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Sustainable Agriculture and Culture: An Exploration of the Significance of the Indigenous Shona Religious Beliefs and Practices in Agricultural Sustainability

Edison Mhaka
Lecturer in Religious Studies in the Department of Curriculum Studies, Faculty of Education, Great Zimbabwe University, Masvingo, Zimbabwe

***Corresponding Author:**
Edison Mhaka
Email: edisonmhaka4@gmail.com

Abstract: This qualitative study sought to examine the indigenous Shona religion with a view to assess its relevance to sustainability in agriculture in contemporary Zimbabwean society. The paper argues that indigenous religion, which is still very much alive in Zimbabwe today, has a bearing on the sustainability of agriculture. Data collection was through participant observation, documentary analysis and interviews. The study found out that there are a number of indigenous Shona religious beliefs and practices which can still play a positive role in agricultural production in the light of climate change. These serve the important function of protecting the natural resource base which is critical for successful agricultural production although this role has been to a large extent negatively affected by political and economic developments in the country. The study also found out that there are certain religious rituals which can enhance agricultural production. The study further established the existence of indigenous beliefs and practices which are a hindrance to sustainable agriculture. It is recommended that aspects of indigenous religion which are consistent with sustainability in agriculture be revived, strengthened, adopted and adapted in order to enhance agricultural sustainability. The study also recommends that similar studies be conducted with indigenous ethnic groups locally and beyond our borders.
Keywords: Taboos, rituals, religion, agricultural sustainability, indigenous knowledge systems, culture

INTRODUCTION

According to Mkandawire and Matlosa, people of Sub-Saharan Africa are threatened by a food and agricultural crisis [1]. As the two scholars noted:

For the past two decades food production levels for a number of countries have either declined or remained stagnant while population growth rates continue to soar. For a continent in which more than 70% of the labor force ekes out its living on agriculture, the region is doubtless experiencing a deep-seated crisis of food production [1].

The Sub-Saharan African food and agricultural imminent crisis calls for a multi-faced approach to the crisis which does not ignore the role of African indigenous religious beliefs and practices.

Religion has been observed to play an important role in the development of different societies[2]. In traditional African societies, religion is integral to all aspects of life.[3]. Indigenous African religion has remained resilient up to the present day and has continued to be a force to reckon within in many African countries[4]. It is argued in this article that since many traditional Shona are still deeply religious inoutlook, there is need to take religion seriously in any efforts to boost agricultural production.In other words agricultural development needs to be articulated in a Shona religious idiom.

It is lamentable that development policy in Africa continues be Eurocentric[5]. As Mkandawira and Matlosa commended:

There is an implicit belief that traditional technologies and institutions are partly to blame for food insecurities of the region,Though not explicitly stated so, there is the notion that 'backward' peasants can only be made food secure through technological and institutional transfer from the North to the South, and from the modern sub-sector into the peasant sub-sector [6].

Traditional culture is treated by agricultural policy planners as of no value in enhancing agricultural sustainability. Traditional technologies and institutions continue to be viewed as "pseudo-scientific, backward, primitive, valueless, crude, mistaken, fallacious and a stumbling block to increased agricultural productivity" [7]. This negative attitude has seen the role of religion as an African Indigenous Knowledge Systems being

ignored by agricultural policy planners to the detriment of the development of the agricultural sector. This study therefore sought to explore the role Shona Indigenous religion can play in promoting agricultural sustainability.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This paper is based on indigenous knowledge system (IKS) of the Shona people. IKS have been variously defined by scholars. According to Ochella in Gwavaranda IKS are a 'complex set of knowledge and technologies existing and developed around specific conditions of populations and communities indigenous to a particular geographical area' [8]. Dora-Hoppers as cited inRusinga and Maposa defined IKS as 'knowledge that is characterized by its embeddedness in the cultural web and history of a people including their civilization and which forms the backbone of the social, economic, scientific and technological identity of such people' [9]. Thus, IKS is culture- specific knowledge developed by indigenous people in their situatedness and culturedness.(Maposa and Mhaka [10].It has since been demonstrated that IKS are vital in the planning and implementation of development programmes in the rural communities [11]. On the importance of indigenous knowledge to policy planners and implementers, Buns observed:

….we would all probably agree that if we are to avoid repeated failures of one development project after the other, such has happened all too frequently in the past, future development planning must be based upon a detailed understanding of what is there now and should fully appreciate the intricacies, strengths and weaknesses of indigenous livelihood systems and the aspirations of the people involved [12].

