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CONCEPTUALIZING NDEBELE PARTICULARISM IN THE CONTEXT OF THE ZIMBABWEAN CRISIS

SUBMITTED BY

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For Shaun-Thando, Ayanda and Thandeka. And for all the children who were born in the period

of our national uncertainty. We love you for the hope you give us!

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Abstract

This research was carried to understand the impact of the Zimbabwean crisis on the intersections between ethnic and national identities. This research therefore investigates the escalation of ethno-particularism amongst some Ndebeles in the post-2000 implosion of the economic, constitutional and social crises by analyzing how media literature projected Ndebele particularism to contest issues of nationalism, citizenship and nationality in the Zimbabwean nation-state project. A historical background of Ndebele particularism and its ambivalent relationship to both ZANU PF's nationalism and the Zimbabwean nation traced from the rise of early African nations in the 1950s to the events of struggle and the attainment of Independence and to the feelings of persecution and marginality by some Ndebeles that characterize the political discourse of Matabeleland and have been intensified by the Zimbabwean crisis. This research therefore revealed findings that may help in the de-escalation of ethnic particularism in Zimbabwe and assist in the rehabilitation of multiple identities to create common citizen nation identity which accommodates plurality and respects difference.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background of study

Mlambo (2013:63), in his assessment of the state of affairs of the Zimbabwean 'nation' is of the conviction that by "'the end of 2012 Zimbabwe was still a very divided country characterised by tensions between some Ndebeles and the state' ". This view is corroborated by Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2008: 63) who writes of; "a radical Ndebele cultural nationalism as well as a radical Ndebele politics that sometimes contested the whole idea of a unitary Zimbabwe". The ambivalent relationship between 'some Ndebeles' and the state (Mlambo 2013) requires an interrogation of the construction and subsequent reconstruction of the history of nationalism and ethnic identity in Zimbabwe.

Omer-Cooper (1966) Nyathi (1994) and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2012) concur that by the late 1830s the group led by MzilikaziKhumalo from Zululand through assimilation and coercion incorporated into his Zulu group other ethnic groups. MzilikaziKhumalo later settled permanently on the South-Western plateau of what is now Zimbabwe and the group had grew from 500 to a large multi-ethnic nation composing of other ethnicities. The Ndebele –Kalanga and Ndebele-Shona relations have been contested by historians. Missionaries such as Moffatt (1960) project the Ndebele as a 'blood thirsty tribe' that survived on raiding, plundering and exploiting their 'weak' Shona and Kalanganeighbours. However Msindo (2007), Mazarire (2003) and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) observe that once the Ndebele had consolidated their stay in what is now south western Zimbabwe they established mutually beneficial relationship with other states revolving on economic and social activities such as trade, intermarriages and

adopting the Shona/KalangaMwari/ Ngwali religious cult. Ranger (1985) and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2008) however, argue that as a consequence of British imperialism the realities of the Ndebele-Shona and Ndebele-Kalanga relations were reconstructed and projected as mutually hostile to serve the interests of colonialism. British colonialism further 'tribalised' the African by giving their geo-regional polities ethnically inspired names such as Matabeleland (land of the Ndebeles), Mashonaland (land of the Shonas) and Manyikaland (land of the Nyikas). Africans were therefore reflexed to view colonially imposed specific area as their natural domain and in post-independent Zimbabwe would use the names of these areas to exclude people considered to be outsiders on the basis of not being 'natural' habitants of these areas. The seeds of particularistic looking ethnicities if not already lying dormant were sown.

Colonialism coerced a linguistic Ndebele identity to non-Ndebele ethnicities in Matabeleland such as the Venda, Tonga and Sotho and a unified Shona identity to groups which had not looked at themselves necessarily as Shona but as Karanga, Manyika, Ndau and ZezuruMazarire (2003, 2009). Colonialism thus gave birth to the polarisation of what was to be known as Zimbabwe into Shona and Ndebele. Mazarire (2003) argues that Zulu was taken to be the standard Ndebele ignoring other linguistic elements such as Shona, Sotho or Kalanga which were critical in the evolution of the Ndebele language.

Colonial cities such as Bulawayo and Salisbury were 'considered as melting pots' as Africans migrated to these cities in search of employment. Social and quasi-political movements were created to connect Africans in the cities to their ethnic identity. Such movements in Bulawayo in the 1950s included the Matabele Home Society, the Mzilikazi Family Association, and the Sons of Mashona Cultural Society – also known as the Monomotapa Offspring society-, the Kalanga Cultural Society, the Manyika Society and the Nyasaland Burial society (Msindo 2007 and

Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2008). Msindo (2007) argues that rather than being detrimental to the development of a national identity the ethnic identities fostered by these clubs successfully coexisted with emerging African nationalism. Msindo (2007) provides the examples of Joshua Nkomo (a member of both the Matabeleland Home Society and the Kalanga Cultural Society) and Joseph Msika (a member of the Monomotapa Offspring Society) who used their ethnic club membership to claim legitimacy in nationalist movements and were indeed instrumental in the formation and of the National Democratic Party (N-D-P) and the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU). Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2008) however suggests that antagonism between different ethnicities was mainly provoked by these ethnic movements as exemplified the Matabele Home Society and the Mzilikazi Family Association which saw Bulawayo as their 'isigodlo' (Ndebele for capital) challenging of the city's administration for naming a township 'Rufaro', a Shona name, and succeeded in renaming it 'Njube', after King Lobengula's son. As these 'clubs' became more and more nationalist in outlook the name of the imagined postcolonial nation as noted by Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2008) caused factionalism in N-D-P as some members of the Matabele Home Society and the Kalanga Cultural Society wanted the country to be named Matopos as they saw it generally linking a wider national memory as it was shrine for almost all ethnicities and particularly connected to pre-colonial Ndebele-Kalanga memory. Karanga nationalists, linked to the Monomotapa Offspring Society, loathed Joshua Nkomo's domination in N-D-P, advocated for the name Zimbabwe and split from N-D-P to form the Zimbabwe National Party (Z-N-P). Even at conception ethnic particularism, heightened by the then ZANU president, Robert Mugabe's sentiments in 1977 that Zimbabwe was to be a   " 'natural Shona nation' " showed itself in the imaged nation (Mlambo 2013: 51).

However colonial life means entirely a game of ethnic struggles. Class, race and gender struggles as Msindo (2007) notes, were also significant definers of colonial life. The Matabele Home Society, an exclusively male club, tried to curb what they considered to be growing sexual immorality among Ndebele women and met resistance from women urbanites. Msindo (2007) also points out the growth of African working class activism that created commercial and workers unions in Salisbury, Bulawayo and Gwelo led by such trade unionists as Charles Mzingeli, Jasper Savhanu, MasotshaNdlovu, Job Dumbutshena and Joshua Nkomo with the ability to unite people as workers and more importantly as African workers. These workers unions led to the formation of protestant movement such as N-D-P the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress (S-A-N-C) and by the late 1950s a nationalist movement committed to use mass violence and sabotage to gain independence the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU).

The 1963 split of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) from ZAPU is attributed to ethnic tensions especially between the Shona and Ndebele political elites (Mlambo 2013). Mlambo (2013: 58) further argues that both parties did contain in its key structures members from different ethnic groups, however "ZAPU under Joshua Nkomo was mainly a Ndebele party whilst ZANU under NdabaningiSithole and subsequently Robert Mugabe was associated with the Shona majority. When both parties committed themselves to the liberation struggle (second Chimurega/Umvukela) the ethnic fractures were further complicated due to the fact that ZIPRA (ZAPU's military wing) recruited its freedom fighters from Matabeleland and ZANLA (ZANU's armed military wing) recruited from Mashonaland, Mavingo and Manyikaland, which are dominantly Shona areas Gatsheni-Ndlovu (2008). Similarly, Bhebhe (2004:58) who contends that in order to justify the separate existence of the two parties the young recruits in ZIPRA and

ZANLA were "taught to hate each other". Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2011: 41) asserts that this hate assumed tribal dimensions as he terms fighters 'tribalised men'. Mlambo (2012: 58) confirms this hatred between ZANLA and ZIPRA forces when he states that the "bitterest armed clashes during the years of the liberation struggle" occurred when ZANLA and ZIPRA forces encountered each other. This hatred would continue to reverberate in post-colonial Zimbabwe.

. The Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace- CCJP- (1997) established that after the 1980 elections won by ZANU PF although they lost every seat in Matabeleland; ZAPU cadres and its supporters felt that their contribution in the struggle for Independence were being written out of history. This prompted the apartheid intelligence in South Africa to sponsor dissidents – super ZAPU- and together with genuine dissidents from ZAPU carried out violent acts of sabotage against the ZANU government and went 'back to the bush' (Gatsheni-Ndlovu 2008). Joshua Nkomo denied any link with the dissidents as he was being accused of conspiring to overthrow the ZANU government. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2008:47) argues that Joshua Nkomo ZIPRA and ZAPU and the dissidents were mistaken for symbols of Ndebele particularism hence the fifth brigade massacre of an estimated twenty thousand to thirty thousand Ndebele speaking civilians in Matabeleland and parts of Midlands. This persecution became known as 'Gukurahundi' and had far reaching effects on the Zimbabwean political landscape. Mlambo (2013: 58) states that the Gukurahundi "had sown seeds of deep resentments amongst some Ndebele not just against the ruling government but, as was to turn out against the Shona in general". The 1987 unity accord only provided a superficial solution, as it ignored the victims of the massacre who were denied reparation, rendered stateless as those who had died in the hands of the dissidents and fifth brigade were denied death certificates; and subsequently their children could not receive birth certificates and other documents to assess state resources and benefits (C-C-P-J 1997).

Gukurahundi resulted in the 1987 Unity accord between ZANU and ZAPU. However, Ranger (2004) argues that this unity should be one of national mourning for those who lost their lives rather than celebrating the perpetrators who were pardoned for the atrocities. while Macaphulana (2012) accuses the ZANU PF government and its 'intellectuals' of genocide denial and it is this feeling in Matabeleland that has accentuated a particularistic inflection amongst 'some Ndebeles' who regard themselves as persecuted, unwanted and marginalized in the Zimbabwe national project.

