

**WHITENESS AND DESTITUTION:
DECONSTRUCTING WHITENESS AND WHITE
PRIVILEGE IN POSTCOLONIAL ZIMBABWE**

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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

This research entailed an ethnographic and netnographic study of white destitution to establish how white destitution is understood and framed differently in the changing material and political contexts of Zimbabwe. This research documented and analysed the narratives of those facing destitution at the Braeside Salvation Army Centre, including those in the streets of the Northern suburbs of Harare. It also explored the manifestations of destitution among these people as well as the attitudes and beliefs of members of dedicated expatriate Facebook groups regarding the issue of white destitution. Furthermore, using these narratives, the research explored how destitution is understood in ways that (re)produce white nationalism, white supremacy, racism and, in some extreme cases, anti-blackness. This study also examined the mechanisms in which white solidarity, white racial iconoclasm and escapism manifest through philanthropic help given to white people facing destitution through engaging with these narratives. The analysis was guided by a postcolonial intersectional whiteness lens combining key concepts from postcolonial theory such as notions of difference and hybridity by Homi Bhabha, an array of concepts associated with whiteness studies, intersectionality theory borrowed from feminist theory cross-fertilised with the works of Frantz Fanon, and Michel Foucault's notion of heterotopia. This lens offered a useful approach to studying the phenomenon of white destitution within a qualitative research methodology. The conceptually rich theoretical framework facilitated the in-depth understanding of the empirical data and allowed for the problematising of the notion of 'whiteness' beyond the limits of the current theoretical boundaries in whiteness studies. The study contributed to examining the making of national racial history through transnational and global linkages, practices, philosophies, and professional and personal associations. The major contribution of this research can be described as problematising white social identity through intersectionality, which revealed that 'whiteness' functions as a complicated continuum of privilege and dependency rather than a static and homogenous bloc.

Keywords: Whiteness, destitution, intersectionality, postcolonial, Zimbabwe, Other, Self

Pfupiso yeTsvagurudzo

Tsvagurudzo ino yakaitwa nenzira yeongororo yemafungiro nemaonero evanhu mutsika nemagariro avo pamwe neyeongororo yemawadzanirano evanhu padandemutande iyo iri pamusoro pekushaya cheviri kwevachena. Chinyorwa chinochinoburitsa pachena manzwisisirwo eurombo hwevachena uye kuti hunotsanangurwa zvakasiyana-siyana zvichienderana nemasandukiro emamiriro ezveupfumi nematongerwo enyika muZimbabwe. Itsvagurudzo inotsigirwa nezvinyorwa pamwe nekuongorora ngano dzevachena vanotambudzika paMuzinda weBraeside Salvation Army Centre neavo vari mumigwagwa yemisha iri Kumaodzanyemba kweguta reHarare. Gwaro rino rinoongorora zvekare maonekerwo eurombo muvanhu ava uyezve nemafungiro nematendero enhengo dzemapoka akazvipira emaFesibhuku ezvizvarwa zvedzimwe nyika zvine muono wekuti Zimbabwe inyika yavo yechipikirwa nezvimwe zvizvarwa zvechichenzveZimbabwe maringe nenyaya yehurombo kwevachena. Kubva mungano idzi, gwaro rino rinoongorora manzwisisirwo anoitwa urombo hwevachena nenzira dzinoburitsa shuviro yekuzvitonga kuzere kwavachena, kuzvitutumadza kwavachena, rusaruraganda, kubatana kwavachena apo vanenge vaine fungidziro yekuti zvido zvavo zvinoita sezvinomhurwa uye kutaridza ruvengo rwukuru rwevatemaOngororo ino yakaedza zvakare kuongorora kubva mungano dzavachena mabudire anoita kubatana kwavachena, kuzvitutumadza kwavachena nekuedza kunzvenga chokwadi kunoita vachena apo vanenge vachipanana batsiro yekurwisana nehurombo pakati pavo. Ongororo iyi inotungamirwa neziso repfungwa yeuchena yekubatana kweurongwa hwekusaenzana munyika dzakambodzvanyirirwa nedzimwe ichibwerengedza pfungwa dzakakosha dzezwaro hwemaonero epfungwa dzeupenyu hwevanhu vakambogara muudzvanyiriri hwakaita semanzwisisirwo ekusiyana kwezvinhu/vanhu pamwe nemusanganiswa wetsika dzinobva kuna Homi Bhabha, ungwanda-ungwanda hwepfungwa dzinofambidzana nezvidzidzo zveuchena, pfungwa yekubatana kweurongwa hunokonzera kusaenzana dzakakweretwa kubva kupfungwa yemaonero yehunhukadzi ichisanganisa nepfungwa dzezvinyorwa zvaFrantz Fanon, pamwe nepfungwa yaMichel Foucault yenzvimbo dzezurukuro dzakasiyana nedzimwe. Maonero aya akapa nzira ine budiriro yekudzidza pamusoro pezvechiitiko cheurombo hwevachena kuri muhwaro hwenzira yetsvagurudzo inokoshesa kubudisa chokwadi kuburikidza neongororo yemafungiro nemaonero evanhu mutsika nemagariro. Hwaro hwepfungwa yemaonero hwakapfuma kudai hwakabatsira kunzwisisa kwakadzama kwemashoko ekuzvionera pachezvako uye kwakabvumira kuti zano re'uchena' rive dambudziko rinoda tsvagurudzo inodarika mberi kwemiganhu yepfungwa dzezwaro hwemaonero amazvavano muzvidzidzo

zveuchena. Tsvagurudzo ino inowedzera ruzivo maererano nezvekuongororwa kwemaumbirwo enhoroondo yenyika yezvemarudzi kuburikidza nezvekudyidzana pakati penyika nepasi rose, tsika, pfungwa dzakadzama, uye newadzano dzezveunyanzvi hwemabasa nemunhu pachezvake. Wedzero huru yetsvagurudzo ino kuruzivo inokwanisa kutsanangurwa kuburikidza nekutora chimiro chemagariro evachena sedambudziko rinoda tsvagurudzo kuburikudza nepfungwa yekusangana kweurongwa hwekusaenzana, iyo yakaburitsa pachena kuti 'uchena' hunoshanda semuronda wakaoma wekodzero nekurarama uye nekubatsirwa nevamwe, pane kuonekwa sechimisikidzwa chisingasanduke uye chine zviru machiri zvakangofanana.

Mazwi akakosha: Uchena, kushaya chouri, sangano yeurongwa hwekusaenzana, pfungwa yeongororo yenyorwa zvevakambodzvanyirirwa, Zimbabwe, Vamwe, Ndomene.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

BSACo	British South Africa Company
CBD	Central Business District
MDC-T	Movement for Democratic Change-Tsvangirai
MDC-M	Movement for Democratic Change-Mutambara
PIWTF	Postcolonial Intersectional Whiteness Theoretical Framework
RF	Rhodesian Front
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
ZANU - PF	Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front)

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CHAPTER ONE

ORIENTATION TO THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This study explored how destitution among white people is understood and framed by Zimbabweans or ex-Rhodesians who live in Zimbabwe and beyond its borders. Some white people call themselves Zimbabweans, while others prefer to be called ex-Rhodesians; some just want to be called Rhodesians. Some never lived in Rhodesia and were born outside its borders but feel they are Rhodesians by ancestry. I used the terms Zimbabweans and ex-Rhodesians interchangeably to refer to all these people. Throughout Rhodesia, the understanding of destitution (see Section 1.8 for the definition of this term) among white people changed with changing material and political contexts. In the early days of British colonialism in the 1890s, destitution was seen as an Afrikaner trait in which Afrikaner settlers who had entered through the Pioneer Column were seen as degenerate and not pitched at the British level of civilisation, thus susceptible to destitution (Mlambo, 2000: 147). After the Second World War, destitution took on a new meaning. The new immigrants from Europe who stayed mostly in towns were seen as more susceptible to destitution by those who had entered during the earlier Pioneer Column and regarded themselves as ‘Old Rhodesians’.

Destitution was understood as an urban phenomenon in which new immigrants who were seen as not Rhodesian enough and did not resemble the Pioneer macho culture were susceptible to destitution. The self-image of Rhodesia signified tough people who had conquered nature and fashioned a new and modern country out of a very harsh environment. This was ironic because, from the 1940s, many whites were not born in Rhodesia and were not of pioneer stock. Most lived in very comfortable urban suburbs. A significant number of these urbanites (not all) owned farms in the rural areas but did not farm much. The pioneer identification with the landscape was compelling and was deeply embedded in the Rhodesian national identity. Throughout Rhodesian history, destitution among white people was not noticeable to most non-whites due to segregation since whites socialised and lived separately from non-whites. Whites in Rhodesia lived remarkably isolated from the Africans, and their mentality and institutions in both Rhodesia and Zimbabwe reflected this. Segregation was vital since it was seen as a means of protecting Africans from ‘unscrupulous’ Europeans and ensuring they easily came to

terms with the colonial order. When white minority rule ended in 1980, segregation ended, and destitution among white people became more noticeable to non-whites (King, 2001: 3, 14, 25). White people slept on shop pavements and were panhandled by passers-by, while others lived in religious-funded centres where they received philanthropic help. The end of Rhodesia brought about new ways of framing and understanding destitution among white people, as seen in the statements below:

You said you are studying destitution among white people? What a strange topic that is...I have seen quite a number of those who beg and live on the streets, but I do not know how you define what that is; most people who are in that state are there because of the war trauma. Most were former soldiers who did not know any other way of life besides the army; they could not find themselves back into normal life after the war. Saying white people were privileged will be wrong. White people worked hard and continue to work hard. They were never privileged; they simply work hard. (Rod, Facebook post on Rhodesia History Remembered-05/03/21)

White people worked hard. If you start talking of communism, everything becomes very personal...the Rhodesian system rewarded hard work. Most people who went to war went to war against terrorists and defended the fruits of their hard work from being looted by communists...the philanthropic organisations you see helping white people only do that in line with the Christian values of helping their own. (Bryant, Facebook post on Rhodesia History Remembered-10/03/21)

The statements by Rod and Bryant¹ above show how destitution is understood and framed in Zimbabwe. For me, Rod's statement emphasised two issues. First, Rod understands destitution as a result of personal irresponsibility. Secondly, his statement describes destitution as a result of circumstances beyond their control. Rod's statement explains how he views white people as victims of circumstance, facing destitution because the system which had sustained their way of life had ended. Bryant's statement illustrates very different ways in which destitution is understood and framed. Bryant views destitution in moral terms. For Bryant, Rhodesia was a place of hard workers where the system did not value hard work, changing everything for the worse. Again, I detected victimhood in Bryant's statement. It also appears as if Bryant defended racially defined philanthropy.

¹ These are pseudonyms to ensure anonymity.

In this study, I examine how destitution is understood differently in changing material and political contexts in Rhodesia and Zimbabwe by white people who are facing destitution and those who are not. Regardless of geography, ethnicity, political affiliation, class, age and gender, the ex-Rhodesian white society is held together by thoughts, discourses, social practices, and meaningful relationships that bind them together. As such, they identify as a white community with common interests, views and thought processes shaping how they understand, feel and frame things. In changing political and material contexts, some people may feel lost and disenfranchised, while others may feel enfranchised where different meanings are attached to certain circumstances and ways of living. I aimed to understand how this community understood and framed white destitution differently, often in moral terms, in Zimbabwe's changing material and political contexts.

I explore how white misery is harnessed to (re)produce white nationalism, white supremacy, white racial iconoclasm, white solidarity, escapism, victimhood, racism and, in most extreme cases, anti-blackness. In reflecting upon how political, social, and economic circumstances changed when Rhodesia ended, and Zimbabwe was born, I argue how it relates to and shape white Zimbabweans' understanding of white destitution in moral terms. Memories of bygone Rhodesia and the opportunities it offered to those seen as whites, including anticipations and memories of better days under Rhodesia, often evoke political and moral debates. It is important to understand the changing material and political contexts that give meaning to how white destitution is understood among white Zimbabweans and self-proclaimed Rhodesians. Though whites lost political power, some remain economically affluent, indirectly influencing the country's political economy and, subsequently, warranting a study of this nature.

During colonialism, white people were afforded opportunities that tended to enhance their well-being compared to other groups that did not qualify to be called 'white'. Though this is contestable, especially among those who regard themselves as white, as seen in the statements above, I agree with Uusihakala (2008: 7) that it can be justifiably said that those who qualified to be called white people in Rhodesia occupied a privileged position. Another significant change in political and material contexts that shapes how white Zimbabweans understand destitution in moral terms are the land reforms of the 2000s and the ensuing economic and political crises still seen today.

White Zimbabweans who stayed on after the country's independence in 1980 and those who left continued to depend on Zimbabwe both indirectly and directly for their lives and well-being until their pensions were eroded by inflation following the land reforms of the 2000s. Some owned land (estimated at around six thousand) and had businesses which were, in one way or the other, sustained by white commercial agriculture. Agriculture has traditionally been the most important economic activity in both Rhodesia and Zimbabwe. It was the most influential business sector, and farming was viewed as a prestigious occupation to such an extent that most whites who were successful in other areas of the economy bought a farm (King, 2001: 37). Some received pensions from the government of Zimbabwe in their adopted homes especially those who relocated to South Africa (Uusihakala, 2008: 7). The political and economic turbulence which resulted from the land redistribution of the 2000s led some to lose their businesses whereas, in addition, pensions were eroded by inflation. These changes in political and material conditions provided the context for situating the ways in which destitution is often understood in moral terms by white Zimbabweans. I took an ethnographic and a netnographic approach. The latter describes a form of ethnography adapted to online contexts such as social media (see Section 4.4.2 for more detail). This research aimed to understand the phenomenon under study by understanding the subjective meanings white people attach to destitution and their lived realities.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Studies of poor whites in Southern Africa include the works of John Iliffe (1987), Saul Dubow (1995) and Willoughby-Herard (2015). The studies by Dubow (1995) and Willoughby-Herard (2015) was critical of the Carnegie Foundation-funded Poor White Study (hereafter designated the Carnegie study) in South Africa in the 1930s. In these studies, notions of black productivity and the inability of blacks to develop economically were important explanations through which the proximity of poor whites to blackness was debated. This was because the standards of living for poor whites were seen as comparably low to that of the black population. In the Carnegie study, poor whites were viewed as vulnerable to the 'parasitic' blacks who were lazy and did not work hard (Memmi, 1965: 152; Mudimbe, 1988: 26; Kant, 2007a[1764]: 2; Loomba, 2015: 63-64; Willoughby-Herard, 2015: 98).

This research explored the intersections of whiteness and destitution by deconstructing whiteness and white privilege in postcolonial Zimbabwe through the lived experiences of and

insider perspectives on white destitution interpreted through a postcolonial intersectional whiteness lens. This study viewed white destitution as a more extreme form of white poverty, which aligns with the work of Willoughby-Herard (2007: 487-488) on the pathology of whiteness. This study hinged on the irony that white people can face destitution but remain privileged through segregationist philanthropy given by white philanthropic organisations such as the Australian-based organisation, *Save Our Aged People* (SOAP). The organisation is a conglomerate of philanthropic organisations which receives funding from overseas funders in countries such as Australia.

The Zimbabwe Aid Fund (ZAF), established in Australia in 2006 and ostensibly aimed at helping pensioners who were former Rhodesians in postcolonial Zimbabwe, supports SOAP. I expanded on Willoughby-Herard's (2015) study of whiteness as misery and a project of diminishing white selfhood, arguing that the vulnerability of former Rhodesian whites and the segregationist philanthropic help provided by organisations such as SOAP to save them from destitution is aimed at lifting this group to their 'correct' economic and racial position in line with racial, economic expectations.

A full understanding of white supremacy can only be accomplished if efforts are made to understand how the poor white body is monitored and controlled through philanthropy in the face of destitution. Therefore, this study explored how white destitution as white misery and diminishing white selfhood are rediscovered during moments of crisis in ways that legitimate white privilege. This study on white destitution goes beyond the study of whiteness as a privilege and unearned rights as articulated in whiteness studies. Whiteness was conceptualised by linking privilege, power, and identity to the system in which the three were represented in the context of destitution. This falls in line with the claims by Willoughby-Herard (2007: 486) about whiteness which are that: 1) whiteness and white privilege are hyper-visible, not invisible; 2) whiteness is embodied as well as socially constructed; 3) there are far more inherent unaccounted for risks associated with the idea of the possessive investment in whiteness as property; and 4) it is indeed possible to distance white identity from desires for proprietorship and thus to humanise it (Willoughby-Herard, 2007: 487-488).

Furthermore, this research was informed by arguments that thinking of whiteness as hyper-visible, risk-laden and embodied does not mean excluding the ways in which whiteness may operate as supremacy and privilege (Willoughby-Herard, 2015: 81). Rather, studying it as such

provides a better account of the status of semi-whiteness or contingent whiteness and how it is used. I also agreed with the notion that taking up the problem of hyper-visible, embodied, and risk-laden white racialisation creates a platform for one to consider the racial logic of the vulnerability of the white body and the cultural work done by poor whiteness. Understanding whiteness through intersectionality creates a very important platform for examining the nexus between postcolonial nations and race in a novel way. Thus, this study problematised whiteness as a homogenous category and enriched the conceptualisation of whiteness and white privilege. It contributed to examining the making of national racial history through transnational and global linkages, practices, philosophies, and professional and personal associations (Lake & Reynolds, 2008; Chandler, 2013).

1.3 OBJECTIVES

The primary objective of this research was to explore the intersections of whiteness and destitution in postcolonial Zimbabwe within the context of white political dynamics in Rhodesia and Zimbabwe and through the Postcolonial Intersectional Whiteness Theoretical Framework developed for this study. In order to meet the primary objective, the following secondary objectives were set, namely, to:

- Contextualise the dynamics of white politics in postcolonial Zimbabwe, with reference to Rhodesia (Chapter Two).
- Develop a postcolonial intersectional whiteness theoretical framework to guide the analysis and interpretation of the empirical data (Chapter Three).
- Devise and implement appropriate research methodology to study how whiteness, white privilege and destitution intersect in contemporary Zimbabwe according to appropriate ethical principles (Chapter Four).
- Explore the manifestation and experiences of destitution among white people in Zimbabwe (Chapter Five).
- Establish how white destitution is understood and framed differently in the changing material and political contexts in ways that (re)produce white nationalism, white supremacy and racial privilege (Chapter Five).

- Examine the mechanisms in which white solidarity, white racial iconoclasm and escapism manifest through philanthropic help given to white people facing destitution (Chapter Five).

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY: WHY STUDY WHITE DESTITUTION?

Suppose one takes seriously the call that the coloniser should be studied by the colonised. In that case, it means that the colonised is framed and understood as ‘cultured’ and human (Uusihakala, 2008: 25). Researchers have been implored to unpack the changes and rigidities within colonial projects with the same determination and scope devoted to examining the actions of those who were made their objects and understand the experiences of what is termed the ‘remnants of the Empire’ (Stoler, 1991: 53; Uusihakala, 2008: 25; Pilossof, 2012: 7). Against the background of these suggestions, I attempted to construct a deeper understanding of white destitution in the Zimbabwean context from a black positionality, reinventing Taylor’s (1994) assertion that the study of the Other should be an essential part of one’s inquiry into human relations by taking a cue from Uusihakala’s (2008: 25) suggestions for the need for the known to study the knower.

I studied destitution among white people to understand how the Self understands itself. The study turns upside down the traditional arrangement in which the white Self, as the knower, studied the cultured Other as the known. It concerns the relations between the Self and the Other. For Willoughby-Herard (2015: xv), since the experience of a black person in struggle is the “...basis of consciousness, of knowing, of being...it contains philosophy, theories of history and prescriptions native to it.” I started by analysing myself as the Other. I first analysed what transpires in my consciousness as a black man studying white people. From this starting point, I aimed to understand why a certain type of relationship with the Self exists. By doing so, I tried to determine the possible conditions (states of consciousness in the Other) needed for alternate outcomes to the existing one. Through this, I attempted to answer the question posed by Villet (2018: 42): How should consciousness be transformed or altered to bring about a new type of relationship between the Self and the Other? I engaged with various theoretical positions in understanding the dynamics at work in the relationship between the Self and the Other. My goal was to understand what transpires in the consciousness of the white Self when faced with destitution. I took a cue from Villet’s (2018) study to determine the conditions

necessary for such consciousness to move from the misappropriation of the Other to entering into a relation of mutual recognition with the Other.

My study on destitution also considered the view of Willoughby-Herard (2015: xvi) that white poverty, the representations of poor whites and the risk they allegedly pose for white supremacy create a platform for an understanding of what blackness should be and the reasons why anti-blackness functions as a set of conditions. Whiteness and blackness are relational and usually predicated on each other.

A study on white people is seen as ‘unusual’. When a black scholar does the study, his or her reputation and credibility are at stake. During my informal engagements with various academic scholars around the globe, one scholar from the University of Edinburgh, Dr Sara Rich Dorman, mentioned that studying not only white destitution but whites, in general, is not fashionable at all. She added that studying whites can be easier but exceedingly damaging for whites studying whites as well. She mentioned knowing scholars (I presume white scholars) who studied whites in Africa, failing to get academic jobs (in European universities, I guess).

One of the participants in the Rhodesia History Remembered Facebook group, Bryant², cited in the first statement of this study (see page 2), reminded me of this. The subsequent antagonism I eventually faced from other group members when I continued asking questions and presented perspectives that differed from their frames of reference illustrated how sensitive and discomfiting issues related to identity politics are in postcolonial societies, especially amongst white expatriates and citizens. Perhaps my outsider status as a black Zimbabwean studying white destitution and privilege was disconcerting and became the source of the antagonism. Perhaps, they would have been more comfortable had I studied destitution among black people. In conducting this study, I took a cue from the argument that “we do not get to claim space in each other’s histories simply because we want to or because we have been in political solidarity. Ethics call for scholars to do otherwise” (Willoughby-Herard, 2015: xvi).

Through this study, I aimed to articulate a certain situatedness and place that may deconstruct whiteness beyond Rhodesia. However, my study did not capture all issues pertaining to whiteness in their entirety; rather, I aimed to provide certain insights regarding whiteness

² Pseudonym.

among white Zimbabweans transcending Rhodesia and Zimbabwe as brought into stark relief by intersecting it with the notion of destitution. As a black man whose childhood was during the second decade of decolonisation (1990-2000), entering adolescence during the third decade (2000-2010) of decolonisation in which racial temperatures flared as a result of the land reforms of the 2000s, I was cognizant of the sensitivity of a study of this nature.

In response to the racial politics of these eras, there was a notable surge in studies on whiteness in Africa and other postcolonial contexts soon after the decolonisation process (Van Zyl-Hermann & Boersema, 2017: 651). In Zimbabwe, studies on whiteness have surged since the multifaceted crisis of the late 1990s (Hartnack, 2015: 285). This is seen in the works of, *inter alia*, Cauter (1983); King (2003); Alexander (2004); Selby (2006); Wylie (2012); Uusihakala (2008); Pulosof (2009); (2012); Hughes (2010); Lowry (2004); Fisher (2010); Brownell (2010); Kalaora (2011); Raftopoulos (2012); Hammar (2012); Hartnack (2015); Pulosof and Boersema (2017); and Rasch (2017; 2018). The surge in studies of whiteness after the land reforms of the 2000s is interesting and indicates that not much had changed within the white community until the land reforms of the 2000s.

It was important for me to explore the circumstances of white people in the post-colony where some white people may be seen as complicit in the unequal system created by colonialism and how this had negative implications for those who were not seen as white enough or not white at all. I was critical of what I saw as the continuation of racial iconoclasm and escapism among a large portion of white people in cyberspace (particularly in Facebook groups such as ‘Rhodesian History Remembered’ and ‘Rhodesians Worldwide’) in ways that perpetuate racial polarisation in both overt and covert ways. In my research, I deconstructed what white Rhodesians said and did, as well as what they still say and do as white Zimbabweans regarding the issue of destitution. I aimed to understand their language, customs, and cyphers as a rich source for their political culture and, in the end, to better understand the level of white obliviousness, political feelings and its complexity (Godwin & Hancock, 1996: 11). These insights allowed me to offer a new understanding of the issue under study from a black standpoint. I did this by exploring the deeper corners where whites hide and still bury their worries and delusions about ‘unknowable’ Africa and the purportedly ‘inscrutable’ black mind (Godwin & Hancock, 1996: 11).

As a black Zimbabwean researcher, my study may be free from the denialism and guilt some studies on whiteness conducted from a white positionality have been accused of. A study of this nature could have what Pilosoff (2012: 7) termed “wider historiographical and conceptual implications”. It could also significantly add to the surging historical complexities included in the transitions from colonial to postcolonial societies in Africa (Pilosoff, 2012: 7). Furthermore, it could expand understanding of the ‘ambiguities of independence’ (Cooper, 2008: 171) and explorations of ‘becoming a nation’ (Raftopolous & Mlambo, 2009: xvii). Additionally, whiteness has played a key role in shaping the Social Sciences. I agree that the quest to decolonise knowledge production and decolonising knowledge can only be achieved by properly considering whiteness beyond how whiteness studies may have been done (Willoughby-Herard, 2015: xvi, 80). I intended to participate in this knowledge decolonisation project and develop a novel dimension regarding scholarship on critical whiteness studies and poor white studies through intersectionality.

1.5 RESEARCHER POSITIONALITY

A researcher studying the issue of destitution across racial, class and ethnic lines is confronted with an array of issues related to how she, he (or they) is positioned in the field. This is very complex when a black researcher with a completely different cultural background studies white people. This was apparent in this study since I carried out a study on people whose lives required continuous renegotiation and reaffirmation for legitimation in the face of destitution. As the researcher, I had a completely different historical background from those who participated in the study; what they shared made sense in significantly different ways. My position as a black researcher affected what the participants considered worth sharing.

Any social science research underpinned by ethnographic fieldwork is a co-product of the researcher’s endeavour to learn from what the participants attempt to teach the researcher. This study is an end product of these processes. However, fine-tuning and balancing arguments is entirely the researcher’s responsibility. I cannot claim to have been entirely impartial since I was an outsider whose understanding or experiences were different from the life worlds of the participants in my study. As an instrument of this research, there was a possibility that I might have been partial as an outsider, especially since social scientists use themselves to understand how participants live and make sense of their realities. Thus, what is self-evident in this inquiry

is that the knowledge gained cannot be separated from my personal views and opinions as a black researcher.

As noted in the previous sections, black people were not afforded the same opportunities as white people during the colonial encounter. Their hard work was not equally valued as that of their white counterparts. As a result of this encounter, they were excluded from the same resources and opportunities their white counterparts could access. This led to the subordination of black people in a colonial system privileging their white counterparts. In this scenario, I acknowledge that I find the historical subjugation of black people in racialised colonial societies privileging white people highly emotive. However, regardless of any feelings that may have arisen, I made a great effort to bracket my emotions when confronted by prejudice or antagonism to protect the credibility of my study. Bracketing is a process whereby researchers deliberately suppress what they ‘know’ or feel to ensure that it does not cloud their judgement of what is generated through the data-gathering process. Bracketing is done in such a way that the researcher’s experience does not influence how the participants understand a given phenomenon and is meant to ensure that the researcher accurately describes the participants’ life experiences (Chan, Fung & Chien, 2013). See Chapter 4 for a detailed analysis and discussion of this concept.

I had to consciously be mindful of and guard against my personal aversion to discourses of bigotry and racial superiority some participants seemingly held on to wittingly or unwittingly. Since I carried out this study among white people facing destitution that need help, building bonds with the participants evoked complicated emotions. In the face of torment, distress and pain inflicted by the destitution faced by the participants, studying the life worlds of people involved in such a traumatic experience sometimes made the study seem irrelevant to some participants, given that the study brought no benefit that would uplift their lives.

1.6 RATIONALE AND ASSUMPTIONS OF THE RESEARCH

The study aimed to comprehensively incorporate wide-ranging perspectives on white destitution and privilege in postcolonial societies. It attempted to cover different positions and aspects of whiteness studies and studies on difference. There have always been differences, animosity, and covert conflicts among white compatriots of different ethnic backgrounds in Rhodesia and Zimbabwe. However, I mapped the term white onto all people identified as white

in Rhodesia since they were subjected to (and are still subjected to) the same white identity construction.

The study was built on the following assumptions:

- As the material and political contexts changed through decolonisation and, to some extent, land redistribution of the 2000s, how destitution is framed and understood also changed.
- The methodology and theoretical framework underpinning this study allowed a nuanced understanding of how destitution is framed and understood in changing material and political contexts in Zimbabwe.
- The distinctive narratives of how destitution is understood and framed in changing material and political contexts uncovered through analysis can be synthesised into a nuanced and unified study.

The rationale for the study is illustrated in the conceptual framework underpinning this study, with the assumptions encapsulated in the theoretical principles forming the core of its conceptualisation. I engaged with the data collected through The Postcolonial Intersectional Whiteness Theoretical Framework. The theoretical framework was distilled from the theoretical standpoints of critical whiteness studies, whiteness studies, poor white studies, and postcolonial studies, notably the concept of hybridity as borrowed from the works of Homi Bhabha and intersectionality theory cross-fertilised with the works of Frantz Fanon as well as Michel Foucault's thought on heterotopia and various works on difference and othering. The aim was to offer a productive and incisive approach to studying white destitution following a qualitative research methodology. I assumed that a phenomenological study guided by the qualitative research paradigm could foster a nuanced and in-depth description and analysis of the phenomenon of white destitution within a postcolonial Zimbabwean context.

The fundamental philosophical belief of phenomenology is that the researcher and participants bring structures of understanding to the research process, shaped partly by their social background and in the process of interaction and interpretation. This means that the researcher and the researched co-generate an understanding of the issues being studied. This is in line with the constructivist and pragmatic understanding of reality, influenced by embodied realism (Cawood, 2011: 14). The assumptions of phenomenology are in line with the constructivist and

pragmatic understanding of reality, which holds that knowledge regarding any reality is consequently mediated through individual human beings and socio-culturally negotiated (Cawood, 2011: 14). In this study, I unpacked the ways in which white destitution is understood and framed differently in the changing material and political contexts by white Zimbabweans through a comprehensive and nuanced engagement with their narratives at the manifest and latent levels. The issue under study was constructed from the narratives of white people facing destitution and those who are not, both in Zimbabwe and beyond its borders.

1.7 THEORETICAL APPROACH

The cross-fertilisation of the various theoretical positions mentioned in Section 1.6 aimed to devise a novel theoretical framework through which the phenomenon and concepts under study can be understood differently from what already exists. The first theoretical position my study engaged with was critical whiteness studies. As a theoretical position, three claims are discussed in terms of critical whiteness studies. Firstly, critical whiteness studies engage with the legal, literary, historical, and cultural framework, which focuses on manufacturing white identity. Secondly, critical whiteness studies discuss whiteness as ‘property’ and ‘investment’. Finally, it discusses whiteness as an invisible identity. Critical whiteness studies go beyond whiteness studies and mainly concerns understanding whiteness as an unearned right and privilege; critical whiteness studies mainly focus on whiteness as misery and whiteness as a project of diminishing white selfhood (Willoughby-Herard, 2007: 480-483). Through the lens of critical whiteness studies, I explored how the racial identity of white people and white supremacy were manufactured and continue to be manufactured in the context of destitution in Zimbabwe.

In using critical whiteness studies, I argued that although the conflict between the various ethnic groups within the white community in Rhodesia was based on British racial supremacy, it cannot be the sole explanation of socio-political changes on which the issue of destitution can be mapped and explained. Since all ethnic groups that identified themselves as white were subject to the manufacture of white identities, I mapped the term ‘white’ onto all these ethnic groups to deliberately discuss the racialisation of identity and the racialisation of class. In considering the manufacture of white identities coincident with the manufacture of settler colonies as nations, my analysis further explained British identity as ethnicity. Inspired by Willoughby-Herard, (2007: 485), my analysis considered the shared aspiration toward white

privilege that unites the sentiments and political ideologies of white Rhodesians and Zimbabweans regardless of ethnicity.

The need to understand racism and cultural iconoclasm as social constructs derived from the theoretical framework developed for this research (see Section 3.7). In this regard, I engaged with the ideas on racism articulated by Anthias (2016) and Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1992), among others. The theoretical framework showed that racism and the belief that whites are members of a putative culture created identities which gave whites a false sense of immunity from any kind of vulnerability. Racism and segregation gave those who were seen as white material advantage over those who were seen as the Other. This material advantage gave whites a sense of superiority over the excluded Others, creating a symbolic figure of an invincible white whose destitution was inconceivable. By engaging with the issue of race and racism, the theoretical framework interrogated whiteness and its power to label, include and exclude. The notion of whiteness provided the theoretical framework with a lens to critique the cultural authority to make judgements about those labelled the out-group or Other in postcolonial theoretical terms (Bhabha, 1994: 45).

My engagement with these theoretical positions also led to the engagement with intersectionality theory, strategically borrowed from feminist theory and Gender Studies to problematise the idea of white identity as a homogenous bloc. Here, I focused on making sense of the various forms of destitution among white people. My use of intersectionality theory was informed by Rhodesia being a hierarchised society in which some white people were ‘more white than others’ (Mlambo, 2000: 139-160). I engaged with intersectionality theory in my quest to unpack the interlocking systems of oppression. It made it possible for some people to be more affluent than others based on race, ethnicity, age, geography, and gender.

The theory of intersectionality treats race, gender, and other subsets of identity as relics of domination and bias. These categories of identity are regarded as frameworks through which social power functions in excluding and marginalising those who are seen as different. The concept of intersectionality signifies complex, intricate, diverse, and mutable effects resulting from the intersection of politico-cultural, psychic, cultural and experiential issues in given historical contexts. Intersectionality theory states that different dimensions of social life are inseparable, mapping what fashions social hierarchies. In studies on intersectionality, the Self is seen as mainly integrated with most of the studies. According to Blaagaard (2006: 3), the

Other is a necessity for the sustenance of the Self, whether the Self is projecting its own unsolicited potentials onto the Other or fixing the qualities of the Other in order to say something about the Self.

To a large degree, the Self and the Other in whiteness studies are colour-coded respectively with white and non-white (Blaagaard, 2006: 3). Intersectionality can be applied and is applicable when engaging with the varied axes of difference. These axes of difference go beyond race and gender to include sexual orientation, class, nation, citizenship, disability and even immigration status. The theory of intersectionality provided my study with the platform to understand the multifaceted inequalities found in relation to hierarchisation and stratification. These multifaceted inequalities include factors such as uneven resource allocation, practices relating to morality, disgust, and stigma, among other issues which connect to inferiorisation and othering (Crenshaw, 1989: 153; Hill-Collins, 1990: 247; Hall, 1996: 447; Anthias, 2005: 39; Sayer, 2005: 951; Lawler, 2005: 436; Levine-Rasky, 2009: 242; Anthias, 2016: 184). I engaged with intersectionality theory to discuss the relationship between privilege and dis-privilege. Additionally, my engagement with intersectionality theory was aimed at revealing how the intersections of class, gender, ethnicity, age, nationality and race crosscut and mutually reinforce each other in ways that led to systems of domination and subordination in Rhodesia and Zimbabwe and what this means when whiteness and destitution intersect.

Apart from engaging with intersectionality theory, I also engaged with the concept of hybridity from postcolonial theory. This was done to make sense of and devise a nuanced understanding of the fissures and hierarchies constructed in Rhodesia and how these had a bearing on how people of different ethnic and racial rankings experienced life not only in Rhodesia but also in postcolonial Zimbabwe. I argue that it was through hybridity that ethnic, tribal, and racial groupings in Rhodesia were constructed. Through these groupings, those not white enough or not white at all were seen as inferior and could be segregated and treated asymmetrically. *Mestizaje* or hybridity encompasses a multifaceted inner order within different diversified populations. The issue of hybridity has had a multiplicity of interpretations and uses. In this case, hybridity or *mestizaje* involves a highly complex internal hierarchy of different racial groupings in Rhodesia. One's experience of Otherism was dependent on his or her position in this hierarchy. In the case of Rhodesia, those who were not seen as white enough or not white

at all were marginalised in one way or another, leading to differences in how they experienced life in Rhodesia (Loomba, 2015: 29, 130).

I also engaged with the concept of heterotopia (see Chapter 3, Section 3.7) to explain how postcolonial Zimbabwe is viewed as an ‘other’ place in relation to Rhodesia, which shaped the experiences and identity formation of white people in different ways to black Zimbabweans (see Section 5.4 for further interpretations of Zimbabwe as heterotopia). The concept of heterotopia is concerned with explaining how spaces and places exist simultaneously in a way that is contradictory to each other. Thus, the concept concerns the conflicting reality of the society that it contradicts; it reflects and deflects (Villett, 2018: 38-39). The key reason for using the concept of heterotopia was that the concept is concerned with the conflict between place and space. I attempted to engage with heterotopia as a place or space which is morally precarious (Villett, 2018: 39-40). Through the concept of heterotopia, I explained how white people make sense of their destitute situations and, at times, continue to deny their privileges in ways that are racist and, in most extreme cases, rooted in anti-blackness. Furthermore, I engaged with Fanon’s ideas on violence to understand how destitution is, at times, understood in moral terms by white people and often in ways that support white nationalism and anti-blackness. I also engaged with Fanon’s ideas on violence in making sense of how black people have the propensities to help white people facing destitution more than other black people facing destitution.

My study also drew on poor white studies to make sense of the empirical data. Located in the nurture/nature debates, culture or heredity, poor white study as both a research agenda and text calls for an analytical framework beyond critical whiteness studies. As a field of study, poor white studies interrogate the intersection between scientific racism and segregationist philanthropy. In using poor white studies, I agree with the argument by Willoughby-Herard (2015: 80) that poor whites were and still are a racialised group that white supremacy utilises in transforming itself into a vulnerable yet protected and sacred political category. In engaging with poor whiteness studies, my study acknowledges that segregationist philanthropy is driven by white supremacy and works to defend and sanitise poor whites from degeneracy. The theoretical approaches that informed my study led to the construction of a theoretical approach called the Postcolonial Intersectional Whiteness Theoretical Framework, which is represented diagrammatically in Section 3.7 of this thesis.

1.8 CLARIFICATION OF KEY CONCEPTS

Whiteness has been defined from multiple viewpoints. According to Magubane (2004: 144), “whiteness is defined above all by the superior economic and political power that it commands...” From another standpoint, ‘whiteness’ is usually conceptualised in terms of “historical systemic structural race-based superiority” (Wander, Martin & Nakayama, 1999: 15). Although the definitions of whiteness are varied, within the current study, whiteness has been conceptualised as “a configuration of power, privilege and identity consisting of white racialised ideologies and practices, with material and social ramifications” (Pilososof & Boersema, 2017: 704; Van Zyl-Hermann and Boersema, 2017: 652).

Privilege is present when a certain group has access to resources other groups cannot access. Groups without access to resources usually fail to access these resources simply because they do not belong to groups with access and not because they would have failed to do something expected of them to obtain the resources. Privilege comes in two forms. The first is based on what has been called ‘unearned entitlements’. Unearned entitlements are things that all people should have. They include feeling unthreatened in public places or working in a place where they feel they belong and are valued for what they can contribute. When an unearned entitlement is restricted to certain groups, it becomes a form of privilege called an ‘unearned advantage’. The other form of privilege is known as ‘conferred dominance’. Conferred dominance gives one group power over another (McIntosh, 1997: 293-295).

Privilege can ensure that someone who has it can have a say in how and when things should be done. Privilege endows social power to pass judgements on another group of people and have those judgements binding. Privilege permits certain people to have the power and authority to define what can be considered the truth and to have dominant meanings of the truth fit their experience. It also entails having the ability to decide who gets attention first. Privilege bestows a belief of dominance and social authority to act on that assumption without the need to fend off challenges. Privileged people participate in a system that confers advantage and dominance at the expense of other people. Those with privilege can move through their life without being marked in ways that identify them as an outsider, as exceptional, or as the ‘Other’ to be excluded or included but always with conditions. For the current research, privilege has been defined in relation to a group or social category. Thus, this study adopted the definition that

privilege is a social arrangement that depends on which category one happens to be sorted into by others and how they treat one as a result (Johnson, 2001: 33-39).

In light of the foregoing, **white privilege** can be defined as the advantages conferred to white people simply because of their perceived pale skin tone. White privilege in this study is evoked synonymously with race privilege. Race privilege gives white people no reason to pay attention to the disadvantages non-whites encounter as a result of their privileges (Johnson, 2001: 24). Being born white, male and upper-class is a powerful combination of privileged categories that would certainly put a person in line for all kinds of valued things (Johnson, 2001: 39). In terms of intersectionality theory, being white led to a blend of privileges which non-whites cannot enjoy. White privilege, thus, comes at a considerable cost to people of colour, and on some level, white people must struggle with this knowledge (Johnson, 2001: 39). To be white means not having to think about it (Johnson, 2001: 25).

White racial iconoclasm is a behavioural practice rooted in the inferiorisation of those seen as the Other. This is rooted in white supremacy.

Closely linked to white racial iconoclasm is **white supremacy**, predicated upon a set of beliefs rooted in racial iconoclasm. White supremacy is driven by the inferiorisation of other cultures and people who are not white or white enough. White superiority is usually employed when non-whites and people who are not white enough start questioning and interrogating the arguments upon which white racial supremacy is justified and white culture is seen as superior to other cultures.

White nationalism is closely linked to white superiority and supremacy. This study referred to how white people come together to defend real or imagined threats to their values and beliefs. This usually happens when the premise upon which they construct their identity as superior to any other group of people is questioned and scrutinised.

White solidarity is how people who identify as whites come together in defence of real or imagined attack to their values and belief system, especially by those who are seen as members of the out-group.

In this study, escapism refers to how white people avoid certain spaces or ignore or reject certain sets of arguments and facts that may be against their values and belief systems. Escapism is characterised by inflexibility and obduracy by white people when certain facts against their values and belief systems are presented.

Victimhood is the way in which white people, in the case of this study, feel let down and unjustifiably treated. Victimhood comes when white people feel that what they have earned through hard work was taken away from them unjustifiably.

Racism refers to the ways in which people inferiorise and trivialise people they see as not part of their racial group. Racism can come in both covert and overt ways. Racism in overt ways is seen in physical assault and verbal insults (e.g., name-calling). Racism in covert ways is seen through racial micro-aggressions, which may include jokes fuelled with racial insults or certain comments with racial undertones. Covert racism is also found in specific ways of looking (e.g., gawking), chuckling, and behaving to trivialise, inferiorise, insult and cause the suffering of those seen as the Other.

Anti-blackness is a form of inferiorisation of the Other directed towards people who are seen as black.

Destitution refers to a situation where someone lives and earns a living through panhandling and getting help from well-wishers. It entails sleeping on shop pavements or living in shelters provided by philanthropic organisations.

Race is a social label used to designate people of different skin texture into different social groupings. Race is a legal and social symbol of difference (Moore 2005: 143).

Ethnicity is also a social marker of difference. Though race is mainly anchored in designating people of different skin tones into different social groupings, ethnicity designates people into different social categories based on whether they are considered indigenous to a certain territory or not (Moore 2005: 143). Ethnicity can also designate people into different social groupings based on their cultural practices, which might otherwise be seen as different from those seen as Others.

Class is also a social categorisation according to which people are grouped in a society. People are grouped into classes based on an array of factors. These include skin colour, wealth, and cultural practices, among other identity markers (Moore 2005: 144).

In the context of this study, **white** is a set of ideas, belief systems, perceptions and attitudes certain people show and embody. These ideas are usually rooted in Othering those who are seen as members of the out-group despite their skin tone. These people's attitudes are often stereotypical, prejudicial and stigmatising to those who are not belonging to their group. Thus, a person may be dark-skinned but still white.

Black, in the context of this, is study is an antithesis of white. The set of ideas, attitudes, perceptions and belief systems of this group are predicted by the perceptions, ideas and belief systems of the white category.

Netnography is a data-gathering strategy done on the Internet (see Chapter 3 for a detailed account of this data-collection strategy).

1.9 DELIMITING THE STUDY

Destitution and whiteness were the delimiting concepts in this study. The research was evaluative, descriptive, and explorative and considered the phenomenon of white destitution in postcolonial Zimbabwe through intersectionality and what this means for racial privilege. Although in broad terms, the influence of events from the British colonialism of 1890 to the present was considered, they were not the central focus of this study. This study was not a historiography of white destitution but rather a conceptual problematisation of whiteness and white privilege in reference to the manifestation of white destitution in contemporary Zimbabwe, and, therefore, the colonial and policy history of Zimbabwe was not exhaustive. The in-depth exploration of colonial racialised discourses of othering in the literature review and the conceptual framework underpinning the study acted as an invitation to review the complex intersections of whiteness and white privilege in postcolonial Zimbabwe but with reference to the historical construction of white Rhodesia where colonialism systematically constructed a society based on racial and ethnic othering through fostering differential narratives of the Self and the Other.

1.10 CHAPTER OUTLINE

Chapter 1 was the introductory chapter. This chapter provided the study's roadmap by outlining the study's key questions, the research problem, and the significance of the study to both scholarship and theory. I also outlined the rationale and assumptions of the study.

Chapter 2 presents the research methodology used in the commission of the research and explains how data in this study were gathered and analysed.

Chapter 3 contextualises white politics in both Rhodesia and Zimbabwe. In this chapter, I traced the formation of Rhodesia and the formation of hierarchies within the white community and how these shaped and influenced the hierarchies among white people in present-day Zimbabwe.

Chapter 4 offers the theoretical framework through the 'postcolonialising' of the concepts of whiteness and destitution. First, the chapter traces the development of racialised colonial discourses on difference and othering before constituting whiteness as an intersectional social identity to fully understand white privilege. The key theoretical pillars, namely postcolonialism, variants of whiteness studies and the conceptualisation of destitution, are unpacked before the unified Postcolonial Intersectional Whiteness Theoretical Framework is presented.

In **Chapter 5**, the collected empirical data is presented and interpreted in terms of the theoretical framework and literature review.

Chapter 6 summarises the key findings and concludes the study.

CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Methodology encapsulates the research approaches which can be utilised to achieve the objectives of a study (Saunders *et al.*, 2011: 20). This study encompassed a phenomenological study grounded within the qualitative research paradigm, guided by an ethnographic research design. The mode of data analysis of the results was purely qualitative and guided by the concept-modelling approach. The concept-modelling approach involves first analysing the data before synthesis is done. The analysis was followed by coding each relevant assertion from the interviews to construct a coherent narrative of the issue under investigation.

This chapter will first discuss the chosen research design, outline the research dimensions, and explain the data collection, processing, and analysis techniques. Research ethics will be discussed in terms of ethnographic and netnographic ethical principles, while research quality will be discussed in terms of confirmability, credibility, dependability, and transferability.

2.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

Meta-theoretically, this study was a phenomenological study guided by the qualitative research paradigm and, in particular, the ethnographic research design. Phenomenology is a helpful methodology for describing the human experience in relation to historical, politico-social forces that shape the meanings of life (Kumar, 2012: 795-6). The assumptions of phenomenology entail that the researcher and participants bring structures of understanding to the research process, shaped partly by their social background and interaction and interpretation process. This implies that they co-generate an understanding of the phenomenon being studied (Kumar 2012: 796). Through an in-depth analysis of individual experience, phenomenological analysts aim to consider the meaning and general principles or features of an event or experience. This resonates with the issue of narrativism (Kumar, 2012: 796). The perspectives of the participants were expressed through narratives and subjective opinions. Narrativism as a concept is rooted in the notion that people are natural storytellers where language as the foundation of knowledge has an important role in the social construction of reality (Fisher,

1989: 45). Within this framework, narrativism holds that social values are constructed and fashioned within a social set-up prompting members to respond to the meaning of events through language (Burr, 1995: 50).

The narrative paradigm does not deny that power, ideology, distortion, or totalitarian forces are or can be significant features of communicative practices (Fisher, 1989: 46). It (the narrative paradigm) holds that some stories are more truthful than others (Fisher, 1989: 46). In the narrative paradigm, language constitutes social life itself (Gergen, 1995: n.p). Thus, an understanding of the participants' social world called for a critical evaluation of the words they chose, their statements, and their tone of voice when speaking. This, therefore, exposed their perspectives on the issues of whiteness, white privilege and destitution and revealed their status, values, identities and expectations. As with any other group of participants, the narratives of white people facing destitution are moulded by their culture and history.

A qualitative study attempts to comprehend behaviour and institutions by getting to know participants, their beliefs, values and emotions. Qualitative methods effectively identify intangible factors such as social norms, socio-economic status, and religion, whose role in the research issue may not be readily apparent. The appropriateness of methodology in relation to the objectives of a particular study determines the choice of methodology (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2000: 54; O'Leary, 2010: 15; O'Connor, 2011: 30). This study was a qualitative ethnographic study among whites facing destitution in the streets of Harare. It blended this with netnographic research on Facebook among white Zimbabweans facing destitution in Zimbabwe and beyond (expatriates), those who give philanthropic help to those facing destitution and those who may just have an interest in white people facing destitution but may not necessarily be facing destitution. Through this, I aimed to establish how destitution is understood by these people, to uncover the networks established to help those facing destitution, the premise upon which these networks are established, and the politics involved in their establishment.

Through my research, I extrapolated the various meanings and experiences related to white destitution in Zimbabwe, which necessitated qualitative methodology. The issue under investigation could be understood through the lived experiences of the study participants as rooted in their beliefs and values. This was achieved by assessing how white people facing destitution made sense of their destitution.

Qualitative research resonates with the epistemological tenets of the constructionist/interpretive paradigm, which emphasises the subjectivity of social reality, being situation-dependant and sensitive to multiple realities (Marvasti, 2004: 43). The interpretive paradigm prioritises identifying numerous ways of constructing a social reality that is inherent to a culture, to discover the circumstances of their usage and to trace the consequences for human lives and societal practice (O’Leary, 2010: 16). This is in line with phenomenological methodologies which prioritise the emic voice, the knowledge flowing from research participants and not the preconceived ideas of the researcher. During the commission of this research, given its emphasis on subjective realities and the subjective beliefs and perceptions of white people facing destitution, the goal was to elicit the participants’ individual lived experiences in their own words as they differ from person to person and across time and space.

2.3 DIMENSIONS OF RESEARCH

2.3.1 The phenomenon under study

The meanings of how destitution is understood in changing political and material contexts among whites in postcolonial Zimbabwe were derived from narratives of white people facing destitution in Harare. Data gathered was analysed using the concept-modelling approach and discourse analysis.

2.3.2 The nature of the research

The nature of the research was obtrusive (Marshall & Rossman, 2006: 23) since the researcher was physically present and engaged with the research participants in face-to-face, semi-structured interviews. Data collection occurred in the real world, not in a constructed research world or laboratory setting. Rather, the issues studied were studied *in situ* in a natural setting as they occurred, pointing towards naturalistic research engaging with participants in their natural, daily environment over a period of time by gathering observational and interview data (Creswell, 2014: 30).

2.3.3 Approach to research

Given that these participants were racial minorities, it was difficult to gain entry easily. In order to gain entry, I relied on the introductions made by the close acquaintances of the participants to establish rapport. Thus, to gain entry to carry out the study with those living and eking out a living through panhandling on the streets, vendors in the streets and other people who are close associates and acquaintances to the study participants served as interlocutors to help me make contact and build trust. In order to gain entry and establish rapport with participants at the Braeside Salvation Army Centre, introductions were made by the Major and the Captain³ working as administrators at the Centre. From an ethical standpoint, people who were not mentally stable could not legally provide consent. The approach in this research was to only engage with those who were mentally stable.

2.3.3.1 Population

A population comprises all the elements constituting the unit of analysis for a particular study and is the pool a sample is drawn from (Durrheim & Painter, 2006: 133). All white people facing destitution in Zimbabwe comprised the population of this study. In order to be accurate and precise, the population was demarcated by explicit parameters. The parameters used to demarcate and illuminate the population were homelessness⁴ and panhandling. Thus, the population were defined as all white people who live through panhandling and live in shelters or homes provided by philanthropic organisations such as the Salvation Army Church and get help for their survival through the help of well-wishers in Zimbabwe.

2.3.3.2 Unit(s) of analysis

The population was demarcated into three different sets: those who live in the streets of Harare and survive through panhandling, those who live in shelters and homes of the destitute and live through panhandling and those white people who may not be facing destitution but are members of the Facebook group called 'Rhodesia History Remembered'.

³ The Major and the Captain are the highest ranking officials in the rank and file of the Salvation Army Church.

⁴ Though homelessness has been defined from a multiplicity of vantage points, homelessness in this context entailed sleeping in the streets and other places where one cannot claim to be her or his fixed place.

2.3.3.3 Samples and sampling

Sampling can be defined as the selection of some part of a collection or totality based on which a judgement is made (Haque, 1996: 30). A sample is any number of persons or objects selected to represent a population according to some rule or plan (Haque, 1996: 30). In qualitative research it is the quality of the data that is emphasised. Therefore, attention is focused on ensuring that the data gathered is of high quality (Malterud, Siersma & Guassora, 2016: 1759). This study was guided by the information power model when choosing the sample. The information power model stipulates that the more information the sample holds, the lesser the number of participants recruited (Malterud, Siersma & Guassora, 2016: 1759). A preliminary estimation of the size of the sample is essential for scheduling, whereas the appropriateness of the final sample size should be constantly assessed during the research process.

The best qualitative study is carried out from empirical data, which will comprise rich and different explanations of the novel features of the issues under exploration (Morse, 1991: 16, 2015: 1215; Patton, 2002: 26). Generally, in qualitative research, one has to sample to redundancy until data saturation is reached. Since rich information for thick description was sought, the sample could not be too large (Sandelowski, 1993: 5). Interviewing was done until data saturation was reached. Through preliminary and sequential evaluation of information power, I circumvented the wasting of resources and time by avoiding collecting unnecessary data. Using the information power model, I also avoided elaborating on information irrelevant to the study (Malterud, Siersma & Guassora, 2016: 1759). The information power concept is explained diagrammatically below:

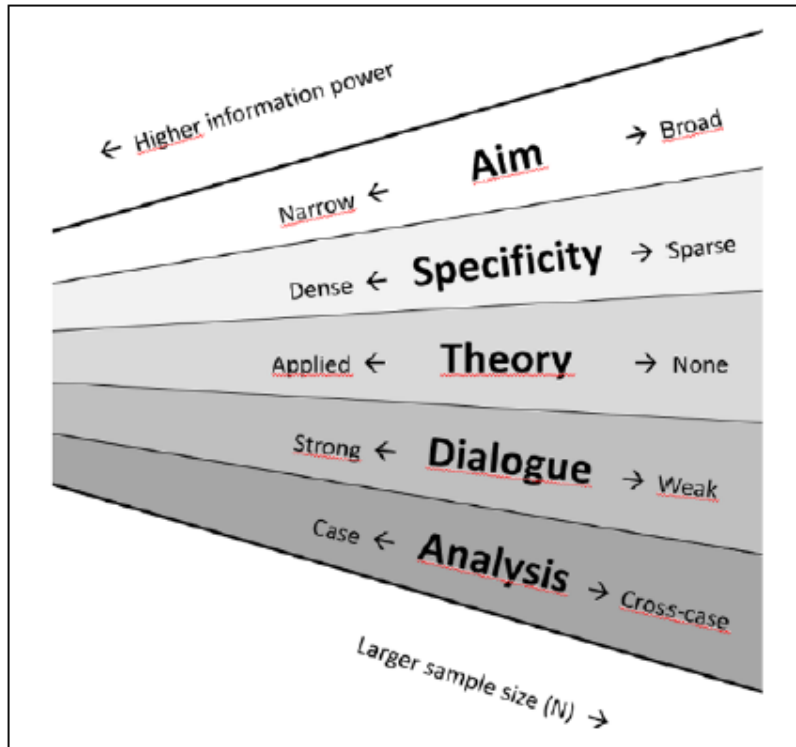


Figure 1: The implication of information power to qualitative sample size. (Source: Malterud, Siersma and Guassora, 2016: 1756.)

This study adopted the purposive non-probability sampling design in which the researcher selected participants according to his judgement of their importance to the research (Patton, 2002: 45). The power of purposive sampling is in choosing cases which are ‘information-rich’ for a comprehensive analysis of issues being studied (Haque, 1996: 34). Cases which can be regarded as information-rich are those from which the researcher can gain an in-depth understanding of issues critically important to the purpose of the research (Patton, 1990: 169).

I chose participants according to the judgement of the study by selecting assumed appropriate participants. Given the emotional nature of the issues involved, the number of voluntary participants was small. There are various strategies for purposefully selecting information-rich cases (Patton, 1990: 169). The logic of each strategy serves a particular evaluation purpose. Under the broad category of purposive sampling are subsets (O’Connor, 2011: 27), which include intensity sampling, extreme or deviant case sampling, maximum variation sampling, homogeneous samples, typical case sampling, stratified purposeful sampling, critical case sampling, snowball or chain sampling; criterion sampling, theory-based or operational construct sampling, opportunistic sampling, purposeful random sampling, sampling politically

important cases and convenience sampling (Patton, 1990: 169-180). This study employed a purposeful random sampling design as the small sample size selected for this in-depth qualitative study did not preclude a randomised sampling strategy (Patton, 1990: 179). In most instances, selecting participants randomly, regardless of the smallness of the sample, increases the credibility of the results. The aim of a small random sample is credibility, not representativeness. A small, purposeful random sample aims to reduce suspicion about why certain cases were selected for study, but such a sample still does not permit statistical generalisations (Patton, 1990: 180).

From my past experience as a researcher, it was evident that a purposive sample of eight participants who faced destitution generated sufficient rich data and information power necessary to study the phenomenon (see biographies of primary participants in Table 7 in Chapter 5). I studied the manifestations of destitution among white people in Harare, Zimbabwe during my Master's degree studies. Building from the Master's research, the scope of the PhD became broader and took a different trajectory. The choice of this PhD topic was deliberate and designed to build on and extend the findings from my Master's research. The Master's research spurred further study to understand what Uusihakala (2008: 15) termed "the fragment-like white minorities persistently – and anachronistically – holding on to what they conceive of as their adopted homelands".

The chosen sample sufficed since instances of destitution among white people are subtle. The eight research participants live and eke out a living on the streets. Three participants were identified through simple observation as living rough on the streets. One of these participants slept in a guardroom at Newlands shopping centre, while another slept in a dysfunctional car at Braeside shopping centre. The third participant slept in pubs at Strathaven and Avondale shopping centres. The other five participants were from the Braeside Salvation Army Centre, receiving food, shelter and help from philanthropists. Those who live at the Braeside Salvation Army Centre were identified through referrals made by one of the participants stationed at the Braeside Shopping Centre. Thus, snowball non-probability sampling supplemented the purposive sampling technique. Care was taken to select adult participants over the age of eighteen. It is difficult to determine the exact number and ethnic orientation of white people who live in Zimbabwe today. The overall population of white people facing destitution in Zimbabwe is also unknown.

Most white people who lost land and chose to remain in the country moved to the cities, notably Harare, Bulawayo and Mutare (Selby, 2006: 319). This research was done in Harare as the population of white people in Harare surpasses those in other cities, especially after the land reforms of 2000, and also because resource constraints precluded research in other localities. Of those evicted from farms, a large number most likely would have moved to Harare rather than other cities since most farmers (more than 60%) farmed in the surrounding Mashonaland provinces (Pilosoff, 2012: 5), which surround Harare. The choice of the Harare context as the study site and what could be seen as ‘institutionalised destitution’ were determined by access to the study site and research participants. Given the elusive nature of the white community (let alone white people facing destitution) coupled with its disintegration through emigration over the years, the exact number could not be established (McGregor, 2010: 3). By the time of the current research, the five participants who were known to the researcher dating from his Master’s research were still found to be destitute and therefore included in the current sample because of the existing trust relationship between the researcher and research participants. Given the sensitive nature of the study and the small population, building on existing trust relationships made pragmatic and strategic sense.