This paper therefore argues that Shona religion as an IKS can be tapped into for purposes of increasing agricultural production in the contemporary society. It stresses that aspects of the indigenous Shona religion consistent with increased agricultural production should be salvaged and as much as possible be fused with modern agricultural techniques.

METHODOLOGY AND DELINEATION

This study is qualitative in nature. The researcher chose to employ the qualitative research design because it enabled him to focus on the qualitative dimension of Shona religion as a social phenomenon. This approach allowed to generate firsthand information through fieldwork. Data was collected through interviews, participant observation and documentary analysis. The researcher conducted field work in a twelve month period, that is ,from December 2012 to November 2013 The research was conducted in the Masvingo Province of Zimbabwe. Since most of the data existed in oral form, the interview was the main data collection method which was employed. Interviews targeted information rich Shona elders who were deemed to be the custodians of Shona culture. The researcher participated in planting, harvesting and rain rituals in order to understand Shona religious beliefs surrounding agriculture.

The study focused on the Shona ethnic group of Zimbabwe. The Shona are one of the Bantu ethnic group found in Zimbabwe. According to Bucher 'The term Shona is rarely used by the people themselves, who tend to refer to themselves rather by the name of the particular Shona-speaking group to which they belong i.e. the Karanga and Kalanga in the south and south-west, with the Ndau and Manyika to the east of them; the Zezuru in the central region; and the Korekore and Tavara in the north. Each of these linguistic groups is itself composed of numerous other sub-tribes'[13]. It should be noted that the Shona people have since settled in other parts of the country due to the land reform programme.

Relevance of Shona religion to agricultural sustainability

The impact of Shona religion on agriculture is far reaching. This has both positive and negative implications for sustainability of agriculture as demonstrated below.

Shona holistic philosophy and sustainable agriculture

The Shona indigenous religion hinges on the holistic philosophy [14]. According to the holistic philosophy man is viewed as part of the environment. This religious philosophy encourages people to be in harmony with man, nature and spirits. The Shona philosophy of holism is demonstrated in the maxims: 'the land is the people' and 'the chief is the people, the people are the chief' [15]. The Shona holistic philosophy is important for the management of the natural resource base which is of critical importance in agricultural productivity. It encourages people to use natural resources sustainably. Most importantly, it discourages people from damaging the environment. It is argued in this paper that Shona people's holistic understanding of the world clearly promotes sustainable agriculture. Agricultural policy makers and implementers should give emphasis to this important aspect of the Shona philosophy.

Shona religious worldview and agriculture

According to Mbiti indigenous African religion permeates all the aspects of life [16].The Shona, like other indigenous Africans, view agriculture through a religious prism. They believein God, spirits, witchcraft and magic. At the top of the spiritual hierarchy, God is believed to be the Creator and Sustainer of the universe [17]. He is believed to be responsible for rainfall and fertility. God is believed to work closely with other spiritual beings which include human spirits and nature spirits to protect the natural resource base which is vital for agricultural production.

The nature spirits are those spirits which are believed to be in control of natural phenomena such as trees, mountains, pools, rivers and springs [18] [19]. Because of the primacy of traditional religion in the life of the Shona people, any effort to come up with policies on agricultural sustainability should not ignore the Shona/their deep sense of the sacred as this could be exploited to promote conservation.

Spirit involvement in agricultural productivity.

In the Shona religious universe, spirits are believed to be actively involved in crop production. According to Karanga belief, the ancestors can bless the seeds and cause them to germinate and grow [20]. It is the ancestors who ensure that the rains are adequate, the weather is appropriate for crop growth and that the crops are not destroyed by pests and wildlife. The Shona acknowledge the positive agricultural role played by the spirits through agricultural rituals. There are rituals for planting and for harvesting. The*matarumazvitsva*(the first fruits ritual) and the*mapa* or *tabvamumashanga* (harvest) ritual are basically thanksgiving rituals through which the Shona show their sense of gratitude to the spirit world [20].

