticks. Even

though the market vendors never wanted to listen to him, immediately when Paul left the police truck filled with armed riot police arrived. They were instructed to remove their sales and leave, but some vendors like Maya still insisted on asking questions but it was all in vain. They had to leave or wait to experience the aggravated assault. The market vendors' worst fears concerned how they would make up for the day's lost earnings. How would they survive without their sales at the market? For the majority, the market was their sole source of income. Maya was very offended, and persuaded other market vendors not to leave the market but to protest against the police riots instead. Some agreed whereas some voices twittered in nervous amusement then a small number of women and men decided to participate.

#### **4.3.2.2. Intimidation, fears and poverty in the community of Mbare**

Convinced by Maya, the market of Mbare could be seen as the battle ground, as most people never left the place. Here the police are seen firing teargas canisters to the market vendors in Mbare who could not leave their stalls in response to the proclamation of the government's operation or clean up. This is revealed when angry people throw rocks, fruits, vegetables and other objects in the air hitting back at the police who were assaulting them and launching teargas canisters into air (Tagwira, 2008, p. 133). The riot police threw teargas canisters into the crowds and beat up the protesters with sturdy baton sticks. The real reason for the operation was a hidden agenda by ZANU-PF to dilute MDC's urban strong holds in urban areas since MDC was commanding a very strong support base in all urban areas of the country (Tagwira, 2008, p.134). The above analysis collaborates with Hansen (2009)'s definition of political violence which includes excessive use of force and torture as seen

through the police riots who removed the people from the market place without mercy or listening the people's suggestions.

Another victim of the operation was Mawaya who stood in the toilet queue to relieve himself, but could not do so as he heard a burst of loud, angry voices blaring hooters and the sounds of running feet. Everyone was now running for his or her life. When Mawaya wanted to see what was happening, he recognised the wail of the police siren. He was told by another man running for his life, "police" the man could not even stop and asked Mawaya to run for his life. Unfortunately, Mawaya ran into the police riot which was already heading the crowds away from the shopping centre. Luckily, he managed to escape from this horrible battle field. The ground was a sea of burst, broken and crushed fruits and vegetable; he stabled and grabbed a woman who carried a baby on her back in front of him. Mawaya moved quickly shocked by the violence he had just witnessed. Mawaya remembered the last time something like this happened was in the year 1998 (Tagwira, 2008. p.134). Beady Eyes, one of the victims, was caught and was led to waiting police car, and she thought about the difference between the 1998 food riot and for 2005 riot because this time she is Tagwira, 2008. p.134)s likely to save time in jail Tagwira, 2008. p.134). The police continued to spray teargas canisters and the canisters landed at Maya's feet. Her eyes stung and tears flowed from her eyes. Unfortunately, when she was struggling to get away she received several hard blows to her head and chest. Hannah also was injured, her aching leg carried her from the scuffles, and she collapsed in a ditch just next to the bus terminus.

Assistant Commissioner Nzou, who was the driving force behind Operation Murambatsvina, came to scene place having disguised himself as much as possible, and stopped his unmarked car at a distance away. He regarded the chaos with cool detachment. "Not bad for the day's work" He thought. People had to pay for daring to launch a counter- attack on a police

officer. Stalls and illegal structures were pulled down, confiscated food were being loaded into police trucks. The numbers of arrests were rising. Commissioner Nzou wondered how much foreign currencies had been confiscated, because if he played his cards right he would profit hugely (Tagwira, 2008. p.134).

. This paragraph indicates that Assistant Commissioner Nzou was behind this exercise as he was hungry for a promotion (Tagwira, 2008. p.134). It also reveals that commissioner Nzou was one of the perpetrators of political violence because he was very happy to see that the operation teams had done a great job (both the demolishing team and the police riots).

The foregoing analysis demonstrated how the community of Mbare was psychologically, economically and physically affected by the Clean- Up Restore Order (Clean up the rubbish). People were intimidated by the use of teargas canisters and police beatings. This raised fear in them such that no one would dare go on with business because the market place was shut down, meaning they were denied their only source of income. Consequently, people were economically impoverished. Children's education was destroyed because children turned into street market vendors. There was not point for children to go and sit in classes on empty stomachs. This is exemplified by Onai's children who were arrested, and harassed psychologically and sexually. This analysis collaborates with Makando (2014)'s definition of political violence which takes the forms of murder, assault and sexual abuse.

#### **4.3.2.3. The effect of political violence on key characters**

In her novel *The Uncertainty of Hope*, Tagwira's portrayal of political violence through Operation Murambatsvina which collaborates with Tibaijuka's (2005) report. We see some characters portrayed as market vendors and victims of political violence such as Onai Moyo, Katy, her friend Maya and Hondo, a well-known man in the battle for the liberation struggle.

The analysis below focuses on the effects of Operation Murambatsvina destruction of illegal structures in Mbare.

After the chaos at the market by the police riot, the demolishing of the shacks and extension of the illegal structure started. On her way home, Katy collided with a man whom she scolded for bumping her, and then later recognised as one of her lodgers. Themba quickly informed Katy about the police officers who were waiting for her at home. Immediately fears embraced her. She thought could they have come to arrest her because of her business as a black market dealer of foreign currency, and how would they have known about her being a black market dealer. She thought of how she would escape from the situation, however her fears increased much worse than her fears of being arrested when Themba revealed to her the demolition of shacks and the illegal structures without an approved plan from the council. Katy's fears were shown in her words, "They are joking they can't do that" she lamented. The police officers informed Katy about her shacks that had been bulldozed and assured her of the announcement about the implementation of the operation Murambatsvina which was made the previous day.

