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DISSERTATION TOPIC:

A critical interrogation of the themes of politics and governance in the creative works of Mlalazi and Baya's Crocodile of Zambezi (2008), Matsa and Baya's Super Patriots and Morons (2003), and Chifunyise's Waiting for the Constitution (2010)

BY

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A dissertation submitted to the Department of English and Communication, Midlands State University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Bachelor of Arts English and Communication Honours Degree.

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DECLARATION FORM

I, Walter Kudzai Barure, Registration number R10502X, hereby declare that this dissertation is my own original work that has not been previously submitted for any degree or examination at any other university. Proper citation and acknowledgements in line with copyright law and ethical requirements have been strictly adhered to, in writing this project. This dissertation is submitted to the Department of English and Communication, Midlands State University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Bachelor of Arts English and Communication Honours Degree.

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To God I give all the glory. I thank firstly my creator, Jehovah Jireh, for He is faithful now and forever. It has been a long arduous personal journey of self-examination, self-doubt, self-reflection and spiritual growth. With Him nothing is impossible for I am living proof of His love and grace.

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DEDICATION

To mom and dad,you have always been there right from the beginning of everything,

coming through when I need you.

and

To my future wife and unborn children this work is the foundation

of our happiness together until then.

ABSTRACT

This study is an interpretive and descriptive analysis of the themes of politics and governance in contemporary Zimbabwe paying particular attention to the creative works of,Mlalazi and Baya's *TheCrocodile of Zambezi* (2008) , Matsa and Baya's *Super Patriots and Morons* (2003) and Chifunyise's *Waiting for the Constitution* (2010). The study explores the power dynamics inherent in the insider/outsider, inclusion/exclusion, patriot/sell-out and self/nation schema and show how they are used to construct enduring critical, historical and political narratives in Zimbabwe. The theory underpinning the study is the postcolonial theory which was chosen because it overlaps from colonial politics into contemporary politics and governance.The study will also highlight how the ruling elite has resorted to repression, ideology, sovereignty and patriotic history as a way of maintaining and consolidating their power and constructing 'desirable' political identities. It will also capture the paradox of marginalization and empowerment which seem to coexist in the ideas of representation and resistance. This study concludes that the privileging of nationalist constructions of identity is also problematic because it renders invisible the multiplicity of identities which coexist within the same political space which is affected by globalization. Furthermore, identity is fluid and multi-layered rather than stable. Democracy is still an illusion and a fallacy in post-independent Zimbabwe because it is not founded on equality, economic and social justice.

ACRONYMS

CDE……………………………Comrade

COPAC…………………………..Committee of Parliament of the new Constitution

G.N.U……………………………Government of National Unity

N.G.Os…………………................Non-Governmental Organisation

PF-ZAPU………………………....Patriotic Front- Zimbabwe African People's Union

U.S.A………………………….United States of America

ZANU PF………………………....Zimbabwe African National Unity- Patriotic Front

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter One

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction

This chapter will define the problem and give background information on the topic under study. This study looks at the themes of politics and governance and how they contribute in conceptualization of the self, nation, representation, difference, resistance and how the same themes lead to social transformation and democracy. The same chapter highlights the research questions, and the issues to be addressed. A brief background of the study, literature review is given together with the justification and significance of the study. This is important as it forms the basis of the research. Through this introductory chapter a foundation is laid hence an understanding is created as to what the research is about and what it aims to achieve.

1.1 Background to the Study

This study is unfolded against the backdrop of one of the most trying and exciting times in the history of post-independent Zimbabwe. It suffice for now to consider colonial governance of the then Rhodesia. This will enable the study to track the continuities and discontinuities of the neo-colonialist agenda. Colonialism denigrated and impoverished blacks politically, economically and socially. It stripped them of their freedom and they had to pander to the whims of the colonizer. However, when the oppression and repression reached unbearable heights, the black folk in the country resolved to fight for the overthrow of the British colonial regime, which only served minority interests. Upon victory in the liberation Struggle it would be replaced by a black government meant to serve the wishes and aspirations of the black majority. According to Proctor and Phimister (1991) the road towards the attainment of such a feat began way back in 1896 during the first chimurenga uprising or war of liberation, which however was repressed by the imperialist. Instead of this being a deterrent to their ambition of unshackling themselves from the scourge of colonial bigotry, it actually became a motivating factor which spurred them on a greater resolve as they later staged yet another uprising which was successful and culminated in the attainment of independence. Zimbabwe's independence was ushered in 1980 after years of a protracted chimurenga and a hard bargaining, which eventually resulted in the Lancaster House Agreement of 1979. Ranger (2004) observes that the British- brokered agreement called for a ceasefire, new elections, a transition period under British rule and a new constitution implementing for majority rule.

Martin and Johnson (1981) sagely pinpoint that there is no dispute regarding the contribution of ZANU PF to Zimbabwe's liberation from colonialism but however there were also other players involved. Under black 'majority' rule, the 1980s were committed to a socialist development agenda of national reconciliation and reconstruction. Martin and Johnson (ibid) underline that the ruling party have been viewed as liberators and this is borne out by the widespread support that the party has received since the advent of national independence in 1980. The 'majority' government was popular with the masses because it articulated an ideology that sought to correct the injustices of the colonial period. A lower-middle class was quickly built through the bureaucracy and patronage system that ran contrary to the state's socialist and egalitarian goals. The general populace was of the belief that economic and social woes would be a thing of the past and that freedom in every sense of the word would be theirs till eternity. Thus, the immediate post-independence period was characterized by much euphoria arising from the masses high expectations of the fruits of the struggle. At the end of 1987 the special parliamentary representation which had been given transitionally to the white minority under the Lancaster House agreement was removed; the power of government was concentrated by making Robert Mugabe 'executive president'; and decisive steps were taken towards the creation of a one-party system through the amalgamation of the two major political parties in the country, PF ZANU and PF-ZAPU. This set stage for what was to become a de facto one-party state. The political status quo at independence was heavily skewed in favour of the ruling elite. However as the years have worn away, the hopes and aspirations of the majority are hardly recognizable well after the attainment of political independence. Bond and Manyanya (2003) note that sadly the popularity of the ZANU PF government began to wane during the 1990s as the national economy started to buckle under pressure of in appropriate economic as well as political policies. The year 2008 marked the birth of the Government National Unity, which paved way for dramatic and constitutional changes, which people hoped would finally change all circles of life.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The research is founded upon what researchers of bygone eras have unearthed with regard to the themes of politics and governance. More so, the study has also noted that over the years a

considerable number of scholars have taken the impetus to address themes of politics and governance with focus only on one party African states that prevailed soon after independence. Given this background, this research seeks to shed more light on the themes of politics and governance with a direct bearing on the new political dispensation which is characterized by the Government of National Unity which did less to improve lives of the general public in Zimbabwe. The study further seeks to demonstrate the performance of power and how the marginalized or the oppressed understand not only their own standpoints but also the underlying structures such as ideology.

1.3 Aims and Research Objectives

The primary aim of this study is to read the themes of politics and governance as they are represented within a selection of Zimbabwean literature. The reading is to be done through an extensive contextualization of the texts within the historical, social and political contingencies within which they are situated. In addition to the use of extensive contextualization in order to read the texts, the work of theorists and critics will be referenced in an attempt to understand specific concerns that are raised by specific textual issues. The selection of such secondary material will thus be led by the reading of the primary texts with the aim of maintaining the primary texts. In order to achieve the study's primary aim of reading and analyzing themes of politics and governance specific objectives will be set and it is hoped by the end of the study they would have been achieved.

The study seeks to:

- Define politics and governance and curve a direction of its own.
- Give a comparative analysis of the past and present.
- Add depth to the understanding of the themes of politics and governance.
- Reveal the challenges and limitations encountered in efforts to achieve a full-fledged democracy.

1.4 Research Questions

Various questions will be asked of the texts. The specifics of these questions will be guided by each text, however, in general terms they can be seen to correspond to the following four broad research questions:

1. How are the themes of politics and governance situated within and contingent on larger understanding of identity, self, nation, difference and representation? The study will attempt at all times to take cognisance of the commonalities that different texts communicate.

2. In what manner do the imaginative responses that the texts represent attempt to deal with the dynamics of power? It is important, therefore, for the study to attempt to track such changes in the understanding of the themes of politics and governance.

3. Who or what are dissenting voices and what do these voices evince and contribute to the overall meaning of politics and governance and how do these dissenting voices bring those at the margins into the centre ?

4. Why are people failing to prevail against their oppressors and what are the deeper reasons for the status quo?

5. What has changed since the coming in of the Government of National Unity?

In this regard, an attempt will be made to problematize the role that the selected texts and their narratives have in the interrogation, propagation and mediation of the themes of politics and governance. It is noteworthy that all the above asked research questions relate to all of the texts to be read, and will attempt to address what has, of late, become a post-independent Zimbabwean 'reality'. By asking these deeper questions the study undertook the task of 'social analysis'.

1.5 Significance of the study

It seems surprising that very little critical attention has been given to the writing of the themes of politics and governance especially in the genre of plays which relevantly highlight the performance of power. While there has been a plethora of studies on the themes of politics and governance from political scientists and analysts.However, there is a paucity of comprehensive literary criticism on contemporary Zimbabwean politics. This dearth of

literary criticism particularly in the genre of plays makes this study researchable and useful because it helps in understanding the patterns of politics and governance. This study observes previously unnoticed aspects of politics such as the mere focus on one-party states that makes it an important one with regard to the field of literary studies. The complex nature of politics for instance the transition from one party state to the Government of National Unity will be captured. Such work is of considerable importance to the African and Zimbabwean literary studies as it is the opinion of the researcher that that there is a need for more research that attempts to bridge the seemingly artificial academic divisions between the study of politics and governance.

There is a thin scholarship that gleans on the Government of National Unity. Thus it is expedient and easy to make the urgent call for more work on politics and governance in Zimbabwe by Zimbabweans to serve our own agendas. In addition to revisit the reviewed literature can mean a complete overhaul of the analysis done before. The study therefore seeks to move away from the deterministic ways of looking at contemporary politics which does not allow enough space to get at the diverse everyday experiences arising out of the post-independent Zimbabwe.As such, study will make a substantial contribution to African literary study in that

> although various elements of literary life might find few interstices, the contribution of literature to the entire society require[s] the critic to construct necessary intervening spaces: spaces in which the readers [can] be alerted to arrangements of difference within the single map. (Chapman 2003; xv)

1.6 Definition of Terms

Much ink has been spilled on politics and governance which are protean and slippery terms that are constantly used but rarely defined with clarity.

More so, they are shrouded in obscurity because many scholars at different intervals seem to hold different perspectives about their complex nature. In essence there is no one size fits all definition. According to the *Collins Dictionary* (2008:1286) politics is "any activity concerned with the acquisition of power, gaining one's own ends among others." The

dictionary went on to give another definition of politics as the "complex or aggregate of relationships involving authority or power." Politics is essentially about relationships; this means that if politics did not exist, it would not be possible for any form of inter-human relationship to exist. Politics is fundamentally the relationship between people and political relationships can take a variety of forms. For instance, they can be either friendly or hostile; they can, at the same time, also be either physical or non-physical. Mao (1975:153) contends that in a way "…. politics is war without bloodshed while war is politics with bloodshed". Using the above logic leaves a lot to be desired because in any war the most common victim is the truth. Per se the politicians can wage the war on the economy.

Minogue (1995:7) begs to differ and argues that politics used to refer merely to the actions of monarchs, parliaments, and ministers and to the activities of the politically committed who helped or hindered their accession to authority. The same scholar further notes that as governments have expanded their reach almost everything has come to be regarded as politics. Such a definition is powerful and flexible to accommodate everything as politics. In the same vein, Ngugi Wa Thiongo (1981) contends that all writing is political. In simple terms politics can be defined as the struggle for societal power and maintenance of that power. Another powerful definition of politics is given by Magstadt, (2010:4) who defines it as "the art of the possible", as the "the study of "who", gets "what", "when" and "how" and as the "authoritative allocation of values". At the same time, it must also be recognized that politics responds to existing economic and social situations. Economics is therefore the foundation of politics as well as its container. In much the same way that economics is comprised of different elements, so too is politics. Elements of "power, order and justice" are noted by the same scholar as central to politics. The application of the three elements implies the establishment of authority which aims at yielding cohesion in any given society. Power is viewed as the ability to enforce rules and influence the behaviour of individuals in a given group.

Politics is also noted to be centering on actions which have an influence among a group of people. Shiverly, (2008:3) defines politics as the making of a "common decision for a group of people that is a uniform decision applying in the same way to all members of the group". From this definition politics can be said to involve making decisions that will have a direct or

indirect effect on the members of groups involved. The definition also includes the aspect of uniformity. This implies that the decision will be consistence with all members of the group.

Kjaer (2004) defines governance which refers to the setting, application, and enforcement of rules. The same scholar suggests that governance focuses on both the input side, concerned with democratic procedures, and the output side, which is concerned with efficient and effective institutions. The term governance was referred to as distinct from government and as including civil-society actors. As governance is still equated with government for many people, the difference between these terms is further explored below. Osborne and Gaebler (1992:24) illustrate that governance is the process by which we collectively solve our problems and meet our society's needs and government is the instrument we use. Both establish that governance was at the heart of what government was about. Governance, on the other hand, involves government plus the looser processes of influencing and negotiating with a range of public and private sector agencies to achievedesired outcomes.

1.7 Assumptions of the study

The researcher holds the assumption that an exploration of the themes of politics and governance will lead to a balanced portrayal of the situation on the ground. The researcher also holds the assumption that the goals behind the liberation struggle were never group-oriented as many politicians would want to believe. In fact, they were centred on the individuals who manufactured them. The study also assumes that women suffer serious injustices in society thus explain why they readily protest than their counterparts. To the contrary the issues raised in this research remain as urgent as they have been since independence.

1.8 Delimitation of the study

There are a great number of texts that could be read in a study that intends reading the themes of politics and governance. It is with this problem in mind that the study will be guided by a number of important issues when selecting the primary texts to be read such as the texts' representation of issues that can facilitate discussion on both national and regional concerns.