ZUNU-PF despite the assimilation/ coercion of ZAPU/ ZIPRA influential politicians into the government via the Unity Accord of December 1987 lost the Matabeleland vote in successive elections. and this is perhaps best explained by Ranger (2004: 23) attributes this 'dismal electoral performance to the fact that by allowing itself to be swallowed by ZANU PF "ZIPRA and ZAPU set itself against the majority of their own Ndebele people". The Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) - since its formation in 1999 has enjoyed overwhelming support from Matabeleland and this has provoked interest in studying particularism in Matabeleland as political commentators have produced conflicting interpretations. Since the MDC is led by Morgan Tsvangirai a member of the sub Karanga ethnicity of the Shona group, it is highly possible that support he continues to receive in Matabeleland is premised on the view that Tsvangirai can replace Shona triumphalism over Ndebele defeatism (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2008) with a liberal democratic project that would accommodate the Ndebele. The role of ethnic consideration on the Matabeleland should however not be exaggerated as shown by the poor perfomance of MDC-Green and the revived ZAPU who imagined Matabeleland to be their stronghold due to ethnic consideration in the 2013 harmonized elections. Other considerations such as race, class and gender play influence the electorate. Joshua Nkomo's death in 1999

triggered a media frenzy exemplified by the British Broadcasting channel (BBC) reportage of possibly Ndebele insurrection. The Zimbabwe's government projecting of Nkomo as 'father Zimbabwe' was an attempt to win support in Matabeleland region.

Bond and Manyanya (2002) argue that the Zimbabwean crisis can be largely understood as a result of 'exhausted nationalism'. Bond and Manyanya (2002) define 'exhausted nationalism' as the consistent employment of liberation war legacy, anti-colonial rhetoric and violent antics to crush civilian dissent and demand total civilian loyalty to the ZANU PF government on the pretext that only the ruling party can protect its citizenry and pursue national interest. This nationalism is only a populist agenda designed to cover up the elites' accumulation of, failed economic and social policies such as early 1990s Economic and Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) and massive government corruption. Hammer *etal* (2003) argue that the formation of the MDC is fundamental in understanding the Zimbabwe Crisis as it brought the 'unfinished business' of the past back to the country's politics. In a period where the Matabeleland disturbances were confined either to the diaspora or to Matabeleland, the MDC pushed this issue back into the national arena. Zimbabwe's other 'unfinished business' was the unequal distribution of land which was a colonial legacy. The threat of the MDC and land hunger amongst the majority of Zimbabweans saw the ZANU government embarking on a war veteran led fast track land reform programme. Hammar*etal* (2003:3) argue that the land reform resulted in radical 'reconstructions' to the notion of "nation and citizenship; and the making of state and mode of rule. It became a politics of belonging and not belonging; exclusion and inclusion".

This redefinition of citizenship saw: dual citizenship being banned so as to exclude unpatriotic whites now referred to as 'Rhodies'; Malawian, Zambian, Congolese and Mozambican

immigrant or their decedents being told to return to their countries of origin (Hammar*etal* 2003 and Mlambo 2013). Mlambo (2013) further states that;

> *The more extreme Shona nationalists were denouncing Ndebeles who were critical of ZANU PF policies as recent newcomers to the country who had no stake in it, telling Ndebeles to go back to Zululand were they came from.* (Page 62)

The Zimbabwean crisis therefore set the stage for the confrontation of particularistic ethnic and nationalist identities.

The Zimbabwean crisis provoked an exodus of ordinary Zimbabweans into neighbouring countries such as Botswana and South Africa, and to Europe and North America. Zimbabwe diasporas' experience is playing an important role in defining what being Zimbabwean is and how ethnic identity relates to the Zimbabwean identity. Moyo (2006) cited in Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2008) argues that the 'Matabeleland problem' is burning more in the diaspora than in Zimbabwe.

The 2005 MDC split into MDC-T and MDC-Green is a key factor in studying Matabeleland particularism. The formation of MDC green led by Welshman Ncube and some senior Matabeleland officials such as Gibson Sibanda, and Paul ThembaNyathi accentuated the ethnic dimensions of Zimbabwean politics and intensified the polarisation of the Zimbabwean electorate.. ZAPU' revival under DumisoDabengwa also heightened Ndebele particularism. The political violence which characterised the June 2008 run-off elections and was more severe in Manyikaland and Mashonaland provoked new dimension in the approach to the Matabeleland 1980's massacres. Rather than consider this political violence as ethnically motivated analysts began to focus more on ZANU-PF's brand of nationalism. A divided opposition and a mistrusted

ruling party resulted in the creation of extreme ethno-nationalists in Matabeleland and by 2012 movements like the Mthwakazi Liberation Front, Mthwakazi People's Congress, Umhlahlo we SizwesikaMthwakazi and Matabeleland Liberation Organisation came into existence,

1.2 Statement of the problem

The study considers the multiple and conflicting media discourse surrounding ethnic particularism in Matabeleland. This study also examines the historical construction of this ethnic particularism and how it has responded to and contests ZANU-PF hegemony.

1.3 Aims and objectives

The aims and objectives of this research are:

- To show how issues of nationality and citizenship in postcolonial Zimbabwe are characterized by the politics exclusion and inclusion.

- To critique the media and political discourses' framing of the Zimbabwean crisis.

- To show the plasticity of key concepts underpinning this study such as ethnicity, state and nation.

- To advocate for national harmony based on tolerance and respect for difference.

1.4 Significance of the study

The study, by presenting a literary critique of the media and political discourses framing the Zimbabwean crisis, seeks to contribute in the peace making process in Zimbabwe. This study

therefore will be important to politicians and government as it will assist in the de-escalation of ethnic particularism in the country.

1.5 Review of literature

This section reviews related literature on nationalism, identity, ethnicity and nation. Lucas (1999:30) comments that "Nationalism is a historical chameleon. It takes different characteristics on the historical period under investigation". Nationalism therefore tends to respond to the era and the players under which it is constructed and it's a provisional power politics which may include one group within its parameters at one moment to exclude in the next so as to place its proponents in the position of power. Furthermore nationalism is a discourse of contention between those excluded and those included in its construction. Smith (1998) argues that if one studies the age of nationalism it will be clear that a nation is a product of will and culture.

Zimbabwe's age of nationalism began with the protestant movements of early 1950s to the formation of nationalist parties in the late 1950s and early 1960s.this nationalist feeling culminated in the liberation struggle and reached its zenith in the country's attainment of independence. The will is the drive to include or exclude and hence construct a high culture with socially constructed sentiments of a common past and belonging in the new nation. Smith (1998) also explores the relationship between nationalism and ethnicity. Smith (1998) states that nationalism and the concept of a nation demands that ethnic boundaries should not cut across political ones, if ethnic issues are given precedence over national issues then we understand, from this concept of nationalism, the shaping of particularism. Similarly Ranger (2004) notes that Zimbabwe's age of nationalism were and is characterised by the process of deligitimisation of political opponents. Ranger (2004) further argues that this deligitimisation results in the production of a particularistic form of hegemonic history which he terms 'patriotic calls patriotic

history. This concept simplistically divides the Zimbabweans into patriots and sell-outs, nationalists and neo-colonialists in which ZANU PF projects its self as both patriots and defenders of the nation's sovereignty whilst its opponents are vilified as sell-outs and puppets and placed as state enemies and indeed a threat to nationalism. In this way the discourse of ZANU-PF's nationalism borders around violence. Mlambo (2013) contends that Zimbabwe's lived experience are varied and results in competing narratives about its past and are not accommodated in ZANU-PF's patriotic history. Ranger (2005) also talks of patriotic journalism in which the history of the liberation struggle, the land reform and anti-colonialism are the salient features of this form of journalism. Both patriotic history and patriotic journalism project ZANU PF as the definers of Zimbabwe's nationalism allowing the party to write off some players in or out of nationalist and nation building history. Thus, Zimbabwe's journalism is an important site for the contestation of, patriotic history. Patriotic journalism, to be fair, is not a phenomenon exclusive to ZANU-PF as some media players also glorify political parties to which they are aligned to. Media practitioners by defining one group as nationalists and the other as traitors , one group as democrats and the other as autocrats not only produce a polarized partisan media but also constructs a politicized and polarized identity in Zimbabwe.

Hammar*etal* (2003) argue Zimbabwe's major challenge is the issue of citizenry and indeed the issue of how to reconstruct identities which have been erstwhile divided by highly polarized constructs and thus reintegrating and rehabilitating these sometimes colliding identities into a national identity. Similarly Mambo (2013) argues that Zimbabwe is not yet 'nation' but is a 'nation in becoming'. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2012) argues that Ndebele particularism is not a recent phenomenon, as he traces its origins to the 1950s when nationalist movements started imaging the independent postcolonial nation to succeed Rhodesia. Ndebele particularism therefore has its

roots in the members of the Matabele Home Society challenging the name Zimbabwe itself for the imagined nation. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2008) argues therefore that there is need to look at Ndebele particularism as a 'complex constructivist process' (page 37) stretching from colonialism, influenced by the foundation of the Ndebele state itself, to the events surrounding the Gukurahundi era and the feeling of marginalization in post-colonial Zimbabwe. Bond and Manyanya's (2002) contention that ZANU-PF's brand of nationalism had become exhausted and no longer necessary largely explain the accentuation of Ndebele particularism.

1.6 Theoretical framework

This research is informed by an eclectic theoretical framework. The research uses two theoretical approaches in its study of the nation, state, nationalism, ethnic particularism, national identities and related phenomenon. The first theory that informs this study is the neo-Marxism, particularly Gramsci (1971) ideas of hegemony, consent and persuasion. Day and Thompson (2004) concede that neo-Marxist theory is fundamental in analyses the notion of nation and nationalism even though the initial Communist Manifesto document of Marx and Engels sidelined nationalism and the nation in its analysis of power struggles. Neo-Marxist theory emphasis is on the role of "social relation of production, class interest, class structure and class consciousness" basis of conflicts within a nation" (Wright, 2000 :2). Thus from a neo-Marxist perspective the social class system form the key concept in understanding nation-ideology, nationalism discourses and nation identity politics. Gramsci (1971) notion of hegemony, persuasion and consent are based on this class structure ideology in its analyses of state ideology and the politics of domination. Gramsci (1971) defines hegemony as a process by which by which the ruling class seeks the total economic political and social domination of the subaltern classes. In other words, hegemony is the incorporation of the subaltern into the world view of the ruling class (Jones 2006). Hegemony

therefore becomes a question of identity, a question of perceiving the world from a politicized identity. Persuasion therefore becomes the process of politicizing identities of the subaltern by the dominant classes in order to re-construct the subaltern identity along the ideologies of the hegemonic groups.

Gramsci (1971) argues that the ruling class uses two persuasive measures to gain hegemony, that is, consent and cohesion. Consent refers to ideological apparatus of re-constructing the subaltern's world view for domination such as education, media, legal statues and socio-economic stability. On the other hand the ruling elite may resort to violent form of seeking hegemony through the use of cohesive state apparatus such as the military and police to quell opponents who challenge its ideological views. Gramsci (1971) cited in Jones (2006) divides hegemony into expansive and limited hegemony where by expansive hegemony is a situation whereby the hegemonic class gains optimal consent from the subaltern class and manages to completely subjugate the dominated classes under its rule. On the other hand limited hegemony is a situation whereby the dominance of the ruling class is being contested and hence the hegemonic group resorts to violence to consolidate its power. Gramsci (1971) in Jones argues that since no group can permanently claim expansive hegemony, hegemony becomes a process without an end. According to Gramsci (1971) the subaltern groups produce their own hegemonic classes in form of intellectuals and politicians who claim agency over the subaltern and thus contest the hegemony of the ruling elite. The contestants to the ruling class hegemony use the grievances of the subaltern class as their persuasive mechanism.