"We announced yesterday that you should pull down your own shacks, because they are illegal but you did not do so, so we had no choice but to bulldoze them ourselves" one police officer explained (Tagwira, 2008. p. 139). In the above statement, the words, "We announced yesterday" collaborates with Tibaijuka's report which states that, the city residence were not given enough time to prepare for the demolishing of their illegal structures. Given a short period of time was something done injustice to the community of Mbare and the country at large. How could an announcement be made today and expect miracles done overnight? This was done unfairly as it caused a million family members who were renting in these shacks to be displaced. Katy spent the rest of the morning helping her lodgers move their possessions to Tsiga ground where displaced families were gathering to mark out their territories in the

open space. “Open space”, this is a very serious and sensitive issue, how would one survive in an open space during the cold winters without good sanitation and water (Tagwira, 2008. p. 155). This was a double lose for Katy; this was catastrophic day. All the stalls were demolished and the market closed. She could not make any business; in addition to that, she has lost another source of income as a landlord.

From Katy’s home, the team of the police riot moved to Maya’s home. Within minutes her lodgers started emptying the shacks and throwing out their belonging. There was a lot of shouting and gesticulations. Maya, (well-known gossiper)’s voice rose above the rest, fuelled by rage. After about half an hour of frenzied activities and the heated exchanges, the bulldozer edged towards the empty shacks. Homes collapsed under the massive assault. Everything was flattened only a pathetic layer of wreckage remained (Tagwira, 2008. p. 139).

This was another calamitous day, how many families were going to be displaced?The more shackswere demolished, the more displaced families increased. Like Katy, Maya followed suit. She lost everything.

The next target was Onai’s home. Onai was in a state of confusion as she could not make sense of what was happening. Sheila, Onai’s lodger, informed Onai about the announcement which the police made the previous day about demolishing the shacks and the closure of the market. Sheila’s voice broke out and said, “They are getting closer I think I should empty my shack” “You are right; I think they shall be here soon. We must empty your shack” added Onai (Tagwira, 2008, p. 140). Outside they heard more angry voices, running feet, sound of crushing mortar now and then. The atmosphere was saturated with fear, anger and uncertainty. In a short while, Sheila’s property stood a disorderly pile under the mango tree.

Onai and Sheila watched the drama unfolding next door and waited for their fate. Fortunately, Onai had a plan for the extra rooms, but the shack was demolished by Onai through the instruction by the police demolisher (Tagwira, 2008, p. 142). .

Here we see how Onai is traumatised by several events. Onai thought about her miserable life with Gari. She cried about the food shortages and the market, reliable source of income, had been closed leaving her without a source of income. She thought of Sheila's situation, and wept for all the people who had suddenly become homeless. As defined by Caruth (cited in Marder 2006) trauma can be extended to the people who are not directly linked to the event. Here we see Onai was traumatised by Sheila's health condition and her baby who were now homeless. How would life be for Sheila? Sheila was left without hope. Where will she spend the cold nights (Tagwira, 2008. p. 145).

According to Tagwira, (2008), "after one week the displaced families were shifted from Tsigu grounds to a holding camp. Just a week of sleeping out in the open space had already ravaged Sheila's health. Her coughs worsened and her eyes lifeless pools in a face worn with fatigue; Sheila now had the familiar skeletal appearance of a victim of full blown AIDS" (p. 156).

Many of the sick people had been left without access to medication, and some lost their lives. The cold weather did not make their plight any better either. The young and old came down with chest infections and swamped the casualty department at the local hospital. The sick were attended to by overloaded doctors who sent them back with prescriptions because there was no medication in the hospital.

The fact that most families lost their sources of income made it very difficult for them to pay fees of about hundreds of thousands required for an average prescription. Sheila was one of

the people politically affected by the operation. Sheila's health condition was worsened by the demolishing of the shacks which left her to spend the nights in the cold as alluded to above. In the light of the above, the sick were robbed for their right with proper medication due to the political violence emanating from Operation Murambatsvina. The government failed to provide medication due to lack of financial bottle necks because the money which could have been used to buy medication was deviated and used for the implementation of Operation Murambatsvina. This means that, the government regarded Operation Murambatsvina higher than human beings.

The demolishing team's work for the day stopped at Onai's home and the next target on the following day was Hondo's- the war veteran. The government introduced some policies which were against and even affected war veterans such as Hondo. According to Hondo, as a war veteran, he viewed the implementation of Operation Murambatsvina as betrayal of what was fought for. This is shown when the demolishing team were in a heated confrontation with Hondo.

Despite the people's plea with the demolishing team to stop demolishing their homes, the team of police riots did not listen to the people. The situation was worsened when the riot group went and demolished Hondo's two extra rooms, Hondo felt that he deserved due respect as he regarded himself as one of the war veterans who fought in the war to liberate Zimbabwe from the British. Hondo is seen gesticulating and shouting at the riot police for their lack of respect for the people who fought for independence. This is revealed in Hondo's words when he continued to attack the officers by telling them that, it was better for them to leave his place before he shoots them because it seemed they did not know who he was during the liberation struggle. "How dare you come here and destroy my property?" Do you know who I am? Do you know that I fought for this country?..." He repeated angrily (Tagwira, 2008, p. 150). Hondo tried by all means to convince the demolishing team or the

police officers by explaining to them who he was, but that did not help. The demolishing team continued with their work. In addition, they also requested Hondo to give them the plan for the extra rooms attached to the main house. Unfortunately, Hondo did not have the plan for the extra rooms. Hondo's lodgers seemed to have realised that their landlord's war-veteran status did not make them immune to the demolitions, and they proceeded to empty their shacks speedily. In no time, Hondo's extra illegal two rooms were also demolished. All these were afflicted by Operation Murambatsvina as their stalls were demolished together with their illegal home structures.