Thus, texts understudy can be read to represent generic as well as specific thematic issues have been selected. The texts that are to be read in the study are all plays and specifically from Zimbabwe. The research focused on plays that have been published after the year 2000 as the key area of study.

1.9 Limitations of the study

Individuals will always interpret the themes of politics and governance differently. Critiquing politics is subjective hence the study cannot be wholly neutral. However personal interpretation is important since it provides the researcher with ample space to focus on those issues in politics that are pertinent to him and the study at any given period in time. Although reading material is scarce, the researcher will make do with the little that is available and this will be aided by information downloaded from the internet which pertains to the study. The issue of time was also a major constraint because apart from the research, the student had other academic endeavours to fulfill and therefore could not dedicate as much time was necessary in conducting this research. Also the fact that the student was working with a deadline increased his speed but nevertheless the pressure was met and taken as a stimuli rather than a challenge.

1.10 Literature Review

Kumar (2005:30) notes that the literature review is the means by which one establishes between what is proposed to be studied and what has already been studied. Thus, it reflects how your study has contributed to the existing body of knowledge.

The focus of this research will be on literature that has a direct bearing on the two hypotheses of this study. These are; (a) power dynamics in the post independent Zimbabwe (b) African leaders' tendency to resort to politics of the liberation struggle in order to survive politically and remain in power. The researcher is aware of scholarly work produced by preceding critics on the study. As such, the study therefore takes into account the multiplicity and diversity of views, interpretations and opinions in synthesizing newly found ideas and those of previous researchers and critics. Themes of politics and governance have received the scholarly attention of authors such as Plato (1989), Fanon (1952),Fanon (1968),Wa Thiongo

(1981),Achebe (1989),Davidson (1992),Scott (1985), Foucault (1989), Ayittey (1998), Mbembe (2001),Vambe (2001), Bond and Manyanya (2003), Hove (2002), MukomaWa Ngugi (2003),Makumbe (2009) and Vhutuza and Ngoshi (2008).

According to Wa Thiongo (1981) the line between literature and politics is blurred because both politicians and writers scramble for the same audience. Therefore, a writer either writes for those who are in power or for those who are not in power. The same scholar (1981:1) correctly asserts that every writer is a writer in politics. The writer is led into active politics from the moment he begins to articulate the people's collective consciousness. This is not peculiar to Zimbabwean literary criticism, for as Muchemwa (1990:24) observes "for a long time African literature has been and continues to be seen in some quarters as political protest".On closer scrutiny, both Wa Thiongo and Muchemwa's positions are valid hence makes a salient observation of the seemingly indissoluble union between literature and politics. It is noteworthy that literature at some intervals is regarded as propaganda but however not all propaganda is literature. Muchemwa (ibid) further advances that literature was not regarded seriously unless it was politically correct and socially relevant. The criticism of Zimbabwean literature is for the most part, inextricably linked with the country's history and efforts at creating a national identity. Arguably Wa Thiongo (1997:69) boldly declares that the writer and the politician have often been the same person, for example Leopold Senghor of Senegal. For people like him, the gun, the pen and the platform have served the same purpose of bringing total liberation.

Plato (1989) posits the concept of political guardianship which he defines as whom were best chosen as rulers thus in the context of ideal structure of governance. However the same scholar tends to narrow his definition by arguing that only the intellectually gifted were sufficiently gifted equipped to administer the polity. More so, the chosen leaders were going to be the entrusted custodians of power and authority. The governed or subjects were also responsible for choosing their leaders. The significance of this proposition is that a country's people are the ultimate source of political legitimacy. Plato (1989) underscores that no one should underestimate the power of the ordinary citizens because the personal is political and vice versa. In the same vein Achebe (1989) cites that leadership is a sacred trust, just like priesthood in civilized human religions. Consequently, no one gets into it lightly or

unadvisedly, because it demands qualities of mind and discipline of body and will go far beyond the capacity of the ordinary citizen. Achebe (ibid) postulates that there is nothing wrong with the chair but the person sitting on it and goes on to highlight that absolute power corrupts absolutely. It is noteworthy that both Plato and Achebe share the same view that leadership should be transparent and accountable. This research will borrow the notion of transparency and accountability which creates space for contestation.

Foucault (1989) shares the same idea with Gramsci (1996) that politics as the operation of power is not just about governments, elections or even the police and the army. Rather politics occurs daily in everybody's lives. Therefore, power rarely operates in a simple unidirectional manner, with one person or groups of people holding power and using it against another/others who is /are totally powerless. More often, those in dominant positions need to compete in order to exert their force and influence. More importantly, relatively powerless people acquiesce, consent to, enthusiastically encourage or resist the use of such power. However, Foucault's (1989) analysis tends to obscure the possibilities of political activism and progressive change but nevertheless his notion of power is relevant and pivotal to this study because it takes into cognizance the dynamics of power and according to him power is multidirectional. Gramsci (ibid) also places emphasis on agency and how collective political action can topple and /or alter systematic inequality and oppression and lead to more equal power relations.

Davidson (1992) observes that the gap between people and state has widened rather than (as might have been hoped for) narrowed increasingly. Davidson (ibid) shows that the failure of nation statism in Africa is not due to some particular African defect. The more horrific aspects of this failure are due above all to the steady bleeding of African resources into European pockets. Davidson (1992:182) contends that the 'dish' the new leaders were handed on the day of independence was old and cracked and little fit for any further use. He further notes that it was not an empty dish because it carried the junk and jumble of colonial muddle. The dish itself reflected upon its supposedly golden surface not the reflection of new ideas and ways of liberation, but the shadows of ideas and ways of servitude. However ,this study seek to moderate and argue that contrary to the above logic the ruling elite are part to blame

and cannot hide under the banner of colonialism, the liberation struggle, neo-colonialism and sovereignty. The latter is often considered as an inversion of colonialism by the ruling elite.

In light of this Vambe (2001:94) amply pinpoints that was achieved in Zimbabwe in 1980 was not more than 'a name and flag independence'. Therefore independence was a temporary respite from war. In other words independence has been won and achieved in verbatim but not in action because it only led to the changeover of the guardians. Inevitably the mass is bound to despair when they find that though the colonizer has been militarily defeated, there is an unseen war on the economy by the neo-colonialists who have assumed power. As a result, the economic woes that blacks in the country experienced under the colonial scourge are still in existence in the post-independence era and from such emanate the economic, social and political disillusionment. In essence Mukoma Wa Ngugi (2003) observes that betrayal is bitter precisely because it comes from a trusted source. It should also be noted that the elite factor is an indispensable element of leadership.

Davidson (1992:84) points out that government by the consent of the governed was a 'guiding and regulatory' principle in most pre-colonial Africa because of the 'permanent distrust of power'. Systems of checks and balances existed, and every smart king knew he had to answer to his people. Kings understood that subject participation was indispensable to political stability. Governments in pre-colonial Africa were centrally concerned in securing and sustaining their legitimacy in the eyes of their peoples.Hove (2002:60) advances that political leadership needs to be granted by the people, in the case of self-election, the people become as Adorno (2003:71) maintains, the pretext for leadership in itself. Adorno (2003;61) writes of a self -absolutising form of superiority, that of people who elect themselves hence an elite arrogating power to itself. This view is buttressed by Makumbe (2009) who contends that in Zimbabwe political leaders are reluctant to accept that there could be Zimbabweans with the capacity and capability to govern Zimbabwe better than them- a sort of oversized ego that refuses to place any trust or confidence in anyone else but themselves. In similar fashion, Ayittey (1998) stresses that politicians will fight tooth and nail to stay in power, but the power of the people is bound to prevail in the end.

In addition Ayittey (1998:7) strengthens that early nationalists tasted power and found it to be too sweet that they strenuously resist any attempts to replace them even many years after the attainment of independence by their countries. According to Ayittey (ibid) criticizing them became sacrilegious and soon they turned out to be 'crocodile liberators', Swiss bank socialists, quack revolutionaries and grasping kleptocrats. Ayittey (1998:16) observes that in many African countries there is an 'artificial government' which is a government by deception run by a 'phalanx of degreed bandits' who are not only out of touch with the people but perennially locked in combat against them. The study will submit that the pursuit of power has led to the abandonment of the norms, ethos, and value systems that sustained the liberation war which yielded fertile ground for intolerance, and unbridled greed hence explains why the general populace resorts to dissidence.Makumbe (2009) concurs that indeed government by deception is consistent with the manner in which it resorts to the politics of the liberation struggle, therefore a deceptive design aimed at hoodwinking the citizenry to think that no other political grouping can run the affairs of the nation in a so called democratic manner.

On another note, Mbembe (2001) argues that national unity is not enough because collective action is a condition for the group recognition of a national consciousness which is not merely nationalism, but it is not sufficient because leaders and the people must both work towards transforming national sentiment into an experience which engenders a form of collective consciousness. He further states that subjects are also important in building democratic potentials from below and in destabilizing powerfully established structures of mental authoritarianism imposed by the post-colonial state. In support of this idea Sachikonye (2003) claims that democratization from 'below' is associated with presence of power for reform from the public. This study will rely and greatly incline on the ideological patterns mapped by Mbembe and Sachikonye.Mbembe (ibid) also underscores that the champions of state power exercise authority by disempowering the masses and ensuring maximum docility. He further argues that power belongs to the ordinary people who can locate the fetish of state power in the realm of ridicule, hence they can domesticate, distance and tame power so as to render it powerless. The same scholar sagely provides a language for describing political power in Africa that finally gets beyond some of the blockages provided

by Western understandings of politics. His analysis leads us convincingly into the hypocrisy of state power and the telling result of hypocrisy.

 Of evidently closer relevance to Mbembe's (2001) criticism is Fanon's (1968) far-sighted analysis of the potential failures of post–independence African nations. Fanon (ibid) points out that the elites are often very happy to talk about the "popular will" without hardly talking to anyone, and not using the concept to represent general sentiment but rather dishonestly using it as a synonym for "common good", an elitist idea which treats the needs and wants of a people as an objective fact. Therefore the ruling elite take the collective project quite literally. The thrust of this dissertation agrees with what Fanon (1968) advances that the new government of the liberated postcolonial state can betray the revolution because it is reduced in numbers, has no capital and is opposed to the revolutionary path.Eventually the middle class falls into deplorable stagnation as a result of nationalization of the economy, hence transfer of resources into native hands which is a mere reversal of the colonial legacy. It should be noted that Africa's problems do not emanate only from the colonial scourge but also from the neo-colonial bigotry and mismanagement.

Macey (2011:27) contends that Fanon (ibid) diagnosed the snare of national liberation but his conception of a nation as the dynamic creation of popular action did not provide a solution to the prison of independence that he described.

Visibly what has changed is the political complexion of leadership in post -independent Africa. The logic that underlies Fanon's (1952) analysis is that the postcolonial government and its new middle class betray the revolution because, among other things, they want to be white, or to occupy the position formerly occupied by the colonizer. Fanon (1968:30) writes that before independence that the:

> the look the native turns on the settler's town is a look of lust, a look of envy;
> it expresses his dreams of possession-all manner of possession: to sit at the
> settler's table, to sleep in the settler's bed. The colonized man is an envious man.

Macey (2011) postulates that Fanon's ideas of envy and lust are based on flawed assumptions that compels us to focus on lust, envy and desires to be white hence force us to chase psychologically reductionist dead-ends. Perceptive as Macey's (ibid) argument is still, Fanon's monumental contribution was in posing questions and explaining the "curse" which

national liberation would become for the newly decolonized nations. Due to the reason given above, Fanon's idea deserves to be analyzed beyond the realm of political correctness. However; the logic that underlies Fanon's (1952) analysis is that the postcolonial government and its new middle class betray the revolution because, among other things, they want to occupy the position formerly occupied by the colonizer.This study observes that history as a subject of study is laden with repetition and teaches us that when people are oppressed, they eventually rebel sooner or later. In stark contrast people do not rebel only because of lust or envy, but because they believe in justice, equity and freedom.

For purposes of clarity, this study will differentiate between collective agency and individual agency. As such this body of work tends to raise more questions than answers as to the particularities of specific contexts such as why women are protesting more than their counterparts. This is the gap the study intends to fill, especially given that in some cases scholars' up-end or critique assumptions about individual's capacity to protest in society.

Bond and Manyanya (2003) engage with the prescience of Fanon whereby a relatively educated elite betrays a broad based nationalism but also observes that in most cases, the revolution is betrayed due to a combination of a lack of vision for the new institutions for a 'democratic' society, and a mixture of internal and external forces such as self-interest, 'exhausted nationalism' and the global economy. Vhutuza and Ngoshi (2008) beg to differ and argue that nationalism as an ideology is not tired or nearing extinction.

The same scholars further suggest that Bond and Manyanya's (2003) argument that Zimbabwe is now a site of an emergent post-nationalist politics is not backed by empirical evidence. Contrary to Bond and Manyanya's (ibid) assertion, Zimbabwe and indeed any other nation-state, has continued to be a site of an emergent nationalist politics in the globalization age. Perhaps the real contributions of this study is its spirited efforts to argue that nationalism is not to be seen as an end to itself but rather a means to an end.It is evident that solutions that Bond and Manyanya (2003) put forth fail to aptly tackle the dynamics of power relations hence proved to be inadequate and become part of or an extension of the problem.