Expert sampling, also a subset of purposive sampling, identifies those who are regarded as experts or conversant with the issues under study (O’Connor, 2011). Two airtime vendors⁵, two fuel attendants, a security guard and four handymen at the Braeside Salvation Army Centre were regarded as key secondary informants as first-person witnesses of the lives of the destitute participants included in the study. The testimonies of key secondary informants (see biographies of key secondary informants in Table 9 in Chapter 5) were used for triangulation purposes, providing additional rich information for thick description to supplement the narratives of destitute participants. These key informants were sampled using the expert or purposive sampling technique. The researcher elaborated on the information provided by participants and key informants (see Tables 6 and 8 for more detail) and supported the theoretical framework underpinning this study (Sandelowski, 1993: 3; Patton, 2002: 25).

⁵ These are people who eke out a living through selling mobile phones airtime scratch cards. They usually sell these scratch cards at busy shopping centres and busy road intersections. They are known locally as airtime vendors.

2.4 DATA COLLECTION

2.4.1 Guided walk interviews

I used the guided walk method to collect data among white people facing destitution at the Braeside Salvation Army Centre and on the streets of Harare. I combined the guided walk approach with semi-structured interviews to collect rich empirical data grounded in an open-ended qualitative approach, creating a foundation to probe further (see Table 6 for more detail). I also developed a semi-structured interview guide. While a semi-structured interview guide was used, the order of questions was not prescriptive but flexible. Interviews were allowed to follow the natural course of conversations. This was done to follow up on thought-provoking digressions brought up by participants and key secondary informants. Within the broader qualitative study, participants facing destitution in the streets of Harare and the Braeside Salvation Army Centre participated in three guided walk interview sessions throughout the study period starting from October 2017. Interviews were conducted after obtaining ethical clearance. These were done for each participant to generate rich data in line with the study's objectives.

The mobilities paradigm underpinned the guided walk approach and was developed to understand individuals' connectedness with places when conducting research (Sheller & Urry, 2006: 210). The mobilities paradigm is a data collection approach whereby the interviewer interviews the interviewee whilst walking together with the interviewee from one place to the other (Dube *et al.*, 2014: 1093). Physical movement may include the researcher walking with those who participate in a given study to enhance an in-depth engagement with the socio-physical context in which a certain phenomenon is being studied (Sheller & Urry, 2006: 211). Mobile methods can be employed in numerous ways, notably walking-based interviews. For instance, one method comprises observing participants on the move. In such instances, the investigator follows the participants through their daily activities to study and understand their movements and activities (Dube *et al.*, 2014: 1093).

These interviews can include the investigator walking with participants in a way in which the landscapes and settings may evoke discussions (Anderson, 2004: 250). These interviews include walking with research participants along fixed routes and using global positioning devices to track the routes to gain further rich data for thick description (Evans & Jones, 2011:

851). When conducting walk-based interviews, an investigator is expected to consider the familiarity of both participants and the investigator with the locality in which the interviewing is done (Evans & Jones, 2011: 852). This is important, as familiar surroundings are essential to put the participants and researcher at ease. The selection of routes and locations for interviewing is an important consideration, as participants are expected to make this decision based on locations, routes, and their associated memories (Dube *et al.*, 2014: 1093; Evans & Jones, 2011: 852). Such memory-filled locations and routes are vital to evoke relevant and meaningful discussions with participants.

By documenting the locations and routes followed during the interviewing process photographically to render field notes, such as major landmarks and street names, the researcher is creating a mnemonic scheme to aid in the memorising and recall of the content of conversations as well as the general atmosphere and context in which the interviews occur to facilitate the thick description process. Mobile interactive engagement through walking-based interviews is useful to help participants reflect on their contextualised experiences of their day-to-day lives and share these experiences and emotions with the researcher (Anderson, 2004: 261; Ross *et al.*, 2009: 619). In this research, the guided walk method provided a novel way to understand how participants described their daily experiences prompted by the places they now live in (Evans & Jones 2011: 853; Ross *et al.*, 2009: 620). This method produced an in-depth exploration of participants' lived experiences, including their day-to-day struggles to survive in the streets and assimilate into the Braeside Salvation Army Centre.

I contextualised the study's findings based on the numerous political transitions Zimbabwe experienced in November 2017 when collecting data among these participants. This was important as there is a relativist ontology (multiple realities), subjectivist epistemology (the researcher and the participant co-create understandings) and hermeneutic and dialectic methodology (the lived experience from the participant's perspective) entwined with the social constructivist research paradigm applied to this research (Lincoln & Guba, 2000; Guba & Lincoln, 2004).

Guided walk interviews were conducted with eight white participants facing destitution (five from the Braeside Salvation Army Centre and three who sleep on the streets and panhandle to survive at shopping centres in Harare's northern suburbs). Semi-structured interviews were

employed to trace the respective life histories of these participants during guided walks. The guided walks with participants were done in two phases. I first carried out guided walks with those who lived and survived on the streets of the northern suburbs of Harare. The second phase involved carrying out guided walk interviews with those living at the Braeside Salvation Army Centre. The guided interviews with those who survived on Harare's streets involved walking through the shopping centres of the northern suburbs of Harare and the busy roads where they panhandle from motorists (that is, Avondale, Strathaven, Newlands and Braeside in this instance). Interviews of this kind were done in surroundings familiar to the participants, allowing them to continue panhandling or perform menial jobs.

I observed the movements and interactions of participants as they went about their activities during the guided walk interview sessions. These included observing their living conditions, accommodations, sleeping arrangements, and access to sanitation and laundry facilities. The researcher also observed the general nature of business transactions carried out by those participants who performed menial jobs. Specifically, the researcher noted whether the transactions relied on money as a medium of exchange or whether services offered were paid through goods. The researcher also documented the frequency of bathing, doing laundry, the kind of blankets they slept in, and the clothes they wore. Their meal schedules and the nature of the food they ate were also observed. Observations were also made on their manner of eating. Non-verbal cues revealed during the interactions between participants and myself were also observed. This information was integral to building the participant biographies presented in Chapter 5.

Furthermore, data collection involved visiting the Braeside Salvation Army Centre to locate those participants who were picked up from the streets and taken to the centre for shelter and food. With participants at the Braeside Salvation Army Centre, interviews were done during walks to shopping centres, over mealtimes, and during chess and other activities at the centre. In order to ensure the comfort of participants, they were invited to choose the location for the interview (e.g., the church hall, where they usually spent time in solitude to reflect on their lives). Participants living at the Braeside Salvation Army Centre were observed as they went about their daily lives in the dining halls, the library and the church. Interaction patterns and the movement of participants through their daily lives in their struggle to survive were documented and included non-verbal cues, eating and panhandling habits, accommodation and sleeping arrangements.

I accompanied the participants as they walked and talked through their experiences of destitution. Since all participants refused to be audio-recorded, notes on the fieldwork were recorded after the interviews. I also recorded more extensive field notes of the paths/routes taken during the walks after the interviews. In this study, field notes were essential to make sense of narratives or to return to issues of interest for further probing. Although I am familiar with Harare, some routes were new. Places new to me were chosen by the participants and had significance to them in various ways. These places evoked certain memories for some participants and helped them recall certain historical events, enriching the discussions. The landscapes in which the interaction occurred were also recorded. Recording the landscapes (especially of the places that were new to me as the researcher) provided me with physical, mnemonic cues to aid memory when recounting interviews. The locations and routes chosen for the guided walks allowed me to become an emic observer and gain insight into the participants' lived experiences and their daily struggles to survive. I achieved this by situating narratives and experiences within their natural contexts.

I also carried out guided walk interviews with key secondary informants with intimate knowledge of the lives of participants gained through prolonged interpersonal interactions (see Table 9 for their biographies). The airtime vendors, fuel attendants and a security guard who participated in this study provided rich data on those participants living on the streets, while the handymen provided information on those who live and receive help from the Salvation Army Centre. Their testimonies were supplemented by Captain Mafukidze, who had the records of each person who received help at the Salvation Army Centre.⁶ Captain Mafukidze did not share her records of the participants for ethical reasons. The Captain had been stationed at the Centre since 2013 and had rich knowledge of the participants. I relied on her knowledge to corroborate what would have been shared by the participants regarding the narratives. The selection of key secondary informants was purposefully based on the length and depth of their contact with participants. The minimum requirement for selection as a key secondary informant was an acquaintance with a participant of at least one year.

I did guided walk interviews with the airtime vendors and fuel attendants during their time at work as they went about their work activities. All were comfortable being interviewed during

⁶ Captain Mafukidze was interviewed by the researcher at the Breaside Salvation Army Centre during 2014 for his Master's research and in 2017 during this PhD fieldwork.

their work hours and at their workstations. To mitigate their loss of work time, I accompanied the airtime vendors as they scouted for airtime customers among motorists and shoppers at the shopping centres in the northern suburbs of Harare, where some of the study participants panhandled and lived. To mitigate the loss of time for the fuel attendants, I shadowed them at the service stations as they went about their daily tasks. To mitigate the security guard's loss of work time, I interviewed him in the guardroom and accompanied him on his patrol around the shopping centre.

Regarding the handymen at the Braeside Salvation Army Centre, I accompanied them on their rounds as they went about their tasks for guided walk interviews. With key secondary informants, the interview format followed an informal and unstructured interview with no *a priori* interview framework or prepared questions to elicit spontaneous interaction. They were encouraged to talk about their own lives and how their lives intersect with the participants of the study who face destitution (see Table 8 in Chapter 5 for more detail).

There were several advantages noted when using the guided walk method. Participants were briefed about the format through face-to-face engagements a week before the guided walk. These briefings gave the participants the platform to think about their preferred routes for the guided walk interviews. I encouraged participants and key informants to consider the places and routes they felt most comfortable with when sharing their experiences. This led them to select the locations and routes they favoured the most. The importance of certain places and routes in light of each participant's daily life was key to selecting each location and route. As a result, guided walks made participation easier for the participants and key informants since I visited the participants where they lived and where they eke out a living. This approach allowed for flexibility in working around the participants' hectic and often irregular daily schedules. Guided walks provided contextual relevance for participants and led to convenient encounters for the participants and me as the researcher.

Those who participated in this study were responsible for determining where and when the walks started and finished. This was vital to creating a relaxed atmosphere for discussion at a suitable time, beginning from a carefully selected path or place. The relaxed and flexible way the guided walks were conducted created a platform for free-flowing, context-rich conversations between the participants and me, which seemed to align with the routes or places selected. Some of the realities noted included feelings of isolation and dejection, which

emanated from destitution, the need to adjust to life without a stable financial income and the challenges associated with being unable to support oneself financially.

2.4.2 Netnography

I also utilised netnography to gather data from white Zimbabweans on the Facebook groups called ‘Rhodesia History Remembered’ and ‘Rhodesians Worldwide’. Netnography creates a platform for rigour and can be adapted and used in combination with other methodologies in Social Science research. When using netnography, a significant amount of data is shared freely by certain participants on the Internet (Kozinets, 2015: 79). As a research strategy or methodology, netnography gives the participant a specific set of analytic approaches and processes of research that are applicable across a broad spectrum of online involvement.

Netnography is perceived as unobtrusive, and the researcher does not influence how participants behave when participating in a given study (Costello, McDermott & Wallace, 2017: 2). Since netnography mainly focuses on communications with communities found online and social media platforms and not face-to-face groups, the level to which online identities accord with identities which are off-line identities is not an issue. Researcher bias is minimal during netnographic studies because the researcher is not physically present (Costello, McDermott & Wallace, 2017: 6). Usually, very sensitive topics can be discussed online since people can hide their identities and remain anonymous (Kozinets, 2015: 88). Netnography is cost-effective and a very rapid data gathering method in which the researcher does not have to travel to the research site for face-to-face interviews with the participants. For these reasons and advantages, I utilised netnography in my engagements with white Zimbabweans on the above-mentioned platforms. I used unstructured interviews to give the participants room to explain issues without any hindrances. My follow-up questions were contingent on the participants’ responses and questions.

I visited the Facebook pages of the groups mentioned above and joined the groups in March 2021. I then introduced myself and the topics for discussion on the group webpage, where every member could see and read the topics. Participants started liking my posts, and various participants ended up commenting and sharing their views. The discussion led to what I saw as an informal focus group online discussion where I asked questions, and participants replied

and also asked me questions. Furthermore, they asked each other questions in a highly engaging manner. From this, I could gather data on the issue I was investigating.

My netnographic research on the 'Rhodesia History Remembered Group' was terminated after a week, and my questions and answers from the participants were removed. My removal could be interpreted as asking discomfiting questions that were not in line with the group policies. It could also mean I was asking questions that were too sensitive and unacceptable to the administrators. The termination of my membership affected my data collection because some of the rich answers from the participants were removed before I could capture them. I then joined another group called 'Rhodesians Worldwide' in April 2021. In this group, my posts were censored. As a result, my research entailed monitoring participants' posts and memories of their 'beloved' Rhodesia. The participants were not given the platform to comment on my posts. I received no direct response from this group, as some participants only liked my posts. Furthermore, the comments function was disabled, making it impossible for participants to comment and express their views. I was not removed from this group and am still a member. The disabling of the comments function affected my data gathering because I could not receive any direct response from any participants.

2.5 DATA PROCESSING PROCEDURES

Fieldwork notes from the fieldwork interactions were generated within a week following the guided walk interviews. All interview notes were written in a notebook since participants refused to be audio recorded. The interviews were thematically coded and categorised under broad categories in line with the objectives of the study. I analysed the data in order to identify the key themes. Field notes taken down from each interview were paired with the details of places and routes taken to ensure that what was said matched with what was analysed under each participant's name. Through the thematic analysis, each interview was labelled using a participant-based method⁷. This was done to ensure that the principles of confidentiality and anonymity were adhered to. After this, the data analysis included reviewing all the notes taken for accuracy and ensuring that the researcher was familiar with the data. The whole analysis was completed manually in line with the social constructivist nature of the study.

⁷ For example, notes written after an interview with Christine was labelled: Christine 1; Christine 2.

Using a constructivist research model requires that the viewpoints of both the investigator and the participant be expressed in the analysis of data (Charmaz, 2000: 509; 2005: 510). The view of both the researcher and the participants ensures that the data gathered is accurate. Engaging the participant after taking the field notes helps confirm or disconfirm what would have been taken down, thereby avoiding inaccuracies.

2.6 DATA ANALYSIS TECHNIQUES

The data gathered through semi-structured interviews, observations and netnographic research were analysed using the concept-modelling approach and discourse analysis. The concept-modelling approach involves first analysing the data before synthesis is done. During the analysis stage, the data sets gathered were broken down into meaningful parts. This was achieved by identifying important statements or narratives enclosed in the data. Assertions are statements made by participants which are semantically complete and logical. Assertions can either be sophisticated or simple. Simple assertions make only one statement, whilst sophisticated assertions can include two or more semantic expressions or logical relationships (Gauch, 2002: 67). I highlighted and deleted the data that did not fit into any of the categories formulated for this research. Data analysis also involved coding each relevant assertion.

Subsequently, the analysis included reviewing each transcript for accuracy and immersion in the data. During this step, the researcher engaged in initial open coding of the narratives by producing notes of initial themes and their meanings in the margins. Coding concurrently occurred with the induction of themes and understanding of the meaning of data (Cawood, 2011: 148). Coding in this study included the coding of physical evidence of the semi-structured interviews. This was achieved by delineating interview transcriptions to extract relevant information on the issues under investigation. The coding was done manually. All prior coding was done on the original notebook used during data gathering.

Afterwards, the coding system was reviewed, and data were iteratively analysed through thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 81; 2012: 61). Peers from the University of Zimbabwe advised on the data collection and analysis processes as part of member checking. For example, meetings with a peer from the University of Zimbabwe encompassed evocative discussions to clarify the method and explanation of the findings. The evocative discussions

between my peers and myself influenced the themes I considered. All analysis was completed manually in light of the constructivist nature of the study.

Discourse analysis was also used to analyse data. Traditions of discourse analysis rooted in various social theories, such as those by Foucault, Laclau, Bourdieu and Mouffe, have evolved. Discourse analysis requires the researcher to understand a particular phenomenon from the ‘outside’ to establish the concealed practices and assumptions that form the guidelines of discourse formation (Hidding, Needham & Wisserhof, 2000: 129). Discourse analysis involves a profoundly spontaneous methodology to identify the rules of formation and understand the configurations of relations of power through “self-conscious analytical scrutiny” (England, 1994: 82).

From a linguistic standpoint, discourse is defined as spoken and written communication components. Discourse has been seen as reliant on social practices, which include the composite combination of rituals, disciplines and cultural norms which oversee discursive formations (Hajer, 1995: 43). This study adopted the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) developed by Fairclough (1995). This analysis was grounded in Foucault’s ideas on power in a bid to understand discourse represented by text and spoken communication.

Discourse analysis can demonstrate the nexus between what is written on white privilege and whiteness and how white people facing destitution narrate their situation. This analysis was in line with Foucault’s (1980: 93) concept of power. Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to counter (Foucault, 1990: 101). Foucault (1980: 93) stated:

... there are manifold relations of power which permeate, characterise and constitute the social body, and these relations of power cannot themselves be established, consolidated, nor implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of a discourse.

Thus, discourse analysis is a method of making sense of discourse and of the operation of social practices and power which form part of discourses (Hewitt, 2009: 10). Discourse analysis in the Foucauldian tradition shows that a social phenomenon is seen as ‘true’ within a given discourse. In other words, discourses are frequently structured and restructured through social

interaction, academic engagements, the opinions of citizens, the media, and political happenings at various spatial scales (Hewitt, 2009: 11). Discourse analysis grounded in the works of Foucault aim to expose the truth and is critical to provide a 'way of thinking' when conducting research using traditional methods, such as desktop research, action research and interviews which produce new insights. Discourse analysis opens up questions about how the various facets of people's lives link to produce meaning (Hewitt, 2009: 13). Thus, through an analysis of writings (academic or non-academic) on whiteness and white privilege, I came to understand the issues under study in a much clearer way.

During the synthesis stage, efforts were made to discover relationships between themes and concepts. Data from interviews and other sources used for discourse analysis were triangulated. Triangulation aims to increase the understanding of complex phenomena (Malterud, 2001: 487). The discovery of concepts through synthesis is a process of data reduction in which similar assertions are grouped under a labelled concept. From this standpoint, detailed assertions are considered exemplars of discovered concepts (Hakim, 2000: 45). The procedure of determining concepts was accomplished by using the constant-comparative method proposed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) (Heath & Cowley, 2004: 145). In the data synthesis, testing the proposed concepts' validity was done by searching for confirming and disconfirming evidence. After identifying and validating all the relevant concepts, synthesis was achieved by examining the relationships between the concepts developed. Subsequently, a comparative approach was employed to understand how they relate to one another.

2.7 RESEARCH ETHICS

Ethics in research are professional issues, including important values such as trustworthiness, justice, and respect for persons (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2000: 120). Research ethics include fundamental principles such as honesty, minimisation of harm, confidentiality, fairness, respect for persons and informed consent. Since my study was both ethnographic and netnographic, the ethical considerations in this study were different. I first discuss the ethical issues I took into consideration during my ethnographic research before discussing the ethical consideration I took into consideration when I conducted the netnographic research.

2.7.1 Ethnographic ethical considerations

2.7.1.1 Harm and risk mitigation

Risk can be defined as the level of possibility that harm may occur, as well as the seriousness of the harm, should it occur (University of the Free State Ethical Clearance Guidelines for Human Research, 2014). On the other hand, harm is defined as a negative effect that can result directly or indirectly from the research. Harm and risk can include loss of privacy, loss of time, loss of competitive opportunities, financial costs and physical damage or pain (University of the Free State Ethical Clearance Guidelines for Human Research, 2014). In an academic study, all harm or risk of harm should be mitigated (Lewis, 2003: 68; Creswell, 2014: 133, 139). In order to compensate for the possible loss of time of the participants during interviewing, all interviews were done at the convenience of participants whilst carrying out their daily activities in a guided interviewing format.

2.7.1.2 Informed consent/assent

Before taking part in a given study, participants must provide their consent first (Lewis, 2003: 66). To provide consent, a participant should be legally able to do so. In other words, a person must be of legal age. They must be able to make independent decisions regarding their own well-being. Assent, on the other hand, is an agreement to participate by someone, usually under the legal age of consent, in research (University of the Free State Ethical Clearance Guidelines for Human Research, 2014). Assent can never be used in place of consent but should be used in conjunction with it where relevant (University of the Free State Ethical Clearance Guidelines for Human Research, 2014). In both cases, consent and assent should be ‘informed’. Thus, the people granting permission must fully understand the purpose and process of the research, the risks involved, how these will be mitigated and why the research is taking place. In other words, participants should know that their participation is intentional at all times (Lewis, 2003: 70; Creswell, 2014: 139). They should be briefed about the benefits, rights, risks and dangers involved with their participation in the research project beforehand (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2000: 121).

In this study, informed consent was paramount, as in all other studies. It was important since it helped the participants understand why they were participating in the study. As a result, the

right of participants to freely decide whether or not to participate in the study was respected. Prior informed consent was first obtained verbally. The researcher briefed all participants before interviewing. All participants in this study were older than 18 and could make their own decisions independently. To ensure that they voluntarily agreed to participate in this study, they had to sign a consent form before participating. Thus, the participants and key secondary informants that participated in this study were not forced to participate and volunteered to participate. Only those who agreed to participate in the study were considered. Participants were given the right to withdraw at any stage of the interviewing. They were not forced to continue participating if they no longer wanted to. For instance, during data gathering, David withdrew during the interview. He was not forced to continue with the interviews on that particular day. However, he agreed to continue at a later stage.

2.7.1.3 Confidentiality and anonymity

Participants have an inalienable right to privacy. There should be an intention to maintain confidentiality unless specially relinquished by the participant. Confidentiality entails the researcher maintaining control of all sensitive data and only releasing it in an unidentifiable form (University of the Free State Ethical Clearance Guidelines for Human Research, 2014). Anonymity designates that no one besides the researcher has access to identifiable data (Lewis, 2003: 68; Creswell, 2014: 139). The guided walk method, however, carried integral challenges related to protecting the anonymity and confidentiality of those who participated and others we met during the walk. In order to deal with the issues of discussing the lived experiences in public, those who participated in this study lowered their voices when other people passed by. The study also observed aspects of anonymity and privacy by assigning pseudonyms to all participants and key secondary informants (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 80; 2012: 60).

2.7.1.4 Beneficiation, reciprocity, and remuneration

Beneficiation can be defined as the direct benefit one derives from the research by the participants, their community or organisation, and the larger society (University of the Free State Ethical Clearance Guidelines for Human Research, 2014). Suppose the prospects of beneficiation for the participants are high. In that case, participants are strongly motivated to participate in the research (University of the Free State Ethical Clearance Guidelines for Human Research, 2014). Beneficiation must always outweigh harm or risk in a study. It is also

of paramount importance to show that the participants themselves benefit in a tangible way from a study if possible (Creswell, 2014: 137). Reciprocity occurs when certain participants do not explicitly benefit from the research, considering the risks or harm they are subjected to (Legard, Keegan & Ward, 2003: 169). Participants were not given any form of remuneration for their participation in this study. Giving them any form of remuneration would have compromised the principle of voluntarism since paying remuneration is considered a form of coercion (University of the Free State Ethical Clearance Guidelines for Human Research, 2014).

2.7.1.5 Deception

Deception occurs when participants are not notified of the true intention or methods of research (Creswell, 2014: 136). It also includes deliberately falsifying information to misrepresent or conceal the precise nature of the research (University of the Free State Ethical Clearance Guidelines for Human Research, 2014). The researcher must provide full disclosure and gain informed consent to use the data. Deception and lying to entice participants to take part in this study would have constituted a violation of the participants' rights to choose to participate in this study or not. Those who participated in this study were briefed about the true nature of this study in that it is an academic study. Deception was, therefore, not used to coerce participants to participate. This study was conducted within the University of the Free State ethics protocols. Ethical clearance was duly obtained, and the ethical clearance number was used in all correspondence (UFS-HSD2017/106).

2.7.2 Netnographic ethical considerations

Ethical issues also need to be considered when conducting research on the Internet. The behaviour of Internet users is governed by what is known as 'netiquette' or acceptable behaviour. Those doing research on the Internet should know these and be guided by them when conducting research on the Internet. The Association of Internet Researchers suggested a number of ethical considerations. One of the key issues that should be considered is for the researcher to establish whether there is a posted site policy that notifies the users whether the site is public.

Nevertheless, the differences between public and private space on the Internet are usually blurred and contested. The researcher should also establish whether there is a notification notifying users of the limits of privacy and whether there are mechanisms that users can use to indicate whether their responses will be private. If the venue is acknowledged as public, there are fewer obligations for the researcher to protect the confidentiality and anonymity of the participants or to seek their informed consent (Bryman, 2016: 139).

Furthermore, a large number of people usually post messages on Internet platforms and may stop to be active participants making it difficult or even impossible for the researcher to seek informed consent. Data that has been deliberately and voluntarily posted on the Internet can be used without the need for the researcher to ask for informed consent as long as the participants' privacy is protected. Data from the Internet can only be used without asking for informed consent if the information is publicly archived and readily available with no passwords needed to get the information and if there is no stated site policy that stops the researcher from using the material posted on the Internet. However, the identities and confidentiality of the participants should always be protected. When members of Internet groups or online communities post material on the Internet, the analysis of such material is not considered human subjects research since the communications are publicly available documents provided that the researcher will not record the identities of the communicators and if the researcher can legally and easily gain access to these communications or archives. In such instances, no consent is needed (Bryman, 2016: 139).

I considered the ethical principles suggested by the Association of Internet Researchers when I gathered data from the public Facebook group. I first determined whether a posted cited policy existed that notified the users whether the site was public or not on the 'Rhodesia History Remembered' group. There proved to be none. Also, no notification limited the privacy of the information posted since the group was public. The information posted on the group was posted deliberately and voluntarily since I made it clear to the group members that I was doing research. I, however, attempted to protect the participants' confidentiality and anonymity through pseudonyms.

2.8 RESEARCH QUALITY

The research quality standards applied to this research were confirmability, credibility, dependability, and transferability. Reliability and validity are core issues in every research project (Hussey & Hussey, 1997: 56; Darke, Shanks & Broadbent, 1998: 71). Rigour in qualitative studies is equated to the notions of reliability and validity, and all these are essential to components of ensuring the quality of a study (Brink, 1993: 37; Tappen, 2011: 45). Rigour can also be defined as the measure of credibility incorporating the qualities of precision, caution, comprehensiveness, and truthfulness. Rigour and truth are always of particular concern in qualitative research. Research which lacks rigour can be regarded as devoid of credibility and value and is seen as fictitious. Since this study dealt with narratives, ensuring rigour was paramount (Morse *et al.*, 2002: 15).

Reliability and validity can be categorised under the concept of 'trustworthiness' (Lincoln & Guba, 1991: 67). Trustworthiness is regarded as a key concept in the framework to evaluate the rigour of qualitative research (Lincoln & Guba, 1991: 67). Trustworthiness denotes truthfulness, authenticity, and the quality of the research findings of a qualitative inquiry. Trustworthiness is related to the level or degree of confidence as well as trust readers have in the results (Schmidt & Brown, 2015: 45). Trustworthiness has been described as a benchmark to critique the value of a research design (Yin, 1994: 285). It is parallel to the pragmatist concepts of reliability, objectivity, and internal and external validity (Manning, 1997: 100).

Validity is generally defined in terms of justifiability, significance, meaningfulness, rationality, and a measure of conforming to accepted philosophies or the qualities of being sound, just, and well-founded. Validation involves examining, enquiring, and theorising. All these are aimed at ensuring rigour in a study. Validity in research is concerned with the accurateness and honesty of scientific findings (Van Manen, 1990: 44). A study which is seen as valid ought to demonstrate that what actually exists is accurate and produced out of a valid instrument which measures what it is supposed to measure (Brink, 1993: 37; Golafshani, 2003: 600). In qualitative research, the validity of the findings is linked to the meticulous recording and recurrent data verification undertaken by the researcher during the research practice. Suppose the validity or trustworthiness is to be maximised or tested. In that case, more reliable and defensible results may lead to extrapolation as the foundation for doing and authenticating

good qualitative research. Thus, the quality of research is linked to the generalisability of the results and to the testing and aggregation of the validity or trustworthiness of the study.

Meticulous recording (through taking notes) and recurrent data verification ensured the validity of this research. In order to achieve reliability and validity in this study, strategies for guaranteeing rigour were built into the research process itself. There was a risk of missing important information and having to address serious threats to the validity and reliability of the research. Therefore, the researcher focused on strategies to establish rigour during the research process. This was achieved by asking follow-up questions to get clarity on unclear issues and taking meticulous notes.

This study achieved credibility through continued engagement and observation of the study participants. This was done to circumvent biases that might have affected the data. In order to achieve credibility, I visited the new participants twice a week for five months to keep the trust and strengthen the bonds built with the participants. This was done with the new participants who lived with the help of the Braeside Salvation Army Centre. This was not necessary with the participants with whom I had longstanding relationships dating from my Master's research, as the mutual trust was intact. Though efforts were made to visit Nigel (a new participant who lived and survived on the streets) to establish bonds of friendship and mutual trust, the efforts were challenging because he was highly mobile. The same applied to John and David, who were very difficult to find at fixed places due to their nomadic lifestyles. Efforts were also made to engage with those who had taken part during the Master's fieldwork in 2014. However, the engagements and continuous observations were less formal. The reasoning behind the informal engagement was that the bonds of friendship between the participants and myself were already formed during my Master's fieldwork. The researcher attempted to visit longstanding participants for unstructured, *in situ* conversations whenever he visited the Braeside Salvation Army for interviews with key informants and formal observations with new participants. In this way, I managed to gather rich data which expanded on what I already knew about these participants from my Master's research in 2014.

In order to reduce errors, member checking was used. Those who participated in this study were asked to authenticate the correctness of what was captured in the field notes. As a result, the participants' suggestions and views were included in the interpretation of the data. Themes and sub-themes, as well as narratives, were inductively generated together with those who

participated in this study (Cote & Turgeon, 2005: 73; Mays & Pope, 2000: 53). Eventually, in order to enhance interpretive rigour and to strengthen the inductive and iterative nature of the explanatory process, numerous peer reviews were done to take account of the viewpoints of the participants and suggestions from peers (Tobin, & Begley, 2004: 390; Rolfe 2006: 312). Peer debriefing was conducted through meetings and deliberations with expert qualitative researchers⁸ from the University of Zimbabwe to create a platform for questions and assessment of the whole research process. Anonymised data gathered and fieldwork notes which were also anonymised to protect the participants' identities, were given to my peers from the University of Zimbabwe for their perusal. Furthermore, in light of the commentaries and views received during the process of research, the interview procedure was adjusted in an iterative and contextually informed way.

Transferability was achieved by recording as much detail from the interviews as possible. I recorded all data meticulously through note-taking for future scrutiny. Efforts were made to collect, identify, and analyse all data relevant to this research. Note-taking was done during the interviews (in cases where interviewing was done *in situ*) or soon after (in cases where interviews were done when walking). Generally, efforts were made to finish the note-taking within a week following the guided walk interviews. Efforts were also made to coordinate methodological and analytical materials by cross-checking all data gathered. The data was cross-checked by meticulously going through what was recorded soon after the field work to check for any possible errors or omissions. The cross-checking was done soon after the recording of the data. After categorising and making sense of the data recorded, efforts were made to illuminate the themes as they developed. This was done through data reduction and presenting data in tables.

Dependability was achieved by inviting an expert on the topic of destitution from the University of Zimbabwe to review the anonymised data written in the field diary to authenticate descriptors and the themes identified⁹. In order to validate the findings linked to the themes, the same expert helped review the written material from the fieldwork. Any novel theme and descriptor illuminated by the reviewer were acknowledged and considered. Conformability

⁸ Dr Justin Tandire (a lecturer of qualitative research methods in the Department of Sociology at the University of Zimbabwe) and Dr Nelson Muparamoto (a lecturer of both quantitative and qualitative research methods in the Department of Sociology at the University of Zimbabwe) were helpful in this regard.

⁹ Dr Watch Ruparanganda, a former Master's lecturer to the researcher, who has expertise on destitution among street urchins in Zimbabwe was helpful in this regard.

was achieved by keeping a field diary during the research process to make notes on the daily reflections relevant to this study.

Researcher bias is one potential threat to the validity of research. Researcher bias is normally an issue since qualitative research is less structured and open than quantitative research. Through bracketing and reflexivity, I remained aware of recognising my own partialities, beliefs, and assumptions. Bracketing is usually affected by the inherent human factors and the ability to be aware of the researcher's preconceptions (Chan, Fung & Chien, 2013: 3). Since the researcher is the primary instrument in the data collection, interpretation, and analysis of qualitative data, it is usually impossible for the researcher to be totally objective although objectivity is not a precondition for qualitative research in the same way it is in quantitative research (Chan, Fung & Chien, 2013: 3). The knowledge that the researchers bring into the research process has an inherent effect on the objectivity of the results generated. The researcher must be aware of her or his preconceptions and beliefs to be able to bracket them (Chan, Fung & Chien, 2013: 3).

The researcher should always consider the issue of bracketing throughout the research process. It should not only be restricted to the data collection and data analysis phase. Bracketing should start before doing any review of literature since the review of literature is closely connected to the data collection and analysis state in a sequential manner (Chan, Fung & Chien, 2013: 3). Researchers should employ reflexivity to be in a position to identify the biases they might have on the research process. Reflexivity is helpful when the researcher honestly examines the issues that may negatively affect the research (Chan, Fung & Chien, 2013: 3). It is only when the researcher can identify areas of potential bias that the influence of these biases is bracketed. Bracketing skills can be enhanced by using a reflexive diary. In this reflexive diary, the researcher writes down her or his thoughts, feelings, and perceptions. In this study, I used a field diary throughout the research process as a reflexive diary. The reflexive diary helps researchers to re-examine their position when issues that affect the research process emerge (Chan, Fung & Chien, 2013: 3).

In order to achieve bracketing in a qualitative study, the researcher must be mentally prepared to conduct a particular study (Chan, Fung & Chien, 2013: 4). In this study, I first confirmed whether I was in a position to put aside all of my pre-existing knowledge of destitution from my Master's research in 2014. I was mindful that a complete reduction in a study of this nature

was impossible. If researchers try to ignore or forget what they know, they may find that suppositions creep into their reflections (Van Manen, 1990: 56). Though I brought the past experiences and knowledge from previous studies into this study, efforts were made to set aside the strongly held insights, biases, and emotions. In order to achieve this, I was guided by the following questions: i) Am I humble enough to learn something new from the participants regardless of the racial differences between me as a researcher and them as participants? ii) Will I be able to adopt an attitude of conscious ignorance about the issue under investigation? As a researcher, it was important for me to maintain my curiosity about these research questions before reviewing the literature.

The scope of the literature review should be decided in order to achieve bracketing (Chan, Fung & Chien, 2013: 4). Apart from a researcher's personal experience and knowledge of a given topic, the researcher should do some groundwork through an extensive literature review in order to have a better understanding of the issues to be studied (Chan, Fung & Chien, 2013: 4). Since the knowledge that researchers may gain through the process of a literature review may, in the end, affect their preconceptions on a given topic, when and where to stop the literature review remains undetermined. However, it should be determined if bracketing is to be achieved. In this study, I asked myself whether I understood the topic enough to justify the research proposal while maintaining my curiosity in this area. When I was able to answer this question and was satisfied with the literature reviewed, the literature review was suspended to achieve bracketing.

When conducting a phenomenological study in which face-to-face interviews are used, the main goal is to gain a deep understanding of the issues under study (Chan, Fung & Chien, 2013: 4). How questions are asked should be meticulously planned and executed since these may negatively impact how participants tell their stories. Bearing in mind that questioning techniques that do not provide participants with a platform to tell stories without hindrances will affect the quality of data gathered and limit the potential of sharing new data. I gave the participants the platform to express their views without any hindrances. I used a semi-structured interview framework that steered and guided the interview without necessarily interrupting how participants told their stories.

In order to ensure broad coverage of issues, I asked focused and not leading questions regarding the issues under study. Efforts were made to carefully listen to what the participants had to say

by maintaining my curiosity regarding what I knew about the topic and the participants. The researcher must be reflexive to draw attention to his own personal positionality as a racial Other to those he studied (Koch & Harrington, 1998: 885). He must promote critical self-awareness throughout the study (DiCicco & Crabtree, 2006: 319). Audit trails were also judiciously documented during the process of research (Lincoln, & Guba, 1986: 75; Denzin, & Lincoln, 2005: 21). An audit trail was necessary to examine the processes whereby data were collected and analysed, and interpretations were made. This meant that after interviewing, I documented the recollections from the field meticulously.

2.9 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter presented the methodology which drove and oriented this study. It discussed and outlined the research methods used to gather the data to answer the research questions. It also discussed the steps taken in collecting the data, the data analysis methods used, the measures taken to ensure the quality of the research and the ethical issues observed in conducting this study. The study was purely qualitative. Semi-structured face-to-face interviews during guided walks and netnographic research were used to elicit data. Although qualitative research methods are not entirely antithetical to quantitative methods, it is the appropriateness of a methodology in line with the research objectives which governs the choice of methodology in a study. Since the overall aim of the study was to ethnographically document and critically deconstruct whiteness and white privilege in the context of destitution in Zimbabwe, qualitative methodology was the most appropriate. In other words, the objectives of this study could only be understood by ethnographically unpacking the lived experiences of white people facing destitution. The study was rooted in participant narratives anchored in their beliefs and values. The qualitative research design was chosen over other designs since it resonates well with the epistemological tenets of the constructionist/interpretive paradigm. The constructionist/interpretive paradigm underpinning this study emphasises the subjectivity of (social) reality, which is situation-dependent and sensitive to multiple realities. This approach aligned with a study of this nature. It is an approach to research that emphasises multiple realities and how individuals experience life differently and adapt to various life situations they might find themselves in. Thus, the narratives of white people facing destitution could only be inferred through qualitative methods since all personal experiences and narratives are subjective and differ from person to person and differ across time and space.

CHAPTER THREE

CONTEXTUALISATION OF WHITENESS AND WHITE POLITICS IN RHODESIA AND ZIMBABWE

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a contextualisation of whiteness and white politics in both Rhodesia (1890-1980) and Zimbabwe (1980-present). It examines how the white community was constructed and changed from the British colonialism of 1890 to the present day. It unpacks the composition of the community and the fissures that existed within it based on race, ethnicity, geography, political affiliation and, at times, occupation. The key reason for this is to highlight how differences within the community influenced who owned what, why and how this helped shape people's susceptibility to destitution during and after Rhodesia.

The relevance of this chapter is in demonstrating that while there was a semblance of unity in expressions of external threats, especially from black people, the white community was not homogenous. In addition, colonial privileges which were accorded to those identified as white in Rhodesia were not equally accessible to all, with differences in how some managed to evade vulnerability while others fell into destitution, for instance. This aspect is very important in unpacking the nuances of destitution among white people today, given that some whites were 'more white' than others, as already highlighted in the preceding chapter.

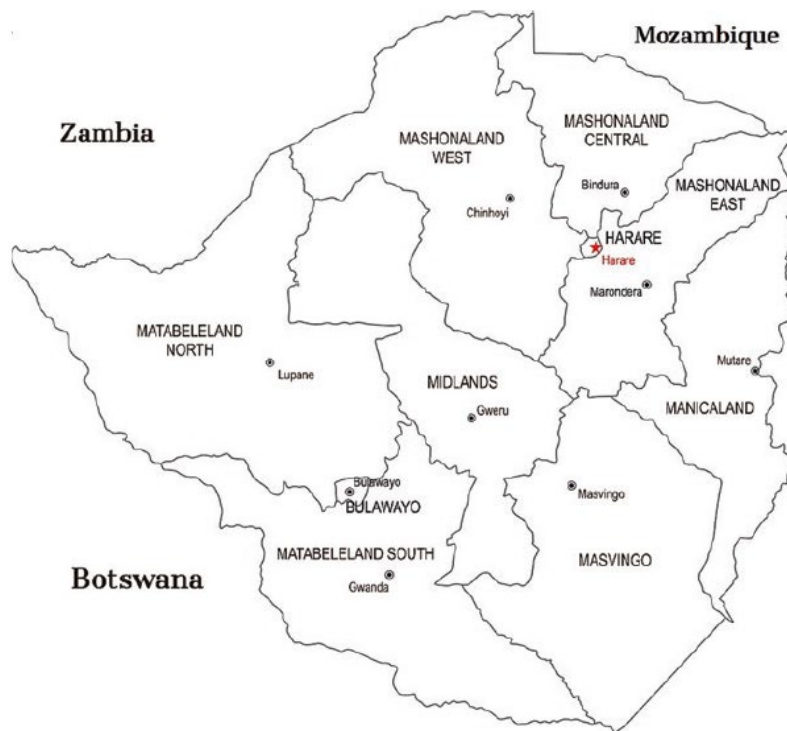


Figure 2: Map of Zimbabwe (Source: Simpson & Hawkins, 2018: ii)

Ethnographic research was conducted in Harare, the capital of Zimbabwe, as shown in Figure 1. It will be explained in more detail in Chapter Four. Formerly known as Southern Rhodesia and then Rhodesia during the colonial era, the country changed its name to Zimbabwe when British rule ended in 1980. The map above shows that the country is divided into eight provinces, with Harare and Bulawayo making up the other two metropolitan provinces. Under colonial rule, there were only five provinces: Manicaland, Mashonaland, Matabeleland, Midlands and Victoria. Salisbury became Harare and Umtali became Mutare, for instance. As the country's capital city, most people, regardless of their racial orientation, live in Harare today.

3.2 BACKGROUND

The Rhodesian white society was not homogenous. Whites in the country have been seen as a monolithic group despite the nuances inherent in this population. Several studies on whiteness in Zimbabwe tend to conflate whiteness and race. This factor has serious flaws when deconstructing whiteness, white identity and white privilege. This has produced a body of lopsided studies on the essence of whiteness as an institution defining identity and the privilege that has accompanied it for centuries. Although there has been a steady growth of scholarship

in whiteness in postcolonial Zimbabwe following the land reforms of 2000, most studies until recently have been essentialising the white experience in Zimbabwe as rural. Although most of these studies capably demystified the issues on the historical account of white supremacy, their persistent focus on whites who were rural-based and occupied as farmers underline labels and stereotypes which are present in news bulletins. Thus, this “continued focus on rural whites reinforces the impression that whiteness in Zimbabwe is primarily centred on land ownership, labour relations, and identities tied to the rural idyll” (Pilossof, 2014: 140-141; Pilossof & Boersema, 2017: 704).

Since whiteness in Zimbabwe is normally represented through the stereotype of the white farmer, it has been argued that this has repercussions for the narratives of whiteness among urban whites who are knowledgeable of their race-based privileges despite their denial of these privileges. Additionally, scholarship on the white population in both Zimbabwe and Rhodesia has presented the white community as a community born unified by race, over and above ethnicity or class. Still, the white community has always had fissures and hierarchies. Some whites were seen as ‘more white’ than others making the argument that all whites were privileged in the same way flawed. The theoretical ambiguity of whiteness in the writings on the Zimbabwean white population, therefore, leaves a gap and an imperfect and incomplete representation of this community (Mlambo, 2000: 141; Mamdani, 2006: 33; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009: 59; Fisher, 2010: 141; Pilossof & Boersema, 2017: 704).

The Rhodesian white community was a society of transients and immigrants, most of whom did not stay very long in the country. Regardless of the existence of an independent and discrete Rhodesian identity which saw itself as tracing its roots in Africa, the white society was a migrant one and made up of settlers (King, 2001: 89). Those born outside the country outnumbered those who were born in the country. As a result, white people of different ethnic backgrounds but mostly English-speaking came and lived in Rhodesia but always intended to return to their countries of origin. Table 1 below provides approximations of the white population from 1891-1979:

Table 1: Approximate statistics on the population of white people in Rhodesia from 1890-1979. (Source: Uusihakala, 2008: 216)

Year	European Population
1891	1500
1896	5000
1904	12 680
1911	23 730
1921	33 780
1931	50 070
1941	69 370
1951	136 000
1969	228 296
1979	232 000

Regardless of the outward semblance of unity, the white Rhodesian community had fissures, as articulated by King (2001: 35):

It is often tempting to imagine Rhodesian society as a monolithic bloc of privilege living off the labour of Africans. While it is much truth in this supposition, especially after 1945 when Rhodesians enjoyed a standard of living comparable and even superior to that of white South Africa and middle-class America, this picture is problematic in several respects. To begin with, although the dominant culture was British and English-speaking South African, and the only official language was English, there were significant Afrikaner, Portuguese, Italian, Greek and Jewish minorities. There were also definite class differences within the white population itself, which changed as the colony developed economically.

According to Mlambo (2000: 140), these fissures resulted from racism and cultural chauvinism, which mainly emerged from the settlers of British stock. This evoked strong reactions from other white groups, such as the Afrikaners. Although the dominant culture was imperial and British, minorities who identified themselves with other cultures and loyalties lived in the country. This made the white society heterogeneous. However, such heterogeneity was difficult to see without deploying a critical lens. One of the larger minority groups was constituted by Afrikaners, who made up 15 % of the population (Mlambo, 2000: 150). Afrikaners lived in places such as Marandellas, Enkeldoorn and most parts of the East of the country. Afrikaners had large families and mostly lived on farms or in rural towns, relying on farming for their existence. There were fissures between the Afrikaners and the British settlers because the loyalty of the Afrikaners to the British Empire was questionable. Attempts by the Afrikaners

to make Afrikaans recognised as one of the official languages in Rhodesia were refused and considered an affront by the predominantly English-speaking Rhodesians. Notwithstanding this, Afrikaners never formed a political party, and a few made up the financial and political elite of the Rhodesian colony (King, 2001: 28, 94-95).

In trying to craft their 'raced' identity, the British deployed an exclusionary notion of culture to justify positions of racialised political and economic dominance during colonialism. Thus, this notion of 'culture' had an 'etiquette of whiteness' (linked to the notion of racial etiquette) as one of its key features. I conceived this as a mechanism of stratification, exclusion and ultimately control through rigid social conventions safeguarding an unwritten code of conduct associated with whiteness or how white people ought to behave for the sake of racial propriety. In this way, white people were expected to behave in a respectable manner in front of blacks, especially not to compromise expectations of white superiority. This was needed so that blacks would not see white people as degenerates or people with problems of alcoholism or insanity (Godwin & Hancock, 1996; Mlambo, 1998; Shutt, 2004; Raftopolous & Mlambo, 2009).

The 'etiquette of whiteness' also manifested in the propensity of white people to minimise contact with those seen as the 'Other'. This was done to ensure that black people could not pierce the veil to see the subterfuge taking place behind the racial smoke screen and manifested through segregation of public spaces and suburbs and banning mixed-race marriages. The 'etiquette of whiteness' also extended to social stratification within the white population, where English-speaking people were considered higher in the social hierarchy than Afrikaners; intermarriage between these groups was also frowned upon. In this 'etiquette of whiteness', anyone not of British stock would, in certain contexts, be anachronistically categorised as 'black' (Godwin & Hancock, 1996; Mlambo, 1998; Shutt, 2004 Raftopolous & Mlambo, 2009).

Furthermore, the fragility of this race-based unity had to contend increasingly with the various experiences of occupational groupings trying to protect their interests. Therefore, becoming Rhodesian was not simply assuming a racially superior mode *vis-à-vis* the subordinate African peoples. Crude racism could not be defended, so newcomers had to be taught the nuanced world of racial etiquette. Such racial etiquette was important to buttress attempts to form racial partnerships in which blacks were seen as a threat to white solidarity (Godwin & Hancock, 1996: 19; Mlambo, 1998: 124; Shutt, 2004: 6; Raftopolous & Mlambo, 2009: xviii).

Throughout the colonial period, the major aim of the Rhodesian governments was to ensure that Rhodesia would become 'a white man's country' (Mlambo, 1998: 123). This they did under various modes of rule and government, namely the British South Africa Company (BSACo) from 1890 to 1923, the Responsible Government (RG) from 1923-1953, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland from 1953-1962, the Winston Field Government of 1962-1964, and Ian Smith's Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) of 1965-1978. In order to achieve this goal, efforts were made to create conditions aimed at attracting European immigrants who would settle permanently in the country. Admission into Rhodesia was, however, merit-based, and there were capital requirements one had to meet before being admitted into the colony. For instance, in November 1925, the Rhodesian Land Settlement Officer stationed in London interviewed around 2 000 prospective settlers, and of these, only 80 were admitted because they were the only ones who met the capital required to settle in the colony (Mlambo, 1998: 136; 2000: 131; 139; King, 2001: 94-95).

Apart from the capital required to admit immigrants into the colony, efforts were made by the British authorities to admit immigrants from the British Isles first. However, Europeans from ethnicities, especially Afrikaners, were admitted as part of the Pioneer Column, which colonised the country. A closer examination of the racial dynamics within the white community itself at the time shows that there was ethnic chauvinism and sharp divisions. Whites only presented a united front when threatened by Africans but were generally hostile to each other, although not in a violent way, as the British tended to regard themselves as more superior to other non-British immigrants. Divisions within settlers of British stock were also seen since the settlers from the British Isles were not homogenous. Thus, cultural and class tensions were also seen among the settlers of British stock (Mlambo, 2000: 140; King, 2001: 96-97; 2008: 54).

Regardless, British Rhodesian settlers' racism or cultural chauvinism was rooted in the perception that Rhodesia was "founded by the British for the British and in the face of opposition from foreigners" (Mlambo, 2000: 142). The Boers and the Portuguese were seen as the main opposition to the establishment of Rhodesia. The guiding principle for British settlers was that Rhodesia was won through British conquest. In 1893-1894, the settlers fought and defeated the Ndebele people under King Lobengula and went on to defeat the Ndebele and Shona in the 1896-7 uprisings. These victories made the settlers think Rhodesia had to be governed by the British to benefit the living and future British generations.

The British Rhodesian settlers regarded themselves as the first line of defence of British civilisation against Afrikaner nationalism, which they had fought against in the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902 (now known as the South African War) and feared ever since. Due to the animosity that the Anglo-Boer War generated, Afrikaners were not seen as equals to the British in Rhodesia. They were stereotyped and seen as generally degenerate and susceptible to destitution. The British justified this point on the basis that most poor whites in South Africa were Afrikaners. This was even though the Afrikaners' ways of life were reconfigured by their displacement by the British in the Southern parts of South Africa and later the Anglo-Boer War and also because they formed the largest chunk of the white population. 'Rhodesian-ness', therefore, tended to express itself as a reaction to Afrikaners and non-British Europeans (Mlambo, 2000: 142; 143; King, 2001: 96-97; 2008: 54).

The animosity towards Afrikaners goes back to the 1890s when Leander Starr Jameson, a friend of Cecil John Rhodes, launched an attack against the Afrikaners (in Johannesburg) in the 1895-1896 Jameson Raid. Jameson's raid, which was planned and launched from Rhodesia, became known as the Jameson Raid. The raid increased the animosity between the British and the Afrikaners. Thus, Afrikaners were the most disliked after the Anglo-Boer War. The resentment grew when the Nationalist Party won power in South Africa in 1948. The victory of the Afrikaners led to a huge wave of migration of English speakers from South Africa to Rhodesia (Mlambo, 2000: 148). Regardless of this mass migration, most Rhodesians continued to have deep connections with English-speaking South Africa. In this regard, the animosity against Afrikaners and their domination in the Union of South Africa did not essentially mean that the connections with South Africa were completely cut off; it was just that Rhodesians chose to identify themselves with the English-speaking part of South Africa only. The English speakers who left South Africa after 1948 fled the growth of Afrikaner nationalism. Others left because Rhodesia gave them opportunities as English speakers that could not be given to them in South Africa. As a result, they migrated to Rhodesia to keep their safe, comfortable lifestyles and retain their privileges (King, 2001: 29; 109).

The Afrikaners were culturally seen as of inferior birth who fell short of the British levels of civilisation deemed sacred in Victorian Britain (Mlambo, 2000: 146-147). In Rhodesia at the time, the Afrikaners were treated as the second Other after the black Africans. It was very easy to regard the Afrikaners as an outside threat to the identity and nationhood of Rhodesia as well

as to emphasise an emotional and physical division between the Afrikaners and the Rhodesians. In many ways, Rhodesia was both a geographical and ideological frontier, given that the discrimination in Rhodesia did not necessarily translate into ideological absolutes. When there was a referendum for responsible government in 1923, white Rhodesians voted against joining South Africa simply because they did not want to join a South African union dominated by the Afrikaners. The division and difference between the Afrikaners and the British became glaring when the National Party won the 1948 elections in South Africa. This set the Afrikaners and South Africa apart from the Empire and emphasised by contrast the depth of the imperial loyalty of Rhodesia (King, 2001: 26-27). The Rhodesian authorities made efforts to discourage Afrikaner immigration into Rhodesia because they believed that the influx of Afrikaners into Rhodesia would bring in degenerate poor whites, who were sick, diseased, and resembled African primitive characteristics (Mlambo, 2000: 146-147; King, 2001: 96-97).

Similarly to how the Afrikaners were disliked by the British, the Poles, the Jews and the Greeks were also restricted from immigrating to Rhodesia because they were seen as “unable to uphold the desired European standards” (Mlambo, 2000: 156). The existence of those who were seen as minorities in Rhodesia led to very interesting questions regarding what the word ‘white’ meant. For instance, Jews, Poles, and Greeks could be categorised as ‘white’ in much the same way Turks, Syrians, or Persians would be or would not be categorised as ‘white’. Pakistanis or Egyptians who looked just the same as the Turks, Syrians or Persians would certainly not qualify. However, all these minorities looked very much alike. Some minorities integrated very well and were brought closer to the British than others. For instance, the Greeks were allowed to build their own schools in places such as Salisbury (Harare) and Umtali (Mutare) and their own churches and community halls in which they flew the Greek national flag.

Additionally, unlike other Scout troops who made up the Rhodesian Army, the Greek Scout troop was given the platform to fly the Greek national flag. The Greeks mingled less than other minorities and differed from Afrikaners, who became experienced veld farmers because most settled on the land. The Greeks started as storekeepers and semi-skilled workers who competed with Asians at the bottom of the racial hierarchy. They became reputable for extreme racism (King, 2001: 95-96).

The Greeks were barred from immigrating to Rhodesia because most of them engaged in what was described in an intergovernmental memo against the immigration of more Greeks in 1959

as “Kaffir-truck and native eating-house lines” (Mlambo, 2000: 157). The Greeks, as were the Poles and Jews, were seen to be lower-class breeds because it was believed that most were employed as shop assistants and earned low salaries. Similar to the Greeks and Afrikaners, the Jews ended up forming a large population of minorities in Rhodesia. They were, however, not easy to identify because they assimilated quickly into the mainstream British culture. Just like the Greeks, Jews started as storekeepers at the bottom of the racial hierarchy of the colony (King, 2001: 96-97). The businesses they opened were seen as ‘squalid’ because how they conducted their business was not rooted in the ethics of honesty. Non-British immigrants were generally seen as too clannish and not as progressive as the British (Mlambo, 2000: 148). They were, as a result, treated with hostility and contempt. This affected how the white society interacted with white people.

The British saw themselves as ‘more white’ than others (Mlambo, 2000: 139). However, as time passed, the British respect for non-British settlers changed when some non-British became politically and economically powerful. It is also important to note that changes in the country's political and economic conditions influenced how white people treated each other. The idea of a white community did not always exist in Rhodesia; rather, it was an idea that was only made possible when Africans threatened its future. When African resistance towards colonialism grew, the Federal and the Rhodesian Front governments aimed to foster unity within the white community (King, 2008: 54).

3.3 BRITISH COLONIALISM AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF A WHITE RHODESIA: 1890-1980

3.3.1 Chartered Company Rule and the earliest construction of a white Rhodesia: 1890-1923

Rhodesia can be divided into five historical epochs (see Section 2.2) (Uusihakala, 2008: 27). Though differences were evident in these different periods, the governmental policy was primarily aimed at creating a society defined by differences. However, how exactly was this done?

The Chartered Company Rule in Rhodesia was defined by the first efforts of the British to expropriate land from the Africans to establish mines. The early years of colonial rule were

mainly aimed at establishing mining claims in which Africans would be used as cheap labour. After having realised that most established mines did not produce minerals up to the South African standard, the colonial settlers chose to explore agriculture. This realisation meant that a new colonial policy defined by increased land expropriation had to be followed. New pieces of legislation, driven by Cecil John Rhodes' colonial policy, were crafted to realise this goal. In 1887, Rhodes stated that his colonial policy was defined by treating Africans as a 'subject race' that lived under pass laws and peace preservation acts. Rhodes urged white settlers to maintain their mastery over Africans as long as they continued in a state of barbarism and communal tenure. Thus, legislation which included the Master and Servant Act of 1901, aimed to create a colonial system which created a superior European against an inferior African and the Southern Rhodesian Native Regulations of 1910 were promulgated. These became key pieces of legislation during the Chartered Company with the specific aim of creating Rhodesia as a country of superior whites and inferior blacks. The Rhodesian way of life was influenced by the Cape liberalism of the nineteenth century. However, and quite ironically, the discriminatory laws that were adopted in Rhodesia as the colony evolved into a modern state were adapted from the apartheid laws of South Africa. As a result, the British imperial idea in Rhodesia was filtered through the South African political and social environment (King, 2001: 13-15). These two acts were also crafted to protect the racial boundaries and settler prestige which was assumed to be threatened by insolent Africans.

Historically, white people connected themselves along racial lines throughout the evolution of Rhodesia from the time of the Pioneer Column to Rhodesia. Settlers and citizens constructed the state to serve them as a race (Kennedy, 1987: 188; Schipper, 1999: 7; Alexander, 2004: 196). These ideas of domination and subjugation are embodied in Social Darwinism (see Section 3.2 for further detail). Social Darwinism holds that if any group of people or race cannot defend its territory, they should lose it. According to Social Darwinism, in the struggle for existence among people of different tribes or races, people who display wisdom are disciplined. They automatically can conquer and dominate those who are not disciplined and do not display wisdom. Thus, 'savage men' will certainly face extinction when confronted with people of higher physical, moral, and intellectual abilities (Paul, 2006: 215-216). The ideas embodied in Social Darwinism were then used as a justification for colonialism and the subjugation of Africa. In line with the ideas of conquest and subjugation encapsulated in Social Darwinism (see Section 3.2.7), Rhodesian society was divided along racial and ethnic lines that tended to mirror fissures within the white population itself. The settlement patterns of the white

population during this period showed these fault lines among the pioneers. The British primarily settled in most parts of the Mashonaland areas, while the Afrikaners mostly settled in the Manicaland area. The settlement of the British in Mashonaland and not Manicaland was deliberate. The settlement of Afrikaners in Manicaland ensured that they would provide a buffer zone for the British against the Portuguese hostility from the East since Manicaland bordered Portuguese-controlled Mozambique (Shutt, 2002: 265; 2007: 655; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009: 61).