As it is revealed in Tagwira's novel, all those whose shacks have been demolished were relocated at Tsiga ground where several displaced families had set up improvised homes out of plastics bags and poles. Here we see Onai Moyo and her friend Katy helping Sheila one of the displaced families and an HIV positive patient in setting up her improvised home. The operation just worsened her unhealthy condition as she was left with no choice other than sleeping in the cold (Tagwira, 2008, p. 149).

Another issue which devastated people so much was that the demolishing team would demolish the illegal structures together with furniture in it. This is revealed in Hondo's wife plea to the demolishing team to stop their action. "My goods from South Africa, are in there please stop!" (Tagwira, 2008, p. 151). She pleaded and held out her hand to the police officer who just ignored her.

Hondo felt that he was emasculated and publicly humiliated in the worst possible manner. He kept on questioning himself, if this was the reward for his sacrifice? Was this really what he deserved after all the effort he took together with other citizens in the liberation struggle for independence? This portrayal of Hondo by Tagwira connects us to Fanon (1963)'s line of thinking that, it is only the colour of the political leaders that changed; otherwise the ruling system remained the same.

Fanon (1963, p. 63) asserts that, the violence which was used during the struggle for freedom does not really disappear after the jubilant ceremonies for independence. Fanon (1963)'s line of thinking is also collaborated by Ngugi wa Thiong'o's fictional writing which shows the effects of colonialism and how fictional characters suffered and struggled for the liberation for independence; yet the same African leaders who fought for independence are the ones ill-treating their fellow black Africans (2008, p. 3).

This is what is revealed through Hondo who fought for independence in the liberation struggle for Zimbabwean independence yet he became the victim of Operation Murambatsvina executed on the Zimbabwean citizens by the ruling party as a way of punishing the MDC party supporters. This is supported by Sachikonye (2011) who has analysed political violence through intra-party groups which developed a notorious reputation for intimidation and torture of opposition party supporters, and this led to most opposition party supporters' deaths, injuries and more displacements as revealed by Tagwira (2008) through the characters of Mbare. These emerge from political violence which is closely related to political violence.

This in itself reveals this form of violence as political violence as it is associated with the ruling party which of course, according to its manifesto, endorsed the fundamental rights and

freedoms for each and every citizen of Zimbabwe after the struggle for independence (Tagwira, 2008, p. 152). This particularly meant that all citizens should enjoy the fruits of independence which was not the case. Almost all of the fundamental freedoms of Zimbabwean citizens were violated especially the fundamental right to personal property and right to life as many of the victims ended up committing suicide- including Hondo. “Suddenly Hondo broke into a sprint, screaming wildly as he run up to the 50<sup>th</sup> street” and people were advised not to follow him in case he might attack them. The riot personnel laughed at him and even saying mocking words to him that he should stop behaving like a woman (Tagwira, 2008 p. 152). Hondo’s wife was so distressed, and Onai did her best to console her. Hondo never came back home and the matter was reported to the police who never took it seriously.

The next morning Hondo’s mangled body was discovered on the railway tracks by children walking to school. The train’s wheel had sliced him across his torso and abdomen. His head was untouched and no foul play was suspected. It was generally accepted that the events of the previous day had driven him to commit suicide (Tagwira, 2008, p. 153). In addition to Hondo’s funeral there were three other funerals that week in Jo’berg Lines that week. The saddest was one of the two toddlers who died instantly because the demolishing team erroneously moved in without checking whether they were people inside the targeted shacks. Not only had the parents been left homeless and impoverished, but also childless and grieving (Tagwira, 2008 p. 155). This is what is revealed by Sachikonye (2011) that during political party rallies political leaders used their powers to intimidate other political party supporters and this led to most opposition supporters’ deaths, injuries and more displacement including innocent children. Parents were inflicted with the psychological pain, being left homeless, impoverished and grieving for their children. Marder (2006) explains that, parents were left with some kind of wound which could not be healed within a shortest time depending on how

different victims handle their traumas. As explained by Caruth (cited in Marder 2006) trauma takes place differently in different victims because an event that may traumatise one person may not traumatise the other. Some people may spend the rest of their lives being traumatised by an event that took place many years ago. Following Caruth's explanation some people may be traumatised to the extent that they even commit suicide as it is revealed through Tagwira's representation of Hondo and other characters who committed suicide after the demolishing of their homes.

Another woman's body was found floating in a ditch over flowing with raw sewage. Nobody knew how she died, but the fact that she also lost everything during the Murambatsvina operation; it was suspected that she could have also died of trauma from the previous event. Another of 6 children committed suicide by taking rat poison when both her tuck-shop and her shack were demolished within a few hours after each other (Tagwira, 2008, p. 155). Hence, most children were left homeless and orphaned as their parents committed suicide and they joined the homeless at Tsigu grounds. Most outstanding in all this is how this form of misery is traceable to state sponsored violence and some political connotations. Following the above analysis and what is revealed in Tibaijuka's report (2005) how many people lost their lives, their properties, how many were disabled and how many children were left parentless or orphaned? Many people were displaced and lived at Tsigu ground where there is no clean water and good sanitation and theft was rampant such that properties went missing (Tagwira, 2008, p. 155). These are the effects of political violence which is executed on the citizens by its own government through Operation Murambatsvina. Tagwira's representation of political violence as insinuated by the political leaders who are power hungry or fighting for promotions is portrayed through the Assistance Commissioner Nzou who went to the extent of consulting the traditional healer Tsikamutanda for his charms to give rise to recommendations for a promotion (Tagwira, 2008, p. 135) This scenario is supported by

Babatunde (2006, p. 3) who points out that violence has been used by groups seeking power, holding on to power and those in the process of losing power and this is what has been revealed in the analysis of Tagwira's portrayal of political violence. In addition, this state of affair is also supported by Kangira (2010)'s views that showed the same idea through his analysis of four speeches read by President Mugabe during the burial ceremony of four heroes. Even though the allegations for the deaths of some opposition party members were directed to members of their own political parties, according to Kangira's analysis, this was just a cover by the ruling party.