Gramsci' s neo-Marxist ideas are of importance in our understanding of Ndebele particularism in context of the Zimbabwean crisis. The Zimbabwean economic, political and constitutional crisis can be seen as perpetuating the gradual de-escalation of the ZANU-PF's nationalism from its

expansive to its limited forms. The resort to electoral violence is evidence of this limited hegemony. The clash between ZANU-PF's nationalist and Ndebele particularism, analysed in neo-Marxist terms, must be viewed as a clash of political elites rather than as an ethnic conflict. This class of political elites within ZANU-PF nationalism and Ndebele particularism employ the highly emotive issues of ethnicity as persuasive ideologies in the contestation and negotiation for political hegemony.

Neo-Marxism however does not provide an adequate theory for this study. This study also adopts a post-colonial theory as it moves beyond the class analysis of neo-Marxism and by providing insights in to the societal psyche of the post colony and its impact on the politics and identity construction. Post-colonial theory focuses on the impact of colonialism in the on the psyche of both the colonized and the colonials. This research will however focus on the effects of colonialism on the colonized using Mamdani's 'Citizen and Subject' theory and ideas from post colonial feminist theory. Mamdani (1996) argues that colonialism operated by classifying the colonized into ethnicities. Colonialist also stereotyped these ethnicities as argued by Msindo that in Rhodesia, Shangaans were classified as the best mine workers whilst Manyikas were stereotypically labeled as the most loyal house servants. Mamdani (1996) argues that in the case of Rwanda the Tutsi's were regarded as been more superior that the Hutus, due to their near-Caucasian physical attributes and were therefore favored by the colonialists. The colonial project therefore operated by tribalising Africans for its exploitation. It re-constructed and intensified ethnicism in Africa. Mamdani (1996) also contends that the appropriation of customary African leadership by colonialism whereby paramount chiefs and other traditional were used as proxies of colonial governance saw these customary leaders use their positions of power to exploit other colonial subjects. Colonialism therefore set the stage for ethnic particularism in Africa due to its

emphasis on ethnic considerations on the colonial subjects. Colonialism also constructed political power as means of a amassing wealth and exploitation of citizens by those in power. The ethnic based violence such as the 1980s Matabeleland disturbances from this post colonial perspective can be seen as a legacy of colonialism, Ndebele particularism can also be viewed as being influenced by the escalation of ethnic awareness brought by the Rhodesian colonial project.

Post colonial feminist theory provides a vital framework on conceptualizing the notion of national identities. Sjoberg and Via (2010) post colonial feminism argues the ideas of militarism, dominance and conquest become valued in the nation and celebrated in national discourses due to the violent military conquest which defined colonization and the subsequent military processes of decolonization. Sjoberg and Via (2010) argue the processes of gendering In the feminist approaches to nation and nationalism are key in our understanding of national conflicts. In this research, it is argued that political conflicts can be explained from the ultra-masculine identities presented post colonial feminism. Ranchod-Nilson (2010) argues that nationalism in Zimbabwe has silenced women's participation in nationalist liberation struggles against colonization and has therefore sexed the nation as a masculine project. Contestation for hegemony in the nation as noted by Eisenstein (2000) has been constructed on the idea of subjecting political opponents to feminine submission in order to assert the masculinity of the hegemonic group. The notion of utra-masculine militarism in the nation thus guides the analysis of the relations between ZANU-PF nationalism and Ndebele particularism as both are characterised by politics of asserting their masculinities.

1.7 Research design and methods

The methodology used in this study is content analysis of selected media articles focusing mainly on the period 2013-2014

1.8 Provisional chapter layout

Chapter one: Introduction	Chapter one introduces the research study by giving the historical background, the aims and objective of the study the research methodology and the theoretical framework that informs that research among other introductory elements.
Chapter two: Eroticized Domination, Women and Masculine conflicts: Gender Perspectives of Ndebele Particularism.	This chapter focuses on the influences of gender and sexual identities the contestations for hegemony in the Zimbabwean nation.
Chapter three: The Narration of History and its Significance in the Conceptualization of Ndebele Particularism	The chapter focuses on the influence of particularistic narration of histories in the construction of national identity and as a means of persuasive ideology and hegemonic negotiation by Ndebele particularism.

Chapter four : Theorizing the Spectrum of Ndebele Particularism	In this Chapter, the plurality of Ndebele particularism is conceptualized in a continuum. The different forms of Ndebele particularism are presented in terms of their moderate-ism and extremism in terms of their relationship to the Zimbabwe nation-state
Chapter five: Conclusion and Recommendations.	Seeks to give recommendations on possibly solutions to the a challenges discussed in the research

Chapter 2: Eroticized domination, Women and Masculine Conflicts: Gendering Ndebele particularism

2.1 Introduction

The previous chapter provided a historical account to the study of Ndebele ethno-nationalism in Zimbabwe. In this historical background it was argued that the mutation of Zimbabwean nationalism, from early protestant nationalism in the 1950s, the nationalistic wars of independence and the escalation of a radical ZANU nationalism in the 1980s were a significant factor in the genealogy and mutation of Ndebele particularism. Chapter one also propounded that this study use a neo-Marxist theory (largely focusing on Gramsci's notions of hegemony, persuasion and consent) and post colonial theory as supporting framework. Chapter Two seeks to review the escalation of Ndebele particularism as part of the Zimbabwe national identity, citizenship, economic and political identity from the perspective of post colonial gendering processes. This chapter argues that gendering in the post independent Zimbabwe forms a fundamental process hegemonic.

Peterson's (2010) concept of eroticized and feminized domination equates the process of political and military domination by hegemonic groups over the marginalized 'other' to sexual activity involving erotic arousal from the hegemonic group and humiliation of the dominated. This activity operates by feminizing the marginalized 'other' and hence subjecting that feminized 'other' under the masculine domination of the hegemonic group. Eroticized domination therefore reflects a power relationship in which hegemony is contested over perceptions of political impotency depicted by masculine gendering processes as being equal to being feminized and sexualized for the pleasure of the dominant group. This chapter analyses the foundation of Ndebele particularism from a gendered perspective. It examines how hegemony assumes a

gendered dimension in Zimbabwe politics and how the proponents of Ndebele particularism project themselves as feminized victims of ZANU-PF's masculine nationalism. The chapter also considers how Ndebele particularism has been triggered by a need to re-emasculate Ndebele identity and Matabeleland region. I will also consider the space allocated to women by both ZANU-PF's brand of nationalism and Ndebele particularism under such a masculine conflict

2.2 Erotic appetites

Ndebele particularism can be conceptualized from a gendered perspective. Sex, sexuality and the sexualized body are important metaphors of Ndebele particularism. Muchero (2010), an MDC Green supporter, attacks one Benjamin Chitate (who is a fierce critic of Welshman Ncube) as having homo-sexual attraction for Welshman Ncube. Muchero compares Chitate's and MDC-T's 'hatred' of Welshman Ncube and MDC- Green to an 'unnatural' sexual act. He further concludes that Chitate's criticism of Welshman Ncube is based solely on tribalism, 'hatred' for Ncube's Ndebele-ness and thus advocates for the re-emasculation of Ndebele politics to prevent pervasive attraction of 'outsiders'.

DiscentBajila, the secretary general of the MDC-Green Youth assembly, continues to write against Chitate's 'anti-Ncube articles' which feminizes not only Welshman Ncube but the Matabeleland populace as a whole. DiscentBajila (2013) asserts that the united MDC had attempted to feminize Ndebele politicians by keeping them in positions of impotency. He therefore states that criticism for Welshman Ncube is based solely on Ncube's reclamation of his manhood and indeed on Matabeleland politicians' reclamation of their masculinity. Bajila (2013) therefore defends Ncube's ouster of Arthur Mutambara as president of MDC-Green as necessary to prevent the MDC Green " from dissolving to and being swallowed by MDC-T", a situation

which could be seen as giving in to MDC-T's erotic desires over the Matabeleland official of the MDC-Green.

This rhetoric of projecting Matabeleland as a victim of the erotic domination of ZANU-PF's masculine nationalism can be observed in the Bulawayo 24 news' framing of Robert Mugabe's "Ndebele girls are beautiful" utterance. Bulawayo 24 news (2014) cites Robert Mugabe, at a funeral ceremony held for his late sister Bridgette, blaming their impoverished upbringing on a beautiful "Ndebele girl" whom his father eloped with leaving the Mugabe children to be fended for by their single mother. The sexualized body of the beautiful 'Ndebele girl' who was the lover of Mugabe's father fuelled erotic imaginations to the domination of Matabeleland and Ndebeles by Mugabe and ZANU-PF. However, Roy Moyo's (2014) live online discussion panel gave contradictory opinions. The panel suggested that beautifying female Ndebele sexuality by Robert Mugabe was a way of appeasing the Ndebele 'over past ills' such as the Gukurahundi. Furthermore, the panel suggested that such 'past ills' were a means of violently taming Ndebele particularism. Sexual appetites represented by the beautiful Ndebele girl viewed from this point, represent Ndebele particularism lust for power which challenges Shona particularistic's masculinities.

DorcasSibanda (2013), the then MDC-T Bulawayo east legislator, accused the Zimbabwe Republic Police of terrorizing Ndebele citizens. Bulawayo 24 news (February 27 2013) alleged that members of the Zimbabwe Republic Police abused a bar lady for playing Ndebele songs and denigrated her in "unprintable" vulgar language demanding that she play Shona songs. The News Day (2012) also reports that the Women of Zimbabwe Arise organization (WOZA) also accused the Zimbabwe Republic Police of tribalism. According to this report WOZA members were beaten and told to use Shona when they were being interrogated by riot police after they were

arrested for an illegal demonstration. The reporter stated that the WOZA women were threatened with the return of Gukurahundi for not answering the police in Shona (Sibanda, The News Day December 4 2012). The two reports present the Ndebele people as being institutionally 'raped' and in both cases the perpetrators are male Shona police officers who are militarily dominating the Ndebele who are projected as 'weak' and 'vulnerable'. Sjoberg and Via (2010: 8) argue that "the gendered workings of power" largely explain this kind of domination. Similarly, Eisenstein (2000) and Peterson (2000) argue that women are projected as essentially mothers and the defilement of their bodies in ethnic conflicts is an extreme form of emasculation of their men who cannot offer them protection. One can therefore argue that Ndebele particularism is a reaction against perceived feminization of ultra-Ndebele masculinities. Furthermore, Eisenstein (2000) and Sjoberg and Via (2010) contend that a nation is often constructed to protect native men from foreign fetishes. Peterson (2010) also concedes that nations are constructed to satisfy native male fetishes. The news articles were therefore projected to present the Ndebeles as suffering to satisfy ZANU-PF fetishes. Contestation for power between the Ndebele ethno-nationalists and the ZANU-PF nationalists is therefore fought over feminized body constructs to feed into masculine erotica.