This dissertation will attempt to account for new ways and innovative solutions to a relationship that has remained fundamentally the same. Biko (1978) asserts that to arrive at

the right solution one has to ask right questions because one is either part of the problem or part of the solution. It should be underlined that solutions do not come from without and even more certainly they are not offered by those who are part of the problem. This study argues that the solutions for the current Zimbabwean political, social and economic crisis lie squarely in the hands of Zimbabweans themselves. Scott (1985:29) contributes that the ordinary weapons of the relatively powerless groups are foot-dragging, dissimulation, false compliance, pilfering, feigned ignorance, slander, arson, sabotage and mockery. Hove (2002) discredits Scott's assertion by arguing that the problem that Zimbabweans have is one of small talk and are not ashamed of talking nonsense at times when serious argument and debate is needed. Arguably the nature of such resistance means it does not require strategic co-ordination hence avoids direct confrontation with the authority.Mbembe (2001) in Scott's rescue bolsters that mockery is a means of dissent and a refusal to be complicit. Scott (1985) adds that peasant "revolutions" and rebellions are few and far between. This study seeks to investigate why resistance is fragmented and weak. Not only are the circumstances that favour large scale peasant uprisings comparatively rare, but it appears, the revolts that develop are nearly always crushed unceremoniously. This study observes that protest is not any easy task but a process. Therefore too much emphasis on protest is misplaced. However, to disregard protest completely would be to commit a grave historical error. Scott's (ibid) stance is levied at the observation that protest promotes continuous low-level resistance to domination. However, he is directly relevant to everyday forms of political oppression.

As evidenced by sources cited, literature on politics and governance tends to be largely prescriptive. Some of the views expressed by these critics are long overdue for revision as they tend to stifle the current interpretation of Zimbabwean politics and governance. More so, the researcher has also noted that over the years a considerable number of scholars have taken the challenge to address the notion of politics and governance with the focus only to one-party African states that prevailed soon after independence. Given this scenario, this study seeks to shed light on the notion of disillusionment which has become the hallmark in the new political dispensation which is characterized by the Government of National Unity and the possibility of a re-emergent one party state after the collapse of the G.N.U. These facets were glossed over and rarely explored simultaneously. It is the aim of this study to investigate and fill in the gaps which might help in comprehensively grasping the crucial concerns of the governed.

Nevertheless, this research is not the conclusion to a debate but a contribution to the many voices already in conversation. Therefore it calls attention to another angle that previously might have been skimmed over or bestly ignored. This is captured by Hove (1991:2), a successful Zimbabwean writer and critic when he says, "art should teach us to doubt our perspective" and in the same spirit concludes that "true art searches for many truths, many worlds, and many dreams." The research then contends that the themes of politics and governance fits Hove's (ibid) description and needs theoretical lenses that can see it in its multiplicity of meanings. This point takes us to the theoretical framework of this research.

1.11 Theoretical Framework

A discipline is defined in large part by its theoretical structure. The function of a theoretical framework is to show where the study fits in the broad debates that have gone before. Different views have been suggested by scholars about the importance and use of a theoretical framework. Anderson quoted in Wellington and Szczerbinski (2007:42) arguesthat in a study or prior knowledge the researcher should endeavour to identifyappropriate theoretical and conceptual framework which bare relation to the problem under study.

This study will be done under the lens of a postcolonial theory which is complex and broad. Hiddleton (2009:1) advances that postcolonial theory is a broad and dynamic movement that has aroused a great deal of both interest and controversy. The same scholar attests that the term can generally be understood as the multiple, philosophical, economic, cultural and political, responses to colonialism from its inauguration to the present day and is somewhat broad in scope. Harrison (2003) concurs with above logic and argues that postcolonial theory is not an identifiable 'type' of theory in the same (limited) sense as Deconstruction, Marxism, Psychoanalysis or Feminism, on all which it sometimes draws material from. Postcolonial theory draws on a body of critical thinkers such as Althusser, Derrida, Fanon, Foucault, Hall, Memmi, Bhabha, Said and Spivak.

This broadness can seem imprecise but this study persuasively argues that this imprecision is actually rather useful. Said (1994:313) cites that postcolonial theory explores the historical experience of imperialism and its aftermath as matter of overlapping domains. Therefore,

postcolonial theory is of necessity to this study considering how it overlaps from colonial politics into contemporary politics and governance. However, the study will draw limits and select relevant and pertinent aspects of the theoryin a bid to understand the themes of politics and governance. The aim is to distend boundaries of enquiry and thereby transcend imposed and received opinions on the reading of Zimbabwean Literature that deals with politics and governance in general. On the efficacy of this approach, Daichess (1981:398) comments:

> Every effective literary critic sees some facet of literary art and develops our awareness with respect to it; but the total vision or something approximating it comes only to those who learn how to blend the insights yielded by that approach.

It should be underlined that postcolonial theory as the key theoretical approach underpinning this study will be employed to read the above mentioned primary texts. Furthermore, using this theory helps the research to evolve new values that a rigorous explanation of primary texts might yield. What follows is an explanation of the manner in which the area under enquiry will be interrogated from the postcolonial theoretical approach. Postcolonial theory is a result of, and a fusion of other theories, which come from different times and different places which means they can be specified to the specific without yielding to the temptation of the singular. In other words it is an umbrella theory that problematizes suppression, resistance, representation, ideology, difference, self, nation, gender and subalternity.

Postcolonial theory entails a multiplicity of perspectives, traditions and approaches to questions of power. Young (2001) contends that postcolonial critique can be defined as a dialectical discourse which broadly marks the historical facts of decolonization which allows people emerging from socio-political and economic domination to reclaim their sovereignty; it gives them a negotiating space for equity. This study seeks to employ the postcolonial theory to engage in self -conscious process of contestation. Therefore looking critically at the realms of historical experience, acts of dissidence, political upheaval and modes of representation. Spivak (1999) argues that the task of postcolonial critique is to develop the ethical insights of deconstruction in order to 'discover' a constructive rather than a disabling complicity found in western systems of knowledge. The 'hinged' theory asks certain kinds of questions about selected aspects of the world such as challenging and questioning the practices and consequences of domination and subordination. The postcolonial lens will help

the study to frame and ask questions of politics and governance from a particular interested vantage. As Boehmer (1995: 246) importantly argues;

> [t]o do justice to a text's grounding either in the now, or in the past,
> it may be necessary to draw on specialized knowledge: to find out
> about local politics, for example, to read upon ritual practices...'

Boehmer (ibid) sagely warns not to approach a text from a position of ignorance and unawareness but encourages critics to do justice by going beyond the immediate generic or disciplinary boundaries and engage with new kinds of knowledge in order to remain sensitive to the specifics of the study, as in this case which are the themes of politics and governance.

According to Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (1995) postcolonial theory more often than not describes something which one does rather than something which one is. Moore-Gilbert (1997:12) sagely contends that postcolonial theory can be understood as primarily preoccupied with forms which mediate, challenge or reflect upon the relations of domination that are economic, cultural and political between (and often within) nations ,which characteristically have their roots in the history of colonialism and imperialism.

Such a reading can bring to light that the postcolonial theory is a historical phenomenon of colonialism, hence enables the study to recognize and understand the underlying assumptions, ideas and frameworks of politics and governance. However, Hallward (2001) observes that a theory cannot create its own terms of evaluation, for it will be exclusive and accordingly ineffective in the face of a genuinely global hegemony.

To this effect this study will also register the supplementarity, if not complementarity, of the post-structuralist theory to the dominant postcolonial theory. The former theory will be referred timeously to deconstruct ideas of essentialism and to focus attention on narrative structures of knowledge. This will allow room for reading of the text against itself to expose the 'textual subconscious' ,thus bring out meanings expressed which may be contrary to the surface meaning. The text will thus be viewed as a source of endless speculation, argument and debate. It is the main argument of this research that this situation obtains because most of the critical approaches used to analyze plays certainly have, through reductivist thinking, imposed certain fixity to the meanings produced in these texts. Thus, there is no poverty of

meaning but that of theory. This approach will be "a way of uncovering the questions behind the answers of a text or tradition" (Peck and Coyle, 1984:3).

It is hoped that this two pronged approach will lead to, in the words of Culler (1997:4), "the disputing of 'common sense': common sense views about meaning, writing, literature and experience." This critique of common sense culminates in the "exploration of alternative conceptions".

1.12 Research Methodology

This study will be guided by a qualitative research method which will be the key data gathering instrument. Furthermore, this research method allows the researcher to carry out an extensive analysis of data so as to get information from different sources before making conclusions.

The qualitative research method is based on a close textual analysis of three primary texts. The exploration of themes of politics and governance using the genre of plays motivates a brief reflection on how these arrange and communicate meaning as well as to be read for meaning and continuity. The primary texts under study are *The Crocodile of Zambezi* (2008),*Super Patriots and Morons* (2003) and *Waiting for the Constitution* (2010).These plays were deliberately chosen in order to have a balanced and fair representation of the themes of politics and governance. A big strength of textual analysis is that it promotes critical and independent thinking in as far as the interpretation of plays is concerned. This study employs qualitative research method which allowed the researcher to analyze second material in form of critical works and novels which discuss similar issues. Methodologically, the research will take the form of a comparative, critical reading of the selected texts. The aim of such an approach will be to offer a reading that isolates and critiques imagined representations of the themes of politics and governance while still engaging with the texts as aesthetic objects. Aspect of the texts that are to be read will vary according to the historical and contextual contingencies of each text and a different critical frame will therefore be applied in each chapter. However, in order to remain true to what the study views as the playwright's intent of some the texts, cognizance will be taken of the historical settings of the texts. Relevant works by African writers were mainly used because many of these African

countries have undergone similar historical processes of colonialism, liberation struggle, independence and betrayal of promises of the struggle.

1.13 Chapter Delineation

The chapter delineation will highlight how the chapters will be structured. This study is organized into 5 chapters. Chapter 1 will give a panoramic view to the whole study and together with the list of research questions drawn up in the introduction inform the division of the next three chapters. While the texts are to be read in chapters; 2, 3 and 4 which are prefixed by titles which capture the essence of that particular chapter in terms of the issues to be covered. There will be a lot of cross-referencing between both creative and critical works so as to elaborate certain arguments to be raised under each chapter.

Chapter 1:

The first chapter encompasses the area of the study, background material, assumptions, justification of study, literature review, research methodology, limitations to the study and the theoretical framework which outlines briefly the main strands of the postcolonial theory.

Chapter 2:

Isentitled 'politics of inclusion versus politics of exclusion' in *The Crocodile of Zambezi* (2008) and will foreground the terrain for the main argument of the study which is the need to read Mlalazi and Baya's *Crocodile of Zambezi* (2008) beyond what have been the common approaches for doing so. The textual analysis will glean on the postcolonial theory so as to add, modify and transcend some of the parameters and arguments employed in the criticism of contemporary politics and governance. The question of inclusion and exclusion dominates this chapter but on a very shaky platform. The chapter will examine how the insider/outsider, inclusion/exclusion, self/nation schema, with the main focus on the Crocodile has been used to construct enduring critical, historical and political narratives in Zimbabwe. Issues to be explored here include the ruling elite's ideology, the politics of representation and also focus on dominant constructions of political identity.

Chapter 3:

Is entitled 'protesting the regression to repression' in *Super Patriots and Morons* (2003) and seeks to develop a conceptual framework of gendered localized resistance and demonstrates how women, through their engagement in protest, were caught in a set of community dynamics that fragmented, atomized and dislocated their sense of daily life and survival. These dynamics are summarized as surveillance, avoidance, culture of fear and silence. The same chapter also interrogates the major challenges of protesting in an authoritarian set up and how the masses are navigating these challenges. It will proceed from the basic premise that, when faced with declining popular support, incumbent political leaders will resort to the state's coercive apparatus against their own people in order to remain in power.

Chapter 4:

Is entitled 'beyond stated ideals: contesting the awaited constitution' in *Waiting for the Constitution* (2010) and looks at the constructions of critical narratives concerning the issues raised in chapters 2 and 3 and how these interact with and are appropriated into the political and historical narratives of Zimbabwe. This chapter explores how the content of the constitution is affected by the manner in which it is created. By being drafted down by experts and intellectuals it has created a bone of contention because the ruling elite are more preoccupied with constitutionality than they are with advancing constitutionalism. This contestation exists in the realms of gender, identity, representation and difference as viewed, understood and expressed variably by individuals who are economically, historically and ideologically divergent.

Chapter 5:

Chapter 5 ties together the arguments raised in all the chapters with a view to pronounce findings which suggest and promote more fruitful readings of the themes of politics and governance.

1.14 Conclusion

This study will consist of five chapters. Chapter 1 includes the introduction to the study, research objectives and questions, background of the study, theoretical framework, and literature review and consists of the methodology used to gather data in the study. It will also provide an important link between existing knowledge and the problem being studied. It serves to give light, ideas and views that my study seeks to contribute towards a lot of research previously carried out by other scholars. While chapters 2, 3 and 4 focuses on textual analysis of selected texts. Conclusions, recommendations and suggestions fall under Chapter 5.

CHAPTER TWO:

Politics of Inclusion versus Politics of Exclusion in *TheCrocodile of Zambezi*(2008)

2.1 Introduction

The previous introductory chapter laid a foundation that created an understanding to what the research is about and what it aims to achieve.The same chapter defined the area of study, reviewed relevant literature , identified the methodology the study will use and further highlights how postcolonial theory will be employed to help uncover the essence of the study and to clearly bring out the aspects of politics and governance in a contemporary setting. This current chapter is confined to the descriptive analysis of Mlalazi and Baya's*The Crocodile of Zambezi*(2008).The study will analyse and thematize in this text two related phenomena: politics of inclusion and politics of exclusion so as to explore and understand the general patterns of politics and governance.

ChristopherMlalazi is a Zimbabwean fiction writer and playwright. He is the author of the novels such as *Many Rivers* (2009) and *Running with Mother* (2012), and the short story collection *Dancing with Life: Tales from the Township* (2008), which won the Best First Book award at the National Arts Merit Awards. Currently he is based in Germany.

Raisedon Baya is a Zimbabwean writer, arts critic, columnist, and television producer with several awards to his credit. His plays have been performed by Amakhosi Theatre, Rooftop

Productions, Bambelela Arts and Siyaya Arts. Most of his plays have travelled around the world with different arts companies. His short stories and articles have appeared in local and international magazines. From 2007 to 2008 Baya was part of a British Council sponsored writing project called crossing borders. Baya has won the National Arts Merit Awards (N.A.M.A) eight times. He has won for writing, directing and producing. He is part of the Power in the Voice poetry project and is also a sub-sector member for the Culture Fund Trust of Zimbabwe, and the theatre chairperson for Intwasa Arts Festival in Bulawayo. Currently he is coordinating the School Playwrights and actors Academy (SPAA) which is an initiative that seeks to train young people theatre and writing skills. At the moment he is working on a novel and a play on migration and xenophobia.