Furthermore, the operation disrupted children's education. According to Tibaijuka (2005)'s report, many citizens in Zimbabwe suffered due to the implementation of Operation Murambatsvina. The report revealed that the education of thousands of school age children was disrupted. This is also revealed in *The Uncertainty of Hope*, where the politically motivated Operation Murambatsvina affected the whole community of Mbare including children. A lot of children stopped going to school because the very notion of going to sitting in class to concentrate on lessons seemed pointless when they were homeless and starving (Tagwira, 2008, p. 155).

Parents were also affected in the sense that they were now unable to fulfil their duties of looking after their children, because for some people like Maya and Onai relied on the sale of vegetables and other fruits from the market, yet this market was violently closed down. Therefore parents were left without any source of income, as the market was shut down, where they generated money to buy food and pay school fees for their children. Market vendors found it difficult to fend their children (Tagwira, 2008, p. 154).

The above analysis reveals how the Operation Murambatsvina affected Zimbabwean citizens as portrayed through fictitious characters and this fictionalisation of politically motivated violence. Here the government had denied children's rights for education, yet it is well endorsed and spelt out clearly in the ZANU-PF Manifesto.. The basic argument of this study is that political violence was perpetrated against men, women and children. This highlights how trauma and post-colonial theories are connected in the interpretation of this data in this study.

During the operation, many fictitious characters such as Onai, Katy, Maya and Hondo were traumatised but in different ways as victims perceive trauma differently. This is revealed in the other spectators' argument that started whispering in surprise why Hondo looked to be so much humiliated after all they too had lost their homes. They could not fully understand why Hondo was more traumatised than others (Tagwira, 2008, p. 152).

This is where we see how events can traumatise other victims while others are either traumatised for a while and forget about it; whilst others get traumatised for the rest of their lives or even end up committing suicide (Tagwira, 2008, p 155).

The novel further reveals how trauma is extended to other people who are not directly linked to the event. This is revealed through Onai's emotional pain when Hondo's extra rooms were demolished "Pain twisted like a knife in Onai's heart" (Tagwira, 2008, p.150). Onai felt disturbed by what was happening to Hondo and his wife, because she is the only one who understood them, and knew how they worked hard for them to have managed to build those extra rooms. Hondo cried again and again, "Why? Why? Why?" He was traumatised by Operation Murambatsvina (Tagwira, 2008 p. 152). This trauma is politically connected in that as Fanon (1963) has remarked, in post-independence Africa, the ruling elites are the ones who unleash violence with an unbelievable mercilessness. The state machinery carries out its

duties without any regard for human life, let alone feelings and the idea of human rights is pushed ashore as they seek political vengeance.

Another reason why Hondo was so humiliated, which other people could not realise, is the fact that Hondo himself sacrificed his life as he took part in positive “political violence” in the fight against the colonial rule of the British and in return he became a victim of the violence he had fought against. Hondo’s fight was against injustice, violence and unfair practice, so that at last peace and tranquillity could prevail. This was achieved at independence when the country at last was free of violence and a fellow black man took to power to safeguard the sanctity of human rights (Fanon, 1963). However, what the novel presents is a disheartening worsening of the situation when the liberator becomes the oppressor and violence is used as a coercive and retributive force to settle political scores in a brute and indiscriminate manner.

The foregoing analysis has demonstrated the causes and effects of political violence. The perpetrators and the victims of political violence were addressed. The aftermath of the demolitions left no one untouched. The demolishing team elsewhere continued with the operation in a similar manner. Lives and livelihoods were lost. Mbare was the worst affected, because it is the most overcrowded. Parents or displaced families were seen continuing moving around to find places to elect their temporally homes. Life is not easy without clean water and good sanitation. All these were afflicted by Operation Murambatsvina. All activities were shut down. In conclusion this analysis has shown how political violence and how the victims were affected by Operation Murambatsvina implemented by the government. The next section will discuss the portrayal of political violence by Owour in her novel *Dust*.

#### **4.4. A brief synopsis of the novel *Dust***

*Dust* is a novel written by Yvonne Adhiambo Owuor a female Kenyan author; it has been shortlisted for the Folio prize. The novel is set against the backdrop of the 2007 presidential and parliamentary elections in Kenya. The result of the presidential election was contested, but nevertheless Mwai Kibaki was hurriedly sworn in as president, inaugurating weeks of violence and hundreds of deaths.

The novel opens with the death of Odidi Oganda who was killed when running for his life after the post 2007 elections. There are many deaths in the novel, but this is the one that sets the narrative in motion. Odidi Oganda is killed in a gunfight with the police on the streets of Nairobi on the night of the elections, 27 December 2007.

Odidi was a brilliant engineer, whose disgust with the cynical corruption of the powerful turned him into the leader of a criminal gang. On the night of his death, he had just made the decision to leave Nairobi and return to his estranged family. His death brings his sister Ajany back from Brazil, summoned home by her father, Nyipir. Together they collect Odidi's body from the morgue, and take it home to the northern dry lands around Lake Turkana, where his mother, Akai, waits. Odidi's murder has stirred deeply buried memories of colonial violence, of the killing sprees of the Mau Mau uprising and the shocking political assassination of Tom Mboya in 1969 (Owuor, 2014, p. 271).