It should be noted that there are situations where Shona religious leaders have resisted embracing western scientific approaches to pest control and enhancing of soil fertility arguing that doing so would anger the tribal spirits or the guardian of the land. Such a belief is no doubt retrogressive and needs to be addressed traditionally even if it might mean conducting rituals to accept western scientific approaches to agricultural production. At the same time, Shona rituals related to pest control could be used in conjunction with western science as they seem to have been used successfully in some Shona communities [21]. A scholar of African Religions , John S. Mbiti gave a testimony of an elderly African neighbor who used medicines to keep locusts away from his fields [22]. This form of indigenous knowledge could be used to complement the western scientific approach to pest control. It has been proved that excessive use of chemicals as a form of pest control can have negative effects on the environment and can also lead to pest resistance [23]. Thus the use of African traditional techniques of pest control might promote agricultural sustainability.

Tabooed crop and agricultural sustainability

According to some Shona informants, there is one crop that is regarded as taboo by one Shona community and this might prove to be detrimental for sustainable agriculture. It is said that aShona chiefdom in the Bikita district of Masvingo Province taboos*mhunga*(finger millet) as an agricultural crop because it isbelieved that ancestral spirits abhor this crop. The informants explained that during the liberation war, Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA)guerrillas operating in the area were being advised not to eat*sadza*(thick porridge) prepared using *mhunga* as the ancestors would not protect them against the Rhodesian soldiers. ZANLA was fighting against the colonial Rhodesian army. The tabooing of this drought resistant crop is negative to agricultural sustainability especially given the fact that droughts have become a common feature in the country probably as a result of global warming and climate change.Such a religious belief could perhaps require the cooperation of the religious leaders in order to change the negative attitudes towards the crop so as to enhance sustainable agriculture in the era of climate change.

The notion of*mahakurimwi* and agricultural sustainability

Among the Shona, funerals have a sacred and communal characteristic. If death has robbed the family and community of one of its members then the whole community is obliged to mourn the deceased.The village head ensures that all agricultural activities are suspended for a day. This day of rest is known as *mahakurimwi*(the day of no agricultural activities). The *mahukurimwi* for a deceased chief would span over several days. While *mahakurimwi* play an important function of promoting social solidarity, it has a bearing on agricultural productivity especially when deaths become frequent or if such deaths occur during the agricultural season.

The Shona notion of *mana* and agricultural production

Some Shona religious beliefs and practicesindicate that the Shona believe in*mana* being at play during agricultural production.*Mana* is a word used by the Melanesians and Polynesians to refer to impersonal powersor impersonal force [24]. This force can be of benefit to man(positive *mana*) or might have negative effects (negative *mana*). It is found in different objects including human beings. Things are tabooed because they are loaded with impersonal power or negative mana. According to Shona belief, this force can increase or decrease crop or animal production..*Mana* in a type of magic called *divisi* is used by some Shona people to increase crop production.Gelfand came across the same type of magic among the Shona people [25]. There are different types of *divisi* some of which are said to cause poor yields in the fields of neighboursThe amount of *mana* varies according to the types of *divisi*.It is believed that those with more powerful *divisi* will cause those in possession of a weaker type of *divisi* to have poor harvests. It is therefore taboo for people in the same farming area to use different types of crop fertility medicine(*divisi*) because those with a weaker type of *divisi* will have poor harvests as the stronger *divisi* mystically harvests crops from fields with weaker *divisi.* It appears the Shona are aware of mystical powers of increasing crop yields. This type of medicine needs tobe investigated

using western scientific approaches to determine its efficacy in crop production. If *divisi* is proved to be effective in boosting crop production, it can complement western science to enhance agricultural sustainability.

As noted above, the Shona believe individuals have *mana*w hich negatively or positively affect crop or animal production.This Shona notion of *mana* is captured by the Shona term *ruoko*. In the context of agricultural production, the term *ruoko* is used by the Shona to refer to an individual's inherent quality of leading to an increase in crop or animal production. According to Shona belief, when it comes to agriculture, people can be classified into those with bad hands or negative*mana*(*vasinamaoko*) and those with good hands or positive *mana*(*vanemaokoakanaka*). This belief is shown by the Shona practice of determining whether a child has positive *mana*which causes crops , fowls or domestic animals to multiply.(*Kuedzaruokorwemwananehuku kana zvimwezvipfuwo*). In livestock rearing the experiment involved allocating a child a fowl, a goat or an ox. The livestock of the child with *ruokorwakanaka* will look healthy and multiply, at times giving birth to more than one offspring. If the experiment used goats, the Shona would comment: *Mwanauyuaneruokorwembudzi*(The child has good hands to rear goats). On the other hand, the livestock of the child with bad hands might look unhealthy, produce few or no offspringor male offspring only or might even die.If, for instance, the livestock are fowls, the Shona say :*Mwanauyuhaanaruokorwehuku*(the child does not have good hands to rear fowls).