According to Appiah (1992) ideology can protect the minority from facing up to the facts that would threaten their position. In this case the minority is the ruling elite who have vested interest in self-aggrandizement and self -perpetuation in power. Therefore authority is defined and always invented from above and constructed by those in power. Consequently the same authority is imposed on the majority who form the public, for example the subordinate classes, the urban poor, civic organisations, writers, journalists, the working class and the peasantry.It is noteworthy that there are vast irreconcilable differences within and between the power-hungry minority and the powerless majority.

The satiric play is set in a fictional and dystopic country along the Zambezi River and its protagonist is the Crocodile, the country's aging despot, who is confronted and haunted by his clone and alter- ego (conscience) also known by the name of I, a recently freed political prisoner. However, it is this 'other self' and alternative personality that exposes the hypocrisy of authority. In other words I and the Crocodile share a protean and double identity as evidenced by the following excerpt:

CROCODILE: What? Who are you and what do you want? How did you get here in the first place?
I:Good question. Who am I?... I'm of the crocodile clan. Have you forgotten me? I'm you.
CROCODILE: That's impossible? (laughs uneasily) You can't be us. There is only one of us.
I: I'm you. I'm your conscience (p.11).

An identity as Derrida (1998:53) puts it, is never given, received or attained but is only interminable and an indefinitely fantasmatic process. In light of this powerful definition

Foucault (1991) argues that identity creation is a social practice because it is constantly sought and found. Therefore I's identity is multiple and subsumed in the fictional to highlight the betrayal of the revolutionary ideals. This study maintains that the notion of identity has become indispensable to contemporary politics. To this end Baya and Mlalazi (2008) observe the complexity of identity which is merely not fixed and static but is fluid and can be altered, radicalized and revolutionized. The confrontation between the Crocodile and I further highlights that power and identity can be constantly negotiated and are always dialectical. It should be underlined that the only way to a synthesis of bringing the two identities into full is through struggle.

Ogude (1996:2)advances that a character isa "major vehicle for meaning" which is helpful since through characterization, "the writer seeks to give us some insight into life as he sees it and feels and author's insight is expressed in the characters he creates and the historical situation in which he places them." I represents more than what he stands for. This is further supported by naming the alter-ego using the monosyllabic pronoun "I" which could mean anyone hence becomes the microcosm of the macrocosm. In essence nationalism is educed from conscience. This is exhibited by I's remark: "I'm my country's conscience. The silent voice everyone tries to ignore. That is my crime" (p.6).It is noteworthy that conscience is elastic and can be used as a site of struggle and a site of resistance. More so, it is a metaphor for power and a form of authority.Bhabha (1994:41) argues that the splitting of the conscious and the unconscious is not a sign of incoherence rather it is a symptom of a restless urgency. This restlessness leads to resistance.

 In conjunction with the above, Bourdieu (1977) pinpoints that power is not only what you do or what you have but who you are. Due to the given reason consciousness becomes the pattern of a journey for personal, social, economic and political freedom. It can be harnessed as a source of emancipatory insight in social criticism. The alter-ego is also symbolic because it represents freedom that has been 'imprisoned' and consequently becomes a mere mirage.The play is also set on a train on which the president is celebrating his ninety-fourth birthday accompanied by his much younger and rather extravagant second wife. As the train passes through the countryside, he glimpses scenes of protest, while his wife attempts to convince him to serve another ten years, and the former prisoner, invisible to others, goads

him, eventually challenging him to a boxing match. The birthday train is an epitome of a compartmentalized society which is divided into two: the self (minority) versus the nation (majority). The boundary between these compartments is demarcated through emblems of violence. The train mirrors a closed cupboard society divorced from the people because only "Very, Very Important People" (p.7) were invited and were required to carry a gold class invitation card so as to board it.

In similarity the train can be perceived as the government where the chosen few can enter and decide the fate of the public. Ayittey (1992) corroborates the same view and underlines that the ruling elite employs the "government" as a fit vehicle, not to serve, but to fleece the people. It is a common observation that political representatives tend to be drawn from the elite stratum of society. The fictitious nation has become what Biko (1978) referred to as one of "ten millionaires and ten million beggars. The government itself is unrepresentative of the majority hence lead us to the notion of descriptive and demographic representation. It would suffice for now to echo Hall (1997), who advances that all forms of representation are misrepresentation.Spivak (1988:70) argues that representation is politically loaded term because it implies "speaking for" or "behalf of somebody". Politicians claim to represent people whilst they are only representing their interests. The people's struggle in itself is (self) re-presentation because by protesting they are making a statement to their oppressor.

Spivak (ibid) further asserts that the oppressed pro/claim difference because they struggle to assert themselves differently from what they are taken to be.Nkrumah (1968) cites that independence was deviated to become the sole monopoly and privilege of reactionary elite who deprives the masses of the right to political action such as nationalism, socialism and opposition. The masses are bound to be disillusioned because they have blindly nurtured the idea that independence would be the same thing as national liberation yet it never was. This disillusionment is also captured by Musengezi (1984:11) when he observes that people are bitter because there is a drought of leadership. According to Raftopoulos (1999) the struggle for independence was a broad, uneven process with many unsung heroes.Rigours of independence had been succeeded by disappointments. The same scholar further argues that Zimbabwean nationalism minimalized roles by other historical subjects such as ordinary women and men, urban workers and peasants. I is disappointed and retorts: "I was with you

in the bush and on the day independence came.We were supposed to enjoy independence together but then you sent me away." (p.20)

The basic aspirations of common people were used to constitute a national identity. In the wake of this realization, Ranger (2004) bemoans the manipulation of nationalist ideology which is driven by the urge to laud a narrowly defined group of liberation war heroes whilst at the same time excluding people who are perceived to have contributed little or nothing to the struggle for independence. The ruling elites have (ab)used the nationalist ideology in order to monopolize political power and as an avenue to access, distribute and monopolize scarce economic resources. I's despair is illuminated when he told the Crocodile point blank that:

> You achieved nothing except alienate yourself from the very people
> you claim to have liberated. Look around you. Things are breaking down,
> falling apart. You are on everyone's lips now. They call you names
> and look aside when you pass. (p. 21)

The Crocodile's birthday is a call for celebration and by orientation everyone is supposed to take part. However, the peculiarity in clandestinely selecting the guests leaves a lot to be desired. Most of the Crocodile's invited guests are party cadres, loyal supporters, and friends hence sycophancy and cronyism become the natural appendage of absolute power. Mlalazi and Baya (2008) capture another important dimension to the struggle-the struggle against one's own people. They are disappointed by political crooks that have hijacked national independence and are enjoying the succulent fruits of the struggle at the expense of the genuine combatants who deserved to enjoy the fruits of their toil. The struggle is depicted as a journey by train and participants of the liberation struggle are left behind. The same idea is harped by Nyamubaya's (1986) poem "The Train Was Over-Booked". What is disgusting in such state of affairs is the cunning deceit exhibited by the Crocodile and his party.

They turn a blind eye to the exploitation and suffering of the masses. The truth of the matter is that what the people fought for has been hijacked by a breed of politicians who have assumed power and are neglecting the wishes and aspirations of the majority in pursuit of politics of self-aggrandizement via the exploitation of the masses. As such, there is betrayal of nationalist promises for individualistic gains. It is in light of this that Fanon (1968:133) advances the following view:

Before independence, the leader generally embodies the aspirations
of the people for independence, political liberty and national identity.
But as soon as independence is declared, far from embodying in
concrete form the needs of the people…the leader will reveal his innermost purpose to
become the general president of the company profiteers.

In the above view, Fanon (ibid) seems to suggest that black leaders will at the onset of independence pursue personal interests at the expense of national interests. Such a situation has been true of most African states like Uganda and Malawi where the dictatorship of the late Idi Amin and Dr Kamuzu Hastings Banda respectively, were woven on personal interests. Zimbabwe has not been spared either as the leadership also embarked on siphoning national wealth for its own benefit. The likes of Katrina, the Crocodile's wife, form the inner circle of influence which is reluctant to give up their politically derived and ill-gotten wealth. Baya and Mlalazi (2008) boldly showcase that independence was a 'private party' which was embraced and derailed by the ruling elite. In actuality independence is a mere event like a birthday that is yearly celebrated. Those excluded from the spoils of political power eventually protest because political leaders lack the heightened sensitivity needed to handle problems in an expedient manner devoid of violence. All they are good at is "looting and looting."(p16)

There is a glaring gap between that which is officially allowed to exist and which is consigned to invisibility. I as the "country's conscience" is imprisoned coincidentally at the dawn of independence without being charged with a crime. The Crocodile uses prison as a tool for political repression and a blanket of silence that wraps public exposure of violence, intimidation and corruption. I as a (prisoner of conscience) make the following observation whilst incarcerated, which is not far away from the 'reality':

Prison is a form of sanctions
Against flesh and the soul
It is not a place to seek truth
Prison is a place to die a thousand deaths
It is not a place to be born in,
And certainly not a place for dreams.
I've been here since independence.(2008:4)

Therefore prison becomes an embodiment of the nation because the majority is deprived of a wide range of personal freedoms and resort to protest and dissent which is brutally suppressed.To have someone imprisoned is a signifier of who controls power and has

authority over others in the society. Coundouriotis (1999: 20) notes that dissidence subverts from within" and orients our attention toward the internal dynamics of a community where it is most difficult to look. The Crocodile might have imprisoned I in order to punish him but failed dismally to punish his mind.I's conscience is cultivated in prison through knowledge which becomes the potent weapon to challenge the status quo. In the same vein, Biko (1978) pinpoint that the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed. When the mind is weak the oppressed pander and capitulate to the whims of the oppressor.By the same token, Baya and Mlalazi's (2008) play brazenly de-silences oppression, violence and corruption that has been conditioned to be the norm.

The Guard manning the train makes it clear when he intimates to the Poet and I that the lists says in big bold black letters:

NO POETS, NO WRITERS, NO STORYTELLERS,
NO JOURNALISTS WORKING FOR THE FOREIGN MEDIA,
NO GAYS OR LESBIANS, AND NO MEMBERS OF THE OPPOSITION
OR REPRESENTATIVES OF CIVIC GROUPS MEDDLING IN POLITICS(p.10).

Dissenting voices in the society mainly emanating from writers, poets, storytellers, journalists, opposition party members and civic groups representatives are either pathologized, 'disappeared' and silenced. Dissenting "voices" here is used to refer to strains of thought that express certain attitudes, feelings or opinions. This study focuses on dissenting voices which are voices at variance with familial, societal and in some cases, national expectations. The voices manifest themselves largely through characterization The enforced silence is misunderstood for peace. Their views and criticisms are tarnished and regarded as inconvenient. Ranger (2013) pinpoints that writers are cast as untrustworthy as people who recite 'borrowed and stereotype[d] positions and who are worst collaborators. The Poet correctly observes that "violence is hidden in mountains of words" and "wrapped in mass graves of silence."(p19) This is done in a manner reminiscent of the Marxian idea that tends to contradict or expose its repression.

Wa Thiongo (1981) notes that the writer who edged towards the people was caught in various contradictions. This explains why the likes of the Poet and 1 are "imprisoned for talking too much and questioning" (p20)most of the Crocodile's plans and action, for instance the issue

of succession.The Crocodile is 94 years old and is succumbing to the ravages of old age but keeps on dodging the question of succession because he imaginatively "feels as stronger as a teenager" (p16).To the contrary Mkhize (2008:39) importantly advances that

> Health does not simply mean the absence of disease; it incorporatesbalance and harmony between the individual and his or her social surroundings, including harmony with the self. Disease results from the breakdown in relatedness, including disharmony between the individual and the rest of the universe.

The Crocodile's prolonged stay in power has become more of a disease that is affecting the society as whole. He might not be sick in the literal sense but the masses are sick of him. This is exhibited by the Chinese proverb given by I which reads: "when a fish stays for too long it begins to stink"(p.28) .In other words the Crocodile is being reminded that the fish starts to rot from the head and as result the stench which can be taken as corruption spread to the rest of the society. I further remind the crocodile that he stands on "the side of the truth against lies, the side of sense against nonsense."(p.32). Through political mechanism political leaders pull the veil over the face of the nation so that people become blindfolded to the abuse of power. To this end,Fuentes (1989) contends that writers may work to transmit ideology and help keep people's minds in bounds, and they are also important in building democratic potentials and in destabilizing powerfully established structures of mental authoritarianism imposed by a postcolonial state.

The poetry and songs produced by both the Poet and I can be regarded as pieces of protest art. Despite the fact that both are eventually detained they are to be regarded as voices of the voiceless. The Poet and I articulate their deep frustration without fear and any safety filter when faced with new forms of repression and lawlessness. The blacklisted artists are self-aware actors who are conscious of the shortcomings of the state. They are excluded because they can expose the contradictions in society. By exclusion their voices are muzzled by the variegated strictures of the repressive and authoritarian regime. Raftopoulos (1999) observes that the postcolonial government inherited the repressive and violent machinery. Ndhlovu-Gatsheni (2009:103) coincides with the above sentiment and contends that the icons of the nationalist liberation struggle decidedly emulated their colonial masters who repressed generated conformity and unquestioning support and institutionalized a culture of fear and silence.

Baya and Mlalazi (2008) employ the representational trope of the Crocodile which is the King of the Zambezi River and a man-eater. This image reinforces how ordinary people should be fear- ridden and should capitulate to his dictates. The invitation list is a subtle way of stifling creative artists hence suppresses freedom and new ideas. This study also notes that there are no relations of power without resistance. Discordant couples are not immune from exclusion; they are also demonized and vilified for their 'queer' preference in sexuality. Homosexuality is also another site of contestation through difference; they question and challenge the heterosexual norm that has been socially conditioned. Homosexuality goes against the strict ideology of patriarchy, which then constructs them as unmanly. Protest by both women and gays is essentialized, reduced in scale and discredited on the basis of sinister sexual orientation simply because gays were believed to have been masquerading as women. Resistance is minimized and watered down on the altar of sexuality.