Owuor's portrayal of the fictitious characters who are arrested, beaten and tortured in cells is indeed representative of political violence because it shows that, the police officers were behind the suffering of the citizens.

## **4. 5. Exploration of political violence in post-colonial Kenya as portrayed in dust**

### **4.5.1. Post-election violence of 2007 and Odidi Oganda's fate**

In order to respond to and address the objectives of this study, Owuor's presentation of Odidi Oganda makes him the central key figure of political violence in this study. The historical political violence in Kenya is presented through the lamentation of one family. The plot is set in motion by the post-election of 2007 that led to Odidi's assassination. This sudden death is the one that sets the plot moving, bringing Odidi's sister Ajany from Brazil. Odidi Oganda hurls an AK-47 aside and runs from a howling mob (Owuor, 2014, p. 19).

Odidi's participation as a national activist leads to his disappearance on the very night of the 2007 elections. Because Odidi became the advocator on behalf of the silenced Kenyan nation, Odidi is spotted as a key figure in insinuating protests against the corrupt independence ruling system which was fought for against the colonial regime. The language in Kenya was English, Kiswahili and Silence, the language of silence was what Odidi fought against. As such, Odidi sacrificed his life for the Kenyan nation as analysed below.

Odidi Oganda is one of the national activists portrayed in Owuor's Novel *Dust* protesting on behalf of a silent nation. This is revealed when Odidi chased after a contract for the repair of the nation's dams. He had lobbied, argued and dazzled because the TichLich Engineers won the contract worth two hundred and seventy-five million shillings, yet the work was not done. When Odidi received top-secret instruction to silt the dams, he insisted on talking to the managing director who was in another meeting. Odidi had left a note, setting out what he had seen and asked for an explanation. The managing Director was on TV announcing that the TichLich had been contracted to install and service the equipment. This feedback never satisfied Odidi who was ready to die on behalf of his nation and Odidi:

Barged into the minister of energy's office the next day; "Something is wrong" He shouted. "The minister listened, then said, 'put it in writing'" So Odidi wrote a letter to the minister headed acts of treason Against the People and National Kenya, backed with data and evidence, dates and figures (Owuor, 2014, p. 161)

Odidi was killed on the day of the election results because he was against what was happening in post-independence Kenya. As shown by other authors in their literary fictional writing, for example Hansen (2009), political violence emerges due to conflicts between the ruling party and opposition from ethnic groups who were disadvantaged by the people with political ruling powers, and this brought tribal conflict among the Kenyan nation. This is collaborated by Hansen (2009) who earlier defined the causes of political violence and stated that, "the election campaign, the election itself and their aftermath were characterised by threats, harassments and the occurrence of violent clashes between supporters of different parties, claiming the lives of around 1,500 Kenyans and displacing more than 300,000". It is revealed in this novel that some prominent official were assassinated, tortured and arrested. Tom Mboya was killed and others, such as Patrick Celestine Ambungu and Onesmus Wekesa, arrested Owuor, (2014, p. 273). This is also revealed in Ngugi Wa Thiong'o's writing his novel *Petals of Blood*" In this novel he reveals how national activists are tortured, arrested and locked up in cells, when they protest against exploitation executed on them., For example, characters such as Mzigo, Chu, Kimeria were murdered.

The above discussion reveals how the fictional characters were affected by political violence in this novel. The death of Odidi was due to his political resistance against the post-colonial violence that was executed on the Kenyan citizen by the ruling party. The president in power favoured his own ethnic group in the allocation of resources disadvantaging the other ethnic groups. This led to conflict among political ruling party and ethnic groups. This analysis

collaborates with Hansen's (2009) line of thinking as he revealed some of the causes of political violence in his study.

The analysis of Odidi's fate shows how political violence traumatises individuals and families caught up in the flare of violence. The desperate search for Odidi by his family soon after the elections and ultimate discovery of his death is a clear demonstration of worries, suffering and psychological torture due to political violence.

#### **4.5.2. Effects of political violence on Odidi Oganda's family**

Ajany, Odidi's sister, is the most traumatised member of the family as she keeps on asking about her brother's death. "Baba," Ajany groans. "Why did my brother die?" Nyipir halts, then a staccato answer. "Police" let it suffice. "I begged them, knelt down. Searched for him and begged them to save my child" (Owuor2014, p.71). Dispute Nyipir's pleas with the police to save his son, they did not listen to him. The interaction of Nyipir and the police is similar to Tagwira's portrayal of trauma through Hondo who also begged the police to stop destroying his extra rooms, but it was all in vain. Both Nyipir and Hondo suffered trauma through political violence which was executed on them through a government operation and following election results. This strongly brings out suffering, helplessness, psychological torture and trauma as elements of political violence in these two novels.

The above discussion shows how Owuor portrays political violence emanating from the post-2007 elections which led to the killing arrest and torture of many Kenyans. As discussed in Chapter 2, Fanon's (1963) literary work shows that, at independence most African leaders inherited and perpetuated the ruling system of pre-colonial rulers. Nothing changed except the white to black colour of the rulers; otherwise the ruling system remained the same as portrayed in the selected novels. Post-election violence displaced many families and some families left the country. This is shown in Ali's family argument as to whether they should

stay in Kenya or flee to England. “Ali, let’s go back to England, for the children’s sake. There is nothing here for us. These people are only good for shooting, killing and dying” said Ali’s wife. “We are fine and safe” Said Ali reaching across the table for Najiba’s arm. “We shall leave before anything explodes” Owuor (2014, p. 234). This shows that there was a lot of violence in Kenya, and out of fear and terror; people opted to leave for England.