3.3.2 The settler government and the construction of a white Rhodesia: 1923-1953

When the Royal Charter given by the British Monarchy to the BSACo expired, a referendum was held for the settlers to decide whether to join the Union of South Africa or come up with a responsible government of an independent Rhodesia. The settlers chose the latter and did not want to be joined with an Afrikaner-dominated South Africa. This partly helps to explain the fissures within the white community, which would be seen through the colonial period and even beyond. During the 1920s and 1930s, the settler governments at the helm of Rhodesia became increasingly interventionist to uplift the lives of white people. The land was subdivided into European and African areas through the Land Apportionment Act of 1930, in which Europeans received all prime land (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009: 65-67).

When the Great Depression affected Rhodesia during the 1930s, the government of the day took measures meant to curtail peasant agriculture that successfully competed with the emerging settler agriculture. Acts such as the Maize Control Act (1931), the Cattle Levy (1934) and various farm produce marketing boards were put in place between 1930 and 1937. The sole aim of all these was to stifle African peasant agriculture and, in a way, force Africans to work for the whites as wage labourers. For instance, the Maize Control Act of 1931 led to the establishment of the state-run Maize Control Board, which had the mandate of regulating maize sales within and outside the country. The amendment of the Maize Control Act in 1934 ensured that white producers had access to 80% of the domestic market. The pricing system ensured that maize produced by white farmers received better tariffs than the maize produced by blacks, even if the quality of maize produced was the same (Phimister, 1988: 172; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009: 65-67).

During the era of Responsible Government and beyond, Rhodesian settlers went for what has been termed the bifurcation of the colonial state. Herein, direct rule excluded those seen as not white or white enough, especially Africans in civil liberties and freedoms. Instead, Africans were confined to indirect rule anchored in what was considered to be the African customary order. The result was that citizenship was racialised, and the Rhodesian population was divided into citizens and subjects. The population was delimited into racial and ethnic groups of Europeans, Asians, Coloureds and Natives. Colonial power was an object of struggle within particular material, social, and cultural conditions, in which the categories of coloniser and colonised were not immutable constructs; they had to be reproduced by specific actions (Kind, 2001).

State coercion and assertions of differences based on race and culture were merged with the differential imposition of what has been termed decentralised despotism. As a result, custom and traditional authority became the modalities of discrimination and areas of contestation and debates on racist policies passed during the Chartered Company Rule and the Responsible Government continued. For instance, African workers were not considered in the 1934 Industrial Conciliation Act. Regardless of the passing of laws meant to construct a white Rhodesia, fault lines within the white population were seen. During this period, Afrikaners were treated even worse than Africans in some cases. Reference can be made to the hostile treatment Afrikaners received by the British-dominated courts in Marandellas (present-day Marondera) during this period. They could get lengthy jail sentences if convicted in Rhodesian courts, even more than a British could get for the same crime (King, 2008: 54; Cooper, 2005: 17; Moore, 2005: 15; Mamdani, 2006: 18, 33, 45; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009: 59).

3.3.3 The Federation government and the construction of a white Rhodesia: 1953-1962

The end of the Responsible Government in 1952 saw Rhodesia becoming part of a Federation arrangement between Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) and Nyasaland (Malawi). The Federal period, 1953-1962, continued its racial policies aimed at subjugating Africans. Various policies which were clearly racist continued to be passed with a clear intention of giving Europeans better lives than Africans. Rhodesia received many immigrants immediately after the end of the Second World War. Those who had settled in the country during the Pioneer Column (i.e., the 'Old Rhodesians') and years before World War II were joined by new immigrants who left Europe soon after World War II (see Table 1 for the statistics on the changes in the white

population in Rhodesia during this period). They were attracted to Rhodesia by the post-war settlement scheme of the Rhodesian government. The scheme was centred on ensuring the new immigrants' access to prime farmland (King, 2001: 89, 92, 93).

Migrants provided skills and numbers in Rhodesia. A steady flow of migrants filled the gaps in the labour market as the economy expanded. Migrants were also allowed into the country to try to close the gap between the black and white populations in the colony. At first, migrants came in to prospect for minerals and venture into farming. As the secondary industry developed and the service sector grew, the skills and character of the migrants changed, especially after 1945. Unlike during the early years, when immigration into the country was much tighter, the immigration policies were relaxed after 1945 to let in immigrants 'of the right calibre'. Through adopting a laidback approach, immigrants of the right mindset and not necessarily of the right character were allowed in. When the immigration regulations were relaxed to allow in more whites after 1945, the authorities of the time believed that poor immigrants would still make good citizens. It was also believed that the initial financial burden on the state would eventually result in long-term benefits to the colony. The relaxing of the immigration rules led to the immigration of a large number of unassisted settlers from South Africa who took advantage of the situation. Those who entered possessed capital under a hundred pounds and even less. This reflected the 'poor white' problem in South Africa. Those who left South Africa for Rhodesia were mainly escaping poverty in South Africa. They then took advantage of the lower qualifications which were in force after 1926 (King, 2001: 89, 92, 93).

They were also attracted to the country by the Rhodesian government's assurance of job opportunities which created a platform for rapid white advancement. During this era, the population of white people surged from about 82 000 in 1946 to approximately 145 000 in 1951 as more whites, especially English-speaking ones, arrived from South Africa, fleeing Apartheid. Though immigration into Rhodesia from Europe surged after the Second World War, immigrants had to meet certain immigration requirements. No one was allowed to enter Rhodesia without a job offer. There was a need for potential immigrants to have about a hundred British pounds when immigrating from South Africa or two hundred British pounds in case of immigration from other countries. This was specifically done to avoid destitution among white people, which would endanger white prestige in the eyes of Africans (King, 2001: 92; Uusihakala, 2008: 14, 33; Raftopoulos & Mlambo, 2009: 77-80; Hartnack, 2015: 288).

Most of those who left Europe for Rhodesia saw their lives improving in Rhodesia due to a promising Rhodesian economy. Furthermore, a system of discrimination that gave whites many advantages over blacks was equally enticing. When the population of white people in Rhodesia tripled between 1945 and 1960, most new migrants automatically qualified to become members of the elite. The assumptions of these new arrivals were shaped by experiences which differed from the pioneers of the 1890s. Some new immigrants from Europe who came into the country after 1945 were of the leisure class of society. They sought to live comfortable lives, which Rhodesia was not known for before. Regardless, most of the new immigrants from Europe were skilled working-class people, and some were from the lower middle class. These were more arrogant and embittered towards Africans since this class of white immigrants would be threatened by the advancement of Africans. Those who came in from South Africa were more conservative, though. Most whites' primary reason for moving to Rhodesia after the Second World War was for material gain. Most wanted a good lifestyle and a good salary. Any African advancement added to a sense of insecurity to them since an African advancement would erode white privilege (King, 2001: 14-15, 105, 107).

Africans continued to be paid less than Europeans. They were also barred from patronising service facilities used by Europeans. They continued to be governed by the 1901 Master and Servants Act, which prevented them from organising and forming trade unions or engaging in collective bargaining. It was only in 1959 that the Industrial Conciliation Act was revised. After the revision, Africans started to be recognised as workers who had rights. This meant they could join labour unions they could not join previously. Before, white unions had used their influence to exclude African workers from certain skilled categories of work to protect them from competition in the workplace. Despite the changes in this act, discrimination against African workers continued. Though the influx of skilled whites from Europe helped boost the economy, white immigration increased racial tensions. This was because the arrival of the new immigrants meant the Africans had to be displaced, paving the way for the Europeans. Increased industrialisation during the Federation period changed Rhodesia significantly. The surging demand for urban labour and the push from post-war colonial land policies (e.g., the Native Land Husbandry Act of 1951), cattle destocking initiatives by the colonial government, as well as the increased implementation of the Land Apportionment Act promulgated in 1930, led to a surge in urbanisation. Most non-disabled Africans were prompted to move to urban areas in search of wage employment because they were expected to pay taxes to the colonial government (Mlambo, 2009: 76, 80, 83-87; 92, 103).

Segregation characterised the Rhodesian society under the leadership of Godfrey Huggins (1933-1956). Huggins saw whites as belonging to a permanent aristocracy (i.e., a carefully selected body of British colonists who would rule over the ‘lesser breeds without the law’). He devised the twin pyramid approach in which whites and blacks developed in separate spheres. Thus, the greatest political subject of his administration as the Prime Minister of the Federation was the subject of race relations. Roy Welensky (1956-1963) took over from Godfrey Huggins in 1956. However, it did not change anything as far as race relations were concerned in Rhodesia. The end of Godfrey Huggins’ tenure as the Prime Minister coincided with the growing liberation movements and their successes in gaining independence from British rule in some parts of the British Empire¹⁰.

In the context of the rapid successes of liberation movements in gaining independence from Britain, the British saw it ideal for decolonising Rhodesia without going to war with the liberation movements. Roy Welensky, Prime Minister during that time, opposed British efforts to decolonise Rhodesia since decolonisation would mean the end of minority rule and the white privilege system it had developed and protected over the years. The surges in the immigration of other European ethnicities soon after the Second World War made the British feel threatened. Though immigration rules were relaxed to allow more whites to enter Rhodesia, the British remained strict in ensuring that whites from the British Isles would be prioritised (Mlambo, 2000: 144). Since most of those who immigrated into the country during this period came and stayed in towns, rural and urban fault lines emerged. The ‘Old Rhodesians’ who mostly stayed in the rural areas on the farms were hostile towards those who came in and stayed in towns. Those who stayed in towns were called names and considered degenerates. The newcomers were seen as degenerates because they were not part of the rather tough Pioneers who had entered the country through the Pioneer Column. They were seen as weak and not pitched to the toughness the ‘Old Rhodesians’ who had entered much earlier had resembled (Wood, 1983: 23; Lowry, 2004: 32; Ross, 2009: 79).

White urbanites were domiciled in high-class urban, suburban areas characterised by good houses, gardens, and better social amenities. In contrast, Africans were mainly restricted to

¹⁰ The first country to receive independence in sub-Saharan Africa was Ghana in 1957. Many more countries such as Nigeria, Zambia and Senegal, among others, followed suit in the 1960s. Ghana was particularly influential to most countries, especially Zimbabwe because Robert Mugabe, who later became the first Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, was in the country during the time of the country’s independence from Britain.

rural areas, especially before the 1950s when labour demand in the cities was not very high. Those who came to town as workers adopted migrant lifestyles. Therefore, they lived in houses in the backyards of their white employers (e.g., cooks and gardeners) and what were known as hostels (e.g., those employed in the industries). Urban accommodation for Africans was meant for men only since women, wives and children were confined to the rural areas. The increase in labour demand during the 1950s drove large numbers of black people to the cities, which led to the creation of large black ‘squatter’ settlements. When the city expanded, these settlements were mostly merged into the city and officially recognised as parts of the city. Areas where blacks settled were civilly called ‘high density’ (black), and white areas were called ‘low density’ suburbs (Muronda, 2008: 37-9; Pulossof & Boersema, 2017: 707).

Under colonialism, certain groups were banished and made to “inhabit the impossible edges of modernity: the slum, the ghetto, the garret, the brothel, the convent, the colonial bantustan ...” (McClintock, 1995: 72). These groups were seen as abject peoples whom the industrial imperialism rejected but could not do without. These people included “slaves, prostitutes, the colonised, domestic workers, the insane, the unemployed ...” (McClintock, 1995: 72). As noted above, despite the efforts to foster a sense of unity among whites on the political front through pursuing economic policies which would benefit all whites, divisions based on, among other issues, the urban/rural divide laid just beneath the surface and progressively became more apparent. White urbanites and those who lived in rural areas usually negatively represented each other. Most farmers viewed Salisbury, the colony’s capital city, inhabited by degenerates.

Race was, however, not very effective in inspiring loyalty to the nation. The rural/urban divide was one of the key factors influencing divisions within the white community. For instance, differences in race relations between blacks and whites influenced white opinions differently. Rural whites had much contact with their black workers who visited their farmsteads as domestic workers or when they needed help. They only met as white people in country clubs or organised school, leisure events, or district farming shows, among other activities.

Furthermore, farmers did not live close to each other. This was contrary to white urbanites, who often met due to geographical realities. However, politico-economic forces alienated them from the African community. Thus, urban set-ups gave whites social contacts but created racial barricades and facilitated racial segregation (Pulossof & Boersema, 2017: 707).

During the liberation war, rural whites felt they bore the brunt of the liberation war compared to urban whites, whom they called ‘townies’ in a derogatory fashion to describe those living comfortably in towns. In contrast, white urbanites regarded white farmers as ‘backward’ and ‘parochial’. Regardless of the government support to both rural and urban whites aimed at balancing the support between urban- and rural-based whites, differences were deep-seated (Clements & Harben 1962: 98; Grundy & Miller, 1979: 23; Godwin & Hancock 1996: 21; Barker, 2007: 41; Pilosof & Boersema, 2017: 708).

Though there were differences between rural and urban whites, many urban whites had associates and family who lived in rural areas. Some lived in towns but owned land in rural areas. Also, several whites who farmed in the rural areas owned houses in cities and often moved to towns for their retirement. Still, some white children from rural areas attended urban-based schools. Thus, rural and urban whites were interlinked to a certain extent.

Pilosof and Boersema (2017: 706) added that “cross-cutting and blurring whatever urban/rural divide may have existed, class, religion and political outlook laid down other fault lines in white communities”. Numerous whites, whether rural- or urban-based, were generally affluent and enjoyed a high standard of living. As a result, most were highly mobile and could often travel globally. Depicting white farmers as sheltered and reserved was, therefore, not correct. White urbanites were also not essentially multicultural or ‘worldly’. Many of them had different experiences, which mitigated simplistic representations (Pilosof & Boersema, 2017: 706).

Though the division between rural and urban whites had real valence, it was dynamic and ever-changing. To a certain extent, these classifications were culturally constructed and historically created and moulded by political events (Pilosof & Boersema, 2017: 706). In light of the heterogeneity of the white community in settler colonies, Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (1995: 1501-2) noted:

Settler colony cultures have never been able to construct simple concepts of the nation, such as those based on linguistic commonality or racial or religious homogeneity. Faced with their ‘mosaic’ reality, they have, in many ways, been clear examples of the constructedness of nations. In settler colony cultures, the sense of place and placelessness have been crucial factors in welding together a communal identity from the widely

disparate elements brought together by transportation, migration and settlement. At the heart of the settler colony culture is also an ambivalent attitude towards their own identity, poised as they are between the centre from which they seek to differentiate themselves and the indigenous people who serve to remind them of their own problematic occupation of the country.

The new Rhodesian government under Prime Minister Garfield Todd (1953-1958) attempted to co-opt Africans into the governance of Rhodesia. This became the first attempt by the colonial government to revise the racist policies which were systematically fashioned by the whites since 1890. This led to the adoption of a new constitution driven by the need for Southern Rhodesia to be independent of Britain following new changes under the new Prime Minister Edgar Whitehead (1958-1962), who had taken over from Garfield Todd. The new constitution adopted two voter rolls: the 'A-roll' for whites and the 'B-roll' for Africans. The Rhodesian Parliament was enlarged from 30 to 65 members. Fifteen representatives were to be elected by Africans through the 'B-roll'. Though the referendum led to the adoption of this proposal by white voters, disagreements increased among the whites. The attempts of the Rhodesian white elite were understood against the background of both imperial and Rhodesian history. Since 1890, Rhodesia as a colony explored different and interlaced identities. These identities were shaped by the fact that whites in Rhodesia saw themselves as subjects of the British Crown and Empire; they also saw themselves as whites of Southern Africa and as citizens of the emotional and geographical territory of Rhodesia (King, 2001: 21). Their economic position, interests and whether they were living in rural or urban areas shaped the internal alignments among the whites. Industrialists saw the new constitution as necessary in widening their customer bases and quelling labour unrest, while miners and farmers felt the changes would starve them of the essential cheap African labour they relied on. The urban/rural divides mainly dictated differences, and, in one way or another, these differences revolved around the issue of racial relations (Mlambo, 2009: 110).

3.3.4 The race relations in the last phase of colonialism: The pre-UDI period 1962-1964 and the UDI period 1965-1979

Following the fall of the Federation, a new but short era under Winston Field (1962-1964) led to radical changes characterised by discarding the more liberal policies Garfield Todd and Edgar Whitehead had been pursuing. Due to these deep-seated differences within the white

community, the proposed changes by Edgar Whitehead were sabotaged, and the radical white party under Winston Field and Ian Smith (1964-1979) eventually came to power. Efforts to co-opt Africans into the governance of Rhodesia during the time of Garfield Todd as the Prime Minister in the 1950s, however, drew serious resistance from the majority of the whites as they were determined to consolidate Southern Rhodesia as a 'white man's country' (Mlambo, 1998: 123). As a result, a centrally controlled economy described as socialism for the whites was created. This led to the fall of liberal tendencies and the surge of right-wing policies. In 1965, Ian Smith declared the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) from Britain, with Rhodesia severing its ties with the British Monarchy and declaring itself an independent colony. As a conservative, Ian Smith's government was against black majority rule. The reason behind Ian Smith's declaration of independence from Britain was that, as a right-wing leader, he did not believe that the time for African majority rule was ripe. The British, in contrast, felt it was time to grant the Africans independence and self-rule. This disagreement prompted Smith to rebel and declare independence (Holderness, 1985: 20-21; Smith, 1997: 15; Herbst, 1990: 22; Bond, 1998: 111; Mtisi, Nyakudya & Barnes, 2009: 115; Pilossof, 2012: 18).

During the UDI period (1965-1979), the struggles were mostly between white and black interests. Most whites aimed to maintain dominance in all aspects of life, and Africans were determined to reconfigure it. The Rhodesian Front Party promised the following: to preserve each community's right to maintain its own identity, to preserve proper standards by ensuring that advancement must be on merit, to uphold the principle of the Land Apportionment Act, to oppose compulsory integration, to support the government's right to provide separate amenities for the different races, and to protect skilled workers against cheap labour. Above all, the party promised "that the Government of Southern Rhodesia will remain in responsible hands" and that it would ensure the permanent establishment of a civilised Rhodesia (Godwin & Hancock, 1996: 42). Somehow, white Rhodesians made efforts to conquer class divisions which were glaring in Britain. Classes continued to exist. However, most of the class differences which were striking in Europe were subsumed in the effort by the Rhodesian society to maintain certain standards which would ensure that the white class was protected from those seen as non-whites and outsiders. As a result, the belief that a person in white Rhodesia was judged not by his or her birth ended up being widely held. This recalled the pioneer era mantra of 'all in one boat' (King, 2001: 48; Mtisi, Nyakudya & Barnes, 2009: 120).

However, the Rhodesian Front Party's notion of the nation was that whites would continue to be the masters and dominate. The political power that whites held gave financial security to white citizens. For instance, from 1965 to independence, black peasant farmers received R\$0.60 (US\$0.90) agricultural subsidies per annum, whilst white farmers each received R\$8,000 (US\$12,000). By 1977, 6,000 white farmers had access to "100 times more credit than the estimated 600,000" black peasant farmers. The government effectively "set a 'floor' for the living standard of whites through which they could not easily drop. Wages were high for whites, and their quality of life was much better than that of blacks" (Pilosof & Boersema, 2017: 708). Some white Rhodesians were enormously affluent, and some comparatively poor. Most could afford living standards that were equal and, in some instances, much better than whites in Europe. Citizenship was then supposed to be assigned chiefly based on race. However, the aspirations of the white community were pointedly very complex (Ranger, 1978: 119-120; McKenzie, 1989: 2-3; Godwin & Hancock, 1996: 20; Mtisi, Nyakudya & Barnes, 2009: 121, 130).

The disintegration of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1962 and the declaration of the UDI by Ian Smith's government in 1965 drove some white people out of the country. However, efforts were made by the government to attract more white immigrants. This spurred on another influx of whites of British origin, most of whom were artisans during the early 1970s. This led to the surge of the white population from approximately 215,000 in 1963 to approximately 267,000 by 1972. The decolonisation of Angola and Mozambique in the mid-1970s led to an influx of white people of Portuguese origin, and this added to the collection of the white population in Rhodesia (Davies, 1975: 182; Hartnack, 2015: 288).

Regardless of deep-seated differences within the white community because of different ethnicities, whites who settled in Rhodesia were profoundly conscious of the importance of unity. Unity was seen as important by the white Rhodesians during the 1979-1980 peace talks between the African freedom fighters and the Ian Smith-led white government because it was important during negotiations with the British regarding the political future of the colony. Since most African countries had become independent, the white settler community wanted to keep political power. Keeping political power was seen as very important as it enhanced their control of resources. The new black leadership was against the whites' continued control of political power since political power was what they had taken up arms for. Political power to the black leaders meant independence and control of resources. Furthermore, one would argue that

keeping political power in the face of other African countries gaining independence was seen by the Ian Smith-led government as vitally important because, to Ian Smith and those who supported him, the independence of other African countries meant the degeneration of Africa back into anachronism. To Ian Smith and those who supported his political ideologies, Africans were not ready to rule themselves. Thus, it can be argued that keeping colonialism in place in colonies such as Rhodesia was the best for order and sanity in a rapidly degenerating Africa (Kennedy, 1987: 181; McClintock, 1995: 46; Godwin & Hancock, 1996: 17).

During the tenure of Ian Smith as the Prime Minister of Rhodesia, efforts were made to foster unity among whites. This was done by trying to have members of the white community act in defiance against local and international pressure meant to make them grant black Africans majority rule. Ian Smith aimed to show the world that whites could rule Rhodesia as an independent entity from Britain, gradually integrating blacks into the country's governance structures until majority rule came. Thus, majority rule to many whites would only happen after a sustained period of white control. For most white Rhodesians, the South African model was the best. Thus, the Rhodesian Front under Ian Smith aimed to ensure that Rhodesia would be run as an independent, white-run state, or at least be like Canada and Australia who were conferred with dominion status (Godwin & Hancock, 1996: 15; Pilosof & Boersema, 2017: 707).

Therefore, factors other than race influenced white opinion. There was a significant degree of heterogeneity among the white Rhodesians. Accordingly, "while in the 1960s, the dominant social pressures among the whites were for political conformity and racial solidarity... it would be a mistake to stress the unity of opinion too strongly" (McKenzie, 1989: 21). Rhodesian whites were heterogeneous. Not all white Rhodesian farmers were the same. For instance, nearly twenty thousand white settlers during the UDI period could not speak confidently of a shared history. Most white people during the UDI period, comprised a total population of nearly twenty thousand, were immigrants or those whose parents had come to Rhodesia soon after the Second World War. Additionally, a substantial number could have a Rhodesian passport and a second passport from another country (McKenzie, 1989: 7; Godwin & Hancock, 1996: 18).

In other words, they did not identify themselves as only Rhodesians. They saw themselves as citizens of Rhodesia who could call another country home and be rightful citizens as well. This

is one of the factors which served to divide white loyalty in Rhodesia. Ethnicity, locality, occupation, and class also divided the white community. It is useful to reiterate that these factors emerged more naturally than the largely invented ideas of nationhood. There were whites in Rhodesia who had different convictions regarding white majority rule. Some believed majority rule was inevitable but should be delayed and granted to blacks after a long period of white tutorship on how the country should be governed responsibly. Others believed majority rule was due and should be given to the black Africans immediately. Some supremacists and segregationists believed blacks would never be able to rule themselves. Being white in Rhodesia meant that one would automatically belong to a small political, social, and economic elite. Privilege was closely connected to race. Whites became generally suspicious of the invasion of their racial group by non-whites. Westernised Africans were accused of being 'too big of their boots'. They were seen as having a 'veneer' of civilisation which would eventually fade and show their true anachronistic and savage nature (King, 2001: 47). As a result, the white supremacists and segregationists regarded Black nationalism and its guerrilla activities as a mere rebellion that could not be taken seriously (Godwin & Hancock, 1996: 21; Chennells, 1996: 104; Mtisi, Nyakudya & Barnes, 2009: 122).

In line with this observation, Pilosof (2012: 136) added that "the term 'bush war' used by most whites was saturated with racial undertones that are explicitly dismissive of the struggle for independence". For those who subscribed to the 'bush war' view of the conflict, a 'war veteran' was a cowardly 'terrorist' rather than a soldier worthy of the title and fighting a legitimate cause (Pilosof, 2012: 136). The second group comprised liberals who supported African independence. The third group did not oppose black independence but just believed granting blacks independence was just too early and should be delayed (Godwin & Hancock, 1996: 46).

Efforts were made to foster unity when the white community felt threatened by the surging black resistance to colonialism. The African threat of physical violence against the settlers worked to ensure the unifying of the white community. The threat of physical violence, however, legitimised the animosity whites had against Africans. After the end of the first African uprising of the 1890s, whites continued to fear Africans. Whites never saw themselves at peace with the Africans around them (King, 2001: 24). The creation of unity in the face of threat was also seen soon after the Second World War when there was a surge in European immigrants fleeing from war-torn Europe. A Rhodesian identity defined by Britishness and pioneer macho identity was invoked in much the same way as Englishness, and white

nationalism was created during the 17th and 18th centuries. The reality of the situation is that the white population in Rhodesia was in a state of flux, and the identity that ended up developing was one of the settled people. The authorities emphasised the need to settle on the land. One of the reasons for this was that during the early days of the colony, mining would not be the main economic activity or because the industry was not fully developed. Another reason for the emphasis was intimately linked to developing a Rhodesian identity characterised by a pastoral image of strong pioneers who tamed the harsh and wild Rhodesian landscape. It was believed that the greater the number of whites taming the land, the faster it would be pacified. This would give the settlers a stronger claim on the land and the colony (King, 2001: 90-91).

However, race was a useful political resource used to mobilise support for particular political goals and demarcate the lines of exclusion. Although the new 1969 constitution eventually included Coloureds and Indians on the 'A-roll', which was previously reserved for whites only, their inclusion, it has been argued, was a political gimmick more than anything else. This was because Asians and Coloureds were excluded from European land in the 1969 Land Tenure Act, while there was also continued segregation in schools and hospitals. Thus, the 1969 constitution meant that the line dividing citizens from subjects became progressively more porous. It qualified the binary conception of colonial society as constituting white citizens and black subjects. As with most of its policies, the government of Ian Smith used labour laws to foster a degree of stability for the white population. For instance, the dismissal of white employees was not allowed even if the worker had become redundant. Strategies were also devised to restrict the vocational training of African workers. There were also job reservations for whites.

Additionally, numerous barriers thwarted the rise of Africans to occupy high-paying jobs. For example, the 1968 Apprenticeship Training and Skilled Manpower Development Act stated that skilled occupations were open only to those who had completed a formal apprenticeship or passed recognised trade tests. There were, however, no stipulations that blacks could qualify, and the prerequisites excluded the vast majority of blacks (Sutcliffe, 1979: 119; Stoneman, 1981: 155; Raftopolous & Phimister, 1997: 99; Muzondidya, 2004: 201; Mtisi, Nyakudya & Barnes, 2009: 121, 136).

Ian Smith's obduracy to relinquish power was met with an armed rebellion from Black Nationalists who mobilised fighting units. Soon after the 1965 UDI, guerrilla attacks by Black Nationalists were organised, and attacks on white farms started in 1966. The war raged on until 1980 after years of obstinate refusal from Ian Smith, who did everything he could to get South African support and mercenaries' support to quell the conflict. Upon realising that the war would not be won, Ian Smith eventually succumbed to pressure. He sought avenues to find peace with what he saw as moderate blacks in 1978. Moderate blacks led by Bishop Abel Muzorewa came together under a party known as the United African National Council (UANC). Ian Smith reached out to these moderate blacks and agreed upon an internal settlement in which Smith's government would form a coalition government.

Bishop Abel Muzorewa was elected into office by a small electorate not qualified by race, but purely on meeting certain conditions, such as educational standard and income and property owned. White privileges were kept intact by protecting property. The Black Nationalists who were waging war rejected the settlement and regarded the newly elected government as a puppet government. War continued until the Black Nationalists who were fighting were called over for negotiations which later led to a general election based on one-man-one-vote in 1980 (Raftopolous & Phimister, 1997: 99; Muzondidya, 2004: 201).

The Rhodesian war of 1965-1980 caused approximately 187,000 whites to emigrate from the country. After this emigration, approximately 80 000 white people remained in the country (Hartnack, 2015: 288). However, new immigrants came into the country after 1980, mostly from South Africa and Europe. As was the case before the independence of the country in 1980, a large chunk (about three-quarters) of white people lived in urban centres, and the remaining quarter lived in rural areas as farmers (Hartnack, 2015: 288). Historically, most whites lived in the two major cities of the country, Harare (formerly Salisbury) and Bulawayo (Caute, 1983: 88-9, Pilosof & Boersema, 2017: 706).

3.4 DECOLONIALISATION AND THE RECONSTRUCTION OF RACE RELATIONS IN POSTCOLONIAL ZIMBABWE

3.4.1 Race relations in Zimbabwe during the first decade of independence: 1980-1990

In this study, I divided the postcolonial period in Zimbabwe into three main epochs. The first phase stretched from 1980-1990. The second phase stretches from 1990-2000 and the last one stretches from 2000-present. What informed this periodisation was the need to fully understand the country's race relations after colonisation to unravel the fault lines within the white community. When Rhodesia ended in 1980, old fault lines were amplified, creating new fault lines. The rural-urban divide became the key factor in influencing the differences within the white community. This was not new since the rural settlers tended towards prejudice and regarded the new immigrants into the country who mostly migrated into the urban centres in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War as not Rhodesian enough. The first phase of postcolonial Zimbabwe was ushered in by the 1979 Constitution, which revised most of the racial policies that had been fashioned since the Chartered Company Rule started in 1890. The 1979 Lancaster House Constitution resulted from the Liberation War waged by Africans against the colonial government led by Ian Smith. The Constitution adopted in 1979 to end the war enshrined the right of minorities to own property, especially land. The Constitution guaranteed the representation of whites in parliament, protected the existing authoritarian bureaucracy and the private ownership of land, and limited the scope of redistribution (Kaplan, 1991: 24; Raftopolous, 2004: 2).

The 1979 Constitution gave settler capital a decade-long period of consolidation during which the radical restructuring of the legacy of economic inequality was effectively put on hold. The final decolonisation of Zimbabwe in 1980 saw over three-quarters of the white settlers leaving Rhodesia since the prospects of living under a black government were simply unacceptable. The demography of the white community certainly changed. Most of those who stayed were relatively wealthier than those who left. The percentage of those who owned land and were into farming dropped by only 33% during the first ten years of independence, whilst the population of urban-based white businesses and industrialists did not change much. In other words, white Rhodesians who owned valuable belongings, assets and investments had reasons to stay. Reassurances from the new government's reconciliation policy and actions during the early 1980s alleviated their fears of mass nationalisation, which the liberation fighters had

promised. Demonstrations of allegiance to the new government were therefore important for those who stayed. Rural whites who farmed chose to present themselves as important to the national economy and boosted their production for the betterment of the economy. Most, nevertheless, shunned the black community and chose instead to be more concerned with nature than to express their African identities (Caute, 1983: 25; Raftopolous, 2004: 2; Chennells, 2005: 45; Selby, 2006: 118; Hughes, 2010: 45, 46 Pilosof & Boersema, 2017: 708).

White urbanites, on the other hand, stopped their active participation in public engagements. In 1980, the government of Zimbabwe moved to undo all laws and institutions that promoted repression, ethno-racial polarisation, and differences during colonialism. It dismantled the legal racial differentiation and its institutional supports. In the economic sector, changes were also witnessed. A new black elite emerged, and some white businessmen made economic coalitions with the new black elite. Consequentially, a new-born urban-based black elite emerged alongside a white elite who had made inroads in the industrial, financial, and other trade areas (Weiss, 1994: 203). From this, one can note that colonial regimes failed to produce stable and fixed identities. As a result, hybrid identities and the ambivalence of colonial discourse could be utilised in describing the dynamics of colonial and postcolonial encounters.

Whiteness continues to be omnipresent in postcolonial Africa. It continues to sustain colonial sources of social normativity and standards of behaviour that were furtively enacted and enforced during the colonial period. It is critical to state that since white people no longer politically control Zimbabwe, the sources of social normativity are now controlled by a new black elite which also claims privileges. These control the standards of behaviour and privileges which were exclusively white but are no longer exclusively white. In this context, affluent white people form alliances with new black elites in order to ensure that they continue enjoying the privileges they had during colonialism (Loomba, 2005: 91). On an international stage, Zimbabwe was seen as having achieved success when it came to enhancing racial integration (Kaplan, 1991: 25; Alexander, 2007: 184; Muzondidya, 2009: 34; Muzondidya, 2010: 28).

The key problem that confronted the new black government was nation-building in a country that was separated along ethno-racial, class, and gender lines. Furthermore, there were challenges in restructuring the inherited colonial racial imbalances. In order to address some of the colonial inequalities, efforts were made to expand the economy to make it all-encompassing

by adopting black empowerment initiatives. Efforts were also made to Africanise the public service and actively develop a black middle class. In trying to achieve its own developmental objectives, the new government tried to solve rural poverty and racial inequality in land ownership between blacks and whites. That being the case, a gradual land resettlement programme targeted peasants in congested communal areas. Despite these efforts, wealth differentials between blacks and whites did not significantly change. Approximations showed that 3% of whites (mostly farmers) and a very small black elite continued to possess most of the resources and controlled about two-thirds of the economy during the 1980s (Stoneman, 1981: 51-52; Raftopolous, 1996: 16; Muzondidya, 2009: 167, 168).

New black businessmen continued to face problems obtaining finances from multinational and locally controlled white banks and financial institutions. They also continued to face hostilities from white capitalists who were reluctant to lose their historical monopoly. In addition, the productive sector, notably the manufacturing sector, continued to be monopolised by white capital¹¹. The Africanisation of particular sections of the economy was only successful in the public sector, where the new administration had a direct influence. It was not a success in the private sector, where whites and international companies had control and access to capital was highly restrictive due to 'institutional racism' (Maphosa, 1998: 177). The government, however, made fruitless efforts to address the disparities in the private sector through the Labour Relations Act No. 16 of 1985 (Muzondidya, 2010: 23). The efforts by the government were stymied because of the legacy of persistent asymmetrical economic structures of the colonial state and because white-owned businesses sabotaged the efforts (Bond, 1998: 43; Maphosa, 1998: 176-8; Muzondidya, 2009: 171; 2010: 23).

The numerous changes in the Zimbabwean politico-economic issues in the postcolonial period affected urban whites and rural whites differently. *Gukurahundi*¹²-related violence during the early 1980s saw several rural whites killed by 'dissidents'. Thus, in addition to the differences which were foisted on the white population by the rural/urban divide and the generational differences, sophisticated nuances within the white community coupled with the changes in the political, economic, and social spheres of an independent Zimbabwe meant there were an array

¹¹ In 1989, a report on black empowerment in the private sector depicted that at management levels, 62.5% were white and 37.5% were black (see Raftopolous, 1996: 6).

¹² Gukurahundi was a military operation the government led by Robert Mugabe carried out against a group of rebels which had broken away from the National Army.

of ideas and beliefs informed by a number of circumstances within the white community (Pilossof, 2012: 4; Pilossof & Boersema, 2017: 709).

Politically active whites during the 1980s continued to view themselves as existing outside postcolonial Zimbabwe, as seen by their overwhelming support of the conservative Rhodesian Front in the 1985 general elections. After the scrapping of the parliamentary seats reserved for whites in 1987, most withdrew from politics only to resurface in 2000 when their livelihoods were in jeopardy. The behaviour of many whites continued to be guided by the remnants of 'settler culture' since some continued to regard themselves as superior to blacks. They continued to regard themselves as people with the right and authority to control African resources for their own economic gains. This culture was deeply conservative since it did not permit itself to acclimate to the African milieu. It is useful to reiterate that this 'culture' in the sense of 'standardised ways of conduct and way of thinking' was predominantly the manifestation of the white population's tenacious grip on positions of power (Mandaza, 1986: 2; Sylvester, 1986: 252; Kennedy, 1987: 34; Huyse, 2003: 34; Ranger, 2009: 42).

As far as the land issue was concerned, the willing-buyer and willing-seller principle embodied in the 1979 constitution was viewed as the main impediment to successful land reform by the ruling ZANU (PF) party. This principle largely secured the interests of white landholders. It hindered the government from buying enough land to meet the needs of the surging black population. In light of the racial protections guaranteed in the constitution, whites were unwilling to relinquish their colonially inherited privileges. Since there was no concerted pressure to address colonial imbalances in land distribution and the economy, privileged whites were driven into a false sense of economic and political security. They felt safe in their privileged economic positions due to their enormous investments in Zimbabwe (Banana, 1996: 22; Tshuma, 1997: 15; Muzondidya, 2009: 172).

Most white farm owners saw land inequalities as the shortcomings of the Zimbabwean government. Further, no attempts were made to discuss wealth inequalities between blacks and whites. Whites were accused of not making any effort to contribute towards redressing the historical racial injustices regarding wealth. Neither did most participate in nation-building. Thus, after acknowledging their loss of political primacy, whites focused on maintaining their economic privileges and made little attempt to adapt to the social order. The preservation of their colonial privileges was regarded as a matter of fact. This meant the prejudices and

destructive social relations they generated were kept alive. Throughout the first phase of postcolonial Zimbabwe, whites (particularly white farmers) saw themselves as having transformed themselves and had sincerely become part of Zimbabwe. If they had been racist, they no longer were; they saw themselves as the true sons of the soil who belonged to Zimbabwe in any and every way (Kaplan, 1991: 24; Huyse, 2003: 35; Lamb, 2006: 252; Muzondidya, 2009: 174; Pilosof, 2012: 136).

3.4.2 Race relations in Zimbabwe during the second phase of independence: 1990-2000

The second phase of the postcolonial history of Zimbabwe started in 1990. During the 1990s, especially soon after the announcement of the Bretton Woods-sanctioned structural reforms known locally as the Economic Structural Adjustments Programme (ESAP), racial polarisation continued to characterise Zimbabwean society. The continued racial inequalities ten years after independence led to protests by black youths demanding an end to race-based privileges. For instance, infuriated black youths formed pressure groups which pressured the government and whites to open up more business opportunities for young black entrepreneurs. Furthermore, university students' demonstrations¹³ for increments in student grants and loans mostly ended up destroying white motorists' cars and properties in the affluent suburbs near the University of Zimbabwe. To a certain degree, these attacks showed a general resentment of continuing white privileges. Criticism by most blacks was mainly of white capital. White businessmen and white farmers were mostly blamed for thwarting the chances of blacks for success through institutional racism. As the economic woes in the 1990s heightened, farmers became the embodiment of white privilege (Muzondidya, 2009: 190-192; Pilosof & Boersema, 2017: 710).

Most whites continued doing well economically regardless of structural readjustment, and their affluence became increasingly prominent. The enunciation of ESAP allowed white farmers to access previously restricted external markets. As a result, since there was no landowning affluent black class, whites who owned land and lived in rural areas became an embodiment of white privilege and white power. In contrast, white urbanites felt left behind since the

¹³ For instance, there were student protests against government corruption. The Willogate Scandal of 1989 in which government ministers and officials received cars in corrupt ways led to student protests at the University of Zimbabwe. Students also protested against the UZ Amendment Act of 1990 which was against student activism. White-owned properties close to the university, including vehicles plying the route close to the university were destroyed.

underperforming economy led to the erosion of their savings. Salaried white urbanites struggling with inflation came to resent the rural whites and white industrialists. During the early 1990s, salaried urban whites began to blame land-owning whites for racism overtly and labelled them as white supremacists (Godwin & Hancock, 1996: 56; Selby, 2006: 160-77; Muzondidya, 2009: 192-3; Pilosof & Boersema, 2017: 710).

The 1992 Land Acquisition Act, which created a platform for the expropriation of land without compensation, threatened most white farmers. The government and the government-controlled press started depicting white farmers as 'racist' and 'unZimbabwean' (Selby, 2006: 122). In light of this, Pilosof (2016: 38) stated:

The law focused public attention on the privilege of whites but framed it in a specific way: as solely connected to land ownership. Many farmers were outraged by this move and declared that this policy would spell financial ruin for the country. They protested against the idea that they were the embodiment of white privilege and the main beneficiaries of the colonial system. In publications and press releases, they argued that over 80% of white farmers had bought their land after independence, an argument that attempted to disconnect their present wealth from the historical injustices of settler rule.

Racial integration became a challenge for most who had lived in segregated communities during the colonial period. During the 1990s, little effort was made to integrate social contact spaces such as residences, schools, and sports. Most schools, neighbourhoods and urban public places were desegregated to the disgust of many whites (Godwin, 1984: 3-4; Pickard-Cambridge, 1988: 5). Despite the important roles played by some whites who did not emigrate in 1980, most minimised their contact with their black counterparts. For instance, white inhabitants responded to the black encroachment of their suburbs by moving to new places which tended to be closed and exclusively white. In order to maintain their separation from the blacks who were moving to the suburbs they previously occupied during the colonial period, they set up gated communities. Separation in restaurants, clubs and diners was enforced through membership-based admission (Dixon & Reicher, 1997: 370; Foster, 1997: 8; Muzondidya, 2009: 192-193; Hendriks, 2017: 691; Pilosof & Boersema, 2017: 709).

In response to the de-racialisation of schools, whites had to build new schools, which demanded very high fees to ensure that children from low- and middle-income black families could not

afford to send their children there. There were also no efforts for social integration in sports such as historically racialised sporting disciplines (e.g., cricket and rugby) (Zvobgo, 1986: 337; Alexander, 2004: 194). Although some whites (mostly young ones) were at times proactive and made efforts to integrate, most maintained their aloofness. They largely resigned from dynamically taking part in building a new Zimbabwean nation through reconciliation (Muzondidya, 2009: 194). In light of this white aloofness, Selby (2006: 242) stated:

The white community's visible affluence and continued social isolation, which was amplified during the structural adjustment, provided a target and catalyst for the anti-white sentiment. An independent consultant identified the racial exclusiveness of the CFU [Commercial Farmers Union] as their biggest weakness and greatest threat. Racism among some whites was still prevalent, and mounting scepticism among farmers towards government was often explained through condescending cultural perspectives. Some farmers maintained conservative attitudes with racial undertones.

Whites, notably farmers through their writings, attempted to dismiss 'myths' about the wealth of farmers as protection against rumours of their possessions. Their alleged wealth, in contrast with the deteriorating economy of Zimbabwe at large, was often at the roots of such hostility (Pilososof, 2012: 87, 92).

3.4.3 Race relations in Zimbabwe during the third phase of independence: 2000-present

The formation of a more vibrant opposition movement led by former labour movement leader Morgan Tsvangirai, which some wealthy white farmers supported, changed the ZANU-PF's approach to redistributing land in Zimbabwe. Before forming the main opposition, the ZANU-PF government proposed changes to the constitution and submitted the draft constitution for a referendum. The electorate rejected the draft after a campaign against the draft from civil society organisations and the labour movements, which had coalesced to form a new opposition movement led by Morgan Tsvangirai known as the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). Upon realising that the opposition was getting support from the white community, especially white farmers who were accused of bankrolling it, the ZANU-PF government decided to fast-track the land redistribution programme in which almost all white-owned farms were put under compulsory acquisition by the state (Selby, 2006: 331; Raftopolous, 2009: 218).

The land occupations, which started in 2000, significantly reversed white land ownership in Zimbabwe, transforming the legacy of the colonial dispensation. Since the 1890s, land has been one of the categorical focal areas of control, mobilisation, resistance, and nation-building. By 2005, the remaining white farming community was fragmented and powerless. Thus, “the production, economic contributions, financial clout and institutional effectiveness” of white farmers had been eradicated. In other words, since 1980, a white superior and politically influential elite has been reduced to a struggling and apprehensive minority. As a result, the notion of an unchanging white-colonial Self became unsustainable. Though traces of affluence can be seen today, the land reforms of 2000 had significant effects on race relations in postcolonial Zimbabwe (Chennells, 2005: 135; Pilosoff, 2012: 2).

The land reforms of the early 2000s drove many whites (rural and urban alike) to leave the country, leaving the population of white people as low as approximately 30 000 as of 2015. The continued politico-economic and social challenges Zimbabwe continues to face have been spurring emigration by white Zimbabweans (and black Zimbabweans). This makes it a mammoth task to establish the exact number of white people living in Zimbabwe today. The last census was done in 2012. Census figures have not been very accurate, and it has been alleged that they were manipulated for political reasons¹⁴. I, however, managed to obtain approximate figures of the population of white people in Rhodesia from 1890-1979 for context. Efforts were also made to establish the approximate statistics of the emigration of white people in Rhodesia and Zimbabwe from 1970-1989 (Hartnack, 2015: 288). Table 2 provides the approximate figures for the emigration of white people out of Rhodesia and Zimbabwe from 1970-1989.

Table 2: Approximate figure for the emigration of white people out of Rhodesia and Zimbabwe from 1970-1989. (Source: Uusihakala, 2008: 217)

Year	Number of emigrants
1970	5 238
1971	4 713
1972	4 562
1973	6 846
1974	7 982
1975	9 242
1976	13 013

¹⁴ Most reports on the inaccuracies of census statistics are from journalists. Official statistics approximate that Zimbabwe has a population of 13 million. Parallel statistics by journalists approximate that the figures are inflated for political reasons. The approximations of journalists are much lower. It is argued that close to 5 million Zimbabweans left Zimbabwe, and less than 11 million people currently live in Zimbabwe. These statistics are not, however, divided into race.

1977	14 556
1978	16 467
1979	12 951
1980	17 240
1981	20 534
1982	17 942
1983	19 067
1984	16 979
1985	6 918
1986	3 787
1987	5 330
1988	4 305
1989	4 565

Most whites in present-day Zimbabwe are domiciled in the urban centres. As Pilossof and Boersema (2017: 711) noted, the land reform programme drove white people who were farmers into towns. Some managed to start new businesses away from the land. Given the politico-economic challenges Zimbabwe has been facing since the late 1990s, the population of white people has been shrinking and increasingly confined to their racial enclaves and gated communities away from black communities and the general public life of the country. The experiences and views of most whites in Zimbabwe have been through memoirs written in exile. These memoirs mostly respond to the hostile politico-economic climate. They assert the authors' right and duty to debate the problems the country is facing (Rasch, 2018: 1). Most keep in touch through the social media platforms such as Facebook groups (e.g., 'Rhodesia History Remembered', 'Real Rhodesians' and 'Zimbabweans Worldwide Open Group'). On these platforms, most whites write about their victimhood of the land reform programme of the early 2000s, whilst some write about the nostalgic memories of Rhodesia¹⁵ (Dixon & Reicher, 1997: 370; Foster, 1997: 8; King, 2008: 50; Uusihakala, 2008: 8; Muzondidya, 2009: 193; Pilossof, 2012: 150; Hendriks, 2017: 691).

As noted by those who have been closely following white memoirs (especially those of white expatriates who have published their works through renowned publishers), the land reforms of the early 2000s have led to the creation of a sympathetic audience about the plight of white people, mostly in the West. For instance, the white farmers talked and continue to talk about how they were evicted from farms during the land reforms of the 2000s. This should be scrutinised since their stories contain much more than simple descriptions of puzzling and

¹⁵ Stories on the 'good old Rhodesian days' has been captured in the memoirs of Alexandra Fuller and Peter Godwin. See Rasch (2018).

confusing events. White farmers, in particular, had the capacity to represent themselves as victims. The government's own radical language aided this during the land reforms. The former justified the land takeovers because it was the land issue that had driven them into fighting white colonial rule in the first place. The farmers and other urban whites who were sympathetic to the farmers or had links to the farming community started narrating the Zimbabwean land reforms using narratives similar to the Nazi persecution of Jews during WWII. They regarded themselves as victims of a dictatorship (Primorac, 2010: 204; Harris, 2015: 110; Pilosoff, 2012: 3, 119, 137).

The 'writing of the nation' is vital for the Rhodesian/Zimbabwean case since Rhodesia does not exist as a place or nation anymore. However, it can capture the imagination and consciousness of numerous people globally. It can reach out to ex-Rhodesians and those who support them in the West. For instance, after having realised that they were under direct attacks from the state, whites (mostly farmers) reinvigorated the racist discourse of the 1970s. This was done on the Facebook pages stated above. On these platforms, white ex-pats sometimes vented their frustrations in a racist way. This time, the discourse had widespread internal and external support for the white cause and the plight of whites after the land redistribution. Inequalities within Zimbabwe were now seen as emanating from black misrule and not colonial injustices (Pilosoff, 2012: 136; 151).

The analysis of the discourse of white memoirs has been analysed as what Primorac (2010: 204) viewed as the emergence of "neo-Rhodesian discourse [...] often articulated from a position of exile". In response to these, Harris (2015: 117) interpreted the writings of Alexandra Fuller, a key white expatriate writer whose writing responds to the media's portrayal of white Zimbabwean citizens as victims. However, their writings (mostly about the nostalgic and traumatic experiences) about their childhood belonging allowed them to engrave their selves as white Zimbabwean citizens into Zimbabwe's history and created a platform for them to document a lot about Zimbabwe as their homeland. In light of this, the narratives of colonial apology and romanticism found impetus during the land reforms of the 2000s. The messages sought to identify with a glorious past threatened by Robert Mugabe's administration (Harris, 2015: 117; Pilosoff, 2012: 142).

An analysis of race relations in present-day Zimbabwe calls for caution. It calls for a nuanced analysis that considers every detail of how the lives of white Rhodesians were constructed

during colonialism, as was done by Mtisi, Nyakudya, and Barnes (2009: 121-123). As Hartnack (2015: 287-290) noted, some studies on the white population of Zimbabwe have been homogenising. To Hartnack (2015: 290), some works (notably by Fisher, 2010; Hughes, 2010; Kalaora, 2011) have made presentations that "...not only demonstrate the socio-political polarity and schizophrenia that exists, but also, in some cases, uncritically incorporate and perpetuate certain myths and discourses of the state and other voices, or too easily present versions of history that serve to erase or forget certain events, periods and people" (Hartnack, 2015: 287-290).

A significant dimension that might be critical when reflecting on race relations in Zimbabwe today might be looking into the changes that have taken place since 1980. It should be emphasised that the white Rhodesian society was not homogenous and had fissures based on domicile, employment, political orientation, class, gender, and generation (Hartnack, 2015: 290). Some studies conducted on race relations in present-day Zimbabwe maintain that racism is one of the issues that still predict race relations in Zimbabwe today. According to estimates, a quarter of the Rhodesian white population is xenophobic and supremacist (Hughes, 2010; Kalaora, 2011).

Most white supremacists did not accept black majority rule. Therefore, many left after the decolonisation of the country in 1980. White moderates who mostly stayed in urban areas continued living in the country. Thus, homogenisations can be solely avoided if one pays attention to detail and more obscure voices. It can also be avoided if one becomes aware of how the country's purposely confused knowledge base produced serious homogenisations. Most farmers of an older generation used to interact with farm workers as the masters of the blacks who worked their farms. The interaction was inescapable since their interaction with black workers ensured the needed communication for farm production. This interaction was indispensable since it ensured the continued economic affluence of these white farmers whose production depended on the cheap labour provided by the black workers (Hartnack, 2015: 287-290).

Some scholars disregard that after 1980, schools were desegregated, and white children started going to the same schools as black children, interacting with them on an equal basis. Some works on white people in Zimbabwe seem to point to the notion that white people never attempted to interact closely with their black counterparts. However, it has been argued that

these works failed to consider the generational and class issues when examining race relations and cross-racial engagement in the country. Hartnack (2015: 294) argued that most of those born and who went to school in Rhodesia could fit in the preceding analysis, but those of the thirty to forty years age cohort would not fit into this analysis. Thus, whites who lived affluent lives attended first-class private schools and never intermingled with blacks in diners and other social clubs. They continued to be aloof and did not intermingle with their black counterparts. Also, Indians and Coloureds did not intermingle with blacks. It is, therefore, critical to note that not every white individual in the country had an elite lifestyle and lived in gated communities and affluent suburbs. A handful of ordinary white people who lived in Harare were from middle-income white families who could not afford such an insular or privileged life. People of these socio-economic backgrounds attended multi-racial schools where black children sometimes outnumbered them. This allowed an improved racial climate in Zimbabwe after independence¹⁶ (Alexander, 2004: 203, 209; Hughes, 2010: 5, 6; Fisher, 2010: 200; Hartnack, 2015: 294-295).

It has been noted that globalisation increased interracial interaction. For instance, the economic liberalisation of the 1990s enabled all young Zimbabweans of various socio-economic and racial backgrounds to access global trends unlike before. Liberalisation of historically white sporting disciplines such as cricket and rugby has also been noted. Many strides in racial integration (especially among youths) were seemingly made in Zimbabwe during the 1990s, where young Zimbabweans of different racial orientations transcended “racial and historical barriers, the narrow nationalism of the state, the prejudices and hang-ups of their parents, and engage positively in various ways” (Hartnack, 2015: 295). This global culture prepared most urban youths for life outside of Zimbabwe since many have left Zimbabwe since the 2000s. It is, however, critical to note that most young Zimbabweans now meet each other on social media as equals (Hartnack, 2015: 295-296).

¹⁶ Examples of improved racial integration can be given in schools where white people had black teachers. These were also members of interracial teams of sports and other extra-curriculum activities. These surely had black friends. The example of the Harare Agricultural Show, which many whites and blacks from lower-income townships attended, was also cited. Furthermore, it has also been noted that traditional churches such as the Presbyterian and Anglican Church as well as social arenas (e.g., the Boy Scouts) enhanced cross-racial mixing. See Hartnack (2015).

3.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter offered a historical contextualisation of whiteness and white politics in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe as a context for understanding white privilege and destitution. It has been shown that the white community has been a heterogeneous society characterised by fissures based on ethnicity, political views, geography, occupation and, at times, race. From this, it has been shown that these fissures within the community influenced how those identified as white people lived and accessed the privileges the Rhodesian community accorded. On examining these fissures, it has been noted that some whites were ‘more white’ than others. This influenced differences in how ownership of certain resources clouted one to be immune to a vulnerability which came with changes in political and material aspects of the country. The key concepts of whiteness and destitution are explored in the next chapter from a postcolonial theoretical vantage point.

CHAPTER FOUR

POSTCOLONIALISING WHITENESS AND DESTITUTION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces and analyses the conceptual origins of the concepts of whiteness and destitution as the crucial pillars of this study. Analysis of the concepts of whiteness and destitution is situated in the context of variants of whiteness studies, including critical whiteness studies, postcolonialism, and the conceptualisation of destitution merged into the overarching theoretical framework for this study.

The chapter starts by unpacking the racialised discourses of difference and Othering that became prevalent during colonialism and led to notions around white racial supremacy that reconfigured colonial societies. Discourses of difference and Othering informed and continue to inform differential access to strategic resources and privileges in colonial and postcolonial societies. These discourses are explained by discussing various historical theories and models of difference put forward by medical scientists, Egyptologists, craniologists, racial theorists, ethnologists, linguists, polygenists, monogenists, Social Darwinists, classical scholars, culturists, Enlightenment thinkers, and gender theorists. This is followed by considering whiteness as an intersectional social identity predicated on white privilege. Since white supremacy has been shown to derive from racialised colonial discourses, the next section discusses postcolonialism as an overarching critical framework in this study. More specifically, how whiteness studies as the theoretical context for this research is framed as an offshoot of postcolonial critique.

The discussion also includes conceptualising the concept of destitution from sociological, economic, political, and moral standpoints, followed by examining it as a postcolonial construct. By first analysing how the concept of destitution has been deciphered from the socio-political and economic dimensions by scholars of different disciplines, this chapter explores whether the term destitution is a standalone sociological concept or part of an applicable framework of the poetics on difference and Otherism. In other words, how and to what extent can the concept of destitution be useful in understanding differences in postcolonial societies such as Zimbabwe?

It is important to understand how destitution is conceptualised and understood by different scholars to carry out a comparative analysis of it in different contexts. As a term, destitution is loaded with conceptual meanings, rhetorical usages, and ambivalent connotations. In some cases, it has been conceptualised in a contextual manner; thus, understanding it in one context does not necessarily fit and means the same in another context, as the study of the African poor by John Iliffe (1987) shows. Conducting a comparative analysis of destitution provides a platform from which destitution can be understood in Zimbabwe vis-à-vis whiteness.

The chapter also presents the Postcolonial Intersectional Whiteness Theoretical Framework developed to interpret the intersections of whiteness and destitution underpinning this study. Mindful of different descriptions of the issue of difference and Otherism advanced by scholars from different scholarly disciplines, the theoretical framework cross-fertilises postcolonial theory and whiteness studies with intersectionality theory borrowed from feminism, Fanonian conceptions of violence and the Foucauldian concept of heterotopia.

4.2 RACIALISED COLONIAL DISCOURSES ON DIFFERENCE AND OTHERING

4.2.1 Explaining difference through monogenesis and polygenesis: An overview

Narratives of difference and othering have been captured in multiple ways since the colonial period. Debates in metropolises on difference were primarily rooted in race. These debates started in the late 17th Century and gained much ground during the 18th Century. During the 1840s, two accounts of the genesis of race were prevalent. Thus, explaining differences and efforts to catalogue people into different categories were mainly informed by monogenesis and polygenesis. For monogenists, all human races trace their roots from a single source, as is derived from the Bible. This account described the origins of all human races from one original source in the biblical Adam and Eve. Given that the Bible stated that all human beings trace their roots to the same parents, the origins of those seen as barbarians were difficult to clarify. Some accounts held that barbarians were beings suffering from God's wrath. This led to the fabrication of a Biblical account in which blackness was linked to the descendants of Noah's wayward child, Ham. Blackness was then associated with evil forces and framed as devolution from the common point of origin for humankind, the idealised Adam, before expulsion from the Garden of Eden. It was believed that climatic conditions were responsible for differences

in skin pigmentation from the ideal white to black, where blackness represented racial degeneration (Loomba, 2015: 113; McClintock, 1995: 49).

In other words, racial difference was explained by the monogenetic argument through the thesis of degeneration. The ‘degenerationist’ view, which traced its roots from the Bible, states that human beings had been initially created as white and civilised, with the ‘right’ religion shown to them. However, in certain situations, this view held that human beings degenerated into savagery. Linked to this degenerist view was also the ‘progressivist’ Enlightenment, which held that human beings had gradually progressed from a savage state into a civilised one and would continue to do so until reaching perfection. This implied that the unpolluted genesis of human beings was the white male, the universal mean and measure of all things. This account held that all the other forms were a degeneration from this ideal white man due to geography, gender geography, or a combination of both (Young, 1995: 95).

By the 1850s, another school of thought, polygenesis, began to take shape. The polygenetic account held that the various races were actually various species and had been dissimilar all along. They would and should continue to be different. This account held that various races originated in various places, in varying ‘centres of creation’. According to this viewpoint, particular races in particular places were regarded as initially, logically, and inexorably degenerate (McClintock, 1995: 49; Morton, 1850: 145-152; Stepan, 1986: 270; Young, 1995: 95).

However, during the 1860s, the Theory of Evolution by Charles Darwin dismissed the theories which had sustained the powerful discussions between monogenists and polygenists. The Evolutionary theory led to Social Darwinism (see Section 4.2.7), which ultimately became a productive source of scientific justification (albeit pseudo-scientific) for both monogenists and polygenists. The monogenists still focused on racial pecking orders based on inherent racial values. In contrast, the polygenists accepted an ancient common origin for all human beings. However, they assumed that people devolved into separate races with identifiable differences in terms of cognitive and physical abilities. At this time, evolutionary theorising became infused with measurements, numbers, and statistical science, which contributed to the emergence of scientific racism whereby racialised social hierarchies were presented as biological and scientific proof of inherent racialised differences among people (Gould, 1981: 73-74; Loomba, 2015: 125; McClintock, 1995: 49).