2.3 Diseased bodies

Peterson (2010) contends that the process of erotic domination involves denigrating and constructing the rival as the inferior "other". Eroticized and sexualized domination leads to the infestation of both the feminized\ dominated and the dominating body identities by diseases.

Msebeble's (2014) article titled *"Biti suffers from Zimbabwelitis induced falsehood celebration and tribal constipation"* projects Zimbabwe's nation-hood as being a disease. The disease which

she terms 'Zimbabwetilis' and which the writer accuses TendaiBiti (the then MDC-T secretary general) of suffering from has its symptoms in the ethnicity politics governing the MDC:

> *MDC-T true character at the 2005 split in the abuse of Welshman Ncube, Gibson Sibanda [...] in 2008, in their treatment of the Ndebele, when they thought now they were the party of government and the distributor of patronage and cronyism*. (Bulawayo 24 news, 14 January 2014)

Msebele (2014) perceives Zimbabwean politics as a diseased body whose sickness emanates from the erotic domination of the Ndebele in both ZANU-PF and MDC-T. Peterson (2010: 26) therefore states that "gender identities, ideologies, and institutionalized practices interact to normalize domination and mobilize violence". Msebele (2010) projects Zimbabwean politics as diseased as a consequence of ethnic rivalries in order to justify her ideas of creating a 'pure' Ndebele politics that exists outside the 'diseased' body of Zimbabwean politics which is perceived as dominated by the Shonas and the peddling of Shona interests. Ncube (2012) also heightens the tirade against the infection of Bulawayo by Zimbabwean politics. He accuses the MDC-T of collaborating with ZAPU-PF in destroying Bulawayo's industries during its time in the unity Government of National Unity. Bulawayo's de-industrialization is crucial in viewing Matabeleland as infected by an erotic dominance of its politics by mainstream political parties.

Alexander *et al* (2000) contend that whilst the discourse of opposition in Matabeleland politics proclaims to fight against Zimbabwe's xenophobia against the Ndebele, it itself is xenophobic against the Shona. Therefore, the paradox of Ndebele particularism (especially extreme Ndebele ethno-nationalism) is its gendered xenophobia against Shona men whom it claims are

xenophobic. To describe one (ethnic) group as diseased is to initiate violence and discrimination against it.

The metaphor of diseased bodies also plays a large role in feminizing 'other Ndebeles' who don't partake in the cause of ethno-nationalism. This is exemplified in a news broadcast of Bulawayo 24 news, August 2014 titled '*Prof. Jonathan Moyo is a thoroughly stupid Ndebele*' designed to qualify who are the 'good' and 'bad' Ndebele by feminizing the 'bad' Ndebeles so as to make the attributes of the 'bad' undesirable to the targeted Ndebele audience. In this article Jonathan Moyo is criticized for his assertion that the 2013 harmonized elections were free and fair. The article sees Ian Khama's (Botswana's president) demand for a re-audit of the electoral result as rational and rubbishes Jonathan Moyo's support for the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC). Sjoberg and Via (2000) state that whilst rationality in the process of gendering is associated with masculinity, irrationality is taken as a feminine attribute by this social construct. An 'irrational' man is depicted as a cowardly man suffering from identity diseases (Peterson, 2010:23). In this gender politics of Ndebele ethno-particularism the dichotomy between the 'good' and 'bad' Ndebele and the 'real' and 'cowardly' Ndebele men projects those who do not idealize the causes of particularistic ethno-nationalism as 'bad' and 'cowardly' and too diseased to be identified as Ndebele proper.

2.4 Mothering ethno-nationalism: Women and Ndebele Particularism
The role provided women and the coverage of their issues is crucial in the gendering of Ndebele particularism. Bulawayo 24 news (2012) reviewed a book by PhathisaNyathi and Marieke Clarke on the Ndebele Queen, Lozikeyi (wife to King Lobengula). The review explained how the book covered the "grey areas" of the role played by Ndebele women in the Lobengula era of Ndebele society. The review sexes and eroticisesLozikeyi by describing her as "big, bold and beautiful

woman of ample proportion." Lozikeyi is further eulogized as a "leading spirit among Ndebele women.". The feminized body of Queen Lozikeyi's sexed and eroticised body is used to explain how she brought feminine qualities in Lobengula's governance such as just land distribution in the pre-colonial Ndebele state. Dube (2014) uses Lozikeyi's legacy to contend that women did not suffer from any oppression in the Ndebele state. Dube (2014) further argues that Lozikeyi, after King Lobengula's disappearance from Bulawayo, became a spokesperson for her people. In the articles colonialism and Zimbabwean statehood are used to explain the now subordinate role played by most Ndebele women in Zimbabwe today. The articles, whilst presenting Lozikeyi as a powerful woman who was an equal of men yet still had feminine physical attributes, seek to construct the role of Ndebele women in the context of Ndebele particularism. In addition, Lozikeyi's description as 'big, bold and beautiful woman of ample proportion' underscores the fundamental role of bequeathing a romantic mother figure to Ndebele particularism. This romanticised mother figure acts as steward and custodian of Ndebele culture. The role of Ndebele women therefore becomes that of protecting and safeguarding the Ndebele culture.

This romanticised image of free Ndebele women in the pre-colonial Ndebele state has been used to castigate the current treatment of Ndebele "mother figures" in the Zimbabwean nation-state. The death of ThenjiweLesabe, a former ZAPU official and ZIPRA freedom fighter, triggered and accentuated this feeling when she was denied national heroine status. Bulawayo 24 news (2011) disparaged the fact that Lesabe was denied a place at the national Heroes acre and this was attributed to the fact that Lesabe had defected to ZAPU. The News Day (2011), in a celebratory tone, depicts OppahMuchinguri, ZANU PF's Women's League Chairperson, being booed at Lesabi's funeral. In this article the women who contributed to the liberation struggle are divided into ZAPU/ZANU or Ndebele/Shona binaries. This representation then projects ZAPU/Ndebele

women's contribution to the independence of Zimbabwe as being deliberately erased from national memory.

The Women of Zimbabwe Arise (WOZA) activities have also contributed to the imagining of the role of women in ethno-nationalism. Sjoberg and Via (2010) and Peterson (2010), whilst writing about the torture of middle Asian terror suspects by an American female military commander, observe how the image of a female military officer torturing male foreigners stimulates sentiments of Caucasian supremacy over Asian inferiority. Similarly, WOZA demonstrations and militant clashes with the Zimbabwean Republic Police have been hijacked from their feminist agenda and framed to stimulate Ndebele particularistic sentiments. Bulawayo 24 News (2014) report of a Bulawayo east legislator who took the police to court for terrorizing Ndebele citizens arouses these particularistic feelings as the "symbolic mother-hood" (Peterson 2000:41) allocated to women instills that younger people take pride in and defend the activities of their symbolic mothers. Ndebele women, whilst their militant 'masculinity' against "non-Ndebele men" is valorised, are still relegated to their feminine symbolism as mothers and stewards of Ndebele particularistic culture.

2.5 The quest for re-masculinization

The Zimbabwean political and constitutional crises can be read as a gender identity crisis. Ndebele particularism is an outshoot of this gender crisis and as shown above is provoked by feelings of emasculation. Therefore, central to the rhetoric of Ndebele particularism is the search for political power premised on the notion of re-masculinising Matabeleland politics. Dzimu-unamiMoyo's, the Plumtree secretary for MDC- green (2013) article *'Can Professor Welshman Ncube and MDC rule Zimbabwe?'* can be understood in this context. Moyo (2013) argues that despite the "smaller population" (a feminine disadvantage) of Matabeleland if the Matabeleland

vote went to the MDC-Green, this would prevent ZANU-PF and MDC-T from getting an absolute majority in parliament. In this case either ZANU-PF or MDC-T would have to form a coalition with MDC-Green in order to rule the country. Consequently, Moyo contends that the MDC- Green would:

> *lay down our conditions for supporting either of the candidates like the amendment of the constitution to institute full devolution of power South African-style with such things as Provincial Assemblies with legislative powers, a Provincial Cabinet headed by a popularly elected Governor.*

The venture by MDC-Green towards coalition and subsequent devolution of power became an agenda founded on the need to re-masculinize the Matabeleland political body.

The Chronicle (December, 6 2013) projects Siwela, after his escape to Sweden, as a "fugitive of the law". However, Bulawayo 24 news (August, 29 2014) sees Siwela as an "exiled fugitive" and a "political exile". Siwela's depiction as an 'exiled fugitive' and 'political exile' rationalises his brand of Ndebele ethno-nationalism and therefore contests The Chronicle's representation of Siwela as a 'fugitive of the law'. Roy Moyo (2014) in Bulawayo 24 news June 1, 2013 released a portrait of Paul Siwela, secessionist advocate of Matabeleland from Zimbabwe in Khami prison. The portrait served to masculinize Siwela through associating him with masculine warrior attributes of sacrificing one's life for the love of the people. Sjoberg and Via (2010) therefore argue that this brand of masculinity should be viewed as a stage of masculine militarism in which construction of nationalist conflicts are centered around and can provoke war.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter examined the view that gender constructions are key in our understanding of identity politics which is fundamental in conceptualizing Ndebele particularism. Ultra-masculine attitudes of domination and responding violently to domination in the body of Zimbabwean politics consistently shape the ambivalent relationship between Ndebele particularism and Zimbabwean nationalism. The chapter also explored how women's activism in the South-western regions of Zimbabwe has been appropriated by Ndebele ethno-nationalism to project women as mother figures of this masculine particularism. The perceived marginalization and persecution of Matabeleland region intensified by the Zimbabwean crisis has resulted in the gendering of Ndebele particularism and has heightened the feminization and erotic domination of Matabeleland politics and identities by the Zimbabwe nation-state project. The next chapter focuses on the significance of history as a persuasive mechanism in Ndebele particularism by analsying historical narration in Bulawayo 24 News and related media where it would be argued that the narrations of history are a site for hegemonic negotiation.