At the beginning of the novel we experience violence through the post 2007 elections in Kenya which led to the deaths of most national activists who become advocates of a nation in silence, as the official languages in Kenya had become English, Swahili and silence. The languages of silence resulted from the fear of ordinary citizens voicing their experiences, whether good or bad, about the ruling government or people in power (Owuor, 2014, p. 273). Whoever was assumed, seen or spotted agitating for people to rebel against the government was arrested, tortured or assassinated as it is shown through the fictitious character Tom Mboya. In *Dust*, Owuor chooses Odidi to portray such agitation and eventual consequences suffered. It also points to real individuals who were harassed, tortured and assassinated. One of those individuals is Tom Mboya who was assassinated on 5 July 1969 Owuor (2014, p. 271). What follows in the next section is a detailed discussion and analysis of Tom Mboya’s assassination as portrayed in *Dust*.

#### **4.6. Tom Mboya as a political key figure in pre and post independent Kenya**

##### **4.6. 1. Detention and assassinations of key characters**

This section explains and analyses the manifestation of political violence, in the form of detention and assassinations, through the fictitious characters portrayed by Owuor.

The murder of Tom Mboya was the culmination of fears, swirling rumours, and the silences that had started before independence (Owuor, 2014, p. 271). News Tom’s assassination

brought terror, shock and disbelief to Kenyans. Among the Kenyans were Nyipir and Mzomba who could not believe Tom had been killed. This is revealed in the following sentences:

Nyipir's body temperature had dropped. Tom Mboya. His heart had slowed down, and he collapsed with his disintegrating national dreams. Then. It is a lie; nobody would kill Tom, because it means they would be willing to kill Kenya (Owuor, 2014, p. 272).

Tom Mboya's death created a fissure in the nation, as if it had split apart its own soul. Every citizen was willing to attend his burial in dismay. A wailing nation lined up on a three hundred kilometres of a road to touch the passing hearse (Owuor, 2014, p. 272).

. Tom's death turned into a humorous play, as one man named Njenga, during a trial that he had fired a gun, cried, "Why pick on me? Why don't you ask the big man?" Before he could suggest much more, Njenga was hanged. This indeed reveals the effects of political violence that we see innocent people like Njenga killed for someone else's deeds. Njenga's statement, "Why pick me? Why don't you ask the big man?" indirectly reveals that the government under the leadership of Kenyatta could be responsible for Tom Mboya's assassination. But it is not clear as to who could have killed Tom Mboya as shown in Goldsworthy's (2014) discussion. The above analysis corroborates with Onyekpe(1998)'s definition of politics as "the struggle for power which itself is the authority to determine or formulate and execute decisions and policies, which must be accepted by the society... it is the struggle for power of governance, especially executive authority" (p. 58). Owuor's novel reveals political leaders fighting for powers and leadership positions to enable them to make national or local decisions that should be imposed on society as well as to gain both personal and tribal prominence.

The increased political competition and ideological differences among the leaders, violent acts of intimidation, detention and assassinations are planned against each other among the political leaders. This is shown through the assassination of Tom Mboya and OgingaOdinga who was intimidated, harassed and detained under house arrest by the Kenyan government under the leadership of Jomo Kenyatta. It is alleged that the two were advocating for socialism whereas Kenyatta having stayed for 17 years in Britain preferred the capitalist system (Goldsworthy, 2014). The theme of betrayal is revealed through OgingaOdinga who stood firm on the maxim that there would be no independence granted to Kenya until the release of the KapenguriaSix, and that Jomo Kenyatta should be the first president of Kenya. Regrettably, the same Jomo Kenyatta whose release OgingaOdinga had steadfastly fought for turned against him and incarcerated him under house arrest. This is similar to what happened to Hondo, a war-veteran whose shack was mercilessly destroyed by the demolishing team, a treatment contrary to his expectation (Tagwira, 2008, p. 151).

The above discussion shows how Tom Mboya was killed and how the nation felt about his death as he was regarded as one of the most prominent people who would serve Kenyans to the level of his ability. The arrest of Njenga concerning Tom's death, and his question as to why he should be held responsible for Tom's death, implies that Njenga was just used or sent by the people with ruling powers to kill Tom. That is why before he could reveal more issues about Tom's death he was also killed to eliminate him from telling the truth (Owuor, 2014, p. 272). This again shows how Kenyans suffered due to political violence which emerged from the 2007 bungled election, whereby everything was supposed to be done freely and fairly given that the colonial era had ended. The reality on the ground is contrary to what the multitude of the nation expected after independence as stipulated in the manifestos of

different parties in Kenya. For example, KANU and SDP manifestoes clearly spelt out that the fundamental human rights would be protected and that the colonial rule which did not respect such rights had come to an end.

#### **4. 7. The language of silence: Torture, fear and intimidation**

This section analyses the effects of the language of silence, and how the Kenyan citizens suffered through torture, fear and intimidation as represented in the novel *Dust*.

First, after the Death of Tom Mboya, the kikuyu are alleged to have taken an oath to defend themselves against the Luo. Such activities are not discussed and this was the first aspect of silence. The other tribes lived in fear, for they did not know what the Kikuyus had agreed to do. They could not ask or discuss this matter. The next nine years (1969-1978) of Kenyatta's leadership experienced some degree of oath of silence (Goldsworthy, 2014).

Secondly, after the attempted coup of 1982, the government of Daniel Toroitich Arap Moi became dictatorial. The language of silence was even more pronounced in this era than in any other era in post independent Kenya. The whole fabric of society was full of government paid intelligence service. One couldn't know who was not working for the intelligence service. It was a sad error in Kenya. People would be picked from their houses and interrogated for false crimes and accusations. People were tortured, several died in torture chambers, and many were maimed. A whole KANU youth winger group was empowered to interfere with people's lives. This youth wing group meted mayhem on citizens, from torture to confiscation of property and illegal taxation. Surely, under such a regime, the language or cone of silence was the only way to survive- passively observe the government do what it wanted to do (Branch (2011 as cited in Small Arm Survey 2012, p. 3). This is corroborated with Nissimi (2006)'s assertion on Tom Mboya's death as causing tension and violence both

in Nairobi and Kisumu as the state used KANU youth wingers to perpetrate political violence.