4.2.2 Explaining difference through racial theories

As noted above, racial theories rooted in either monogenesis or polygenesis were used to explain difference. One of the earliest racial theories, tracing its roots to the works of Blumenbach from the 1770s, attempted to explain difference between races based on language and physiology. Blumenbach, a German professor of natural history and monogenist, was the first to classify the human races into 28 varieties in line with the work of Linnaeus, creating taxonomies of natural life. In order to explain racial difference, he subscribed to the degeneration thesis where all races devolved from the original source, Adam as the idealised white male. The white male figure became the universal norm for humankind, especially during the European Renaissance. Thus, any man or woman who was not considered white and male was viewed as a degeneration from this ideal (Young, 1995: 62). This was also true for the colonial British, who considered white men as superior to other races as articulated by Southey (1951: 67):

A remarkable peculiarity is that they (the English) always write the personal pronoun I with a capital letter. May we not consider this Great I as an unintended proof of how much an Englishman thinks of his own consequence?

Blumenbach created the term ‘Caucasian’ to denote the superiority of the white race. His ideas were in line with the notion of a pure origin source of humanity which became popular during Romanticism. In contrast to Herder or Schlegel, who located the origins of humans in the Himalayas, he situated this source in the Caucasus Mountains separating Europe from Asia. Blumenbach’s work contributed to the development of what was to become known as Aryanism, first named in the 1790s and later popularised by the British Prime Minister Disraeli in the mid-1800s. Explanations of racial difference rooted in racial theories were directly linked to explanations of race through ethnology and linguistics, as explained in the next section (Blumenbach, 1865: 31; Young, 1995: 62).

4.2.3 Ethnology, linguistics and difference

Alternative racial theories rooted within the monogenist school were developed in response to physiological analysis. This led to the birth of the linguistic and ethnology schools of thought. For Prichard and Latham, notable nineteenth-century ethnologists, racial difference could be

the most effectively determined by analysing linguistic differences (Young, 1995: 111). For these ethnologists, language was important in tracing the differences between people since the ability to use language is a marker for humanity, while, at the same time, the diversity of languages accounts for the differences among all human beings. In this school of thought, the central tenet is that human beings developed from a single original source. Therefore, human differences were studied and categorised based on ethnicity instead of race. The ethnological analysis was linked to the linguistic school of thought. The linguistic analysis, which traces its roots to the works of linguists Renan and Arnold, was used to explain differences between people. In Renan's work, linguistic differences were progressively employed to emphasise an explanation of race characterised by expressions of cultural value and a racial pecking order based on levels of civilisation (Young, 1995: 65).

The tendency to document racial difference through biological categories was changed from simple ethnographic taxonomy through developments in historical linguistics (1780-1820), where European languages became linked to Sanskrit, tracing their genesis to Asia, ultimately explaining where the Aryan Caucasians had originated from. This discovery pitted European languages against Semitic languages, especially Hebrew, which until that time had been presumed to be the oldest extant language until that time. This would seem to confirm and justify the differentiation between the Aryan and Semitic races. In this way, the presentation of languages in hierarchical language trees strengthened the cataloguing of people into different racial categories but did not allow for any possibility of hybridity (Young, 1995: 62).

For Renan, based on the linguistic analysis of racial difference, the superiority of the Caucasian race was confirmed through language. He further subdivided the Caucasian race into the superior Aryans and inferior Semites in line with the linguistic differentiation between Aryan and Semitic languages, demonstrating traces of heterogeneity even in the earliest conceptions of white identity (Olender, 1992: 53). Further alluding to internal divisions within the Caucasian race, Renan conceived of the inferiority of different white races such as the Celts, where he articulated their weakness by essentialising them as 'feminine' and 'domestic' as illustrated in the statements below (Young, 1995: 66-67):

If it be permitted us to assign sex to nations as to individuals, we should have to say without hesitation that the Celtic race...is an essentially feminine race (Renan, 1896: 8).

It [the Celtic peoples] is, before all else, a domestic race fitted for family life and fireside joys (Renan, 1896: 5-6).

This explanation used gender to explain the supposed deficiency and degeneration of the Celtic people. Though clearly elaborated in the works of Renan in the late 19th Century, the racialised cultural traditions viewing the Irish as black or apelike had a long history, as illustrated by the works of Charles Kingsley and John Beddoe from the 1860s (Young, 1995: 69). Renan distinguished among different races using the categories of white, yellow, and black where the latter two were deemed inferior to varying degrees and were considered to be separate species (Young, 1995: 66). The black race was relegated to the bottom of the human family tree next to an ape amidst discussions raging at the time as to whether black people should be classified as human or simian (Young, 1995: 6).

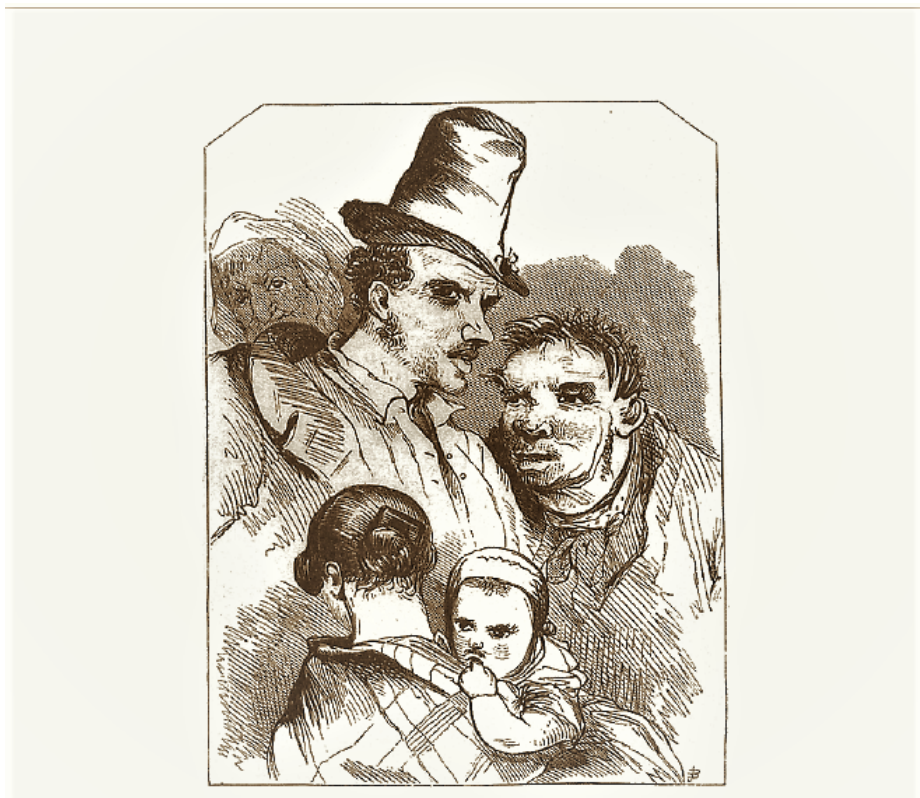


Figure 3: A portrait showing the Africanoid nature of the Irish people (Source: Young, 1995: 70).

Despite some theorists during that time arguing that all human beings trace their roots from the Biblical Adam and Eve (the monogenists), there were numerous polygenist dissenters, such as Renan, as already explained. Renan's arguments were in line with what was argued by Edward

Long, a Jamaican slave-owner who had contended in his famed work called the *History of Jamaica* of 1774 that “for my own part, I think there are extremely potent reasons for believing, that the White and the Negroe are two distinct species” (Young, 1995: 6; Long, 1774: 336; Haller, 1971: 69; Stepan, 1982: 29). This trope supported colonialism, and in support of colonialism, Renan stated that a nation that does not colonise is predestined to socialism and a conflict between the poor and rich classes. Although Renan denounced the subjugation of one European race over another, Young (1995: 66) remarked that he (Renan) found no fault in the subjugation of people of non-European origins whom he regarded as inferior races.

Young (1995: 6) argued that in England, the ideas by Edward Long were first proposed in scientific theory by Charles White in 1799. However, in 1859, German anthropologist, Theodor Waitz, noted that scientific dialogues on the difference in the human races were ideologically charged. In support of his thesis, Waitz (1863: 13) detailed the dire implications of the scientific theory on human species differentiation based on ‘a natural aristocracy’ of races with ‘the dominant white species’ as masters and ‘lower races’ destined to be chattel in this arrangement. He warned that this kind of biological determinism might lead some races to be deemed expendable (Young, 1995: 7). Despite the warnings by Theodor Waitz, other racial theorists such as Henry Hotze embraced the notion of immutable racial distinctions with a natural aristocracy with the European at the apex (Young 1995: 13). Hotze summarised the immutable racial characteristics as devised by Gobineau as presented in Table 3 below.

Table 3: Hotze’s summary of the characteristics of the races according to Gobineau (1856) (Source: Young, 1995: 98)

	<i>Black races</i>	<i>Yellow races</i>	<i>White races</i>
<i>Intellect</i>	Feeble	Mediocre	Vigorous
<i>Animal propensities</i>	Very strong	Moderate	Strong
<i>Moral manifestations</i>	Partially latent	Comparatively developed	Highly cultivated

From Hotze’s summary, it is evident how the black, yellow, and white races were differentiated and categorised according to intellectual capacities, animal propensities and moral manifestations. Of the three races, the white race was seen as superior to the black and yellow races.

4.2.4 Culturalism, hybridity and difference

For the sun cannot mate with the darkness, nor the white with the black (Haggard, 1885: 281).

The linguistic explanation of race seen in the works of Prichard (see Section 4.2.3) paved the way for a cultural turn. Due to the rise of medical discourse during the period, culturalism blended with biology and comparative anatomy, which were then used to corroborate the linguistic explanation of racial difference. During this period, medical discourse became characterised by the ‘invisible visibility’ articulated by Foucault (1973: 166) to describe how the body was examined and laid bare to the medical gaze. As a result, theories of racial difference, language and anatomy became distilled and unified in the new science of cranial physiognomy. Cranial capacity was measured through models of human brains and skulls and subsequently linked to degrees of civilisation and variances in cultural accomplishments to differentiate among the various races. Thus, biology and culture became indelibly linked, and the anatomical and cultural differences among the yellow, black, and white races were used to explain difference. As a result, race went from being viewed as an important influence on culture to being viewed as the central determining factor for culture, human character, and the entire history of humankind (Young, 1995: 114; Curtin, 1965: 364).

Young (1995: 97) highlighted how Gobineau (1856: 370), following in the footsteps of Blumenbach, further developed racial theory by dividing the different races on physiological grounds into Georges Cuvier’s ‘primary varieties’ of black, white, and yellow racial categories. Gobineau (1856: 382) set the white races apart as superior and further distinguished between the various European ethnicities that would all be deemed to belong to the Aryan race as the very pinnacle of civilisation and human achievement (Young 1995: 98).

Gobineau’s analysis which was rooted in culturalism, thus equated the Aryan race with civilisation from its very inception (Poliakov, 1974: 234). Young (1995: 98) described how Knox echoed the views of Gobineau when he declared black people ‘uncultivated’ and ‘instinctual’ and Asiatic races ‘semi-civilised’ (Knox, 1850: 300-302). He (Knox, 1850: 302-303) declared that what he considered lesser races “cannot be taught”. He surmised that these lesser races, having reached the zenith of what their inferior civilisations could produce, were heading towards extinction, as illustrated in his statement below.

Destined by the nature of their race, like all other animals, a certain limited course of existence, it matters little how their extinction is brought about (Knox, 1850: 302).

The stated omnipotence of the Aryan race meant that Gobineau blamed contamination of blood (through sexual unions between the white and black) as the main reason for the collapse of nations (Hitler, 1969 [1926]: 260; Young, 1995: 97-98). Gobineau also stated that any civilisation that has ever existed must also be the consequence of Aryan blood traces within it. In light of this, Gobineau (1915: 210) added that “all civilisations derive from the white race...none can exist without its help”. Thus, it was argued that the continual survival of so-called ‘primitive’ people who were not capable of ‘civilisation’ was a testimony of the purity of the blood of the “yellow and black races”, who continued to be like that because they “cannot overcome the natural repugnance, felt by men and animals alike, to a crossing of blood” (Gobineau, 1915: 27-8).

Gobineau (1915: 149) completely denied the likelihood of these ‘primitive people’ becoming civilised. The only hope to him was through interbreeding; thus, hybridity or *creolisation*. The duty for fraternising this blood lay with the white race since the whites were sexually attracted to other races. In contrast, the unwillingness of other races to mix kept them in a state of degeneration and beyond the reach of civilisation. Thus, from this argument, civilisation had a specific catastrophic flaw because the Aryan races were incited by a civilising drive to blend their blood with the so-called ‘lesser’ races, even though it would lead to their degeneration.

Western education, Christianisation and even colonisation were also seen as ineffective in ushering in civilisation. Thus, the interbreeding of strong races with weaker ones was viewed as the only way to change a degenerate race for the better. Gobineau (1915: 27, 173) argued that civilisation is incommunicable and that the ‘traces of civilisation’ among ‘barbarous people’ were only the signs of past supremacy by the civilised races. The base of his argument was that a race could vanquish another race and blend with it through creolisation or inbreeding and emerge with its own particular civilisation from this. He denied that two civilisations where one was more sophisticated could productively blend with a lesser civilisation. From this standpoint, hybridity between the superior white race and the inferior races would only result in the corrosion of the white superior race.

Young (1995: 101-102) argued that the white races were more prone to racial mixing due to white men's attraction to black and yellow female sexuality derived from asymmetrical power relations linked to their exoticisation and resistance. In contrast, the so-called lesser yellow and black races were less susceptible to racial mixing. Racial dissimilarity in the 19th Century became mainly concerned with sex, its consequence and the degree of fertility of the blending of the black and white races. Based on "observations of naturalists...in the animal or vegetable word", Gobineau (1915: 116) concluded that hybrids 'are condemned to barrenness'. Consequently, miscegenation or the fear of miscegenation leads to the development of theories to explain the differences between races. For this reason, one finds the issue of hybridity at the epicentre of the theories on race with key questions about the fertility of mixed races (as shown above) and racialised degrees of beauty.

Gobineau (1915: 150-151) declared the European nations as the most beautiful and indicated that while "those not of white blood approach beauty", they do not achieve it, although, for him, miscegenation does not preclude beauty. Gobineau (1915: 151) qualified his statements in a footnote, describing the "marriage of white and black" as the "happiest blend, from the point of view of beauty". For Gobineau (1915: 149), only the white races make history, whereas the lesser races "have no history at all". All the world civilisations deemed to have achieved anything noteworthy, such as the Chinese, Egyptian, and Indian civilisations, initiated by Aryans through racial mixing (Gobineau, 1915: 211-212). By contrast, the progress of black people was viewed to have stalled (Young, 1995: 94). However, the white races, for the most part, were not seen to be homogenous in identity or history (Young, 1995: 66).

Young (1995: 97) explained that although Gobineau (1856: 147) continued to use the three colour-based racial groupings, he acknowledged the idea that all races, even the white race, were a "hybrid agglomeration". For Gobineau (1856: 25), primitive civilisations will cease to exist when confronted with superior civilisations. In this equation, mid-nineteenth-century writers, such as Thomas Hope, viewed Africans as one of these lesser races and civilisations that would disappear. However, this contrasts racial theories of miscegenation of, for instance, Gobineau (Young, 1995: 91). Thus, despite the ubiquity of the arguments by racial theorists for hybridity, arguments which were against hybridity rooted in the claims that races were fundamentally different were also peddled. In contrast to what was argued by scholars and scientists who were in favour of hybridity during the 19th Century, numerous writers, such as Cope (Young, 1995: 110), cautioned against racial miscegenation, positing that hybrid races

are the most inferior of all races. The threat of racial degeneration lingered on throughout the 19th Century. It returned and reached its apogee in the race theories of the Third Reich of Nazi Germany (Young, 1995: 62).

4.2.5 Enlightenment writings and difference

In the 18th Century, depictions of Africa in the ordering of otherness were also used in Enlightenment tropes such as “men are born unequal” and questions about “the place of the savage in the chain of being” (Hodgen, 1971: 33). Enlightenment writings explained the issues of racial degeneration and expressed the features of savagery more clearly. Many Enlightenment writings on racial difference were based on travelogues describing how the inhabitants from other continents were anachronistic savages that would disappear in the face of Western culture. The inferiority of Africans to Europeans was a common trope in the literature of this nature and time period (Jahn, 1961: 54; Mudimbe, 1988: 132, 206).

Most writers whose work focused on the differences between Africa and Europe demonstrated the complete lack of resemblance between the two continents. They attempted to prove that the African physical environment, flora and fauna, and the natives represent relics of a remote age of antiquity (Mudimbe, 1988: 120). This is evident in Gobineau’s work (as explained before), the thinking of Social Darwinists, and the dialectic between polygenists and monogenists, which provided ‘scientific’ and ‘social’ classifications for racial thinking (Haller, 1971: 67; Mudimbe, 1988: 133). Around the mid-eighteenth-century, Linnaeus devised taxonomies of human beings using skin colour and moral and intellectual characteristics as criteria of classification (Haller, 1971: 4; Pratt, 1992: 32). Linnaeus’ classification of types and varieties of human beings within the natural system was thereafter modified by Gobineau and Social Darwinists (Haller, 1971; Mudimbe, 1988: 120).

The difference among races offered as racialised taxonomies of the human species can be seen in John Burke’s *The Wild Man’s Pedigree* (Pratt, 1992) (see Table 4).

Table 4: The categorisation and differences among men as illustrated by John Burke (Source: Pratt, 1992: 32)

Category	Characteristics
Wild Man	Four-footed, mute, hairy.
American	Copper-coloured, choleric, erect. Hair black, straight, thick; nostrils wide; face harsh; beard scanty; obstinate, content, free. Paints himself with fine red lines. Regulated by customs.
European	Fair, sanguine, brawny; hair yellow, brown, flowing; eyes blue; gentle, acute, inventive. Covered with close vestments. Governed by laws.
Asiatic	Sooty, melancholy, rigid. Hair black; eyes dark; severe, haughty, covetous. Covered with loose garments. Governed by opinions.
African	Black, phlegmatic, relaxed. Hair black, frizzled; skin silky; nose flat, lips tumid; crafty, indolent, negligent. Anoints himself with grease. Governed by caprice.

As seen in John Burke's categorisation, the European (who represents the ideal white human being) is seen as possessing human characteristics superior to any other human being. In this scheme, the European is seen as distinctively different from the Asian, the African, the wild man and the American and viewed as a fully evolved man, civilised, and governed by laws. Similar racial categories favouring the European or so-called 'white' race were common at the time. In this way, Cuvier, for example, offered a hierarchy of human types in *Animal Kingdom* (1827). Morton offered a table of races and their cranial and intellectual capacity in *Crania Americana* (1833). Combe presented a system of *Phrenology* (1844), in which there was a demonstration of the interlinkages between brain types, racial dissimilarities and levels of mystical and cultural progress (Curtin, 1964: 69; Lyons, 1975: 88).

Hegel, perhaps one of the most influential philosophical proponents of this notion, saw Africa not simply as a different geographical space but a different temporal zone, surviving anachronistically within historical time. He argued that Africans needed moral education mainly because of the primitiveness and the uncultured situation of the people in Africa. Thus, for Hegel, colonialism became the only avenue that could civilise Africans if they were to become full human beings. Africa was regarded as land occupied by cannibals, dervishes, and

witch doctors, abandoned in prehistory (Hulme, 1986: 89-134; McClintock, 1995: 41; Loomba, 2015: 85). Words such as cannibal, amok, magazine, calico, caravan, carpet, coffee, boutique, shampoo, shawl, khaki, chintz, and tank are of foreign derivation used to refer to non-Europeans when Europeans came in contact with these people (Hulme, 1986: 89-134; McClintock, 1995: 40-41; Yule & Burnell, 2013: 45; Loomba, 2015: 85).



Figure 4: A portrait of an anachronistic Other and a civilised Self (Source: McClintock, 1995: 41)

Thus, Africans were considered degenerate because their mental capacities and belief systems were deemed inferior to those of the Europeans and illogical. The African religious cosmology and how they made sense of everything was seen as based on subjectivity and not objectivity. Almost all explanations of the 'dark continent' by Enlightenment writers depicted its inhabitants as distasteful, heathen, and uncivil (Mudimbe, 1988: 133). Descriptions of African people by the Enlightenment writers consistently and contemptuously highlighted their blackness (Vaughan, 1982: 919). Theoretically, at least, African cultures could be modified; but the physical characteristics of African people could not. Although multiple physical traits associated with African appearance, such as stature, facial features and hair texture, did not please the Europeans, the most striking and disturbing feature was the darkness of African skin. Thus, adages such as the impossibility of 'washing the Ethiopie white' became commonplace. This was seen in an example of two white men washing a black man in the works of Palmer (1988: 56):

Why wasteste thou the man of Inde? Indurate heart of heretics much blacker than the mole; With word or writte who seeks to purge Starke dead he blows the coal.

These images were common throughout the 16th and 17th centuries, with the permanence of black skin being used to indicate the idea of wasted labour. However, it is critical to note that the stubborn ‘heart of heretics’ is pronounced as black and impossible to wash clean. Therefore, dark skin and lack of faith were seen as equal. Jews and Muslims were, in most cases, labelled as dark-skinned, as were other pagans. Thus, religious difference became an index of and metaphor for racial, cultural, and ethnic differences. However, if blackness could be washed white, it also meant whiteness was vulnerable to pollution (Loomba & Burton, 2007: 41; Loomba, 2015: 114, 120).

Furthermore, “if in some cases, blackness signified racial difference in others, whiteness intensified its horror” (Loomba, 2015: 117). In other words, the prejudice against people who were seen as the Other was not confined to black Africans only. The Irish famine of the 1840s was a clear case in history where the ideology that dictated the fate of a people was largely engrained in an entrenched cultural bias fixed in a coincidental correlation. For instance, while poverty in England was characteristically described in terms of the whimsies of economic factors, Irish poverty was seen as caused by the Irish culture of idleness, indifference, and incompetence. The Irish people were censured for their centuries-old taste for potatoes. The potato famine was one of the catastrophes the Irish brought on themselves. Thus, in the end, the eventual victory for cultural prejudice, in this case, was that while the Irish died due to hunger, Britain’s mission was not seen as one to alleviate Irish distress. It was seen as a mission to civilise her people and to lead them to feel and act like human beings (Gibbons, 1991: 104-105). These prejudices against the Irish were also echoed in travel writings. On his first trip to Ireland, Kingsley (1901: 5) wrote:

I am haunted by the human chimpanzees I saw along that hundred miles of horrible country...But to see white chimpanzees is dreadful; if they were black, one would not feel it so much, but their skins, except where tanned by exposure, are as white as ours.

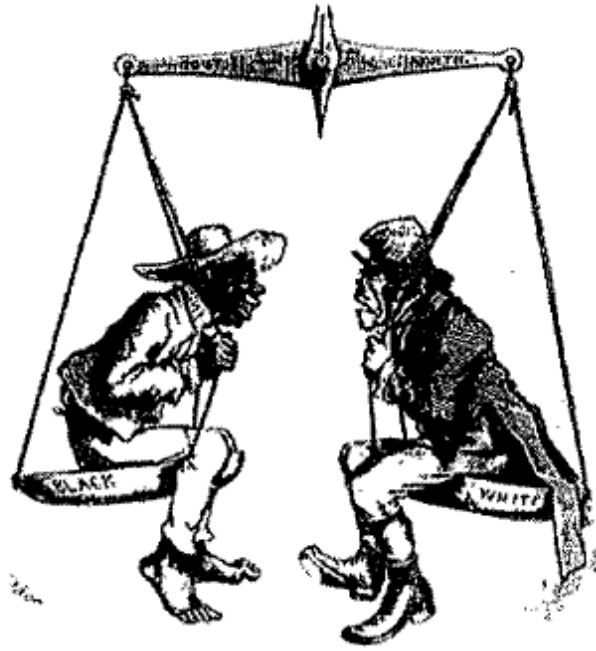


Figure 5: A caricature of the racial and political weight of a freed slave and an Irishman. (Source: McClintock, 1995: 51)

4.2.6 Egyptology, craniology, and difference

A racial theory rooted in the works of Gobineau arose during the American civil war. The American interest in developing a new raciality founded on the ideas of Gobineau was aimed at defending and justifying the practice of slavery. Subsequently, the debates mainly focused on the questions of culture and biology. The two were invoked simultaneously and analysed concomitantly. Thus, the cultural question dwelt on assessing whether black civilisation had ever existed. If there was not any, the absence of black civilisation then substantiated the claims of racial superiority of the white race over the inferior black race.

On the other hand, the biological question focused on assessing whether the by-products of unions between blacks and whites were fertile (see Section 4.2.4). If they were infertile, this would prove that blacks and whites are different. Therefore, the key emphasis in writing about race in this period was placed on the history of black civilisations by focusing on Egypt. Thus, the question of hybridity in human production became predominant. The critical issues in explaining the differences between the black and white races were discussed by Nott (a physician) and Gliddon (an Egyptologist) (Horsman, 1987: 57-8; Stanton, 1960: 45-8). The importance of the work by Nott and Gliddon was how they brought the scientific and the

cultural domains together in their aims to disseminate an indistinctly scientific and cultural theory of race. Thus, biology and Egyptology established the basis of the new 'scientific' racial theory.

The discussions about slavery that were advanced before and during the American civil war profoundly affected racial debates and the development of racial theory during that time. What was important in the discussions of slavery in America in terms of the racial debates of the time was the comparative ease with which blacks and whites were separated and set against each other in the American accounts. The juxtaposition became the dominant theoretical model for all relations between white and black. Therefore, instead of an overall schema of the levels of difference between the races, the new model viewed whites as totally different. The model considered all non-white races only in terms of how much they digressed from the normative Caucasian standard (Williamson, 1980: 61; Young, 1995: 117).

With the new model tracing its foundations to the works of Nott and Gliddon, a more constitutive dissimilarity of the human species became the chief focus of racial theory rooted in polygenesis. This new model of an absolute difference between the races, which saw the whites as the model from which all others had diverged, meant that the fine deviations between shadows of difference of the different species of humans paved the way for the model proposed by Nott and Gliddon. The models only differentiated between a few great races: white, yellow and black. Nevertheless, the claim for absolute difference meant those of mixed race who traversed this boundary had to be monitored with remarkable care. Thus, a race was defined in terms of its purity. The lack of pigmentation of white people was seen as a sign of purity and superiority to other races. People of mixed race were seen as impure. One can argue that the fear of miscegenation was related to the belief that without such racial categorisations, civilisation would, in a precise and technical sense, fall. As a result, Western culture was defined as different and superior to those of other racial groups (Deleuze & Guattari, 1988: 379; Warren, 1999: 194).

Thus, denial of African achievements was also one of the strategies used to present Africans in ordering otherness and explaining differences. This was clearly captured by David Hume, cited in Eze (1997: 7):

I am apt to suspect the Negroes to be naturally inferior to the Whites. There scarcely ever was a civilised nation of that complexion, nor even any individual eminent in action or specialisation. No ingenious manufacturers amongst them, no arts, no sciences. On the other hand, the rudest and barbarous of the Whites, such as the ancient Germans, the present Tartars, have still something eminent about them...such a uniform and constant difference could not happen...if nature had not made original distinction betwixt these breeds of men.

Similarly, Kant (2007b [1775]: 86) noted:

Africa proper, as far as History goes back, has remained-for all purposes of connection with the rest of the world-shut up; it is the Gold-land compressed within itself-the land of childhood, which lying beyond the days of self-conscious history, is enveloped in the dark mantle of Night...The negro, as already observed, exhibits the natural man in his completely wild and untamed state. [Africa]...it has no movement of development to exhibit. The History of the World travels from East to West, for Europe is absolutely the end of History, Asia is the beginning (Kant, 2007b [1775]: 86).

As one of the earliest civilisations in Africa, Egypt represented the most significant impediment to the claim for the perpetual inferiority of the black race. In contrast, Mill (1850: 29-30) argued that “the earliest known civilisation was, we have the strongest reason to believe, a Negro civilisation. The original Egyptians are inferred, from the evidence of their sculptures, to have been a Negro race: it was from Negroes, therefore, that the Greeks learnt their first lessons in civilisation”. Racial theorists such as Gliddon (1848) disputed arguments for an African Egypt. The claim that black people built Great Zimbabwe was similarly contested by authors such as Randall-MacIver (1906).

For polygenists, the racial identity of Egypt was seen as important in that it had to have been a white civilisation. In order to advance this, it was argued that “Egypt was originally peopled by the Caucasian race” (Young, 1995: 20). This argument was supported by the scientific works by Morton (1839), who was an anatomist and Egyptologist. Morton (1839) substantiated his claims by measuring the different skull sizes of different races. This method enabled precise scientific measurement of racial differences (Morton, 1839: 260). Morton (1844: 157) concluded that from his craniological investigation of Egyptian skulls, “the valley of the Nile, both in Egypt and in Nubia, was originally peopled by a branch of the Caucasian race”. Though

blacks were said to have been part of the population of Egypt at the time, they were slaves of the white masters, a notion strongly supported by Nott (1844) at the time.

In this way, the arguments by Nott and Gliddon relegating black people to perpetual servitude were substantiated and led to the propagation of a theory of permanent natural apartheid. Thus, the equating of the white race to civilisation as well as of civilisation as the cause of whiteness clarifies why it was of vital importance to distort Egyptian history and argue that those responsible for building the Egyptian pyramids were not black (Young, 1995: 89, 121; Bernal, 1987: 83-85).

In light of this claiming of Egyptian history for whiteness, the technique of Yoruba statuary was seen as having come from the Egyptians (arguably from European origin); Beninese art was considered to have come from the Portuguese; the architectural achievement of Zimbabwe was attributed to Arab artisans; and Hausa and Buganda statecraft were also seen as inventions of white invaders (Lugard, 1905: 611; Randall-MacIver, 1906: 32; Davidson, 1959: 67; Sanders, 1969: 45; Mallows, 1984: 67). What was recorded by European voyageurs in their travelogues aimed to tell a story of the achievements of Europeans in Africa. It created an impression that Africans were always behind other cultures and never achieved anything independently (Loomba, 2015: 115).

The tendency to trivialise and see everything done by Africans as something done by outsiders was not confined to art. For instance, botanists Chevalier in the 1930 and Portères in the 1950s stated that the African continent could have been a very early locus of plant domestication. Similarly, anthropologist Murdock (1959) explained a similar proposition and postulated a 'Sudanic complex of crops'. Such views were ignored, and European writers argued that cereal-crop agriculture's origins in sub-Saharan Africa were the product of human migration or some form of cultural diffusion or stimulus deriving from southwest Asia (Desmond & Brandt, 1984: 111; Reed, 1977). Thus, discourses on difference were mostly characterised by a functional perspective and a self-righteous fanaticism founded on the philosophical inferences of the paradigms of conflict and significance. The analysis, through a temporalisation of the chain of being and civilisations, instantaneously accounted for the normalcy, creative dynamism, and achievements of the 'civilised world' against the abnormality, eccentricity, and primitiveness of 'non-literate societies' (Hodgen, 1971: 46; Meek, 1976: 89).

4.2.7 Social Darwinism and difference

In the 1860s, an evolutionary theory was developed to explain difference by exploiting the weaknesses between monogenist- and polygenist-oriented theories. This was achieved through the development of Social Evolutionism and Social Darwinism, which promoted the idea of human inequality and led to the notion of whiteness being a supreme identity marker (McClintock, 1995: 49; Paul, 2006: 224). Rooted in the Darwinist ideas on natural selection and the view that the fittest will survive, the evolutionary theory argued that the white race could assert its dominance over all other races because it was the ‘fittest race’. According to Walter Bagehot (1872: 46), the origins of civilisation, which he saw as having begun with the white race, lay in forming more cohesive tribes through intertribal warfare. For Bagehot (1872: 47-8), warfare only became unnecessary when backward societies achieved a certain level of civility.

Darwin drew on Wallace and Bagehot to argue that tribes (which were essentially white), including the largest proportion of men endowed with superior intellectual qualities, sympathy, altruism, courage, fidelity and obedience, would multiply and ultimately displace the other tribes. To Darwin (1871: 162), since morality was an essential element in their success, both the standard of morality and the number of moral men ‘tend to be everywhere’. Inheritance of property contributed to this process because, without capital accumulation, “the arts could not progress; and it is chiefly through their power that the [white] civilised races have extended, and are now everywhere extending their range, so as to take the place of the lower [non-European] races” (Darwin, 1871: 169). According to Darwin (1871: 169), “extinction follows chiefly from the competition of tribe with tribe, and race with race...When civilised nations come into contact with barbarians, the struggle is short”. This was also echoed in the ideas of Gobineau (see Section 3.2.4).

Mutualistic readings of Charles Darwin’s work appealed to socialists, anarchists, liberal reformers and those who appropriated Darwin to argue for racial, national or class superiority. Of course, there was no need to choose, and numerous writers invoked natural selection to argue for *laissez-faire* policies at home and imperial conquest abroad. Paul (2006: 224) stated that the reading of Darwinism as a biologist’s justification for *laissez-faire* and colonialism is what is generally implied by the term ‘Social Darwinism’. The term ‘Social Darwinism’ was coined around the turn of the century. It was popularised in the mid-1940s by the American

historian Richard Hofstadter. The theory appropriated evolution by natural selection to justify colonialism in other countries and policies on survival of the fittest at home. The term flourished in the late 19th Century. The proponents of Social Darwinism held that it was only natural that “the best competitors in a competitive situation would win”. It was argued that this process would lead to continuing (if slow) improvement, and those efforts to hasten improvement through social reform were bound to fail (Hofstadter, 1944: 6-7). But as Hofstadter acknowledged, Charles Darwin's ideas were also appropriated for entirely different ends.

Darwinism was used to justify warfare and imperial conquest. It was noted that in the dominant motif, nature was brutal, and humans were beasts. Humans were viewed as part of a natural world characterised by a relentless struggle for existence, in which the toughest, fleetest and most cunning would prevail. It was therefore stated that human behaviour mirrors man's animal origins. Thus, belligerence and territoriality were seen as indelible instincts, deeply entrenched in human nature. War was seen as an essential part of the evolutionary process. British anthropologist Sir Arthur Keith famously asserted: “Nature keeps her human orchard healthy by pruning; war is her pruning hook” (Stepan, 1986: 137).

The meaning of ‘Social Darwinism’ is muddled by the fact that numerous advocates of *laissez-faire* rejected the principle of natural selection and minimised its significance (Paul, 2006: 226). Some stereotypical ‘Social Darwinists’ preferred the theory associated with Lamarck that stipulated that organisms acquire new characteristics due to active adaptation to their environments, where competition makes creatures work harder and thus exercise their organs and faculties. This was in contrast with Darwin, for whom competition worked mainly to spread minority traits throughout a population.

For neo-Lamarckians, the mental powers, skills and traits of character fostered by this struggle would be transmitted to future generations, resulting in constant material and moral progress (Paul, 2006: 224). Ultimately, it was believed that the evolutionary process would produce a perfect society characterised by stability, harmony, peace, altruism, and cooperation where land would be held in common, women would have the same rights as men, and government would become superfluous and ultimately disappear. Therefore, the Lamarckians argued that the state should do nothing to alleviate the sufferings of the unfit but to allow nature to rid itself of the unworthy (Spencer, 1852: 379; Paul, 2006: 226).

Charles Darwin and his 19th Century compatriots worried that if characteristics making for social success and failure were hereditary and if the unfit or failures produced more children than the successful, the result would be degeneration (Paul, 2006: 229). However, during Charles Darwin's day, the notion that heredity held the key to social success was not widely accepted. While claiming to have been converted to Galton's perspective on the vitality of inherited intellect, Darwin believed that enthusiasm and hard work mattered too. Additionally, while Lamarckism reigned, hereditarianism did not necessarily imply support for selective breeding programmes. Even those who assumed that social problems were due to bad heredity regularly concluded that the solution could be found in social reform. Paul (2006: 229) maintained that as long as the Lamarckian view held sway, it was not sensible to counterpoise nature and nurture. However, by the turn of the century, while far from dead, even in scientific circles, Lamarckism was weakening.

A result of the increasingly popular view that undesirable traits would be passed on to the next generation through heredity emerged. Thus, a new movement different from the Lamarckian position led to the arguments that the only solution to social problems was discouraging reproduction by those with undesirable traits while encouraging reproduction by society's worthier elements. Galton coined the word 'eugenics' in 1883 to describe this programme. The term eugenics soon acquired a wide and enthusiastic following, which cut across the usual political divisions. In Britain, where the term was coined, the middle-class people of every political persuasion (conservative, liberal and socialist) were alarmed by the apparently decadent breeding of what in Britain was called the 'social residuum'. In order to counter this, Galton had been principally concerned with encouraging the talented to have large families, that is, with what he termed 'positive' eugenics (Paul, 2006: 229).

In the 1870s, positive eugenics appeared even to most alarmists as the only acceptable means of preventing the swamping of the better by the worse. However, by the turn of the century, novel views of heredity had converged with an increased sense of danger and changing attitudes towards the state to make the active intervention more acceptable. Thus, efforts to intervene actively with reproduction in the interests of the community acquired greater legitimacy. For those who had faith in impartial expertise and the virtues of state planning, control of breeding seemed only common sense. Initially, intervention took the form of

segregation of ‘defectives’ during their reproductive years. Since institutionalisation was seen as expensive, sterilisation in both men and women became a popular alternative (Paul, 2006: 230).

In the United States, advocates of immigration restriction believed that newcomers from Southern and Eastern Europe were biologically inferior to ‘old stock’ Americans and rapidly multiplying. In 1924, the Immigration Restriction Act in the United States of America sharply reduced the total number of allowable entrants and, through the adoption of a quota system, reduced to a trickle of new entrants from Russia, Poland, the Balkans, and Italy. The most far-reaching and ruthless eugenic measures were adopted in Germany. The 1933 Law for the Prevention of Genetically Diseased Offspring, soon after the institutionalisation of Nazism, incorporated a wide range of ostensibly heritable conditions and applied them to the non-institutionalised (Paul, 2006: 230).

The eugenic measures entailed much more than a massive sterilisation programme in Germany. The Nuremberg Laws prohibited Jewish-German marriages. Another programme encouraged racially ‘pure’ German women, both single and married, to bear the children of the SS officers. Another programme known as the Aktion T-4 programme and its various sequels euthanised (the euphemism for murder by gassing, starvation, and lethal injection) the country’s institutionalised mentally and physically disabled, sometimes with the tacit consent of their families. Furthermore, in Germany, the penal system was reformed, condemning minor offenders to death to counter war’s dysgenic effects. These policies of ruthless selection were a run-up to the extermination of Jews and other racial and political undesirables. Efforts to maintain racial purity and rid the country of ‘useless eaters’ often employed Darwinian rhetoric: survival of the fittest, selection and counter-selection. This informed most strategies used to construct whiteness in societies conquered by Europeans (Paul, 2006: 230).

During the 19th Century, facial features highlighted the race’s character. Thus, these stigmata were drawn on to identify and discipline atavistic ‘races’ within the European race: prostitutes, the Irish, Jews, the unemployed, criminals and the insane. In the work of men such as Galton, Broca, and the Italian physician Cesare Lombroso, the body’s geometry mapped the psyche of the race. The Ethnological Society led by Dr John Beddoe also measured the ‘Index of Nigrescence’ or the amount of residual melanin in the skin, hair and eyes in the British and Irish population, and it was concluded that the index rose sharply from east to west and south

to north (Beddoe, 1885: 22; Crosland, 1905: 34; Curtis, 1971: 45; Lebow, 1976: 78; McClintock, 1995: 30, 50; Loomba, 2015: 114).

As shown in the history of social anthropology and criminology, the study of the physical differences among different races was advanced in the second half of the 19th Century into a compulsive explanation of white people (Europeans, that is) into ‘types’ in the science of ‘physiognomy’. Therefore, it becomes clear why the physician Franz Joseph Gall, who devised the seemingly unquestionable scientific tests of craniometry, basically categorised the races according to ‘beauty’ or ‘ugliness’ criteria. Visual physiognomies are commonly apparent in descriptions of physical differences. In these, African faces are contrived to resemble apes in contrast to European faces that are demonstrated by Greek sculpture, such as the Apollo Belvedere (Hope, 1831: 45; Nott & Gliddon, 1854: 34; Knox, 1862: 56; Cope, 1887: 23; Cowling, 1989: 20; Young, 1995: 90).

In light of Social Darwinism, the need to satisfy the ‘scientific’ canons provided by natural historians and pragmatists had to be achieved. There was a need for a visual paradigm to present evolutionary development as a quantifiable exhibition. This led to the emergence of the exemplary figure in the form of an evolutionary Family Tree of Man. Thus, differences between races during the 19th Century were fashioned not only according to an essential binary division between black and white. It was also created through evolutionary social anthropology’s historicised version of the Great Chain of Being. In other words, racialism operated according to the Same/Other model. Racial degeneration was measured by the extent it deviated from the white standard. Gender was also used to explain racial difference. Those who were seen as having deviated from the white standard were seen as the feminine races (Stepan, 1985: 21, 190; McClintock, 1995: 37; Young, 1995: 6).

The perverted classes, conceptualised as deviants from normal human beings, were seen as essential to the self-definition of the middle class. Similar to the idea of degeneration was progress, for the distance along the path of progress travelled by some portions of humanity could be measured only by the distance others lagged. It was noted that normalcy thus emerged as a by-product of deviance, and the ornate creation of clusters of degenerate types highlighted the boundaries of the normal. From this standpoint, one school of thought held that natural regeneration was planetary and organised according to God’s will into an irreversible Chain of Being. In contrast, Herbert Spencer, influenced by the ideas of Charles Darwin, became a social

evolutionist and projected evolution as a tree and not a chain. The tree became one of the simplest forms of constructing classificatory schemes based on subsumption and hierarchy. The tree offered an ancient image of a natural genealogy of power. Therefore, in the discourse of science, race is explained not simply by people's skin texture but also by their civilisational and cultural attributes. 'Nature' was now entreated to 'explain' and link black skin, a small brain and savage behaviour. It is useful to reiterate that cultural attitudes necessarily shaped science. Thus, Charles Darwin's theory of the evolution of the human sorts symbolised a candid advance for science, although it was used to reinforce ideas of racial supremacy (Fabian, 1983: 96; McClintock, 1995: 37, 46; Loomba, 2015: 76).

The social evolutionists secularised the divine cosmological tree. It was turned into a switchboard image which mediated between nature and culture as a natural image of evolutionary human progress. For instance, Mantegazza's 'Morphological Tree of the Human Races' clearly showed how the image of the tree was offered to racial scientists. The world's spasmodic cultures were mapped against the tree. From this tree, human history was imagined as logically teleological, an organic progression of upward growth. The white man was seen as the apex of progress. Other races occupied the tree's lower branches (McClintock, 1995: 37).

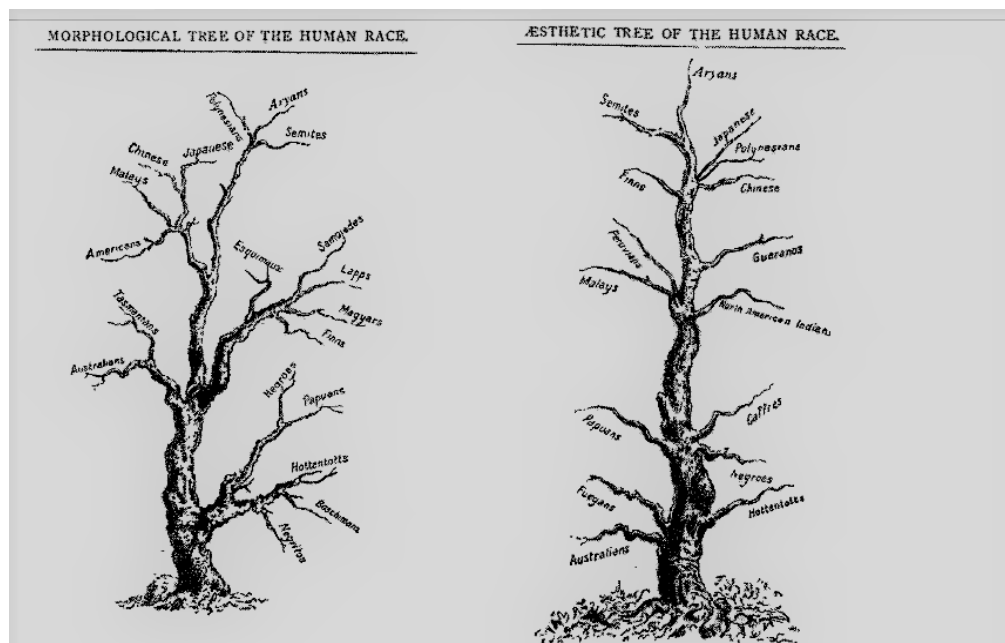


Figure 6: Racial family trees (Source: McClintock, 1995: 38)

On the other hand, in the tree of time (which was also developed by social evolutionists), the racial pyramid and historical evolution became the *fait accompli* of nature. In this tree, progress is seen as taking the character of a spectacle under the form of the family. It is important to note that the whole sequential history of human development is presented and expanded at a glance (McClintock, 1995: 38).

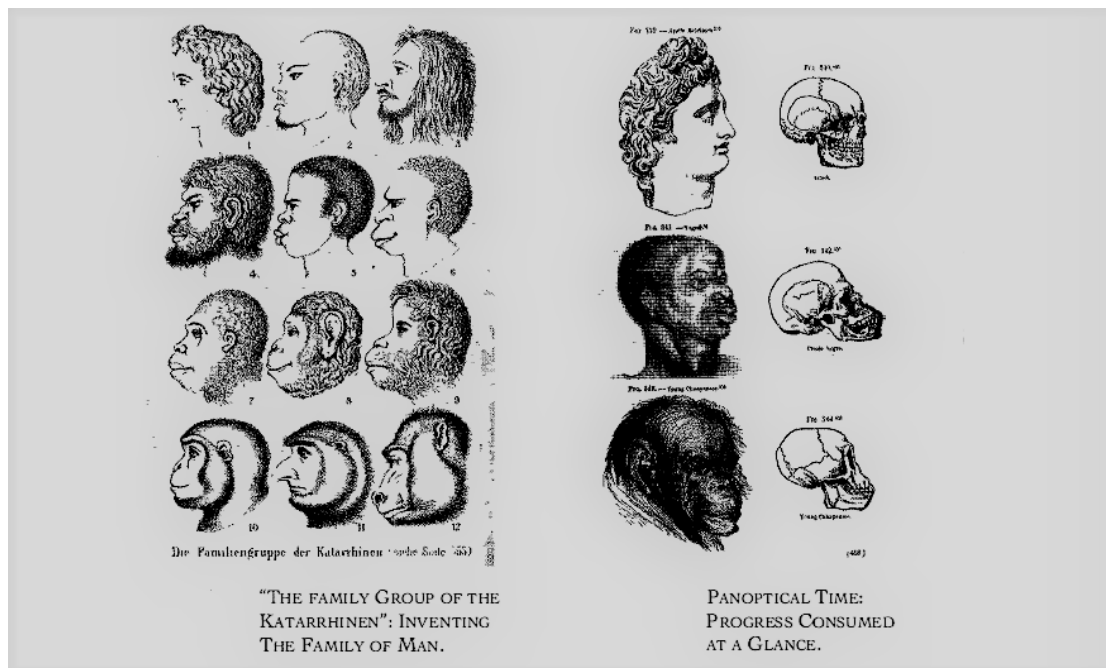


Figure 7: Categorisation of Man into families of Man (Source: McClintock, 1995: 39)

4.2.8 Culture, race, gender, sex and difference

From the 1860s, the image of the natural, patriarchal family, in coalition with pseudoscientific Social Darwinism, started to constitute the organising trope for arranging a disconcerting collection of cultures into a single, global narrative well-arranged and managed by Europeans. As a result, the idea of divine nature was superseded by the idea of imperial nature. This, in the end, guaranteed that the 'universal' epitome of Enlightenment individualism only belonged to propertied men of European descent. Thus, in colonies such as Zimbabwe, black people were seen as gender deviants. They were seen as the embodiments of prehistoric promiscuity and excess. It is useful to reiterate that the evolutionary backwardness of blacks was displayed by their femininity (McClintock, 1995: 45).

Social evolutionism and anthropology gave to politics and economics a notion of natural time as ancestral. The crafting of the Family Tree of Man delivered scientific racism with a gendered image for promoting and broadcasting the idea of racial progress. Gender was therefore used to make progressively advanced discrepancies among the different races. The white race was seen as the male of the species and the other inferior races as the female. The ‘natural’ gender relations of Western society were hereby used to institute the authority of the natural laws that determined the associations between the white race and other races. Since the white man was the head of the family in Western societies, he also had to lord abroad. In other words, the orthodox hierarchy of gender was established and reiterated at the level of race, which then feminised males and females alike in other races as inferior. Hierarchies in other races and their cultural values could be assimilated into the ‘civilisation’ mission led by the white as long as the white male remained dominant. This was in line with the ideas of racial theorists who had theorised race from polygenetic and monogenetic standpoints (Stepan, 1986: 270; McClintock, 1995: 55, 359; Young, 1995: 104).

These ideas were seen in the writings of Gobineau (1915: 149), who justified the seemingly incorrigible sexual relations between the Aryans and the black and yellow races by describing the active Aryans as the “pre-eminently male groups”. The desirable yellow and black races were subsequently seen as the “female or feminised races”. Thus, the remarkable erogenous relation seen as vitally important to the history of European colonialism was given the status of a natural law. It became the driver of history and of civilisation itself. This explanation was, however, in contrast to the narratives of ‘negrophobia’, which held that Negroes had excessive sexual desires compared to the sexual desires of Europeans (Loomba, 2015: 148).

There were also demonstrations of how the nexus between sex and race were established in the 19th Century through imagination derived from cultural stereotypes. In most cases, blackness has been seen as evoking attractive but perilous sexuality, speciously profuse, boundless, frightening fertility. ‘Negrophobia’ turned on the fear and “desire of rampant black sexuality”. Thus, to the whites, the black Other was everything that lay outside the Self. However, for the black subject, the white Self had been seen as defining everything appropriate, everything that the Self desired (Spencer, 1852: 501; 1864: 30; Gilman, 1985: 71-128; Loomba, 2015: 148).

Although the difference between the civilised and the uncivilised was based on assumptions, the differences between the representations of Western beauty were used to judge the

degeneration and barbarity of other races. The disgust that European writers of the 19th Century usually expressed when describing other races, notably Africans, is, nevertheless, repeatedly supplemented at other points, with an equal emphasis, sometimes apparently unintentional, on the beauty, desirability, or attractiveness of the racial Other. For instance, Hope (1831: 400-1), after a description of black people in Africa as people with ‘the least cultivation’ as ‘disgusting’, ‘repulsive’, ‘preposterous’ and ‘hideously ugly’, suddenly described people from the Nubia Kingdom as “voluptuous more even than those of the most resplendent white”. The nexus between culture and race theory in the 19th Century involved sexuality as its third mediating term. Thus, there were intrinsic links between sexuality and gender that have always been at the epicentre of racism (Hernton, 1969: 125; Stember, 1976: 56; Hyam, 1990: 203; Young, 1995: 91).

Though the difference between the white race and other races was well-defined in cultural terms through degrees of civilisation, culture itself became the brainchild of a sexual difference recognised with the heterosexual mixture of races. Culture was seen as a product of the “same process of sexual relations between the male and female races that produce the degenerative force of endlessly miscegenated offspring; the same *mélange* of races, and therefore culture itself, bringing about the decay of civilisation”. This was depicted in racial theories through their relentless effort to emphasise immutable metamorphoses between races (Young, 1995).

Culture has constantly supported these incompatible forms of internal discord within it. The same applies to racial theory. Racial theory was aimed at keeping the races apart. However, it transmuted into expressions of the covert, “furtive forms of what can be called ‘colonial desire’: a covert but insistent obsession with transgressive, interracial sex, hybridity and miscegenation. The close link between the development of the theories of culture and race in the 19th Century meant that inherent racism was embedded in Western notions of culture. The history of culture indicates that Western racism is not just a peculiar but distinct chapter in Western history that can be simply expunged, as the call to ‘stamp out racism’ assumes (Young, 1995: xi, 86). Racist and negative comments about Africans seem very persistent:

My own scenario is but a miniscule representation of the total scene in Zimbabwe and, indeed, the whole of Africa. There is absolutely no hope that Africans will succeed in putting together anything worthwhile (Wiles, 2005: 171).

Similarly, metaphors of class were used to explain small and indistinct differences between blacks and whites. In the mid-nineteenth-century, for instance, Carl Vogt, the famous German analyst of race, saw similarities between the skulls of white male infants and those of the white female working class, noticing that a mature black male shared his ‘pendulous belly’ with a white woman who had had many children. The English middle-class male was seen as occupying the apex of an evolutionary hierarchy. Thus, the middle or upper-middle-class male was deemed racially superior to males from the lower classes who were seen to have degenerated from the standard middle and upper-middle-class white males (Conway, 1970: 58; Harrison, 1977: 42; McClintock, 1995: 55).

The Family of Man explained differences between those deemed superior and those seen as inferior. Thus, what had been a muddled and uneven account of racial attributes was now drawn together into an origin narrative that presented, above all, a figure of historical change. This metaphor was developed and provided by Ernst Haeckel, the German zoologist, and is based on the idea that the ancestral lineage of the human species can be read off the stages of a child’s growth. Therefore, the theory of recapitulation showed the child as a type of social *bonsai*, a miniscule family tree. It was stated that every individual, as they grow to maturity, “climbs its own family tree” (McCown & Kennedy, 1971: 135; Gould, 1977: 128; Gould, 1981: 114; McClintock, 1995: 50).

The appealing value of recapitulation was that it provided a complete biological criterion not only for racial but also for sexual and class ranking. Thus, if the white male child was seen as an atavistic recession to a more embryonic adult ancestor, that child could be scientifically compared with other living races and groups to rank their level of evolutionary inferiority. It was stated that the adults of inferior groups must be like the children of superior groups, for the child represents a primitive adult ancestor. Furthermore, suppose adult male blacks and women are like white male children. In that case, they are living representatives of an ancestral stage in the evolution of white males. Thus, a hierarchical scale either in a Chain of Being, from mollusc to God, or, in the later model, on an evolutionary scale of development from a feminised state of childhood (savagery) up to full (European) manly adulthood was developed. A hierarchy of race was crafted based on a cultural pecking order. Race was defined in terms of culture, gender, and difference. Those who were seen as most civilised were placed at the top of the pyramid and those who were seen as less civilised were placed at the base of the pyramid (Gould, 1981: 326; Young, 1995: 89).

The argument that universal civilisation originated from Europe upheld the misconception that European cultural principles were actually correct and universal. One can argue that the models of colonial development and dialogues on the backwardness of Africans underlined the historicity and the advancement of certain historical models. It is useful to reiterate that this was the incongruity between ‘Christianity’ and ‘civilisation’, ‘paganism’ and ‘primitiveness’, as well as the means of ‘conversion’ or ‘evolution’ from the first phase to the other. Chaillet-Bert and Lugard proposed an ideological explanation for compelling Africans into a reductionist historical dimension aimed at differentiating blacks from whites by categorising them into two distinct groups. However, neither of these spoke of Africa nor Africans. They rather justified designing and vanishing a continent and naming its ‘primitiveness’ or ‘disorder’, as well as the subsequent means of its exploitation and methods for its ‘regeneration’ (Mudimbe, 1988: 33).

Therefore, it has been argued that statements about race are about culture and vice versa. Racism is never a “super-added element discovered by chance in the course of investigation of the cultural data of a group” (Fanon, 1970: 46). Notably, racial prejudice preceded racialism (theories of race offered as a form of scientific knowledge about mankind). However, the differences are in numerous ways misleading. The misleading part is that what has been written regarding the issue of race seems not to support the fact that the issue of racism influenced a lot of scholarly writings and how people understand their life worlds in different societies (Fanon, 1970: 46; Lévi-Strauss, 1977: 325; Young, 1995: 86).

From the 1880s onwards, the cultural ideology of race became omnipresent in most scholarly discourses of the colonial empires. It became so dominant that racial superiority, and its related virtue of civilisation, overtook utilitarianism and Christian missionary work as the main issue of study and debate in the colonial empires. Thus, race, similar to ethnicity, has always been a cultural, political, scientific and social construction. The nexus between culture and race made them symbiotic and inseparably attached. This is clear if one considers how racialised thinking infiltrated and spread within the whole academic field in the 19th Century (Thornton, 1985: 9; Goldberg, 1993: 45).

Explanations of differences between cultures also show how the issue of race difference explained in racial theories had permeated most academic disciplines. Race became the key determinant of human culture and history (Knox, 1850: v; Disraeli, 1927: 153). Despite

changes in scientific claims, racist traditions continued to be fundamental and central to the knowledge of the West and the Western sense of Self (Lorimer, 1978: 54; Chamberlain & Gilman, 1985: 71; Young, 1995: 88). Thus, Western culture has constantly been well-defined in terms of the limits of other cultures. For instance, in the case of Zimbabwe, it was stated that:

The [hard working] attitude of the commercial farmers was in total contrast to the cultural handicap that the Africans in the main experience and is very similar to the Tall Poppy Syndrome. People whose performance was obviously better than their fellows faced severe risks of reprisals. As a result, nearly every black Zimbabwean was on a never-ending quest for mediocrity. This was a cultural handicap of immeasurable severity, and it might help explain how whole races have managed to remain backward despite contact with more advanced societies while others, like the Japanese, could leap ahead and even outpace their leaders (Harrison, 2006: 102-3).

Culture has always been understood as a form of cultural difference. Culture and civilisation have constantly been positioned as the essential characteristic of Western modernity. This has been inscribing its rejected cultural Other within itself. It was, therefore, argued that the error Europeans made in considering questions on black development and the future of Africa by assuming black people to be Europeans in the embryo (in the undeveloped stage). This was complemented by the assumption that black people would, at some point, enjoy the benefits of progress and culture and become European, provided they emulate the way Europeans progressed from a state of primitiveness to where they were. Thus, racialism through science has been used to explain and authenticate the arguments that people are different. In this way, science has been complicit in 'cultural racism'. Scientific theories measuring the differences between the races and their abilities could come and go, although they always advanced previous ideas according to a new, ruthless economy in which the numerous meanings of race were implanted incrementally onto each other. Explanations of race through science will only lose their value when the political issues that spur their institution are fully achieved. Civilisation and culture were used to explain why Europeans were superior to other races. They were used to explain why the European culture should be the standard measure against which all other cultures should be judged (Blyden, 1969a: 45; 1869b: 276; Fanon, 1970: 43; Lyons, 1975: 86-87; Castle, 1986: 78; Young, 1995: 88, 170).

The difference between savages and barbarians was formalised through a pyramid of the historical stages of man. Mill (1836) brought geography and history together in a generalised scheme of European superiority that identified civilisation with race. The culmination of this conflation was first seen in Prichard's theory of racial difference, where white skin became both a marker of civilisation and a product of it. The term 'cultivation' was used to differentiate people according to their civilisation. Pye (1783: 735) used the word 'culture' in a way that encapsulated both its agricultural and its more contemporary social reference (Prichard, 1813: 233-239; Mill, 1836: 160; Stepan, 1982: 38; Young, 1995: 29). It was used to specifically describe what the African lacks:

The sable African no culture boasts, fierce as his sun, and ruthless as his coasts; and where the immeasurable forests spread, beyond the extent of ocean's western bed, unsocial, uninform'd, the tawney race range the drear wild, and urge the incessant chase.