Chapter Three: The Narration of Ndebele History and its Significance in Conceptualizing Ndebele Particularism

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter analyzed the gendered dimension of Ndebele particularism and argued that this dimension forms a role in the discourse of Zimbabwe's postcolonial national identities. In Chapter two it was argued that whilst the clash between ZANU PF's form of nationalism and Ndebele particularism take masculine contestations, the activism of women's organization in Matabeleland has been appropriated by these masculine nationalistic wars. The contestation to seek hegemony over national identity therefore continues to be defined by masculine gendering processes at the expense of the devalorization femininities. This masculine gendering prossec of Ndebele particularism sees Matabeleland being projected in the studied media texts as institutionally 'raped' and feminized by ZANU-PF's nationalism. Ndebele ethno-nationalist as analyzed in the previous chapter uses the agenda of re-masculinising of Matabeleland as a persuasive ideology. In chapter three another persuasive process, which is the particularization of history, and its impact in aggravating ethno-national identity that challenges the unitary national identity (of belonging to Zimbabwe) is examined.

This chapter focuses on the narration of Ndebele history in selected Bulawayo 24 news and related media. This Ndebele history is designed to construct a particularistic Ndebele politics and ethnic identity. Gramsci (1971) propounds that the contestation for political hegemony uses historical and intellectual sites. Gramsci (1971) further argues that every class or social group produces its own intellectuals who use oration of history for the purposes of persuasion and to challenge the hegemony of the ruling class. Ndebele history has therefore, during the period of the Zimbabwean crisis, formed the backbone of negotiating for alliances between different

political and social groupings with an agenda of encouraging and promoting particularism in Matabeleland. Particularization of Ndebele history forms a key persuasive mechanism in which ethno-nationalism mobilizes its appeal to the Matabeleland constituency and hence contests the hegemony of the mainstream political formations such as ZANU-PF and MDC-T. Two focal points on the narration of Ndebele history in Bulawayo 24 News, the foundation of the Ndebele state by MzilikaziKhumalo and the ceremonies to honour Joshua Nkomo as father Zimbabwe are used as case studies in the analysis of this phenomenon.

3.2 Myth-making On The Foundation of the Ndebele People

The glorification of the Ndebele past in the period of the Zimbabwe crisis which imploded in post-2000 is a critical point in conceptualizing the construction of a particularistic Ndebele nationalism. It can be seen as a response to the political impotency and perceived marginalization by Ndebele citizens. The history of the foundation of the Ndebele people is of principal importance in addressing the citizenship of the Ndebele during the era of the Zimbabwean crisis. Although it is largely escapist it can be viewed as a vigorous process of identity politicization and ethnic mobilization. Mabalane's in Bulawayo 24 News, 18 February 2013 and 14 March 2013 articles on king Mzilikazi glorify Mzilikazi as a king and as a nation builder. Mabalane, in these articles, (Bulawayo 24 News 18 February 2013 and 14 March 2013) romanticizes Mzilikazi's leadership and concludes that this brand of leadership brought virtues unique to the Ndebele people. Mabalane (Bulawayo 24 News 18 February 2013) states that the bringing in of foreign elements to and the deportation of Lobengula's offspring from Bulawayo by the British after the conquest of Matabeleland was intended to destroy these Ndebele virtues. Mabalane (Bulawayo 24 News 18 February 2013 and 14 March 2013) further contends that good

leadership as conveyed by Joshua Nkomo, Welshman Ncube and Joseph Msika is due to their exposure to the Ndebele culture. Mabalane, using this history, (Bulawayo 24 News 18 February 2013) therefore contends that the destruction of the Ndebele monarch is responsible for the corruption and bad leadership in the current leadership not only in ZANU-PF.

The importance of the Ndebele pre-colonial past in contesting for hegemony over the public in Matabeleland can be seen in the now annual commemoration of king Mzilikazi day every September in the Matopos (Bulawayo 24 news 27 June 2012). The celebrations have sparked a debate on Ndebele particularism. Ndlovu (Bulawayo 13 September 2014) reports that one organizer bemoaned the deployment of non-Ndebele speaking teachers in Matabeleland which had seen the "pollution" of the of the pure Ndebele language as founded by Mzilikazi. These celebrations and reflections on the foundation of the Ndebele state by Mzilikazi has been used to decry the perceived degeneration of the ethnic Ndebele culture domination by the Zimbabwe nation. Bulawayo 24 News(13 April 2014), *the Southern Eye* (25 June 2014) and TheChronicle (26 June 2014) carried reports of some Bulawayo residents and senior Matabeleland politicians pressuring the Ministry of Education not to employ non-Ndebele speaking teachers whom they blamed for the decline of academic pass rates in the region. The re-imaging of the Ndebele pre-colonial culture can be linked to the nostalgia of returning to a 'pure' Ndebele linguistic environment expressed by the above sentiments. Furthermore, it can be argued that the high levels of corruption and nepotism within the civil service have been perceived to favour Zimbabwean Shona citizens over perceived 'indigenous' Ndebeles within the region. The pre-colonial Ndebele past therefore imagines and constructs Ndebele identity as being more indigenous to Matabeleland that other ethnicities in Zimbabwe. Nyathi (Bulawayo 24 News 21 April 2014), during the celebration of Bulawayo's 120th anniversary, argued that a study of

suburb names in the city unearths the history of the Ndebele people from their foundation to the present day. The city therefore is constructed as being a natural Ndebele land and therefore the natural domain of the Ndebele people. Space is therefore given ethnic dimensions as it deliberately excludes other ethnicities who are not Ndebele.

Secessionists have also used this platform to advocate for the separating of Matabeleland from Zimbabwe. Gumede (The Sunday news 14 to 20 September 2014) reported that members of the Mthwakazi Republic formation attempted to turn the commemorations into a secessionist forum. Secessionists tend to construct the very foundation of the Ndebele nation to project the idea that Ndebeles have always existed outside Zimbabwean nation-hood. Nathaniel Manheru columns in the *Herald* present a linear imagining of the history of nation-hood in Zimbabwe prior to colonization. Nathaniel Manheru, in articles such as '*Tsvangirai: History and homage to Bacchus'* (02 September 2014) and '*Coal, Land and Platinum: Stewardship thrice failed*' (05 April 2014), projects the history of Zimbabwe as essentialised and unitary. The argument therefore is that the Ndebele kingdom under Mzilikazi and Lobengula was from time immemorial a continuation of the pre-colonial Zimbabwe nation using the same shrines, the same trading posts and ruling over the same people as those of the Rozvi and Monomotapa dynasty. The re-imagining of the foundation of the Ndebele nation has produced literature that is ambivalent to this idea. ZwidekaLangaKhumalo (decedent of King Lobengula) concurs that the Ndebele culture has always been part of the Zimbabwean culture and therefore the revival of the Ndebele monarch complements Zimbabwe's political processes(Bulawayo 24 News 15 September 2014).

However, the Ndebele people, based on King Mzilikazi's roots from Zululand, are portrayed as belonging to a culture foreign to that of the rest of Zimbabwe and secessionists have used this in their call for separating or devolving from the Zimbabwean nation. King Mzilikazi imagination has been emphasized by his Zulu ethnic origins. Bulawayo 24 News (08 September) states that the revival of the Ndebele kingdom is to be facilitated by Mzilikazi's descendants from South Africa. Radio dialogue (08 September 2013) contends that without uniting the Ndebele people across the Southern African region the Ndebele people will continue to suffer. The multiple dimensions of the Zimbabwean crisis saw some Ndebeles contending that they were regional citizens rather than national citizens. However, this has been contested by some sections of the media who argue that Ndebele citizenship is inseparable from that of the Zimbabwean nation. Stan Mudenge, in Zim Eye (20 November 2010), proclaims Robert Mugabe an ancestry in the foundation of the Ndebele state. Mudenge states that Mugabe's grandfather had served in King Lobengula's army, acquiring the Ndebele language and culture earning him the name 'Matibiri' (meaning Matabele). This narrative of Robert Mugabe's history projects ethnicity as inconsequential in the construction of national identity. The contestations over the imagining of the foundation of the Ndebele nation as being part of the Zimbabwean or as belonging to the South African culture becomes fundamental in the understanding of Ndebele particularism.

A new form of Ndebele particularism is emerging based on the myth that the foundations of the Ndebele people have their roots in Zululand. Msebele, (Bulawayo 24 News 24 September 2013 and 01 October 2013) arguing for the secession of Matabeleland and cultural irredentism, states that since Ndebeles originated from Zululand they are culturally more connected with South Africa than Zimbabwe and therefore Matabeleland should not only separate from Zimbabwe but also merge as a province of South Africa. Msebele (Bulawayo 24 News, 24 September 2013 and

01 October 2013) further argues that the Ndebele people are consistently persecuted as they are considered as cultural aliens in Zimbabwe. Msebele (Bulawayo 24 News, 24 September 2013 and 01 October 2013) also states that most Matabeleland emigrants in South Africa prefer to be called South Africans rather than Zimbabwean. Msebele accounts this to ethnic particularism although this may be due to a survival strategy emanating from the xenophobic attacks that recently took place in South Africa. This view is corroborated by Nehanda Radio's (11 November 2009) article which satirically appeals for President Jacob Zuma of South Africa to purchase Matabeleland. The article's writer laments the Mfecane wars which separated the "Northern Zulus" (the Ndebeles) from the rest of the Zulus and appeals to Zuma (a fellow Zulu) to save his colleagues from marginalization and persecution by opting them out Zimbabwe. For the writer of the article the Zimbabwean crisis has seen Zimbabwe being bankrupt to the extent that it would willingly sell its unwanted and troublesome citizens. Irredentism as an ideology of Ndebele particularism thus can be seen as emerging from a narration of Ndebele history.

Sjoberg and Via (2010) argue that militarism is a key definer of nationalist conflict. Sjoberg and Via (2000) contend that militarism can exist outside 'war proper' at the level of violent discourse, war memory and war-preparatory rhetoric. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2011b) identifies ZANU-PF's narration of the land reform and the liberation struggle as a manifestation of the ruling party's militarism. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2011b) argues that this 'Chimurenga monologue' centres the foundations of Zimbabwe's liberation struggles including 'the third Chimurenga' (the fast track land reform program and indigenisation policies) on pre-colonial Shona spirit mediums. The glorification of pre-colonial Ndebele history therefore seeks to establish Ndebele militarism and masculinities as the basis for ethno-nationalism. Mabalane (Bulawayo 24 news, 14 March 2013) also considers warfare in the pre-colonial Ndebele nation and explores the heroism and victories

of Mzilikazi's regiments against formidable military rivals such as the Zulu, the Boers and the Griquas. Ngwenya (uMthwakazi Review, 02 December 2014), using oral historical records and Mcumbatha's praise songs, gives a brief biographical account of Mcumbatha (Mzilikazi's prime minister) narrating his heroic deeds from birth up to when he attained the position of 'induna-nkulu' (Prime minister) in the Ndebele nation. Ndebele pre-colonial history therefore constructs and celebrates a fantasized militarism within Ndebele particularism. In the era of perceived impotency, marginalization and persecution, Ndebele history re-imagines a warrior image of Ndebele men and therefore calls for a militarized discourse of Ndebele ethno-nationalism.