The construction of identity involves drawing a boundary between 'self' and 'other'. Gender is central to the construction of the inclusive and exclusive categories of identity and belonging. Zalewski and Enloe (1995:281) observes that identities are constructed by others who have a stake in making up certain social categories usually those in power and try to make people conform to them . The identification of women and the non-identification of gays at first sight highlight how homosexuality clashes with patriarchal moral values. Furthermore, gays are regarded as a weak link in masculinity that should be cut-off. It is by no accident that being gay is regarded as a synonym for 'women'. This uncalled for hackneyed stereotype and substitution finger-points to the grammar of exclusion. The most radical point about similarities and differences is not whether they are small or large but depend on social context they are judged from. Cixous (1986:79) contends that difference itself is frozen into an absolute defining sign between 'Self' and 'Other'.

Using the postcolonial lens it becomes easy to question the practices and consequences of power in the text under study. Furthermore, it helps to evaluate,configure and describe the relationship between reality and its representation, sameness and difference, thought and action, oppression and subordination. When Thomas, the aide and the Crocodile fix and pigeon-hole (imagine and see) gays as women, the term women becomes an imposed code of

reference hence render the collective protest futile.By and large gays suffer extremely and uniquely within and with the majority because they are an imagined and forgotten minority. This double non -belonging render them invisible per se. To echo Spivak (1999) gays are 'othered' and sewn together with other women because the society chooses not to see them. Gays become a 'subaltern' and subordinate social group glossed over by the dominant political system. More so, they have no position of enunciation and are inevitably assigned an inferior position in society.

Gays are unrepresented, ignored, rebuffed by the majority because they do differ and dissent from social expectations. They are treated as biological oddities and lapsed human beings who do not fit into normal society. Subjective group identities, for instance gays, are created by the process of differentiation and distinction, requiring the suppression of ambiguities and opposite elements in order to create the illusion of coherence and common understanding. Hegemonic masculinities ideologized by the Crocodile advocate for sameness and thrive on repressing other forms of sexuality. Therefore to refer to gays as an imagined and forgotten minority group may serve as a vague and euphemistic way of describing a section of the population that could be described as marginalized, ostracized, oppressed and disenfranchised. Gays as an imagined minority generally desire some combination of recognition, autonomy, representation, participation and improved social status.

The demonstration at the railway station is a direct result of a felt grievance particularly of greater inclusion in society. Ayittey (1998) posits that when faced with resistance, African leaders still point fingers at everyone else but not themselves. This is evident in the text under study when an attempt is made by women demonstrators to strip naked in front of the foreign media .The Crocodile attributes malaise to the operation and conspiracy of the West who are regarded as 'enemies' and the neo-colonialists .This is true from what obtains from the Crocodile's remark: "Our women have slept with too many white people. They have been corrupted. Now they want to go to war with us. They forget we have crocodiles wanting to feed."(p.17) Ironically the Crocodile turns a blind eye on the ramification of his actions that have yielded misgovernance, systemic corruption and political tyranny. Achebe (1983) notes that Africa's problems do not emanate only from the colonial scourge but from neo-colonial

bigotry and mismanagement. Ayittey (1998) laments that idiocy of power- hungry leaders seems to triumph over pragmatism and common sense. The Crocodile's complacency and verbosity makes him arrogant enough to call all the aforementioned problems 'little failures'.

2.2 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has argued that the schema of the insider/outsider, inclusion/exclusion, self/nation, minority/majority is exploited by the Crocodile so as to construct enduring critical, historical and political narratives which work in the favour of his party. It has exposed the naked and vicious topic of power and its inordinate use that has led to corruption, violence and repression. Issues also exploredinclude the ruling elite's ideology, the politics of representation and also focus on dominant constructions of political identity. The chapter identified that difference in society is used by the ruling elite to distinguish one from the other and in the same way to forge group solidarity and to demonize the other. It is ironic if not tragic that the very strategies of group definition through the use of violence, difference, negation and demonization of the other used by colonialists are uncritically adopted in the constructions of identity which then create gender conflicts. The Crocodile and his party base their legitimacy on the war of liberation struggle and treat the majority in disdain. The next chapter entitled "protesting the regression to repression in*Super Patriots and Morons*(2003)" seeks to develop a conceptual framework of gendered localized resistance and demonstrates how women, through their engagement in protest, were caught in a set of community dynamics that fragmented, atomized and dislocated their sense of daily life and survival.

CHAPTER THREE:

Protesting the regression to repression in Mlalazi and Baya's *Super Patriots* and *Morons* (2003)

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter explored the politics of inclusion versus the politics of exclusion in Mlalazi and Baya's *Crocodile of Zambezi* (2008). The chapter sought to show how power is used to demarcate who should be included or excluded in the narrative of nation. However, this current chapter intends to provide broad brush strokes on the themes of politics and governance focusing on Matsa and Baya's play, *Super Patriots* and *Morons* (2003). The chapter seeks to develop a conceptual framework of gendered localized resistance and to demonstrate how women, through their engagement in protest, were caught in a set of community dynamics that fragmented, atomized and dislocated their sense of daily life and survival. These dynamics are summarized as surveillance, avoidance, culture of fear and silence. The same chapter also interrogates the major challenges of protesting in an authoritarian set up and how the masses are navigating these challenges. It will proceed from the basic premise that, when faced with declining popular support, incumbent political leaders will resort to the state's coercive apparatus against their own people in order to remain in power.

Leonard Matsa is a Zimbabwean writer and critic who reside in Harare. In 2005, Matsa wrote and co-directed with Daniel Maposa a two-men stage play called *Ghetto Superstars*. In 2002 he was the director for the award winning *Peretera Maneta*. Currently he continues to work in film, television and the stage and is an Information Officer at Savanna Trust, arts for social change organization. However, Matsa is regularly sub-contracted by other organizations for his film, television and stage services.

Super Patriots and *Morons* (2003) is a satirical play of political errors and tell the story of the Super Patriot who is the greying head of state of a fictitious and unnamed African country. The super patriot rose to power by overthrowing white colonial rulers and after decades of corruption and mismanagement, he tyrannically lords over a population racked by hunger, unemployment and fuel shortages.
The Super Patriot is constantly haunted by imaginary ghosts and voices who question whether his people still support him; and he cowers in fright in his presidential office.

Troubled by the possibility that he is no longer loved, the dictator dispatches his right hand man, Bazooka the henchman, to find out what the people think of him.Bazooka visits a poor township where people are seething with anger and frustration at their country's leaders and wait in long lines for much of the day for basic commodities such as bread or fuel. There he meets Okuru, a ragged teacher, an underpaid civil servant who dreams of someday changing his country, Shami, an outspoken pregnant mother and Looksmart, an unemployed young man who is a former graduate. Bazooka finds out thatthe Super Patriot as a leader has lost touch with his own people. This answer inevitably shocks the Super Patriot and he decides to take action to consolidate his position. However, it is visible that his time is running out. It is by no coincidence that Matsa and Baya deliberately left the country unnamed. This is done so as to tell a story that would be relevant throughout Africa and make a broader point about the lack of democracy in Africa.Arguably, it would be hard not to mistake this country for Zimbabwe.

In the play, the Super Patriot brags about his patriotic history when he intimates that: "…there is no history greater than my history. Mine is a history of a living legend" (p.3). Given this backdrop the prototype of a patriot is more than a liberation war participant, a hero and a vanguard of sovereignty. This notion instills hegemony on the governed because they have to adhere to the Super Patriot's monolithic version of history which tends to be romanticized. The Super Patriot is locked in the mantras of the past. In essence, the Super Patriot(s) history to echo Sylvester (2003:35) became the history of the nation. The past is refigured so as to stamp authority of the Super Patriot and his party. Identity finds meaning within a time frame that involves the invoking of a current singularity of belonging through a reflection of an imagined cohesive past. History becomes a contested terrain that opens pace to which the Super Patriot speaks, re-claims voices and writes out or silences other voices. Essential in the process of establishing a sense of identification with the nation and inculcating a nationalist consciousness was the telling of a particular story about the nation and its history by the Super Patriot and his party. Matsa and Baya sarcastically name the Head of State the "Super Patriot" which is suggestive of the titular system which was copied by most if not all African dictators. The same name also suggests that his patriotism is uniquely authentic and unparalleled.

Ranger (2004:223) importantly observes that politics of exclusion has been reinvented to highlight who is a real hero by dividing the nation into patriots and sell-outs. By extension the sell-outs can be taken to refer to morons. Using the same scholar's observation makes the title of the play relevant.Visibly patriotic history is exploited by the Super Patriot to legitimize and justify his long stay in power. This is clearly shown when he exaggerates that "... I am their chosen leader. Their black Moses. Their saviour. I risked a lot delivering them from the imperialist's jaws. I am the nation" (p.5).The above statement shows how the roles of other actors in the liberation struggle have been minimized and reduced. The sacrifices of the majority are literally erased and deliberately forgotten, bypassed and suppressed. This selective version of the patriotic history makes the liberation war appear to have been fought by the Super Patriot alone yet it was as a result of collective effort by the peasants and the freedom fighters. Therefore his role in the liberation war is eulogized and valorized and the majority is believed to have played subsidiary roles. The Super Patriot regards himself as a sole deliverer and a lone hero of independence which is an inimical quest to maintain political power.

The Super Patriot conforms to Bakhtin's (1986) description of heroes undergoing ordeal by possessing a fixed set of characteristics such as being Saviours of them all. To this end Tendi (2010) presupposes that the ruling politicians presented themselves as ordained guardians of the political past, present and future. Anderson (1983) concurs with Tendi and advances that identities are not 'essential' homogenous and stable, but rather constructed. Thus nationalists consciousness was created by appeals to symbols and imagery. The Super Patriot overemphasizes and overplays his role in the liberation struggle at the expense of other actors. He is a quick reminder of the Crocodile in *Crocodile of Zambezi* (2008).The selective veneration of heroes, real and unreal obscures the significance of other actors who end up being excluded from the national narrative. The Super Patriot further stresses that "I am the nation"(p.5).The personification and metaphor of the nation is exploited so that the nation is conceived as a purposive individual with a particularly masculinized identity.

According to Anderson (1983) the conception of nation as an actor, an autonomous entity has been built upon the analogy of the nation as a sovereign man. The same scholar observes that the personification of the nation at the expense of the individual makes it associated with pugnacity and self-assertion. By using the metaphor of the nation the Super Patriot sought

strength through combination with others. It is noteworthy that the nation becomes the symbolic substitute for the individual.

Bazooka intimates to the Super Patriot that only "true Patriots who know the true history of this country" sing praises in the streets (p.11). The Sangoma succinctly alludes and subscribes to the patriotic history in his praise poetry when he calls the Super Patriot the:

> Black Moses and Saviour. Great Protector of our people. Liberator and divine ruler. You who defied wisdom and logic, stopping bullets and defusing bombs with your bare hands. You, who dined with lions in the bush, stopped a charging rhino with your eyes. You whose barking made colonialists shiver and run back to their mother's skirts. Your Patriotic Excellency. King of Africa. Terror of the neo-colonialists (p.7).

The Super Patriot summons Eria the Prophet at his presidential palace because he is 'troubled' and tormented daily by nightmares, visions and the devil himself.He is eager to know what the future holds for him but to his utter dismay, Eria only had a blocked vision of the 'big clock' being shaken by the wind and failed to see the Super Patriot. The big clock is a symbol of less time the Super Patriot is left with to rule .The problem with the Super Patriot is that he wants to be flattered and told what he likes rather than the truth and as a result he ruthlessly issued a Presidential Decree 88A to detain Eria the Prophet without trial or bail. The same fate was met by the Sangoma who had the vision of the Super Patriot in a queue in a big and dark jungle with so many well-known faces of leaders such as Amin, Mobutu, Moi and Adolf Hitler who are jostling for awards. The Sangoma is the first person to be regarded as a moron by the Super Patriot. This further exposes the Super Patriot's dictatorial mindset that regards anyone who does not conform to his expectations as a moron.

Bazooka, being the number one henchman, has been together with the Super Patriot in the bush, in prison, on the negotiating table and has survived countless coups and assassination attempts with him. Bazooka knows exactly how to please his president by flattery, thus when he is asked to give an honest opinion about his leader he retorts: "Your Excellency, I think you are a shrewd statesman.The epitome of excellent African leadership. The great, incorruptible, all knowing. You are God given. God sent" (p.11). When the Super Patriot is unmoved by this flattery Bazooka proceeds to inform him that in ten years time he will still

be the President and having his portrait hanging in every household in Africa and making Africa a leading light against the foreign machinations. It is through patriotic history and sycophancy that makes the Super Patriot to be deified as "a cult figure" (p.11) hence acts like a demigod of some sort. Bazooka is energized when his leader smiles and further stresses that the Super Patriot is going to head the African union for life and that his face will replace that of Franklin on American notes. Bazooka makes grave assumptions that the people still love, respect and want the Super Patriot to be their Life President.

The Super Patriot's Party is desperate and uncertain about its survival. They seek all solutions of all kinds for its continuity but have forgotten the people that put them in power. On this note Davidson (1992) observes that the gap between people and state has widened rather than (as might have been hoped for) narrowed increasingly.It is the government that creates the so called public opinion that it is still popular and wanted by the masses. Politicians always make assumptions that people are happy. Bazooka informs the Super Patriot that he is a 'man of the people' to mimic Achebe (1966), who, ironically argues that the masses are bound to despair because during the liberation struggle they have been in the rain together with their leaders who have forgotten them. The Super Patriots party's interest is not necessarily in line with the aspirations of the people. The people need a democratic government which represents the national and popular will of the people and represent their interests. Makumbe (2009) advances that the masses eventually protest in an unequal society, with high unemployment, lack of future perspectives, impunity, a closed political system, a bourgeoisie tied in with a non-functioning political administration and longevity of the regime. The bond of suffering appears to have given rise to a coherent imagination of a collective identity that one could hazard to call a clearer national consciousness.At a simple level people want basic commodities such as bread. Bhabha (1994) highlights that the nationalists often missed the importance and complexity of the socio-political daily struggles being fought over things like rice, salt, cooking oil, cash and bread. Teacher Okuru remarks: "Suppose this woman miscarries. I mean all because she is failing to get what is supposed to be basic in a normal society" (p.15). Later on Shami faints in the same line because of hunger.