Shona belief in *mana* in individuals is also evident in crop production. During the sowing of seeds of such crops as pumpkins, cucumbers and water melons, *mana* was believed to be at work. According to the Shona, if those with bad hands (*vasinamaoko)* are allowed to sow the pumpkin, cucumber and water melon seeds, the plants will grow very long but bear meager fruit or no fruit at all. In some Shona communities it is believed tall people are known for causing poor harvests of pumpkins, cucumbers and water melons as the hands of the people*(maokoavo*) will cause the plants to grow very long but bear little or no fruit at all. However, short people are believed to have good hands which lead to the pumpkin, cucumber and water melon plants to be highly productive even if the plants are short. It was the practice among the Shona before harvesting to find someone within the family who had good hands (*maokoakanaka*) to start harvesting. It is believed that such a person had*mana* which can make people harvest more from their fields than if person with bad hands is asked to perform the same task. The choice of such individuals was done by throwing lots(*vaikandamijenya*). According to Shona belief, the same piece of land could yield different quantities of grain depending on whether the person who harvested first on a given piece of land had good hands or bad hands.

In certain Shona communities it is also believed that a tree known as *muori*has *mana*which can result in crop failure. It is therefore strictly prohibited to use the *muori*tree as firewood or for fencing fields or any other purpose in the home as it is believed to cause crops such as water melons, cucumbers, pumpkins and sweet reeds to rot. Observance of this taboo is believed by the Shona to enhance agricultural sustainability.

The Shona concept of *mana* in people and medicines is amenable to experimentation using western scientific approaches. This indigenous knowledge system might prove useful in ensuring agricultural sustainability and food security.. However, knowledge of *divisi*is largely kept a secret by those farmers who use it possibly due to fear of witchcraft accusations.

The Shona notion of*Chisi* and agricultural sustainability

According to the Shona, the territorial spirits, who are believed to be the guardians of the land,have to be honored by having a special day of rest set aside for them called *Chisi* which is observed on a specified day of the week. [26]. The sacred day of *Chisi* generally varies among the Shona from one chiefdom to the other. *Chisi* is meant to give the guardians of the land time to rest. People are told: " Do not work on the fields on the day of *Chisi* as you will be disturbing the peace of the chief." The general concept of *Chisi* among the Shona is the prohibition of any agricultural activity or working the soil on a particular day.It is believed non-observance of*Chisi* might spell disaster for the individual as well as the community. It is believed that punishment might come in the form of insufficient rain, drought or pests. Thus from the traditional Shona perspective, observance of *Chisi* is integral to agricultural sustainability.It should be noted that *Chisi* is of practical utility in the sense that it avails the labourers time to rest and hence maintaining a healthy laborforce which is vital for sustainable agriculture. However, the *Chisi* concept in contemporary society has implications for agricultural production especially for market gardening where perishable crops might be negatively affected. In addition, the advent of Christianity saw the introduction of another day of rest which had the effect reducing the weekly agricultural working hours.

The notion of bull of the ancestor (*mombeyomudzimu kana mombeyegono*) and agricultural production

One important Shona religious practice which can be tapped into for purposes of boosting agricultural production is the dedication of a bull to the ancestor. The sacred domestic bull is highly respected by the Shona as it symbolizes the ancestor. The Shona show

reverence to the sacred bull by addressing it as *baba vomusha*(father of our family) or *sekuru* (grandfather of our family). Herbert Aschwanden noted the significance of the bull among the Karanga:

Another symbol of the ancestor is the bull(*gono*). Therein the ancestor is honored as the provider of the family because through the bull's generative power the cattle is obtained which acquire women for the tribe(bride price). The*gono* is regarded as protector of its people [27].