Similarly, the verb 'domesticate', until 1964, meant 'to civilise'. In the colonies, the missionary stations were made a threshold institution for altering domesticity entrenched in European gender and class roles into domesticity controlling colonised people (McClintock, 1995: 35). The historical idea of domesticity, therefore, bears relation to the idea of imperial nature, for 'domestication' stands actively upon nature in order to produce a social sphere that is considered to be natural and universal in the first place (Pratt, 1992: 36; McClintock, 1995: 35).

The Other, which was fabricated by hegemonic discourses, was not a relation of direct identity, a relation of correspondence or simple implication. Rather, it was a subjective relation set up by certain cultures. The homogeneity of the Other was produced not based on biological essentials but on secondary sociological and anthropological universals. Gender was one way to describe the colonial territories and the colonised land. The colonised landscape was, in most cases, represented as feminine, indecipherable and un-representable. In other words, female bodies symbolised the conquered land in the colonial period until its end (and beyond) (Loomba, 2015: 154). Thus, whiteness could be performed as masculinity in a racialised economy of power and desire (Hendriks, 2017: 686). "White male self-making thereby entails a process through which whiteness is constantly reproduced in self-exoticising confessions of interior 'darkness' that are set within a dialectic of masculine competition and identification

with an objectified blackness” (Donne, 1985: 184; Mohanty, 1989: 259; Hendriks, 2017: 695; Loomba, 2015: 84).



Figure 8: A portrait depicting a masculine coloniser and a feminised colonial territory (Source: McClintock, 1995: 25)

It has been noted that by constructing women and the colonised people as a conundrum, Europeans solved the riddle in terms of their own interests. There is an uncanny link between the imperial narratives that lowered the natives to the realm of the un-representable, prehistoric, ‘Dark Continent’ (McClintock, 1995: 193; Loomba, 2015: 154). This was useful during the colonisation of Africa. From the onset, European colonialism was a forceful encounter based on pre-existing systems of authority where within this protracted and conflict-ridden arrangement, colonised people were effeminised. Evidence shows that the vast imperial structure was inherently gendered with a racialised patriarchy as its foundation (McClintock, 1995: 6).

The racist iconography of the gender degeneration of black men led to their imperceptible feminisation. For instance, the sprightly feather used by the Zulu men to decorate themselves was seen by the British as their fetishistic, feminine, and lower-class fondness for decorating

their bodies (Malthus, 1826: 146, 156, 195; Spencer, 1852: 470; 1876: 625; McLennan, 1865: 52; Stepan, 1990: 43; Vaughan, 1991: 22; McClintock, 1995: 224; Loomba, 2015: 77).

The Europeans were seen as susceptible to alien hordes. If a European identified too much with the natives, she or he would transgress the borderline between 'Self' and 'Other' and degenerate into primitive behaviour and madness. These relations concerning European masculinity, civilisation and prudence, non-European femininity, primitivism and madness are also seen in Freudian theorising. They are also seen in the ensuing accounts of the human psyche. The literature on madness in colonial Africa was more concerned with a definition of 'Africanness' than with a definition of madness. The mad African was, in some cases, understood as one who is inadequately 'Other', as one who evades cultural boundaries and becomes European. European madness, on the other hand, was seen as crossing the cultural boundaries to become native, and this was regarded as a transgression of supposed group identities (Vaughan, 1991: 10, 119; Loomba, 2015: 142-143).

In a way, one can separate commodity racism from scientific racism in its ability to grow beyond the cultured, property-owning elite through the advertising of commodity spectacle. While anthropological, scientific and medical journals and travelogues were saturated with scientific racism, these texts were mostly class-bound during the 19th Century and inaccessible to most Victorians since many were illiterate. In contrast, Royal kitsch, as a consumer exhibition, could package, market and distribute evolutionary racism on an unimagined scale. No established form of structured racism had ever been in a position to reach such a large and differentiated audience (McClintock, 1995: 209).

Driven by the mission to civilise the uncivilised world, the English culture was effectively important in reproducing nature. The cult of domesticity then drove the British imperial identity. Thus, colonialism subsumed the Victorian cult of domesticity and the momentous separation of the private and the public spheres formed around colonialism and the notion of race. Furthermore, colonialism formed around the Victorian invention of domesticity and the notion of the home. Since people from the colonies were regarded as uncivilised and uncultivated, the Victorian invention of domesticity and the notion of home was centred on the need to civilise and tame the wild and uncultivated people (McClintock, 1995: 36). Black servants in the Victorian home were racialised. The images of black servants were used for commodity advertisement purposes in the 1880s, such as Monkey Brand soap as an antidote

for racial degeneration (McClintock, 1995: 214, 215, 216). This was linked to the feminisation of black men who worked as domestic workers. Most of them were used for commodity display. The narratives of hygiene were narratives of social discipline. In other words, the goal of purification rituals was to prepare the body as a place of meaning and to demarcate the boundaries of the Self and the Other or the frontiers between different places (McClintock, 1995: 226).

Nevertheless, purification rituals could also be systems of violence and restriction. The Europeans had the power to invalidate the boundary rituals of other people. Boundary rituals are certain cultural practices which are done to demarcate what is seen as the sacred and the profane. They demonstrated their ability to enforce their culture on others by going against the sacred norms of a certain culture. Travelogues by colonial travellers, traders, and missionaries constantly remarked on the purported lack of hygiene of African people. Seeing Africans as unclean and barbaric was used to justify the violence that accompanied colonial conquests. Colonialism was justified as a necessary process of civilising the savage Africans and, in the end, integrating Africans into the imperial mercantile economy (Harding, 1986: 165; Stepan, 1990: 40; McClintock, 1995: 226; Loomba, 2015: 77).

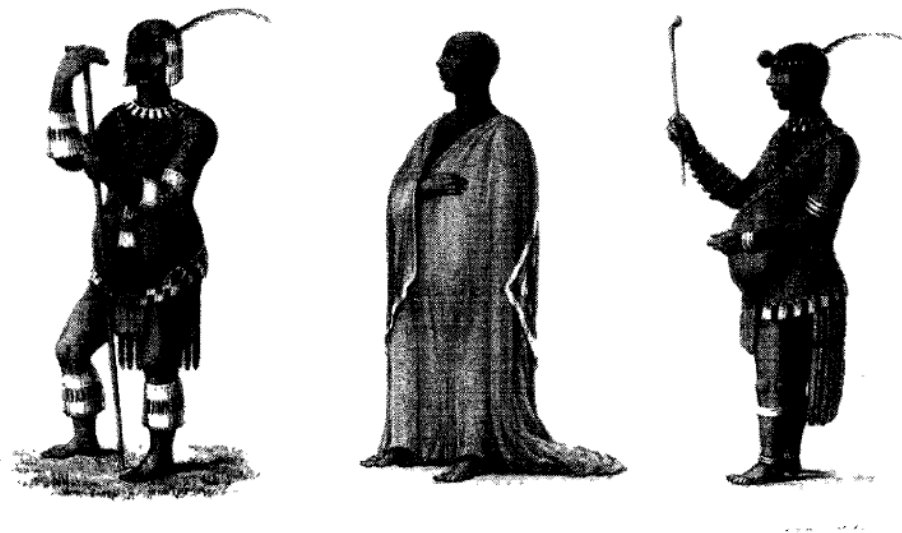


Figure 9: A portrait of a feminised black man (Source: McClintock, 1995: 54)

Those with different religious beliefs from the Europeans were considered fetish worshipers. They were also regarded as having degenerated from the ideal human beings who, in most instances, were white males. Those considered degenerated were regarded as wild, primitive,

sexual deviants, and sub-human and were supposed to be controlled and subordinated (McClintock, 1995: 182, 184). It has been noted that the fetish, therefore, stands at the crossroads of psychoanalysis and social history occupying the threshold of both personal and historical memory. Colonial writings on fetishism, especially African fetishisms, created an impression that everything that was not seen as the norm by the Europeans was degenerative and served as justification for European colonialism. Colonial writings rooted in the discourses of fetishism equated the people from other racial groups regarded as savages to white children, and in this way, the intellectual abilities of an adult black man were equated to the intellectual abilities of a white child. (McClintock, 1995: 51, 185; Loomba, 2015: 112). Rex (1980: 131) stated:

...when the social order could no longer be buttressed by legal sanctions, it had to depend upon the inculcation in the minds of both exploiters and exploited of a belief in the superiority of the exploiters and the inferiority of the exploited...While it is admitted that all men are equal, some men are deemed to be more equal than others.

People who were seen as non-white were also seen as slaves. For instance, the Jewish people were described as ‘a slave to the world’. Class, gender and race were used to map social differences. As a result, this links to the issue of intersectionality. People who were seen as the Other were not disadvantaged in the same way. Intersectionality played a part in how people were disadvantaged within the non-white groups. For instance, the treatment of women and ethnic minorities within the non-white group was far worse than that of men. In Rhodesia, black women were not allowed into urban areas. They could be arrested for loitering if seen in urban centres (Loomba, 2002: 13; Benson & Chadya, 2005: 590; Loomba, 2015: 137).

In the metropolises, domestic workers, prostitutes and other people who were seen as deviant were considered as having degenerated from the norm. Race as a difference marker did not have a single meaning. It could mean home, lineage, or kinsfolk at some point. It could be interchangeably used with the term caste, and it could also be used synonymously with the terms species, culture, and nation (Balibar & Wallerstein, 1991: 22; McClintock, 1995: 52, 56; Hardt & Negri, 2000: 195; Loomba, 2015: 125). In light of the anarchical use of the term, Memmi (2000: 55, 78) noted:

...biology is a metaphor for the destiny imposed on the Other...The lessons of history are clear. [Race] does not limit itself to biology or economics or psychology or metaphysics; it attacks along many fronts and in many forms, deploying whatever is at hand and even what is not, inventing when the need arises. To function, it needs a focal point, a central factor, but it [does not] care what that might be-the colour of one's skin, facial features, the form of the fingers, one's character, one's cultural tradition.

The term race could group people with similar physical traits into specific communities. Studies on race relations have emphasised that the class relations within which black working-class people exist function as race relations. Race and class went hand in hand. Race was the modality in which class was lived. If in Marxian terms, race was to be understood as class, it is evident that for the upper classes in Britain, class was progressively thought of in terms of race. The Marxian analysis regarded social groupings based on race, ethnicity, and gender as mostly determined and explained by economic structures and processes. From this standpoint, colonialism was a means through which capitalism attained its global growth. Thus, racism was seen as facilitating this process and served as the conduit through which the labour of colonised people was arrogated. In colonies, colonial administrators used race to group people into communities. Those grouped into certain groups across racial lines could then be oppressed and exploited (Hall *et al.*, 1978: 394; Ranger, 1982: 135; Young, 1995: 8; 90; Loomba, 2015: 130, 132). The above issues create a platform for explaining British colonialism and how white Rhodesia was constructed (as explained in Section 2.3).

Racialised colonial discourses led to a racial aristocracy as a function of racialised identity construction, where white supremacy took hold, and whiteness became intimately associated with privilege and advantage. The next section discusses the mechanics of racialised identity construction, followed by an exploration of whiteness as an intersectional social identity predicated on white privilege.

4.3 RACIALISED IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION

Race operates as a visible identity. Its visibility is important to the ideological claims that racial categories are natural; thus, the conflict between different groups is understandable since there is a general fear of what looks different. Visibility is also important to how identities are formed because they help allocate social roles and shape how people interact. The formation of racial

identities occurs within an ever-changing historical context. Structures of the political economy bind racial identities. They are affected by the interactions through which resistance can influence the particular forms that race can take. Though individuals operate within a domain they do not choose, they still operate within this domain. The rules shaped by one's perception of race in a comprehensive racial society regulate one's presentation of the Self. Race, similar to gender, is fundamental and not peripheral to the Self. Race operates as a visual marker on the body. It operates as one's penultimate visible identity. In most societies, only what is visible can get the status of what is called the accepted truth. This regulates the distinction between one's status and the appropriate modes of conduct. Race consciousness creates habitual bodily mannerisms that will seem natural. These become unconscious after continuous use and are very difficult to adjust (Alcoff, 2003: 6, 103, 108).

Races can have indeterminate borders, and some individuals may appear ambiguous. However, there is a widespread belief across most races that there exists a fact of the matter about one's racial identity, which is mostly defined by one's ancestry. There is also a widespread belief that one's identity can be discerned if one carefully pays attention to a person's physical features and specific ways of behaving. In this instance, one cannot escape or 'pass' because there are always markers or signs which will always reveal someone's identity. Though racial identities are socially produced, they are fundamental to the Self as a feeling, knowing and acting subject. Raced identities are horizons from which particular aspects or realities are made visible. In racially stratified societies, individuals identified differently do not understand the world in the same way. Social identity, therefore, operates as uneven and imperfect, though useful indicator of differences in how the world is perceived. Racial difference usually manifests in one's feelings, one's appreciation of the world, one's bodily conduct and one's habits. One's perceptual practices are usually hidden; they are tacit and are usually not exposed to critical reflection. Race as a social identity is part of the context in which observations are made and, in the end, gain their significance. Perceptual orientations differentiate social identities. These involve bodily comportments that are key to how one understands the world. Though race can be a social construction which does not have biological validity, it is real and can change how people's lives are shaped (Alcoff, 2003: 126, 128, 207).

Racial self-consciousness can also help explain the commonly perceived lack of reciprocity between white and non-white people regarding their racial identities. In the context of changes that alter their privileged positions, white people start to be self-conscious about their racial

identities as white people. In the context of these changes, white people are aware of themselves as gendered beings and as people with a distinct nationality in Africa, for instance. In this context, white people also start to understand that they belong to a certain ethnic group or racial group. In situations where everything is white, white self-consciousness regarding these issues recedes into the background. The white self-consciousness receives no attention from the Self as well as the significant others. Thus, whites start to be aware of their true identities when they are no longer in control or in situations where their identities are driven to the peripheries (Alcoff, 2003:118-119).

This then creates a platform for racism. Racism is the outcome of social practices, discourses and social relations at different societal levels and can be constituted intersectionally. Racism can be the product of the interaction of social forces and boundary and hierarchy-making. They usually mark boundaries in violent and dehumanising ways. Racism operates by constructing symbolic boundaries which cannot be penetrated between racially constituted categories. Racism's binary system of representation marks attempts to fix and make the differences between otherness and belongingness natural (Hall, 1996: 445). Racism constructs non-white subjects as noble savages and violent avengers (Fanon, 1986: 13; Hall, 1996: 445; Anthias, 2016: 180).

In order to understand how racialised identity construction normalised racial categorisations such as 'white' as superior and 'non-white' as subordinate (as shaped by racialised colonial discourses of othering), it is necessary to explore whiteness as intersectional social identity in reference to white privilege.

4.4 WHITENESS AS INTERSECTIONAL SOCIAL IDENTITY AND WHITE PRIVILEGE

Whiteness has been defined in different ways. 'Whiteness' is generally defined in the context of the general historical organisational race-based superiority that white people have maintained for a long time and under different circumstances (McIntosh, 2017: 664). For Magubane (2004: 144), "...whiteness is defined above all by the superior economic and political power that it commands...". Wander, Martin and Nakayama (1999: 15) defined whiteness as "...historical systemic structural race-based superiority". Whiteness has also been

defined as “a configuration of power, privilege and identity consisting of white racialised ideologies and practices, with material and social ramifications” (Pilososof & Boersema, 2017: 704; Van Zyl-Hermann & Boersema, 2017: 652). Whiteness is constantly a comprehensive arrangement of identity, privilege and power and is, therefore, not a single thing. It manifests differently at various historical moments and differs from community to community. Whiteness as a concept cannot be merely transferred across geographic settings. As a result, the idea that whiteness is often unmarked or an indiscernible force (an advantage for white people that is seldom recognised and addressed) is challenged. It has thus been argued that in Africa, whiteness is hyper-visible. Consequently, this has explicit consequences for its effects and study (Pilososof & Boersema, 2017: 704).

Whiteness is a complex social identity where social identities are predicated on two aspects of Self. Firstly, there is what is termed public identity. One’s public identity is the socially perceived self within the systems of perception, classification and the networks of the community in which one lives. Secondly, there is a lived subjectivity that is not always represented in one’s socially perceived self. This identity can be experienced and theorised differently. One’s lived subjectivity is related to what one understands oneself to be. It has to do with how one experiences being herself or himself. One’s lived experience has to do with the range of reflective and other activities that can be included under the rubric of one’s ‘agency’. One’s public identity and lived subjectivity are inseparable entities (Alcoff, 2003: 92-93).

Social identities can be seen as a form of imposition of the Other onto the Self. The key is to establish whether the Other dominates, threatens, oppresses, or even enslaves the Self. Social identity formation tends to increase conflict, mistrusts, isolation and closed attitudes towards others. Despite being relational and contextually variable, identities remain important to one’s world experience. Social identities and social groupings resulting from the creation of in-groups and out-groups do not diminish individual agency. The individual has agency, but the agency of an individual operates in a collective context. The Self fashions its own self based on the model of other-selves. This is not mimetic, but the Self that appears in consciousness should function in relation to other selves (Alcoff, 2003: 113-114, 117).

This is fully captured in the concept of the generalised Other. What is known as the generalised Other is the organised community or social group. The generalised Other gives an individual

his or her unity of Self. As a result, the behaviour of the generalised Other is reflective of the whole community. The individual's behaviour is influenced in the form of the generalised other. The community has control and influence over the behaviour of its individual members. The Self does not necessarily develop through a 'blueprint' developed by the Other. Rather, the formative process occurs through what is maintained and constructed by the social collective (Mead, 1967: 36; Alcott, 2003: 117).

The individual takes the attitude of the generalised Other. In this context, an individual takes the social attitudes of a group she or he belongs to. The individual then defends the values of the group they feel they belong to when any external threat confronts them. Ultimately, an individual's behaviour is controlled and governed by the social norms of the group she or he identifies herself or himself with. The Self is thus a by-product of the community from which one comes or identifies with. As a result, selves are made and exist in fixed interactions with other-selves (Mead, 1967: 36-40).

An individual's self-consciousness is fashioned within a given social context. This affects both the individual's sense of the world as well as the individual's sense of self. The Self's consciousness of its own self is mostly a reflection of the attitude of others towards it. The self-consciousness of the self is determined by how society approves or disapproves its behaviour. The Self gets social disapproval if it operates outside the norms of its group. One can draw the attention of others if she or he either behaves exceptionally better than others or if she or he behaves in an extremely bad way. One can also gain the attention of others if one's appearance is seen as outside the norm of the group she or he belongs to. As a result, the heightened attention from others usually draws the attention of the Self towards what would have been considered abnormal. Social identities are not politically pernicious or inherently pathological (Mead, 1967: 40; Alcott, 2003: 84, 118).

Understanding how selves relate to others as individuals or as a group is important. The process of social identity formation can be fully understood if one considers the powerful role that identity plays in informing who gets treated as part of the in-group, who gets treated as part of the out-group and what one's realistic life options are in such scenarios. Since social identities are context-specific, they are relational and are fundamental to the formation of the Self. Social identities always gain their meaning in a given social context and not from intrinsic features. Social identities are a by-product of associations of selves who share the same ideas and beliefs.

Social identities are unstable and can change over time. Social identities can be incorrectly named, recognised or misrepresented, but they are real entities. They are not fundamentally or inevitably incorrectly described. Identities are not illusions or reducible to the manoeuvrings of power. They are not stable and fixed with closed borders and clear inclusion benchmarks. Recognising one's social identity does not amount to separatism. It is not essentialist or opportunistic. Rather, it is to recognise the reality of the social basis of individual selves (Alcoff, 2003: 7, 87-88, 90, 121, 114).

Identity entails not an ascription of sameness that ignores group differences. Identity does imply a constitutive relation of the individual to the Other or between the Self and the community. The refusal of identity is nothing less than the ineffective aim of avoiding the power of the Other to name, characterise and judge. The Other does not affirm the Self because they can judge the Self's victories or achievements. Rather, the very presence of the Other alters how the Self judges itself. When the Self intermingles with the Other, the Self's self-esteem and self-confidence will increase. One way the Self depends on the Other is for its very substance, sense of self and characteristics in relation to the society it (the Self) finds itself in. The content of the Self comes from the Other. The Self's self-estimation is real and not only imagined. The Other provides empirical proof in its own form and sometimes by its judgement (Alcoff, 2003: 116).

Social identities are relational. They are relational in that their effects depend on the context in which one finds oneself. One's social identity is very significant in determining how one lives. For instance, the privileges one is accorded based on racial identity, for example, are influenced by one's immediate context. Thus, one's racial identity is a context-dependent feature of a person. One's racial identity is manifestly non-intrinsic. One's racial identity can change from one thing to the other depending on the context in which one finds oneself. As a result, one's expectations in life depend on one's experiences in a given social context. This then creates a unique Self (Alcoff, 2003: 91).

Identities can be understood as names that are given to the various ways one is positioned by and position oneself within a given historical narrative. Categories of identity mostly signify processes and relationships which are historical. As a result, the characterisations of social identities that are reductive and overly homogeneous are inaccurate. The historical narrative that influences an individual's identity does not always operate as a supreme force that imposes

its will on an individual. The historical narrative lives through individuals who interpret and operationalise it into a set of social practices. Though individuals have the agency to interpret their history, they do not have a choice to live outside history. History has a significant part to play in how individuals live their lives. Though how people live their lives in relation to others seems natural and inevitable, history plays an integral part in how individuals form relationships and relate with others. Although history is ever-changing and unstable, the meanings of history are not entirely indeterminate or substantially flexible. They are forged by people as a group, not individuals alone (Alcoff, 2003: 112, 114-115).

It is always important to reflect on the different attitudes towards one's embeddedness within history. The interdependence between the Self and the Other is to understand the individual's embeddedness in a collective and the individual's embeddedness in contentious history. The collective process does not only emanate from the historical processes that claim an individual. The intelligible meanings of the collective process emerge only in light of the available discourses and the substantive cultural values. Interpreting history and not only making it is always collective. Aspects of the Self are created from this collective praxis. One's disposition towards certain ways of feelings in specific contexts spurs a feeling of fear, calmness, apprehension, anxiety or fury. These feelings are always affected by one's historical and cultural location (Alcoff, 2003: 115).

Social identities affect how one understands oneself and how one understands the society one lives in. It is impossible to adequately analyse social identities without paying attention to the body's role and visible identity. How one perceives and understands the world one lives in is located within one's body. Identities become real because they are often visibly marked on the body. Regardless, the body is not a confined or simple opus for social meanings imposed on an individual by society. In this context, a body should be understood as, oddly enough, a kind of mind, but one with a physical appearance, location, and specific instantiation. One can perceive, process, incorporate, and make sense and be trained to think in a certain way within the body.

In most cases, the concept of identity usually implies recognising bodily differences. Bodies also have some differences in perceptual orientations and conceptual assumptions. Differences pose a serious danger to unity, alliance and true understanding. In light of this, differences are seen as a threat to any political, economic and social agenda which seeks majority support.

Differences can be used as a tool for coercion, conformism and even corruption through exaggeration and manipulation. This is important in enhancing an understanding of why race, a critical factor in this study, is an integral part of the Self (Alcoff, 2003: 5, 102, 114).

Whiteness and white privilege are social identities and categories which can be understood against the background of the preceding discussions. Whiteness and white privileges as identity markers are historic and contextual and change over time. White privilege in societies organised on racial subordination is an expectation. Whiteness in these societies is the prototypical property of personhood. It is an object upon which continued control of resources is expected. Since whiteness is an aspect of identity which is also a property of interest, it can be experienced by white people. Though not apparent, the privileges, the set of assumptions and the benefits of being white are valuable assets that white people try to protect. Those who are not white also try to become white and enjoy the privileges that whiteness offers. Those who identify as whites have come to expect and rely on the benefits whiteness offers. With time, their expectations are usually legitimated, affirmed and legally protected (Harris, 1993: 1713, 1779).

Whiteness and property have a lot in common. They share a conceptual nucleus of a right to exclude. This conceptual nucleus is a powerful centre on which whiteness as property is shaped. Soon after conquering non-whites, white identity usually becomes the basis of racialised privilege that is legitimised and ratified in law. It becomes a type of status property. Since the law recognises and protects expectations grounded in white privilege, the expectations become property that cannot be intruded upon without the owners' consent. Subsequently, whiteness is accorded the same status as property. Property, according to the liberal view, includes the special rights of possession. The owner of property has the right to use and dispose of it. Property attributes include the right to enjoy it and exclude others. Since whiteness is simultaneously an aspect of identity and a property interest, it can be experienced and deployed as a resource. Thus, once the law recognises the settled expectations built on the benefits and privileges produced by the supremacy of white people, it acknowledges and reinforces a property interest in whiteness that reproduces the subordination of non-whites (Harris, 1993: 1714, 1731).

As a property, whiteness can be used to exercise power in racially hierarchised societies. Whiteness as property is elevated from a passive attribute to an object of law and resource

which can be deployed at institutional, political, and social levels to maintain control. Thus, white persons in racially hierarchised societies can use and enjoy whiteness whenever they take advantage of the privileges assigned to white people simply because of their skin colour. As an embodiment of white privilege, whiteness transcends mere belief or preference. The status of being white in racially hierarchised societies is regarded as a species of property. That status is treated as something in which a property interest can be asserted (Harris, 1993; 1731-1734).

Though whiteness takes more subtle forms, it retains its core characteristics of power, control, domination, and privilege. White identity and the ideology of a racial caste system are intricately linked to the expansion and evolution of the slavery system in racially hierarchised societies. Under this system, racial identity is fused with stratified socio-legal status. Black racial identity marks those who are subjected to enslavement. White racial identity marks those who are free and not enslaved. As a result, the rhetorical and ideological move from slavery to freedom and the construction of black as the polar opposite of white is an important step in the social construction of race. Social relations, which, in the end, produce racial identity as the grounds for justifying slavery, impact the conceptualisation of property. Slavery, as an institution found at the epicentre of economic relations, is bound to the idea of property. It is through slavery that slavery, race and economic domination are merged. Since freedom is linked to being white and the black race is linked to slavery in racially hierarchised societies, whiteness is a protection from slavery. Whiteness becomes an unstable and volatile form of property. Therefore, white identity and whiteness are a source of privilege and protection. Evidently, whiteness is the attribute and the property of freedom. Only those regarded as whites possess whiteness, a highly valued and exclusive form of property (Harris, 1993: 1715-1724).

Given that the legal recognition of white racial identity came with benefits, inadequately supported claims or false claims of white racial identities are not accepted. Other claims to property interests which are not substantiated are also not accepted. Claims of whiteness should be legitimate for one to be recognised as white. Physical attributes, social acceptance, and self-identity as determinates of whiteness are not accepted. These are seen as responsible for diminishing the value of whiteness and destroying the underlying presupposition of exclusivity. As a form of property, whiteness assumes the form of the exclusive right to determine rules. In colonial contexts, white identity as property affirmed the self-identity and freedom of white people, denying black people their self-identity and freedom. Racial subordination was forced in colonial societies. It constrained one's ability and freedom to self-

define. Self-determination of identity was not accorded to all people. It was a privilege accorded to people based on their race (Harris, 1993: 1741-1743, 1766).

When group identity became a predicate for exclusion or disadvantage, the law in colonial societies acknowledged it. When group identity became a predicate demanding freedom from subjugation, the law failed to acknowledge it. Subsequently, the determinist approach to group identity reproduced the subordination of the Other, reaffirming whiteness as property. In societies where racial segregation is practised, whiteness has value. In these societies, whiteness expects to be valued and is valued in law. On top of being a legally recognised property, whiteness is also an aspect of personhood and self-identity in racially hierarchised societies. The construction of whiteness as property affirms several critical aspects. The law's construction of whiteness as identity defines and affirms who is white. The law's construction of whiteness as privilege defines and affirms the benefits of being white. The law constructs and affirms the entitlement that arises from being white. At different times, whiteness implies and is deployed as property, identity and status (Harris, 1993; 1725, 1766, 1777).

The identity of being white confers economically tangible and valuable benefits in racially hierarchised societies. These are guarded jealously as a valued possession. These benefits are only accessible to those who meet strict standards of proof. In racially hierarchised societies, white privilege is an expectation. Whiteness in these societies is the quintessential asset for personhood. It (whiteness) is constructed in law as an objective fact. However, in reality, it is an ideological proposition imposed through subordinating those not seen as white. Whiteness in racially hierarchised societies is an object on which continued control is expected (Harris, 1993: 1726, 1730).

This is in line with the matrix of domination discussed in intersectionality theory. The matrix of domination articulated in the discourse of intersectionality refers to the overall organisation of power in a given society. The discourse of intersectionality holds that every particular matrix of domination has a given organisation of intersecting systems of oppression, which come together socio-historically. The theory of intersectionality treats race, gender and other subsets of identity as relics of domination and bias. These categories of identity are regarded as frameworks through which social power functions in excluding and marginalising those who are seen as different. Intersectionality provides a prism through which one can critically view how social identities are created in societies. Identity in intersectionality theory is experienced

not as composed of discrete attributes. Rather, it is experienced and composed as a subjective and even fragmented set of dynamics. As a result, identity and exclusion are complex, multiple, and complex. They are contingent upon socio-political and ideological contexts that produce and sustain them. Besides, identities are dynamic and are shaped by the relationship one has with others and culture (Crenshaw, 1989: 153; Hill-Collins, 1990: 247; Levine-Rasky, 2009: 242).

Identity is adopted and evolves in relation to power. Social divisions construct forms of belonging and otherness—the terms of differentiation change with time and the political context in which the differentiation is made. Similar to representation, difference is a contested concept. Difference, in some cases, makes a radical and unbridgeable separation. Difference can also be positional, conjectural, and conditional. The processes of colonialism, domination, exile, nationalism and capitalism shape differentiation. Intersecting social positions does not bode well with institutions and policies that assert and intensify differences (Hall, 1996: 446; Anthias, 2005: 39; Levine-Rasky, 2009: 242).

Every particular matrix of domination has a given organisation of intersecting systems of oppression. These intersecting systems are organised through four interrelated domains of power: structural, disciplinary, hegemonic, and interpersonal. In terms of intersectionality, the only way that ‘white’ as a social index exists is if ‘black’ as a social index exists. A matrix of domination, oppression and victimhood is not permanent. It changes over time. An individual can be a victim at one point but can still be privileged at some point. Thus, individuals can be members of multiple dominant groups and also members of multiple subordinate groups. In other words, intersectionality is not uni-directional. Rather, it involves a ‘relational positionality’ whereby identity is ‘situationally constructed’. Identities are multiple and interlocking. Oppression and domination co-exist (Hill-Collins, 1990: 10; Levine-Rasky, 2009: 244). Arguably, intersectionality theory posits interlocking layers of matrices of domination linked to oppression; a matrix of privilege linked to white social identities and white privilege exists.

Furthermore, the racialised discourses of difference and othering, as explained in Section 3.2, ultimately led to critical theories such as postcolonialism to counter the racialised discourses that still configure postcolonial societies even after decolonisation. Postcolonialism paved the way for developing critical race theories, such as (critical) whiteness studies. It provided the

critical framework encompassing this research. The next section, therefore, unpacks postcolonialism as a foundational critical framework.

4.5 POSTCOLONIALISM AS CRITICAL FRAMEWORK

Postcolonialism as a theoretical lens forms the main building block underpinning this study. Perhaps it is important to briefly discuss what postcolonialism as a theoretical lens is before unpacking the key tenets which drive and orient this study. Discussions on theorising ‘the postcolonial’ have been vigorous and continue to be vigorous. Originating from these are various espousals of postcolonialism and what it seeks to do. Such theorising has given itself to different constructions such as ‘post-colonialism’, ‘the post-colonial condition’, ‘the post-colonial scene’, ‘the post-colonial intellectual’, and ‘the emerging disciplinary space of postcolonialism’ (McClintock, 1995: 293; Quayson, 2012: 5). These diverse formulations demonstrate the diverse directions incorporated under ‘postcolonialism as a theoretical concept’ and the associated problem of conceptualising and mapping out concise ‘postcolonial borders’.

Postcolonialism, as it has been used in numerous fields, pronounces a diverse category of thematic points, specialised areas of study, and critical enterprises (Slemon, 1995: 45). Far from being a concept that can be extensively applied, ‘postcolonialism’ seems to be riddled with incongruities and qualifications (Slemon, 1995: 45). This is because ‘colonialism’ did not simply happen outside a people or a country. It has not been something that functioned with the collusion of forces inside (Loomba, 2015: 32). But “...a version of it can be duplicated from within” (Loomba, 2015: 32). Thus, it is useful to view postcolonialism not simply as a period that comes exactly after colonialism and represents its end. Rather, it should be viewed more openly as the contestation of foreign dominance as well as the heritage of colonialism (Loomba, 2015: 32). Though there have been efforts to differentiate the term postcolonialism from post-colonial, this study regards the two as essentially the same. Despite the differences between the two terms (mainly based on the period in which postcolonialism and post-colonial works focus), the two share common trends of importance to this study. Therefore, the term postcolonialism will be used when discussing ideas encapsulated in both post-colonial and postcolonial studies.

The term postcolonial is very difficult to conceptualise. Studies which are seen as postcolonial studies seem to be contradictory. They seem to represent what they purport to be against. Most studies which are categorised under postcolonial studies discuss historical occurrences of the precolonial period, the colonial period, and the postcolonial period (McClintock, 1995: 10). In other words, since postcolonial studies discuss issues regarding what is old and what is new, the beginning and the end, the term postcolonialism heralds the end of certain historical epochs through using the very issues which it seeks to break away from. The different historical periods the word 'post' seeks to represent contest what is old and what is new regarding European influence in former European colonies (McClintock, 1995: 10). Another key problem with postcolonial studies is that all formerly colonised countries are treated in the same way. In other words, postcolonial theorising fails to pay attention to the influence of different pre-colonial cultures and political systems in different countries and how these influenced European colonialism (McClintock, 1995: 12). As a result, the failure of postcolonial studies to pay attention to these differences makes postcolonial studies unable to capture some of the minute details that have not been fully understood when it comes to European colonialism and the effect it had on different societies (McClintock, 1995: 12).

Postcolonialism has not developed evenly across the globe due to the differences in the colonising power (hence differing colonial experiences). What is critical is to note that the influence of colonialism differed from country to country. As a result, what is seen and regarded as a postcolonial period in one country may not be the same in another (McClintock, 1995: 13). Nevertheless, writings on postcolonialism focus on the common issues of colonialism. The writings tend to disregard the different histories of different countries and how colonialism was experienced and continues to be experienced in postcolonial societies. Thus, postcolonial writings have a homogenising tendency (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 1989: 24).

Postcolonialism as a theoretical strand borrows from various sources such as literary criticism, archival research of colonial government records, analysis of medical texts and economic theories. From this standpoint, postcolonialism has been used to critique the homogenising tropes of European historicism and the racialised discourses of difference and othering. Postcolonialism has been used as a hybrid word for a retooled concept of 'class' and has also been used as a subsection of poststructuralism and postmodernism. Postcolonialism has been seen as an enterprise through which colonial cultural superiority has been challenged. It has

been seen as an enterprise where cultural reasoning arises. Postcolonial writings have been the impetus behind calls for the decolonisation of colonised societies by liberation movements and as a beacon of critical scholarship against Western cultural hegemony with roots in what was once called Commonwealth literary studies (Slemon, 1995: 45). In other words, it is a scholarly movement which has its roots in Western cultural writings.

Postcolonial theory is thus “moved from the binary axis of power to the binary bloc of time, a bloc even less productive of political nuance because it does not distinguish between the beneficiaries of colonialism (the ex-colonisers) and the casualties of colonialism (the ex-colonised)”. It has been argued that the postcolonial scene, the historical events and moments which can be termed postcolonial are difficult to establish (McClintock, 1995: 11). If [postcolonial] theory assures a decentring of history...the singularity of the term affects a recentring of global history around European literary discourses. From this standpoint, colonialism returns at the moment of its disappearance. The prefix post- also reduces the cultures of people beyond colonialism to (pre) positional time (McClintock, 1995: 11). In other words, the term confers on colonialism the prestige of history, where colonialism becomes the defining marker of history. It has also been noted that “other cultures share only a chronological, prepositional relation to a Eurocentred epoch that is over (post-), or not yet begun (pre-)” (McClintock, 1995: 11). Thus, cultures around the world, especially in colonised territories, were viewed as different in relation to normative European culture, a state of affairs still prevalent in many postcolonial societies.

Postcolonialism, as a theoretical lens, aims to reconfigure different political ideas which have shaped scholarship in general and the production of knowledge (Landry & MacLean, 1996: 23). The theoretical lens goes beyond exposing the philosophical biases in European writings. It aims to offer an alternative narrative to the European writings (Bhabha, 1990: 31; Landry & MacLean, 1996: 23). It also aims to achieve this goal by completely reconfiguring the European discourse on other cultures and replacing this hegemonic discourse with a completely new discourse which focuses on what the European discourse ignored or twisted (Bhabha, 1990: 32).

As seen in the works of Fanon (1967), Sartre (1976), Memmi (1965), Said (1995), Spivak (1985), Bhabha (1991), JanMohamed (1985), Moore-Gilbert (1995), Mohanty (1989), Mudimbe (1988), and Achebe (1988), postcolonial criticism has fashioned two opposing

groups, the coloniser and colonised, Self and Other. While much work informing postcolonial theory has directly addressed socio-economic issues, it seems there has also been a tendency to discuss cultural issues. Much like the postcolonial and decolonial arguments, postcolonial arguments have mostly challenged the narrow-mindedness of historic accounts and European traditions. This has been mainly seen in the framework illustrating the insular character of viewpoints on the endogenous European origins of modernity in favour of viewpoints which propose the importance of considering the emergence of the modern world in the wider accounts of Empire, enslavement, and colonialism.

Postcolonial theorising arose as a critique to the biased viewpoints of European scholarship about minority cultures (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 1989: 15; Bhabha, 1991: 53). Postcolonial criticism aims to discuss what was not clearly discussed regarding other cultures in European scholarship (Bhabha, 1991: 53). Postcolonial theorising focuses on discussing issues of social authority, political discrimination, and cultural difference in a bid to expose the biases seen in the explanations of modernity by European scholarship (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 1989: 15; Moore-Gilbert, 1997: 8). On a general level, postcolonial theory is aimed at exploring the ‘social pathologies’ which lead to loss of meaning and conditions of normlessness which break up into widely scattered historical contingencies and go beyond class antagonism (JanMohamed, 1995: 22). It is useful to reiterate that the postcolonial critical trope calls for forms of dialectical thinking that is critical to European scholarship on Otherism. The postcolonial perspective drives one to consider the reflective boundaries of a consensual and collusive substantial sense of cultural community. In postcolonial theory, politico-cultural identities are created through a process of alterity. In other words, questions on cultural and racial dissimilarity overlap with issues of class and democratic socialism.

Postcolonialism as a theoretical lens has been integral in critically inquiring into the implicit norms of the European tropes on other cultures. Though aspects of colonialism have been critiqued by many critics, Edward Said, Gayatri Spivak, and Homi Bhabha formed “the Holy Trinity of colonial-discourse analysis” (Young, 1995: 154). Known as postcolonial analysis, the works of Said, Bhabha and Spivak are largely rooted in what have been termed the Manichean allegories of coloniser and colonised, of Self and Other, echoing the avenues through which the discourses of difference have been working through a virtual division between the European and non-European (JanMohamed, 1985: 70). The second opposing group between the Self and Other is only comprehensible through an essentially fabricated

illustration, a Manichean split that heralds to duplicate the fixed essentialist groupings it aims to unpack (Sartre, 1976: 123; Fanon, 1967: 126; Memmi, 1965: 71; JanMohamed, 1985: 70). Postcolonial criticism has confronted previously principal notions of the autonomy of the aesthetic sphere, helping to gain acceptance for the arguments against European writings on other cultures put forward on a number of fronts since the 1960s (Moore-Gilbert, 1997: 8). This is particularly clear in the argument that ‘culture’ mediates relations of power in indirect and elusive ways (Moore-Gilbert, 1997: 8).

For instance, postcolonial critics have typically worked to break down the previously static borders between text and context in an attempt to highlight the connections among people and the material practices of (neo-) colonial power (Moore-Gilbert, 1997: 8). Furthermore, postcolonial criticism has called into question the conventional differentiation between ‘high’ and ‘popular’ culture which has been at the centre of cultural criticism. Also, one of the key concerns for some postcolonial critics has been to debunk the norms central to conventional discrimination between literature and oral narratives. As a result, there has been a growing interest in previously neglected genres such as journalism (through the writings of Edward Said) (Melman, 1992; Spurr, 1993) and travel writing (Porter, 1991; Pratt, 1992). Therefore, new theoretical strands emerged, such as whiteness studies that trace their roots to postcolonial studies. The following section offers a critical analysis of whiteness studies as an offshoot of postcolonialism.

4.6 WHITENESS STUDIES AS AN OFFSHOOT OF POSTCOLONIALISM

The burgeoning field of whiteness studies is intricately linked to postcolonial theory. As an offshoot of postcolonial theory, whiteness studies also explore the process of alterity. The genesis of the field has its roots in the writings of Du Bois (1903; 1920). Whiteness studies mark a turning point in American critical race theory from the late 1980s to the early 1990s. The area of study became popularised during the 1990s through the works exploring ‘whiteness’ by scholars such as Dyer (1988), Roediger (1991; 1994; 1998), Morrison (1993), Harris (1993), Frankenberg (1993), and Hartigan (1999). Following the foundation laid by these scholars, new studies with the same orientation abounded, as seen in the works of Hartigan (2000), Nuttall (2001), Steyn (2001; 2004a; 2004b), Lewis (2004), Moreton-Robinson (2004), McDermott and Samson (2005), McDermott (2006), Garner (2006), Lake and Reynolds (2008), Steyn and Foster (2008), Boucher, Carey and Ellinghause (2009), Fisher

(2010), Hughes (2010), Hund, Krikler and Roediger (2010), Steyn and Conway (2010), Verwey and Quayle (2012), Pilosoff (2012), McIntosh (2017), and Pilosoff and Boersema (2017).

Whiteness studies are a theoretical brand which recognises phenotypes as a configuration of power (Blaagaard, 2006: 1). Whiteness studies are attentive to the naturalised structures of power which are at play in most predominantly 'white' countries. This critical field discusses the socio-historical, cultural, ethnic, and geographical issues influencing difference. For instance, the writings of American scholars on the historical and contextual experiences of segregation and slavery informed the American brand of whiteness studies which is mainly hinged on discussing the white and black polarities. On the other hand, European whiteness studies hinged upon issues surrounding the diversities of patriotisms, boundary politics, imperialism, and migration within and among white phenotypes.

It is useful to reiterate that due to their related historical experience, American and European whiteness studies find common ground in the notion of the Western slave trade. Additionally, whiteness studies, much as postcolonial theory, are influenced by an array of academic areas of study. The bedrock of American analyses of white hegemonic expression lies in literary studies and black feminist theories, whereas European theorising on whiteness lies within sociology and history (Blaagaard, 2006: 1). Whiteness studies trace its roots to American race theories, which developed two main points of critical discussion (Blaagaard, 2006: 3). As is the case in postcolonial theory and black feminist theories, the points of critical discussion in whiteness studies are anchored in the notion of dynamic power relations structured around the Hegelian master/slave binary on race. It is critical to note that the 'Other' is differentiated and separated into degrees and lexes of otherness. In studies on intersectionality, the white 'Self' is seen as mainly integrated. Blaagard (2006: 3) found that in these studies, the 'Other' is a necessity for the sustenance of the 'Self' whether the 'Self' is projecting its own unsolicited potentials onto the 'Other' or fixing the qualities of the 'Other' in order to say something about the 'Self'. To a large degree, the 'Self' and the 'Other' in whiteness studies are colour-coded respectively with black and white (Blaagaard, 2006: 3).

Historically, most studies on race and culture which inform whiteness studies have been conducted by non-dominant racial groups who worked within the paradigm of racial oppression (hooks, 1984; Lorde, 1984; Hill-Collins, 1990; West, 1993; hooks, 1997). Nevertheless,

whiteness research aims to analyse white racial identity in terms of racial privilege. It seeks to answer what white people have simply because of their skin colour that is not given to those who look differently. It is useful to highlight the concept of privilege (a concept central to whiteness studies), which comprises an “unearned knapsack of special provisions” (McIntosh, 1988: 1-2). These provisions, which, according to McIntosh (1988: 1-2), include “assurances, tools, maps, guides, codebooks, passports, visas, clothes, compass, emergency gear and blank checks...which [white people] can count on cashing in each day” are also central to postcolonial theory.

Critical whiteness studies are closely linked to critical race theory. I argued that the key arguments in critical whiteness studies are in line with the main theoretical positions of postcolonial literature. Postcolonial scholarship articulates how colonial subjugation led to the inferiority of those who were not white enough or not white at all. These writings unpack how canons of knowledge were used to pacify and dominate the colonised (Memmi, 1965: 89; Fanon, 1963: 151; Bhabha, 1994: 40). The theoretical positions discussed and articulated in postcolonial writings are also seen in whiteness studies. The nexus between postcolonial writings and whiteness studies is the depiction of ‘the Other’ as a key term in analysing the issue of racism and white dominance. According to Blaagaard (2006: 3), ‘the Other’ is essential for the sustenance of a ‘Self’, whether the ‘Self’ is projecting its own undesirable qualities onto ‘the Other’ or fixing the qualities of ‘the Other’ in order to say something about the Self’. For Blaagaard (2006: 5), this has been a common factor in critical whiteness studies and postcolonial theory.

The most important feature of postcolonialism and whiteness studies as an integrated theoretical lens which informed this study is the aim to contest the ostentatious march of European historicism as well as its accompanying dichotomies such as the Self/Other, metropolis/colony, and centre/periphery. In other words, the key tenets of othering seen in these two theoretical strands were critical in this study. This study was about the intersections between whiteness and destitution within a very specific postcolonial context. As whiteness as intersectional social identity and white privilege have been unpacked in line with its historical roots in racialised colonial discourses of difference and othering from within postcolonialism as a critical framework and by contextualising whiteness studies as an offshoot of postcolonialism, it is also necessary to focus on conceptualising destitution.

4.7 CONCEPTUALISING DESTITUTION

Various scholars defined destitution from a multiplicity of standpoints. Destitution can be seen as a state of poverty so severe that a person in destitution depends on the goodwill of other people for survival. From a welfarist standpoint, beggars, persons living on the support of their friends, the chronically ill, the old aged, those who live with disabilities and those who are victims of natural disasters can be categorised as people living in destitution. The economist and marginalist perspective asserts that households living in destitution cannot meet their minimum needs for subsistence and spend the largest portion of their monthly earnings on food. Defining destitution should go beyond economic measures to include factors such as social exclusion, marginalisation, and social status. This is important for an intersectional understanding of destitution. Those with low social status can be categorised as people facing destitution (Devereux, 2003).

Amartya Sen defined destitution as a state where a person's production, labour and trade-based entitlements are insufficient to produce sustenance. Under these circumstances, a person derives a substantial part of his or her livelihood from either private or public transfer-based entitlements. In this regard, destitution is seen as a state of abject poverty, usually resulting from the pursuit of unsustainable livelihoods leading people to depend on public or private transfers. The common understanding of destitution is that people living in destitution are unemployed, have no possessions, no savings, no home and even friends to turn to. Destitution is considered a livelihood crisis, in which persons, families and groups of people have no sufficient access to the key useful possessions and chances critical for the construction of sustainable livelihoods. Homelessness has also been seen as part of destitution. Homelessness is, in this case, seen as a visible manifestation of destitution. It is a label attached to those who sleep on the streets (Walker, 1989: 143; Devereux, 2003: 9-10; Roux, 2007: 35).

Destitution has been seen as primarily a problem of poverty. Although people living in destitution can be perceived as the poorest of the poor, destitution can also include personal characteristics and cultural, social, organisational and institutional problems. Destitution is an insistent or enduring deprivation. It is an extreme condition of ill-being or extreme commodity deprivation that fails to meet a basic minimum living standard or basic physiological needs. Destitution is linked to economic insecurity and marginalisation. Marginalisation leads to political powerlessness and social exclusion. In this regard, it can also be contrasted with

privilege and affluence. As a result, there is what has been termed economic destitution. Economic destitution entails the absence of any control over assets and loss of access to income from one's own labour (Morse, 1982: 4; Mohanty, 1996: 81; Dasgupta, 1993: viii, 14; Mingione, 1993: 325; Harris-White, 2002: 2; Roux, 2007: 35). Mohanty (1996: 81) contrasts destitution with privilege and affluence as what is fully discussed and conceptualised in whiteness studies. The different definitions of destitution have led to the development of various theories and models of destitution. The following section discusses the various theories of destitution.

4.7.1 An overview of theories and models of destitution

Several theories and models have been propounded to explain the causes and major assumptions when discussing the issue of destitution. Most theories use the words destitution and poverty interchangeably. One of the models of destitution views destitution as a result of various sets of causal factors. The first subsection of this section discusses destitution as a result of various sets of causal factors.

4.7.1.1 Destitution as a result of various sets of causal factors

Cultural, institutional, community, organisational, group and individual factors are categories into which the causes of destitution can be divided. Cultural factors would include racism, racial discrimination and racial prejudices. Cultural factors also include prejudices against the poor because the common public judges them as lazy or weaklings with alcohol problems. Macro-economic issues that promote and cause poverty, such as lack of social assistance, mental health care and policies, affordable housing, drug or ex-convicts' rehabilitation centres and coordination and cooperation between institutional systems constitute institutional factors which also lead to destitution (Morse, 1982: 4-9). The breakdown of communities can drive communities into poverty and marginalisation. Urban redevelopment policies such as clean-up campaigns can cause certain communities to become poor and destitute. Service-delivery problems characterised by the unavailability and inaccessibility of services are also organisational factors which can cause destitution. In some cases, withdrawing services from poor communities because of their inability to pay can also lead to destitution (Morse, 1982: 4-9).

Alcoholism, substance abuse, poor physical health, mental disorders and defective personalities constitute individual factors that define destitution. These factors can limit a person's ability to cope, weaken social support and possessions and make a person more reliant on social institutions for support. Personal choices, though misunderstood, can be causal factors in destitution. Some individuals do choose streets and shelters over mental hospitals. Similarly, some individuals choose to sleep on the streets and not in shelters because of the dehumanising nature of shelters. Thus, the choice to become destitute, nevertheless, is not an affirmation of an ideal lifestyle but a means to obtain a sense of self-control and dignity when faced with a lack of meaningful, safe and viable living alternatives (Morse, 1982: 13). Destitution has also been seen as a result of what is known as the culture of poverty. The following section discusses destitution as a result of the culture of poverty.

4.7.1.2 Destitution as a result of 'The culture of poverty'

People's culture and a damaged way of life lead people into destitution (Lewis, 1959: 2; Johnson, 2010: 590). This culture is then passed down from one generation to the other along family lines (Landon, 2006: 11; Johnson, 2010: 590). For instance, those who are poor in general are seen to participate in a 'culture of poverty' (Lewis, 1959: 2). Poverty becomes a dynamic factor in the creation of a distinct subculture with its own structure and rationale, which can be termed the culture of the poor. This culture has particular modalities and exceptional socio-psychological end results for its members. In this regard, Lewis (1959: 2) noted:

...the culture of poverty cuts across regional, rural-urban, and even national boundaries, the remarkable relationships in family structure, the nature of kinship ties, the quality of husband-wife and parent-child relations, time orientations, spending patterns, value systems and the sense of community found in lower-class settlements in most countries and societies across the globe.

In this culture of poverty, people are taught a set of norms and values that inhibit their ability to move out of this subculture. This analysis is in line with the view that circumstances of poverty produce a set of principles and patterns of behaviour peculiar to poor people. They include overall privation, strong feelings of isolation, powerlessness, dependency, lack of inventiveness, deferred satisfaction and philosophical approaches towards life (Lewis, 1959:

2; Johnson, 2010: 590; Landon, 2006: 11; Johnson, 2010: 590; Hopper, 2003: 41; Early, 2005: 30). Dysfunctional economic ethos also leads to destitution, which is briefly discussed in the following subsection.

4.7.1.3 Destitution as a result of a dysfunctional economic ethos

According to Harrison (1985: 20-56), "...there are certain social factors that would lead to economic development, and the lack of these can create a society where poverty develops easily". These factors may include the lack of an educational system that provides basic skills, promote problem-solving skills, and nurtures inquisitiveness, creativity and critical thinking. This environment may also lack a good healthcare system. The environment can also discourage experimentation and might not welcome criticism; it may also lack the freedom to match skills, desires and jobs. The environment may also fail to reward merit and achievements and inhibit continuity. Furthermore, corruption that interferes with education, health care, cooperative markets and delivery systems is categorised under a dysfunctional economic ethos which might contribute to destitution (Harrison, 1985: 20-56; Narayan & Petesch, 2002: 22-14). Personal irresponsibility is another major cause of destitution. It explains destitution as a result of personal irresponsibility. This will be discussed in the next section.

4.7.1.4 Destitution as a result of personal irresponsibility

There is a more individual dimension in analysing destitution. Personal inadequacies among poor individuals can lead to economic failure, thus, destitution. A person's actions can cause or inhibit someone from slipping into poverty. People can be destitute because they are irresponsible and careless when making decisions. Destitution can result from not making the right decisions in life. It is also a result of pathological thinking and bad behaviour (Nida, 1974: 9; Landon, 2006: 30). This model of explaining destitution is closely linked to a model of destitution which explains destitution as a result of a complex framework of disempowerment (see Section 4.7.1.5).

4.7.1.5 Destitution as a result of a complex framework of disempowerment

Personal and social systems, such as the spiritual-religious, cultural, and biophysical systems, work together to create destitution. Social systems, including politico-economic and social

factors, usurp the poor's power to change their situation through exploitation and exclusion. These cultural systems can socialise people into accepting certain ways of doing things. In this way, individuals in poverty can suffer from tarnished identities. Thus, they see themselves as unworthy, and these feelings are reinforced by the affluent, who treat the poor as people with nothing to offer. Prolonged times of suffering, deception and exclusion can infiltrate the minds of the poor, creating a situation whereby they view themselves as worthless and trapped in cycles of dependency where they can only survive through gifts and pay-outs (Christian, 1994: 178, 199, 207). Destitution has also been explained as resulting from what is known as a poverty trap. The following sub-section discusses destitution as a result of the poverty trap.

4.7.1.6 Destitution as the result of the poverty trap

To Chambers (1997: 103), poor people live under a 'cluster of disadvantages.' This cluster of disadvantages makes people vulnerable, powerless, isolated, poor and physically weak. The interaction of these factors creates a system called the poverty trap. Physical weaknesses, isolation, material poverty, vulnerability and powerlessness are various dimensions of poverty and destitution (Chambers, 1997: 105-106).

4.7.2 A comparative analysis of destitution

In examining these models, it is clear that destitution is seen as a state of lack that is viewed as a result of personal or societal factors. The issue of privilege seems to be omnipresent in all the definitions and models used to conceptualise destitution. Based on the above explanations of the concept of destitution, I compared destitution in various contexts. My comparison was influenced by the realisation that destitution is understood differently in different contexts and manifests differently (Iliffe, 1987: 117). Intending to ground my analysis of how destitution is understood in Zimbabwe, I compared how it was understood in Europe, especially in colonial Britain and how it was understood in South Africa. My comparison of these two case studies was informed by the fact that Rhodesia as a colony had close affiliations with South Africa. Although it was governed by Britain, most people who ended up settling in Rhodesia were from South Africa. As a result, the Rhodesian way of life and how most issues were understood in Rhodesia were influenced by how issues were understood in both South Africa and Britain (Mlambo, 1998: 139). I, therefore, started with a discussion about how destitution was understood in Europe (see Section 4.7.2.1).

4.7.2.1 Destitution in Europe

Although destitution is extreme, understanding how poverty was defined in Europe can create a platform from which destitution can be understood in colonial and postcolonial Africa. In Europe, there was, for example, what was known as structural poverty and conjectural poverty. Structural poverty refers to persons' long-term poverty due to their social or personal circumstances. In contrast, conjectural poverty was temporary poverty in which a crisis would throw self-sufficient people. Structural poverty could be found in societies with ample resources and in societies where these resources are scarce. In societies rich in land, the very poor were those who could not exploit the land and produce wealth and food. In societies where land is scarce, the very poor lack access to land and cannot sell their labour to meet their minimum needs (Ilife, 1987: 4).

Until around the 12th Century, Europe was a land-rich continent. It, however, had the structurally poor. The structurally poor were mainly the weak, usually not able-bodied. For instance, during the 10th Century in Northern Italy, the poor were those disinherited of their property, those who were unfortunate, the widowed, the orphaned, the captives, the infirm, the blind and the disabled. There was no poor class but rather people in a situation of poverty. Some landless labourers had varying degrees of freedom who existed in various areas. However, they were generally absorbed into a labour-hungry rural economy (Ilife, 1987: 4).

By contrast, during the 12th and 13th centuries, the growing population of Western Europe created demands for land available in many regions. People who did not have viable land holdings and could not sell their labour were then added to the class of those incapacitated. Urbanisation resulted since most landless people moved to the growing urban centres, whereby the early 14th Century wages were meagre to such an extent that even those who could get employment could not support themselves and their families. When the population in Europe declined in the 14th Century, pressure on resources eased. Nevertheless, two centuries later, the population increased again and changed the pattern of poverty (Ilife, 1987: 4).

For instance, in the English villages of the 15th and early 16th centuries, poverty was not regarded as a significant social problem. Though it existed, it was primarily limited in extent. It was generally seen as a result of misfortunes such as the death of a breadwinner, injury or sickness. It was also seen as a phase in life, usually, a circumstance resulting from either old

age or youth. From the end of the 16th Century up until the mid-seventeenth century, the category of the poor grew from including only the destitute victims of old and young age or misfortune. It then included a growing population of those living under the constant danger of destitution. Most of these were full-time wage labourers. In both the urban centres and the rural areas, the working class emerged, and these formed the poor class.

Similarly, in France in the late 18th Century, incapacitated people continued to form a large part of the poor. What was of major concern, however, was the poverty of the able-bodied who did not have land, work or had work but whose wages were not enough to support their dependants. While in early medieval Europe, the common beggar was the old or the blind; in France, in the late 18th Century, the most common beggar was a child (Hufton, 1974: 48).

By contrast, conjectural poverty has undergone a great change. Until the 17th Century, the main cause of European poverty was political insecurity and climatic conditions leading to mass famine deaths. During these moments, resources were scarce, and exclusion from them by political or other means became the main cause of poverty. However, with time, these crises became less common. For instance, the last state of poverty, which led to large numbers of deaths, occurred in England and France in the 17th and 18th centuries, respectively (Wrightson, 1982: 141; Ilife, 1987: 6).

Destitution in Victorian England was understood through the discourse of degeneration, racial mixing and racial boundaries. Destitution was rooted in the ordering of otherness in colonies and even colonial metropolises such as London. Destitution, poverty, and social distress in London during the Victorian era were seen as genetic errors, a biological disease in the body politic that posed a serious danger to the imperial race's possessions, healthiness and authority. The social power of the image of deterioration was dual. Certain groups of people were seen as alien, non-indigenous, and dangerous. This then led to segregation. The so-called residuum entailed people facing destitution being seen as incorrigible outsiders who had denied embracing improvement not through any social inability to survive through the disturbances of developed capitalism but due to a biological deterioration of body and mind (McClintock, 1995: 48).