The unnamed African country has come close to being a relevant description of what Marechera (1979) metaphorically called the "House of Hunger".Corruption and inflation have reached astronomical levels. The people are increasingly getting angry and their docility is steadily turning into hostility.Poverty and suffering force the people of this country to revolt against the former liberators who have now become their oppressors. Visibly there are shortages of all kinds of goods and services including cash, and exorbitant prices for those items that are still available. In stark contrast the Super Patriot is choosing not to eat because he "cannot even feel the taste of the most lip-smacking meal" (p.4) whilst the majority is languishing in abject poverty. Fanon (1968:9) states that each generation must confront the living reality of its own situation and accept its own call to battle. The protest that Super Patriot is faced with is one centred on economic realities such as rising prices, unemployment and starvation. The society has suddenly become a jungle and the "land of the living dead" (p.16) whereby "people have become animals." In queues it is a "dog eat dog situation" (p.14) and survival of the fittest is the game.Hove (1985:85) cites that "poverty is worse than war" becausepoverty itself can generate a resistant counter –energy to the oppressors force.Looksmart comments that their situation never gets better because the country has become the "basket case of Africa" and "the butt of every joke" (p.15). A cursory glance at the history of Zimbabwe will reveal that it was once the bread basket of Africa. Bazooka spies on the group silently and is angered by what he heard and shouts: "Ingrates! Thankless puppets! How can you say that about a government that has done so much for you? A government that has built schools, roads, clinics and everything for you" (p.15).

Bazooka as an apologist of the government fails to realize that people do not eat patriotism and past achievements, and they merely want food on their table. Bazooka is part and parcel of the state machinery, he is the one who warns Teacher Okuru that "silence is golden and it is always safe to keep one's mouth shut" (p.16). To the contrary silence is also a form of communication. Bazooka is a character that stands for more than what he represents; he is a symbol of violence. A bazooka is a weapon that causes mass destruction and in essence he is being used like such by the Super Patriot to quell and silence dissenting voices. Althusser (1971) contends that political violence is used as a powerful weapon to subdue the reticent masses and silence or quash all forms of political dissent. It is the contention of this study that

the abuse of the state's coercive apparatus is for the benefit of an unpopular party. The same scholar further stresses that the ruling elite can hold state power over a long period without at the same time exercising its hegemony over and in the state ideological apparatus such as the police, the army and prisons as in the case of Prophet Eria and Sangoma who were detained by a Presidential Decree 88A.The Super Patriot's party is able to retain strong positions there for a long time by repressing the majority. Bazooka even suggest that people from the suburbs should be "fossilized by the Air force one"(p21) because of their audacity to call all Super Patriots "too old thieves, looters , liars and claim that this country has become a looters paradise". (p21)

The venal elite think they are "invincible", "immortal" (p.5), and indispensable and can surmount any crisis with the use of brutal force to extinguish an ongoing demonstration by the people who abhor the conditions of their lives .The Super Patriot brags about his immortality as if life is not terminal. He has also taken the advantage of that uncertainty and has used immortality to create an aura of being invaluable and indispensable to both the party and the nation. However, the masses have finally said "enough is enough" (p27) and taken to the government square not only for themselves but also for their children. Nevertheless, the masses have the power and capacity to influence, if not determine the way things will turn out.When Shami speaks her mind and remarks that food is given first preference to the "privileged few" (p.18), Bazooka reciprocates by warning her that she can disappear or even get arrested for sowing seeds of discontent, demonizing the people's government, promoting public disorder, insulting the respected office of the Super Patriot and anything the police can come up with. The rule of law is flouted to the advantage of those in power. Saying the 'truth' is regarded as "treason", "terrorism" and "subversion"(p.18).Bazooka as state operative works unremittingly to seek out criticism and opposition to government and thereafter obtain a political verdict on how to solve the problem.

The education system is a sick institution where a number of teachers do not come to work as in the case of Teacher Okuru who spends most of the time inqueues. Okuru argues that how can he teach when he is "hungry" (p.16)even the students are not coming every day. The students are on an indefinite holiday hence loiter the streets so as to scrounge for food. The same Teacher further remarks that he does not have a choice because he is failing to make ends meet. When Bazooka is asked about his name he says that he is a "patriotic citizen" of

this "beautiful country"(p.17). Shami in rebuttal corrects him and states that it was "once beautiful" and further bares it all that she is disgusted with the so "called patriots who are drunk with power and are beginning to think they own the country" (p18).The same country is taken to be a "private farm"(p.18) by the Super Patriot and his Party hence show the masses have been excluded from the narrative of the nation.

Bazooka as a loyalist inevitably further perpetuates the patriotic history as shown by the following excerpt:

Bazooka: That is a matter of opinion, madam. It is still better to some of us.

Shami: It must be… if you are one of them…Those who loot, plunder and eat on behalf of the people. (p.17)

The Super Patriot and his cadres are immune to the harrowing hardships faced by the majority. Shami is angered by this remark which shows how patriotism is used to divide the society. It is the same politicians who are seen wining and dining while the rest are starving and dying in queues. Those who are affiliated to the Super Patriot's Party are "the first to get whatever we queue for" (p.18). Using Magstadt, (2010:4) definition of politics, it becomes apparently clear that it is "the art of the possible" that guarantees "who", gets "what", "when" and "how". As a result the country that was once the bread basket has been reduced to an economic basket case.

Shami and the rest fail to "buy rice because simply they do not have party cards" (p.25). Who gets basic commodities is determined by political allegiance. This highlights the politics of exclusion on partisan basis.She then boldly says:

Picture this. Thousands or millions of people, children, mothers, pregnant women, like me, unemployed men, the underpaid civil servants, everyone marching, towards government square beating our empty stomachs and empty fuel containers and singing enough is enough (p.27)

The protest as an act of self-mobilization was going to take an all class character as teachers; women and ordinary people were going to be united by the same cause. The protest arose as a result of increased inequalities.Fanon (1968) prophetically observes that if national consciousness does not turn into social consciousness then the predatory elite can capture the

state and enrich themselves in the name of the nation. However,Chan (2003) sagely argues that false consciousness is exhibited if a group criticizes the government without having first attempted self-criticism.Throughsongs, mockery and chantsShami, Looksmart and Teacher Okuru chronicle their suffering, the collapse of businesses, of the economy, of the whole country. According to Zis (1977:124) the struggles of life will never end but they are a necessity for real emancipation.

The "classic tragedy"(p.26) that does not get better is that the former liberators have tasted the sweetness of power and privilege and transformed themselves into worse oppressors of the very people that they claim to have liberated more than the oppressive colonialists that they replaced. The Teacher is disillusioned by independence and remarks that "this is not the uhuru we fought for". It can't be because "…this country is on auto-pilot" (p.25). To this end Makumbe (2009) observes that it is good to have a fool at the top so that if things go wrong you can always point upwards. The Super Patriot's government pretends to represent the general social interest whilst it is in fact representing sectional interests. Ministers are not playing their allotted roles   but rather   avoid their constituencies as if they are ridden with a plague. The masses are demanding that the Minister of Agriculture and Food Security should be fired because his ministry has been more advantageous to his family than to the public.

The Super Patriot remarks that :

> I have been a moron for too long. So many years in government
> playing the moron, surrounded and cheered by fools.
> They don't hear the strange sounds and the insults
> I hear everyday…..I am now tired of playing the moron (p.19)

There are even more strident, indignant and vociferous condemnations of Looksmart, his name damns him from the start because it is ironic. He merely looks smart yet the opposite is true. Judging by Looksmart's reaction and choice in refusing to participate in the government square demonstrations, he has a "weakened sense of affiliation" to borrow from Rushdie (1999:76).This attitude casts him in the mold of what Veit-Wild (1993) calls the 'non-believers' borrowing from Stanley Nyamufukudza's title *The Non Believer's Journey.*Pericles in Kagan (1991) notes that just because people do not take an interest in politics doesn't mean politics will not take an interest in them. The issue at hand is that people should get involved rather than suffer in silence

because oppression thrives in silence. There is the possibility that Looksmart is an embodiment of reason, intelligence and critical thought in an oppositional stance to repression. For instance Shami wants him to present the petition to the Super Patriot because he is more educated than all of them.Matsa and Baya (2003) suggest that people should take full responsibility for themselves.

Given that Looksmart is the antithesis of altruism, he could be suggesting space for the individual, where such space seems to be denied by the repressive government. There is so much anger directed at Looksmart because of the inside-outside or good/bad and patriot -sellout schema. It is important to underline that this stance was aligned with and sometimes merged with the philosophy of nationalist movements which drew on both cultural nationalism and Marxism that came into being during Zimbabwe's liberation war in the 1960s and 1970s and these views continued well into independence and after. This may not have been Matsa and Baya (2003) intention in creating the character of Looksmart but as Bhabha (1994:xii) observes, fiction is "capable of being read against the author's intention and ideology". Through his individualism and lack of commitment to anything, Looksmart bluntly refuses the idea of collective and unified national consciousness. He is not in sync with the common aspirations of the masses because it is easier for young people from underprivileged classes to meet and plan their actions. It is disheartening that Shami thinks Looksmart has the potential to "represent the future" (p.33).Arguably, Looksmart's feigned ignorance in a subtle way can be taken as a sign of silent protest but however this view does not hold water. It would be fair to argue that by and large, the educated have taken a back seat and have become armchair revolutionaries. They are blinded by logic and calculate their actions whilst they are suffering just the same with the rest of the masses.

The women are banding themselves together because the economic crisis has reduced people to hunters and gatherers .The educated run away from their voice for they found comfort in the company of those who silenced them from birth. Looksmart prefers rather to be "in queues than to be part of a solution to the queues"(p.27). Women inevitably protest because they suffer the most by being wives and mothers. Women are connected and participate in protest for their household and economic survival. Shami intimates that "a nation with weak men will perish if the women fold their hands and do nothing."(p.29) Shami has no choice but to mobilize the people herself because she "just want things to go back to what they were just after

independence"(p.34).At first the teacher is reluctant to protest because he thinks no one will join in but after Shami lectures him, he becomes aware of the deep cause of his frustrations. This is exhibited by the following excerpt:

Teacher: Forget it. No one will join you.

Shami: That is our biggest problem as a people. We are too docile. Too scared to take destiny into our own hands. See! When good, law abiding citizens of this country sit and do nothing, hiding behind the comforts of their homes, evil men will continue to prosper in this country.(p.24)

Essof (2013) argues that women's interest are linked to identity formation because these interests may be linked to notions of power and the multiple inflections that shape the postcolonial subject, which include gender and class. Despite Shami being a pregnant widow, she has a die-hard attitude whilst Looksmart cannot participate openly for fear of reprisals. Her husband was killed cold bloodedly by the Super Patriot's Youth Militia after he was accused of supporting the opposite party. The Super Patriot is objectively a neo-colonial dictator, though subjectively anti-imperialist.Looksmart is a weakling and a scared bystander, an epitome of the public that is now getting used to the hardships rather than fighting against them or the Super Patriots Party that has plunged the nation. Looksmart is the weak link of the chain and as such, he is the reason why the protests are weak and fragmented. Makumbe (2009) contends that there is a 'floating majority' that does not like the status quo but are unsure of resorting to protest. It is a dangerous majority because they make up their minds based on whims and on the spur of the moment. Furthermore, the floating majority can sway either way at any given time.

Bazooka tends to deliberately belittles and undermines the power of street politics.Bazooka is too complacent to understand the emergence of a fractured national consciousness hence ignored the agency of the people that was to manifest through protests.By discouraging the pregnant woman, he attempts to remove dissent from the popular realm. Protest is not an event but a process that matures through twists and turns. Bazooka is sent to hijack and circumvent this process as people begin to register their frustration and want their break from capitalistic exploitation, hunger and starvation and corrupt leaders. Looksmart is chosen and hailed as an example of a patriot and the rest are left searching for the same old crumbs. Looksmart's non-committal attitude seems to suggest that it is better to die from a friendly fire than from that of the enemy but either he will be dead. When the going gets tough suppression of liberties prevents organizing protest. It is

noteworthy that Looksmart chooses any easy way out of hunger due to desperation.The political culture of fear has effectively been intensified, especially as a result of the use of the Super Patriot's youth militia, for instance Bazooka and later Looksmart. The former intends to put on 24 hour surveillance on the society so as to monitor any suspicious acts of dissent. As for the latter he is a mere hoodlum hired as cannon fodder by the desperate regime to diffuse and neutralize a politically volatile situation that was escalating. Looksmart is justified by his move because he realized that if you cannot beat them it is better to join them.

The comparison of Looksmart to Shami and Teacher Okuru "creates an ambivalence that haunts the idea of the nation" (Bhabha 1990:1). Shami and Teacher Okuru are both projected as embodiments of people's aspirations. To allude to the postcolonial theory ,Shami can be argued to represent feminist nationalism because it is through her role that we came to understand the emergence of a fractured national consciousness through the prism of protest.When the Teacher is found wanting after the abduction of Shami by Bazooka he resorts to suicide as way of emancipating himself from untold persecution. Looksmart is sent by the Super Patriot with a parcel bomb which then kills him in return. This was done to stage manage the neocolonialists threats.The Super Patriot desires sloganeering proclamations of patriotism from the citizens hence Bazooka's patriotic loyalty can be proven by extreme acts of violence. More so,patriotic history makes people politicized against their will for instance when Looksmart ill-fatedly joined the Super Patriot's Youth Militia, he pledged his soul to the devil.