The central province in Kenya was emptied of people who were renamed cockroaches and beasts from the worst. Nobody would acknowledge the exiles or citizens who did not make it out of the province before they were destroyed. Oaths of profound silences-secret shots in a slithering civil war. A train would stop at a lakeside town and offload men, women and children. “Displaced ghosts, now-in between people”. No words. As mentioned earlier the language in Kenya was silence to the evil acts done by the government (Owuor, 2014, p. 272). .

The above quotation explains that, soon after the announcements of the presidential election results, it was evident that Mr Mwai Kibaki, a Kikuyu from Central Province was to be the president. There was fear among non-Kikuyu residents in Central Province, and this fear led to an exodus of such residents. Some of those who remained suffered the ensuing wrath and retaliatory attacks of the Kikuyu after the Kikuyu were brutally murdered in Western Nyanza. This reveals evidence enough of how Kenyans suffered torture, fear and intimidation through political violence perpetrated by its own government. Most of the citizens had fled the country for their survival, and those who remained were brutally killed as the language was silence in Kenya. Therefore, things happened but people were afraid to voice out their experiences in fear of being killed (Owuor, 2014, p. 272).

The sufferings of the citizens were witnessed by Nyipir who hoped this would to come to an end soon. He saw many being picked from their homes prosecuted and judged at night. He remembered phrases shouted out by those who were arrested, like any other person Nyipir could not tell anyone because the language of Kenya was silenced. Indeed, this reveals the effects of political violence and how it directly and indirectly affected the victims as

portrayed in *Dust*. Therefore answering to the objectives of this study as mentioned earlier. The ideas narrated through Owuor's fictitious characters corroborates with Moi's era when there was in numerous arrests, torture and detention without trial. Court hearings for some of the victims were held over the weekend, after five o'clock. The aim was to pretend to show that a man was given a hearing, but it was a sham prosecution and sentence, a travesty of justice. The foregoing analysis shows the effects and causes of political violence executed on Tom Mboya and other prominent political characters as represented by Owuor'. The next section discusses and analyses the effects of political violence on the characters through colonialism and religion.

#### **4. 8. The effects of political violence through colonialism and religion**

Another aspect of how political violence is portrayed in this literary work is through colonialism and religion. Owuor's portrayal of political violence through colonialism and religion is shown through the victims and the victimiser. Thus Silas and Zaman represent the objects of political violence and Jacobs's family represent the perpetrators of political violence through colonialism and religion

Most African authors such as Ngugi wa Thiong'o, Fanon, believe that European colonisers came to Africa and used several strategies to achieve their goal. One strategy used was religious biblical instructions through Christianity to disseminate the word of God. The word of God from the 'Bible' was used to manipulate African people to discard their traditions and follow the biblical teachings. Some of the Ten Commandments for instance, "Thou shalt not kill" were simply obeyed for the good of the nation and to the benefit of the colonisers (Owuor, 2016, p. 124). This is revealed in *Dust*, Owuor portray fictitious characters such as the trader, who was given the new Christian name as Silas by the church gospel preacher from the white Jacobs family.

Through the interactions of Silas and the white Jacobs gospel preacher, we see how the European colonisers use Bible instructions to manipulate Africans to obey the Ten Commandments and submit themselves to the church which eventually left them poor. This is revealed in Owuor's portrayal of the place where the Jacobs family lived "It is a rectangular white house, a large version of a Mississippi sharecroppers' house surrounded by purple and yellow flowers hanging in the pink boxes around the fence" (Owuor, 2014, p. 125). It may indirectly be observed that through the sacrifices and commitment of the African societies to their church leaders, they, gospel preachers, are able to build decent houses and drive expensive cars. The self-interest of gospel preachers is also revealed in Ngugi wa Thiong'o's novel "*I will marry when I want*" when Kiguunda's family, through the manipulation of the gospel preachers lost its land by selling it at a cheaper price to the church (WaThiong'o & Mirii, 1977, p. 10).

Through Owuor's portrayal of fictitious characters Owuor shows some element of trickery and psychological manipulation, though some extension to political violence is blurred. However, argued from the definition of politics by Oguntola-Laguda (2008) as "the acquisition of power and the use of such power", it qualifies as a political violence in that indeed, we still have very many societies that have accepted religion wholesale and have remained slaves to such religion, to their own detriment. They are willing to deny themselves everything but their "pastors" or "religious leaders" live in luxury. It is also true that political (elite) leaders in many countries, including Kenya, Zimbabwe and Namibia live in profound riches while their citizens live in abject poverty. Politicians, just like preachers, promise good things to come-keep waiting and hoping, but in the long run, the promises never mature.

Another aspect of political violence is seen in Zaman's family who left his wife and children suffering alone and their livestock during the drought season. Zaman went out to obtain help from other supportive clans. He could not use the water from the watering dam which

supplied water for their daily uses because this is where the government official washed dishes with cholera poison; this water could not be used for any purpose anymore. This reveals that human rights were politically violated through the government official who deliberately washed dishes with cholera poison to cause diseases for the people who would use the water (Owuor, 2014, p. 126).

In his search for water Zaman met the Jacobs family in their decent 4x4, but they did not assist him, yet they call themselves God's gospel preachers. Here we can see how political violence perpetrated by the government and through colonialism and religion psychologically and emotionally affected different individuals as portrayed by Owuor.