In some instances, biological imageries of illness and contamination served what was termed the institutionalisation of fear, which reached virtually every corner and cleft of social life

during Victorian England. This led the Victorian elite to find ways of chastising and containing the dangerous classes. Biological imageries of illness and plague shaped a multifaceted pyramid of societal representation that carried significant social authority. During the Victorian era, London became the concentration of affluent Victorians' surging anxieties about the degenerate poor. These people were invariably defined as the chancy or dirty classes. They were also labelled as the casual poor or the residuum (Walter, 1956: 45; Mayhew, 1968: 376-377; Jones, 1971: 11; Himmelfarb, 1985: 361; Gilman, 1985: xiv; Stepan, 1986: 265).

The shantytowns and rookeries in which these people lived were seen as the breeding ground of water-borne diseases, crime and chartism. Thus, pestering in dim and filthy burrows, the rummaging and roving poor were defined by imageries of degeneration and gradual debilitation. The poor were described as criminal. They were seen as moral poison, pestiferous cankers, non-indigenous and vulturine with the terrifying potential of marauding the wealthy. London, during those days, was seen as an infected place and a malevolent sore in England (Mayhew, 1968: 376-377; Plint, 1974: 148-149; McClintock, 1995: 46).

The imageries of corrupt blood to describe destitution were borrowed from the discipline of biology. However, degeneration was less a biological fact than a social figure. At the epicentre of discussions on disintegration was the issue of contamination (the communication of illness, by contact, from body to body), and the markedly Victorian obsession with boundary order was key to the notion of contamination. Fear about blood contiguity, ambiguity and *metissage* expressed intense apprehensions about the frailty of the white male and imperial potency. The poetics of contamination vindicated a politics of marginalisation. It sanctioned the middle class's fixation with boundary hygiene, particularly the cleanliness of sexual boundaries. Body boundaries were seen as perilously absorptive, demanding frequent cleansing, so sexuality (especially women's sexuality) was seen as the key spreader of racial degeneration and cultural contamination (McClintock, 1995: 47).

If racial corrosion in the megalopolis was perceived to result from immorality and the illiteracy of working-class mothers, these dangers were seen as more prevalent in colonies and the likelihood of impurity worse. In the end, executive actions were adopted against open or unconventional domestic relations, concubinage, and *mestizo* customs. Mixed-race marriages (*mettissage*) mostly and concubinage were seen as posing the greatest danger to the purity of race and cultural uniqueness. Thus, by having sexual contact with black women (in the case of

Africa), white men believed they would ‘contract’ not only illness but besmirched sentimentalities, corrupt penchants and great exposure to decivilised states. Racial stigma was methodically and often inconsistently drawn onto intricate shadings of difference in which social pyramids of gender, race and class overlapped in a three-dimensional presentation of comparison (Stoler, 1991: 74, 78; McClintock, 1995: 54; Loomba, 2015: 77). From this, difference had an intersectional dimension to it in which various axes of difference were employed to sort people into categories.

The rhetoric of race was used to formulate divisions between what is now called classes. The poor of East London were compared with the savages of Polynesia, the African Pygmy compared to the London poor, and the slums of London were seen as resembling nothing more than a slave ship. In light of this, postcolonial conceptualisation of destitution points to the fact that destitution is synonymous with blackness or degeneracy. Thus, blacks deemed degenerate were seen as the ‘residuum’ and incorrigible outcasts who were in no way able to cope with the progress; thus, their susceptibility to poverty and destitution (McClintock, 1995: 54).

Though there are changes in how destitution was understood in Victorian England, how destitution is understood in Britain today traces its roots to this analysis. Destitution in Britain today is normally associated with homelessness. A person is destitute in the following instances: if she or he does not have adequate shelter or the means to acquire it, cannot meet her or his essential living necessities, has no access to legal support, and depends on friends, family and well-wishers to meet their basic survival needs. In the contemporary British context, destitution is a label attached to people who sleep on the streets (Mingione, 1993).

A notable shift from the Victorian explanation of destitution can be seen in Britain today. Destitution in Britain today has been explained from a structural standpoint. The structuralist view places the responsibility of destitution on wider structural causes, not personal inadequacies and degeneracy (Kennet & Marsh, 1999: 56). The following section presents a discussion of destitution among white people in South Africa.

4.7.2.2 Destitution among white people in South Africa

The issue of destitution among white people in South Africa has been captured in poor white studies, as seen in the works of John Ilife (1987), Saul Dubow (1995) and Tiffany Willoughby-

Herard (2015). Though there are several studies on the subject, my analysis of poor whites is based primarily on the works of these three scholars. In colonial South Africa, poverty was seen as mainly a 'Poor White problem'. Though destitution among white people has always been seen since the Dutch settlement of the 1650s, it was seen as a social problem and not a personal responsibility during the last quarter of the 19th Century. This happened when new European notions of poverty (see Section 3.6.2.1) as a social phenomenon mingled with growing concern with racial categorisation in South Africa. The 'Poor White problem' issue, publicised by the Dutch Reformed Church in 1929-30 and funded by the Carnegie Foundation, became a vital document in the South African history of poverty. Before the effects of the international depression were felt, the Carnegie Commission noted that around 18% of white families with school-attending children lived in poverty. The Carnegie Commission also reported that most poor whites were of rural origin and were 'bywoners' (sharecroppers or sub-farmers), farm labourers, those who owned dwarf holdings or small undivided shares of land, or poor settlers, as well as the surging unskilled or semi-skilled workers on and off the farm.

Most poor whites during the study of the Carnegie Commission were mainly living in the rural areas of the Cape Colony and Transvaal. However, some had moved to urban centres where they lived in multiracial slums. According to the Carnegie Report, Poor White poverty was structural poverty and longstanding; while the poor whites were considered poor due to a lack of property, they were not deemed very poor. The report noted that this poverty was not a result of the international depression or any other conjuncture but was intensified by climatic and political insecurities. The Carnegie Commission emphasised that the destitute were a distinct category. This category comprised the ill, the widowed and other people who had lost a breadwinner (Ilife, 1987: 116-117).

Poverty among white people in South Africa was primarily family poverty. The poor in the urban centres were those who had brought their families with them into towns from the rural areas. The Carnegie Commission reported that poverty in South Africa was not because of unemployment but because of low wages that were below the level acceptable to a racial aristocracy (Ilife, 1987: 118). The Commission noted that misery, panhandling, and dependency upon charity characterised white poverty in urban South Africa. Although there was an exaggeration, it was reported that in Transvaal in 1908, most poor whites lived on their children's earnings. Girls worked in laundries, and boys sold newspapers. Children generally moved to towns first before being followed by their parents into towns. Those more susceptible

to poverty in South Africa were mostly young male adults with family responsibilities. Women were not allowed to seek wage employment. Thus, the burden of sustaining large families rested on young male adults. To help those facing poverty, religious bodies such as the Salvation Army and the Dutch Reformed Church assisted. The route from poverty to destitution lay through insecurity (Ilife, 1987: 119-130).

Destitution among white people in contemporary South Africa is attributed to several explanations. The issue of reverse racism is one explanation for destitution among white people. It is argued that white people have not been given the same opportunities as their black counterparts by the postcolonial governments since 1994. Destitute white people in postcolonial South Africa are mostly the infirm, the unemployed and those who abuse drugs. Most destitute white people in South Africa live through panhandling, while some live in slums (Makiwane *et al.*, 2010).

The destitution of white people in postcolonial societies warrants careful consideration of novel theories and models in explaining destitution among white people in Zimbabwe, given the colonial set-up and the postcolonial structure. Suppose 'white' is a position of invulnerable privilege. In that case, white destitution is anomalous unless the whole notion of 'whiteness' as a social condition is revisited and made more nuanced through intersectionality theory. Conventionally, whiteness was viewed as a safeguard against victimhood. The prevailing conditions during colonialism and the first 20 years of independence in Zimbabwe seem to support this assertion. A key question is how can the destitution of those who were never seen as victims but as privileged and seemingly affluent against the odds be explained in postcolonial societies such as Zimbabwe. An explanation of such issues warranted unpacking the racialised colonial discourses at the beginning of this chapter by considering the following: issues of privilege and power and how they shape matters of difference and othering, whiteness as an intersectional social identity, postcolonialism as a foundational critical framework, and destitution as one of the key conceptual pillars informing the theoretical framework guiding this research. This is explained in the next section.

4.8 TOWARDS A POSTCOLONIAL INTERSECTIONAL WHITENESS THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework developed for this study, as is reflected in this chapter, cross-fertilises postcolonial studies, whiteness studies, critical whiteness studies, poor white studies, intersectionality theory, the concept of hybridity articulated in the writings of Homi Bhabha, Frantz Fanon as well as Michel Foucault's works on heterotopia and various works on difference and othering. The theoretical framework is a strategic merger of ideas from multiple theoretical bodies on identity, difference and otherism.

The first theoretical position that makes up the theoretical framework I developed to make sense of what I found was critical whiteness studies. Critical whiteness studies conceptualise whiteness as a normalised social identity granted institutionalised mobility, privileged access to class status, citizenship, property, valued cultural and moral ethos, and revered ethnic and gender identities. Critical whiteness studies regard whiteness as complicated due to its capacity to make privilege look natural, universal, neutral and a generally expected process. As a result, whiteness is viewed as complicated due to its reputed invisibility. Critical whiteness studies hold that simply stating that whiteness is invisible or unmarked continues the pathologisation of those designated as non-white for existing, for not being white and for being the mythical 'black problem' (Willoughby-Herard, 2007: 485-486). This construction usually normalises the hyper visibility of blackness, obscuring how racism functions in constraining white behaviour and diminishing white accountability.

Critical whiteness studies also note that arguing that whiteness is invisible negates the numerous ways in which whites create impossible self-negating requirements expected of other whites if they are to qualify for the limited membership of the white group and the privileges accorded to members of this group. Scholars of critical whiteness studies submit that regarding whiteness as invisible erases the process in which poor whites become another racial target. From this, critical whiteness studies hold that subjecting whiteness to the same unique ocular fascinations that blackness(es) have been subject to shows that white privilege can be framed and interrogated. This reveals white supremacy as a social problem is a corrosive agent that destroys any aspects of justice, be it legal or social justice (Willoughby-Herard, 2007: 485-486; Willoughby-Herard, 2015: 95). By engaging with critical whiteness studies, I was informed by the argument that we will not be able to undo the attractiveness of the pursuit of white

supremacy if we continue to talk about how it always satisfies human greed and always wins. My engagement with critical whiteness studies created an avenue for me to participate in the scholarly movement which talks about white supremacy as being antihuman through the ways it creates misery and premature death to those who are not seen as not white or not white enough (Bell, 1993; Roediger, 2006; Willoughby-Herard, 2015: 95).

The seminal works by Edward Said are crucial to discuss the master/slave dichotomy, which is articulated in the critical whiteness studies. Edward Said's work sought to describe the master/slave binaries by borrowing from the Marxian tradition when studying the nexus between Western imperialism and Western culture. Through his work on Orientalism, Said argued that most of the European canons on culture are biased and rooted in Otherism as well as the master/slave dichotomy (Moore-Gilbert, 1997: 30). Orientalism argues that Western canons rooted in the master/slave binary were purposefully designed to subjugate and dominate those seen as different from Europeans (Said, 1991: 13; Moore-Gilbert, 1997: 36-37).

The ideas encapsulated in Orientalism cohere with the ideas by Toni Morrison that Western literary canons of knowledge advance notions of white superiority over other cultural groups (Morrison, 1993: 47). In other words, Western literature has a strong claim of white normativity rooted in Otherism (Morrison, 1993: 47). As a system, whiteness led to the creation of a collection of privileges which politically, culturally and psychologically subjugate people who are not seen as white (Blaagaard, 2006: 3). Generally, whiteness is seen as a power position which comes together with systematic characteristics such as an inclination to consciousness, industry, and scientific reason (Brookhiser, 1991: 45).

In line with this, Edward Said argued that Orientalism works to subjugate non-Europeans by portraying non-Europeans as inferior to Europeans (Said, 1978: 13; Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 1989: 2). The portrayal of non-Europeans as inferior and uncivilised is done through stereotyping (Said, 1978: 13). Said (1978: 150) stated:

Many of the earliest oriental amateurs began by welcoming the Orient as a salutary derangement of their European habits of mind and spirit. The Orient was overvalued for its pantheism, its spirituality, its stability, its longevity, its primitivism, and so forth... Yet almost without exception, such over-esteem was followed by a counter-response: the

Orient suddenly appeared lamentably under-humanised, antidemocratic, backward, barbaric, and so forth.

Through stereotyping, non-Europeans are (and were in colonial times as reflected in Section 2 of this chapter) portrayed as feminine, uncivilised, and backward (Said, 1978: 14). It is important to note that the portrayal of non-Europeans as the Other is important for the self-conception of Europeans. Thus, if non-Europeans are portrayed as uncivilised and lazy, the European is civilised and hardworking. If the non-European is portrayed as backward, the European is seen as advanced and progressive. If the non-European is feminine, then the European is masculine (Loomba, 2015: 63-64). Stereotyping worked by essentialising the differences which were constructed between the Europeans who were regarded as superior (the Occident) and the non-Europeans (Orient) who were seen as inferior (Said, 1978: 13). Therefore, the link between Occident and Orient is a link of power, of domination, of varying degrees of intricate domination (Said, 1995: 89).

Thus, the Orient is seen as a European construct, which is abnormal (Said, 1978: 13-15; JanMohamed, 1995: 18). As a result of colonialism, Europeans made efforts to impose their culture and language on non-Europeans, trivialising the language and culture of non-Europeans (Said, 1978: 16). This was specifically done to control and exploit the resources of non-Europeans under the guise of civilising and enlightenment. This system has been maintained over the years to the advantage of Europeans (Said, 1995: 90). As a result, apart from being a mere political subject or a collection of literal texts, Orientalism is a circulation of geopolitical consciousness into sociological, historic, cultural and philological scripts (Said, 1995: 90). Edward Said's works on Orientalism from this standpoint unpacked the binaries between the Self and the Other by articulating and symbolising both ideologically and aesthetically through supporting traditions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, canons, even colonial officialdoms and colonial styles (Said, 1978: 14, 16; 1995: 91).

Stereotyping the Other is closely related to the concepts of identity construction and collective identity, which are fully articulated in classical sociological works on class consciousness by Karl Marx, Verstehen by Max Weber, Gemeinschaft by Ferdinand Tonnies and collective conscience by Emile Durkheim. The 'we-ness' of a group is presented in the concept of collective identity. The concept of collective identity also emphasises the commonalities or mutual features around which certain group members coalesce and, in the end, exclude others.

The differences between the colonised and coloniser were embedded in collective identity. Through this, the characteristics of the colonised are seen as 'natural' or 'essential'. The differences gradually change from psychological predilections, regional structures and physical characteristics (Memmi, 1965: 155).

The works of Homi Bhabha are also illuminating when discussing the issue of difference in colonial societies. Bhabha's work covers many themes but revolves around a dual engagement with social ethics and subject formation, contemporary inequalities, and their historical conditions. The correlation between coloniser and colonised is multifaceted, nuanced and politically contentious (Bhabha, 1994: 173; Moore-Gilbert, 1997: 116).

Bhabha understood the system of stereotyping as indicative of the degree to which the coloniser's identity and authority are fissured and undermined by conflicting psychic responses to the colonised Other (Moore-Gilbert, 1997: 117). Bhabha (1985: 130) explained the function of the colonial stereotype through the prism of Sigmund Freud's conception of fetishism. For Bhabha, the stereotype did not only share the fetish's metonymic structure of substitution for the 'real' object. Rather, like the fetish, stereotyping expresses and contains severely conflicting feelings and attitudes (Bhabha, 1994: 74; Moore-Gilbert, 1997: 120). Through stereotyping, the Other is forced into behaving in accordance with what is expected of them by those who stereotype them (West, 1993: 30). In this way, colonialism was anchored on the construction of difference where a small group of people in colonial societies was as a result seen as representative of the whole society (Bhabha, 1994: 33-35; Suleri, 1995: 111).

Although colonial and racist ideologies emphasised racial differences, they could not completely prevent racial mixing, partially because not all interactions in the 'contact zones' could be monitored and controlled. This, in some instances, resulted from careful colonial policy (Loomba, 2015: 171). Colonialism was contradictory in its aim to enlighten those who were seen as different while perpetually subjugating them into everlasting otherness (Loomba, 2015: 171). This was clearly articulated in the concept of hybridity by Homi Bhabha. By using the term hybridity, Bhabha suggested that liminality and hybridity are essential attributes of the colonial condition (Loomba, 2015: 174).

A hybrid is a mixture or cross-fertilisation between two different species. As a result, the concept of 'hybridisation' entails a biological or botanical grafting or the interbreeding of two

different species. In the Victorian extreme right language, the term hybridity regarded different races as different species (Young, 1995). In contrast to this conceptualisation of hybridity, in postcolonial theory, hybridity refers to something different. In postcolonial literature, the term is meant to conjure all those avenues in which this expression was confronted and challenged. In postcolonial literature, there is what is called colonial hybridity. Colonial hybridity can be understood as how colonialism faced the daunting task of civilising those colonised and trying to ensure they were permanently subjugated and fixed as Others. In this instance, one can cite strategies used by other colonial powers, such as Spain and Portugal, who made efforts to ensure the crossbreeding of the indigenous and European populations. The ultimate aim of this hybridisation was to ensure that indigenous populations were wiped out. In postcolonial literature, Homi Bhabha's use of hybridity stands out as the most influential and controversial. Bhabha argued that hybridity is a necessary attribute of the colonial condition (Loomba, 2015: 176).

Bhabha's work analysed the deep-seated flaws in colonial discourse. It emphasised the ambivalence of colonisers regarding their relationship towards the colonised. The mere presence of the colonised created feelings of ambivalence and uncertainty within the coloniser (Van Rooyen, 2017: 63). This uncertainty threatened the claim of the coloniser of complete authority and undisputable authenticity (Van Rooyen, 2017: 63-64). As a result, through the contact between the coloniser and the colonised, the coloniser would establish an identity influenced by an interaction between the coloniser and the colonised. In this way, whiteness as racial identity and white privilege is relational and predicated on the colonial racialized stereotypes that render non-White and non-European as inferior.

Though the psychological dependency between the coloniser and colonised is not acknowledged, it is the source of control over the colonised. As a result, colonial authority is not coherent and becomes unpredictable to a certain extent (Moore-Gilbert, 1997:117-119). Ultimately, hybridity leads to unintended results within colonial domination since the colonised take up and assimilate colonial concepts and ideas, transforming them in light of their culture (Van Rooyen, 2017: 64). Hybridity as a by-product of a cultural exchange becomes an unavoidable by-product of the intermingling between the colonised and the coloniser. The concept of hybrid identity is important because it debunks the inflexible accounts inherent to the issues of race and ethnicity. Ultimately, identity is ever-changing and unstable (Van Rooyen, 2017: 64).

The ambivalent relations between the coloniser and the colonised are at the heart of colonial Othering (Bhabha, 1994: 117). What, however, complicated colonial authority is its failure to maintain its own precepts on the Self and the Other (Bhabha, 1985: 151). Spivak (1985: 253, 254) notes:

No perspective critical of imperialism can turn the Other into a Self because the project of imperialism has always already historically refracted what might have been the absolutely Other into a domesticated Other that consolidates the imperialist Self...A full literary inscription cannot easily flourish in the imperialist fracture or discontinuity, covered over by an alien legal system masquerading as law as such, an alien ideology established as the only truth, and a set of human sciences busy establishing the native 'as self-consolidating Other.'

The concept of hybridity neatly interweaves into translocational positionality (Anthias, 2001: 633). Translocational positionality concerns the long-lasting importance of the social relationships of 'othering' on the one hand and struggles for resources on the other. The struggles for allocating resources usually occur across class and racial lines (Anthias, 2001: 633). In other words, the identity markers such as race, class and gender may function as resources that are arranged contextually and situationally. These identity markers function as sets of self-attributions and attributions by Others.

In order to consider the ambivalent translocational positionality of whites in a postcolonial society, I used Foucault's concept of heterotopia to understand the issue of whiteness as a morally precarious place within a postcolonial space (Villet, 2018: 38-40). The concept is valuable for understanding the conflict between place and space. There are six principles in which the issue of heterotopia is explained. Foucault offers two possible meanings of the concept. Heterotopia could first be a space where the normal and accepted logic and societal rules are set aside or suspended. In this place, the ways of behaving accepted in a normal society are suspended. In another sense, a heterotopia can be understood as a designated space outside or within a society that mirrors the state of affairs within a society. This can be a mirror of imperfection or perfection. Therefore, heterotopias have strong contradictions, especially contradictions between what society is and what it should be like. From these two possible meanings, one can locate the six principles of heterotopia.

The first principle of heterotopia is that heterotopias are found in all cultures and human societies. However, their forms and types differ from one context to the other. There are two main categories of heterotopias under this principle. There is what is termed a heterotopia of crisis. This heterotopia is a space where “there are privileged or sacred or forbidden places, reserved for individuals who are, in relation to society and the human environment in which they live, in a state of crisis”. Heterotopias of crisis are hereby associated with primitive societies. However, the idea of an individual in crisis who needs to be placed somewhere apart from society is still seen in modern societies in boarding schools and military barracks, whose focus is to normalise or rehabilitate young people. The second category within the first principle is what is known as the heterotopia of deviance. The heterotopia of deviance is a space “where individuals whose behaviour is deviant in relation to the required mean or norm are placed”. Examples of these spaces in modern societies are psychiatric hospitals, nursing homes (where the elderly can deviate from the productive norm of work to rest permanently) as well as prisons (Foucault, 1986: 22-27).

The second principle of heterotopia concerns the different functions of place and space from one period to another in a given society. For Foucault, existing heterotopias can function differently in a given society with time. Each heterotopia has a precise function in a given society but can change and have a different function as time passes. Examples of such heterotopias are cemeteries which can acquire different meanings in societies when they move away from atheistic to religious viewpoints. The third principle concerns the heterotopia’s capacity to bring together and juxtapose into a single space real and several incompatible sites. Examples of such heterotopias are theatres and suburban gardens in which different aspects of different places worldwide are brought together into a single space (Foucault, 1986: 22-27).

The fourth principle connects heterotopia to what Foucault referred to as slices in time. This kind of heterotopia “...begins to function at full capacity when men arrive at a sort of absolute break with their traditional time”. When referring to slices of time, Foucault denoted an absolute break with traditional time known as heterochrony. As part of heterotopia, heterochrony suspends normal, linear time. This kind of suspension usually occurs in a cemetery when time is replaced or interrupted by death. It also occurs in monuments or museums where time is displaced by a kind of timelessness (Foucault, 1986: 22-27). According to Foucault, the fifth principle of heterotopia is “...a system of opening and closing that both

isolates it and makes it penetrable". This heterotopia site is not accessible to all and is, therefore, not a public space everyone can access. Entry into such a space is either compulsory, as is the case with barracks and prisons, or is subject to purification after passing a rite of passage.

The last and sixth principle relates to all the space that remains and contrasts the rest of society. In other instances, this kind of heterotopia creates an imaginary space that exposes the illusions of every real space in society. In some instances, the role of such a heterotopia can be the creation of a space that is radical to the communal space of daily life. Brothels and religious colonies created in 'barbaric societies' are examples of such heterotopias. These heterotopias reflect both the worst and best ideals of a given society. Overall, a heterotopia for Foucault refers to certain places or spaces within. Heterotopia is a place or space with two distinct, though not mutually exclusive, functions. People can go to a heterotopia and behave in a way that is not acceptable in society. In this instance, a heterotopia can be a place of transgression in which normal behaviour is suspended. Quite the opposite, a heterotopia can be a place where society's processes of normalisation are seen. In this case, it can be where people are rehabilitated and fashioned into a society's image. Common in these two kinds of heterotopias is that the two are places or spaces where individuals go to be isolated from society for them to transgress or normalise. Heterotopias function as either a mirror to society's ideals or an inverse of society's other regarding what is seen as indecent or immoral in a given society. This mirror links up with a given utopian idea seen in what would be considered a perfect society or the inverse mirror with particular dystopian ideas that undermine or unsettle utopia (Foucault, 1986: 22-27).

Through the concept of heterotopia described above, I aimed to explain how white people make sense of their destitute situations and, at times, continue to deny their privileges in ways that are racist and, in most extreme cases, rooted in anti-blackness. I engaged with Fanon's ideas on violence to understand how white people sometimes understand destitution in moral terms and often in ways that prop up white nationalism and anti-blackness.

I also engaged with Fanon's ideas on violence in making sense of how black people have the propensities to help white people facing destitution more than other black people facing destitution. Fanon (1967) discussed three forms of violence: physical, structural, and psychological. Physical violence puts in place what is known as the Manichean relation

between the coloniser and the colonised or the dialectic between the slaves, who, in my case, are the black natives and the masters, who are white colonisers. The other form of violence is what is known as structural violence. Structural violence serves as a condition for what is known as social injustice. This kind of violence is kept in place by certain institutions which serve to maintain and keep in place the Manichean dialectic between settler and native. The third form of violence is what is known as psychological violence. Psychological violence is harm or injury that is inflicted on the human psyche. This form of violence leads to what is known as cultural imperialism. It can only occur once all other forms of violence are in place through various institutions. Psychological violence plays a part in the guise of indoctrination, threats, propaganda, and brainwashing. The major goal of psychological violence is significant in that it alters how black people engage with the world they live in after colonisation. Psychological violence shows the attempts covertly or overtly by the colonisers to fashion individuals who are colonised and end up rejecting their indigenous values and institutions because they would have been brainwashed or deceived into believing that their own values are inferior to those of the white colonisers (Fanon, 1967: 46; Jinadu, 2003: 47-48).

The discourse of race and racism also finds expression in the theoretical framework underpinning this study. Racism, as a particularly virulent form of boundary-making, constructs non-belonging and othering. Racism is those discourses, practices and outcomes that work to inferiorise, subordinate, exclude and exploit those who are seen as different (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1992: 13). The racialisation process is opportunistic and is an outcome of political and economic projects at a number of various levels. It is also an outcome of what is known as ‘race-making’ (Anthias, 2016: 180). ‘Race-making’ is the process whereby a social grouping is created in terms of collective characteristics that are essentialist and inalienable. These collective characteristics can be biological, cultural, or religious. It is useful to reiterate that the labels, ideas, and practices around race-making can change or shift (Anthias, 2016: 180). Racism is the outcome of social practices, discourses and social relations at different societal levels and can be constituted intersectionally. Racism can be the product of the interaction of social forces that can create boundaries and hierarchies in violent and dehumanising ways (Anthias, 2016: 180; Fanon, 1986: 13).

The faces of contemporary racism involve essentialism, culturalism and the hierarchisation of difference. The tropes underlying contemporary racism constitute what are called the Four Ds (Anthias, 2016: 180). The first D stands for ‘danger’, where the Other is usually collectively

seen as a danger to the culture of the Self and also as a threat to the general security of the Self (Anthias, 2016: 180). The second D represents 'deviance' where the other is seen as deviant, generally evil and incongruous with the culture of the Self. The third D stands for 'deficit'. Under deficit, the Other is also seen as deficient and unable to meet the standards required of them by the cultural standards of the Self. The Other is then segregated and excluded from accessing certain public goods made available to the Self. The Other's way of life is reviled, leading to stigmatisation of their lives. The fourth D is 'disgust' (Anthias, 2016: 180). Disgust is associated with the issues of contagion and contamination. Thus, certain cultural practices of the Other are stigmatised and seen as contaminating the culture of the Self. As a result, the Other is racialised, leading to avoidance, stigmatisation and dehumanisation of the Other by the Self (Anthias, 2016: 180).

The theory of intersectionality links to notions of otherism derived from postcolonial theory. In colonies, the colonised were usually stigmatised and regarded as homogenous. They were seen as degenerate, uncivilised and generally a threat to the colonisers (McClintock, 1995: 23; Moore-Gilbert, 1997: 118; Loomba, 2015: 54). Colonialism destroyed everything in the colonies and left the natives with nothing to call their own (Spivak, 1985; Fanon, 1995: 154). Colonisers have always attempted to persuade the natives of their inert and irrevocable deficiencies and their subordination's consequent naturalness and lastingness (Cairns & Richards, 1995: 178). In light of this, Gilman (1985: 18) stated:

Because there is no real line between Self and the Other, an imaginary line must be drawn; and so that the illusion of an absolute difference between Self and Other is never troubled, this line is as dynamic in its ability to alter itself as is the Self. This can be observed in the shifting relationship of antithetical stereotypes that parallel the existence of 'bad' and 'good' representations of Self and Other. But the line between 'good' and 'bad' responds to stresses occurring within the psyche. Thus, paradigm shifts in our mental representations of the world can and do occur. We can move from fearing to glorifying the Other. We can move from loving to hating.

Thus, the project of imperialism has always already historically refracted what might have been the absolute Other into a domesticated Other that consolidated the imperialist Self (Spivak, 1985: 253). The tendency of the coloniser to regard the colonised as homogeneous is linked to the theorising of collective identity seen in the social constructionist approach. The social

constructionist perspective notes that every collective in a society is a social artefact. In other words, it is an entity moulded, refabricated, and mobilised in line with certain cultural scripts influenced by the cultural practices of the hegemonic social groups in a society. As seen in the 'one drop rule' to race in America, identities in society have been created through the essentialist dichotomies of race. According to the 'one drop rule', people seen as black or with traces of black blood have been classified collectively as black (Davis, 1991: 34). As a result, those who were not regarded as white were segregated, whilst white people were privileged (Alba, 1990: 307; Balibar and Wallerstein, 1991: 46).

Western literary canons of knowledge advanced the notions of white superiority as critiqued by postcolonial studies, where whiteness was founded on intersecting domains of privilege. Colonial societies were moulded and shaped by the master/slavery binary, which often ran along racial lines. Under this system, colonised people were treated as inferior to the colonisers, with their race becoming a marker for inferiority. The question arises as to the goal of this system of racial subordination and privilege and how identities were formed between the coloniser and the colonised.

Intersectionality theory has not been applied in understanding inequality through coupling whiteness and middle-classness. Intersectionality theory can, however, be employed to engage whiteness as a social identity which has seldom been discussed through this prism. In other words, no effort has been made to understand whiteness through intersectional critiques. Through cross-fertilising the intersectionality theory with other canons on difference, intersectionality can be relocated as both a product and an articulation of the issues of whiteness and difference. In this instance, applying intersectionality in understanding whiteness reinvigorates and radicalises the theory. Applying intersectionality to unpack power relations arising from the intersections of whiteness and middle-classness and the issues arising from ethnicity creates a platform for exploring power in the context of group inequities (Levine-Rasky, 2009: 239-240).

The theory of intersectionality provides a platform from which I understand the multifaceted inequalities found in relations of hierarchisation and stratification. These multifaceted inequalities include factors such as uneven resource allocation, practices relating to morality, disgust, and stigma, among other issues which connect to inferiorisation and othering. Intersectionality can be an outcome of differentiation that arises through different social

relations. In most cases, intersectionality is associated with positions of oppression (Sayer, 2005: 951; Lawler, 2005: 436; Levine-Rasky, 2009: 243; Anthias, 2016: 184).

The concept of intersectionality signifies complex, intricate, diverse, and mutable effects resulting from the intersection of politico-cultural, psychic, cultural and experiential issues in a given historical context. Intersectionality theory states that different dimensions of social life are inseparable. Intersectionality theory also aims to map what fashions social hierarchies. Intersectionality can be applied and is applicable when engaging with the varied axes of difference. These axes of difference go beyond race and gender to include sexual orientation, class, nation, citizenship, disability and even immigration status. Intersectionality commits itself to understand social identities as fluid and contingent (Levine-Rasky, 2009: 242; Carbado, 2013: 814-815).

As a theoretical approach, the intersectional theory studies the inequity that includes the interplay of ethnicity, race, class and gender when outlining outcomes. For instance, race is usually overlaid on and intersects with gender, class and ethnicity. This, subsequently, creates intersecting and mutually increasing configurations of subjugation and exploitation. Intersectionality theory explores the relationship between privilege and dis-privilege. This relates to the key relationality between oppression and domination. It also addresses the nexus among groups within power relations that affect exclusion and inclusion. This relates to postcolonial studies where the mutual effects of colonialism on the coloniser and colonised are highlighted (Fleras & Elliott, 2007: 360; Levine-Rasky, 2009: 244).

When whiteness and middle-classness are studied together, they are often conflated. They are not shown to emerge explicitly from theoretical claims. However, consistent with intersectionality, studying domination can only be arrived at by assuming the close relationship between race and class. Although considering the intersectionality of power may not be in a position to solve all tensions, it could potentially unlock some critically important issues which can be useful in analysing inequities as one of the key problems of relationality between groups. At the same time, it can potentially introduce certain desirable complexity and contradiction into the bigger theoretical picture of power relations. Often, there is a denial of power and privilege that is conferred by the intersections of whiteness and middle-classness. Intersectionality can be useful in theorising inequality (Levine-Rasky, 2009: 239-240; 247).

Whiteness is intersectionally unmarked in some social positions. This fact shores up whiteness as a racial category which is default and normative through which sexuality, class and gender are expressed. This can be fully articulated through what is known as colourblind intersectionality. Colourblind intersectionality regards non-whiteness as the racial modifier of class, sexuality, ethnicity and gender. Colourblind intersectionality references instances whereby whiteness is part of a social category that is recognisable though not visible as an intersectional subject position (Carbado, 2013: 817, 823).

For instance, white heterosexual men make up a cognisable social category. However, whiteness is seldom seen or expressed in intersectional terms. There is gender-blind intersectionality, whose quintessential example is white male heterosexuality. One might think of white male heterosexuality as a blind intersectionality. In this instance, gender-blind intersectionality is just a part of this intersectionality. To be precise, white male heterosexuality is anchored on three axes: whiteness, maleness, and heterosexuality. It is at least as a result of these axes that those seen as Others are intersectionally differentiated. The axes of difference fashion a code of conduct, including high-status intersectionality defined by an already normative conduct. By this, the conduct of white heterosexual men is normative (Carbado, 2013: 818).

A truly relational approach essential for a critical analysis of the inequitable social relation can be achieved through understanding domination from whiteness, middle-classness and the complication of ethnicity. Intersectionality mainly focuses on the structures of oppression and the experiences of oppressed groups. Social class, race and ethnicity crosscut all groups. Given the differences in ethnicities and middle-classness in different groups, class privilege for the ethnicised and racialised bodies is not guaranteed (Levine-Rasky, 2009: 241).

The issue of power is always integral to intersectionality theory. Power relations, class and ethnicity usually reinforce each other in certain circumstances, although they sometimes contradict each other. This then accounts for the complexities of whiteness as it intersects with class, ethnicity, and gender. The theory emphasises the issue of domination which has always formed an integral part of the highly complex web of social relations domination. Where oppression exists, privilege also exists (Levine-Rasky, 2009: 244).

Power is fluid and exercised by both the dominant and subordinate groups. The notion of the fluidity of power rooted in the Foucauldian analysis is consistent with contradictory subject positions, including race and ethnicity. Power is thus not only appropriated by the dominant groups and used to exploit those who are subordinated. Rather, it is exercised by the dominant as well as the dominated. Power carries with it both a political and economic utility. What matters is how power is utilised to affect social and political advantages and not necessarily to possess power. It is about position and positioning. This is vitally important in studying middle-classness and whiteness, especially when the two intersect (Levine-Rasky, 2009: 244).

The right to exclude is one of the central principles of whiteness as identity. Mostly, whiteness has been characterised not by an inert unifying characteristic but by excluding people who are not white. Those who possess whiteness have the legal right to exclude non-whites from the privileges closely linked with whiteness. In this context, whiteness becomes an exclusive club whose membership is closed and jealously guarded. For instance, the courts play a role in enforcing whiteness' right to exclude. The courts play a key role in determining who is white or not white enough to enjoy the privileges that accrue from being white. The protection of whiteness by the law results in the devaluing of those who are not white. This is achieved by forcing those who were not white to retract their identity. In the end, the concept of whiteness is guarded carefully since a lot is dependent on it in racially hierarchised societies. Those who were regarded in law as white were conferred citizenship. This citizenship was highly valued because it was denied to those not seen as white. Thus, citizenship itself is closely linked to white racial identity (Harris, 1993: 1736, 1743-1744).

On an individual level, recognising oneself as white assumes property based on white supremacy. The recognition of oneself as white disqualifies people who are not seen as white. The claims of white identity and being white amount to being pure and exclusive. In colonial contexts, racial identity was governed by blood. White blood was preferred. In an American context, the presence of black blood consigned a person to be black. This evoked the metaphor of contamination and purity. Black blood was seen as a contaminant, while white blood was seen as pure and not a contaminant. As a result, recognising and identifying oneself as white was a claim of racial purity. The legal assumption of blood as a predictor of racial identity on which this was anchored is based on scientific research of eugenics and craniology propounded during the 18th and 19th centuries. Legally, race was defined through racial theories, which described race as biologically, immutable and scientifically determined. What was important

in defining race was blood and not appearance, and social acceptance since appearance and social acceptance were socially fluid and were subjective measures (Harris, 1993: 1736-1740).

Scientific definitions were used in the law to construct whiteness as a marker of privilege. Science was used to justify racial hierarchies in which white people were privileged. These hierarchies were disguised as based on natural law and biology. As a result, racialised privilege was legitimised through science. Subsequently, it was accepted legally as an objective fact. Since identity has always been constituted through social interactions, the assigned politico-economic and social inferiority of non-whites shaped and moulded white identity in colonial societies, which were racially hierarchised. The law in the colonial context had the critical task of racial classification. The law embraced and accepted the theories of race, which regarded blacks as inferior. As a result, the law was useful in parcelling social standing according to race. The law also facilitated discrimination by articulating precise definitions of racial group membership (Harris, 1993: 1736-1737).

Racial identity and difference have a bearing on the construction of racism and have their impetus in not only positioning non-white people as inferior to other races but by envy and desire, which is inexpressible non-whites are said to possess (Hall, 1996: 444). Social identities of race operate ineluctably through their bodily markers. Similar to sexes, races are social entities because their meanings are constructed through concepts, values and experiences which are culturally specific. Race as a social kind of entity is physically marked on the body. Race is lived as a material experience. It is visible as a surface phenomenon and determines one's political and economic status. Bodies are located and positioned by race structures and have access to differential experiences. The theorising of philosophers such as Hume, Kant, Aristotle and John Stuart Mill operated within a kind of schizophrenia regarding the philosophical significance of the body. Within this tradition, body types differentiated based on race determine epistemic status and one's intellectual ability. Hume and Kant argued that dark skin is a marker of intellectual inferiority. John Stuart Mill argued that non-white societies are incapable of governing themselves. In this context, identities are always constituted by the knowledge that is situated in the body (Alcoff, 2003: 102-103, 106).

I engaged with the notion of white destitution through poor white studies to track and probe how segregationist philanthropy functions in consolidating various forms of white nationalism, white solidarity, white supremacy, racial iconoclasm escapism and ultimately racism. I argued

that segregationist philanthropy creates debates on whiteness in crisis in ways that create conditions for continued racism. Here, my argument was based on the notion that poor whites have been understood and seen as the remains of a blossoming white civilisation. The premise upon which I used the poor white studies was the argument that white civilisation was prone to both disintegration and degeneration and, as a group, could be rehabilitated (Willoughby-Herard, 2007: 487). As a result, I attempted to interrogate the various and complicated ways that have been used to deal with the problem of destitution through the rehabilitation and upward mobility of poor whites.

During colonialism, it was believed that race would determine the quality of life one was entitled to. The racial discourse ensured that those identified as whites would flourish economically. This was, however, not the case in reality in Rhodesia. Due to this belief, white people in Rhodesia thought they were immune to destitution in times when they were not. Poor white studies showed that white supremacy's ideology could not universally guarantee the success of white people. The discourse of white supremacy argued that poverty among non-whites resulted from their cultural resistance to industrialisation, modernisation and cultural anachronism that hindered the ability of non-whites to benefit from industrialisation. In the end, in white supremacy discourse, disadvantages and success were attributed directly to race. Poverty among white people had to be attributed to something else. However, the available discourse of racial hierarchies ranking the races saw poor whites being caught up in the biologism of scientific racism. Poor whites were always a threat to the idea of white supremacy since poverty suggests that whiteness guarantees nothing at all. It revealed that whiteness was a sham and a false discourse which was only believed by those who benefit a lot from it (Willoughby-Herard, 2007: 491-492).

As noted in Chapter One, the study is underpinned by a theoretical framework that drew on postcolonial studies, whiteness studies and other canons of difference. Therefore, the issue of white destitution was considered through a theoretical framework integrating white privilege as the intersectional counterpoint to the matrix of postcolonial marginalisation. The study was concerned with notions of Otherism rooted in master/slave and self/other binaries inherent to most canons on difference. The theoretical scaffolding of the theoretical framework (as reflected throughout this chapter) drew substantial inspiration from the work of Edward Said, Homi Bhabha, Toni Morrison, Floya Anthias, Frantz Fanon, Kemberlé Crenshaw and Patricia Hill-Collins. Their work on difference helped to derive the conceptual pillars of the conceptual

framework underpinning this study. The key concepts which comprised the conceptual framework are illustrated diagrammatically below.

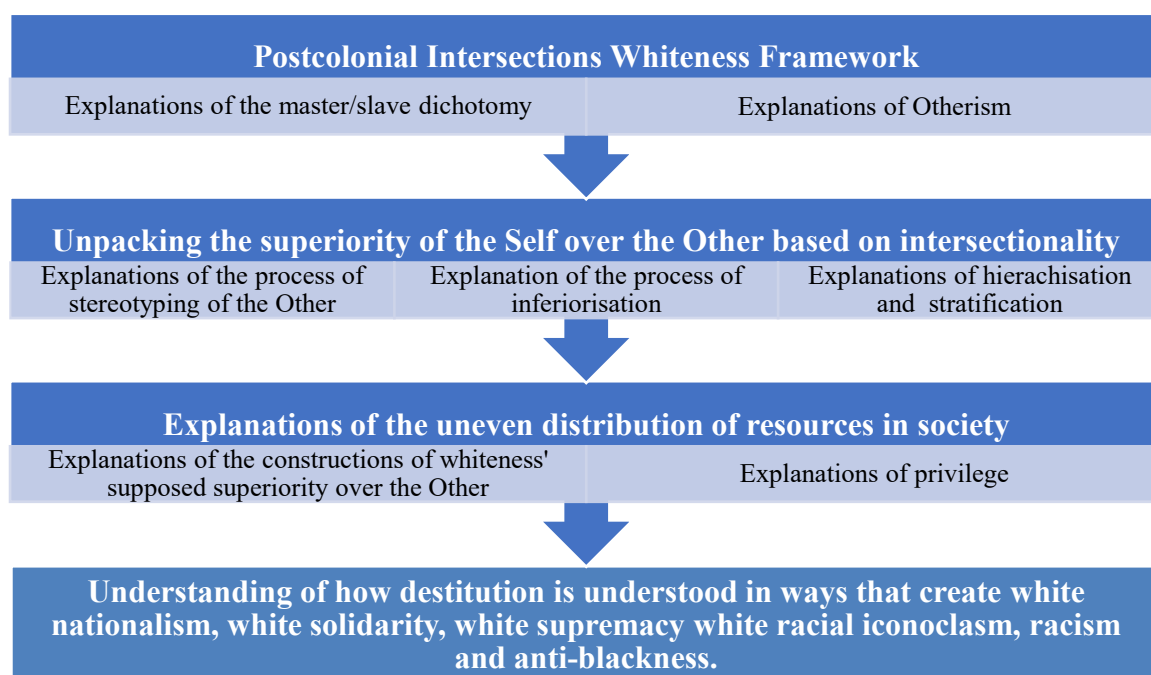


Figure 10: An illustration of the key pillars of the Postcolonial Intersectional Whiteness Theoretical Framework (Source: Developed for this study)

The diagram above illustrates the key conceptual pillars of the Postcolonial Intersectional Whiteness Theoretical Framework. The first pillar of the theoretical framework explains the master/slave dichotomy and the process of otherism, followed by unpacking the superiority of the Self over the Other based on intersectionality. Under this, efforts were made to explain the process of stereotyping of the Other, the process of inferiorisation and the processes of hierarchisation and stratification. This discussion of the superiority of the Self over the Other was done through a three-pronged approach. First, a clear discussion of the stereotyping of the Other by the self was done, which links with the process of inferiorisation of the Other by the self. This closely connects to the explanation of how hierarchisation and stratification, as the other processes, informed the formation of the identities of the Self and the Other in racially hierarchised societies.

This pillar provided a platform for explaining society's uneven distribution of resources. Here, I explained the constructions of whiteness's supposed superiority over the Other and explored

privilege. The important processes that gave rise to affluence and/or vulnerability over time were explained through the discussion of the Self's superiority over the Other. Efforts were made to discuss how the economic, demographic, and political processes produced and reproduced affluence and vulnerability over time since these affected the allocation and distribution of resources among those viewed as whites and those viewed as non-whites. I also attempted to explain economic, social and political structures, legal definitions and enforcement of rights, gender and class relations and other elements of the ideological order of the superiority of the Self over the Other. Part of this explanation closely connects to the state's function (or dysfunction) in moulding and reinforcing the boundaries demarcating the Self and the Other.

All this opened the avenue for understanding how destitution is understood in ways that support white nationalism, white solidarity, white supremacy, white racial iconoclasm, racism, and anti-blackness in most extreme cases. The last part explained the uneven distribution of resources in racially hierarchised societies. Under this, efforts were made to fully understand how privilege is harnessed to support Otherism, inferiorisation, hierarchisation, and stereotyping. This was fully explained at the second level of the framework. Under this pillar, I attempted to explain how the privileging of the Self and unprivileging of the Other translate into identities characterised by the privileged Self and disadvantaged Other. These identities are usually conjunctural manifestations of the general underlying economic, social and political patterns of enfranchising the Self and disenfranchising the Other, explained in the second tier of the framework.

4.9 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has demonstrated that the issue of difference and Otherism had a bearing and continues to have a bearing on how various groups in society are viewed differently by those who categorise people into various social groupings. The chapter aimed to examine the key concepts of whiteness and destitution before offering a unified theoretical framework guiding this study.

In order to consider the genesis and meaning of the key concept of whiteness, the chapter first unpacked the colonial discourses of difference that traces its roots to colonial racial theories, which led to the creation of societies defined by the poetics of the Self and the Other as put

forward in theories on difference such as in the works of enlightenment thinkers, Egyptologists, medical scientists, craniologists, racial theorists, ethnologists, linguists, polygenists, monogenists, Social Darwinists, classical scholars, culturists, and gender theorists, among others. Europeans' constant invocation of the concept of difference in colonial societies justified segregation and led to the deprivation and privileging of certain groups over others. Racialised colonial discourses created a racial aristocracy configured by white supremacy, where whiteness became intimately associated with privilege and advantage. Therefore, it was necessary to explain whiteness as an intersectional social identity predicated on white privilege before discussing the choice of postcolonialism, framed as a critical response to colonial racialised discourses and legacies, as the critical foundation framework for this research. The links between critical race theories, in this case, whiteness studies, and postcolonialism were also discussed.

This chapter also demonstrated that destitution had been conceptualised from various standpoints by various scholars through different models. Through a comparative analysis of destitution in different contexts, including colonial European and South African contexts, this chapter conceptualised destitution in postcolonial terms to contextualise it within the discourse of difference. The chapter concluded by presenting and discussing the theoretical framework underpinning this study, namely the Postcolonial Intersectional Whiteness Theoretical Framework.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE INTERSECTIONS OF DESTITUTION AND WHITENESS IN POSTCOLONIAL ZIMBABWE

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores and interprets the intersections of destitution and notions of whiteness as reflected in the testimonies of the primary participants, white people in Zimbabwe who suffer from destitution, as well as the testimonies of key secondary informants. While commonalities exist in how destitution was understood and manifested during different historical epochs in Rhodesian history, key differences were also identified. This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section will present an overview of the findings on the manifestations and experiences of destitution as reflected in the various forms of interviews that formed part of the data collection. The second section will present whiteness as a continuum of privilege and dependency. I analyse how destitution is understood and framed by white people I interviewed in the third section, followed by an exploration of philanthropy in the fourth section. I also engage and analyse the material I gathered from cyberspace in the third and fourth sections. The material I engage with in the second and third sections draws from cyberspace and face-to-face interviews with participants facing destitution in the streets of Harare and the Braeside Salvation Army Centre.

5.2 OVERVIEW OF INTERVIEWS: MANIFESTATIONS AND EXPERIENCES OF WHITE DESTITUTION

This section presents an overview of the manifestations and experiences of destitution as documented through interviews with the primary participants and secondary key informants. Table 5 illustrates an overview of the interviews conducted during the course of this research.

Table 5: An overview of guided interviews and in-situ interviews with participants facing destitution and key informants

INTERVIEW TYPE	PARTICIPANTS (WHITE PEOPLE FACING DESTITUTION)	KEY (SECONDARY) INFORMANTS	TOTAL
Formal in-situ interviews	11	8	19
Formal guided walks	8	3	11
Informal in-situ interviews	0	1	1
Informal guided walks	0	0	0
TOTAL	19	12	31

Overall, empirical data collection comprised 31 interviews, generating rich data for thick description to understand the phenomenon under study. The majority (19) of interviews were in-situ, with 11 formal guided walks. The majority of interviews were done with participants (white people facing destitution), followed by 12 key informant interviews. In order to elicit rich data for thick description, I used a flexible semi-structured interview framework (see Table 6) with specifically formulated questions to address key themes from the literature.

Table 6: The semi-structured interview framework for participants and the themes related to literature and the conceptual framework used in this study

Semi-structured interview questions	Themes related to literature
1. Can you give a brief background about yourself? <i>Follow-up questions focused on questions such as:</i> ✓ What did you do for a living? ✓ How would you describe your lifestyle while you were working?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conceptualisation of the lack of means of subsistence. • Vulnerability definition.
2. How would you describe your current circumstances? <i>Follow-up questions focused on questions such as:</i> ✓ What do you do to survive? ✓ Would you say that your quality of life has diminished? ✓ Why do you think this is so?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conceptualisation of the lack of means of subsistence. • Vulnerability definition.
3. What happened to you to end up here? <i>Follow-up questions focused on questions such as:</i> ✓ Did you lose any savings, property or networks which made you better off than this? ✓ How do you feel about being perceived as destitute? ✓ Overall, what have been your experiences living under these circumstances?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of means of subsistence and vulnerability elaborated.

<p>4. Do you think that race determines people's success in life?</p> <p><i>Follow-up questions focused on questions such as:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Do you think white people were better off in Zimbabwe prior to independence? ✓ Do you think white people had more privileges than black people before independence? ✓ Do you think black people were disadvantaged prior to independence? 	<p>Conceptual framework</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The nexus between whiteness and white identity. • Colonialism, whiteness and white superiority. • Otherism and white territorial practices during colonialism. • Binarism or dualism and racial categorisation. • Economic and political processes that allocate assets, income and other resources. • Socio-political and economic processes. • Cultural iconoclasm, cultural arrogance, invincibility and vulnerability.
<p>5. Do you think that being white led you into your current circumstances?</p> <p><i>Follow-up questions focused on questions such as:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Do you think you would be better off elsewhere in another country? ✓ Would you say white people can still make a living in Zimbabwe? ✓ How do you feel about your life? ✓ If you could change anything about your life, what would it be? What was the nature of the transition that landed you in this situation? 	<p>Conceptual framework</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The nexus between whiteness and white identity. • Colonialism, whiteness and white superiority. • Otherism and white territorial practices during colonialism. • Binarism or dualism and racial categorisation. • Economic and political processes that allocate assets, income and other resources. • Socio-political and economic processes. • Cultural iconoclasm, cultural arrogance, invincibility and vulnerability.

The semi-structured interview framework effectively probed for purposeful information to build the participant biographies and help understand the phenomenon under study. Table 7 depicts the pseudonyms and biographies of the primary participants (i.e., white people facing destitution and living on the streets of Harare and at the Braeside Salvation Army Centre). The biographical information reflects the manifestations and experiences of destitution among the participants as acquired through lived experience.

Table 7: Pseudonyms and short biographies of the white people facing destitution at the Braeside Salvation Army Centre and the streets of Harare who participated in the study

Pseudonym of participant	Biography of the participant
David	David ¹⁷ was 65 years old as on 23/11/17. David is a man of British and Italian descent. His grandparents came to Rhodesia during the 1920s, and his mother's grandparents came to Rhodesia during the 1930s. His grandparents were industrialists. He is a former Rhodesian army soldier. He is no longer married after divorcing his wife in 1983. He has a child who left Zimbabwe for South Africa in 1998. David does not own a house. He became homeless after selling his house soon after his wife's departure in 1983. After selling the house, David became a drug addict and was taken in by his cousin. Continued drug use and disagreements with his cousin led David to be ejected from his cousin's house in 2010. By the time of his expulsion, David had lost his savings due to hyperinflation in 2008-2009. He ended up on the streets living at the Newlands shopping centre. At first, he was sleeping in a makeshift structure of grass and plastics before it was destroyed when the Ministry of Transport constructed a new road. After the destruction of the makeshift structure, David started sleeping under a tree. He slept under the tree for three years before being given a guardroom to sleep in by a security guard who works at the shopping centre. Before being given a guardroom to sleep in, David had no blankets to protect him from cold weather. He had to seek refuge from the rains at the shopping centre. Before sleeping in the guardroom, David did not have access to sanitation facilities to bathe and do laundry. After being given a small guardroom to sleep in, David's life has changed slightly. By the time of the research, David had access to sanitation facilities for bathing and laundry. Despite this, lack of soap means months can go by without being able to do laundry. He also has been given blankets by a well-wisher to protect him from bad weather, but often the blankets are not enough to keep him warm.
Elliot	Elliot ¹⁸ was 39 years old as on 02/09/17. He is of Afrikaner descent. His ancestors came to Rhodesia during the 1890s and were corn farmers and owned cattle ranches. He worked as a chef before losing his job after the restaurant he worked at closed down in 2008. After losing his job, Elliot divorced his wife. The divorce culminated in a legal dispute over property ownership. The divorce settlement led to selling the house he had bought with his wife. The savings he had made from selling the house was eroded during the 2008-2009 hyperinflationary period. This led him to the streets, where he found himself living through panhandling. Elliot found himself sleeping in a desolate bottle collection centre for two years before being taken in by the Braeside Salvation Army Centre in 2012. Elliot slept at the bottle collection centre without any blankets to protect him from cold weather. During winter, Elliot used to burn cardboard boxes to keep warm. He still panhandles part-time at the Braeside Shopping Centre even though the Salvation Army church caters for his needs. He had no cooking utensils and survived on the food he bought from the supermarket with the money he earned through panhandling. He had no sanitation facilities and could not bathe or do laundry.
Samson	Samson ¹⁹ was 61 years old as on 09/09/17. He was an engineer in the Rhodesian Army. He is of British descent. His family came to Rhodesia in the late 1890s. His grandparents were tobacco farmers and owned several farms before 1980. Samson lost his house after his wife and sister clandestinely sold his house. He was thrown out of the house after a court order asked him to leave. After losing his job as an engineer in the Rhodesian Army in 1981, Samson used his house as a source of income by leasing some of the rooms for rentals. Soon after losing his house, Samson became a full-time panhandler and panhandled at Braeside Shopping Centre. After being thrown out of his house, Samson slept under an unused automobile shade behind a supermarket at the Braeside Shopping Centre. He had a few worn-out blankets but was not fully protected from harsh weather.

¹⁷ David is the pseudonym given to the participant who also participated in the Master's study as David.

¹⁸ Elliot is the pseudonym of a participant, who also participated as Elliot in the Master's study.

¹⁹ Samson participated during the Master's study as Samson.

	<p>He had no access to sanitation, laundry facilities, cooking utensils or facilities. He survived on food bought at the supermarket when he had money from panhandling. He was taken to the Braeside Salvation Army Centre by a well-wisher, where he gets food and shelter.</p>
Christine	<p>Christine²⁰ was 59 years old as on 25/11/17. She is of Scottish and Irish descent. Her family came to Rhodesia in the late 1940s as civil servants. Christine lost most of her savings through hospital bills for her husband, who had cancer of the oesophagus. She later had breast cancer and lost her savings since her medical conditions needed specialised treatment. Christine was forced to sell her house to raise money for medical expenses. After selling the house and losing her husband, Christine became dependent on the help of well-wishers. She ended up living in a caravan near Lake <i>Chivero</i>. While she had sleeping quarters, she had no bed and had to sleep on the floor of the caravan. Nor did she have any sanitation facilities in the caravan. She would go to the dam to do laundry and take a bath. Though she had some utensils for cooking, she faced difficulties accessing the food and the energy needed to cook the food. She had to go to the nearby forest to fetch firewood for cooking and walk to Harare to buy food which was strenuous given her health complications. In April 2015, the Braeside Salvation Army Centre took her in. She received medical care through the Presbyterian Church but could not financially support herself. She relied on help from well-wishers while still living at the Braeside Salvation Army Centre during the time of the research.</p>
John	<p>John²¹ was 64 years old as on 23/11/17. He is of Afrikaner descent. His ancestors came to Rhodesia in 1890 and were cattle and tobacco farmers. During the time of the research, John slept in a car by the fuel garage at the Braeside Shopping Centre after selling his house in 2006. John was never employed formally. He was a gang member and burglar during his youth. He was taken to prison in the 1970s for armed robbery before being released in 1980. He moved to Holland soon after being released from the Rhodesian prison in the 1980s, where he joined a transnational criminal biker gang called the Hell's Angels. He had been a gang member of the Hell's Angels involved in drug dealing, including cocaine and heroin, among other illicit drugs. He became a drug addict as a result of his involvement in gang life for 15 years. He was later forced to leave Holland due to his involvement in drug trafficking. He returned to Zimbabwe in 1995 and sold the house his parents had left him to feed his drug addiction. He started renting accommodation but could not pay rent and started sleeping in a car by the fuel garage at Braeside Service Station. Since moving to the garage, John has been living by doing menial jobs and using his car. John had no access to sanitation and laundry facilities during the time of the interviews on 20/11/17 and 23/11/17. As a result, he has gone for years without doing any laundry. He seldom takes a bath. He goes to a nearby tap where he washes his face and feet. He does not have any cooking utensils. He survives on the food he buys from the supermarket using the money he gets from doing menial jobs. He only possesses one blanket for protection from cold weather. However, his car provides some measure of protection from the rain. He has few clothes he seldom changes and has not been able to wash them since moving to the garage. John is a painter, and well-wishers who admire his paintings sometimes give him money. John aimed to take the paintings to an art gallery at some point, but he had not sold any of the paintings. During both Master's and PhD fieldwork in 2014 and 2017, John had a male bulldog he used for breeding purposes, through which he also generated some income. People took their female dogs to mate with John's dog for a fee. John uses this money to buy his food. He also sells fuel to motorists to eke out a living. John is friends with the fuel attendants at the Zuva Fuel Service Station. He gets fuel from the fuel attendants in a 20-litre fuel container once the garage refuels. He then sells the fuel at inflated prices to motorists who cannot get the fuel from the pump due to the scarcity of fuel in Zimbabwe. This enables him to buy food.</p>

²⁰ Christine participated as Christine during the Master's study.

²¹ John was John during the Master's study.