The re-imagining of pre-colonial Ndebele heroes and cult-personalities is designed to create an alternative leadership to the current one. The current leadership in Matabeleland is depicted as impotent, submissive and inefficient while pre-colonial Ndebele leadership is romanticized as being able to protect its civilians from foreign militarism and oppression. Mabalane's sequel (Bulawayo 24 News 18 February 2013 and 14 March 2013) suggests that ivory trade in the Ndebele state was used for the benefit of the state as a whole and bemoans the economic crisis in Zimbabwe triggered primarily by corruption and individualism in the mining sector. Similarly, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) argues that in the Ndebele nation the king was a like father to the citizens of the nation and that failing to provide for the nation in terms of food and security could result in loss of legitimacy. Thus, these images of a utopian pre-colonial Ndebele state play a vital role in conceptualizing Ndebele particularism especially in times of economic and political crisis.

These utopian images of the pre-colonial Ndebele state firstly depict Zimbabwe as an unjust and failed nation and secondly seek to appeal to the sentiments of Ndebele citizens as justification for Ndebele particularism and ethno-nationalism. A report by Bulawayo 24 News (08 September 2013) announced that the "Khumalo clan", decedents of King Mzilikazi and Lobengula were advocating for the revival of the Ndebele monarch arguing that it is the only way that the Ndebele people can develop. One can therefore argue that the reformulated pre-colonial Ndebele history is powerful in contesting hegemony over the Ndebele people by ethno-nationalist. The continuation of pre-colonial Ndebele nation's political systems and culture is sometimes projected as the only way in which the Ndebele people can find political potency, and challenge their marginalization and persecution (real or imagined) by the Zimbabwe nation-state project.

3.3 Statues, Monuments and Idols: The Particularization of Post-Independent Matabeleland History during Father Zimbabwe's Honours

The period 2010 to 2013 is critical in the study of Ndebele particularism. The Zimbabwean government, when it announced that it would honour the late Joshua Nkomo through different monuments, a re-imagining of the relationship between some Ndebeles and the state was provoked. The monuments, which included the erection of the national icon's statue and renaming of Bulawayo international airport into Joshua MqabukoNkomo international airport, and Bulawayo's main street into Joshua Nkomo Street, received a particularistic imagination from some media outlets. Guma (Short Wave Radio Africa, 30 July 2010) speculated that the statue was to be erected at Karigamombecentre in Harare, a place which he reported was itself built as a monument to celebrate 'Gukurahundi' and the subsequent conquest of PF-ZAPU by ZANU-PF. The statue was also denounced for being made in Korea, a country which is accused of training the fifth brigade (The Standard, 17 April 2011) which played a central role in

Gukurahundi. The Nkomo monument therefore not only evoked sentiments of nationalism and patriotism which the government intended, but also triggered memory of perceived marginalization and persecution among Ndebeles in post-independent Zimbabwe which Joshua Nkomo personified. The projects which were finally completed in December 2013 provoking a reviewing of the history of the 1980s Matabeleland disturbances, the grievances of marginalization from Matabeleland citizens and the success and/or failure of the Unity accord of December 1987 became major debates in many Zimbabwe's media outlets and thus intensified Ndebele particularism.

Bulawayo 24 News (21 July 2012) began a serialization of Joshua Nkomo's auto-biography focusing on his and his supporters' persecution by ZANU-PF on perceived tribal grounds. The Nkomo commemorations therefore set a stage for the discursive clash between Ndebele ethnic and Zimbabwe national identity. Kunene (Bulawayo 24 News 11 September 2014) projected the post-colonial experience of Matabeleland as being unique from the rest of Zimbabwe. Kunene (Bulawayo 24 News 11 September 2014) states that after Zimbabwe's attainment of independence Matabeleland "survived four armed groups" and was still in a state of war. Thus, Kunene (Bulawayo 24 News 11 September 2014) largely blaming post-Independent Matabeleland violence on the ZANU-PF's fifth brigade depicts Matabeleland as having a history particular not to all Zimbabweans but to Matabeleland as a region. Similarly, Msipa (Bulawayo 24 News, 21 December 2013), on the eve of Unity day and the unveiling of Nkomo's statue, argued that the Unity Accord of 1987 was signed by Nkomo to prevent his supporters in Matabeleland and the Midlands provinces from increased violence and death at the hands of the fifth brigade. Msipa therefore argues that there is no real unity between PF- ZAPU and ZANU-PF as the former signed the accord as a surrender document. These articles therefore appropriate

the events of the early 1980s to legitimize particularism by arguing that Zimbabwe alienated Matabeleland from the Zimbabwe nation project and failed to re-integrate and rehabilitate the region to the rest of the nation.

The honouring of Nkomo coincides with DumisoDabengwa's revival of ZAPU. Chitemba (Nehanda Radio, 11 September 2011) contends that the revival of ZAPU is influenced by ethnic particularism. Chitemba (Nehanda Radio, 11 September 2011) argues that since the signing of the 1987 Unity Accord and merging with ZANU-PF, ZAPU cadres have lost electoral support in Matabeleland and their separating from ZANU-PF is a means of re-gaining their former popularity. Robert Mugabe, during the unveiling of Joshua Nkomo's statue on 22 December 2013 in Bulawayo, decried the potential threat to national unity caused by the split of Dabengwa's ZAPU from ZANU-PF (Bulawayo 24 News, 22 December 2013). Moyo (Bulawayo 24 News, 17 July 2014) argues that the Unity Accord is an ethnically motivated document which saw Matabeleland politicians coerced to accept the permanent 'deputy' status in Zimbabwean politics. Gumbo (Bulawayo 24 News, 16 April 2014), supporting ZAPU's and MDC Green's devolution policies, laments the fact that Nkomo did not live up to his potential of becoming Zimbabwe's first president due to the fact that he belonged to a minority ethnic group. Gumbo (Bulawayo 24 News, 16 April 2014) therefore accuses ZANU's 1963 split from the Nkomo led ZAPU as initiating ethnicity in the country. Ndebele particularism therefore appears to have been rejuvenated by the battle over the reconstruction of the person of Joshua Nkomo.

Joshua Nkomo'smemorialisation is also part of lamenting the sidelining of former ZIPRA guerrillas by the ZANU-PF controlled state. Bulawayo 24 News (22 October 2013) decries the denial of national heroes statuses to former ZIPRA liberation fighters based on their ethnic and

party roots. Bulawayo 24 News (22 October 2013) reports that ZAPU was abandoning the Heroes Acre as the traditional site for the burial of its liberation war-heroes and was now using Lady Stanley in Bulawayo as its new burial shrine. Similarly, Bulawayo 24 (News 29 August 2014) bemoans the disrespect of ZAPU property by the ruling ZAU-PF party when DumisoDabengwa's farm was invaded by alleged ZANU-PF youth militia. The article states that the land reform programme which had also targeted Joshua Nkomo's farm in Masvingo had sparked ethnic tensions. ZAPU also announced that it would fund a "Revolutionary Research Institute of Zimbabwe" to re-evaluate the "contribution of the then Nkomo-led" party in the struggle for the freedom of Zimbabwe (Bulawayo 24 News, 28 July 2014). The Joshua Nkomo ceremonies therefore provide a platform for ZAPU/ZIPRA cadres to express their sense of betrayal and neglect by the ZANU-PF led government. ZAPU therefore contests the monopoly of Joshua Nkomo's name to reconstruct itself as a devolutionist party with a national appeal during the time of its revival.

It can be argued that particularism in Matabeleland is largely an expression of frustration against perceived incompetent national leadership especially during the height of the Zimbabwean crisis which imploded in post-2000. The events surrounding the honouring of Joshua Nkomo aggravated the nostalgia for a strong national political figure emanating from Matabeleland. Ndou's (Bulawayo 24 News 09 May 2012) article titled "*Welshman Ncube the next Joshua Nkomo*" that Welshman Ncube, just like Joshua Nkomo, suffers political and ethnically motivated persecution under the ZANU-PF regime. A senior MDC-Green member therefore states that the "Ndebele speaking people [should] vote Ncube to burst the widely held belief that the people of Matabeleland should be deputies" (Ndou, Bulawayo 24 News 09 May 2012).

Similarly, Mlilo's article (Nehanda Radio, 15 April 2011) titled "*Is GodernMoyo the Next Joshua Nkomo*" presents the then MDC-T Bulawayo chairperson's political activism under the pressure group Bulawayo Agenda as giving him humanitarian attributes equivalent to Joshua Nkomo. Mlilo (Nehanda Radio, 15 April 2011) argues that GordenMoyo's character resembles that of Joshua Nkomo and this gives him a slight advantage over other rival Matabeleland politicians such as Welshman Ncube, DumisoDabengwa and Jonathan Moyo. These articles therefore highlight the fact that Ndebele particularism is largely a reaction to a perceived leadership void in the politics of Matabeleland.

Paul Siwela cited in the Southern Eye, 22 December 2013 that the events of Nkomo's ceremonies were evidence to the fact that Zimbabwe existed as two separate countries. Siwela notes that all the monuments to honourNkomo (the airport, the statue, the hospital and the street) are all situated in Matabeleland. Similarly, Bulawayo 24 News article (16 April 2014) argued that the 1963 split of ZANU from ZAPU had created permanent ethnic tension to which only a devolved government system could solve. Joshua Nkomo's representation and the attendant contestations are critical in the construction of the politics of Ndebele particularism.

3.4Conclusion

The Zimbabwean crisis which imploded in post-2000 has triggered in its citizens the desire to re-evaluate their history in order to construct a fair and just society. This chapter examined the deployment of history in the negotiation and contestation of hegemony. The history of the Ndebele and Matabeleland in post-independent Zimbabwe as typified the re-imagining of the Ndebele identity during the 'Nkomo ceremonies' shows recurring themes of marginalization and persecution which have justified different forms of Ndebele particularism. The next chapter

focuses on the different forms of Ndebele particularism where will be argued that different interpretations of Ndebele history have triggered different types of Ndebele particularism which can be imagined in a continuum ranging from its moderate to its extreme forms.

Chapter Four: Theorizing the Spectrum of Ndebele Particularism

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapters focused on how some Ndebele citizens perceived their identity vis a vis the Zimbabwe nation state. Chapter Two investigated how the perceived marginality of the Matabeleland region and the perceived persecution of its inhabitants as projected by selected media articles from a gendered respective. It was argued that some Matabeleland citizens perceived themselves as being feminized by ZANU-PF's erotic domination and advocated re-emasculation of Matabeleland politics. In chapter three the focus was on how Ndebele history was being used to further politicize the identity of Matabeleland and its citizens by proponents of Ndebele particularism. This chapter therefore looks at the effects of the politics of re-masculization and the influence of particularistic historical narration in shaping the citizen identity and particularism in Matabeleland.