3.2 Conclusion

In conclusion, the interpretation of resistance tends to be problematic because the act itself divides as well as unites people. Protest demarcates boundaries of political/non-political, public/private and self/nation. Resistance is shown to be both bound and unbound. The Teacher and Shami are bound by the desire of resistance and change in the oppressive effects of power. The likes of Looksmart are unbound by fear, violence and intimidation. It would be fruitless for one to endeavor to come up with a conclusive definition of a people, given that no society is bounded and static. Despite the fact that women are vulnerable to state sponsored violence, their silence and acquiescence leads to a loss of an acting self hence deprive women of the capability of having agency. This chapter sought to expose the ambivalent nature of mass resistance to

oppression. The next chapter entitled "Beyond stated ideals: contesting the awaited constitution" in Chifunyise's *Waiting for the Constitution* (2010) andexplores how the content of the constitution is affected by the manner in which it is created.

CHAPTER 4:

Beyond Stated Ideals: Contesting the awaited Constitution in *Waiting for the Constitution* (2010)

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter has dealt with issues of gendered localized resistance and demonstrated how women, through their engagement in protest, were caught in a set of community dynamics that fragmented, atomized and dislocated their sense of daily life and survival. However, this current chapter entitled "Beyond stated ideals: contesting the awaited constitution" focuses on Chifunyise'splay, *Waiting for the Constitution* (2010)and explores how the content of the constitution is affected by the manner in which it is created.This contestation exists in the realms of gender, identity, representation and difference as viewed, understood and expressed variably by individuals who are economically, historically, culturally and ideologically divergent.

Stephen Chifunyise was born in 1948 and bred in Shurugwi, Zimbabwe. He is a famous playwright, arts and culture analyst and consultant. He is the founding Principal of the Zimbabwe Academy of Arts Education for Development (ZAAED) and is an Arts and Culture consultant. He is also a regular contributor of newspaper articles and journals on the arts and culture scene in Zimbabwe. In the year 2000 he retired from the Civil Service where he held several positions that include Director of Arts and Crafts in the Ministry of Youth, Sport and Culture. Chifunyise was once Deputy Secretary to the Vice President of Zimbabwe and also Deputy Secretary for culture in the Ministry of Education. He wrote the following plays:*We Suffer Most* (2002) and *Gender Mainstreaming* (2004).

In*Waiting for the Constitution* (2010) The Zunde family is headed by Mrs Georgina Zunde, a widow and mother of three children, namely Susan who is a USA-based nurse and married to an African American, Constance, a human rights lawyer and gender activist and Titus, a former student activist who has organised a family meeting to discuss the marriage of her sister, Constance. Mrs Zunde is a successful, independent businesswoman, prominent member of the indigenous businesswoman of Zimbabwe and a member of the Constitution making process Outreach team. Mrs Zunde has invited Tanaka Zunde, the young brother of her late husband, an ex-combatant, a very successful commercial farmer and also a member of the Constitution making process outreach team. Also invited to the family meeting is her brother, Sekuru Matamba, a former Rhodesian policeman and prison guard and a village headman. All assemble except Constance who is addressing a woman group about the constitutional making process.

When Constance arrives Sekuru Matamba is angered by what he thinks is Constance's lack of respect for elders and traditions. When she explains why she is late for the family meeting Sekuru Matamba dismisses the excuse and the whole constitution making process as a farce.He is joined by Titus-the formerUniversity of Zimbabwe Student leader and activist who is also a critic of current governance practice.These comments about the constitution making process lead the family into a heated debate away from the marriage issues. The family is sharply divided by the questions on why the new constitution is necessary; why the 2000 constitution was rejected by the people; what is the use of a new constitution in a country that has a constitution its parliament has had the luxury to amend 19 times and

whether the constitution will correct serious governance issues raised by Sekuru Matamba, Titus, Constance, and Susan .This heated debate leads Babamunini Tanaka, the ex-combatant, to consider the many questions asked as anti-government propaganda, promoted by foreign NGOs and foreign unfriendly governments, to storm out of the family meeting throwing the lobola discussion into disarray.Although this crisis disrupts the marriage discussion it however enables the family to face each other and begin to initiate a critical dialogue on the constitution and a range of related governance and human rights issues. This disastrous family encounter shows whyfrank dialogue on socio-economic and political issues and the respect for each other's view is critical not only in the constitution making process and governance issues but also in matters that require consultation of the people and that consultation should begin at a family level.

Rapport and Dawson (1998:8) observe that home is more than just a physical dwelling as it connotes an interaction between place and social relationships. It also encompasses cultural norms and individual fantasies. In conjunction with the above Mallet (2004:83) harps on this idea and pinpoints that home speaks of kinship and networks which are a part of belonging, in which social relations validate an individual as a human being. The same scholar gives a succinct summation of home as an 'emotional environment, a culture, a geographical location, a political system, a historical time and place, a house and a combination of all the above. The setting of the play is the Zunde family home which symbolizes the nation of Zimbabwe and the family members represent the citizens. The construction of the nation shows how the family as a symbol, reproduces the nation and its boundaries. In other words the notion of authority that is expressed in the home will be expressed outside of the home and vice versa.

Massey and Jess (1995) notes that nationalism fuses the identity of state with the nation through a profound conception of 'kinship' and 'home'. Kibwana (1995) cites that marriage is a social institution in which male and female identities are expressed, developed, perpetuated and challenged with varied consequences. Thus the institution of marriage can be taken as a critical social component that shapes our understanding of larger social institutions. The same scholar further postulates that the home's seclusion from the public makes marriage and its related activities a private affair between individuals concerned. The marriage itself is also a metaphor of the constitution because lobola and the former bring

people together and are subject to consultations and negotiations. To this end, Titus sarcastically remarks that "waiting for Constance is like waiting for the new constitution" (p.13).

Aristotle in Carnes (2013) defines the constitutionas an organization of offices in a state, by which the method of their distribution is fixed, the sovereign authority is determined, and the nature of the end to be pursued by the association and all its members is prescribed. Laws, as distinct from the frame of the constitution, are the rules by which the magistrates should exercise their powers, and should watch and check transgressors .The same scholar further describes a constitution as a binding legal document written or unwritten in which powers are defined and distributed among several authorities, hence creates the frame upon which the government and laws of a society are built.

Pitkin (1987) contends that:

> constitutions are *made*, not found. . . . they are human creations, products of convention, choice, the specific history of a particular people, and (almost always) a political struggle in which some win and others lose. . . . one might even want to argue that our constitution is more of some-thing we do than something we make: we (re)shape it all the time through our collective activity. Our constitution is (what is relatively stable in) our activity; a stranger learns its principles by watching our conduct.

In light of the above, constitutions are man-made, hence can never be made unchangeable because they are constantly rewritten (amended) and revised. However, the authority of the majority should change the constitution .Wa Thiongo (1983) insists that in its own sphere, the pen might do the work of the gun and in the same manner a play might pack the power of a hand grenade.The same scholar hints on the notion of politics of writing whereby when one writes, as in this case drafts the constitution, he or she has to take sides.Taking into cognizance Pitkin's (ibid) drift, Susan becomes the ideal stranger mentioned in her definition because the former, 'watches other people's conduct'.Susan, a Zimbabwean based in the diaspora quickly observes and learns the loopholes inherent in the old and the awaited constitution.

Pitkin (1987) correctly asserts that constitutionalism is 'something we do' and that we shape through our collective activity'.But for Murphy(1993) as quoted in Greenberg, Katz, Oliviero and Wheatley (1993:3),constitutionalism always refers back to liberal individualism:

> Constitutionalism . . . enshrines respect for human worth and dignity
> as its central principle. To protect that value, citizens must have
> a right to political participation, and their government must be hedged
> in by substantive limits on what it can do, even when
> perfectly mirroring the popular will.

Titus and Sekuru Matamba contest the constitution because it does not restrain leaders from abusing power and from neglecting the concept of the rule of law. More to this point Murphy (2007:5) observes that the general public wants institutional restraints on substantive matters to prevent lapses into an authoritarian or even totalitarian system cloaked with populist trappings. Sekuru Matamba observes that people are destroying and stealing everything around them, for instance "they are stealing knobs of doors of their own offices" (p.6) because the rule of law has been corrupted mostly in favour of the privileged few who go scot free when found wanting. The constitution is highly difficult to amend because the ruling elite still subscribes to inflexible traditions and ideologies.It is only a wider and more inclusive consultation that can yield the desired real change.The consultation process of the constitution is made to be an arduous and laborious task so that the ruling elite can have ample time to manipulate the constitution so that they maintain   and consolidate their power. The constitution becomes a consciously contrived mechanism for yoking popular consent.Titus and Sekuru Matamba are more concerned about the validity of the constitution, especially the legal and institutional basis of governance. Smith (1997:352) dubs Africa the continent of one –party states, where once the ruling elite become the government they remain the government forever unless they are stupid enough to accept people to remove them through the means necessary such as the ballot box or by extension the constitution.

The confusion that people have is a result of not being misinformed but of propaganda which is employed to interpellate the majority who then fear violence and intimidation. This situation goes unabated so that most people would be denied a chance to freely air their views as they fear for their lives. Susan observes the politics of representation that is laden in the consultation process, for instance "members of parliament are allowed to address their constituencies before the outreach team get to them". Inevitably Members of Parliament will

add more confusion and "tell them what to say." (p21)Voices of the majority are muzzled as they are told what to include by their representatives who have their partisan interests at heart. The constitution should emanate from the consent and will of the people whom it governs.It is a "fundamental right" and duty of the Zimbabwean people "to make a constitution by themselves and for themselves" (p.16).

It is a political gimmick and charitable enough to say that the awaited constitution is people driven. The outreach team meetings are simmering with tension and fear especially when people go beyond the stated ideals. The people are supposed to open up their hearts but the COPAC teams are exercising some form of bureaucracy as exemplified by Cde Zunde who is a member of the Constitution Thematic Committee, a legal expert, an expert on land reform issues and an expert on media and international relations but is always busy attending to private business ventures rather than addressing the constitution to the people. He is the "most sought after expert"(p.16) with disappearing acts and deliberately becomes inaccessible by changing cell phone lines at will.Ironically he "cannot wait"for the consultations to be over. This ploy is done to muzzledissenting views   that contest the constitution-making process. Mrs Zunde also undermines the intelligence of other people such as street vendors and rural people. She warns Susan that the street vendors are "not the people to consult on issues of what should be in our new constitution".(p.11) Mrs Zunde further argues that "they cannot be expected to understand complex issues such as the type of government, human rights and the economy of the country" (p.11). It is through these assumptions that some of the people are 'othered' and ignored by the Outreach Team.

Titus is forced by his Uncle to call him "Cde Babamunini" because he wants him to remember always that he is a "Comrade", "a liberation hero", "a war veteran" and "ex-combatant" (p.3). Babamunini Baba Jeffry as an icon of the liberation struggle does not tolerate criticism of ex-combatants and people in power. In depth, he is a sycophant and an apologist of the ruling elite who are so bent on a titular system. African leaders are vilified by the majority and lionized by the few such as Cde Babamunini and Mrs Zunde. Visibly Titus is being forced to memorialize the past which is constantly used by his Uncle and the ruling elite to give legitimacy to their no longer welcome and prolonged stay in power. This tendency to resort to politics of the liberation struggle is exploited in order to survive politically and remain in power. This desire to create and venerate a long tradition and use it

to judge the present is not only anachronistic but also runs the risk of fetishising the past and overlooking the problems attending it .However, Titus does not undermine the role liberation war heroes played but he is against the overemphasis of their role which makes other participants to be ignored. For instance Sekuru Matamba who is told by Cde Zunde "you are not a war veteran – our war veteran"(p.19).

The heroic deeds of war veterans are deified hence they are the ones who are given much credit in understanding politics and governance. This is also highlighted by the question posed by Titus to Cde Zunde :

Is there anything that should be said and done about Zimbabwe
by anybody except by people who liberated it – the war veterans, the ex-combatant,
the former Chimbwidos, the former mujibhas and the war Collaborators?(p.26)

Titus further tells his Uncle, Cde Zunde, point -blank that he will never be a war veteran, an ex-combatant, a Mujibha, a chimbwido or war collaborator whom he can respect and consider "paramount in all issues about the governance and development" of this country simply because he is a born free andunless his generation wages another war of liberation and become liberators, war veterans and ex-combatants (p.27). Raftopoulos (1999) highlights how nationalist rhetoric is used to reshape the notion of citizenship and nation. The constitution as human creation becomes a national narrative and a hegemonic project by those in power who narrowly define the nation. Patriotic history is selectively sanctioned so as to capture and freeze the past.Both memory and history deal with the past which points to exclusivity.According to Sylvester (2003:35) patriotic history both builds on and departs from previous nationalist narratives through series of omissions, additions and simplifications

Being a patriotic is a stable national identity conducive for the consolidation of the ruling party. The enemy is imagined to be within and without and hence the silencing of dissenting voices. Titus is described by Cde Zunde as"always on the negative"and filled with "negative comments, negative insinuations, negative outbursts, negative attitudes and negative views."(p.17).Anyone who is against the constitution is regarded and labelled as sellouts and unpatriotic. In the same manner Susan is accused of harboring "foreign ideas" (p.27)and being a fanatic of outstanding issues. Titus' views are dismissed because he is believed "to propagate the most divine and subversive ideas" (p.26). When Sekuru Matamba attempts to

engage in comparative politics, thus comparing colonial and contemporary styles of governance, he is also labelled a Rhody or Rhodesian.These hackneyed negative comments are   futile attempts to cow down dissenting voices so that they desist from unwavering criticism of the constitution.Through the constant invocation of an idyllic past, Titus notes that "this colony will never be a country again."(p.9).Massey and Jess (1995) contends that nationalism draws upon cultural values drawn from some imagined past that is couched in terms of patriotism.