Jan	Jan ²² was a 68-year-old former road foreman/safari owner as on 07/12/17. He is of British descent, and his ancestors came to Rhodesia during the 1890s. His family owned farms and had been farming until the 2000s. He was taken to the Braeside Salvation Army Centre through the help of his former neighbour after being thrown out of his house due to failure to pay rent in 2014. Jan moved to Harare after his Safari business was appropriated during the compulsory land acquisitions by the government of Zimbabwe in 2000. He started working as a salesman for a certain Kapenta fish company before the company was closed in 2008. Jan has been living through the help given to him by the Braeside Salvation Army since 2010. He gets food, shelter, and clothes at the Salvation Army Centre. He has few personal belongings, and most of his basic needs come from the Salvation Army.
Eve	Eve ²³ was a 68-year-old woman of Norwegian descent as on 30/11/17. She was a police nurse during the late 1970s. After being a police nurse during the Rhodesian era, Eve became a nurse at a local hospital in Harare and specialised in midwifery. She served the hospital as a government employee until her retirement in 2001. Eve never married and lived in a government flat until her retirement. She moved out of the government flat upon retirement and started renting. The 2008-2009 hyperinflationary era eroded her savings, and she was unable to pay her rent. She was evicted from where she was renting for failure to pay rent. Through connections from friends, Eve was taken to the Braeside Salvation Army Centre, where she has lived since 2009. She had sold all her belongings during her time at the rented apartment. She came to the Braeside Salvation Army Centre with only a few clothes and some blankets in 2015. The Salvation Army Centre and well-wishers have provided shelter, food and clothes since she moved to the Centre.
Nigel	Nigel ²⁴ was a 51-year-old man of Greek and Italian descent as on 07/12/17. His family came to Rhodesia during the 1940s and were involved in construction. He was employed as a farm manager since the late 1980s. He lost his job following the acquisition of the farm he worked at in 2004. He moved to Harare and tried to find a job but could not get a formal one. He ended up selling farm produce at the Avondale Shopping Centre but could not make enough to rent a decent home. Nigel found himself making enough for food and slept in the same stall where he sold his farm produce. The hyperinflationary era of 2008-2009 eroded his business capital, and he ended up living through panhandling. During the time of the research, Nigel lived through panhandling at the Avondale and Strathaven shopping centres. He slept in pubs and had no fixed accommodation. In 2017 when the researcher was collecting data, Nigel had no cooking utensils. He relied on food bought at nearby supermarkets from money collected through panhandling. He has had no blankets, protection from harsh weather or access to laundry and sanitation facilities since losing his business in 2009.

The testimonies of primary participants were triangulated with the testimonies of key secondary informants to provide a more holistic picture of the phenomenon. The semi-structured interview framework for key secondary informants also elicited rich data and is presented in Table 8.

²² Jan was a new participant who participated in the PhD study only.

²³ Eve was a new participant who participated in the PhD study only.

²⁴ Nigel only participated in the PhD study.

Table 8: The semi-structured interview framework for key secondary informant interviews and the themes related to literature, and the conceptual framework used in this study

Semi-structured interview questions	Themes related to literature
<p>1. Can you give a brief background about yourself?</p> <p><i>Follow-up questions focused on questions such as:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ How old are you? ✓ What did you do for a living? ✓ How did you meet the participant in question? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • General background information of the participant.
<p>2. How would you describe his/her/their current circumstances?</p> <p><i>Follow-up questions focused on questions such as:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ What does he/she/they do to survive? ✓ Would you say that this person is destitute? ✓ Why do you think this is so? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conceptualisation of the lack of means of subsistence. • Vulnerability definition.
<p>3. Do you know what happened for him to end up here?</p> <p><i>Follow-up questions focused on questions such as:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Did s/he/they lose any savings, property or networks which made better off than this? ✓ Generally, how do you describe his/her/their experiences living under these circumstances? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of means of subsistence and vulnerability of the particular elaborated.

The pseudonyms and short biographies of the key secondary informants are presented in Table 9 below.

Table 9: Pseudonyms and short biographies of the key secondary informants who participated in the study (Source: Developed for this study)

Pseudonym of key informant	Detailed information of the key informant
Munyaradzi	Munyaradzi (who participated as Mike during the Master's study) is a black security guard who participated as a key informant on David. The researcher first came to know Munyaradzi in 2014 when he was 38 years old. In 2017, at the time of fieldwork for this research, he was 41. Munyaradzi is of Shona descent and was interviewed in Shona ²⁵ . Munyaradzi has been a security guard at the Newlands Shopping Centre since 2010 and was an ideal key informant for both the Master's and PhD fieldwork. As a security guard, his job involved guarding the buildings at Newlands Shopping Centre during the day and night. In 2012, Munyaradzi provided David with shelter after giving him access to a guardroom.
Munashe	Munashe participated as a key informant on David. Munashe was 30 years old in 2017 at the time of the study. He is a black fuel attendant at the central fuel service station, Zuva, at Braeside Shopping Centre. He spoke and was interviewed in Shona. Munashe had known David for two years since 2015 when he began working at the fuel service station.
Mutsa	Mutsa was 33 in 2017. He is a black African Shona man. He has been an airtime vendor at the Braeside Shopping Centre since 2013. Mutsa was a key secondary informant on Samson, whom he knew since Samson started panhandling at the Braeside Shopping Centre towards the end of 2013. They were good friends and sometimes had a drink together. He was interviewed in his home language, Shona.

²⁵ Though there are numerous Shona dialects, the Shona people speak Shona as their language. The Shona people constitute the largest chunk of the Zimbabwean population. The Shona people were once referred to as vaNyai people before the 1800s. For a full historical account of this group of people See Mazarire (2009).

Mukudzei	At the time of study in 2017, Mukudzei was a 29-year-old fuel attendant at the Zuva fuel service station at Braeside Shopping Centre. Mukudzei is a black African Shona man. Mukudzei was a key secondary informant on John. Mukudzei had known John since 2013 when he was first employed as a fuel attendant at the Zuva fuel service station. Mukudzei only participated as a key informant during the PhD study. He was interviewed in his home language, Shona.
Makanaka	Makanaka was 32 years old when he participated as a key secondary informant in 2017. At the time of the study, Makanaka was an airtime vendor at the Strathaven Shopping Centre. He provided information on Nigel. Makanaka had known Nigel since 2013. Makanaka is Shona and was interviewed in his home language.
Muchaneta	Muchaneta participated as a key informant in 2014 and 2017. She was a cook who started working at the Braeside Salvation Army Centre in 2012. Muchaneta provided information on Christine. Muchaneta was 40 years old in 2017. She met Christine when she first came to the Braeside Salvation Army Centre from Lake Chivero in 2014. She was interviewed in Shona, her home language.
Muchaendepi	During the time of the research in 2017, Muchaendepi was 42 years old. Muchaendepi was a gardener who also assisted in sweeping and packing books and tidying the library at the Braeside Salvation Army Centre. Muchaendepi provided information on Jane. He is a black African man of Shona descent and was interviewed in Shona. He has known Jane since 2014.
Mwadvoka	Mwadvoka provided information on Eve as key secondary informant. She is a Shona woman who has worked as a cook at the Braeside Salvation Army Centre since 2007. She was 48 during the research in 2017. Mwadvoka met and befriended Eve when she started living at the Braeside Salvation Army Centre in 2015. Mwadvoka was interviewed in Shona.
Matipa	Matipa participated as a key informant in 2014 and 2017. He provided information on Elliot. Matipa was 45 years old in 2017. He works as a gardener at the Braeside Salvation Army Centre. Matipa met and befriended Elliot when he came to the Braeside Salvation Army Centre in 2012. Matipa is of Shona descent and was interviewed in Shona.

As seen in the tables above, destitution manifests differently, and people experience it differently. The data were gathered in different interview settings ranging from cars, on shop pavements, abandoned buses, bottle collection containers and caravans, dysfunctional automobiles, and pubs. From the data I gathered, it is clear that the loss of property and the loss of sustainable income sources contributed to destitution among participants. Loss of home has immediate implications for someone's sleeping arrangements. In this case, participants slept on shop pavements, in cars, and in abandoned vehicles. At the same time, the loss of home means that proper facilities for bathing and doing laundry, integral to dignified personhood, are also lost. This is how and why raggedness becomes an identifiable marker for someone living on the streets. There are varied degrees of destitution illustrated in this research, as those who live at the Braeside Salvation Army Centre reported having access to sanitation facilities. However, they complained about not having proper sanitation facilities such as washing machines and adequate detergent for laundry. Those participants who live entirely on the streets

face more significant challenges to consistently accessing sanitation facilities and predominantly rely on public amenities.

In trying to fully understand the manifestations and experiences of destitution among the primary participants, I problematised the issue by considering that if loss of property and sustainable income sources contribute to destitution among people of all racial orientations and ethnicity, what makes destitution among white people significant? The failure to access sustainable income indeed leads all people, regardless of race and ethnicity, to loss of home, proper sleeping facilities, and the inability to access sanitation amenities. Thus, the question is, what really makes destitution among white people worth scholarly analysis? In order to address this question, it was necessary to consider the nexus between the concepts of whiteness, including white privilege, and destitution, as conceptualised in the conceptual framework in Chapter Three. By ‘reading’ my data regarding the conceptual framework, key themes emerged that directed the discussion for the remainder of the chapter. These themes are discussed in separate sections: whiteness as a continuum of privilege and dependency; denialism of privilege pointing towards the intersections of destitution; white nationalism, white racial iconoclasm, racism, and anti-blackness; and how destitution, segregationist philanthropy, escapism and victimhood intersect.

5.3 WHITENESS AS A CONTINUUM OF PRIVILEGE AND DEPENDENCY

As argued in Chapter Three, whiteness was predicated on the mechanisms of colonial othering, where normative distinctions were drawn between the Self and the Other. I reflected on the Self-Other binary and how this defined property ownership and the issue of privileging the Self over the Other in relation to the data gathered. Destitution among white people in Zimbabwe revealed a great deal about the intersections of white privilege, race, and power. I argued that although those who were identified as white people were treated better than those not seen as white, the privileging of those who were identified as white was not the same. By devising descriptive models to explain the racialised system of privilege inherited from colonial times in which those who are not white are viewed as the Other, the notion of ‘whiteness’ presented an illusory unity where unity does not exist. In light of this, I posited that whiteness, similar to all other social identities, is intersectional. As a social identity, whiteness is not homogenous but is internally complex and, in this study, predicated on a continuum of privilege and dependency.

Based on the disadvantages that some white people encounter relative to their more affluent counterparts, it is important to talk of the intersections of white privilege and class privilege. In this way, class can be understood relationally. Class becomes class through exclusion and differentiation, through active identification or gestures of belonging. Membership in a group involves maintaining certain boundaries. Defining the out-group and the in-group is anchored on constructing otherness. The middle class is differentiated from the working class by its education, lifestyle, and authority. However, class identities historically emerged as a class formation. Personal property and individualism were integral to the formation and rise of the middle class as a distinct category. Middle-classness is more than a social location or even an expression of occupation or a relationship to the economy. Social class differences in a given 'ethnic' group can undermine solidarity. The continuing domination reproduces inequality. Indeed, the greater the number of peripheral categories to which someone belongs, articulated as the intersections of disadvantage, the more one is disadvantaged. What has been called white privilege may be viewed as class privilege, which runs along racial lines. Suppose class privilege is what has been causing the advantaging in society. In that case, class privilege is not solely based on race. Non-white people can access and enjoy it much the same way as whites (Levine-Rasky, 2009: 245-450; Carbado, 2013: 813).

Crucially, when racial and class privilege intersects, societal hierarchies of relative advantage or disadvantage emerge, which in colonial and postcolonial societies seem to run along racial lines. It is important to note that other social identities may also intersect here, such as ethnicity, religion, education, sex, and gender. These are very important in creating hierarchies of privilege. Regardless of this, in many instances, these identities may merge to operate together to create differentiated class privileges. However, intersecting class and white privilege reveal the internal heterogeneity of whiteness with embedded hierarchies of advantages and disadvantages. Essentially, in a sense, some white people are 'more white than others, in line with Mlambo's premise (2000: 139-160). I argued that these differences and fissures within the white group itself created a situation where some whites were more susceptible to destitution than others. White people who had access to key resources such as land could control privileges and how they were accessed. These occupied the highest position within the white group. Given the differences within the white social grouping itself, access to societal goods varied.

In some cases, the advantages of whiteness were not evenly distributed. It was not always guaranteed that all whites were equally affluent. They were simply better off in relation to those categorised as blacks but had material benefits which were insignificant compared to whites, who had more privileges within the white class itself. Thus, their susceptibility to destitution after the end of Rhodesia. The differentiated social hierarchies and relative advantages present in the 'white class' are reflected in the exchange between Maggie and Lindie below. It illustrates how tenuous white privilege can be for those with relatively less class privilege once state support is removed.

Maggie: I grew up in Rhod 50's, 60s, 70s. Was not aware of very poor whites, although I do remember that Greeks, Portuguese and other minorities were almost classed lower than the Brits. There was a working pension system with a decent pension, but those working in those years now have an eroded pension of US\$30 due to govt mismanagement. I live in a complex where our pensioners can certainly be classed as destitutes. (Maggie, Facebook post on Rhodesia History Remembered-07/03/21)

Lindie: Maggie, our parents ended up in the same situation post-1980. They worked hard all their lives. They were by no means privileged. They bought a house, paid a mortgage. Paid off a car. Had a holiday every 2 years. Children went to government school. No university. Straight out to work. Neither had a house help, only garden help. My father-in-law was a surveyor general more than 40 years, mapping the country's borders. He lived in the bush with his work crew for months on end. He was a civil servant all his life. My mom-in-law was a stay-at-home mother. Children went to zoned government schools. They passed away in 2012 at the bs Leon. No assets left. Dad had a government pension of USD80 a month. The public services medical aid failed them. My father and stepmother are still at bs Leon. Dad born in 1933 in Bulawayo, worked his whole life in motor/motorcycle industry until age 78. No assets left. Reliant on myself and my sister for monthly costs. We are both out of the country, working (in our 60s) for our survival and to support them. Our parents helped many friends and neighbours who were less fortunate than them. They had fallen on hard times or lost their jobs. There was a working social welfare system in those days 1960s. I remember my mother taking two little girls for seven months while their mother was trying to find sheltered accommodation. The husband had lost all the money on betting horses, then drank himself to death. Alcohol was a big problem in those days. My dad was always bringing back individuals from the Jameson bar, Park Lane hotel, rat pit at a drill hall who had no home to back to. They would have

a bath, a good plate of homemade food; mom would launder their clothes, then they would head back to the bar!! My mother and father's parents were alcoholics and died young. My mother and father had a pretty much fend for themselves at an early age. They married 1957. I remember no spare money. Mum stayed at home. She made our clothes. We only had a holiday local or Beira when we camped. (Lindie, Facebook post on Rhodesia History Remembered-08/03/21)

As seen in Maggie's statement above, racialised differences within social class groups exist. There are also social class differences within racialised groups. How these intersect enhances a newer understanding of differences in and among groups. Scrutinising the production of whiteness through intersectionality should consider how gender, class and race are useful in constructing the Other. Intersectionality theory holds that identities and experiences are influenced and shaped by the intersecting vectors of gender, class, and race. By using intersectionality to analyse whiteness, the intention is not to reify whiteness. Rather, the intention is to destabilise it by making it the object of analysis (Levine-Rasky, 2009: 241; Byrne, 2015: n.p).

The exchange above between Maggie and Lindie illustrates that though commonalities are seen regarding how destitution is understood and manifests in Zimbabwe, differences in how it was understood and experienced were also seen during Rhodesia. White people of different backgrounds experienced Rhodesia differently and understood and made sense of their surroundings differently. Maggie had never come across what she termed 'very poor' whites. This was in contrast to Lindie, who experienced hardships during her childhood, grew up in what I believe was a poor family according to her standards and saw many people she regarded as facing destitution due to multiple reasons. Regardless of the differences in how Maggie and Lindie experienced and made sense of Rhodesia, the way they make sense of Zimbabwe in terms of destitution seems to be very similar. Their understanding of Zimbabwe's changing material and political contexts point to how things changed for the worse. The properly managed welfare and pension systems simply collapsed and rendered most whites who had worked hard during Rhodesia destitute.

I gathered from Lindie's response to my questions that she never felt privileged while growing up. Her response dovetails with what was captured in the testimonies of most other participants in this study (see statements by Bryant and Rod in Chapter One). The implicit assumption is

that white people worked hard and were never privileged due to their membership of a state-sanctioned privileged racial class as in the Rhodesian context. My definition of privilege did not seem acceptable to them (my definition is in sync with the definition under the clarification of the key terms section in Chapter One). My definition drew emotional and moral responses in which I was sometimes labelled a communist or simply asked questions to drive home a certain agenda, as captured in the statement by Bryant and other participants. Such richly emotive and meaningful responses helped me to unpack how destitution is understood in ways that prop up white nationalism, white supremacy, white racial iconoclasm, white solidarity, escapism, victimhood, racism and in most extreme cases, anti-blackness in changing material and political contexts.

In light of the above, I agree with Harris' (1993: 1784) argument that privilege masks dependency for most whites who occupy the lower social strata of the white class itself. I argued that white people facing destitution in Zimbabwe had access to relative privilege. Their benefits of whiteness as property have led some of them to assume that their social identity of whiteness and its associative expectations of privilege is stable and enduring. For the participants in this study, when Rhodesia ended, they faced destitution, and their relative privilege proved much more tenuous than expected. I argued that techniques of racial domination change with time and according to transformed politico-economic and social situations, which happened when Rhodesia ended. The privilege of whites who did not own the means of production during Rhodesia was unstable. Rather, their privilege was contingent and artificially sustained by the segregationist policies pursued by the colonial governments of the time. All this changed when colonial governments were removed from power and the artificial race-based protections erased, rendering them much more susceptible to destitution in Zimbabwe than in Rhodesia.

I found that destitution among the participants in this study showed that white privilege fulfilled a dual function. Those seen as white people had access to unearned advantages based on race. This, however, eroded white people's self-sufficiency and resilience to deal with postcolonial reconfigurations of economic, political, and social domains. Also, colonial laws and strategies aimed at advancing white people in a racialised asymmetrical society led to harmful colonial dependencies on state privilege. This situation made those white people who were relatively less privileged than their more affluent counterparts (those who owned means of production) unable to cling to the privileges accorded to them by the state during colonialism. In contrast,

white people with extensive resources (derived from ownership over the means of production) and privileges amassed through colonial accumulation and afforded economic migration managed to retain their privilege elsewhere. From this, it can be noted that white people's racial privilege can actually make one vulnerable to state-sanctioned changes to the colonial racial hierarchies (Bridges, 2019: 452). I found that colonial governments in the case of Rhodesia created a situation whereby white people depended on state-sanctioned privileges but rendered those white people vulnerable to destitution when the colonial state ceased to exist.

5.4 'WHITE PEOPLE WORKED HARD...THEY WERE NEVER PRIVILEGED': DESTITUTION, WHITE NATIONALISM, WHITE RACIAL ICONOCLASM, RACISM AND ANTI-BLACKNESS

From the data I gathered, destitution among white people in Zimbabwe means different things to different people and conceptualising what that means in Zimbabwe is contested. I noticed that the topic of destitution among white people in Zimbabwe mostly resulted in outrage and invoked highly emotive debates, especially when I defined destitution as the lack of privilege.

Destitution as an extreme form of poverty had several permutations during the colonial period. It was understood differently in various historical epochs in Rhodesia. During these colonial periods in Rhodesia, white destitution by British settlers was understood as a result of moral failing by white people who had failed to fulfil the white macho and frontier image expected of pioneers. According to Maggie's testimony in Section 5.3, whites deemed by the British stock settlers as 'not white enough' (e.g., Afrikaners) were seen as morally inept and susceptible to destitution (see Chapter 2 for a detailed account of this). Also, British whites tended to view black people as generally predisposed to destitution, demonstrating values of global hegemonic whiteness (Mlambo, 2000: 139, 142; Steyn, 2004b: 40).

As Rhodesia developed into a modern state, modelled along European standards, how destitution was framed changed. Those who kept the pioneer macho culture and continued living in the rural areas tended to regard those who were living in towns as failures, degenerate and not white enough (Grundy & Miller, 1979: 23; Godwin & Hancock, 1996: 21; Barker, 2007: 41; Pilosoff & Boersema, 2017: 708). Since the problem of poor whites was a sensitive issue in South Africa and blamed on the blacks who outcompeted whites for jobs, segregation

was adopted to solve the problem as Rhodesia developed into a modern state (Iliffe, 1987: 119; Willoughby-Herard, 2015: 84).

As in Rhodesia, the definition of destitution in Zimbabwe hinged on who defined it. I found that though black people had their own conceptualisations of destitution, the segregation in which people of different racial shades lived separate lives, lived in different suburbs, did not share amenities, and socialised separately made it impossible for most Africans to understand the lives of white people. This made white destitution partly invisible to black people, and difficult to understand the forms it took and the ways it manifested; thus, contestations in how it is defined from a black standpoint.

The contested nature of white destitution makes it more interesting and provocative. To define white destitution as the lack of privilege in Zimbabwe is strongly contested, as illustrated by the participant and netnographic testimonies. Conceptualising white destitution permeates other sorts of power relations that cut across many Zimbabwean social, political, and economic spheres. The general trend through the collected data was that it is understood in moral terms and in ways that prop up white nationalism, white racial iconoclasm, white solidarity, racism and, in some extreme cases, anti-blackness.

I regarded how my study on white destitution was seen as strange²⁶ and as exhibiting the moral ways in which destitution is understood and how this exhibits the workings of white privilege and white supremacy. The way in which my study was regarded as strange shows the unmarked features of surviving regimes of power. I found that how my study on white destitution is moralised and labelled as strange can partly be traced back to the fact that in most colonial societies, there were actual laws against black people commenting publicly and writing about the structural workings of white supremacy and privilege. In some societies, laws were passed against the taking of photographs of white people by black people. Photography was the sole preserve of white people who had the authority to study non-whites. In some societies, non-whites who wrote about black people faced penalties and were ostracised in the literary establishment for not remaining in their correct domain of writing and researching about themselves. White bodies were not available for scrutiny, while non-white bodies were available for both visual and literary consumption and writing. Non-whites who commented

²⁶ This was said by Rod and is captured in the first quote of Chapter 1.

on and observed white bodies and white supremacy were often labelled as ‘invented Negros’ (Pieterse, 1992: 56; Gaule, 2001: 340; Goldsby, 2006; Willoughby-Herard, 2015: 90). In the Rhodesian context for instance, during the early days of the colony there were those who blamed missionaries for placing ‘too much emphasis’ on the ‘man and brother’ theory with the result that the black man was led to regard himself as the equal of the white and became ‘troublesome and uppish’, where educated Africans were known as ‘trouser niggers’, attitudes which persisted among many whites in the 1950s (King, 2001: 48).

Apart from being labelled as strange, my study also drew animosity from some group members in the ‘Rhodesia History Remembered’ group. Upon asking what destitution meant among white people, one participant stated:

*All you are trying to say here is all b**t. You must learn to shut up... (Marko-Interview done on the Rhodesia History Remembered. 07/4/21)*

How my study of white destitution was seen as strange and the hostility it elicited when I attempted to share my views in the ‘Rhodesian History Remembered’ group showed how destitution is understood in ways that prop up white nationalism. I found that this white nationalism manifested in the unbridled hostility from respondents such as Marko when probed about white destitution because I framed it as a lack of privilege that did not fit in their frames of reference. My identity as a black African researcher studying across racial lines may have been perceived as threatening, provoking feelings of antagonism. Apart from being directly attacked, my study was often met with a deafening silence, especially among the members of the ‘Rhodesia History Remembered Group’. Some participants only liked my posts, while some commented only once and, upon realising that their answers may have been too liberal, kept quiet. For example, Maggie only posted one post and never commented again.

In two other incidences, one participant said she understood that being white in Southern Africa is generally synonymised with affluence. Her answer was quickly removed from the posts by the administrators, and she never commented again. I attempted to reach out to her through a friend request on Facebook, but she never replied. I can also cite an incident where one participant expressed his views about the bush war and why he felt it could not be called a war of liberation. One of the participants quickly responded to his post, telling him to disengage from the discussion. Some participants were very selective in their comments and only wrote

about Braeside and how they missed Zimbabwe. I found that my questioning was akin to reminding white people of their heritage of oppression and slavery. When white people are reminded publicly of their role in slavery, the reminders are usually accompanied by scare tactics about a threatening black presence, the potential for overwhelming black governance, and other expressions of fear of the degeneration of the white race (Willoughby-Herard, 2015: 10).

During the commission of this research, I observed that white people generally find talking about racial issues uncomfortable across the racial divide. Also, my probing made them feel threatened and led to what I would call white solidarity. From the exchange between Maggie and Lindie in Section 5.3, I noted that the boundaries of ethnicity are fluid and keep changing. In the case of Zimbabwe, identity systems are not stable, and race categories are rarely delineated. With whiteness, fissures constantly appear between whites in diverse regions, in distinct families and different class positions, as Maggie and Lindie's diverging views on destitution showed. These fissures exposed different positions against which whites distinctly express and construe the latitude of their 'racialness'. This means that the identity grouping of white is culturally, historically and situationally defined, with only an illusion of coherence or stability (Hartigan, 1997: 184; Warren, 1999: 196).

I agree with the argument that ethnicity is without essence or an original feature, that it is a fabricated construct, and the boundaries which govern it are constantly (re) drawn (Rattansi, 1994: 53). Although, in my engagements, I could see a sense of unity among the people I interviewed, especially in response to Maggie when said she lived in a Rhodesia where Greeks and Portuguese were not seen as equal to the British. In response to Maggie's point regarding Greeks and Portuguese not being pitched to the British level of civilisation, Pete responded:

Maggie, I am of Greek origin, and I was proud to be a Rhodesian. My father served in the First World War and fought the Nazis side by side with the British....The death of Prince Charles [sic], who was of Greek origin, shows how Greeks have been an integral part of the British monarchy.... (Facebook post on Rhodesia History Remembered-09/03/21)

I felt the responses to this post were true. However, it threatened the unity of some white group members, merging Balibar's (1996: 96) argument that ethnicity is produced through the

competing and complementary routes of race and language, which, articulated together, invokes a self-determined unit.

The show of solidarity was also evident when Bryant, as one of the group administrators of the 'Rhodesian History Remembered' group, did a survey asking why white Rhodesians supported the 'bush war' against the 'terrorists'. An overwhelming majority reported they participated or supported the war because it was a fight against communism and terrorism and a defence of Christianity and civilisation. As captured in Chapter One, Bryant, as the group administrator, responded to my posts asking about destitution, where my viewpoints were seen as rooted in communism and not impartial. I was subsequently removed from the group, and my posts and those who saw things differently from the administrator and others who supported him were removed. My interpretation of this is that 'being white' is far more important than ethnicity, especially when the interests or worldviews of white people are perceived to be under attack or threatened (Dyer, 2005: 12).

This encounter taught me that the complex reworkings of ethnicity and race reinvent racism. The response given by the administrator contained racial undertones in which he argued that had it not been for colonialism, blacks would have never known what university education was. He also stated that had it not been for colonialism, blacks would remain in their state of degeneracy and primitivism. From this, I agree with Goldberg's (2002: 9) argument that for modern subjects, racism works as a key mode of making sense of themselves and their worlds and for producing these worlds to explain how the group administrator responded. To counter my perceived threat, I was verbally confronted and sometimes ignored. Ultimately, white solidarity came to the fore when an overwhelming majority defended the premise upon which the white community fought against Black Nationalism.

The ways in which the group members showed solidarity demonstrated white subjectivity. White subjectivity comprises selfhood, forged memory, (re)production, freedom, legitimacy, sociality, desires, authority, representatives, and space (Willoughby-Herard, 2015: 8-9). I found that in raising the issue of white destitution, my probing led to greater solidarity amongst the online groups and a defence of their selective aid to indigent white people at the exclusion of destitute black people for whom suffering has been naturalised (Willoughby-Herard, 2015: 10). This show of solidarity in the face of what I felt white people in this group felt was a threat to their values was rooted in white supremacy and racism, which was about achieving control

by reinforcing amoral self-abnegation and attenuating moral accountability to exact compliance with the ideological, administrative and, in extreme cases, the annihilation of those seen as the Other (Sennett & Cobb, 1972: 49).

I saw the administrator's post regarding why white people fought against Black Nationalism as a means to coerce white group members to support the argument that whites always worked hard and continue to work hard, denying the existence of white privilege. This, to me, was an important arena from which to unpack and understand the segregationist philanthropy seen in organisations such as SOAP and racial issues involved in how funding for these organisations is raised and distributed (see Section 5.5 for more detail).

Also, I saw the administrator's comments regarding the degeneracy of blacks and the advances done by whites culturally through racialised colonial discourses of difference and othering as heralding the renewal of racism through a shift from biological to cultural justifications of differences between the Self and the Other. For instance, Bryant stated:

...colonialism was not at all bad, as you would want us to believe. These universities you now attend are a colonial invention. Communism brought chaos in Africa, and look at what happened to most African countries, including Zimbabwe, after independence. (Bryant, Facebook post on Rhodesia History Remembered-10/03/21)

Through this, I found that ethnicity has become operationalised as a cultural marker through 'cultural socialisation'. I saw racial supremacy in the way in which the group administrator eulogised colonialism. From this, I agree with the argument that the goal of racial supremacy based on the social hierarchy is replaced with cultural homogeneity and where structural inequalities are covered with racist denials (Goldberg, 2002: 247).

I viewed these comments as rooted in the global racial contract where black people are subjected to criminalisation, generalised dishonour, natal alienation, confinement and decayed conscripted spaces. Racism is a virulent form of boundary-making that constructs domains of non-belonging and othering. The racialisation process is opportunistic and is an outcome of political and economic projects at a number of various levels. It is also an outcome of what is known as 'race-making'. 'Race-making' is the process whereby a social grouping is created in

terms of collective characteristics that are essentialist and inalienable. These collective characteristics can be biological, cultural, or religious. Usually, the issue of racial identity is understood as a simple process modelled around 'selves' which are fixed and which one identifies her-/himself with or does not identify with (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1992: 13; Hall, 1996: 444; Goldberg, 2002: 247; Anthias, 2016: 180).

A clear understanding of the meanings calls for an in-depth discussion of the important dimensions of social identity formation. The first step in such an enterprise is to contextualise identities and historicise the process of social identity formation. People's positions on identity depend on how they understand the Self in relation to the Other. This relationship is dependent on the ascribed social categories and the lived experience of consciousness. The historical fluidity, instabilities and differences within identities should be well understood when unpacking how social identities are formed. A clear understanding of how social identities are formed can also be enhanced if one considers the powerful salience and persistence of identities as self-descriptions (Alcoff, 2003: 85-86) (see Chapter 3 for an in-depth analysis of identity creation).

The faces of contemporary racism involve essentialism, culturalism and the hierarchisation of difference. The tropes underlying contemporary racism constitute the Four Ds, as explained in Section 3.7, presenting the theoretical framework. The first D is 'danger', wherein the Other is usually collectively seen as a danger to the culture of the Self and also as a threat to the general security of the Self. The second D is 'deviance', where the other is seen as deviant, generally evil and incongruous with the culture of the Self. The third D stands for 'deficit'. Under deficit, the Other is also seen as deficient and unable to meet the standards required of them by the cultural standards of the Self. The Other is thus segregated and excluded from accessing certain public goods made available to the Self. The Other's way of life is reviled, leading to stigmatisation of their lives. The fourth D refers to 'disgust', which is associated with the issues of contagion and contamination. Thus, certain cultural practices of the Other are stigmatised and seen as contaminating the culture of the Self. As a result, the Other is racialised, leading to avoidance, stigmatisation, and dehumanisation of the Other by the Self (Anthias, 2016: 180). This ties into what was said by the administrator regarding black degeneracy. It demonstrates the persistence of racism that has always been characterised by the desire of white people to legitimate and prove white privileges as an exclusive preserve. Racism aims to control white people. The control of white people is reinforced by attenuating moral

accountability and self-abnegation. These approaches aim to ensure that people who identify themselves as ‘white’ comply with the administrative, ideological, and material rejection and annihilation of Others. There remain very few moral locations for creating white selfhood outside of race traitorship when the rejection and/or annihilation of non-whites is resisted and survived through various ways of radical resistance, rebellion, and mimicry (Willoughby-Herard, 2007: 485-487). Morrison (1975: n.p.) also noted the effects of racism on the Other:

The very serious function of racism...is distraction. It keeps you from doing your work. It keeps you explaining over and over again your reason for being. Somebody says you have no language, and so you spend 20 years proving that you do. Somebody says your head is not shaped properly, so you have scientists working on the fact that it is. Somebody says you have no art, so you dredge that up. Somebody says you have no kingdoms and so dredge that up. None of that is necessary. There will always be one more thing.

Their silence when I asked the members of the ‘Rhodesian History Remembered’ group questions and the hostile answers I received could be driven by their belief that I was an emissary of the Zimbabwean government. Or perhaps they thought I was asking questions to fulfil a certain ‘agenda’, as one of the white group members said. I found how Villet (2018) engaged with Michel Foucault’s concept of heterotopia critical, guiding my understanding of destitution among white people. I, however, reversed the idea and made efforts to engage it differently from Villet (2018). The concept of heterotopia is fitting in explaining what I called the silent narratives of white people when asked about what they feel and make sense of destitution in Zimbabwe.

Heterotopia is concerned with places and spaces. I engaged with the issue of heterotopia in my explanation of the ways in which the account on Facebook I had opened in a group called ‘Rhodesia History Remembered’ was disabled. All the posts I had sent and my engagements with members regarding the issue of destitution were removed. I also engaged with heterotopia in explaining the silence I received from group members in a different group called Rhodesians-Worldwide. I later joined after being blocked from ‘Rhodesia History Remembered’. When I tried to open an account in ‘Rhodesians-Worldwide’, the option for discussants to respond was removed when one of my colleagues, a member of that group, commented on my post. Group members were only allowed to like my posts. Unlike in the

‘Rhodesia History Remembered’ group, my posts received a lukewarm response in this group. I later found that some participants in the group I later joined were part of the first group I was removed from. I tried to follow up with a few who liked my posts, but I never received any response. I made sense of my netnographic experience in this regard through the concept of heterotopia, arguing that the silence and the lukewarm response in the other group and the way I was blocked were heterotopic.

In making sense of how I was attacked and at times ignored when probing about destitution by both those facing destitution and those not facing destitution²⁷ on the Facebook group ‘Rhodesian History Remembered’, I found that the state in which white people facing destitution and those who may not be facing destitution defined by privation find themselves in is contradictory to their own sense of self. Though they still feel privileged and have the ability to express their views about Rhodesia as their beloved homeland, which to them was far better than Zimbabwe, the feelings of loss and dislocation remain in their minds. I also found that destitution to them goes beyond mere privation. It includes the loss of home, feelings of unbelonging and decreased self-worth. I view Zimbabwe as a postcolonial heterotopian society to the white people I interviewed regarding the issue of destitution. This is in line with Villet (2018: 38), who views postcolonial societies as heterotopian. For me, their silence and general hostility towards the new order in Zimbabwe and a researcher who asked them about issues related to privilege, destitution and identity is heterotopic. In this way, colonialism and the construction of a system in which hard work tended to be rewarded differently between the white Self and the black Other shaped the heterotopian realities in Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe, to most whites who benefitted from the colonial state, is a heterotopia in relation to Rhodesia. Heterotopia, in this sense, is a place where society’s normal and accepted logic and rules are suspended. In the context of this suspension, what was done in the heterotopia was not allowed or normal in a normal society, which most whites I engaged with, I saw posting photos and videos about the ‘bygone good old days’ of Rhodesia. For them, Zimbabwe is a heterotopia where everything has gone wrong and where corruption, racialism and misgovernance are seen.

To explain Zimbabwe as a heterotopia, I found Villet’s (2018: 42) explanation of contemporary South Africa very useful. As a heterotopia, Zimbabwe ironically becomes the norm, a place, or

²⁷ During both my Master’s and PhD research among white people facing destitution, I was verbally attacked using racial slurs when I tried to engage some participants for interviews. This forms part of the challenges experienced in this kind of research and is reflected on in Section 6.3.

a space, where white people find themselves and shapes their experience regularly. Zimbabwe is a heterotopia since its otherness defines it in relation to Rhodesia as the other space which shaped white people's experiences differently. In this regard, I found that for white people facing destitution and even those who feel dislocated from their beloved home, Zimbabwe, as a heterotopia, exists as a kind of counteraction between places, spaces, and experiences which function as mirrors for one another. Thus, Zimbabwe, as a heterotopia, is a place of 'otherness' with different norms within or between cultures in excessive or incongruous with the normative standards of a socio-cultural or historical (Rhodesian) position (Villet, 2018: 42).

In a society where heterotopia is the norm, contradictions and tensions exist. The tension leads to various forms of violence. Villet (2018: 37) and Fanon (1967) fully articulated the various forms of violence that informed my analysis. The analysis of violence in both colonial and postcolonial contexts, which Fanon (1967) provided, is very complex and diffuse. Villet (2018: 37) thoroughly explained the ways in which Jinadu (1986: 44-50) attempted to analyse the three types of violence that Fanon identified. Firstly, violence can be physical or what is known as somatic injury inflicted on human beings. This type of violence is usually very radical and leads to the killing of individuals. The second type of violence is what is known as structural violence. Structural violence serves as a condition of social injustice. It is facilitated and kept intact by certain institutions which are put in place. The last type of violence is what is known as psychological violence. Psychological violence is usually done to the human psyche. For me, psychological violence is the type of violence white people employ when they make sense and when they vent their frustrations about the situation they find themselves in. When my probing devolved into heated debates with some members of the Facebook group called 'Rhodesia History Remembered' following my questions on white destitution and white privilege, my answers were mostly dismissed as biased. I was accused of asking questions to achieve a specific agenda. The way in which my answers were dismissed showed this violence. Pete stated:

You are asking questions to drive home a certain agenda. Poor whites have always been there, and I honestly do not see your study bringing anything new to scholarship.... White people did not at all have everything given to them on a silver platter. People worked hard and earned what they got... (Pete-Facebook post on Rhodesia History Remembered-10/03/21)

I found this response dismissive. I made sense of this through Taylor's (2004: 229) argument on whiteness as 'a social location of structural privilege in the right kind of racialised society'. I agree with the key premise of this argument that social location leads white people to regard themselves and their perspectives as the centre of society and simply the truth. In the end, the structural advantages closely connected with being white are hidden and made invisible. Thus, reality is removed from the normalising gaze of whites (Taylor, 2004: 230; Vice, 2010: 324; Villet, 2012: 706). I also argue that the argument by Pete that white destitution has always been there and should not be a cause for concern and worthy of any scholarly attention now as being unsurprising white disaffiliation from white supremacy. I saw Pete's argument as simply chronicling recurring hegemonic white supremacy. This usually happens when one pays attention to poverty, bodily difference, ethnicity, and miscegenation and attempts to unpack and (re) discover whiteness.

In addition, my views regarding what I saw as dismissive answers rooted in the invisibility of richness fit with the argument that the country in which the rich live is visible to the poor due to overwhelming material contrast to the lives of the poor. Furthermore, I agree that the country where the poor live is invisible to the rich because the life world of the rich is taken for granted as the norm. The rich do not realise that poverty and lack of affluence are actually the norm, and, in this way, the problem of poverty is mostly hidden from view or the well-off's consciousness (Villet, 2012: 707). As a black person who has lived in Zimbabwe with intimate knowledge of conditions of living that can be characterised by poverty *vis-à-vis* affluence, I deem Villet's (2012: 707) argument important and critical in explaining the meaning of the answers I received from Pete and other participants I engaged with.

In commenting on the position articulated by Rod, Pete, Maggie, Lindie and Bryant that white people worked hard and that the life they ended up in Rhodesia was earned and not as a result of unearned privileges, I engaged with Vice's (2010: 324) thesis of white invisibility. I agree with Vice's argument that some white people are advantaged in ways that are invisible to themselves and not seen as advantages at all. This aligns with Mills's (2007) argument that the racial contract that white people express mostly shows an inverted epistemology, an epistemology of ignorance on issues of race and racism. Regardless of the visible implications of racism, some white people choose to minimise its effects or deny it altogether. This analysis aligns with what Pilosof and Boersema (2017: 714) noted in their study on rural and urban whites' attitudes in present-day Zimbabwe. Pilosof and Boersema (2017: 714) found that

urban whites in Zimbabwe deny their privileges. The reason why urban whites tend to deny their privileges is that they feel vulnerable politically. They, therefore, feel pressured to execute their acknowledgement of white privilege and possibly its rejection. Most made efforts to demonstrate that they were different from their rural counterparts in that they were multi-racial and were cognisant of the grievances of black citizens. Politically, their acknowledgement of privilege is about proving their commitment to post-white supremacy in Africa (Pilossof & Boersema, 2017: 714).

However, some continue to argue, using colonial tropes of othering, that subservience is a natural attitude for blacks. Pilossof and Boersema (2017: 714) asserted that Zimbabwean urban white people feel scrutinised and no longer able to make demands, fearful that this would be construed as imposing white privilege. In postcolonial Africa, some whites are apprehensive about their own state of belonging. As fissures in the white community start showing, constitutive elements of whiteness tend to loosen. Subsequently, power, privilege, and white subjectivities start showing incoherence and become problematic. For instance, the land reforms of 2000 partly fostered solidarity between urban and rural whites but also strengthened the existing differences. Urban whites accused rural whites of having held on to their colonial privileges and attitudes and having failed to adjust to the realities of a postcolonial Zimbabwe (McIntosh, 2017: 662; Van Zyl-Hermann & Boersema, 2017: 659; Pilossof & Boersema, 2017: 712, 715).

Contrary to the above, farmers argued that they worked hard to get the wealth they had. They argued that they bought most of their farms after independence. White urbanites contended that white farmers brought violence upon themselves and dragged urban whites into the land invasion marsh. In addition, white urbanites argued that they were the ones who had laboured to become a different kind of white community which was less colonial and minimally based on colonial whiteness. They saw themselves as more adapted to the period of independence and more inclusive. By 2000, urban whites had identified themselves as embodying racial harmony and were more comfortable with a new Zimbabwe. In contrast, urban whites argued that rural whites had done everything to undo those efforts. Though urban whites admitted the suffering of rural whites due to the land appropriations, they saw their accrued wealth from farming as a cushion which would ensure that they would continue living comfortable lives (Pilossof, 2012; Pilossof & Boersema, 2017: 712).

Present-day challenges to whiteness have been reconfiguring the elements of whiteness to specifically delineate and evaluate the detailed local nexuses between privilege, power, and white partialities within postcolonial societies. Different ideological orientations among white people showed that the future outlook of white communities was characterised by liberalism and non-racialism. Thus, after the land reform programme of 2000, “whiteness has become visible and marked while simultaneously its status has diminished” (Van Zyl-Hermann & Boersema, 2017: 659; Pilosof & Boersema, 2017: 714).

After the land reforms of the 2000s, some white Zimbabweans tried to legitimise white land ownership even if they acknowledged and were aware of how unfairly land was owned in Zimbabwe. This they did by justifying the unfair land ownership patterns that existed during colonialism. Some white Zimbabweans saw the white farm owners as the true stewards of the land and nature despite the racist proclivities of some farm owners. The land reform programme of 2000 was seen as responsible for the politico-economic problems Zimbabwe face today. Through this, some white Zimbabweans tended to legitimise whiteness, the privileges it embodied and its connections to white supremacy. For instance, during the popular uprising against the rule of Robert Mugabe,²⁸ participants were cautious when providing their responses. However, the underlining trend showed that most felt the socio-political and economic problems Zimbabwe experienced, linked with blackness and its purported degeneracy, which I argue amounts to racism rendered invisible. In some instances, racism is moralised in ways that usually reproduce logics which are colour-blind and produce individualistic explanations for structural problems, thus, sustaining white domination (Millazo, 2016: 563). The same arguments are captured in Melissa Steyn’s ‘ignorance contract thesis’ and Janet McIntosh’s ‘structural oblivion thesis’. In all these, white ignorance is understood as the false belief (error) and the lack of true belief (ignorance). The invisibility of whiteness and racism usually renders white privilege unremarkable to white people. It also makes them unaware of their position of authority in a given society (Millazo, 2016: 570).

I believe that when white people fall into destitution, the sense of misrecognition creeps in. For Taylor (1994: 70), misrecognition can be defined as a pretended act of respect given on the

²⁸ In November 2017, the army of Zimbabwe carried out a *coup* against the government of Robert Mugabe, which had served for 47 years. In support of the *coup*, Zimbabweans, regardless of race, participated in a popular march, which was aimed at pressuring Robert Mugabe to resign from office. He finally resigned after five days of obduracy.

insistence of its supposed beneficiary. There are five characteristics of misrecognition: It inflicts harm on the person who is misrecognised; it is a form of oppression; it gives the Other a distorted, false self-pity and decreased self-worth to the Other; it reveals a lack of due respect, and; it leads the Other to self-hate. The issue of self-hate results from an image and identity forced onto the Other by the Self. As a result, the Other end up believing this distorted and false identity. This ultimately leads to self-loathing (Taylor, 1994: 25-26). My argument is informed by the fact that destitution brings feelings of decreased selfhood, misery and, consequently, misrecognition.

I further argued that when in a state of destitution, white people are seen as the Other by the affluent white Self. My analysis finds expression in the works of Fanon (1967: 50) on non-recognition. The idea of non-recognition, which is closely affiliated with the idea of misrecognition, holds that non-recognition leads to shame. Shame is internalised in Fanon's (1967: 50) master/slave dialectic. In the Fanonian slave, shame is internalised by the Other. As a result of this internalisation, one finds a growing resentment in the slave/Other towards the Self/master. Subsequently, the slave/Other tries to redeem themselves from their self-diminishing image. To ensure that this happens, the slave/Other may turn to violence (Fanon, 1967: 65). Here, when some white people fall into destitution, ways are found by affluent people to redeem 'their own' from misrecognition. Those who would have redeemed from non-recognition will have the privilege to access some facilities that are very difficult for black people facing destitution to access. Most can access the Internet, for instance, and are active members of cyber communities in which they still can reminisce about the good-old Rhodesian days. On these platforms and in moments of reminiscing, they engage in violence (see Chapter 3 on the issue of violence by Fanon). I found that the violence they engage in comes from them attacking the degeneracy of the black government, which to them is a direct antithesis of a corrupt free and white government, always working to ensure the needs of 'all' Rhodesian people, regardless of race, are met.

My engagement with Pete showed that destitution is understood in ways that sometimes prop up racism and anti-blackness. I saw anti-blackness and racism in how Pete tended to eulogise the last colonial white government and what it represented. The point made by Pete tended to submit that the last colonial government led by the Rhodesian Front represented everything that was good and for the benefit of all. Pete's comments came in the context of what he saw

as poor governance by the black governments that took over from the white government in 1980, thus, the misery that Zimbabwe finds itself in. Pete stated:

You wouldn't expect the population of poor whites to match those of blacks. The percentage of whites in Rhodesia did not match that of the blacks. I knew of poor whites growing up in Rhodesia. The RF (Rhodesian Front) government was not at all racist, as you seem to insinuate; it aimed to make sure that ALL live comfortable lives. I mean ALL.... Look at how things have become since independence... (Pete- Facebook post on Rhodesia History Remembered-10/03/21)

5.5 DESTITUTION, SEGREGATIONIST PHILANTHROPY, ESCAPISM AND VICTIMHOOD

You forgot, Lord. You forgot how and when to be God. That's why I changed the little black girl's eyes for her, and I didn't touch her; not a finger did I lay on her. But I gave her the blue, blue, two blue eyes. Cobalt blue. And she will live happily ever after (Morrison, 1970:144)

Indeed, no, the good and merciful God cannot be black: He is a white man with bright pink cheeks. From black to white is the course of mutation. One is white as one is rich, as one is beautiful, as one is intelligent (Fanon, 1963:161).

What I gathered regarding the issue of what I saw as segregationist philanthropy finds expression in the two quotations captured above. The decolonisation of Rhodesia and the subsequent creation of Rhodesia in cyberspace has witnessed a remarkable increase in the formation of philanthropic organisations and aid funds in which Rhodesians get together to raise funds to help 'their own'²⁹. These calls were triggered by the perceived and real inability of Rhodesians to construct sustainable livelihoods from the paltry pensions given by the Zimbabwean government. Amid this real and imagined susceptibility of white people to destitution, I noticed that the philanthropy given to those facing destitution was a segregationist driven by what I saw as white escapism and white victimhood. In this case, the participants' narratives in this study were in line with what Van Zyl-Hermann and Boersema (2017: 658)

²⁹ This was said by Bryant, one of the participants in this study on the social media platform Facebook.

called “refrains of white insecurity, anxiety and defensiveness”. Thus, in light of this, these sentimental dimensions of whiteness reverberate in victimhood discourses.

My understanding of why these groups were established and why segregationist philanthropic organisations were created in the first place was clarified by Hall’s (1997: 25) arguments. These groups are said to be useful for memorialisation, and the philanthropic organisations are aimed at helping ‘their own in line with the Christian values’. However, Hall (1997: 25) warned that the decline of the nation-state is a ‘dangerous moment’ as feeling beleaguered gives rise to narrow and defensive exclusivist national identities. This is very important in explaining the real reasons behind the creation of these groups. I agree with Hall’s (1997: 44-45) argument that the hold of ‘great collective social identities’ over individuals slips, along with their impression of homogeneity. According to Hall (1997: 34), this refers to the worldwide struggles for a voice which, in the end, create ‘new subjects, new genders, new ethnicities, new regions, new communities’, as seen in the groups created by former Rhodesians and their descendants (Hall 1997: 34). I also noticed that this escapism and victimhood is usually driven by white nationalism and rooted in white solidarity, white supremacy and white racial iconoclasm as captured in the first sentence of Bryant’s testimony in the introduction in Chapter One³⁰.

For me, the economic space of Zimbabwean society became an area of contestation after 1980. I found that there was a shift from race to class in postcolonial societies. Blacks have also been affluent. What is significant in this shift is that affluence was an extension of ‘whitely ways of being’ (Villet, 2018: 13). My analysis of the shift of affluence from race-based to class-based, in this case, finds expression in the work of Fanon. Fanon argued that decolonisation simply leads to the transfer of unfair advantages from the white elite to the native political elite (Fanon, 1967: 122). Regardless, as in South Africa, the situation of white people in Zimbabwe is similar to that of white people in post-Apartheid South Africa, as some white people have retained their economic supremacy but have lost political power. This has led them to occupy a dual master-slave position, in which they are masters economically but slaves politically. This dialectic relation takes a form of heterotopia in which contradictions are seen and exist together (Villet, 2018: 14). This contradiction shows that white people can be masters and slaves at the same time. This influences the racial experiences of white people in Zimbabwe.

³⁰ The first sentence is an extract from Bryant’s interview captured in the second quote in the first chapter of this study.

Since white people had lost their power in the political domain. However, wealthy people did everything they could to keep their wealth because this was the only way they could influence the country's political sphere. I found that wealthy people who owned companies and farms (i.e., means of production) were 'more white' than their salaried counterparts who depended on salaries. Those who were 'more white' than others still had considerable power and made much effort to keep their economic power. Despite the decolonisation of Zimbabwe, the privilege whites had gained during the Rhodesian era seemed resilient and persistent. White citizens of Zimbabwe relished a happy and comfortable life characterised by *al fresco* gatherings of long-time friends and associates. Some even defined it as 'colonial'. For example, "the New Year's Eve dance at hotels in the mountains, watching cricket from beneath the trees" (Fisher, 2010: 23). Although a few things had changed, it was still a very colonial Rhodesian way of life. Whites who crossed over from being Rhodesians to Zimbabweans tended to live as 'colonialists', which they interpreted as better than living as 'colonisers' (Memmi, 1965: 19).

Alexander (2004: 194) noted that by failing to make use of decolonisation to change their situation, white Zimbabweans led themselves into being considered as 'tolerated foreigners'. Of critical importance is to note that white Zimbabweans did not take the opportunity of decolonisation to reject colonialism entirely. They failed to consider that 'the facts of colonial life are not simply ideas, but the general effect of actual conditions' (Memmi, 1965: 13). For most whites, the independence of Zimbabwe epitomised an identification alteration from being white to being privileged (Alexander, 2004: 194). Even though whiteness had begun being assimilated into privilege before independence, independence created newer dimensions to the alliance between the two. The loss of political power and the subsequent changes to the socio-political order brought changes which seem to have reconfigured the relationship between whiteness and privilege. Most managed to keep their power during the first two decades of decolonisation since the black governments of the time ensured that their right to own property would not be disturbed. The economic sphere was also opened to blacks who were disadvantaged before decolonisation. Similar to what happened in post-Apartheid South Africa, I agree with Villet's (2018: 19) analysis that this led to a situation in which the invisibility of whiteness developed into the invisibility of richness (affluence). Furthermore, I found that whites who became wealthy were afforded the opportunities to be wealthy by the colonial system. I do not dispute that some whites worked hard to acquire the wealth they ended

up acquiring. However, although they worked hard, the colonial system tended to reward white hard work while stifling black efforts of hard work. My argument is informed by the argument that African people did not lack a work ethic or even elaborate systems of making their labour productive. Instead, scientific racism as a racial regime during colonialism worked to devalue the work, labour, and products of Africans (Willoughby-Herard, 2015: 85). This created a situation where whites had the opportunity to excel beyond their black counterparts who worked equally hard.

To those who were ‘more white’ than others, Villet (2018: 19) asserted that affluence became an extension of whiteness. My study of white people facing destitution goes beyond this analysis. For me, through the help given to them by philanthropic organisations such as SOAP, the Salvation Army, and the Presbyterian Church, among other organisations, white people facing destitution were afforded privileges in much the same way as the colonial state extended them privileges. The interview with the Captain at the Braeside Salvation Army Centre pointed to the fact that funds from SOAP, the major philanthropic organisation at the Centre, only help white people facing destitution at the Centre. According to the Captain, full information about the organisation is highly secretive and not much is shared by the coordinator about the number of organisations which work under it. The Captain stated several organisations contribute to the fund. However, only white people benefit from it directly, regardless of whether they are elderly or not. White people receive medical supplies, food hampers and monthly cash allowances.

SOAP’s aim is akin to other philanthropic organisations that navigated the world’s racial order to correct the contradictions produced by white-on-white violence. I found that the destitution white people face today resulted from white-on-white violence. I based this on the fact that as a capitalist society, Rhodesia was a hierarchised society in which those who owned the means of production benefitted from the system more than those who did not. Working-class whites who did not own anything but were mere workers thought they were protected from any form of shocks to their livelihoods. However, when the shocks came as a result of decolonisation, they later realised they were not protected. This, to me, demonstrated white-on-white violence in which those who were ‘more white than others’ (based on ownership of resources) were violent to those who were mere workers and not as white as those who owned the means of production. I regard this as a contradiction that SOAP aimed to temper to protect the global colour line. Furthermore, I categorised SOAP in the same category as organisations that

deployed the political salience of gender and class, and those that (re)produce white kinship through either trade or religion. These organisations aimed to protect the geographic mobility of white settlers and a juridical and legal system that ensured that these white settlers were guaranteed property rights and citizenship in the British Empire. These organisations aimed to repair the breaches created by white nationalists who were at war with each other (Willoughby-Herard, 2015: 117).

From this, I argued that the issue of privilege was designed structurally in Rhodesia, with contemporary legacies still found in Zimbabwe. The result of living off Zimbabwe and not in it is driven by the fact that segments of the white population have yet to rise beyond a colonial dominance psyche (Alexander, 2004: 194). This colonial superiority complex traces its roots to the poetics of Otherism, expansively unpacked in Chapter Three (see Section 3.2), which were propagated during colonialism. During colonialism, whiteness and blackness were constructed as polar opposites through the prisms of a civilised white Self and a barbaric black Other (Loomba, 2015: 72). In other words, the conceptualisation of savagery and civilisation rested on the construction of a mismatched dissimilarity between ‘white’ and ‘black’ (Loomba, 2015: 72). This conceptualisation of otherness was important to white people’s self-conception and construction of whiteness, white privileges, and white identities. When blacks were seen as irrational, barbarous, corporeal, and indolent, whites were considered rational, civilised, human, and hardworking (Loomba, 2015: 63-64). This is where the unprivileging and privileging of the non-whites over whites was constructed.

The issue of privilege is interlaced with the issue of power. Power is an attribute whereby privileged people control access to key resources. This is vitally important to determine who falls into destitution and economic vulnerability. Privilege and the power that is interconnected to it serve as a key factor in enhancing the social, political, and economic security of the colonisers. Privilege and power usually ensure that those with the power and the privilege continue to resist any form of shocks resulting from political, social, and even economic changes. In this way, privilege is indelibly linked to the issue of whiteness and how philanthropic organisations such as SOAP give help in a segregationist way. In line with what Bryant cited in Chapter One regarding white philanthropic organisations helping what he termed ‘their own’, I noticed that these organisations tend to help only white people who face destitution. This analysis proves the irony that white people can be destitute but still privileged.

My analysis of this found expression in Fanon's (1967: 31) point that "...you are rich because you are white; you are white because you are rich". Through this, I argued that white people facing destitution still find themselves able to have their needs met because of their whiteness and the privileges afforded them by the intricate networks that trace their roots from colonialism. However, I do not dispute that white people were not privileged in the same way in Rhodesia; what remains true is that efforts were made to admit only those who had the economic means to live without having to depend on others. Though some ended up falling into destitution, the state came up with a pension system to protect workers. Religious organisations were at the forefront of fundraising and helping those who would fall into destitution as the Rhodesian state evolved from the pioneer days to the modern state it had become in 1980.

In making sense of this, I engaged with poor white studies (see Section 3.6.2.2). Poor white studies hold that poor whites have always been there but have been conceptualised as the remnants of white civilisation. However, they have been regarded as a group that can be rehabilitated. The group was sometimes exploited but not subject to generalised dishonour, gratuitous violence, natal alienation, or myths regarding seduction into state-sanctioned sexual violence. Most approaches taken during colonialism and after were always aimed at rehabilitating poor whites and tapping into their potential for upward mobility. Whites were always seen as having the capacity for upward mobility. This notion was rooted in the belief that black Africans were burdened by industrialisation. To be 'African' entailed needing guidance, development, capacity building and guidance. In contrast, whites were expected and supposed to have the mental aptitude and capacity to deal with the loss of culture, group identities as well as ties to the community that resulted from the individualism and independence brought by modern industrialisation (Lugard, 1922: 618-619; Mudimbe, 1988: 81; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009: 41; Loomba, 2015: 72; Willoughby-Herard, 2015: 84, 85, 102, 11).

Efforts were made to create white bodies which would not be race traitors. Culture and popular interpretations of segregationist laws did not only make white people become white. The monitoring and manipulation of their bodies created white bodies. These strategies and systems were employed in Rhodesia. This was reflected in the judicial system, the unequal distribution of land between blacks and whites, the electoral system in which whites chose the majority

legislators, the education system where the government spent more on educating white children and employment opportunities where whites got managerial and higher paying jobs than blacks (Quenet, 1976: 4). Another manifestation of racial domination and racial inequality leading to white privilege in Rhodesia is found in the deficient opportunities for Africans or Asians for education towards employment whether through evening courses, traineeship, or permanent training (Hunter & Hunter, 1959: 19). The 'white race' served as a club with an exclusive membership (Ignatiev, 1995: 29). This was not based on culture, but rather, social position.