Thus according to Aschwanden, the ancestral bull is of religious and economic significance. It is valued by the Shona as the symbol of the ancestor and for its role in animal breeding. Ill-treatment or disrespect of the bull is believed by the Shona to offend the ancestor. The bull of the ancestor is therefore surrounded by taboos. The bull must not be harnessed. If ever it is to be harnessed, permission must be sought from the ancestor. The bull is not supposed to be thrashed or to be physically harmed. Thus the sacred bull is kept in good health as it is protected from ill-treatment and stress. This ensures that the bull can play the breeding role effectively.Ill-treatment of domestic animals especially cattle and donkeys is quite rampant among the Shona. Domestic animals are usually heavily thrashed when harnessed especially for ploughing purposes. The traditional Shona practice of respecting and caring for the sacred bull can be a good starting point for educating the Shona about the significance of avoiding ill-treatment of cattle and other livestock in general. For instance, they could be made aware that threshing of cattle negatively affect health and breeding and that it also results in poor quality meat and hides. This awareness on the part of the Shona farmers might enhance livestock farming. This is important in promoting sustainable agriculture.

Management of water sources for agricultural sustainability

One important resource in agricultural production is water.Through religion, the traditional Shona preserve and conserve this important resource.Taboos are one of the approaches used by the Shona to manage water sources.This paper posits that the Shona concept of the sacredness of such water sources as springs (*zvitubu, zvisipiti*) or wells (*matsime*) is important in enhancing agricultural sustainability. The sacredness of some water sources is demonstrated by taboos surrounding such water sources. The Shona used water from these sources sustainably. Some of the springs (*zvitubu, zvinyukira, zvisipiti*) originate from sacred mountains and are perennial. The sacredness of these water sources could be maintained using traditional religion as well as government laws. Water from such springs could be harvested in different ways, for example,channeling the water to flow directly to the fields and gardens to irrigate crops or building reservoirs downstream to avoid offending nature spirits guarding the springs. It is believed that the offended spirits might migrate from the polluted water sources resulting in the fall in the water level or in some cases, the drying up of the water source. Water can be pumped from the water reservoirs will to irrigate crops. Such water reservoirs could also be used for fish farming projects.

It must be mentioned that the Shona observe a number of taboos to promote community hygiene in order to keep water sources clean. For example, bathing, use of soap and containers with soot is strictly prohibited at some water sources. Thus through some cultural beliefs and practices, the Shona protected sources of water from pollution and running dry. Scientific explanations of the drying up of water sources need to be complemented by the indigenous religious Shona explanations. It is a commonly held belief among the indigenous Shona people that the spirit guardians of water sources find aspects of western water technology repulsive. Water pumps are believed to offend the spirits through their noise and the smell fuel [28]. The blasting of rocks using dynamite during dam construction is said to frighten the spirits forcing them to migrate to what they deem to be peaceful habitats [28]. The water-spirit-forsaken water sources are said to dry up. A religious approach to water management is one of the adaptation strategies in agriculture in the face of climate change and water scarcity. Thus indigenous religious beliefs ensure the availability of clean water for agricultural purposes and hence promote agricultural sustainability.

Sacrality of flora and agricultural sustainability

The Shona deep sense of the sacred is reflected in their perception of nature as a sacred reality. Various forms of flora are protected through several Shona taboos.For example, it is taboo to cut indigenous trees such as *muonde* (fig tree), *mushavi* and *muchakata.* Although the Shona give a religious reason for not destroying such trees, it is also important to note that suchtreesare associated with availability of a lot of underground water. The trees are therefore important in agricultural production as they are indicators of where wells can be sunk and boreholes drilled for irrigation purposes.

In many Shona chiefdoms there are sacred forests*marambotemwa*. In such forests tree cutting is strictly forbidden. This religious belief ensures that the land degradation is minimized thus protecting arable land for agricultural productivity. Furthermore, the flora also ensures that the water table does not fall as it minimizes/controls water run-off and thereby preventing springs and wells from drying up. Even from the scientific perspective, natural vegetation plays an important role during the processes of the rain formation [28]. Protected flora helps in soil formation through leaf litter and other organic material. Sacred forests called *marambotemwa* produce leaf litter which

can be used as manure to boost crop production. The forests could also be a source of matter to be used for composites which can enhance soil fertility and raise crop production. The vegetative cover of *marambotemwa* prevents soil erosion and the sedimentation of water sources, The vegetation also prevents runoff which might flood irrigation land downstream. Thus the Shona notion of the sacrality of flora serves an important function of creating and protecting conditions favorable for agricultural sustainability.