The perceived erotic domination of Matabeleland and Ndebele politics by ZANU-PF and MDC-T national politics together with the particularization of Ndebele history has produced an ultra-masculine politics of particularism in Matabeleland. The politics of particularism is however not singular and homogeneous. Ndebele particularism has its own inner conflicts rising from the different forms taken by its proponents in an attempt to respond to perceived marginalization, persecution, identity crisis and emasculation of Matabeleland by the Zimbabwe nation state project. Ndebele particularism therefore tends to differ in its relationship and level of hostility towards the nation state and the ideal existence which it imagines should characterize the Matabeleland-Zimbabwe nation state relationship. This chapter therefore analyses Ndebele particularism in its different forms, by providing a continuum ranging from its moderate to its

extreme forms. The level of masculine-militarism, the desired relationship to the Zimbabwe nation state and the scope of inclusion and exclusion into a given form of Ndebele particularism theorize whether that form occupies the moderate, the center or extreme part of this continuum.

The illustration below shows the spectrum in which Ndebele particularism is conceptualized in this study. At the left end of the continuum is moderate particularism; whilst at the right is extreme ethno-nationalist particularism.

The table below illustrates the spectrum of Ndebele particularism

Table 4.1

Ceremonial Monarchists	Devolutionists	Federalists	Seccessionists

Moderate   extreme

4.2 Ceremonial Monarchists: Moderate Ndebele Particularism

Bulawayo 24 News (2014) cites ZwidekaLangaKhumalo (King Lobengula's great grandson) asserting that the revival of the Ndebele monarch under the lineage of King Mzilikazi and Lobengula is of essence in the development of Matabeleland. ZwidekaLangaKhumalo (cited in Bulawayo 24 News, 2014) therefore argues that without a sovereign King, which was removed by the conquest of Lobengula by the British South Africa Company in December 1893, the center of the Ndebele society ceases to hold. ZwideKaLangaKhumalo in this article contends that a revival of the Ndebele is for renascence Ndebele culture amongst its people rather for active political role in the country. The argument in this article is that the revived office of the Ndebele King is to be limited to its ceremonial functions and will be no threat to the hegemony

of the Zimbabwe nation state. These ceremonial functions include heading traditional ceremonies such as 'inxwala' (festival of first fruits) and rain-making ceremonies. ZwidekaLangaKhumalo cited in Bulawayo 24 News (2014) further contents that the ceremonial functions of the revived Ndebele Monarch will complement rather than disrupt the activities of the government. This proclamation by ZwidekaLangaKhumalo can be seen as advocating for a moderate form of Ndebele particularism which has its focus more on the redressing cultural rather than political issues.

Moderate particularism in the form of monarchists assumes that Ndebele cultural values and institutions are under threat and that the ceremonial functions of the king can solve this perceived cultural crisis. However even the though this form of particularism projects itself as being exclusively cultural is not apolitical. Mabalane (2013) argues that resource distribution has favoured ZANU-PF elites especially in areas such as mining claims and re-distribution. Mabalane (2013) therefore argues that in the pre-colonial Ndebele Kingdom such responsibility was effectively carried out by the king. He therefore argues land allocation is a customary act which should be executed by the revived monarch.

The Zimdiaspora (2009) cited ZwideKaLangaKhumalo who argued that the Ministry of National healing and Reconciliation was failing in its mandate. According to the Zimdiaspora (2009) Khumalo argued that instead of healing wounds left by past activities of political violence the Minister of National Healing and Reconciliation, Sekai Holland was inciting the persecution of Ndebeles by rubbishing Mzilikazi and the pre-colonial Ndebele state as a " violent mob". Mlotshwa (2013) and Bulawayo 24 News (2014) cites ZwideKaLangaKhumalo arguing that only the customary court of the King can heal the wounds of Gukurahundi. The debate over the revival of the Ndebele monarch therefore has in many instances been facilitated by the

perceptions that the revived Monarch would form a cultural institution that would appropriate some of the government powers.

Ceremonial monarchists have present separation between cultural particularism and political particularism. Their argument to revive the Ndebele kingdom is based more on cultural foundations than on power politics. Moyo (2014) reports that re-establishing the Ndebele monarch was one way of de-colonizing Matabeleland and Zimbabwe as whole since it was the colonial project of Rhodesia that denied the Ndebele people the installation of a new king after the disappearance of Lobengula. The Newsday (2013) contends that the monarch should be council of kings from different ethnicities in m Matabeleland such as the Venda, Sotho, Tonga and Ndebele whereby the kingship rotated from different ethnic groupings. The argument for a ceremonial monarch in Matabeleland therefore becomes a way of authenticating the citizenship of Matabeleland residents in Zimbabwe rather than a means of dismantling ZANU- PF hegemony in the region.

4.3 Devolutionists: Center Moderate Ndebele Particularism

Devolution as a form of particularism occupies the center left of the spectrum. Devolutionists in Matabeleland advocate for the decentralization of political and economic institution in the country and the creation and empowerment of provincial government structures. The Zim Eye (2012) cites DumisoDabengwa (ZAPU president) arguing that the devolution of power is the most effective constitutional tool for a country whose economic development have favoured the development of some region at the expense of other. In this article Dabengwa further lambastes ZANU-PF for using the centralized system of governance to exploit the resources of other

provinces and enrich Harare. Ralph Mguni (another senior official of ZAPU) cited in Bulawayo 24 News (2011) argues that devolution is the only means in which provinces are given power to develop themselves whilst still maintaining Zimbabwe as a unitary nation. Devolution from the above articles seems to centre its arguments on issues of economic development. For devolutionists the eroticized domination of ZANU-PF over Matabeleland is manifested in the perceived economic marginalization of Matabeleland which in the period of the Zimbabwe crisis reached its apex in the mass de-industrialization of Bulawayo.

Ndzimu-unamiMoyo (2013), who is the MDC-Green Plumtree secretary, contends that devolution is key in giving Matabeleland politicians power in national politics. Moyo (2013) argues that devolution advocates for elected provincial government who wield control over the national government should the later chose to undertake business with the provincial government. Bulawayo 24 News (2013) applauded the MDC- Green's manifesto titled "*Devolution our new Revolution*" as a vision that seeks to promote equality among Zimbabweans. Devolution was founded on the assumed notion that since the tribal politics of Zimbabwe does not allow the elevation of Ndebele politicians to the highest post of governance, provincialisation of the governance is necessary to give power to Matabeleland politicians. The Southern Eye (2013) celebrates the devolution agenda comparing it to a revival of Matabeleland's ecology in an article titled "*Ncube paints south-west Zimbabwe green*". In this article the departure of MDC-green from the MDC-T is taken as the first step toward devolution and the re-masculinization of Matabeleland politics. Devolution, although it can be argued has had its proponents in different provinces of Zimbabwe, has been used to address the issues of marginalization and persecution perceived to be particular to Matabeleland.

One key tenet of devolution that makes it a moderate form Ndebele particularism is its insistence that Matabeleland citizens and the Zimbabwean citizens have invested a lot in the Zimbabwe nation and in each other henceforth separation from Zimbabwe is ill founded. Devolutionists are therefore opposed to more extreme Ndebele ethno-nationalism. Ralph Mguni (the secretary general of ZAPU) writes in Bulawayo 24 News (2014) that although he is sympathetic to separatists he remains opposed to them. Mguni (2013) contends that there has been no bloodless secession in Africa and that the case of Mthwakazi secession would not be an exception. He further argues that there is no plain mechanism for distribution of territories during separation. Similarly, NhlanhlaDube, the MDC- Green spokesperson cited in Bulawayo 24 News (2013) argues that his party is not 'tribal' but seeks to establish a free and democratic politics for all Zimbabweans. Bulawayo 24 News (2014) states that a coalition between MDC-Green and ZAPU was signed to promote the devolution agenda and attack the secessionists movements which both parties saw as promoting ethnic fundamentalism.. Why can therefore argue from this point of view that devolution uses less extremist campaigns to redress perceived marginalization of Matabeleland.

4.4 Federalists: Center Right particularism

Federalism is also another form of particularism, though it does not appear as consistently as other forms in Bulawayo 24 news. For the proponents of Ndebele particularism federalism means the creation of a semi-autonomous Matabeleland/Mthwakazi state within Zimbabwe. Federalism therefore represents a movement from devolution to the right of the spectrum. Whilst Devolution advocates for the decentralization of the Zimbabwe nation state power to provincial governments in to be implemented in Zimbabwe at large , Matabeleland federalist argue that

Matabeleland as a region has a unique politics (of persecution and marginalization which needs to be rectified by Matabeleland citizens themselves) and predicaments different from the rest of the Zimbabwe nation-state and thus a semi-autonomy should be granted to establish Matabeleland as a state within the Zimbabwe nation. Devolution therefore advocates for the decentralization and re-distribution of state powers to provincial powers whilst Matabeleland Federalism contends that Matabeleland should have separate state within the Zimbabwean nation. This type of federalism divides the nation into Matabeleland and the rest whereby Matabeleland has semi-independence from Zimbabwe nation state.

Malema (2011), a regular Bulawayo 24 blogger, writes that this form of federalism is a response to "the political, economic and development subjugation of the Ndebele people by the Harare government". Malema (2011) argues that the "Shona people as whole" have benefited from the ZANU-PF national government at the expense of minority ethnicities in Matabeleland. He therefore contends that if the resources of Matabeleland continue to be under the erotic domination of Zimbabwean state control Matabeleland would continue to be to decline in economic development. However Matabeleland federalists are not merely concerned with the politics of economic development. Theirs is a movement that transcends to the politics of power and identity. Malema (2011) argues that Shona hegemony has a negative impact on the confidence of Ndebele citizens to the extent that Ndebeles they have internalized the belief are not good and diligent leaders. Malema (2011) thus deduces that federalism would create a space for Ndebele leaders and citizens to govern themselves and hence regain confidence in their own abilities and capabilities. Matabeleland federalism therefore seems to be in the borderline between devolution and Matabeleland secession.

4.5 Secessionists: Extreme Right Ndebele Ethno-Nationalism

Ralph Mguni (2013) whilst contending that separating Matabeleland from Zimbabwe is not the best way to solve Matabeleland challenges argues that it is debatable to label the Mthwakazi movements that advocate for secession as extremists. Mguni (2013) argues that these secessionist movements perceive themselves as the victims and respondents of ZANU-PF's extreme tribal nationalism rather than the initiators of tribal fanaticism in political body of Zimbabwe. Tsododo (2014), a Herald correspondent, accuses MqondisiMoyo (Leader of the separatist Mthwakazi Liberation Party) of being driven by extreme divisive tribal politics. Mthwakazi movements advocating for secession Matabeleland have formed an imperative role in the conceptualizations of particularism in Matabeleland. Secessionists advocate for the separation of Matabeleland and the creation of an autonomous nation, independent from Zimbabwe known as Mthwakazi or Matabeleland Republic (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2011). This research argues that that Mthwakazi nationalism forms an extremists reaction to the imagined extremist Shona particularism (and Ndebele persecution) in both the ruling ZANU-PF party and the mainstream opposition party, the MDC-T.