In this sense, whiteness became an image of privilege. It subsisted for no other motive than to protect it. Thus, in the absence of the privileges linked to it, the existence of whiteness was not guaranteed. Some individuals were conscripted to it at birth without them consenting to the conscription. They were, as a result, raised in accordance with its guidelines. In most cases, those conscripted to it accept the privileges of being members and do not reflect and consider the associated costs (Ignatiev & John, 1996: 50-52). European privilege during the colonial era, notably during the rule of the Rhodesian Front under Ian Smith, was extended through entrenching Europeans as the politico-economic and social masters, fashioning an omnipresent 'apartheid by bylaw and convention' which differed from the South African case where apartheid was by grand design (Murphree & Baker, 1976: 391). Generally, Rhodesia as a colonial territory was modelled along racial binaries of a modern and civilised white European and a backward and uncivilised African (Memmi, 1965: 151). The colonisers had power and privilege enshrined in the tapestry of their skin colour, pitted alongside a fundamentally homogenous colonised black African. Thus, residential segregation and redlining, racial profiling, electoral gerrymandering, the passing of anti-miscegenation laws, changing names of places, passing English-only policies, anti-immigration laws and the white-only campaigns all led to the re-scripting of the white identity, the white language. White men were responsible for enforcing policies and laws as they deemed necessary and in their own interests to maintain patriarchal and racialised authority patterns. Also, the visualisation of white identity and white belonging in Zimbabwe created an illusion of Zimbabwe as a white man's country who belonged to the country and, therefore, had an inalienable right to resources and privilege over other racial groups. This led to a new understanding of the white body in space and ultimately detaining and containing the white body through protectionist policies (Willoughby-Herard, 2007: 492; Fisher, 2010: 137).

I engaged with the concept of hybridity in order to have a nuanced analysis of what was articulated above. During colonialism, what became known as colonial ‘hybridity’ was a strategy premised on cultural purity and intended to stabilise the *status quo*. The white culture was seen as superior to non-white cultures. This was facilitated through segregationist policies which worked to separate those who were regarded as whites from those who were not white enough or not white at all. It was also inculcated in the different racial and ethnic groups through education. In this instance, mental miscegenation came to mind. Under this, Europeans came up with educational policies to create Westernised natives. This aimed to ensure that those not white or not white enough, who were seen as different and anachronistic, could mimic the white ways of doing things. Their recognition of the gap between them and the European way of doing things ultimately ensured subjection (Loomba, 2015: 171). In this sense, what is known as colonial hybridity was a strategy based on cultural purity whose aim was ensuring the stability of the colonial *status quo*. In practice, the colonised used the Western ideas the Europeans taught them to fight against colonial subjugation. They hybridised what they were taught by the Europeans with their indigenous ideas in order to assert cultural alterity. Subsequently, hybridity or *mestizaje* became more self-consciously entreated as an anti-colonial strategy (Loomba, 2015: 172).

Over time, those not white or not white enough, especially blacks, ended up believing they were inferior to whites. Whites also ended up believing they were superior to everyone else. This worked to perpetuate and stabilise the colonial *status quo* characterised by difference. In this case, hybridity linked to difference in that the relationship between white and non-white people included internal hierarchy. The position of non-whites who were exploited in this instance depended on the inferior position they occupied in this hierarchy. It was perpetuated by a social structure allowing whites to control and define how they wanted to live in Rhodesia. This created a privileged white Self and an oppressed Other. This complex laid at the heart of white identity construction and racism that ensued from this (Ranger, 1982: 135; Loomba, 2015: 13, 130; Alexander, 2004: 194).

For me, the concept of heterotopia explains the selective ways in which some philanthropic organisations, such as SOAP, only help white people facing destitution at the Braeside Salvation Army Centre. I also expanded and reinterpreted Foucault’s concept of heterotopia. HOO help is selectively given is heterotopic. It is the racialisation of space and place in terms of otherness and difference. For me, centres such as the Braeside Salvation Army Centre is an

encampment which functions to qualify the irony that white people can be destitute but still privileged. Though they help black people, the population of black people at the Centre is comparatively low. Thus, the help given by the Centre is asymmetrical as the Centre helps proportionately more whites than black people in a markedly different way.

The selective way in which help is provided at the Braeside Salvation Army Centre shows the continuation of the Fanonian master and slave dialectic in which white people, as the masters, continue to have access to certain privileges even in a state of destitution. Regardless of the end of Rhodesia as a colonial state which one would see as a rupture of the white order of things, whiteness as the norm still lives on in centres such as the Braeside Salvation Army Centre. Despite their preferential treatment, whites experience blackness as a rupture in this 'normalised' order of things at the Centre. The preferential treatment they receive includes being listened to when they complain about the food they are served. In this regard, I engaged with the concept of heterotopia in arguing that regardless of the 'normalised' order of things, whites still feel strange in their state of destitution. Thus, the strange feelings they feel in their state of destitution are heterotopian.

For me, how white people defend segregationist philanthropy commensurate with Woods's (2007: 32) explanation of white subjectivity and white nationalism through the concept of freedom. To Woods (2007: 32), the concept of freedom was developed through its negation which is unfreedom. As a result, being white necessitates being emancipated or rehabilitated for white bodies to be the key subject-beneficiary of the modern state and its racial contract. In line with Woods (2007: 32) and linked to this status of being the subject-beneficiary, the polity of white supremacists and the ideologies of white nationalists promised white people that they would achieve historical consciousness in exchange for service as vigilante 'paddy-rollers'³¹ of history' and 'the do-gooders' of history. This was evident in how most whites in the online groups defended the Rhodesian war and the premise under which it was fought. This was also clear in how they posted videos and pictures eulogising Ian Smith and white troops who fought against black nationalism. I saw white nationalism protecting white subjectivity in how Bryant defended segregationist philanthropy.

³¹ By this term, I refer to writers of history or people whose history counts and is seen as of great value.

I attempted to understand segregationist philanthropy through the ‘waste of white skin’ dictum. I viewed the way organisations, such as SOAP and the Braeside Salvation Army Centre, help white people disproportionately in relation to destitute black people as founded on the belief in white republicanism, which exists together with white nationalism as the key pillar of what is known as racial chattel slavery (Harris, 1993: 1777; Willoughby-Herard, 2015: 9). One of the participants in the ‘Rhodesia History Remembered’ group on Facebook cited a white led philanthropic organisation in Bulawayo helping black people as well. However, I did not have the opportunity to probe the extent to which help was given to black people facing destitution because I was blocked before any follow-up could be made. My focus and analysis were on SOAP only since it was the only organisation I could research more on. Since Rhodesia was founded on slavery and on progress narratives in which most whites generally fared better than non-whites because hard work was rewarded differently based on race, the existence of white people facing destitution must be unacceptable.

In Rhodesia, efforts were made to ensure that whites had opportunities which could not be given to non-whites to ensure that whites had a chance for upward mobility. These opportunities aimed at transforming poor whites into respectable people concerned about their betters’ approval. These opportunities were aimed at shaming them to self-control, self-discipline, demonstrate new aspirations and moderation. I agree that opportunities given to whites were supposed to make them white in terms of class, race, assumptions, living standards, gender, political orientation, consumption behaviours and their role in economic history. I also found that though whiteness was seen as an aspect of racial identity during Rhodesia, it goes beyond that. It is a concept based on the relations of power. It is a social construct defined and characterised by the dominance of the Self over the Other. I noted that in colonial contexts, whiteness and white privilege were a by-product of the colonial bargain and white supremacy, inscribed as the natural order of things. In Rhodesia, the evolution and expansion of the system of slavery chattel were intricately linked to the construction of white identity and racial hierarchisation. Thus, the system of slavery played an important role in the fusion of economic domination and segregation (Harris, 1993: 1777; Uusihakala, 2008: 14; Raftopolous & Mlambo, 2009: 80; Mtisi, Nyakudya & Barnes, 2009: 136; Willoughby-Herard, 2015: 110).

The existence of white people facing destitution is viewed as ‘a waste of white skin’ and seen as a spatial breakdown and a disjuncture with the progress narratives. For me, white destitution is seen as undoing the progress narrative of white nationalists, thus, setting up organisations

such as SOAP. I found that SOAP and other philanthropic organisations aimed at emancipating whites from degeneracy is rooted in what Willoughby-Herard (2015: 10) termed as republican nation-building, which depends on giving license to white subjects globally as racist citizens. Thus, forming organisations such as SOAP is essentially nation-building projects aimed at protecting white people facing destitution from degenerating into blackness. This was created as a state of degeneracy and anachronism (see Section 3.2 on how this was achieved through colonial discourses of difference and othering). Black people and poor whites were not parallel social locations during colonialism. However, they continue to be viewed as such. The creation of SOAP aimed at sanitising whiteness from blackness and the degeneracy it is associated with.

Additionally, I analysed the segregationist philanthropy given by organisations such as SOAP through the concept of whiteness. The help white people receive from SOAP is unearned. Paradoxically and simultaneously, whiteness constitutes unmarked privilege as well as marked discrimination. I agree that whiteness encapsulates colonial imaginaries obsessed with unchanging suffering bodies of detribalised Africans and white primitives. The systematic construction of whiteness was a constitutive process in most colonial states. Skin colour has been a factor in determining access to resources. Thus, being white meant being powerful, wealthy, and dominant in colonial states across colonial Africa. White people, in the case of America and other territories, which Crosby (1986: 2) termed ‘neo-Europes’ explicitly valued controlling the territory, the Others and the Self. Race determined wealth and prosperity during colonialism in African states. During colonialism, white people subjugated those they colonised. As a result, they prospered and had privileges that the people they colonised could not have. State control could influence the distribution of power in these colonial societies. In racially hierarchised societies, those viewed as the Other are marginalised, denied rights to privileges, and tend to be of peripheral importance to the Self, who continue to hold political and economic power. This creates mutually reinforcing sources of affluence of the Self and vulnerability of the Other. In racially hierarchised societies, the Other is unprivileged and has insecure livelihoods and resources that are often unrewarding. As a result, their lives are characterised by high levels of vulnerability. The Other is of low priority to the government and is denied access to resources needed to construct positive livelihoods because of their economic and political marginality spurred by their low and uncertain access to resources (Fanon, 1963: 12; Dyer, 1997: 31; Roediger, 2002: 132; Magubane, 2004: 141).

White primitives are seen as in need of rescue and deserve sympathy for their existence. White suffering bodies are rarely imagined under the white supremacy regime since membership in the white group guarantees access to help. I based this argument on the premise that whiteness has been shaping the distribution and ownership of key resources by white people and the subsequent deprivation of those who are not white enough or not white at all (Lipsitz, 1998: 54). It entails enjoying privileges awarded for being considered 'white'. It means benefitting from a system of favours, exchanges and courtesies from which outsiders are excluded, including the kind of quiet networking that lands a borderline candidate a coveted position (McIntosh, 1997: 295). Whiteness is characterised by the grander politico-economic power it controls (Magubane, 2004: 141). It has been functioning and is still considered to function as a system in the postcolony that confers unmerited privilege and supremacy on those who are considered white (McIntyre, 1997: 45). Furthermore, membership to the white group gives people who are identified by their white subjectivity, the ability to name, theorise, observe and name those who are regarded as the Other (Willoughby-Herard, 2015: 89).

For me, class defines who is privileged and who is not in present-day Zimbabwe. However, we still find ourselves at an intersection between class and race regarding the issue of privilege. Race remains key in defining privilege in Zimbabwe as it was in Rhodesia. Zimbabwe's past encompasses as much imagined as material white mastery (Hughes, 2010: 137). In most colonial states, especially those colonised by Britain, Rhodesia, a case in point, 'white' was symbolised at the top of the racial pyramid. (Fisher, 2010: xi). In light of this, the fetishisation of whiteness comes to mind. Fetishisation is important in understanding the issue of difference. In the Rhodesian colonial context, whiteness was regarded as superior to blackness. Difference was constructed where it did not even exist (Morrison, 1993: 68). For instance, blood was an omnipresent fetish: white and black blood, the pureness of white blood, the pureness of the sexuality of white females as opposed to the contamination of the blood of Africans and the sexuality of their females (Morrison, 1993: 68). Thus, fetishisation (in this case the fetishisation of whiteness) was a tactic employed to affirm the clear-cut absolutism of 'black' barbarism as opposed to 'white' civilisation.

Whiteness, as opposed to blackness, meant being pure and unblemished in most British colonies, such as Rhodesia. In these colonies, white-controlled governments enforced categorical identities. This was done by placing and locating people in race-based categories. In Rhodesia, whites dominated politically and economically (Fisher, 2010: 4). It was through

hybridity that ethnic, tribal, and racial groupings in Rhodesia were constructed to oppress the black population (Loomba, 2015: 130). Through these groupings, blacks were regarded as the racial other who were oppressed by the whites. *Mestizaje* or hybridity encompassed a multifaceted inner order within different diversified populations (Loomba, 2015: 29). The issue of hybridity has had a multiplicity of interpretations and uses in postcolonial literature. A hybrid is a mixture or cross-fertilisation between two different species. As a result, the concept of 'hybridisation' entails a biological or botanical grafting or the interbreeding of two different species. In Victorian extreme right language, the term hybridity regarded different races as different species.

In contrast to the above conceptualisation of hybridity, the concept thereof in postcolonial theory means something different. In postcolonial literature, it conjures all those avenues in which this expression was confronted and challenged. In postcolonial literature, there is what is called colonial hybridity. Colonial hybridity can be understood as the ways in which colonialism was faced with the daunting task of civilising those colonised and trying to ensure they are permanently subjugated and fixed as Others. In this instance, one can cite strategies used by other colonial powers, such as Spain and Portugal, who tried to ensure the crossbreeding of the indigenous and European populations. The ultimate aim of this hybridisation was to ensure that indigenous populations were wiped out or permanently subjugated. In postcolonial literature, Homi Bhabha's use of hybridity appears to be the most influential and controversial (Loomba, 2015: 176). For Bhabha, hybridity was a necessary attribute of the colonial condition (see Chapter Three for a full explanation of Bhabha's use of hybridity). In this case, hybridity or *mestizaje* involved a highly complex internal hierarchy of white and black people in Rhodesia. One's experience of colonial exploitation was dependent on his or her position in this hierarchy. In the case of Rhodesia, blacks were marginalised and, in the end, exploited by the whites who had power (Loomba, 2015: 29).

I found that race is key in defining privilege in Zimbabwe because of generational privileges granted to white people during colonialism which the intersection between race and class did not erase. Also, I do not categorise all whites under the same category since whites under colonialism were not privileged the same. Through reading the comprehensions surrounding the belonging and citizenship of whites in Africa, it is evident that a close and uneasy nexus between power and vulnerability developed as the characteristic of the politics of whiteness in postcolonial Africa. All this point to the fact that white privilege and white intersectional

identities in postcolonial Zimbabwe are complex, nuanced, and mutable and have been adapted to new elites in the hybridised postcolonial society (Van Zyl-Hermann & Boersema, 2017: 658). I do not claim that all white people who are economically affluent today are beneficiaries of the unequal colonial system. My analysis sought nuance regarding the issue of destitution among white people in Zimbabwe. However, I found that colonialism rewarded hard work differently and white people regardless of ethnicity, had a competitive advantage over non-whites during colonialism. How this was structured continues in present-day Zimbabwe, as seen at the Braeside Salvation Army Centre. Thus, how white privilege used to be structured in Rhodesia continues in Zimbabwe, even in their state of destitution.

Normally, the poor person's bodily condition is precarious when one is poor. It is usually characterised by poor health and illness. Destitution is extreme, and those who face destitution are usually excluded from certain spaces of society. In Zimbabwe, people facing destitution are often isolated from the rich, especially white spaces. Though there is the isolation of some white people facing destitution in Zimbabwe, they still have the privilege to live relatively better lives than their black counterparts in areas such as the Braeside Salvation Army Centre. Some of my participants living on Harare's streets were picked up and taken to centres such as the Braeside Salvation Army Centre. Though such areas do not measure up to white suburban life, white people in these areas still have the privilege to ask for certain meals and have a significant say in how the Centres should be run. In my interviews with the Captain at the Salvation Army Centre, I learnt that white people at the Centre could choose what to eat and what not to eat; they can influence what should be cooked and what should not be cooked. They can also boycott food cooked if it does not match their tastes. The Captain told me they could influence how the centre should be run because they have the platform to engage with SOAP, the primary philanthropic organisation at the Centre. During one of my interview sessions with the Captain, I overheard a conversation she had with a black cook who was telling her that the food they had cooked was not eaten. I could sense the frustration in the Captain's reply to the cook when she said:

It's tough out there; things are not adding up because of economic hardships. All their whiteness in which they choose what not to eat and what to eat at will cannot stand; they must learn to eat what is there. (Captain Mafukidze, Braeside Salvation Army Centre, 02/11/17)

In a separate incident but closely related to this, Godfrey³², a former road foreman who later became a Safari owner, was about to be taken away from the Centre by his son, was asked to sign forms by the Captain, which would be useful for record-keeping and as per protocol. He claimed SOAP made his life possible at the Centre and seemed as if signing the forms was not important, which frustrated the Captain, whose reply to his comments sounded very belligerent to me. I could sense a tense atmosphere, and Godfrey quickly withdrew his statement when the Captain sounded irritated by his comments. I extrapolated silent narratives from this exchange. I saw that the Captain felt belittled by the comments. My initial thoughts soon after the exchange were that she felt belittled and trivialised because she was a black woman and perhaps because Godfrey's eulogising of SOAP over the Salvation Army as a religious organisation she worked for was not acceptable to her. My follow-up telephonic interviews with the Captain showed that she sensed racial micro-aggressions in Godfrey's comments. For her, most white people at the Centre were iconoclastic. She feels black people who work at the Centre are seen as their servants, with nothing to say and offer regarding their welfare. This, to me, vindicated the irony that whiteness is still very much at play at the centre and white people facing destitution are still iconoclastic. This also reinforced the irony that white people can be destitute but still privileged.

In my engagement with Godfrey during my Master's fieldwork, he talked of racialism as having caused him and his other white counterparts to descend into destitution. He blamed the loss of his Safari business on the land reforms of the 2000s. I could sense his frustration with how things have evolved in Zimbabwe and racialism's key role. His exchange with the Captain when leaving the Centre sounded as if he felt liberated from an otherwise caging system at the Centre. Like Bryant and Pete, whom I engaged with on the Facebook group called 'Rhodesia History Remembered', Godfrey's views on racialism during my Master's fieldwork and his exchange with the Captain was rooted in the narrative that it is black degeneracy which had caused all the misery Zimbabwe finds itself in. This reflects colonial racialised discourses of difference where black degeneracy is presented as the antithesis of white civilisation and progress.

Degenerate black bodies and civilised white bodies were and still are explained through tropes on racist biology. I agree with the fact that through racist biology, white bodies were made

³² I only interviewed Godfrey for my Master's mini-dissertation in 2014.

beautiful, perfect, and adored bodies. In contrast, non-white bodies were degraded and seen as sub-human bodies. The reduction of black bodies only occurs in cases where there is a similar misapprehension of white bodies, cataloguing, categorising, sculpting and dissection of white bodies in ways that objectify and exoticise the bodies of white people. In addition to interpreting popular segregation laws, white people became white by manipulating and monitoring their bodies. In colonial societies such as Rhodesia, the creation of white bodies came through unsanctioned murder, torturing and raping of black people. It also included policies such as residential redlining, the passing of anti-miscegenation laws, electoral gerrymandering, racial profiling, passing English-only policies and changing the names of places. This has contributed to the reinscription of white identities and the white language and enhanced a new understanding of the white bodies in space. These practices were useful in containing the white body through protectionist policies. All these policies have biological colloraries and are mostly dependent on social scientific and biological discourses on superiority, cleanliness, and the capacity of white people to do things black people cannot (Harris, 1993: 1739-40; Morrison, 1993: 68; Young, 1995: 88; Pilossof, 2012: 154-155; Willoughby-Herard, 2015: 96).

Additionally, these methods created spaces and recognition of a new English national identity, the British Empire project, as well as the creation of the inferiorised Other, who was mostly the Negro. These Negro were black Africans, Native Americans, Indians, the Chinese, Koreans, Japanese and anyone who was not of English ancestry. These methods worked in erasing English people as racial slaves. In the end, this constantly marshalled the British Empire's mantra that "Rule Britannia, Britons shall never be slaves" (Willoughby-Herard, 2015: 7). In Rhodesia, the Rhodesian Front Government and scholars of the day made efforts to tell the white population that Black Nationalism was a threat to Christianity and hard work. For me, this was a manufacture of white nationalism that propelled white capital, power, and supremacy. Before the black Africans were seen as a real threat in Rhodesia, this strategy was used against anyone who did not fit as British, especially the Afrikaners, who had proved a constant threat to British superiority in South Africa.

I found that Godfrey, Bryant, and Pete regard whiteness as the measure of perfection and the ideal to strive for. To them, whiteness is not seen as the actual source of society's problems but rather as the solution to the problem. This is in line with Villet's (2018: 37) argument that whiteness is both invisible and visible to whites: invisible because whiteness is uncritically

seen as the measure of the state of society, but also visible because what the mirror reflects back to whites is blackness. The mirror exposes whiteness as the problem, but ironically this insight remains invisible to many whites (Villet: 2018: 37). This situation was also captured by Vice (2010: 324): "...while one's whiteness might still constitute the unacknowledged norm ... that one is white rather than black is always present to oneself and others, barring an impressive feat of self-deception".

In this regard, I contend that Centres such as the Braeside Salvation Army Centre safeguards white privilege and keep it in place. Pete, Bryant and Godfrey camouflaged the impoverishment and subjugation of black people during colonialism by painting whites as victims of the black-led governments of Zimbabwe. This renders black victimhood as invisible. For me, it showed the urge by white people to ensure that Rhodesia continues through the acceptance of whiteness and whitely ways as the norm by which to measure the state of Zimbabwean society. By taking a cue from what Villet (2018: 42) termed "rugbymentality" in explaining the white Afrikaners' escapism in post-Apartheid South Africa, I referred to how white people make their victimhood visible and the black victimhood invisible as "Rhodesianmentality". Similar to "rugbymentality", I argue that "Rhodesianmentality" shows an interesting variation of heterotopia where heterotopia is not only a physical place or space but rather a certain experience of the world. I also argue that the Rhodesianmentality leads white people like Godfrey to experience the Braeside Salvation Army Centre differently from their fellow black counterparts both at the Centre and Zimbabwe at large. The same applies to white people such as Pete and Bryant. For me, the loss of political power by white people as a result of decolonisation and the social realities of Zimbabwe have led them to a sense of alienation. Their way of dealing with this is by having a Rhodesianmentality.

What I noticed during my fieldwork among white people facing destitution in the streets of Harare and the Braeside Salvation Army Centre is another dimension to philanthropy. I noticed that apart from getting help from white-funded philanthropic organisations in a formal way, blacks in the streets of Harare also offered help to white people facing destitution. In the interviews I conducted with black people, who helped white people facing destitution, they tended to help white people more than their fellow black counterparts. I made sense of this by engaging Fanon's comparison of the Hegelian slave to the black slave. Compared to the Hegelian slave, which attains subjectivity although he did not pursue it, Fanon (1967: 220) asserted that though the black slave pursues subjectivity after decolonisation, s/he finds it

unattainable. The Hegelian slave both disallows the definition of itself by the master and is considered to take hold of its own meaning. The Hegelian slave knows how to form an independent self-consciousness; its situation even becomes so radical that the master becomes dependent on the slave to uphold his own self-consciousness. In contrast, the black slave is not so fortunate and remains in an unfavourable situation. He does not create himself and is dependent on the master for his own self-consciousness. The black slave continues to be stuck within a fixation with the identity of the white master. Fanon (1967: 221) puts this succinctly:

... [i]t is always a question of the subject; one never even thinks of the object. The black slave wants to be recognised as a subject and never wants to be regarded as an object. The black slave wants to be the “centre of attention”, wants to be the subject. However, in the gaze of the white master, the black slave always fulfils the role of an object in four ways: firstly, the slave is an instrument against which the master measures his own superiority. Secondly, the slave enables the master to realise his subjective security. Thirdly, the slave helps the master in defining himself and the world. Fourthly and crucially, the slave is denied his individuality and liberty.

I also found the three forms of violence articulated by Fanon and interpreted by Jinadu (1986: 44-50) (see Section 3.7) useful in my engagement with how black people treat white people facing destitution. I observed that black people treat white people facing destitution kindly and with more respect than their black counterparts. For me, these three types of violence are closely interrelated. In much the same way as Villet (2018: 37) made sense of these in analysing the post-Apartheid situation, I found that the physical violence meted against the black people during the colonial occupation and throughout the colonial period led to their pacification. I also agree with Villet (2018: 37) that this kind of violence led to the construction of institutions that ensured white people's superiority, creating a platform for structural violence. This led to self-loathing and an inferiority complex among black people.

Psychological violence (Villet, 2018: 37) came to the fore in my engagement with how black people have the propensities to help white people facing destitution more than their black counterparts. For me, this was a continuation of the colonial mentality among blacks when they tried to make sense of white destitution in relation to their destitution. Psychological violence leads to an inferiority complex among black people. I found that psychological violence leads black people to help white people facing destitution more than their black counterparts to

redeem white bodies from shame and misery. Black people do this (usually subliminally) to save and sanitise white bodies from degeneration because white bodies, to them, represent everything perfect, important and pure. Through colonial violence, blacks see it as an important duty to protect white bodies and keep them unblemished and pure. Through psychological violence, blacks find themselves aspiring to be white. Anything white to them represents purity, order, and affluence.

5.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY

The key goal of this chapter was to interpret and discuss the findings of this study by engaging with the theoretical framework in Section 3.7. The chapter was divided into four parts. The first part offered an overview of the interviews in which the manifestations and experiences of destitution among white people were analysed and discussed. The second section discussed whiteness as a continuum of privilege and dependency. The chapter also analysed how destitution is understood and framed by white people I interviewed in the third section. It finally interrogated the issue of racialised philanthropy in the fourth section.

The discussions showed that destitution among white people in Zimbabwe is understood in ways that prop up white nationalism, white supremacy, racism and, in some extreme cases, anti-blackness. It has been noted that when reminded of the colonial injustices and ways in which the Rhodesian system tended to enfranchise those who were ‘more white’ than others and how this shaped privileges, some participants seemed to have been unsettled. They gave moral answers rooted in denialism, racial iconoclasm, escapism, racism and, in some extreme cases, anti-blackness.

The chapter also discussed how philanthropic help given to white people facing destitution is segregationist by propping up white solidarity, white racial iconoclasm, and escapism. Ultimately, it demonstrated that even though the Rhodesian society made efforts to privilege those who were seen as white people, there were hierarchies within the white group itself. This led those who were more affluent than others to be fairly immune to destitution compared to those who were less affluent, especially in contemporary Zimbabwe, where state-sanctioned white privilege was dismantled.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter concludes this study. It starts by providing an overview of the key research findings, followed by recommendations for future research as well as suggestions for real-world improvements. The major challenges encountered during the commission of this research are also highlighted, including the limitations and significance of the research. Lastly, the final concluding remarks of the study are also presented.

6.2 KEY RESEARCH FINDINGS: AN OVERVIEW

In this ethnographic and netnographic study, I explored the ways in which the changes in material and political contexts shape how destitution is understood among white Zimbabweans. I examined how white Zimbabweans' views and ideas regarding changes from Rhodesia to Zimbabwe structured their understanding and framing of white destitution. The bygone Rhodesia and the birth of Zimbabwe, and, to some extent, the changes that came after land reforms of the 2000s, invoked political and moral debates, shaping how destitution is understood and framed differently among white Zimbabweans. I found that white destitution is understood in moral terms. As such, the ways in which destitution is understood in moral terms often propped up white nationalism, white solidarity, white racial iconoclasm, white escapism and, to some extent, racism and anti-blackness. I also found that this racism was not only directed towards black people but at other ethnic white people as well.

The ultimate goal of this research was to unpack how destitution manifests and how some white people experience and view it. Through this, I attempted to emphasise why destitution among white people within this context should be an area which needs academic scrutiny and attention, including from black African scholars. Destitution is not restricted to race as it transcends racial boundaries and can be experienced by anyone regardless of race. At the surface level, the manifestations and experience of destitution among white people are the same as people of other racial groups. For instance, studies done on black citizens in Zimbabwe by Bourdillon

(1991; 1994); Auret (1995); Dube (1999); Ruparanganda (2008; 2012) reported the same experiences and manifestations of destitution among black people.

My study found that critical issues need to be unpacked when discussing destitution among white people in Zimbabwe. Thus, simply exploring destitution among white people as synonymous with destitution among their black counterparts does not offer a critical analysis of issues or the construction of white social identities in postcolonial contexts. I endeavoured to show how the loss of political and economic power among whites who were less privileged during colonialism could have been a cause of destitution among those who identified as white people during Rhodesia. Participants' experiences and manifestations of destitution indicated that the colonial system led to the loss of immunity from destitution among destitute white people. This is evident when considering whiteness as a social identity from an intersectional perspective to uncover the ways in which the white group in Rhodesia was fractured by ethnicity, gender, sexuality, religion, age and even disability.

From this, I found that similar to other racial categories, whiteness goes beyond a classification of physical appearance. Instead, it is a construct which blends culture, history, attitudes and assumptions. Whiteness and class intersect. The working class embraced whiteness for the advantages accorded to the capitalist class. Whiteness, as are other racialised social categories in intersectionality, cannot be regarded as a discrete category. Whiteness is a practice and functions as a standpoint and a location. The mechanism of whiteness includes the creation of social distance from Others. It also includes the creation of difficult circumstances for Others (Levine-Rasky, 2009: 245-247). I paid attention to how the privileges whiteness bestowed on people regarded as white were distributed differently.

I discovered that the end of Rhodesia and the birth of Zimbabwe brought new fissures within the white community and new forms of what I termed 'anti-Other'. This was partly informed by divergent reminiscing and understandings of what Rhodesia meant and what Zimbabwe continues to mean to white people. Thus, a very important question I dealt with was how individual experiences of Rhodesia and the opportunities it offered to those who qualified to be called whites were linked to how destitution was understood during Rhodesia and in Zimbabwe. On being reminded that Rhodesia offered privileges to white people and rewarded hard work differently based on race, white people attached their personal views and interpretations of this differently. I noticed that these different ways often effectively induced

the active search for and the emphasis on collective and shared experiences. This obscured and pushed aside glaring distinctions and differences in how whites and non-whites lived in ways that led to white nationalism, white solidarity, and sometimes white racial iconoclasm, white escapism, racism and even anti-blackness.

The concomitant discourse found in the theme ‘we worked hard and were never privileged’ was projected outwards and became the rallying point upon which white people denied their privileges in ways that propped up white supremacy, white nationalism, white solidarity, and racism. In understanding how the people I interviewed deny being privileged, I argued that white people who continue to enjoy privileges experience cognitive dissonance (Cooper, 2007: 2). This stems from their intolerance of the inconstancy that comes from losing political power. Cognitive dissonance is closely connected to emotional ambivalence, as explained by Erdrich (1988). The postcolonial situation, in most cases, coerces the colonised to live in a mixed culture where the postcolonial society makes new rules and new customs. As a result, those who might have been privileged become emotionally confused when they try to adjust to the new rules and conditions in postcolonial societies. This leads to emotional ambivalence, a situation most white people experience in postcolonial societies such as Zimbabwe.

The story of a hardworking white community is justified and advanced in ways that lead to escapism and anti-blackness. I noticed that the discourse on hard work was usually repeated but was void of depth. When I probed further, I was removed from the ‘Rhodesia History Remembered’ group and outrightly ignored. Participants were not given the platform to engage with me in the other group, ‘Rhodesians Worldwide’, which I also joined. This showed that the discourse lacked detail. I also noticed that the key premise upon which the discourse was justified was rooted and propelled by what I saw as the nostalgia of the ‘good old days’ of a bygone Rhodesia. I found that reminiscing about the past and the memorable experiences of the people I engaged with justified the discourse on ‘hardworking’ whites among the white Zimbabweans I engaged with. As a result, I emphasised that the ways in which this narrative is justified prop up white nationalism, white supremacy, and racism in the face of a real and imagined threat to the values that define people who identify themselves as white.

Consequently, I also examined the avenue or mechanism in which white racial iconoclasm, white solidarity, and escapism manifest through philanthropic help given to white people facing destitution. During my data collection period, I observed that SOAP only assisted white people

facing destitution at the Braeside Salvation Army Centre, which I framed as segregationist philanthropy. Segregationist philanthropy traces its roots back to scientific racist policies and doctrines of the colonial era. Only white people and not non-whites were to be rehabilitated socially and empowered politically. Blacks were targeted for scientific racism, and poor whites who were caught up in scientific racist policies were viewed as an anomaly (Willoughby-Herard, 2015: 98). I noticed that when white people I engaged with talked about philanthropy, the aims and goals of it did not include anyone else besides what they regarded as ‘one of their own’. Thus, the politics of philanthropy revealed white solidarity, white racial iconoclasm, and escapism. The selective nature of how philanthropy was given makes white solidarity, white racial iconoclasm, and escapism apparent. In this way, segregationist philanthropy was justified in terms of discourses linked to white supremacy.

In this research, white privilege was viewed as intersectional, as privileges were not distributed evenly among people who were identified as white. In this regard, I contended that multidimensionality could be a key framework used to theorise the realities of people who experience intersecting privilege and subordination. For instance, poor white women can be privileged because they are white but can be subordinated and disadvantaged because of their gender and class. This makes the examination of the individual experiences of such people important since their experiences complicate the notions of privilege. One can be a member of a privileged group but still experience subordination. Privilege and subordination are unstable and constantly changing. Regarding whiteness specifically, privilege and subordination are not stable because white privilege opens up avenues for success and unprivileged conditions (Bridges, 2019: 481-482).

In getting together to raise funds and develop social safety nets for those seen as vulnerable to injustices brought about by decolonisation against white people and the general failure of the black governments to do things properly, white solidarity, which is closely linked to white supremacy, is demonstrated. I found the word ‘save’ in naming a philanthropic organisation such as SOAP deliberate, which shows the extent to which white people see themselves as victims of mistreatment or injustices by Zimbabwean governments. These sentiments were echoed in the dialogue between Maggie and Lindie, cited in Chapter Five. From the dialogue and the language used in soliciting help on the mentioned Facebook groups I contacted during my research, the silent narratives I managed to extrapolate showed that the grounds upon which philanthropic help was solicited and justified were rooted in a victimhood narrative.

I argued that a critical analysis of the manifestations of destitution among white people that goes beyond stating the obvious through the concept of intersectional whiteness can be in a position to unpack the imaginaries and power structures at play in the manifestations and experiences of destitution in postcolonial Africa. My argument that whiteness is intersectional is valuable to develop a more nuanced and complex conceptualisation of white privilege. In this context, one can talk of white class privilege or affluent white people's privilege. For those who continue to cling to the argument that white privilege is a useful concept, it may be important for them to point out the privileges or advantages enjoyed by poor white people because of their race.

It is not productive to assume that constructing whiteness, which has been anchored on the illusion of purity, strict border control and a dualistic opposition to non-whiteness, is equivalent to all other methods of identity formation. The diversity of identity construction and the process of identity formation should be recognised. If only wealthy white people have privileges, it is sensible to argue that their privileges are class-based and not race-based. As a result, 'white class privilege' can simply be called 'class privilege' (Alcoff, 2003: 85; Bridges, 2019: 451). I noted that the analysis of the manifestations and experiences of destitution among white people in Zimbabwe hinged on the minority status of white people. Contrary to Western nations, where white privilege contains and continues to contain economic and social advantages and the superfluity of a less noticeable racial identity, in the context of sub-Saharan Africa, white people are a visible minority. So visible and marked is whiteness in Africa that it is distinctive from its Western equivalent. 'White' faces, imaginaries, and ideologies of whiteness continue to be omnipresent in Africa. Thus, whiteness differs from its manifestations in Western societies (Steyn, 2007: 421; Pierre, 2012: 21; Hendriks, 2017: 685; McIntosh, 2017: 662; Pilosof & Boersema, 2017: 703).

I also noted that this hinged on a white colonial privilege that obfuscated harmful dependencies. Here, I noted that what should be considered is whether the immunity to destitution white people seemed to enjoy during colonialism was real or imagined. I argued that white people of lower economic class mistakenly assumed that the white privilege that was extended to them by racist colonial laws and institutions which enfranchised them at the expense of non-whites was enduring. However, this was a masked form of dependency that did not fully prepare them for the changes to their privileged positions when colonialism ended. In this case, the differentiated white privilege continuum, where some whites were more privileged than others,

came to mind. Decolonisation and the end of colonial rule in postcolonial states such as Zimbabwe unmasked the dependencies created by colonial state protection. Thus, in the absence of state protection, whiteness ceased to be a guarantor of success. As a result, class vulnerabilities which were not visible during colonialism were exposed. However, I do not dispute that white people may have worked hard. I argue that those who were identified as white had access to privileges which gave them an advantage over those not seen as white. Essentially, this demonstrated that destitution among white people in Zimbabwe pointed to the (re)configurations of whiteness and white privileges.

I made this argument based on the fact that since Rhodesia was a racially hierarchised society, poverty was seen as a non-white attribute. Thus, being poor entailed being non-white. Since poverty always has a racial dimension, white people facing poverty are categorised as non-white people. From this, I noticed that white privilege was somehow misleading. If poverty is not a white attribute, and if those who are white but poor are seen as not white, it becomes meaningless to regard poor white people as privileged compared to non-white people. Additionally, white privilege becomes meaningless if white people facing destitution do not enjoy white privilege. It becomes meaningless if white privilege entails that privilege is enjoyed by someone categorised as white simply because of skin colour (Bridges, 2019: 450). As a result, to fully understand the issue of destitution among white people, one must pay attention to the relations between the Self and the Other that have been characterising colonial identities in Rhodesia.

6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

Several recommendations can be made in light of what has been found in this study. First, there is a need to unpack white destitution's cultural and spiritual aspects. Destitution among Africans is sometimes attributed to the issue of evil family spirits and other malevolent forces linked to African culture. By comparing the cultural and spiritual aspects of destitution among white and African people, the understanding of destitution among white people in postcolonial societies may be enhanced.

As noted in this study, the manifestations of whiteness in postcolonial society differ from those of whiteness in Western societies (McIntosh, 2017: 662). This is partly because the population of whites is higher than in postcolonial societies. Therefore, a comparative analysis of

destitution and identity deconstruction among white people in Western and postcolonial societies can also bring new insights into poor white studies.

Understanding what can be termed institutionalised destitution can also add new insights into the subject of destitution among white people in Zimbabwe. As indicated in the study, white people who fall into destitution in Zimbabwe are sometimes helped by fellow whites and taken to places where they will receive help, such as the Braeside Salvation Army Centre. This can be termed institutionalised destitution. Unpacking and understanding how destitution and whiteness play out in such places can add new insights into understanding the issue of what can be termed whiteness and white destitution in Zimbabwe and other similar set-ups.

Destitution among white people seems to be a mystery to most black people (at least in Zimbabwe). This is partly because destitution among white people in countries such as Zimbabwe is overlooked, presumably because of the master/slave dichotomies that characterised Rhodesia and still influence the white/black relationships in Zimbabwe. Affluence is linked to whiteness in postcolonial Zimbabwe. A black person who is economically affluent in Zimbabwe is usually referred to as *murungu* (a Shona³³ term which refers to a white person). Understanding the perceptions of black people on whiteness and white destitution may bring new insights into understanding the issue of whiteness and destitution within Zimbabwe.

There is a need to understand the pathways into destitution among all Zimbabwean citizens, including minorities such as the white population. Outreach to racial minority communities should be part of the Department of Social Welfare's agenda by widening its human and other resource bases. Furthermore, the government red tape, which delays some crucial decision-making in the fight against destitution, should be rectified to improve the efficacy of destitution relief programmes. In addition, there is also a need to reinvigorate the NGO-government

³³ Shona is the local language spoken by most people in Zimbabwe. It should be noted that though the Shona people are not a homogeneous group since different Shona groups widely speak Shona as a language, there are different dialects of the Shona language. Although the Zezuru dialect is regarded as the standard Shona dialect (at least according to colonial texts), there is the Karanga dialect, the Manyika dialect, the Korekore, the Maungwe dialect and the Ndau dialect. Regardless of all these different dialects, people regarded as the Shona have more or less the same traditional customs. They were all called the Nyai people at one time before they became known as the Shona. The term Shona was only adopted and used when making reference to these people during the 19th Century. See Mazarire (2009) for a clear history of these people.

partnerships in fighting destitution. Therefore, donor communities should be re-engaged to boost the efforts to fight destitution.

While this research relies on historical literature, it is not a historiography of white destitution in colonial Rhodesia or postcolonial Zimbabwe. There remains ample room for a future comprehensive historiography of white destitution from colonial Rhodesia through to contemporary Zimbabwe using a combination of archival and survey research. This would certainly help to illustrate the extent of the phenomenon. This type of historiography could also be productively replicated in other postcolonial African societies in South Africa and Kenya, to name a few.

While postcolonial Zimbabwe was the focal point of this research, comparative studies of different postcolonial societies with white settler communities and diasporas would be another recommended productive avenue of future research to compare the nexus between white identity construction, privilege and destitution among, inter alia, postcolonial societies in Zimbabwe, Kenya and South Africa. In comparative research of this nature, the following works would be important sources:

- Anika Teppo's 2004 doctoral dissertation at the University of Helsinki, *The Making of a Good White: A Historical Ethnography of the Rehabilitation of Poor Whites in a Suburb of Cape Town*, and later postdoctoral research and publications on various aspects of poor whites in South Africa make a strong case as to why the study of white destitution still matters in democratic South Africa;
- Brett Shadle's book, *The Souls of White Folk*, detailing how whites defended their 'prestige' in colonial Kenya and how this informs white poverty in postcolonial contexts;
- Will Jackson's book, *Madness and Marginality: The Lives of Kenya's White Insane*, illustrates the nexus of empire and insanity and provides valuable understanding of the relationship between 'poor whites' and the 'white insane' in colonial Kenya;
- Janet McIntosh's book, *Unsettled: Denial and Belonging among White Kenyans*, provides a comprehensive analysis of white Kenyan consciousness and what she calls 'structural oblivion' which describes the failure of white people in postcolonial societies to understand their privileged social positions despite their poverty.

- Katie Gressier's work on precarity and the white nation fantasy among South African migrants in Melbourne is an important resource for studying white South African identity construction in diaspora.

6.4 MAJOR CHALLENGES OF RESEARCH

Conducting research with white participants in postcolonial countries such as Zimbabwe is very difficult, especially when the researcher is black. The Self/Other binaries continue to influence Zimbabwe's black/white relationship (Bvirindi, 2012; 2014). White participants, to some extent, saw themselves as superior to the researcher due to their racial identity. The reference here is John, who shouted at me and would not give me time to fully express myself or ask follow-up questions. During my PhD fieldwork in 2017, it was challenging to engage with potential participants, especially white Rhodesian Army veterans who fought against black liberation fighters from the mid-1960s to the late 1970s. My efforts to approach two participants who were said to have been Rhodesian Army veterans by the Captain at the Braeside Salvation Army Centre were fruitless. The participants were very hostile, and one even said he was not willing to talk to a '*Kaffir*'³⁴. The other one told me to stop bothering him.

Engaging with white participants in this study was generally challenging for several reasons. First, the risk of approaching a drug addict who might be volatile, dangerous, or abusive was present. Those living and eking out a living in the streets were very unpredictable because of the transient lifestyle, and it was difficult to schedule time for interviews. Their transient lifestyles made it challenging to trace them for follow-up interviews³⁵. Sometimes they were not in a position to grant time to conduct an interview either because they could be drunk or just not in the mood to be interviewed. In the case of this research, I realised that conventional interviewing would not work. Capturing comprehensive notes was impossible. Instead, I relied on *in situ* shorthand notes and made comprehensive transcripts based on the shorthand notes immediately after guided walks to retain as much information as accurately as possible.

³⁴ This was a colonial racial slur drawn from Afrikaans used by white people to refer to black people.

³⁵ After interviewing David and Nigel for the first time, it was difficult for me to reconnect with them for interviews for several weeks. For instance, when I first interviewed David at Newlands Shopping Centre, I ended up finding him at Breaside Shopping Centre, which required a trip of about 45 minutes on foot. Nigel was first interviewed *en route* between Strathaven and Avondale Shopping Centres and was later found in a pub at the Avondale Shopping Centre, which is about 30 minutes away on foot. I struggled for weeks to track him down for a follow-up interview.

Conducting an academic study in Zimbabwe on an emotive and sensitive issue of whiteness is fraught with several challenges (Pilossof, 2012: 5). Owing to the emotive nature of this study, some participants were unwilling to share their experiences. In polarised postcolonial societies, such as Zimbabwe, gaining access to a community for study across cultural and/or racial lines can be difficult. Dr Rory Pilossof, one of the key scholars on whiteness in postcolonial Zimbabwe, stated that white communities in postcolonial Zimbabwe are still very much closed and exclusively white³⁶. Reference was made to urban white communities in cities such as Harare that continue to socialise in exclusively white social events. This certainly proved true in this research as I struggled to gain entry into a white community outside academic and work circles to discuss people's personal experiences. This enclave character also came to the fore when I struggled to recruit and persuade new white participants facing destitution to participate in this study, especially when I was carrying out research on Facebook. I also faced challenges in getting in touch and getting responses from SOAP. I wrote an email asking them to grant me an interview but received no response.

Some white people facing destitution I approached for this study saw their position as directly linked to what they termed the 'poor governance' of the country by the black-led government. Thus, implying that the supposed degeneracy of black people was responsible for the politico-economic and social problems Zimbabwe is facing. This was, to some extent, vindicated in this study. Informal conversations with potential participants and those who eventually participated in this study pointed to the fact that white people facing destitution felt their lives have worsened due to the country's poor governance by the black-led government. As a black person, I struggled to talk to some participants. In cases where I did, the issue of black corruption and how their lives deteriorated due to poor black governance continued to resurface throughout the data-gathering period.

I did not share a similar cultural background with the study participants. This situation made it difficult for me to relate to some of the examples and phrases used in interviews. Interviews with John are a good example of this. John is a very talkative individual and struggles with focus and listening. Although I had a prior trust relationship with John from a previous research project in 2014, it still took me about an hour to introduce the new PhD research to John in

³⁶ Dr Rory Pilossof said this during an interview with the researcher at Dr Pilossof's homestead in Monaville, Harare.

2017. John would talk incessantly, and when I tried to explain the new project, John would interrupt by saying, “shut up and listen”. John, a painter, would interlace his narrative with the history of European art from the Renaissance to the Baroque and Rococo periods. He went on to explain how much he has been influenced by Hans Jaeger, a Bohemian and Norwegian expressionist artist, and Edvard Munch, who was friends with Hans Jaeger. John explained the Munch painting, ‘The Scream’, and talked about surrealism and how painters such as Salvador Dali became popular. Much of this was outside my frame of reference and required additional research for me to try to relate to these issues. These discussions, viewed superficially, may seem irrelevant. However, it helped me to reflect critically on how European history, culture, and art shape the lives and narratives of white people in Africa today.

I also encountered difficulties in communication during the data-gathering phase. The participants’ backgrounds differed, but their command of the English language and accent was, to a larger extent, alike. I sometimes found the accent of participants difficult to understand and comprehend some words. This required continually asking follow-up questions to clarify an issue or to repeat statements. This rendered the interviewing process challenging and frustrating.

The fieldwork among those living in the streets and at the Braeside Salvation Army Centre took place during 2017, a time when Zimbabwe was undergoing very tumultuous political changes, and the political climate was tense. The inclusive government among the three main political parties at the time, namely the Movement for Democratic Change-Tsvangirai (MDC-T), the Movement for Democratic Change-Mutambara (MDC-M) and ZANU-PF which started in 2009 and ended in 2013, had brought relative economic stability in Zimbabwe. The Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) went on to win a landslide victory in the 2013 national election. After having won, ZANU-PF governed between 2013 and 2017. The period 2013-2017 led to weak economic performance in Zimbabwe, and some families struggled to maintain sustainable livelihoods. This coincided with political squabbles in the ruling ZANU-PF party, which did not help the Zimbabwean economy or the general population. The political squabbles eventually led to a military takeover in November 2017,³⁷ when data gathering was at its peak.

³⁷ President Robert Mugabe, who had led Zimbabwe first as its Prime Minister from 1980 to 1987 and its executive president since 1987, was arrested by the military in November 2017. He was forced to resign and resigned after a week of house arrest. His long-time ally and confidante, Emmerson Mnangagwa, took over power. Emmerson

Though there was some hope when former President Mugabe was ousted, the country's economic situation did not improve (Simpson & Hawkins, 2018: 22). In the face of such political upheavals, most people, regardless of race, were apprehensive since most were not hopeful about their future under the new leadership of the former president's long-time ally. The white people facing destitution who participated in this study seemed very nervous and apprehensive. I had existing trust relationships with five participants from a previous research project.³⁸ Despite the pre-existing relationship, the political events of November 2017, when former President Robert Mugabe was overthrown, made white people facing destitution very wary and averse to participating. The period of data collection was generally fraught with anxiety which further compounded the feelings of hopelessness that people facing destitution experienced. In cases where prospective participants declined to participate as they did not want to discuss their personal lives and circumstances, their wishes were respected. For those who volunteered to participate, I steered clear of conversations with political undertones to avoid causing participants distress. Reference here can be made regarding my experience interviewing Christine³⁹ and Elliot⁴⁰ during a previous research project in 2014. Both Christine, who lost her husband to cancer, and Elliot, who divorced, became very emotional when discussing these events. I became extremely sensitive when interviewing the same participants during the PhD fieldwork in 2017. I tried to avoid bringing up emotional triggers for these participants.

Interviewing key secondary informants was equally difficult since they were also apprehensive and restless. I was sometimes mistaken for a government spy, and most participants became uneasy. Although persuading the key informants to participate was relatively easy, presumably, because of the similar cultural backgrounds I shared with them, they were generally more anxious than during my interactions with them in a previous research project in 2014. All participants and key secondary informants who took part in 2017 declined to be audio-recorded. I managed to share with those who had participated in my 2014 research project the results of the project. Although some had agreed to be audio-recorded in the previous research,

Mnangagwa served the remainder of Robert Mugabe's term. He contested an election and was declared a winner in a closely contested election against the main opposition called the Movement for Democratic Change-Alliance (MDC-A) led by Nelson Chamisa.

³⁸ The researcher came to know these participants during his fieldwork for his Master's degree in 2014.

³⁹ Christine during the researcher's Master's research in 2014.

⁴⁰ Elliot during the researcher's Master's research in 2014.

none of my participants agreed to be audio-recorded during my PhD. The prevailing political environment could have influenced their denial to be audio-recorded at the time of the data gathering. As a result, notes were taken down shorthand in the field diary and later expanded.

The research was entirely self-funded. Repeated visits to the Braeside Salvation Army Centre and the suburbs where participants could be accessed were challenging, including getting the needed Internet bundles to interview participants on Facebook. Sometimes these trips to access participants for face-to-face interviews proved fruitless. I would roam the streets of these suburbs on foot, trying to locate potential participants. On three occasions, I thought I had identified potential participants. However, they seemed mentally unstable and had to be excluded from this study due to their volatility and doubts as to whether they could consent to participation.

In 2017, I lived in Chitungwiza, a dormitory town near Harare, 25.4 kilometres from the Harare Central Business District (CBD). I had to get into the CBD first and board another bus or taxi to the areas I could access those facing destitution. Given the changeover from one bus to the other and the waiting time coupled with delays resulting from traffic jams, especially from Chitungwiza, getting to the field of study on time when I had an appointment was not always guaranteed. Though efforts were made to ensure appointments were honoured, I was sometimes late and had to cancel important meetings.

While the study of whiteness in postcolonial societies such as Zimbabwe, South Africa and Kenya is a burgeoning field with numerous valuable sources (some of these were outlined in Section 6.3), which I would have liked to incorporate into my literature for this study, many of the sources were not accessible without buying the book as they did not form part of the library collection of my institution. Due to financial constraints, I was not able to purchase any of these valuable sources. In many instances, I had to rely on these authors' published articles, which were available through my institutional library subscriptions to databases such as JSTOR and EBSCOHost. Colonial works on the racialised discourses of othering were also more readily available through free-to-access online databases such as Internet Archive or the Gutenberg Project, as these works were no longer subject to copyright.

6.5 LIMITATIONS AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH

As mentioned in Section 6.4, the study was entirely self-funded, which limited access to white communities in Zimbabwe beyond Harare. The key informants for this research were mainly if not exclusively, drawn from the Harare working-class suburb of Braeside, as I already had some familiarity with key informants in this area. While the research would have benefited greatly from participants from white communities spread across different rural, mining, farming and urban communities across the country, it was not feasible in practical or economic terms. This study's sample of key participants was small. However, smaller samples are not uncommon in ethnographic research. Since this was not a quantitative empirical study, there was no intention to generalise such a diverse population. Rather, the findings were used to enhance the theoretical understanding and conceptualisation of whiteness, white destitution, and white privilege through intersectionality and heterotopia. Notwithstanding the study being confined to a particular suburb in Harare and a small sample under constant conditions, one can assure the potential for extrapolation and reproducibility or replicability of the findings elsewhere.

In addition, to ensure that sufficient rich data was obtained, I triangulated key participant interviews of white people facing destitution, with secondary informant interviews of black Zimbabweans known to the key participants as well as through netnographic research on social media platforms where the views of whites living in what they perceive as exile (self-identifying as Rhodesians and not Zimbabweans). While the netnographic research was illuminating, I acknowledge that numerous such sites are administered by exiled whites, many of whom may have supremacist tendencies who did not accept black majority rule and left after the decolonisation of the country in 1980. Also, often-extreme views expressed on these sites do not offer a full representation of the perspectives of white Zimbabweans who elected to remain. They nonetheless provided an important angle for this research as expatriate groups play an essential role in philanthropic endeavours to aid destitute white people in Zimbabwe, where the same assistance is not equally offered to all destitute Zimbabweans.

While the literature review in this study is comprehensive, there are gaps in the literature, as explained in Section 6.4. Unfortunately, the accessibility of specific sources beyond the institutional collection available to me depended on financial resources I did not have. Certain articles not in databases to which the university subscribed were behind paywalls, and certain

seminal books were only available for purchase. I recognise that this is a limitation of the literature review. However, the literature review is comprehensive and provides a substantive overview of the literature in the field.

In addition, the manifestation and extent of white poverty, destitution, and colonial approaches to deal with these issues in colonial Rhodesia could have been contextualised in greater detail through statistical data and historical policy documents. This type of data was not readily available or easily accessible related to the challenges experienced in this research. Since this study was not a historiography of white destitution and how it was approached in colonial Rhodesia, I believe this was a minor limitation and is an important avenue for future research. There are numerous postcolonial societies in Africa with white residents and expatriate populations. Although comparative data on white poverty and destitution in these populations would certainly have enhanced this research, it would have expanded this research beyond its stated parameters. This is also viewed as a potentially productive area for future research.

A further limitation is linked to the study population in question. Access to those willing to share their experiences was limited owing to the emotive nature of the study. The study population was small and transient, making it very difficult to identify and track participants for interviewing. The study was mainly done in English and could not accommodate those who spoke Afrikaans, for instance. Regardless of these limitations, the study is still significant to both scholarship and theory.

This study is significant for its in-depth literature illustrating how colonial racialised discourses of othering shaped contemporary racialised discourses surrounding whiteness and white privilege. Given the extensive exploration of literature on colonial racialised discourses of othering combined with notions of intersectionality, this study could be seen as laying a foundation for pioneering literature. Furthermore, this research is theoretically significant because of the unique way whiteness was conceptualised in terms of intersectionality, offering a more complex understanding of whiteness. This can be considered its major contribution since intersectionality has mainly been used from a gendered perspective. However, this research demonstrated how it could be productively used to expand on complex racialised identity constructions. By intersecting the concepts of whiteness and destitution, I conceptualised whiteness as a continuum of privilege and dependency, contributing to the understanding of white privilege and making it more nuanced. This continuum of whiteness is

a significant conceptual contribution as it explains the complexities of white privilege and how someone may be destitute and privileged at the same time.

The use of the Foucauldian concept of heterotopia to explain the difference between Rhodesia and Zimbabwe for whites is also theoretically original. For many self-declared Rhodesians (as found in the netnographic research online), Zimbabwe is a heterotopian space in relation to Rhodesia, where the former is a place associated with corruption, racialism, and governance failures; the latter is a romanticised mirage of the ‘beloved homeland’ where everything was better. The framing of Zimbabwe as heterotopia helps to explain why white destitution is viewed as abnormal, while black poverty is normalised, even though poverty is generally common in postcolonial societies. Colonial society, including in Rhodesia, was predicated on systems of privilege that tended to reward hard work between white and black people differently. Many white people benefited from this asymmetrical system of beneficiation in Rhodesia. In contemporary Zimbabwe, the accepted logic and rules of colonial society have been officially suspended, rendering heterotopian Zimbabwe an alien space for white people facing destitution.

From a theoretical standpoint, the study could have been enhanced by studying it from a decolonial standpoint. However, given that the engagement with theoretical literature was already so dense and comprehensive, there was not sufficient time or space in this thesis to do it justice. Although efforts were made to include some issues of decoloniality as they overlap with postcolonial concepts, I found it more productive to study whiteness through the intersectionality lens. However, I do recognise this as a possible limitation.

Additionally, studying black imaginations of whiteness in the context of destitution is another dimension from which whiteness can be understood. Whiteness in black imagination has mostly been seen as representing everything better and good. Destitution among white people brings up a novel understanding of how whiteness is seen, which obviously brings new imaginations of whiteness in the black psyche. This was beyond the scope of this study and can also be considered a limitation. However, it may be a future productive area of study.

6.6 FINAL CONCLUSION

I believe that while emotionally challenging, this research contributed to the problematising of whiteness, destitution, and white privilege as concepts by tracing its roots to racialised colonial discourses of difference and othering and by applying the Postcolonial Intersectional Whiteness Theoretical Framework. The use of intersectionality to understand white social identity is innovative as intersectionality is conventionally used as an analytical framework to show how interlinked arrangements of power subordinate the marginalised, particularly black women and sexual minorities. In this research, by analysing the experiences of white people facing destitution on the streets of Harare in Zimbabwe using intersectionality, I was able to confirm that whiteness as a social identity is not homogenous but multifaceted. Also, that whiteness should be viewed as a continuum of privilege and dependency rather than a static category, which has implications for exploring racial politics in postcolonial societies such as Zimbabwe and likely beyond. Indeed, a comparative study of whiteness, destitution and privilege in colonial and postcolonial settler societies would add nuance to the phenomenon and is highly encouraged.

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Faculty of the Humanites

11-Oct-2017

Dear **Mr Bvirindi**

Ethics Clearance: **Whiteness and destitution: Deconstructing whiteness and white privilege in postcolonial Zimbabwe.**

Principal Investigator: **Mr Tawanda Bvirindi**

Department: **Centre for Africa Studies (Bloemfontein Campus)**

APPLICATION APPROVED

With reference to your application for ethical clearance with the Faculty of the Humanities. I am pleased to inform you on behalf of the Research Ethics Committee of the faculty that you have been granted ethical clearance for your research.

Your ethical clearance number, to be used in all correspondence is: **UFS-HSD2017/1065**

This ethical clearance number is valid for research conducted from 11-Oct-2017 to 11-Oct-2020. Should you require more time to complete this research, please apply for an extension.

We request that any changes that may take place during the course of your research project be submitted to the ethics office to ensure we are kept up to date with your progress and any ethical implications that may arise.

Thank you for submitting this proposal for ethical clearance and we wish you every success with your research.

Yours Sincerely



Prof. Robert Peacock
Chair: Research Ethics Committee
Faculty of the Humanities

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