The religious role of the chief and agricultural sustainability

One of the traditional Shona religious leaders, the chief, plays the important role of controlling land use. According to the Shona, the land belongs to the chiefly spirits who are regarded as the guardians of the land [29] [30].Major projects to be undertaken in the chiefdom must be approved by the traditional chief. Some of the projects include mining, building of dams and sinking of boreholes. Thus the chiefs role as a religious leader among the Shona is important because he controls land use thus minimizing land degradation which in turn ensures continued availability of arable land for agricultural purposes. In addition, the successful harvesting of water through building dams and sinking of boreholes in the chiefdom might at times require the chief to conduct appropriate rituals. This necessary in situations where spirits resist such projects. This important religious function played by the chief is quite instrumental in promoting agricultural sustainability.

Indigenous cultural ritual to counteract drought

Shona indigenous culture viewed climate change through a religious prism. Drought is/ was seen as the effect of breach of taboos. Through rituals, the Shona attempt to manage climate change. A ritual called *mukwerere* is held by the Shona when drought threatens [31]. Rain making shrines are therefore a common feature throughout Shona country.The most famous rain shrines which are visited by the Shona in times of severe drought are found in Matabeleland South and these include Njelele and Zhilo. The *mukwerere* ritual, which according to Mbiti has been inappropriately translated into English as a rain-making ceremony is actually an occasion for the indigenous Shona to petition for rainfall from the spirit world [32]. The ritual ensures enough quantity of water in the face of climate change. According to my Shona informants, if the procedures of the*mukwerere* ritual are properly followed, heavy rains usually follow and in most cases the ritual participants get drenched by rainfall. In the light of climate change, it is important that we tap into this cultural heritage so that it complements the western scientific approaches such as cloud seeding with a view to enhance agricultural sustainability**.**

Indigenous Shona religion and weather forecast

The indigenous Shona have a wealth of knowledge concerning rainfall patterns in their geographical localities. This knowledge is useful to the Shona for the management of climatic disturbances in order to enhance agricultural sustainability.Muguti and Maposa observed that Zimbabwean Shona " Indigenous Knowledge Systems(IKS) based on observing natural phenomenon and celestial objects have helped to predict the imminence of the agricultural season and to determine the pattern of climate changes with a high degree of reliability" [33]. Besides the empirical approaches to weather forecasting such as observing flora and fauna, human behavior, wind patterns, atmospheric conditions and celestial bodies, the Shona also rely on religious figures. Some spirit mediums*(masvikiro or mhondoro*) are believed to be accurate predictors of rainfall patterns. This indigenous Shona epistemology is vital as it enables agricultural planning.Farmers might use the weather forecast to decide on the action to take to ensure adequate water supply as well as to conserve available water resources in the face of an impending drought. Farmers can also decide on the suitable crop to be planted in the coming season. It has been noted that of late, weather forecasting by the Meteorological Department in Zimbabwe has been characterized by inaccuracies [33]. Since scientific methods of weather forecasting have proved to be flawed, it is necessary to complement them with traditional Shona approaches in order to enhance agricultural sustainability.

Human actions can change weather

My Shona informants told me that certain human actions can change weather. It is believed that rituals could be conducted to manipulate weather. In my village I have observed some rural farmers ritually controlling the movement of rain clouds. They normally conduct the ritual when rain clouds approach before they finish weeding certain portions of their fields. Rituals are also conducted to change weather from being cloudy and drizzling to clear skies. There are also some religious leaders among the Shona who are believed to possess knowledge and powers to cause rain or to stop it. Such form of knowledge could be useful to farmers in contemporary society as amount of rain can be controlled so that crops are not destroyed by too much rains. The control of rains could also help farmers to plan agricultural activities in order to boost production.

The Shona taboo the use of a tree called *muparadzamakore*(The Scatterer of Clouds) as firewood. It is believed the burning of this tree would cause rain clouds to disperse hence preventing rain from falling.This Shona knowledge of the impact of certain human actions on rain clouds could still be important in minimizing the occurrences of droughts hence promoting agricultural sustainability.

CONCLUSION

We have argued in the article that Shona religion has the potential to play a crucial role in enhancing agricultural sustainability. We have explored the relevance of Shona religion to sustainability in agriculture in contemporary society. The core of the argument is that since Shona religion is central to people's worldview, it must not be neglected by policy makers and implementers of policies on agricultural sustainability. What is important from the Shona religious heritage should be reclaimed and be used to compliment western ways of enhancing agricultural sustainability.

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