Titus observes how the awaited constitution is pointed to the exclusionary practices involved in the demarcation of 'in' and 'out' groups. Historically women have been excluded from citizenship through masculinist constructions of politics. It could be argued that the masculinized nature of politics makes the ruling elite to lack heightened sensitivity.Titus questions his mother the plausibility of suggesting some drastic changes to the list of items such as not including cattle and money to be paid as "roora" by the Mugomba, the in-laws. Consequently, the mother is shocked because these two are major components of the African 'roora tradition' and without them the roora loses substance. In other words tradition cannot be challenged and changed. In reciprocation Titus rebuffs the consultations as a flawed process, and remarks that "why consult us if we cannot suggest any changes to our roora tradition" (p.4).Titus, Sekuru Matamba and her sisters are merely consulted not to come up with ideas that challenge the fundamental aspects of the roora traditions. In similitude the pre-existent constitution cannot be completely changed despite the fact that it is outdated like tradition. They are consulted to support and perchance slightly moderate the status quo.

Titus is disillusioned by the consultations because he feels they are just included to give credibility to the process hence make it democratic. In actuality the likes of Titus are "irrelevant" (p.4) and are just pawns rather than influential participants in the constitution making process.This is exhibited by the following comment by Mrs Zunde:

> You are consulted because you could, for example, suggest that the danga
> should be ten cattle instead of twenty, Babamunini Baba Jeffry may want to
> charge. He will listen to your suggestions but it does not mean that he
> is obliged to taking them in his decisions (p.4).

Titus underlines that with such attitudes consultations are "a waste of time and money" (p.4) because the entire decision making is vested on the authoritative Cde Zunde, hence he should simply write a letter to the Mugombas demanding all the expected roora. Sekuru Matamba agrees with Mrs Zunde that they cannot "consult" and "decide" on the day of the marriage negotiations without Babamunini Baba Jeffry because "he is the father" (p.27). Metaphorically the constitution cannot be passed without the final consent of the ruling elite. This means that those at the helm of power should just write the constitution since they dictate its contents.Suggestions that can bring about "real change" are not welcome because they run counter to traditional expectations of elders and partisan ideology. Opinions and voices of the majority are silenced, ignored and suppressed by those in positions of power.

Sekuru Matamba, Constance and Titus agree with Susan's "fantastic idea" that the "nation must make sure that the new constitution cannot be amended by Parliament, the Senate and the President but by the peoplethrough a referendum" (p.25).Cde Zunde and Mrs Zunde vehemently rebut Susan and accuse her of insinuating "foreign ideas" that will remove the power of the parliament and the president. Pitkin (1987) laments that no constitutional ethics will be easily attained especially when there are power hungry leaders. Susan is curious thatif the parliament was able to amend the 1980 Constitution nineteen times what will stop the same parliament from amending the new one a hundred times soon after the people have accepted it. Titus knows that there is no guarantee that history will not repeat itself and suggest that the parliament should just amend the current constitution hundred percent and call it a new constitution. (p.25)Susan and her siblings feel that it is no use to come up with a new constitution for a country you do not want to identify with or to be proud of.

Constance has vowed to leave no stone unturned in the constitution making process because there is "no issue that is a sacred cow" hence "everything is worthy talking about". She could not leave many unanswered questions, critical questions and points about the new constitution, its importance, how it should be written, who will write down what people are saying and who writes the constitution itself and in what language (p.19).People seem to be aware of the elitist interpretation of the constitution and want it to be simplified rather than to be laden with legalese understood by the few.However, women in this play are generally their own enemies but they seem to all agree on the notion of equal representation in every

government structure as an expression of real gender equity. Mrs Zunde who has assumed leadership positions do not seem to challenge the power men wield. Sekuru Matamba and Cde Zunde who are both victims of patriarchal socialization regard gender equity a ridiculous idea. Sekuru Matamba as a headman fears for his job and Cde Zunde does not want to be made an equal with women. Constance tries to convince both that gender equity principle would be meaningless if it is contained in the new constitution without considering what it means in practice.Women should fully participate in all spheres ofZimbabwean society on the basis of equality with men.

Patriarchal men cannot swallow this demand and claim that women's judgment is being clouded by foreign ideas. Susan asks:

> Where does this idea that Zimbabwean women have no capacity
> to express gender equity in practical terms and have to be guided and told
> what to say by foreign women come from?(p.23)

Patriarchy as an institution of domination does not want to be challenged and that is why it always justify itself through culture and religion.Cde Zunde argues that he is more equal to women as shown by his remark:

> How equal? You and me cannot be equal in everything
> unless we are both women! Even the bible is clear about this. Husband is the head of the
> family. He cannot be equal to his wife(p.23).

Women who clamour for equality are generally perceived as feminists, of which feminism in the African context is considered a foreign and borrowed ideology. This is highlighted by Sekuru Matamba's remark that a Zimbabwean woman who understands and respects her culture cannot demand what women are demanding. The Kariba Draft constitution maintains that the state must promote and preserve culturalvalues and practices.Therefore tradition ensures that a women's place remains in the domestic sphere and with a subservient role. Titus is a liberal man who understands the politics of representation and laughs at both his paternal and maternal Uncles who are so bent on tradition. The same patriarchy does not even want to consider other forms of sexuality because it is against societal norms and expectations. According to Muchemwa and Muponde (2007) current political cultures are

sustained by the manning of the many sites of identity so as to efficiently man women and children and to thoroughly unman other man.

Lenderman (1990) asserts that ideology does not define everyday realities and constantly compete with people's actions. Ideals become translated into conflicting and often oppositional realities. Through the open engagement by the Zunde family, social transformation occur and people can expand meanings they hold about stated cultural and partisan ideals so as to encompass diverse realities. The consultation enables a restructuring of these beliefs in order to create new values and perceptions.

4.2 Conclusion

In conclusion the constitution by being drafted down by experts and intellectuals it has created a bone of contention because the ruling elite are more preoccupied with constitutionality than they are with advancing constitutionalism.This exclusion made the constitution to be hotly contested and labelled unconstitutional by Titus and Susan. By virtue the consultations for the constitution were supposed to be people-driven and inclusive hence create a democratic space. The repression of the constitution has taken place behind a smokescreen. The family in Chifunyise's work is an arena of contestation through which generational and gender politics (in the latter case where women characters are focalized) bring to the fore differences from within and to borrow from Coundouriotis (1999: 20) "shatter the cohesion of a national community" resisting the bias in the awaited constitution.The study has argued that gender as a central facet of identity is politically significant because ideas about gender have been used historically to justify different and usually unequal treatment between men and women. The constitution is skewed in favour of one sex and one gender. The likes of Sekuru Matamba and Cde Zunde are interested in maintaining their positions of 'manning the nations' to echo Muchemwa and Muponde (2007).

CHAPTER 5:CONCLUSION

5.0 Introduction

By virtue all conclusions aspire to deliver the decisive blow by offering conclusive evidence or proof that can settle an argument by appeals to reason or the power of logical argument alone. In essence the study sought to explore the themes of politics and governance pervading Mlalazi and Baya's *TheCrocodile of Zambezi* (2008), Matsa and Baya's *Super Patriot* and *Morons* (2003)and Chifunyise's *Waiting for the constitution* (2010). Chapter one of this study reviewed the relevant literature on the themes of politics and governance which are controversial concepts shrouded in obscurity. As such when carrying out a study on this area, one ought to be cautious so as to not show some elements of subjectivity which leads to biasness. On subjectivity, politics has multi-layered possibilities of interpretation. The same chapter also outlined the methodology and theoretical framework that would be used in the study. Postcolonial theory was also explored as a hinged theory since it is relevant for analyzing identity, difference, representation, self, power, resistance and nation.The genre of plays is a force field where people's identities are neither totally distorted by dominant forces hence becomes a fertile ground where it is possible to recuperate an unproblematic African identity.

Apparently, the textual analysis undertaken in Chapter 2 ,3 and 4of the research has tried to define and bring out the themes of politics and governance ,which is simultaneously one of the most hopeful and distressing realms in contemporary African societies. Berated by the study is the intersection between gender and identity as cultural elements that are socially created and expressed. It is exploration of how these activities are practised, constructed, mobilized, and contested. The construction of identity involves drawing a boundary between 'self' and "other'. The study also observed that the nation is imagined as the fundamental and political boundary which separates and divide human beings. Reasons for repression and corruption were cited.This concluding chapter will concentrate on ways in which different

approaches lead to a rather different understanding of what is involved in analysing themes of politics and governance. The second chapter which was confined to the interpretive and descriptive analysis of Mlalazi and Baya's (2008) *The Crocodile of Zambezi* argued that there are choices of inclusion and exclusion which relies upon a prior distinction between self and nation. The Crocodile regards himself as a 28 year old inhabiting a body of a 94 year old. Ironically he is imagining himself younger at a time when the likes of I want him to retire. According to Muchemwa and Muponde (2007) this is not just denialism but a very strong tendency in(Zimbabwean) patriarchal/patriotic nationalism and politics used to seek self-renewal by constantly engaging in violence. What is also occluded, misrepresented and simplified are finely nuanced forms of alternative sexualities such as homosexuality.

Chapter three of the study, analysing Matsa and Baya's (2003) *Super Patriots and Morons* moves away from showing the performance of power to expose the ambivalent nature of mass resistance to oppression. Resistance is shown to be both bound and unbound. The Teacher and Shami are bound by the desire of resistance and change in the oppressive effects of power. The likes of Looksmart are unbound by fear, violence and intimidation. Despite the fact that women are vulnerable to state sponsored violence, their silence and acquiescence leads to a loss of an acting self hence deprive women of the capability of having agency. Women like Shami have agency which is compromised especially the Super Patriot and his henchman deny them the opportunity to fully exercise their agency through acts of violence and repression. Theirs becomes a case of resistance within the box of oppression. Focusing on gendered resistance and identity made the study to ask rather different questions about social practices involved in the construction of the bounded communities called nation - states.

The contradiction between ideology and practice is encountered in the dialogic interaction between Bazooka and Shami. The study also problematizes the conception of the nation as masculinized, vulnerable, aging and supposedly 'immortal' when it is personified by the Super Patriot. There are salient similarities in The *Super Patriots and Morons* (2003) and *The Crocodile of Zambezi* (2008) both plays construct and imagine the nation using patriotic history which works in favour of the chosen few. The Crocodile and the Super Patriot are

refusing to hand the baton of power to others because they are both shuddered by a sense of failure because some of the aspirations of the liberation era have not been fulfilled. Furthermore, the two despotic leaders are reluctant to accept that there can be Zimbabweans with the same tenacity to govern Zimbabwe better.

Chapter four focused on the textual analysis of Chifunyise's (2010) *Waiting for the Constitution* which exposed howdominant ideologies are endured, perpetuated and propagated through different media. The awaited constitution is man-made hence skewed in favour of one gender and those who are in power. The chapter has further argued that the constitution can provide the necessary framework to empower people to take action and adopt practices that are democratic if it is people driven. However, current political cultures are sustained by the manning of many sites of identity and authority. Women are clamouring for equal representation they have been subjected to patriarchal and colonial forms of authority. Constance observes that what has often been regarded as mainstream politics is in fact malestream politics because her both Uncles from the maternal and paternal side cannot take women as equals on the basis of culture and religion. Furthermore, through social engineering facilitated by ideology in sites such as war, colonial history, family and traditional culture men have been portrayed as leaders across.

5.1 RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE STUDY

From the research it is evident thatmulti-party democracy in the African context will promote economic growth and a healthy civil society which will serve as a check on corruption and government excesses.However, the ruling elite resort to sovereignty when Western powers impose democracy which ends up as a form of neo-colonialism. It should be noted that African leaders are against multi-party democracy because they fear it fuels social turmoil, civil wars and leads to the formation of too many political parties which are mere agents of regime change hence cannot represent the interests of the people. To the contrary this would offer room for constructive debates in the government. One party states are argued to be in sync with traditional consensus decision making that occurs at the village level. According to the aforesaid argument, the problem with democracy is that it does not allow leaders to make tough economic decisions. One party style of governance creates rogue leadership and reinforces government corruption, which easily begets repressive societies. Rogue leaders

focuses on power itself , not on its constructive use but are anxious to be adulated and deified .Consequently, African governments end up as engines of domination instead of being the agent of popular will, more interested in maintaining old forms of influence and patronage for a minority than in expanding opportunity for the majority. Africa's problems rapidly multiply because there is a lack of a hegemonic bourgeoisie that is independent of the government, and deficient civil society weakened by the Ideological State Apparatuses, which are being used for the non-success of multi-party democracy.

African leaders are quick to exploit and manipulate social or racial ideologies for political and personal purposes and are also partial to the scapegoating, blame-shifting and hypocrisy. African leaders need to escape the deep psychological trap of constant sycophancy.It is easy in theory and in practice to call a spade a spade and to distinguish among good, less good, bad, and despicable leaders everywhere. Good governance is all about improving the lives of the citizenry through enriched education and abundant sources of personal and equal opportunities. Democracy has remained a miniscule rhetoric and high sounding nothing. The key however is action by Africans on their own behalf. Their options for ending the circle of violence and economic exploitation are few but practicable. Africa needs a new generation of leaders who can define and pursue a dynamic and economic political agenda. A key challenge is to radically shift African states from authoritarian or patrimonial to developmental mode. What Africa specifically Zimbabwe need is a thoroughgoing democratization and concomitantpolitical, economic, social and cultural empowerment of its people which should not be only in name but practiced. Democracy should not be foundedon political patronage, corruption and ethnic considerations.The challenges facing Africans are power hungry and greedy leaders, lack of freedom, democracy,wanton violation of the rule of law,weak and subverted state institutions,politics of hate and reverse racism. The concentration of wealth in the hands of the few ruling elite who accord themselves all the economic opportunities to themselves, has given rise to a predatory Capitalist elite that fuels the gap between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots' and will inevitably results in antagonistic contradictions that can only be resolved through equitable redistribution of wealth and resources.

Makumbe (2009) observes that there are broadly three components to the equation for national development which are: system, leaders and followers. In an ideal setup, each would

mesh sufficiently with others. But the opposite is true for Africa, which has taken the direction of bad sytems of governance, bad leadership and bad followership. However, this study diagnosed that people and political systems are the source of the problem in Zimbabwean politics and governance. Zimbabwean predicament is elitist because it emphasizes the role of a crop of leaders rather than the broad masses.

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