Shumba (2014), a Bulawayo 24 News columnist, argues that the persecution of Matabeleland and the rejection of proper devolution of power by the Zimbabwe government leave the path to secession as the only surviving hope for the people of Matabeleland. Msebele (2013), another Bulawayo 24 News columnist, similarly argued that the Ndebeles in Zimbabwe been denied a full citizenship and only exists as second class subjects of Zimbabwe nation state. Msebele (2013) goes further to accuse South Africa of providing protection for Ndebeles from their persecution by the Zimbabwean government. Msebele therefore argues that the persecution of Ndebeles by ZANU-PF government and the failure of South Africa to provide South African

citizenship to Ndebeles within its borders render Ndebeles stateless. This statelessness according to Msabele's article can be solved by the creation of an autonomous Mthwakazi state. The Southern Eye (2014) and Moyo (2014) in Bulawayo 24 News report of Mthwakazi Youth Leaders Joint Resolution (MYJR) protesting against the employment of Mashonaland residents by ZESA in its Bulawayo base. According to this report the job protest organizers were found guilty of inciting hatred against other citizens based on tribal factors. Bulawayo 24 News (2013) reports that Robert Mugabe is unsympathetic to Matabeleland youth that migrate to South Africa to flee unemployment. In this report Robert Mugabe is cited mocking Matabeleland south youth for managing to afford only to buy a bicycle in a year with the meager wages they earn across the Limpopo. The above articles show how constitutional crisis and high unemployment which characterize the Zimbabwe crisis intensified ethnic particularism in Matabeleland thereby contributing to the extreme Mthwakazi ethno-nationalism.

Secessionist Mthwakazi nationalism has therefore used this feeling of being unwanted and marginalized in the Zimbabwe nation state project to seek legitimacy. Harare 24 News (2014) blamed Gukurahundi on poor pass rates in Matabeleland South, stating that the employment teachers Mashonaland in the province with no knowledge of the pupils" first language was part of ZANU-PF's plan to sabotage Matabeleland. MqondisiMoyo's (President of the Mthwakazi Republic Party) opinion article in Bulawayo 24 News states that the de-industrialization of Bulawayo, the privileging of Matabeleland jobs to Shona citizens and lack of infrastructure development in Matabeleland is part of ZANU-PF is an appendage of the Gukurahundi and part of ZANU-PF grand design to persecute Matabeleland citizens. Moyo therefore argues that such persecution of Matabeleland citizens can only be stopped by separating Matabeleland from the Zimbabwe nation state.

In order to win the hegemony over of Matabeleland constituency, Mthwakazi nationalism seeks to delegitimize the most popular party in the region, the MDC-T. A report on the online uMthwakazi review (2012) argues that MDC-T had joined ZANU-Pf in waging a war against Matabeleland. In this article, uMthwakazi review (2012) it is argued that MDC-T had conspired with ZANU-PF during the constitutional making process to scrap devolution clauses out of the final constitution document. The writer of the article therefore contended that within unitary Zimbabwe where the 'Shona' are the majority in parliament and in demography the political aspiration of Matabeleland would never be realized. Similarly Bulawayo 24 News (2013) argues that there are many similarities between ZANU-PF and the MDC-T. The article states that all potent position of the President and Secretary General are under the 'Shona' whilst the Vice President (a monumental position) is reserved for a 'Ndebele' and the chairmanship (another impotent post) of both parties is under a 'Kalanga'. By comparing MDC-T to ZANU-PF Ndebele particularists seek to dismantle the biggest threat to their perceived area of hegemony.

Paul Siwela (leader of Matabeleland Liberation Organization) cited in Bulawayo 24 News (2013) argues that Matabeleland is colonially occupied by Zimbabwe and that it should liberate itself from the bondage of Zimbabwe. The Zim Eye (2012) report titled "*Mthwakazi Unveils its Future Flag*" accentuates the resort to militancy which ethno-nationalism has taken. Although extreme Ndebele ethno-nationalist have argued for the abandonment of constitutionalism in challenging ZANU-PF hegemony and their discourse is transcended more and more by militarism they have remained unclear and vague on what mechanism they seek to use to separate from Zimbabwe.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter argues that the constitutional, economic and social crises of the Zimbabwe crisis have resulted in the evolution of varied forms of Ndebele particularism. It is however noteworthy

to point out that some forms of particularism are fluid and flow into each other. For instance whilst some monarchist want to establish a ceremonial Ndebele monarch within Zimbabwe some have called for a federal Matabeleland state under a monarch. Other monarchist have advocated for the secession of Matabeleland and the establishment of a Mthwakazi nation under a monarch. A continuum can therefore be drawn to present the main forms of the otherwise complex, multiple and heterogeneous forms particularism in Matabeleland. This spectrum shows the movement from constitutionalism to militarism and from moderate to more extreme forms. The left of the continuum represents a more constitutional and less militant form of seeking hegemony whilst the right side of the spectrum represents a movement to militarism and extremism. In the following chapter the conclusions derived from this chapter and the whole research will be given together with recommendation to relevant authorities.

Chapter Five: Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1 Research Summary

This research is an investigation selected media literature mainly Bulawayo 24 News and other related media text articles focusing on the framing and projection of Ndebele particularism. Studying particularism entails studying the nation and the politics of the nation from which particularistic discourses are responding to. Thus the study of Ndebele particularism inevitable becomes a study of the politics of identity in Zimbabwe nation making and its varied forms of nationalism. The first chapter provides a genealogy of nation making, nationalism and its identity politics in the Zimbabwe nation state from prior to colonization (1890 and before) via the period of early nationalism in the Rhodesian colony and the war for liberation (1890 t0 1980) nationalism to events of the post colony and the period dubbed the 'Zimbabwean crisis' in the turn of the century (1980 to 2000 and beyond).

The second chapter contextualizes gender identity within the discourses of Ndebele particularism and to some extent the Zimbabwe nation state project and how the process of gendering in conflict between ZANU-PF's brand of nationalism and the difference forms of Ndebele particularism was intensified by the economic and constitutional and political crises of the Zimbabwean crisis. Chapter two therefore became a focus on how the clash between Ndebele particularism ZANU PF's nationalism became a masculine militarism conflict. It also investigated how this masculine militarism has overshadowed the women's activism in South-West Zimbabwe. Thus from this chapter the contentions for hegemony in the Zimbabwe nation are argued to be directed by this masculine gendering process. Similarly the identities linked to the nation such as citizenship, nationality, ethnicity and gender become defined under the parameters of such masculine militarism.

Chapter three focused on how particularism in Matabeleland exploited and particularized the history of the Ndebele people for purpose of persuasion and hegemony making. In this chapter it is argued that historiography is of relevance in the politicization of national and ethnic identities. The chapter shows that Ndebele history from its pre-colonial to the post independent history is of strong emotional attachment to the Matabeleland constituency and it is this emotional basis of history that is used to create myths of solidarity in ethno-nationalist making during a period of crises. The escalating levels of unemployment, high rates of poverty and political instability of the Zimbabwe crisis became a period of nostalgia and sentimentalism where particularistic narration of history is an important tool of hegemony construction.

Chapter four developed the arguments of the first three chapters revealing how the gendered identities of Ndebele particularism and ethno-nationalism and the politicized narration of Ndebele history has given rise to varied and contesting form of Ndebele particularism. This chapter conceptualized Ndebele particularism in a continuum. The continuum became a theoretical attempt of giving an insight on the varied imagined identities of some Ndebeles within the Zimbabwe nation state. It investigated the differing extents in which some Ndebele citizens imagine they have been included and/ or excluded with the Zimbabwean nation project. The continuum offered varied forms of Ndebele particularism ranging from moderate particularism to more extreme Mthwakazi nationalism. Chapter Four therefore became an investigation into the varied gender, sexual, citizenship, nation identity response of Ndebele citizens to the Zimbabwe nation-state construction. Chapter five seeks to give conclusions of this research.

5.2 Research Conclusions and Recommendations

A number of conclusions can therefore be given from this research. A recurring concern from in this research is the perception of marginalization and persecution among Ndebele citizens by the government. The investigated articles have also showed dissatisfaction of at the handling of the 1980s Matabeleland disturbances and the incidents of political violence in the 2000s. This has precipitated notions of second class citizens among Matabeleland residents. One therefore may recommend a transparent inquiry into these dark events of our past in order to bring dialogue that includes every citizen in these highly emotional issues. National healing, reconciliation and nation building can be sustained through tolerance and respect for different parties affected by these political disturbances.

Another conclusion drawn from this study is the negative effects that the dire economic crisis have had on national identity in Zimbabwe. Ndebele particularism, it can be concluded, is accentuated by this economic crisis. The rampant unemployment has seen Zimbabweans competing for limited job opportunities and this has created challenges in incorporating gender and ethnic identities towards a higher national identity. Nepotism and corruption in the employment sector has been perceived to favour 'Shona' citizens over people from Matabeleland ethnicities. This has further intensified the sentiments of marginality among Matabeleland residents and created ethnic tensions in the Zimbabwe nation project. This perception has created dissatisfaction with the current system of a centralized and imagined autocratic government from which issues such as devolution, federalism and even secession have developed. It is therefore advices that these ideas even those viewed as extremist be publicly debated as this will allow citizens to define their own national identities. One may also recommend that some form of decentralization of government be considered as a means of seeking economic solution to the

Zimbabwe crisis from a diverse opinion. Adopting decentralization may prevent the resort to violent and more extreme forms of particularism.

It can also be concluded that the investigated political discourses have been characterized by high levels of militarism and intolerance for difference. Most of the political writing in the studied news articles reflected the views of the political elites. The investigated articles which reported on nationalism and ethno-nationalism in Bulawayo 24 News tend to give the viewpoints of the elites in top party structures. It is these political elites who position themselves as spokespersons of their communities and reproduce a militaristic discourse in national conflicts. Politicians and media practitioners are recommended to deescalate militaristic discourse and to be more sensitive and tolerant to multiple identities that define the Zimbabwe nation such as gender, race, religion and ethnicity.

Despite taking ethnic dimension, Ndebele particularism cannot be understood merely from the narrow and simplistic scope of ethnicism. Ndebele particularism can be conceptualized from more complex political, economic and social development issues that contest the current structuring and mechanism of the Zimbabwe nation state. One therefore hopes that a spirit of tolerance amongst Zimbabwe's citizen would be adopted to resolve the issue of Ndebele particularism in the nation.

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