The foregoing analysis suggests very much that both political and church leaders have one thing in common- that is, they manipulate the gullible and unwary citizens through empty promises, and in the process make them poorer by outrightly denying their rights or through trickery. While in every election period politicians make promises to the electorates, preachers cunningly repeat their empty promises and inculcate fear to their followers every Sunday.

#### **4.9 Summary of the findings**

This chapter has explored and discussed political violence as manifested in the two novels, *The Uncertainty of Hope* (2008) by Tagwira and *Dust* (2014) by Owuor. Some reference has been made to other fictional writers who portray political violence similar to those in the two selected literary works. In both novels, political violence is perpetrated by the government against its citizens through the rigging of the ruling party in an independent Kenya Branch (2011, as cited in Small Arm Survey Brief Issue 2012, p. 2). Similarly, in an independent Zimbabwe political violence is also perpetrated by the government through Operation

Murambatsvina executed on Zimbabweans. In both novels, the fictional characters suffered torture, arrests and killings by the police officers. Some women suffered rape by police officials. Next is Chapter 5 which presents conclusions and recommendations of this study.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

#### 5.1 Introduction

This study was based on the exploration of political violence in the novels *The Uncertainty of Hope* and *Dust*. The focus of the study was to analyse the fictional representation of political violence, its causes, effects and the forms of political violence as portrayed in the selected novels. It further analysed how different sections of society (fictitious characters) are depicted as victims and perpetrators of political violence.

The study used the trauma literary theory and post-colonial theory in the interpretation of political violence.

The objectives of the study were to:

- explore the representation of political violence in the selected literary works, and
- Analyse the major causes and effects of political violence as presented in the selected literary works.

The study employed a qualitative, desk top research design. The study was limited to the two novels which are *The Uncertainty of Hope* and *Dust*, where trauma and post-colonial theories were used to do the interpretation of the texts through content analysis which did not require field work.

## 5. 2 Conclusions

The study revealed that both authors represented political violence in the post independent countries. It also revealed that political violence initiated by the colonisers and which was fought by the black nationalists did not come to an end, but what changed was only the colour of the ruling leaders and the systems remained the same.

Tagwira and Owuor's representation of the effects and causes of political violence were also revealed through the representation of the fictitious characters who were either victims or perpetrators of political violence. Through the use of the literary theories this study revealed that victims have different experiences of violence, and therefore they are traumatised differently. This is revealed through Owuor's representation of Ajany, Odidi's sister who was the most traumatised by her brother's death. On the other hand, it was shown through Tagwira's representation of Hondo, the war-veteran who viewed the government's decision on the implementation of Operation Murambatsvina to demolish all illegal structure as a betrayal against its citizens, especially the war-veterans who fought and liberated the country from the British rule. Hondo thus was one of the most humiliated people by Operation Murambatsvina. On the other hand, Owuor reveals the theme of betrayal through the assassination of Tom Mboya who was one of the key political figures in the preparation for the liberation of Kenya. Title recognition and fighting for leadership was revealed as some of the causes of political violence.

Another aspect which was revealed in the analysis of the novels is the use of political status by the ruling elites to intimidate its citizens by killing, torturing and or arresting the protestors. This is worsened by the reinforcement of the language of silence which keeps the victims in suffering by not revealing what they had heard or what they were going through.

Following Oguntola-Laguda(2008)'s definition of religion as, "a belief that unites a group with the same morals in a church" This is revealed as one of the strategies used to benefit the colonisers at the expense of the colonised. This study revealed that the colonisers as represented in the novel *Dust* used religion through politics to unite and at the same time to manipulate the colonised. This is revealed in Owuor's portrayal of the Jacobs family who represented the white colonial gospel preachers who used the word of God to manipulate Africans in their own motherland.

The objectives of the study were met as illustrated below:

First objective: *To explore the representation of political violence in the selected literary works*

This objective was met in that the study demonstrated how violence is a pervasive vice which affects citizens both male and female. Political violence was also presented in the novel as emanating mainly from political elites and the state apparatus, especially the police, as they terrorise citizens. Therefore, the central idea which is revealed in this study is that political violence indeed is perpetrated by different individuals due to different perceptions such as, hunger for power, and greed.

Second objective: *To analyse the major causes and effects of political violence as presented in the selected literary works*

This objective was met in that the study identified the major causes of political violence as presented in the two novels. Moreover, the effects of political violence include trauma and death which psychologically and emotionally affect the victims of violence.

In conclusion therefore, through an analysis of the two novels it has been revealed that the government of Kenya and Zimbabwe betrayed their own citizens due to the loss of many lives, injuries and displacements. It can also be concluded that the fictional writers discussed in this study are voices of caution and conscience as they seek to expose the vices which

affect post-colonial African states. Owour and Tagwira through these two novels also demonstrate the role of the writer in African literature as that of a political commentator who recreates reality through the fictionalisation of history.

### **5.3. Suggestions for future research**

Based on the findings and conclusions of the study, the researcher suggests that future researchers on the subject of violence in African literature can focus on the following critical areas of concern in African literature:

- Explore the theme of political violence by comparing novels from Lusophone, Anglophone and Francophone Africa
- Analyse the presentation of other forms of violence including violence against children, women and minority groups
- Explore the coping mechanisms which are devised by the victims of political violence
- Examine the presentation of violence against the natural environment through the critical lens of ecocriticism.

### **5.4 Conclusion**

This chapter presented the conclusions of the study and also suggested possible areas for consideration by researchers interested in exploring the theme of violence in African literature. The conclusion made in this study is that the two novelists did justice to the presentation of violence, its manifestation, causes and effects. The chapter also identified gaps in the area of violence in African literature which can be explored by future researchers.

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